

THE LIFE HISTORY OF PORTUGUESE RETURN MIGRANTS:
A CANADIAN - AZOREAN CASE STUDY

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts

Graduate Programme in Geography

York University

North York, Ontario

September 1997



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by

PEDRO MELO

a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of York
University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
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MASTER OF ARTS

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the 'life history' of fifteen Portuguese-Canadians who returned to the island of São Miguel, Azores. The research traces the experiences of the fifteen respondents from their pre-departure state in Portugal (Azores), to their situation after returning to Portugal. It includes an analysis of the entire migration cycle. This study complements other studies of Portuguese immigration to Canada, thereby narrowing the gap that existed in the literature.

Life history and ethnography, two complementary qualitative methods, were used to capture the life experiences of the return migrants interviewed in this study. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with the fifteen return migrants living in two districts of São Miguel, Ponta Delgada and Ribeira Grande. All the respondents had lived at one time or another in the Greater Toronto Area and had been first generation Portuguese immigrants in Canada. The informants were asked to "teach" me about their experiences as Portuguese

immigrants who had emigrated to Canada and who then returned to Portugal (Azores).

For each informant a series of topics were identified from their experiences as migrants who returned from Canada to Portugal. These topics were grouped into three major categories based on stages of the immigrants' life history; 1) before emigration, 2) migration experience in Canada, and 3) return to Portugal. Within these three major categories ten major themes evolved describing the life history of the fifteen Portuguese-Canadian migrants.

The main conclusion of the study is that the informants' life experiences have been difficult, for they continue to struggle in their homeland just as they had done when they first emigrated to Canada. Indeed, most felt themselves painfully divided between the two worlds they had known - Canada and Portugal.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is with overwhelming admiration that I honour the sixteen Portuguese-Canadian immigrants who returned to the Island of São Miguel to fulfil their dream of returning home. I thank them and am grateful for their time and patience in recounting some of their most difficult life experiences. I am happy that they gave me the opportunity to express their life histories as Portuguese migrants, without which I would not have been able to narrow the existing gap in studies relating to Portuguese migration to Canada.

I also wish to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Robert A. Murdie, for his time, patience, and above all, his excellent guidance. I thank him also for his support and encouragement throughout this research. I shall forever be indebted to him.

To Dr. Bryn Greer-Wootten, I wish to express my appreciation for his helpful support, especially with respect to methodological issues. I also thank Dr. Alan B. Simmons for introducing me to the various theories surrounding

international migration.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, both in Azores and in Toronto, who gave me unlimited support in my efforts to contact my informants. I offer a special thanks to my parents who inspired my research. Without my father's life dream of returning one day to Portugal, my research would not have been initiated. To my mother I dedicate this research, for I have long known how divided her heart is between Portugal and Canada, making her decision to return or stay in Canada so much more difficult.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In his book 'O Barco e o Sonho' (The Boat and the Dream), Manuel Ferreira attributes the Portuguese (Azorean) emigrant:

-To everyone that one day ran away to the power of destiny and liberated themselves from the island-prison the eyes, bringing in their ears the sound of the ocean and in their souls their life dreams.

- To how many tumbled through the streets of bad luck, shipwrecked from hope, abandoned and defeated, and didn't have the chance to know the joy of returning, always remembering with sadness the painful cutting off of the "Ilha-Sombra" (a following shadow/"Island-Shadow").

-To those who were able to be successful in strange lands, by their hard and honest work, and even now they are loyal to those who stayed behind and to their mother country, sending lots of clothes and dollars and making their pious offering to "Senhor Santo Cristo dos Milagres", to "Senhora da Ajuda" and to "Nossa Senhora dos Anjos".

-To all of those that today live and work far away, sons and grandsons of old Azorean families, simple with chalice hands, speaking another language that is not ours, with names and surnames very different than those baptized in the island, but still keeping a feeling of hope in their hearts, to one day know for themselves the mystery and the stories of a dream island, that they

don't know, nor maybe will never know. (Ferreira 1989:11). (my translation)

Migration has been part of Portuguese history for almost a thousand years. Portuguese settlement in Canada, however, is relatively recent. In the four or five centuries prior to World War II, Portuguese were only visitors to Canada's shores. Since then they have taken up permanent residence in many cities and have become part of the country's ethnic landscape. They are especially concentrated in Toronto. Of the 246 890 Portuguese in Canada in 1991, 124 325 or just over 50 percent lived in the Toronto Census Metropolitan area (Census of Canada 1991: Single Ethnic Origin).

Based on informal conversations with people in Toronto's Portuguese community, it appears that many Portuguese migrated to Canada with the hope of eventually returning to their homeland. These immigrants never gave up this hope, and as a result, did not sell the property they owned in Portugal. After many years of living in Toronto, their economic condition has improved and many can now afford to return to Portugal. Although specific numbers are not available, I

believe that many Portuguese have already started to migrate back to Portugal. The focus of this research is a small sample of Portuguese immigrants from the Toronto area who have returned to Portugal (Azores).

There have been a number of studies of Portuguese immigration to Canada, including the migration of Portuguese within the Toronto region and Portuguese "stayers" - those who first settled and remained in central Toronto (Anderson and Higgs 1976; Marques and Medeiros 1980; Higgs 1982; Teixeira 1992; Pacheco 1994). By studying the 'life history' of the Portuguese migrant, including the return to Portugal, the examination of the migration cycle for the Portuguese will be complete.

1.2 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY AND RESEARCH METHODS

The specific objective of this research is to describe and evaluate the 'life history' of a group of Portuguese Canadians who returned from the Toronto region to São Miguel,

Azores. In the past, international migration was widely, but inaccurately considered, to be a one-way movement of migrants leaving the Old World for North America. For example, only ten of 2051 titles in a 1968 bibliography of migration research refer to return migration (Mangalam 1968). There are at least two reasons why the subject of return migration has been neglected: first, the prevailing view that migration occurs in one direction only, and second, the difficulty of obtaining data/information on returnees. Both factors apply to the case of the return migration of Portuguese immigrants from Canada.¹

In spite of limited literature and the difficulty of obtaining specific information, return migration is important, both theoretically and empirically. Conceptually, return migration was acknowledged as early as 1885 when Ravenstein, in his "Laws of Migration", noted that: "Each main current of

¹ Numerous studies have been carried out with respect to Portuguese guest workers who have returned from France and Germany to Mainland Portugal (Rocha-Trindade et al., 1988; Conim 1986; Lewis 1986; Lewis 1985; Amaro 1984).

migration produces a compensating counter-current." Empirically, there is evidence that return migration has been an aspect of the Portuguese migration experience in Canada since the initial stages of emigration. For example, in the journal, Industry and Labour, there is a record of eight men returning to Portugal from Canada in 1956, and 29 men and one woman returning in 1957 (1957: "Portuguese Emigration in 1956," Industry and Labour, vol.18:474-477; 1958: "Portuguese Emigration in 1957," Industry and Labour, vol.20:381-384).

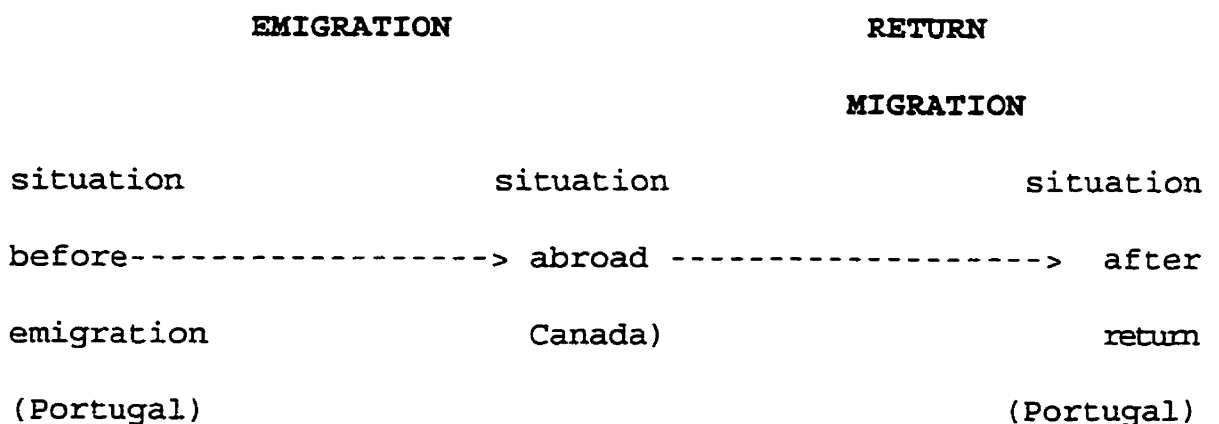
The present study will examine the 'life history' of the Portuguese Canadian migrant. Life history analysis is constructed by a process of editing and putting the story together in such a way that it captures the person's own feelings, views, and perspectives (Eyles and Perri 1993; Taylor and Bogdan 1984). It contains a description of the important events and experiences in a person's life or some significant part of it, in his or her own words. The research will trace a sample of fifteen Portuguese migrants to Canada from their pre-departure state to their situation after the final return to Portugal (Azores). It will include an

analysis of the entire migration cycle from the situation before emigration to the situation after returning to Portugal (Figure 1).

The research approach chosen for the analysis is ethnography, a qualitative research method. Ethnography best fits the problem at hand because it attempts to describe and understand a culture from the insider's or informant's perspective and, as such,

FIGURE 1

THE STAGES OF THE MIGRATION CYCLE



attempts to reflect the group's perception of reality (Agar 1983).² Face-to-face interviews were conducted with fifteen return migrants living in two districts (Concelhos) of São Miguel, Ponta Delgada and Ribeira Grande.³ These two districts were selected because they represent areas of São Miguel from which a particularly large number of residents emigrated to Canada (e.g., Região Autónoma dos Açores (1979 through 1989)). Interviews were open-ended, allowing the migrants to talk freely about their migration experience. Topics discussed included the recreation of the migrant's life history before immigrating to Canada, experience as a Portuguese migrant in Canada, and the challenges faced upon deciding to return to Portugal. Emphasis was placed on interviewing first-generation Portuguese (born in Portugal) who migrated to Canada. The interviews were recorded in Portuguese using an audio cassette player, then translated verbatim and transcribed (Appendix A). Further details about

² It is important to note that the author is a first generation Portuguese - Azorean living in Canada.

³ Ponta Delgada and Ribeira Grande are the only two cities located in the two districts (Concelhos) of Ponta Delgada and Ribeira Grande.

the research procedures are given in Chapter 4.

1.3 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is divided into five major sections. Chapter 2 examines international migration with reference to theoretical perspectives, patterns since World War II, explanations for international migration, and return migration within the international context. Chapter 3 reviews the contextual background of São Miguel and presents an account of Portuguese (Azorean) immigrants in Canada, and in Toronto more specifically. Chapter 4 addresses the ethnographic approach and illustrates the steps taken in collecting the data. The fifth chapter is divided into three subsections each summarizing "themes" extracted from the conversations with the informants. These include: 1) Reasons for emigrating and methods of emigration; 2) "palheta", work, money and family; and 3) the reasons for returning to Portugal (Azores), life in Portugal (Azores), the problems encountered by their children on returning to Portugal (Azores), and re-emigration to Canada. The final chapter includes a summary of the major

findings and some recommendations for additional studies. Appendix A contains the verbatim translation of the interviews, while Appendix B includes the major categories and themes within each category, that were derived from an analysis of the transcripts.

CHAPTER 2

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

2.1 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

International migration is a heterogeneous process, which has become more complex in composition and motivation (Portes 1987; Salt 1989). Major types of migration include: 1) colonization of less-advanced nations, benefitting from their land and labour (e.g., the colonization of North African nations such as Algeria by France); 2) labour movements, both permanent and temporary, from less advanced parts of the world to more advanced nation states (e.g., temporary labour migrants to Germany and France from Portugal, Greece and Turkey, more permanent migration from Portugal to Canada); 3) refugee movements precipitated by political repression and acute economic conditions (e.g., movement of Somalian refugees to Canada); and 4), professionals and skilled technicians moving in search of opportunities denied to them in their home country. The significance of these different types of movements is that political, economic and social conditions in

both the sending and receiving countries imply different behavioural paradigms (Castles and Miller 1993; Portes 1989; Salt 1989). Given this complexity the central purpose of this chapter is to examine: 1) patterns of international migration since World War II; 2) reasons for international migration, with particular reference to push-pull theories and the migration system; and 3) return migration in the international context.

2.2 PATTERNS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SINCE WORLD WAR II

Many patterns of international migration have emerged since World War II. In the 1940s and 1950s, migration resulted from the war and its aftermath. The major migrant streams were Europeans to North America and the Antipodes, and Jews to Israel (Boyd 1989; Salt 1989). In the 1960s, the need for labour was a chief element of migration flows to advanced nation states. Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States each received a substantial number of migrants in anticipation of their contributions to post-war economic development (Boyd 1989; Salt 1989). These migrants came

especially from the more rural parts of Southern European countries in anticipation of better economic opportunities in the more advanced nation states. Migration to these countries involved long-term settlement - permanent immigration that granted migrants upon entry to a country, most legal rights of citizens, entailing the right to work and live. In most cases, the right to vote was the only activity which the migrant could not participate in until becoming a citizen of that country (Kritz 1987).

In the 1970s and 1980s, family reunification, contract labour, and intra-regional and refugee movements characterized the major trends in international migration. With the exception of family reunification these new types of migration streams tended to be shorter in duration than previous international migration flows (Salt 1989; Boyd 1989; Kritz 1987; Fawcett and Carino 1987). More recently, there is evidence of a continuing decline in permanent settlement, with only the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Israel accepting permanent migrants. Many of the migrants are either highly-skilled professionals or refugee seekers. The

source countries have also changed, with many migrants coming from Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin American countries rather than countries in Southern and Western Europe (Castles and Miller 1993; Salt 1989).

As international migration continues to change, the primary flow is from less developed to more developed countries, but flows are also taking place between developing countries. In addition, more countries are senders or receivers of international migration than in the past. This has resulted from improvements in international travel and communication or what is more generally known as the globalization phenomenon. As a result of new migration flows, the majority of the world's countries will become more ethnically diverse and cosmopolitan (Castles and Miller 1993; Kritiz 1987; Portes 1989; Salt 1989).

2.3 EXPLANATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Push-pull theories are the most widely-held approaches to explaining international migration. These theories emphasize the movements of people as responses to "push factors" such as

economic, social and political hardships in the places of origin and "pull factors", primarily summarized as comparative advantages in places of destination (Boyd 1989: Portes 1989). Studies emphasising economic factors concentrate primarily on the pull factors of the receiving economies and pay little attention to the push factors (Portes 1989). Indeed, economic - based studies assume a continued demand for labour in the receiving countries.

With the changing nature of migration, several problems and limitations have arisen concerning push-pull theories:

1. They are not able to explain why certain countries and regions experience large flows of migrants while others in similar or even worse conditions fail to produce them;
2. They do not consider the changing historical contexts of migration;
3. They are unable to account for individual differences in patterns of migration; and
4. They often fail to convey the dynamics associated with the evolution of migrant movements, from their origins, through shifts in their composition and volume as they mature, taking account of return flows and remittances, and of the policy and structural conditions at origin and destination that shape migration (Portes 1989; Boyd 1989; Kritz and Zlotnik 1992).

To understand the changing trends and patterns of contemporary international migration, it is necessary to adopt a dynamic perspective. This calls for a "systems approach". The basic notion of a systems approach to the study of international migration is the concept of a migration system linked to two or more countries by flows and counter-flows of people. These movements occur within national contexts whose political, economic, technological and social dimensions are always changing, partly in response to the feedbacks and adjustments that stem from the migration flow itself (Kritz and Zlotnik 1992; Portes 1989; Fawcett and Arnold 1987).

Figure 2 illustrates a "systems approach" to international migration. In the diagram, two countries, A and B, are linked together by migration flows and other linkages. The latter may include historical, cultural, colonial and technological links. The time dimension must also be considered in a systems approach in order to understand flow and counterflow dynamics. A historical viewpoint on migration flows represents the pattern of interaction between migration

A Systems Approach to International Migration

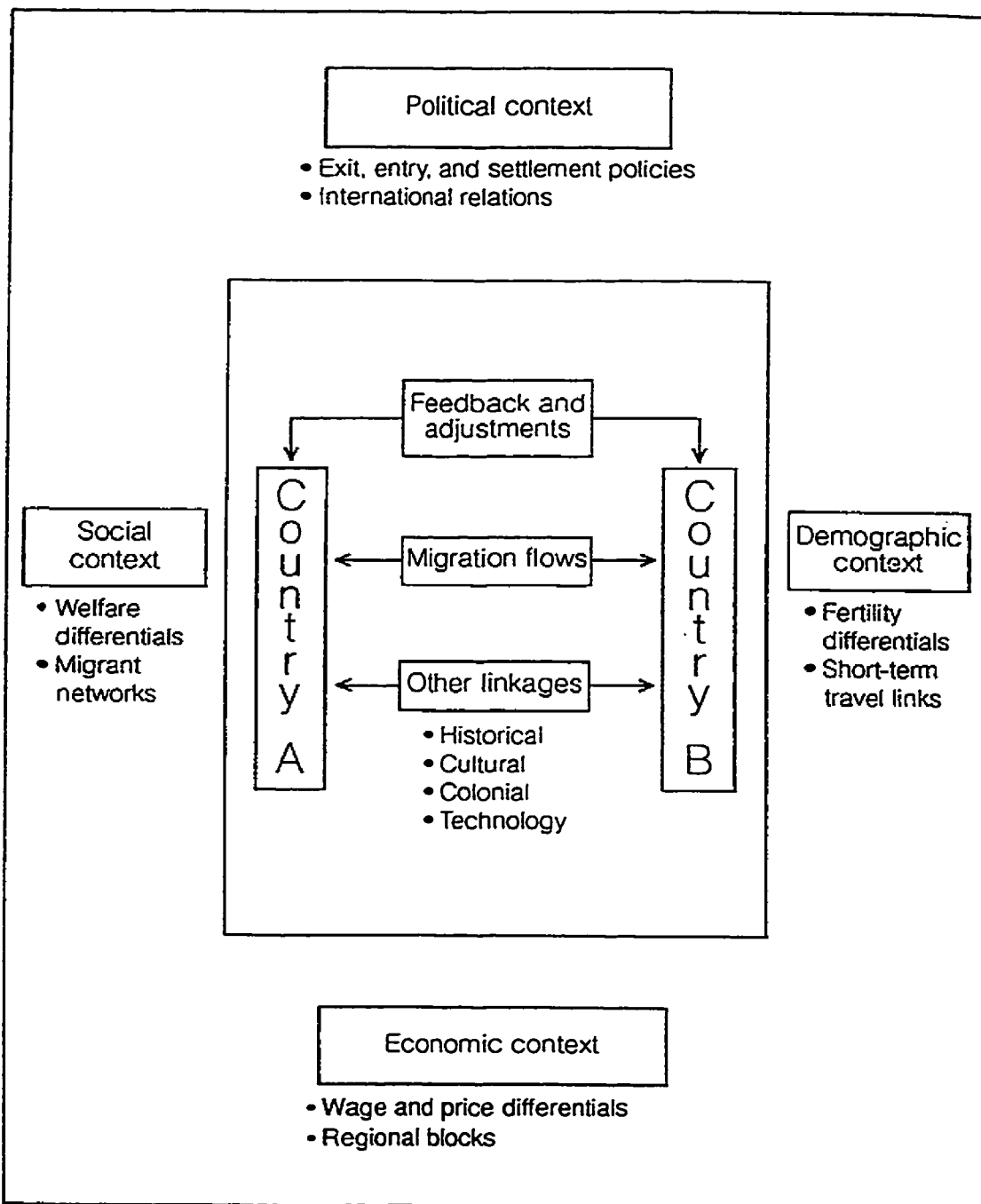


FIGURE 2 A systems framework of international migration
(Kritz and Zlotnik 1992, Page 3).

and the structural conditions of the receiving and sending countries. The movement of people between countries A and B may occur in both directions. The receiving countries are usually distinguished by their higher wages and better welfare conditions while the sending countries are often characterized by lower wages and poorer welfare conditions. Relatives in the sending countries normally receive remittances from migrants in the receiving countries. As well, these countries may receive return migrants or foreigners having needed skills: see Figure 2. (Kritz and Zlotnik 1992; Portes 1989; Boyd 1989; Fawcett and Arnold 1987).

The flows and linkages between countries A and B occur within the context of differences between the countries' political, demographic, economic and social characteristics. The political context includes 1) exit, entry and settlement policies, and 2) international relations. For example, Singapore relies on workers from Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines to fill unskilled jobs. These workers are strictly controlled. The government imposes a foreign worker levy in order not to undermine opportunities for local

labourers. Unskilled workers have fixed work terms and are not permitted to settle or to bring their families (Castles and Miller 1993)). The demographic context entails 1) fertility differentials, and 2) short-term travel links. For example, a receiving country that has experienced low fertility levels may require unskilled labour from a sending country where there is a surplus of labour. This was the case for Portuguese contract workers who were recruited to Canada in the early 1950s. Short-term movements also include students, military personnel, business people, and tourists. Depending on immigration policies in particular countries such short-term movements may set conditions for future long-term movements. The economic context consists of 1) wage and price differentials, and 2) regional blocks. For example, during periods of economic crises or when major economic interests are threatened by increased labour market competition governments may explicitly formulate migration policy in order to restrict the inflow of migrants. In periods of economic "boom" these restrictions may be lifted in order to meet the need of labourers, as in the case of foreign 'guest' worker

movements to Western Europe between 1945 and 1973. The social context incorporates 1) welfare differentials, and 2) migrant networks. For example, Pakistani and Indian workers migrated to the Middle East because wages were often ten times as much as they could earn at home. These workers in turn sent home billions of dollars making a vital contribution to the balance of payments and established networks that maintained migration. These contexts are also continually changing, partly in reaction to the feedbacks and adjustments that result from the migration flow itself. Of particular importance is the information that is sent from pioneer immigrants to friends and relatives in the sending country. The interchange of people within the system may consist of permanent migrants, migrant workers, or refugees.

Economic, political, demographic and social structures and relations among nation states help describe the migration system. They do not, however, explain why only certain people migrate. As a result it is necessary to look at processes which include "networks" of both institutions and individuals. These networks link various countries together into a coherent

migration system (Kritz and Zlotnik 1992; Boyd 1989). In general, networks connect migrants and non-migrants across time and space, channelling information about the receiving and sending countries. They also justify the continuation of migration long after the original impetus for migration has ended (Kritz and Zlotnik 1992; Boyd 1989).

There are several advantages, as outlined by Fawcett and Arnold (1987), to using a systems approach:

1. It directs attention to both ends of a migration flow, with a corresponding necessity to explain stability and mobility in each location;
2. It examines one flow in the context of other flows, or one destination in relation to alternative destinations;
3. It highlights the diverse linkages between places, including flows of information, goods, services and ideas, as well as people;
4. It suggests comparisons between places, thus calling attention to the disparities and imbalances that are a source of energy in the system;
5. It brings into focus the interconnectedness of the system, in which one part is sensitive to changes in other parts; and
6. it reinforces the view of migration as a dynamic process, a sequence of events occurring over time.

Figure 3 illustrates the application of the systems framework of international migration to Portuguese-Canadian migration since World War II. A brief sketch is given here and more details of the Portuguese-Canadian System will be provided in Chapter 3.

In the political context following World War II there have been three periods of Portuguese emigration to Canada: 1) contract work (1952-1957); sponsorship (1958-1974); and family reunification (1975-present). Portuguese emigration to Canada began in the 1950s as a result of government initiatives. In a demographic context Canada looked to Portugal as a source of much needed agricultural labour, while at the same time Portugal was interested in finding a suitable destination for its surplus population. From an economic perspective, the Portuguese who emigrated to Canada left an economically-depressed area where unemployment was high and the future was bleak, and emigrated to an area where jobs were abundant and wages were higher. In a social sense, Canada offered a better future and more democratic government compared to the lack of

Portuguese-Canadian Migration System

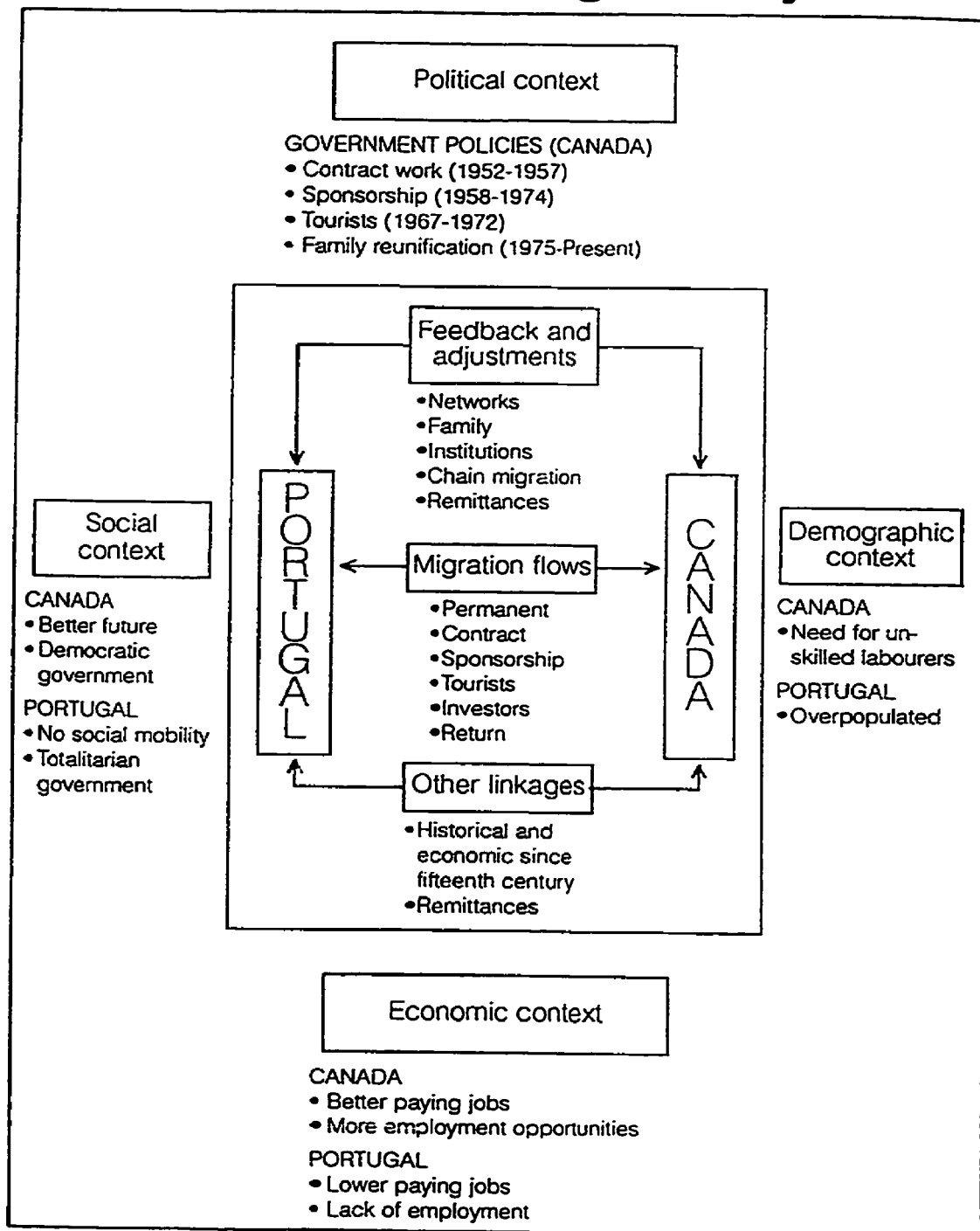


FIGURE 3

social mobility and totalitarian government in Portugal (Figure 3). Immigrant flows for the fifteen years following the contract labour period (1958-74) usually resulted from already established immigrants sponsoring family members who had remained behind in Azores. From the mid-1970s networks in the form of family contacts have been the most important aspect of the Portuguese-Canadian migration system. Once these networks were established they conveyed favourable information to potential migrants in Portugal about life in Canada. These networks encouraged further flows from Portugal to Canada. Remittances sent to Portugal from family members living in Canada also stimulated further migration, both by giving some tangible indication of the economic opportunities in Canada and by providing the resources needed to migrate. These networks also assisted new Portuguese migrants to become adjusted to Canadian society by helping them find work and housing (Figure 3).

2.4 RETURN MIGRATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

The return migration literature describes this

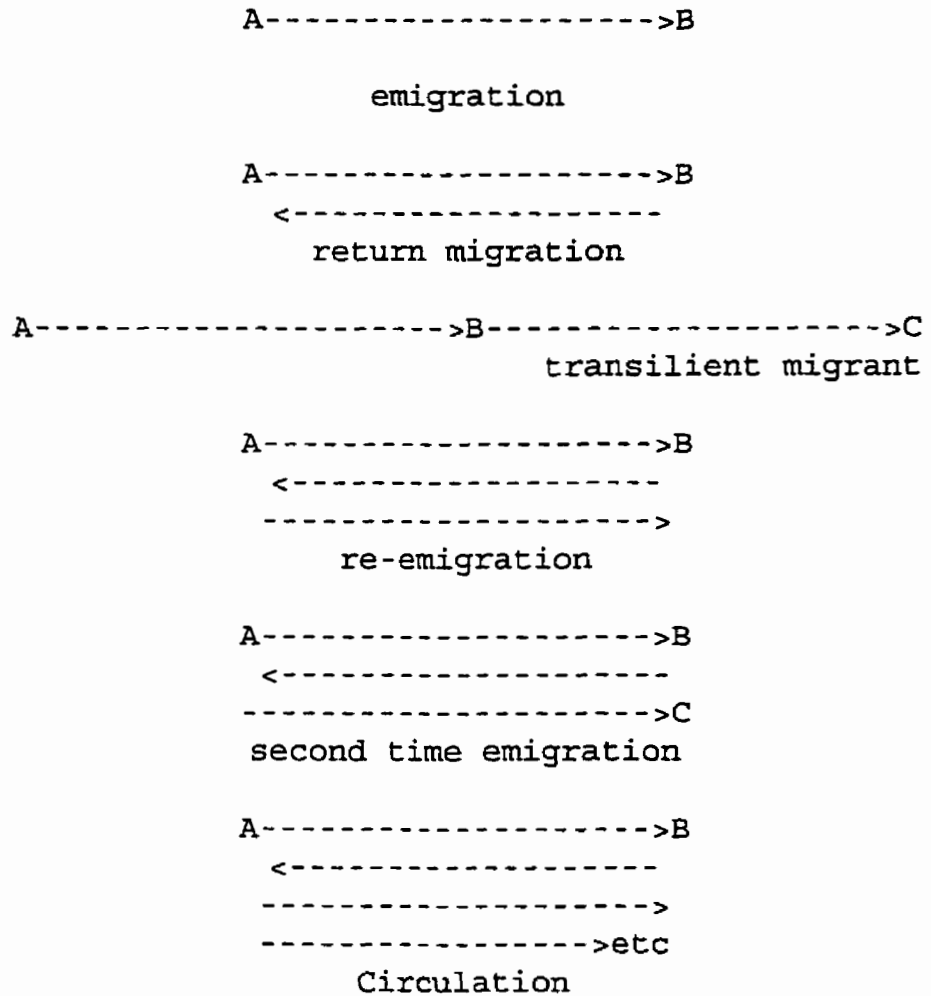
phenomenon in a variety of ways, including back migration, counter-current, counterflow, re-emigration, remigration, return flow, return migration, return movement, second time migration and repatriation. In several cases, these terms imply something more than the simple fact that the migrant goes back to his or her country of origin (King 1983).

The major possibilities are identified in Figure 4 and described below.

1. Return migration: when people return after emigrating for the first time to their country or region of origin following a significant period (usually of more than one year) in another country or region.
2. Transilient migration: when people move on to a second destination without returning to their original destination.
3. Re-emigration: is used to identify those who emigrate once again to the same destination after having returned for the first time.
4. Second-time emigration: is used to distinguish those who emigrate to a new destination after having returned.
5. Circulation: when the to and fro movements between two places consist of more than one return.
6. Repatriation: when return is not the initiative of the migrants themselves but forced on them by political events and authorities (King 1983).

FIGURE 4

MIGRATION: A TERMINOLOGICAL CLARIFICATION



KEY

- A - country of origin
- B - first country of migration
- c - subsequent countries of migration

Aside from the "guest worker" phenomenon, there has been relatively little empirical research on return migration. A possible reason for this omission is the difficulty of obtaining satisfactory data on return migration. A second reason is that migration research has centred on three other major themes: a) studies of the initial migration decision (e.g., 'push-pull' factors), b) studies of migrant adaptation, assimilation, acculturation, integration, and c) consequences of emigration for the sending communities and regions (the effects of out-migration). These three themes have almost always been studied apart from each other. They have rarely been examined in terms of any systematic whole to which they are all related and in which return migration plays a part (Bovenkerk 1974; Lewis 1986).

The studies carried out on return migration in the 1960s fell into three general areas: a) analyses in the context of the circulation of pioneer migrant labour to the United States, with particular reference to Italians, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans; b) studies of British return migration from Australia and Canada; and c) studies of return migration from

Britain to the West Indies (Bovenkerk 1974; Lewis 1986).

In the early 1970s there was another wave of interest in return migration resulting from the change in migration trends that occurred in Western Europe. Countries such as France and West Germany stopped admitting large numbers of migrants and pressure increased for repatriation and return (Bovenkerk 1974).

In the Portuguese context, very little has been written on return migration, especially amongst Portuguese Canadians. Instead, the Portuguese literature concentrates on the return of contract or "guest" workers from France and West Germany to Mainland Portugal. One of the reasons for the lack of interest in this topic is the absence of readily available and reliable data. In 1976 the Portuguese government undertook a census of those who had returned (whom they referred to either as "retornados" or "deslocados") from the African colonies, and enumerated their distribution by districts. This survey was later acknowledged to be incomplete: first, because only a few returnees responded to the national survey; and second, because the survey had neglected to include those who had

returned before 1975 (Lewis and Williams 1985).

CHAPTER 3

BACKGROUND: PORTUGUESE IMMIGRATION

3.1 AZORES - São MIGUEL: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AREA

Volcanic in origin, the Azorean archipelago is situated about 3 800 kilometres from mainland Portugal. The nine islands, comprising an area of approximately 2 300 square kilometres, are strung across 500 kilometres of ocean, intersecting the prevailing westerly winds of the northern hemisphere and the southeast trade winds (Almeida 1992). These nine islands are divided into three groups (east, central, west) based on geographical location, political divisions, and historical differences. São Miguel (746.2 sq.Km) and Santa Maria (96.8 sq.Km) make up the eastern and most southern group (Figure 5) (Almeida 1992; Duncan 1972; Brito 1955).

São Miguel (Saint Michael) is the largest island in the Azorean archipelago, with a land mass of 746.2 square kilometres, a length of 66 kilometres and a maximum width of

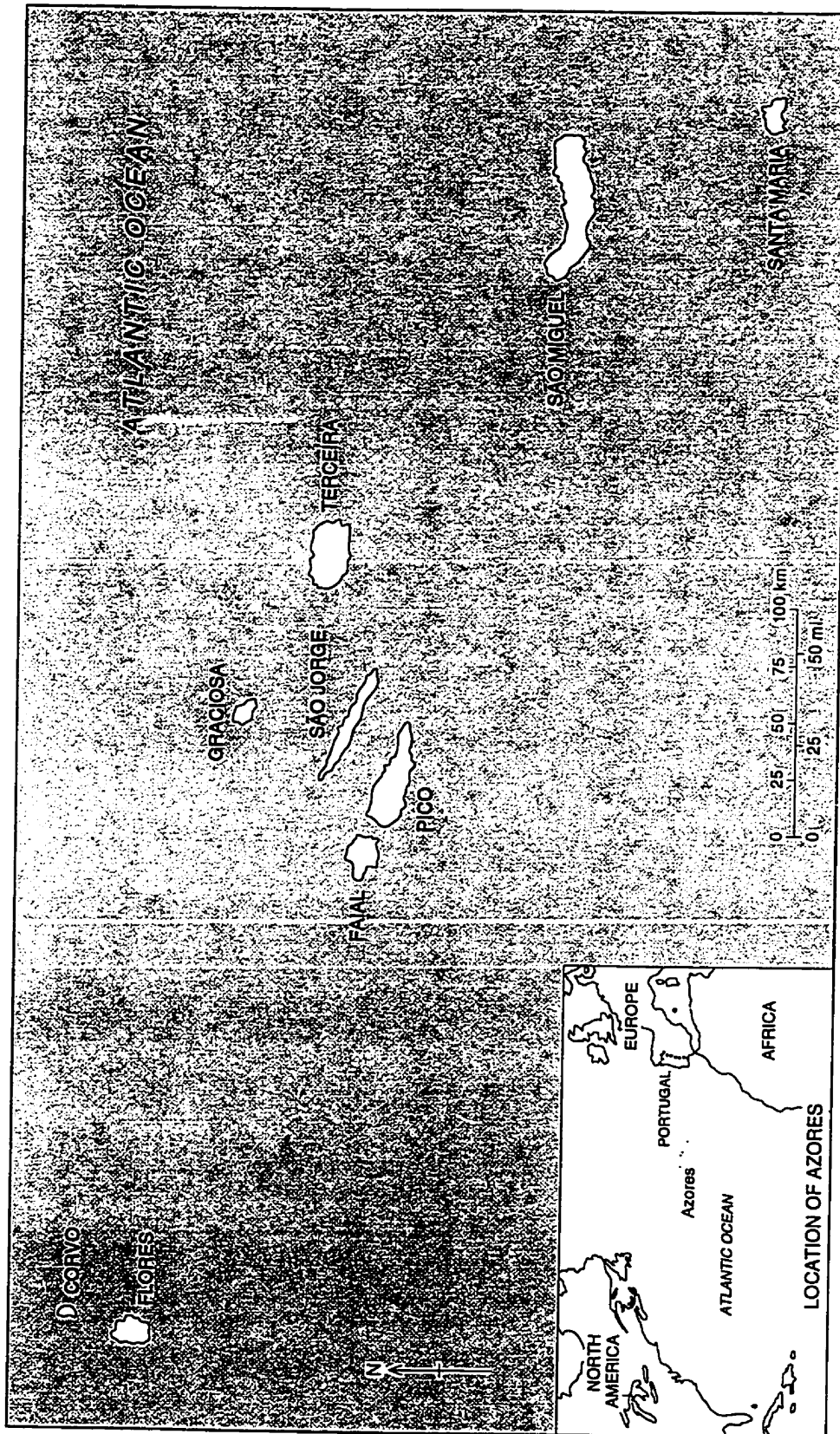


Figure 5: The Archipelago of Azores

16 kilometres (Almeida 1992; Duncan 1972). Just as the Azorean archipelago was a central component in the commercial shipping networks of earlier centuries, São Miguel is the heart of a web of active socio-cultural connections which stretch out to the other islands, and to mainland Portugal (Almeida 1992).

São Miguel was "discovered" in 1427 and settlement began shortly thereafter. The fertility of the soil and the island's geographic position on the crossroads to Europe, Africa and the Americas contributed to rapid economic expansion based on the production of wheat, sugar cane, dye-yielding plants, wine and dairy products (Almeida 1992). One century later production of sweet potatoes, maize, yams, flax and oranges broadened the island's agricultural output (Almeida 1992). The export of oranges to England brought São Miguel great prosperity in the eighteenth century. The orange groves were destroyed by a blight starting in 1860 but the local capacity for enterprise soon led to the introduction of new crops (tobacco, tea, chicory, sugar beets and pineapples) which guaranteed economic survival (Almeida 1992). Fishing and

livestock raising also helped the island's economy grow over the years. Today, São Miguel is one of the political and administrative centres of the region, and an island with a diversified economy.

Pre-revolutionary Portugal, before April 24, 1974, has been characterized as a corporatist and authoritarian regime of personal rulership (Bruneau et al., 1984). The Portuguese economy under the Salazar dictatorship appeared to be a success -- growth rates were high, unemployment was low, inflation rates were low and the balance of payments was in surplus. However, a look at Portugal at the time, reveals the superficial nature of the 'success' (Amaral et al., 1992).

Even though Portugal has experienced rapid growth since World War II, it has remained the most backward country in Western Europe. The country in the 1950s had the highest infant mortality rates and lowest educational levels in Europe. Per capita incomes were low compared to the rest of Europe, and about 28 percent of the workforce was still in agriculture (Amaral et al., 1992).

National income was also distributed in a highly uneven

manner along geographical, sectoral, and class lines. Productivity and income also varied across sectors, with agriculture lagging behind industry and services (Amaral et al., 1992). The most apparent indication of the backwardness was the control of the economy by a small group of conglomerates, most of whom were affiliated with important banking houses. Under the dictatorship, these groups were very closely associated with the state, and enjoyed protection and privileges of various kinds.

In the 1950s when Canada opened its doors to Portuguese immigrants, São Miguel was overpopulated. It accommodated more than half of the Azorean population with a total of 164,200 inhabitants and a density of 220 people per square kilometre (Brito 1955). The majority of this population did not own land. Rents were excessively high and the existing rental system did not permit any economic advancement. In general, the standard of living was very low. Most of the people lived in unhygienic housing with no plumbing or sewage systems. They had little money to buy food or basic clothing and were malnourished and sparingly dressed.

The average family had six to eight children. Even the youngest helped their parents by gathering wood and working on the land. After growing up it was extremely difficult for the men to secure a parcel of land to cultivate. The women habitually did not work the land; instead, they usually found a job in a tobacco or tea factory, and looked to marry someone who could enhance their economic status (Brito 1955).

With such a low standard of living and the difficulty for young people to purchase, rent or attain employment on a parcel of land, emigration seemed like the only solution. The people were unhappy and desperately wanted to obtain "a carta de chamada para 'as Americas'" (sponsorship to North America), which represented the only solution to their desperate way of living.

Opportunity for reform and liberation presented itself in 1968, when a stroke incapacitated Salazar and Marcello Caetano was selected as his replacement. However, Caetano was unsuccessful in his attempts at reforms. He lacked control of the increasing intransigent regime (Bruneau et al., 1984). The intransigence of the "Estado Novo" ("New State"), in the

face of pressures for change from increasingly popular opposition groups, coupled with the drain on Portugal's economy caused by the long wars against nationalist forces in the colonies, contributed to the overthrow of Caetano in the bloodless coup of 25 April 1974, initiated by the Armed Forces Movement (Movimento das Forças Armadas -- MFA) (Bruneau et al., 1984).

In February 1986, Dr. Mario Soares won a run-off presidential election to become Portugal's first civilian president in sixty years. Under the direction of Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva, the first majority government since the revolution was elected on July 19th 1987. These events mark a watershed in Portugal's history after years of minority governments and political instability.

New incentives were offered to returning migrants and these political events encouraged Portuguese immigrants to think about returning to Portugal. The timing of these incentives also corresponded with Portugal's entrance to the European Community (1986) and the prospects for a better life in Portugal. Incentives offered by the government include:

- 1) higher interest rates on savings
- 2) no land transfer tax (tax - SESA)
- 3) support for those who want to start a new business
- 4) exemptions from paying property taxes for 15 years

Portuguese return migration must be seen in the context of these political events.

3.2 PORTUGUESE MIGRATION TO CANADA.

In the fifteenth century, when Portuguese maritime exploration thrived, numerous ships sailed from continental Portugal to seek and exploit new channels of trade with Africa, Asia, and, in time, South America. These ships were also combing the Atlantic in search of the legendary islands of Antilia, Brazil and the Seven Cities (Zerubavel 1992; Morison 1965). Interest in Atlantic exploration was further stimulated by the discovery of Madeira in 1419, and the islands of the Azores in 1427.

It is believed that the Portuguese had actually reached the rich fishing grounds off Newfoundland by the beginning of the fifteenth century and there is evidence of Portuguese

landings in Canada by the sixteenth century. For many centuries after the first Portuguese explorers arrived on Canadian shores numerous Portuguese vessels fished for cod in Canadian waters, especially near the Avalon Peninsula and off the Grand Banks of Newfoundland (Anderson and Higgs 1976). At the same time a few Portuguese settled in Canada. These were 'mariners' who came ashore during the fishing season for reasons such as sickness and decided to stay (Anderson and Higgs 1976). These people were exceptions, however, and until the 1950s few Portuguese immigrants came to Canada. Indeed, by 1951 there were only 1,028 Portuguese in Canada (Census of Canada 1951).

The small number of Portuguese immigrants who came to Canada before the 1950s can be attributed to a number of factors: 1) the preference by Canadian Immigration Officials for Northern Europeans; 2) the attraction of Portuguese emigrants to Brazil, the great Portuguese-speaking nation of South America, and 3) preference for the United States among the vast majority of Portuguese immigrants who came to North America as contract labourers (Anderson and Higgs 1976).

The onset of a migration system between Portugal and Canada came into full swing as a result of governmental initiatives for large-scale migration in the early 1950s. Canada was looking to Portugal for a solution to its shortage of agricultural workers, while Portugal was interested in finding suitable destinations for the excess population of the islands. The first Portuguese immigrants came to Canada under contract to work for a full year for one farm employer following which they were free to move elsewhere in the country. The following excerpt clearly illustrates Canada's primary motivation for opening immigration to Portuguese:

Immigration movements from Portugal for the next few years (from 1953 onwards) must be studied in the light of the then current shortage of heavy manual labour in Canada and the persistent pressure from railway construction companies and agricultural groups for immigrant workers, coupled with the decline in immigration from our traditional source countries in 1955 and 1956. For the 1954 programme, at the request of the Portuguese Government, the Portuguese movement comprised of a selection conducted only in the Azores.

About this time serious doubts began to be felt in the Immigration Branch about the Portuguese movement. The Portuguese Government was obviously making efforts to concentrate our [Canadian] recruiting activities in the Azores. At the same time there were increasing signs

that the declining need for unskilled labourers in Canada would not continue to support the type of movement we had been accepting in Portugal. The several large movements of unskilled workers from the Azores showed signs of producing a disproportionate volume of sponsored immigrants (duplicating our experience in Italy) (Hawkins 1972).

Not unexpectedly, the Portuguese migrated to Canada in search of better living conditions. These conditions were primarily economic rather than socio-political. The Portuguese migrating to Canada were given an opportunity to leave an economically-depressed area where wages were low and employment hard to find. They were escaping poverty, unemployment, and a lack of social mobility that existed in many parts of Portugal. Many of these immigrants migrated with the hope of finding a better job in order to make money and later return to Portugal (Anderson and Higgs 1976)

Portuguese immigration to Canada increased fairly steadily towards the mid-1970s reaching its highest level in 1974 (Table 1). By that time 132,998 Portuguese had arrived in Canada. Then, immigration from Portugal dropped steadily with the exception of increased flows in the late 1980s due to family reunification (Table 1). One possible reason for the

Table 1: PORTUGUESE IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

| YEAR | DATA FROM CANADIAN IMMIGRATION ** | DATA FROM PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION *** | AZORES TOTAL * | AZORES AS A PERCENT OF PORTUGAL |
|---------|---|---|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1946 | 38 | --- | --- | --- |
| 1947 | 25 | --- | --- | --- |
| 1948 | 51 | --- | --- | --- |
| 1949 | 66 | --- | --- | --- |
| 1950 | 87 | --- | --- | --- |
| 1951 | 157 | --- | --- | --- |
| 1952 | 256 | --- | --- | --- |
| 1953 | 555 | --- | --- | --- |
| 1954 | 1 324 | --- | --- | --- |
| 1955 | 1 427 | --- | --- | --- |
| 1956 | 1 971 | 1 612 | --- | --- |
| 1957 | 4 748 | 4 158 | #7 673 | #68 |
| 1958 | 2 177 | 1 619 | --- | --- |
| 1959 | 4 354 | 3 961 | --- | --- |
| 1960 | 5 258 | 4 895 | 3 539 | 72 |
| 1961 | 2 976 | 2 635 | 1 117 | 42 |
| 1962 | 2 928 | 2 739 | 1 152 | 42 |
| 1963 | 4 000 | 3 429 | 2 062 | 60 |
| 1964 | 5 309 | 4 770 | 2 279 | 48 |
| 1965 | 5 734 | 5 197 | 2 781 | 54 |
| 1966 | 9 525 | 6 795 | 3 719 | 55 |
| 1967 | 9 500 | 6 615 | 3 897 | 59 |
| 1968 | 7 738 | 6 833 | 4 373 | 64 |
| 1969 | 7 182 | 6 502 | 4 684 | 72 |
| 1970 | 7 902 | 6 529 | 4 271 | 65 |
| 1971 | 9 157 | 6 983 | 4 641 | 67 |
| 1972 | 8 737 | 6 845 | 4 669 | 68 |
| 1973 | 13 483 | 7 403 | 4 204 | 57 |
| 1974 | 16 333 | 11 650 | 7 822 | 67 |
| 1975 | 8 547 | 5 857 | 3 255 | 56 |
| 1976 | 5 344 | 3 586 | 1 463 | 41 |
| 1977 | 3 579 | 2 280 | 752 | 33 |
| 1978 | 3 086 | 1 871 | 719 | 38 |
| 1979 | 3 723 | 2 805 | 1 145 | 41 |
| 1980 | 4 228 | 3 269 | 1 955 | 60 |
| 1981 | 3 290 | 2 250 | 877 | 40 |
| 1982 | 2 244 | 1 480 | 475 | 32 |
| 1983 | 1 350 | 823 | 290 | 35 |
| 1984 | 855 | 764 | 288 | 38 |
| 1985 | 910 | 791 | 311 | 39 |
| 1986 | 1 970 | 977 | 317 | 33 |
| 1987 | 5 977 | 3 400 | 917 | 27 |
| 1988 | 6 467 | 5 646 | 2 191 | 39 |
| 1989 | 8 189 | --- | 2 560 | --- |
| 1990 | 7 917 | --- | 2 118 | --- |
| 1991 | 5 963 | --- | 1 581 | --- |
| 1992 | 2 832 | --- | 482 | --- |
| 1993 | --- | --- | 196 | --- |
| Totals: | 192 757 | 136 968 | 84 775 | Average: 62 |

NOTE: There are discrepancies between data supplied by the Portuguese emigration services and the Canadian Department of Immigration. Different Canadian sources as well as Portuguese sources are not in agreement. Overall, Portuguese figures tend to be lower than Canadian.

cumulative data from 1956 to 1959

SOURCES: * Região Autónoma dos Açores, *Emigração*. Portugal: Serviço Regional de Estatística dos Açores.

** Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, *Ethnic Origin by Province of Destination*. Ottawa, 1956; Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, *Immigration, 1946 to 1992*.

*** Instituto de Apoio à Emigração e às Comunidades Portuguesas. *A Emigração Portuguesa Dados Estatísticos Reprospectivos 1966-1990*. Lisboa: Secretaria de Estado das Comunidades Portuguesas.

decrease in Portuguese immigration to Canada after 1974 is the revolution in Portugal and the hope for increased political stability and economic improvement. Another reason, is that many Portuguese, impatient with the difficulties of sponsorship in the late 1960s and early 1970s, came to Canada as visitors or tourists and applied for immigrant status only after their arrival. This "visitor phase" was possible because of established networks between Portugal and Canada. Initially visitors were legalized after arrival in Canada but this policy was abolished in late 1973. Thereafter, immigrants were required to apply for landed immigrant status in Portugal. The outcome of these stiffer regulations was a decline in Portuguese immigration, especially after 1974 (Table 1) (Bruneau, Da Rosa, and Macleod 1984).

Further emphasis by Canadian immigration authorities on the "point system" also added to the decline of Portuguese immigration to Canada. An applicant under this system had to acquire a minimum number of points to emigrate to Canada. These points were based on criteria such as age, education, employment and occupational demand for those skills, personal

qualifications and language ability. These criteria contributed to the difficulty of potential Portuguese immigrants, who have relatively low levels of education, being admitted to Canada (Bruneau, Da Rosa, and Macleod 1984).

The majority of Portuguese immigrants to Canada (84 775 or 62%), came from the Azores. Azores contributed more than 40 percent of all Portuguese migrants to Canada until 1981, with only two exceptions (1977 and 1978) (Table 1). Percentages were generally greater than 50 percent until 1975. The percentages were variable between 1976 and 1981, and less than 40 percent from 1982 to 1988. High percentages from the Azores may be attributed to the preference of mainland Portuguese for nearby European countries as their destination (Arroteia 1983). A possible reason for the drop in Azorean migrants to Canada after 1981 is the increased standard of living in the islands due to large subsidies from Mainland Portugal, and the uncertainties created during the North America recession in the early nineteen eighties (Anderson 1983). Also, the demand for contract labour from other European countries has declined for Mainland Portuguese, and

as result, there has been a relative increase in Mainlanders coming to Canada (Table 1).

The largest concentration of Portuguese in Canada is in Ontario (176 305) followed by Quebec (37 165), and British Columbia (16 865) (Census of Canada 1991, Single Ethnic Origin). Census data indicate that about 71 percent of Portuguese in Canada lived in Ontario in 1991 (Census of Canada 1991). Since 1956 Ontario has received a large percentage of Canada's Portuguese immigrants. On average, more than 50 percent of all Portuguese who migrated to Canada did so with the intention of settling in Ontario. This percentage increased continuously since then, reaching more than 80 percent between 1990 to 1992. This trend is likely due to family reunification and sponsorship by members of well established Portuguese communities in Toronto and other Ontario cities (Table 2).

TABLE 2

PORTUGUESE IMMIGRATION, BY ETHNIC ORIGIN
AND INTENDED DESTINATION TO ONTARIO 1956 - 1992

| YEAR | CANADA TOTAL | ONTARIO TOTAL | % TO ONTARIO |
|---------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|
| 1956-59 | 13 250 | 6 644 | 50.1 |
| 1960-69 | 60 150 | 38 078 | 63.3 |
| 1970-79 | 79 891 | 56 946 | 71.3 |
| 1980-89 | 35 480 | 26 463 | 74.6 |
| 1990-92 | 16 712 | 13 647 | 81.7 |
| TOTAL | 205 483 | 141 778 | 70.0 |

=====

Source: Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ethnic Origin by Province of Destination, Ottawa 1956; Canada. Department of Citizenship and Immigration; Immigration 1956 to 1992.

3.3 SETTLEMENT IN TORONTO

According to the 1991 Census about 70 percent or 123 260 of the Portuguese in Ontario live in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) (Census Canada 1991). The first Portuguese settlement in Toronto dates back to the early 1950s (Anderson and Higgs 1976). Historically, the Portuguese Government recognized Montreal as its official centre in

Canada, and established the Senior Portuguese Consulate and the major Portuguese Trade Mission there. Portuguese Canadians, however, consider Toronto as the centre of commercial and cultural activity.

As soon as the Portuguese could leave the railways and the farms where they had been contracted to work, they went to metropolitan areas where older housing was available at reasonable prices and better paying jobs could be found. Portuguese immigrants settled in the old immigrant reception area of Toronto, where many other immigrants had settled before them including Jews, Ukrainians, Poles, Hungarians, and Italians (Anderson 1974; Marques 1980). This area, known as Alexandra Park/Kensington Market, is bounded by College Street to the north, Queen Street to the south, Spadina Avenue to the east, and Bathurst Street to the west (Initial Area of Settlement in Figure 6) (Teixeira 1993).

With the redevelopment of Alexandra Park as a public housing development in the early 1960s, some Portuguese moved from this area to the adjacent area of Kensington Market. The new concentration for Portuguese in Toronto encompassed the

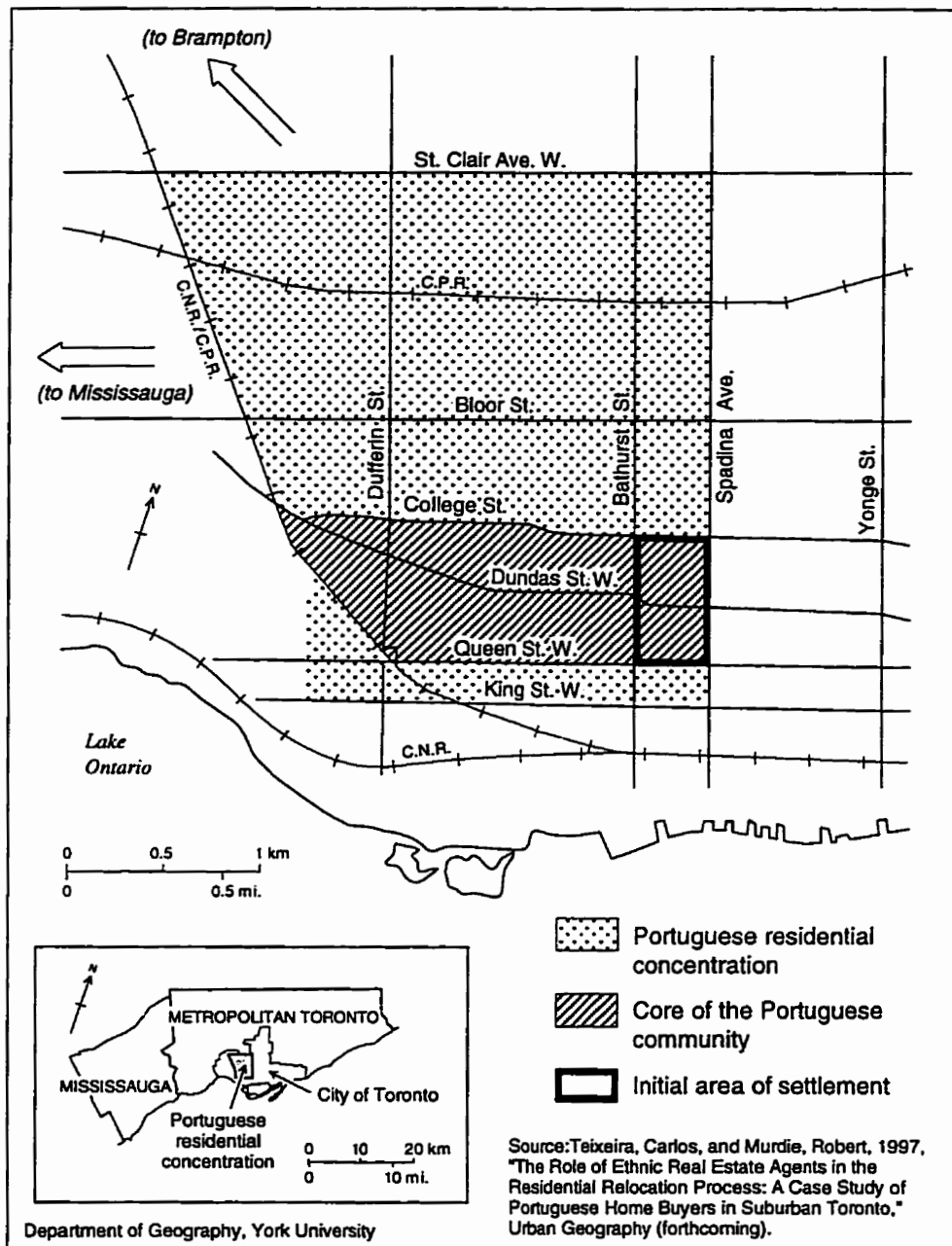


Figure 6: Portuguese in Toronto

area bounded by Spadina Avenue to the east, St. Clair Avenue to the north, CNR/CPR tracks to the west and King Street to the south. In this area, as well as Kensington Market, many Portuguese bought houses that were originally in disrepair and renovated them. There were a number of common characteristics to the renovations, such as colour (green or red, the colour of the Portuguese National flag), and/or vegetation (grape vine). However, the most distinctive characteristic was religious figures which were placed in front of many Portuguese houses. The interiors of these houses were often subdivided into two or three units and many of the earlier home owners rented parts of their houses to new arrivals in subsequent decades (Teixeira 1992).

As Portuguese immigrants attained more knowledge about Toronto and the surrounding areas, and a desire for better housing, many families moved north-west along the "immigrant corridor", replacing Italians, and later to suburban cities such as Mississauga and Brampton. Since the mid-1970s, many Portuguese families who have immigrated to Toronto have tended to by-pass the initial reception area and move directly to the

suburbs (Figure 6) (Teixeira 1992).

In spite of increased suburbanization, the Portuguese are one of the most highly segregated groups in Toronto. The Portuguese language is one of the most spoken non-official languages in Toronto (Census of Canada 1991). According to Bourne et al. (1986: 58-59), the Portuguese were the second most segregated ethnic group in the Toronto CMA in 1981, with a segregation index of 0.63. Although indexes for more recent census years are not available there is little evidence to suggest that the Portuguese have become any less segregated since the early 1980s. Three factors account for this high level of segregation: 1) the Portuguese are a fairly recent immigrant group in Toronto; 2) many feel more comfortable conversing in their own language and living in close proximity to one another; and 3) many wish to preserve and promote a distinct cultural heritage (informal conversations with members of the Portuguese Community).

Even though census statistics indicate that the Portuguese are increasingly resettling in suburban Toronto, the heart of the Portuguese community, with its social,

cultural, religious institutional and commercial establishments, remains in the Kensington Market and adjacent areas. It is distinguished from other parts of Toronto by names such as, "Rua Açores" and "Portugal Village" (along Dundas Street west, from Bathurst Street to Dufferin Street) that indicate Portuguese concentration (Figure 6).

In recent research on the Portuguese in Toronto two perspectives have been put forward concerning the settlement patterns of the Portuguese. One concerns the sense of attachment that some Portuguese feel towards the area of older settlement in the heart of the city, while the other focuses on migration by the Portuguese to the suburbs.

Pacheco (1994) attributes the stability of the Portuguese in the immigrant reception area to life experiences that are reflected in creation of "place" and attachment to "place". Once the Portuguese found stable jobs and became settled in Toronto, they bought houses in the Portuguese community, thereby gaining a sense of accomplishment and pride not attainable in Portugal. "Stability" was linked to home renovations which reflected a sense of comfort and

cleanliness. The "stability" in the community could be characterized by the creation of a "little Portugal", where there is familiarity with goods and services as there was "back-home". The community is a "place" where they have re-created their culture, a place they can identify with. Also, there is a feeling of cultural comfort, ease and stability in having Portuguese neighbours (Pacheco: 1994).

In contrast, Teixeira (1992) notes that the desire of the Portuguese towards owning property and renovating those properties has resulted in the residential mobility of the Portuguese within the city of Toronto, and more recently, a move to the suburbs (Mississauga and Brampton). This internal migration includes both first-/and second-generation Portuguese, who are in search of an "ideal" type of house, preferably a single detached family home in a quieter neighbourhood. The Portuguese movement is characterized by an improvement in economic status and better knowledge of their urban surroundings. These home owners also received a relatively high price for their houses in the city of Toronto and were therefore in a good financial position to purchase

newer and more expensive housing in the suburbs. A move to the suburbs would be a "dream" come true for many Portuguese families in Canada, generally, and in Toronto more specifically (Teixeira: 1992).

CHAPTER 4

CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVES AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Methodology refers to the way in which we approach problems and seek answers; essentially the term applies to how one conducts research. Qualitative methodology refers to research that produces descriptive data, people's own written or spoken words and observable behaviour. Qualitative methodology, as used in this study, is a way of approaching the empirical world.

In this chapter we first discuss life history and ethnography, two complementary qualitative methods used to capture the life experiences of the fifteen return migrants interviewed in this study. We then discuss a number of issues concerning research design, including the identification of the informants, the nature of the conversations and management of the interview data.

4.1 LIFE HISTORY

According to Eyles and Perri (1993:107), "*Life history is*

the account of [an individual] life, completed or ongoing." Studies of histories focus on the experiences and needs of individuals and are based on subjective interpretations held by individuals. In short, life history studies document the innermost experiences of individuals, including how they interpret, understand and define the world around them. The use of life history as a methodology in the social sciences facilitates the discovery of ambiguities, of contradictions and of the confusion that surrounds everyday life experiences (Plummer 1983).

Whereas, much research in the social sciences is concerned with fragments of life experiences, life history is concerned with the totality of an individual's life as seen within the broader framework in which he or she lives. As Bogdan comments (in a gender biased way):

The autobiography is unique in allowing us to view an individual in the context of his whole life, from birth to the point at which we encounter him. Because of this it can lead us to a fuller understanding of the stages and critical periods in the process of his development. It enables us to look at the subjects as if they have a past with successes as well as failures, and a future with hopes and fears. It also allows us to see an individual in relation to the history of his time, and how he is influenced by the various religious, social,

psychological and economic factors currently present in his world. It permits us to view the intersection of the life history of men with the history of their society, thereby enabling us to understand better the choices, contingencies and options open to the individual (Bogdan 1975).

Life history studies are a useful way of exploring the kinds of issues and problems involved in research about which little is known. The exploratory nature of this approach helps establish a theoretical understanding of the lives of the individuals who are being studied. Questionnaires in life history studies range from those that are rigidly structured around pre-selected issues to those that allow individuals to speak freely and over a long period of time, thereby allowing them to display the diversity and flux of their lives (Plummer 1983).

The life histories of persons who have undergone virtually identical experiences often differ greatly. It is only when several people are interviewed that the researcher is able to gain the enriched perspective and context needed to better understand not only each individual case, but also, the culture as a whole. Moreover, when a series of interviews are

corroborated by analyzing and comparing the stories of all participants the researcher ensures against falsification (Eyles and Perri 1993; Plummer 1983). Thus, Eyles and Perri (1993), in their study of the Italian-Canadian family, interviewed several members of the same family. Similarly, this study is based on fifteen Portuguese immigrants who returned from Canada to the Azores.

Eyles and Perri (1993), based on Plummer (1983), suggest that interpretive perspectives in life history analysis are understood by constructing a continuum which locates the two major "interpreters" in any life history: the subject under study and the researcher. Both interpreters have their own set of beliefs and thus the analysis could be contaminated by the researcher's assumptions, theories, and concepts as well as by the subject's "world taken-for-granted views" (Plummer 1983). Such a continuum may be used to estimate the degree of 'contamination' (Figure 7).

FIGURE 7

A CONTINUUM OF 'CONTAMINATION'

| I | II | III | IV | V |
|---------------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|------------------|
| THE SUBJECT'S | | | | THE RESEARCHER'S |
| 'PURE ACCOUNT'----- | | | | 'PURE ACCOUNT' |
| (raw) | | | | |
| e.g. original | Edited | Systematic | Verification | e.g. Social |
| diaries, unsolicited | Personal | Thematic | by anecdote | Science |
| letters, auto- | Documents | Analysis | (examplng) | Theories |
| biographies, self-written | | | | |
| books, sociologist's own | | | | |
| experience | | | | |

(Plummer 1983: 113)

The extreme right of the continuum in Figure 7 is a point where the researcher constructs his or her account, independent of the subject. This is an extreme situation, and is not advised in carrying out life history analysis. Moving left along the continuum (IV) the researcher may impose his or her own procedure upon the gathered data. At this point, the subject is not encouraged to talk freely, but sample accounts related by the subject are used to support the researcher's interpretation. Systematic thematic analysis (III), is the point at which the subject is more or less encouraged to speak, thereby allowing the researcher to accumulate a series of themes. These themes are derived from both the subject's story and the researcher's theory. Moving further left along

the continuum (II), we encounter the life history "document"⁴, narrated by the subject but edited by the researcher, for mediation is usually necessary in order to delete the repetition and stammering that are typically found in verbal accounts. The final stage at the far left of the continuum (I), is 'raw data' of the subject's own accounts, unaltered by the analysis of the researcher (Plummer 1983).

In life history studies (as compared to the life history "document"), the researcher may move freely through any stage in the continuum as long as he or she acknowledges the level of "contamination" of the data. There are two ways of assisting the reader in interpreting the level of "contamination". The most complete and unambiguous is to include the subject's raw data in an appendix, while the other is to always acknowledge the degree of interpretation that has occurred (Eyles and Perri 1993; Plummer 1983).

The present study, like Eyles and Perri's study of an Italian-Canadian family in Canada, is most appropriately

⁴ "Document" refers to an individual's written first-person account of the whole or parts of his/her life or his/her reflections on a specific event or topic. They may include diaries, letters, pictures, records, calendars, and memorabilia.

located at the middle of the continuum (Stage III - "systematic thematic analysis") (Eyles and Perri 1993). There are two major reasons. First, the informants were allowed to speak freely about their experiences as Portuguese-Canadian immigrants. Second, themes were derived from the conversations with the informants in order to achieve an understanding of their life experiences as Portuguese-Canadian immigrants who returned to Portugal. These themes fall into three time periods: 1) before emigration; 2) life in Canada (during immigration); and 3) life in Portugal after return. The informants' 'voices' are heard respectively in each time period.

4.2 METHODOLOGY: ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

An ethnographic methodology was employed to direct the research and analysis in this study. Compared to more quantitative research strategies, ethnography allows for deeper insights and richer detail. The principal aim in ethnography is to describe a group or culture (Agar 1983; Spradley 1979). Ethnographers attempt to describe and

understand cultures from the insider's or informant's perspective, thus reflecting the group's perception of reality (Agar 1983). Ethnography is iterative and flexible in that the researcher builds on ideas as the study progresses, allowing the researcher to change her/his approach and course throughout the research (Agar 1983; Fetterman 1989). Ethnography is reflexive in nature, recognizing that the researcher and research are part of the world that is being studied (Spradley 1979). Instead of entering an interview with a specific list of questions or protocol, the ethnographer often prefers to use non-directive questions to stimulate conversations on specific topics (Spradley 1979). The use of a tape-recorder is an effective method of data recording, because it provides a detailed and accurate account of the unstructured interview (Agar 1983; Spradley 1979). Ethnography is particularly well suited to this research because it explores a range of perceptions, feelings and ways of thinking about life as a Portuguese-Canadian migrant.

4.3 INFORMANT SELECTION: TORONTO

Attempts to find potential informants were begun in Toronto in October 1993. The Portuguese Consulate, Portuguese churches, and Portuguese freight and airline companies were all potential sources of statistics about returnees to Portugal. The Portuguese Consulate in Toronto had no systematic records of return migrants to Portugal. It stated that many of the returnees possess both Canadian and Portuguese citizenship. As a result they could enter or exit Portugal and Canada without requiring visas. The records that are kept on possible returnees are the taxes that Portuguese people pay on merchandise that they ship to Portugal. Even then many prefer to pay the taxes upon arrival in Portugal, rather than in Canada. However, the Consulate pointed out that many who export merchandise to Portugal do not remain there permanently. Many stay for short periods of time and then return to Canada. The Consulate explained that for the reasons listed above it is very difficult to keep records of Portuguese returnees.

St. Anthony's, St. Peter's, St. Agnes, and St. Mary's are

Portuguese parishes situated in the Portuguese community of Toronto. The churches stated that no records are kept on Portuguese people who leave the parish and return to Portugal, because those who leave do not necessarily notify the church. As a result, when parishioner records are updated every three to five years, those records that are mailed out and not returned are assumed to belong to parishioners who have moved to another parish in the Toronto area.

The President of Sata Express indicated that on average 7 000 airplane tickets are sold each year to Portugal. Of these, approximately 10 percent are one-way tickets. However, it is suspected that many of these one-way passengers buy return passage to Canada with money they have in Portugal.

Nova Freight and Alto Shipping stated that they ship up to 400 containers to Portugal each year. The majority of these go to Central Portugal, between Lisbon and Caldas da Rainha, while a small percentage goes to the Azores. This small percentage is attributed to the higher prices for shipping to the Azores. However, it is believed at least 30 percent of the migrants shipping goods to Portugal remain

there permanently. As a matter of policy, these shipping companies do not release information regarding the whereabouts of returnees.

Discouraged by the lack of information from these Portuguese institutions and businesses on the confirmation of immigrants who had returned to Portugal, I decided to ask friends and family members who regularly vacation in Portugal. Using this source I obtained the names of sixty potential informants who had returned. This information confirmed that a study of return migrants would be possible.

4.4 INFORMANT SELECTION: PORTUGAL

Upon arrival in the Azores, I tried to find the sixty potential informants on my list. It was difficult, however, to contact these informants. Of those that I was able to contact many did not want to be part of the study. Only five of the sixty returnees on the list agreed to be informants primarily because they wanted to reveal some of the pain they encountered in their migration experience.

Not feeling totally discouraged, I assumed that in the

worst circumstances I could use some of these five informants to direct me to other returnees whom they might know. However, this was not the case. When asked if they could direct me to another returnee, they said that they did not know anyone. The use of reputational sampling (snowball technique) was not effective in this study. This may be because the returnees lead busy lives and did not want to get involved in other people's lives.

Another nine informants were contacted in part with the help of family members living in Portugal. These family members introduced the returnees to me and assured them that I was a "good fellow". The final informant was someone who conversed with me spontaneously in a restaurant. It just happened that we were having lunch in the same restaurant, sitting side by side, and struck up a conversation. In total, fifteen informants were used in the study. Pseudonyms have been used in order to protect the identity of the informants.

There are 12 male and 4 female informants in the study. Mr. and Mrs. Pereira both conversed with me at the same time and, as a result, there is only one transcript for this

couple. Details concerning the sex, age, year of emigration to Canada, year returned to Portugal, type of emigration and citizenship are given in Table 3.

TABLE 3
DETAILS ON INFORMANTS LIFE HISTORY

| MIGRANT | SEX | AGE | YEAR EMIGRATED | YEAR RETURNED | TYPE OF EMIGRATION | CANADIAN |
|---------------|-----|-----|----------------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|
| | | | TO CANADA | TO PORTUGAL | | CITIZEN |
| Mr. Travasso | M | 36 | 1974 | 1985 | Sponsored | No |
| Mr. Teodore | M | 68 | 1954 | 1991 | Contract | Yes |
| Mrs. Moniz | F | 43 | 1958 | 1974 | Sponsored | Yes |
| Mr. Teixeira | M | 60s | 1957 | 1982 | Contract | Yes |
| Mr. Costa | M | 60s | 1954 | 1969 | Contract | No |
| Mr. Furtado | M | 30s | 1974 | 1982 | Visit/Sponsored | Yes |
| Mr. Rebelo | M | 30s | 1972 | 1987 | Visit | Yes |
| Mrs. Sousa | F | 30s | 1970 | 1985 | Visit | Yes |
| Mr. Simas | M | 60 | 1959 | 1971 | Sponsored | Yes |
| Mr. Domingos | M | 60s | 1956 | 1984 | Contract | Yes |
| Mr. Silva | M | 67 | 1954 | 1993 | Contract | Yes |
| Mr. Pereira | M | 40s | 1975 | 1983 | Sponsored | Yes |
| Mrs. Pereira | F | 40 | 1972 | 1981 | Sponsored | Yes |
| Mr. Vargas | M | 30s | 1974 | 1985 | Sponsored | Yes |
| Mrs. Medeiros | F | 45 | 1965 | 1985 | Sponsored | Yes |
| Mr. Pavão | M | 30s | 1963 | 1981 | --- | Yes |

The majority of the informants fall into two age categories. Six informants were in their thirties and six

were in their sixties. The remaining informants were in their forties. Not unexpectedly, given their age distribution, the informants immigrated to Canada during two main periods: the 1950s and the 1970s. The remaining two informants emigrated in the 1960s.

Eleven informants returned to the Azores in the 1980s. The average time spent in Canada was 18 years, however Mr. Silva spent 39 years, representing the longest stay, and Mr. Pereira spent 8 years, representing the shortest stay in Canada. Seven informants were sponsored by family members, five came under contract, and three came first as visitors and later applied for landed immigrant status. All but two of the informants are Canadian citizens.

Another ten returnees, not included on the original list of sixty, were also going to be potential informants. However, these returnees did not show up for their appointments. After the second or third missed appointments, I assumed that they were too busy or did not want to be part of the study.

All of the informants lived at one time or another in the

Greater Toronto Area and returned to São Miguel, where they had emigrated from. The informants returned to the São Miguel districts of Ponta Delgada and Ribeira Grande. Six informants live in Santa Barbara, a small village in the district of Ribeira Grande. Another four informants came from the district of Ponta Delgada. The remaining informants were from the City of Ribeira Grande (three) and Rabo De Peixe (two), also in the district of Ribeira Grande (Figure 8).

The relatively large number of Santa Barbara residents in the study was due to my residency there for two and a half months in the summer of 1994. I believe that these informants were able to validate my background with neighbours and old friends of the family who live in Santa Barbara.

A total of five weeks elapsed before I had my first conversation with a returnee. Some asked if I was working for the Canadian government. I assured them that this was not the case, but I still felt that some were reluctant to speak freely. The question of trust was important for these respondents.

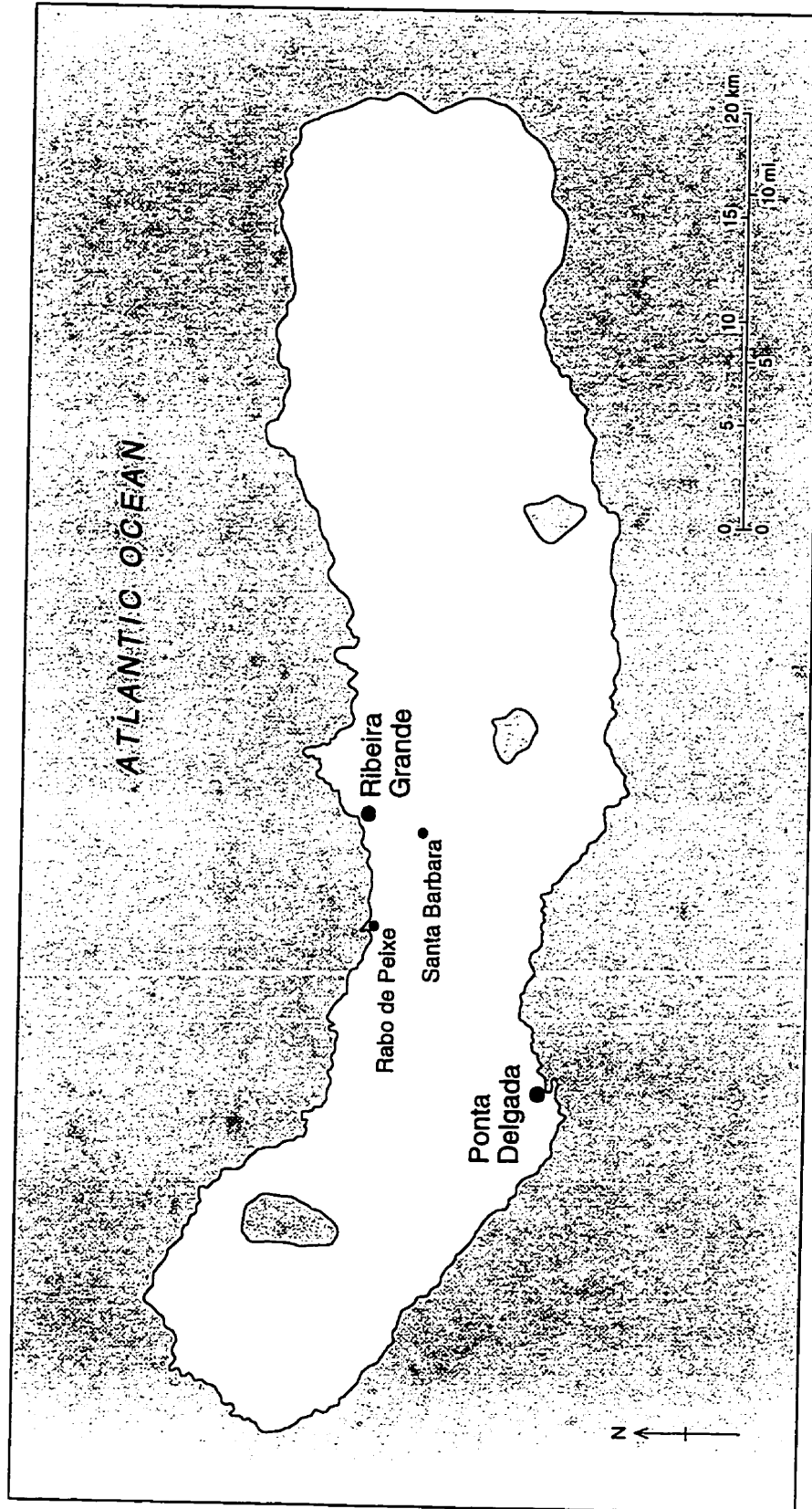


Figure 8: The Island of São Miguel, Azores

4.5 NATURE OF THE CONVERSATIONS

The conversations were conducted in Portuguese and recorded on an audio recorder. The place and time of the conversations varied from informant to informant. These returnees have busy lives in Portugal, and as a result the conversations usually took place at their place of work. This made the conversations stressful and rushed. Specific work places included a restaurant, two offices, two mini-markets, a bar, a community/day care centre, and a country kitchen. Other conversations took place at the informants' houses: a patio, a kitchen, a hall and two living rooms.

The first conversation was conducted on June 24, 1994, and the last conversation was held on August 9, 1994. The conversations were initiated with the assurance that the respondent's privacy would be upheld. It was also necessary to assure them that the study was for a university, and not a government agency.

I asked each informant to "teach" me about their experiences as a Portuguese immigrant who had emigrated to Canada and then returned to Portugal. I tried to intrude as

little as possible, and only did so when there was a long pause. The extent of my involvement in the conversation varied from informant to informant. Due to the iterative nature of ethnography, I asked the informants if it would be possible to see them again, in order to corroborate any issue that might arise in other conversations. They all replied that they had said all they had to say. I was also refused the opportunity to see other members of the families that had returned. There were a few instances where the informants were offended that I asked a particular question, thinking that I wanted to confirm what they had said. They replied, "What I said was the truth." Also, due to the short period of time spent in São Miguel it would have been impossible to see any informant for a second time, even if they had allowed it.

As a result, the study might have suffered from the lack of opportunity to reconfirm information. Once I transcribed and translated the tapes⁵, there were some data that required further interpretation from the informants, but unfortunately this was not possible. In part, the ambiguity in the

⁵ My father helped translate some of the 'old' Portuguese expressions.

transcripts was a product of the time that had elapsed between the conversations and the translations. Issues that seemed to make sense at the time of the conversation lost meaning when transcribed.

The conversations were translated verbatim into English and transcribed (Appendix A). The language used by some of the informants complicated this process. Many of the informants used words that were neither Portuguese nor English. These were possibly picked up during their immigrant experience. Many of the informants also used local expressions that are not recorded in Portuguese dictionaries. This added to the difficult task of translation.

4.6 DATA MANAGEMENT: READING THE TRANSCRIPTS

The first step in the process of analysis was to carefully read the transcripts in order to gain a thorough familiarity with the individual experiences of the informants. I was searching to see whether any interesting patterns could be identified or whether any issue stood out as surprising or puzzling.

4.6.1 DATA MANAGEMENT: IDENTIFYING TOPICS

For each informant, I listed and identified topics that arose from the informant's experience as a migrant who returned from Canada to Portugal. These topics were recorded in sequential order, as they occurred in the conversations. For some informants topics were listed more than once because they occurred at different times in the conversation. Approximately 500 topics were identified (Figure 9). The number of topics identified by the fifteen informants ranged from 20 to 52. Ten informants identified more than thirty topics. Each topic was coded, thus allowing precise identification of these topics on the transcripts (Figure 9).

4.6.2 DATA MANAGEMENT: GROUPING TOPICS

After identifying individual topics it was noticed that several topics were closely related. Consequently the number of topics was decreased by combining topics with similar meanings. For example, "work on the railroad" and "factory

THEME FORMATION

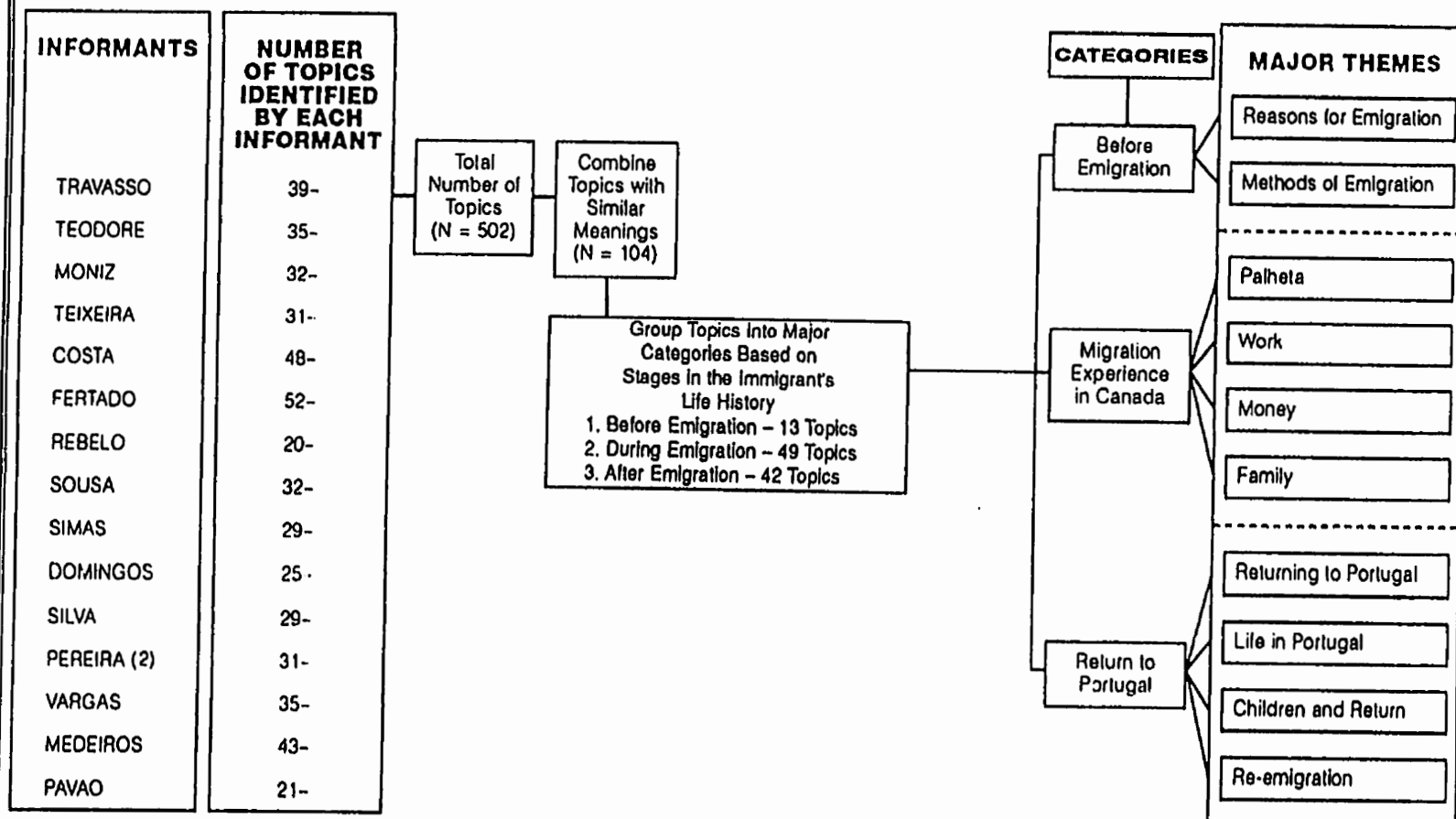


FIGURE 9

work" were combined to create the major topic "work". As a result, the initial set of 502 topics was reduced to a set of 104 nonoverlapping topics (Figure 9). To achieve a coherent understanding of the informants' life history, it was necessary to gather similar topics into major categories based on a chronological organization: 1) before emigration (13 topics); 2) migration experience in Canada (49 topics); and 3) return to Portugal (42 topics) (Appendix B). For example, under the major category "migration experience in Canada", topics that described life in Canada were identified (arrival, work, savings). Following the identification of the three major categories a cut and paste technique was used to assign topics from each transcript to the designated major category or stage in the immigrant's life history. Topics with similar meanings were further collapsed into ten major themes in order to aid the analysis (final column in Figure 9).

This was done by looking for "deeper" meanings, and underlying similarities of the 104 topics. A few topics were idiosyncratic and as a result were not used in the analysis. All of the informants did not address all themes. But, in

general, these themes were the most important in the life experiences of the Portuguese people who emigrated to Canada and returned to Portugal.

CHAPTER 5

LIFE HISTORY OF THE FIFTEEN PORTUGUESE - CANADIANS

This chapter will discuss the stages in the life history for the fifteen informants: 1) life before emigrating; 2) the immigrant experience in Canada; and 3) returning to Portugal. In each case the discussion will focus on the major themes identified in Figure 9.

5.1 BEFORE EMIGRATION

In my conversations with the informants concerning their life before emigrating to Canada, two major themes emerged: 1) reasons for emigrating, and 2) methods of emigration.

5.1.1 REASONS FOR EMIGRATION

There are numerous reasons why the respondents interviewed for this study emigrated to Canada. These reasons are best analyzed using "push and pull" factors in the context of the "migration system" discussed in Chapter 2. An interesting aspect of this migration process is that more than

one issue was involved in the migrants' decision to emigrate. The major "push" factor, however, concerned the arduous way of life and the limited future for many in São Miguel.

In general, São Miguel was characterized by the informants as a tiresome and miserable place from where, given the chance, they would escape almost anywhere. Before the revolution in 1974 there was little chance for those who were poor to improve their life chances. Wages were very low, living conditions were difficult, and poverty among the labouring class was widespread and extreme. Portugal was not able to furnish sufficient economic opportunities for its relatively dense population and, as a result, many Portuguese emigrated to other countries (Davies 1949).

Mr. Costa, who emigrated to Canada in 1954, describes São Miguel as, *"something weak, it was weak... you couldn't live, you couldn't marry If you want to get married, how is that! [lowers his voice] to get married you have to have a little house, where is the money, you don't have it! We never improve with what you earn here, you never improve, it is good for nothing."* Mrs. Pereira, who emigrated in 1972, similarly

recounts her impoverished childhood, "It was worse, who would see an apple... there were, the apples that grew in the trees in our country, we even called them 'peros', when we had them from our homes. And eating, we ate a lot of little bread with half a 'chixarro' [mackerel]. It was tight, that was suffering [stressing]. In the old days it was horrible, we could say that it was miserable. When it rained you didn't earn, it is tiresome... you ate what you had inside your door [what you cultivated]." And Mr. Silva, who emigrated in 1954, describes his life in the old days, " as a very difficult time. I was also a person [stressing]. I worked in the hot houses in Ponta Delgada [pineapples]. That was a life of dirt and working hard, and we knew that from there we would never leave. You weren't able to make a life!"

Some were fortunate to have their parents' help to get a head-start in life; however, these migrants saw their lives as insufficient and dependent on their parents. Mr. Travassos who emigrated in 1974, claims his life, "over here before was as a farmer [cattle] under my father... I didn't have any life." Mrs. Sousa who emigrated in 1970, claims that she

experienced pressures from both her parents and her in-laws, "They wanted to give us everything... they were spoiling us instead of helping us to learn how life is...", she says. On the other hand there were those that did not have this kind of support, such as Mr. Teixeira who described himself as the, "son of poor people, isn't it... my father didn't leave anything, poor soul didn't have anything [crying]... if it wasn't [for emigration] I would be carrying 'quieros' [small wild trees from public forests used for fuel to bake bread]."

Other "push" factors included the need to move from the isolation of a small island and travel to other countries, overwhelming debts, and family pressures to join relatives abroad who had already emigrated and were reaping financial rewards. These factors were idiosyncratic, they were mentioned by one or two informants and as a result will not be considered further.

The situation was so unbearable in São Miguel that those who were not fortunate enough to emigrate to the original, historical destinations of Brazil (1820-1930: 1 288 000

Portuguese emigrants), the United States (1820-1930: 252 715 Portuguese emigrants), or Argentina (1857-1926: 43 000 Portuguese emigrants), would try to move to other islands in the Azores (Santa Maria, Terceira, Faial) where they would work in construction (Davies 1949). Mr. Costa indicated that if the emigrants had not embarked to Canada, they would have gone to one of the Portuguese Colonies in Africa. Mr. Costa goes on to say that *"Africa is a good land... Africa is a good land, for those who want to work [pause]. It is a rich land like Canada... but it is necessary that we work..."* From 1945 to 1957, there was an exodus of nearly 120 000 Portuguese to the overseas Provinces, mostly to Angola and Mozambique. It is not known how many of these migrants were actually from São Miguel or the Azores (Bouscaren 1963). Portuguese migrants to the colony of Angola were given land, tools, seeds and animals, but due to various environmental and social factors the program failed. In particular, the migrants did not want to work, but rather wanted to act as rich landlords with natives as their servants. If this program had been successful, perhaps emigration to Canada would have been

diverted to the Portuguese colonies.

When the "emigration period" to Canada began in the early 1950s, links had not been established with Portuguese migrants who had come to Canada earlier, from Eastern United States or who were left ashore from fishing fleets in the Maritimes. The "Pioneers", from the "emigration period", were responsible for linking the two countries together. These "pioneers" were men of "peso" (hard-workers) and of honour, who helped open the doors for future emigration. These migrants offered valuable information about the "pull" factors that led them to Canada.

Mr. Domingos, an informant who emigrated to Canada in the 1950s, recalls, *"We didn't speak of Canada, because there had already been one emigration, in '54, one thousand and something people went there. But they went there and that was it. At the time there wasn't that contact, it wasn't easy for them to give information about the country, because they were lost [spread out] here and there. You didn't know what kind of country it was, Canada was still an unknown country. After my emigration, then at the end of two or three years, then as*

Azoreans were sending money here [São Miguel], some bought land... then people started talking about --- hey man, then that is a good country, they [emigrants] earn so much money. That guy went there one and half years ago, two years ago he didn't have anything, now he already has a house [stressing], Canada then has fame...". Mr. Domingos goes on to say that the reason why he chose Canada as his new home was that he worked during World War II in Santa Maria and in Terceira constructing the airforce bases for the Americans. Explains Mr. Domingos, "Canada is close to America, and I thought I was going to make the same life that the Americans made in Terceira." Without knowing, Mr. Domingos and others who had worked with the Americans were responsible for conveying images of favourable lifestyles of North Americans to the Portuguese. This is also true for those who had emigrated generations before to the United States, and kept links with family members in São Miguel (Almeida 1992).

Others, such as Mr. Silva, were just as happy to take a gamble, and emigrate to a Canada they did not know from other migrants' accounts and anecdotes. He says, "I didn't know

about Canada, I gambled. I said --- 'hey man, you have to see it, you have to try it.' I went there, it wasn't very, very easy at first, but things got organized."

Once links were established between Canada and Portugal, people were more attracted to the idea of emigrating to Canada. A flow of information about the new country was now available to the Portuguese. Perhaps the greatest influence in making Canada an appealing destination was the remittances being sent back home by the 'pioneers' or earlier migrants. Once the Portuguese saw the difference that the Canadian dollar could make they also wanted to emigrate.

These remittances indicate the existence of social networks between Canada and Portugal. The money that people sent home had an economic impact on Portugal, enabling family members to buy consumer goods, pay off debts, save or invest. Remittances also encouraged the use of migration as a household strategy, leading to chain migration and, consequently, uprooting entire families (Segal 1987). Mr. Simas, a São Miguel store owner, said, *"The emigrants did a lot here, for example, a few years ago when you saw a new*

house, a house... 'O la', we use to say --- 'this is of the emigrant, certainly!'" He continues, "This is owed a lot to the migrants' money, because there are many things done by the migrants [in São Miguel, i.e. church repairs, musical instruments for schools]." Mr. Furtado, a truck driver in São Miguel and former migrant to Canada, declares that in all the years his younger brother remained in Portugal, "Every year I sent him money." Mr. Teixeira, a retired migrant, claims, "I remembered her [his mother] when I was there. I sent her letters [money]... this was all earned in Canada [referring to his beautiful house]. My life was made there." Another informant, Mr. Travassos, acknowledges that, "It was only the money. They only thought about going to Canada because of the money." Mr. Costa asserts that this was his aim and motivation, "Canada opened and in Canada it was better dollars. I didn't go searching for heaven, I only thought about the money, and I was going to make a little life [save money] with the money I earned there." Certainly, the money sent back important messages to São Miguel about comparative opportunities and standards of living, thereby stimulating

future migration flows.

The presence of family members and friends in Canada was another prominent 'pull' factor. The networks that linked Canada and Portugal encouraged additional migration. The emigrants also provided money to finance moves, food, shelter, job information, contacts, information on health care and social services (Boyd 1989). Networks of contact were established early in the "emigration period", when the migrants were few and spread out. Mr. Domingos, a retired miner, states that he went to Montreal after leaving the farm where he worked under contract because at the time [1956] it was *"the city that people spoke a lot about, and Toronto. I sat down on a bench inside the terminal [bus], then a guy passed, he looked like he was Portuguese and I directed myself to him. I spoke Portuguese to him, in reality he was Portuguese from Agua do Pau, called Jose Maria... had gone there in '54, two years before me. He was there [bus terminal] waiting for people that ran away from the farms to go work on the railroad."* Another recalls, *"I, in '56, got a letter from a brother-in-law that is in Kitimat -- 'Hey dude,*

leave that alone, come here, this over here... eh, this over here you always earn more' -- he was in the farms, he left that, he went there and got work in this factory, and I left the railroad and went to this factory."

Not only did these networks help migrants find work, but they also helped people get established by finding them places of residence. Mrs. Sousa, a caterer in São Miguel, claims, *"I knew somebody here who was a friend of my father-in-law... and we spent the first week there, they were very good to us and then we went to a flat."* Mrs. Medeiros, a restaurant owner in São Miguel, recalls her arrival in Toronto, *"We didn't know anyone. I had the address of an aunt of mine and so I said -- 'let's call a taxi and we will go to my aunt's house, that she is, she is going to help us, she will at least know where is a room for us to go'... and she said -- 'okay, tomorrow during the day we are going to look for a room for you.'"*

The uprooting of entire families is also a result of the social networks established by the Portuguese migrants. Mrs. Medeiros claims, *"Yes, I left, I have two brothers and one sister, I have nieces, my husband has his whole family there."*

He has six boys and three girls, it is also a large family, they are all living in Canada, 'thanx' to me [with emphasis]... because I was the first and I initiated all of this. That is to say I didn't do it for everyone, I started with the first few and they in turn sponsored the others." Mr. Vargas, a carpenter in Canada, claims that his wife no longer has family in Portugal because they all have emigrated and he only has a few relatives remaining. Mr. Pavão, an hotel owner in São Miguel, asserts, "The families, we have all my family, the family I have here is an aunt... uh, all the family is emigrant."

Idiosyncratic "pull" factors included a better future, work, and Canada as a good nation with good living conditions. Since these factors were mentioned by only one or two informants they will not be considered further.

5.1.2 METHODS OF EMIGRATION

The informants migrated to Canada using three methods: "emigration period" (contract work), sponsorship (family reunification), and tourism, later applying for landed

immigrant status. The "emigration period" began in 1953 when a group of eighteen men from São Miguel came to Canada on an experimental basis. They were followed in May of the same year by another group. The contracts between the Canadian and Portuguese governments were in effect between 1953 and 1957, when a total of 10 025 men came to work in agriculture and on the railroads. At first, it was mostly unmarried young males, but later, married men were accepted even though they had to emigrate alone at first. The majority were from the lower class and had to borrow money to pay the twelve contos (\$120.00) for their fares. In addition, they had to bring at least one hundred dollars to meet any expenses upon arrival in Canada. For many, the most important thing upon arrival in Canada was to pay off their debts. The Portuguese authorities did not allow usage of the Canadian governments' 'Assistance Passage Program', which would have paid for the fares of the emigrants. This Program called for repayment by means of pay check deductions from earnings in Canada. The Portuguese government refused the Program because they wanted the incoming flow of remittances which were considered to be a

major source of income. The remittances were not required by the Portuguese government, but since many immigrants left family behind and debts they had no choice but to send remittances. The transfer of remittances by Portuguese living abroad represents a significant financial contribution to the equilibrium of Portugal's balance of payments (Almeida 1992).

All the men who emigrated during the "emigration period" had to go through an inspection, both by Portuguese and Canadian officials. Mr. Teodore, who came to work on the railroads, recalls how he learned about Canada, "In '54 through the government made a contract with Canada. The government was in charge of everything, we only paid [passage], and went to get the passport with everything ready. However not everyone could go, they had to get inspected. The Canadian doctors came here. Three Canadian doctors came to do the inspection to the men... Oh yes, we were all naked, it was a rigorous inspection! We already had gone to the ministry of health over here. The ministry of health had already inspected everyone, then they were advised that in such a day,

in such a hospital, that they should go to the inspection. Ohh [stresses] what a crowd of, of people there. But it was fast and one could not go if they didn't pass 'terceira class' [grade four]. But a lot of people, a lot of men didn't pass [inspection]!" Mr. Silva provides a more descriptive picture of the inspection, "I went to Canada and to go to Canada since I was a shopkeeper, understand? -- I had to wash my wife's aluminum pots to make my hands black, because at that time, the only people they allowed in were the labourers. The farm workers were the ones that got in. Shopkeepers weren't allowed in, nor was anyone else who had any skills. It was exclusively the farm workers, and I would scrub the pots, and I had to change my address from Rabo de Peixe [Fish's Ass] to Pico da Pedra [Stone Point], for me to be able to go. For people of my village not to see I was going to Canada. At the time I went to my inspection, we were all stripped butt-naked, and [sounding angry in the re-living of the experience] they even stuck a finger up our asses to see if we had 'eemoroids' (haemorrhoids), and the women were all completely undressed from top to bottom. They only kept their underwear on, and

they... they... squeezed all the women everywhere! In all places they squeezed and felt the women, even the breasts were squeezed, to discover if they had cancer. It was a rigorous inspection that the doctors from Canada came here to do. That there wasn't any woman that went with varicose veins, any scar, they couldn't embark, and it was extremely difficult for us to pass in here... in this... in this inspection."

Mr. Domingos reveals that being able to get through the inspection was not the only difficulty, "It was difficult for people to lend you money to go there [Canada]. There were guys here that almost stayed behind because there weren't anyone that would lend them twelve contos. It wasn't to lend them, they needed someone who would be collateral for them, because Canada was not known at the time." If you were lucky to have the money lent to you, paying back was another story, Mr. Teodore states, "I know a husband of a cousin of mine, he withdrew the money from a bank for the ticket, twelve contos. He went to earn fifty dollars per month. He poor guy, the fifty dollars that he earned he used to send to his father to liquidate the debt of the ticket, right? And October arrives

and he is fired from the farm. He without money, without a place to go, he returned to the farm, the same farm for six months for nothing. Then in April they called him to the railroad, for him to be able to finish paying the ticket."

The difficulties of emigration under contract did not stop there. Mr. Silva best depicts the arrival of the emigrants from the "emigration period", "All the emigrants that went there, all of them when they got there, already the bosses -- not even -- the majority of them -- went to get us at immigration. We, in the immigration were following each other blindly around, and they would even say we were going to a county of Negroes... we were forced to take \$100.00 in our pockets and a blanket. And when we got there, when we started to see those people without understanding them, those of us that brought the \$100.00, tied them in our underwear, fearing that they would steal our money... and the greater part of them, to the farms that we went to... and when we got there, they wanted to skin us into working 24 hours a day, and they would pay \$30.00 a month to us." By 1957-58, the usefulness of the contract program was questioned, and it was cancelled.

These pioneer emigrants however, formed the basis for future Portuguese emigration to Canada.

The second phase of Portuguese emigration was largely a result of sponsorship (sponsored immigrants consist of immediate family). Since many Portuguese lacked education and working skills, it was difficult for them to qualify as independent immigrants under the points system (1967). As a result, those that were already in Canada ensured that relatives who would not qualify as independent immigrants were sponsored by them.

Mrs. Pereira indicates that she did not work in Portugal and that, *"In '72 I went until '74 there were plenty of jobs, and one of my sisters sponsored me and I went."* Mr. Travassos claims that, *"I got married to my wife... eh, by City Hall over here. Afterwards she returned and sponsored me."* Mrs. Medeiros depicts the process of sponsorship, *"We were there, since we had jobs, we had a half decent job, we earned well and immigration insisted that people had jobs and houses, and I don't know what else, and because we already had these things, it was easier and this was the time we would sponsor*

and they would come and would like it and they all stayed there."

Relaxed Canadian immigration laws between 1967 and 1972 permitted visitors to apply for landed immigrant status. Some Portuguese took advantage of this change in immigration policy and came to Canada as tourists. Mrs. Sousa states, "We had nobody in Canada that could apply for us to go as immigrants [sponsor], the only other alternative that we had was to go there visiting. This was 1970... when we could do these things." However, Mr. Pereira wasn't as lucky, "I went as a visitor and then I returned. My first time was only a day [with a sad voice]. The immigration wasn't very good there at the time [wife], at the time it was bad. At the time many visitors went there, and they were cutting down a lot, do you know [wife]."

The growth of the Portuguese community in Canada has been largely a product of sponsorship, and to some degree, "tourists". Between 1960 and 1993, a total of 77 102 Portuguese (Azoreans) emigrated to Canada (see Table 1). Interestingly the immigrants from the earlier "emigration

period" view themselves as different from this larger group. As noted by Mr. Silva, "The emigration that went in '54, '53, and '57 and '56 or '56 and '57 these were men and made a great life [hard-working, respectful]... after, from sponsorship and visits was that they dirtied the Portuguese blood [ethnic group]... drunks, thieves, everything that was no good went there to dirty the others [migrants from the "emigration period" who worked extremely hard feel that they lost respect in the Canadian society] that had already open the road for them to go and dirty it... they didn't know how to appreciated [the hardships the first immigrants encountered in Canada]." Mr. Theodore also differentiates between the "emigration period" from sponsorship or tourists, "All the men that came here were all men of 'nariz' [nose? strong], all men that knew how to work, and of heavy work, all people of working hard... now if you talk the way I'm talking, because I'm talking the truth [hardships experienced during the 'emigration period], they don't believe it. Ah, also it doesn't bother me, it doesn't bother me, because who suffered? It was me. Sometimes we in the streets... [whispering] -- hey man, that

man over there is Portuguese... and after all of a sudden ehh, after the other also passes by and would feel... I would say -- hey man we are Portuguese. Now, we go to Canada, for example, Toronto or Montreal... Dundas is all Portuguese, ehh... College above that is all 'Terceirensos.' This is a lot different, the person that leaves here to a country like that and goes to family or friends, it is very different. When I embarked I didn't go to anybody... I went, eh, eh, we went as friends with one another, right, with luck... and that's it."

Emigrating is a strenuous process, by which every emigrant suffers one way or another. Perhaps, the establishment of the Portuguese communities in Canada facilitated the migration experience upon arrival, but the road travelled was just as difficult.

5.1.3 SUMMARY

The informants' predominant "push" factors for emigrating to Canada were: a low standard of living in Portugal, a lack of jobs in the homeland, and the unstable political situation

before the revolution in 1974. The majority of the informants had one major incentive (pull factor) for emigrating to Canada, money, the "almighty Canadian dollar". Related "pull" factors include the opportunity of employment and a better future. The presence of relatives already in Canada was also identified as a "pull" factor. The agreement between the Portuguese and Canadian governments regarding contract migration represented an economic-based policy which benefited both countries. Canada received a supply of cheap labour, and Portugal benefited by dispersing its dense population and receiving remittances which bettered the economy. The migration system between Portugal and Canada was dynamic in that migration both represented and evolved from links. The social contacts, links between the "pioneers" and relatives, represents the establishment of information networks, social and economic assistance between Portugal and Canada. These contacts, or networks, were prominent influences in the emigration decision-making process. As these networks developed and expanded, they stimulated and encouraged additional Portuguese to emigrate (Figure 2) (Boyd 1989;

Fawcett 1989; Lim 1987).

5.2 "MIGRATION EXPERIENCE IN CANADA"

Mr. Silva expressed in a clear and convincing manner, how the Portuguese emigration has played itself out in Canada. Emigrants were stubborn risk-takers, and let nothing deter them from achieving a richer and better future. *"They left from here [Portugal] and went to a country far away [Canada] without knowing where they were going. What these people suffered!"*

Canada, was not much discussed in Portugal until the migration links were established and even then, a lot of the information received was negative. The lack of reliable information created a high degree of uncertainty among possible emigrants about life in Canada. *"At the time, they feared Canada. They didn't know that land, what is Canada?"*, recalls Mr. Costa a former railroad worker. Regardless, many Portuguese emigrated to this unfamiliar land, some leaving wives and children, others uprooting their entire families in order to begin a new life. They emigrated to work in

unfamiliar and demanding jobs where communication with others was difficult and living conditions were often arduous.

There is no doubt that the first few years of Portuguese immigrants in Canada were demanding, no matter when they emigrated. Yet most informants agreed that Canada was a country where they could better themselves and realize their dreams. Mrs. Medeiros, who, after emigrating, worked in a factory for fifteen years making General Motors parts, describes Canada as, *"a country where we learn a lot. When we want something, when we want it, we achieve it and this was what happened with me. I made a beautiful life in Canada. I realized there my dreams, I owe everything I am today to Canada!"*

In my conversations with the informants concerning their life in Canada, four major themes emerged: 1) "palheta" (language), 2) work, 3) money, and 4) family. Each theme included sub-themes as well.

5.2.1 "PALHETA"

With respect to "palheta" five sub-themes emerged: a)

lack of schooling, b) successful versus unsuccessful attitudes towards learning, c) strategies for learning the new language, d) the degrees of miscommunication and e) language as a bridge to assimilation. The "palheta" problem was, perhaps, the most difficult aspect of Canadian life which the Portuguese had to come to terms with in their adopted land. Since most of the immigrants had only a primary school education, the process of communicating with the population at large and learning their language was strenuous. Time and again all the informants said how this problem made emigration tiresome and frustrating. As Mr. Costa, puts it, *"I like that land a lot, I liked [it], but if I knew how to speak English. A person to speak English needs to have schooling also. But without schooling it is no good to catch [learn] that English."*

His sentiments were echoed by Mr. Travassos, who had once owned a farm in Ontario. *"I found a lot of things that were difficult,"* says Mr. Travassos, *"The first thing, the language. It is the biggest difficulty."* Mrs. Pereira, who worked in a shoe, wood and fabric factory, agreed, *"The principal thing, is the thing about us not knowing how to talk*

with the people, we want to talk with the people, we want to talk with the people and we don't know, and sometimes he [Canadian] was speaking with us and we would say yes and we wouldn't know what he was saying. It is a little tiresome, isn't it?"

Some informants felt that they not only had to learn the language, but become proficient at it. Mrs. Medeiros, who emigrated to Canada in 1965 at the age of sixteen, asserts, *"The biggest difficulty that I encountered in Canada was the language. When I arrived there, those people talking to me and I not understanding, that was like someone was choking me, and I would say to myself, I have to learn this language from today to tomorrow and it has to be this way, and so it was."* Mrs. Medeiros and her husband went to night school where they learned how to speak English. However, many felt they could get by with only a little instruction, while others went through most of their lives in Canada without learning any English. These migrants did not see language as a major priority in becoming Canadian. For them, a minimal knowledge of the language was sufficient.

Mr. Simas, a store owner in São Miguel who emigrated in the 1950s, states, "Many of them [immigrants] only preoccupy themselves with the cheque and nothing else. That is to say, that happens to many Azorean families, this is a pity. They only see the cheque... but for a young man who has all the conditions [a good life] of working, earn money, and learn the language and go to school... they could have all the conditions in Canada, I had it, why don't they have it? But I was one of these lazy people who abandoned this. No, I already knew the basics to get by on the job or street with people. I abandoned [ESL classes], I didn't care any more about night school, this is bad. But almost all, almost all go through this. I don't know why the other ethnic groups, succeed more in life there than the Portuguese. The Portuguese doesn't try, he doesn't go after this."

Since the lives of many of the Portuguese immigrants in Canada were devoted to work, and since family was oriented around the Portuguese language, many decided it was too much work to learn English. According to Mr. Travassos, speaking to me from his living room, in São Miguel, many others felt

they were too old to go to school. "I never learned [English] because everybody was Portuguese, only if I went to school, but I said -- 'no, I'm too old, to school I don't go'." The attitude of the immigrant has also played a role in deterring some of them from going to ESL (English as a second language) classes.

More resourceful informants tried to use a dictionary to augment their language skills. But as Mr. Costa, who at one time worked on the railroads in Canada, explains, a dictionary was difficult to use because the "right English is from England" and the "American tongue [language] is 'pigish' and the Canadian is even 'pigisher'." Mr. Costa goes on to remark, "What I heard in Canada [people speaking], what did he say? What did he say? I go and look in the book and it is not [there]... ah, but I don't see this in the book [dictionary]... I don't know what it is, I left it alone [dictionary], I don't care about this [trouble to look up the words], I will just manage." Mr. Costa, realized that using the dictionary as an aid was more difficult than what he expected, as did Mrs. Sousa, "We arrived at Toronto airport,

we had a dictionary, English-Portuguese, Portuguese-English and I remember the immigration officer asked me a question and I knew very little English and I tried to answer him and I said -- 'wait a minute' and I open my dictionary. You know it was so difficult."

Mr. Silva, who emigrated during the "emigrations", explains that having a dictionary, and knowing how to speak basic English would have been an asset to the immigrants. *"Instead of them [Portuguese and Canadian governments] doing that great inspection, if they said every one is going [to Canada], but they will bring a dictionary to be able to defend themselves [able to communicate], and at least you should know the basics. To ask for food, ask for work, and to thank some one."*

To some informants, the methods of learning English seemed a little out of the ordinary. Mr. Costa, a Portuguese pioneer in Canada, claims that one could learn English from immigrants who already spoke it, and in doing so one could, *"catch the English more or less, even without going to school."* He indicated, also, that there are two other

effective methods for learning the language. One method is, "with a girl, with a whore. I put myself with a woman like that, I learn English. The money goes all away, we learn English with a woman." The other mode of learning how to speak English is, "with young children. Young children are the ones who say right little conversations."

Mr. Furtado, who first came to Canada as a visitor, believes that Portuguese immigrants who now speak the English correctly, "use to go to those 'cafes', those 'cabarets', where there were those 'Marias' [women or prostitutes]... to go hunting [looking for women], and they knew the 'palheta' [language], and to pay for beers, and those things, things like that." These means of acquiring the language were frightening and as a result many never learned how to speak proper English.

Miscommunication between the informants and Canadian society was also a dilemma that evolved from not knowing how to speak English. Mr. Silva, who first worked in a farm in Canada, declares that, "the first words that we best learned was everything that was bad... because the 'busses' [bosses]

repeated fifty times per day -- 'you son of a beech... you... ta hell with you... you don't listen to me... you... you a pig... you this and that...' and we always said, 'tank you'... 'tank you'. They didn't understand us and we didn't understand them." Miscommunication between the bosses and the workers almost had Mr. Silva shot, "The man [boss] was speaking well [with good intentions], and we thought he was speaking badly. The man spoke well, we didn't understand to the point that this tobacco guy thought we were wicked, and went to get a shotgun to shoot us. At this point, we saw the [mental] condition he was in, one of the Portuguese picked him up, turned him upside down, took his shotgun and held it. The bosses wife called to... to immigration, at that time was a Brazilian who came to talk for us --- 'these men are not fighting, these men are saying that they want to receive pay weekly. They don't want to receive it monthly... they have family in Portugal... they want to send their earnings to their family.'" Mr. Furtado, who worked in a chicken factory for eight years in Brampton, also claims that miscommunication could lead to trouble, "Them talking [Canadians] we without

knowing and they saying things to us, and us without knowing how to answer, it is very bad. If the person doesn't know how to say the 'palheta', is in trouble. And the first ones ["emigrations"] that went... they even said that they ate dog food... they would see those things [tins, probably thought it was tuna or canned meat]... those foods in the tins... there was a guy who told me... 'I even ate dog food'."

The complication in learning and the lack of enthusiasm in the English language has contributed in slowing down the process of assimilation of first generation Portuguese to the Canadian Society.⁶ Mr. Rebelo, who emigrated to Canada in 1972, claims that, *"the immigrants [Portuguese] there is... they don't really integrate in Canada because they don't learn the language."* The language barrier was so critical in the process of assimilation that becoming a Canadian citizen for Mr. Costa would mean absolutely nothing if he could not speak English. Mr. Costa, explains, *"For the Canadian papers [citizenship], we had to have a guarantee [of staying in Canada]... but what for that guarantee if we don't know how to*

⁶ According to Bourne (1981), the Portuguese are one of the most segregated ethnic groups in Canadian metropolitan areas.

... speak... for what that guarantee if we don't know how to speak? Only when I know how to speak I would [become a Canadian citizen]." The language barrier was a predominant difficulty for Mr. Costa. Knowing English was the only way he could assimilate into the Canadian way of life, but since he can't speak English then he saw no reason to become a citizen of Canada.

A significant reason for not assimilating to the Canadian society or learning English stems from the type of work the informants did. Mr. Furtado, who conversed with me in his living room, maintains, *"I never learned [English] because I was working in the chicken factory, and then in the chicken factory is like we are talking here [most of the workers are Portuguese]... Portuguese. My wife was the one that was working in a plastic factory... I think there were only two Portuguese [working there] and the rest, I think they were English... and she forced herself to learn English."*

Mr. Furtado, continues to explain that when he worked with two other Portuguese and a Canadian moving furniture, the Canadian had to assimilate to them, by learning Portuguese,

"We, I never touched English... we would start talking the three of us [the Portuguese men], always in Portuguese and the other who was English also would tag along with us in Portuguese, and he would manage." This example obviously is extreme, instead of the Portuguese acquiring the knowledge to speak with a member of the host society (Canada), they refused and forced the host to acculturate to them.

Learning how to speak English would have facilitated the informants' migration experience in Canada. For some it was a priority and they became relatively conversant. For others it was a task that was never accomplished, due in part to their reluctance to learn or the fact that most people around them spoke Portuguese. Thus learning one of Canada's official languages and assimilating into Canadian society was prolonged.

5.2.2 WORK

With respect to work, two sub-themes emerged: a) positive versus negative attitudes towards work, and b) difficulties and risks encountered at work. Work for the informants was

one of the most important aspects of living in Canada. The importance was so great that some of the informants did not have time to unpack their suitcases. Mr. Teodore, who re-emigrated in 1987 in order to sponsor his children, declares, *"I arrived... on the day that I arrived, the next day, I went there [CN Tower] to work."* Mr. Vargas, who emigrated to Canada in 1974, when *"there was lots of work open [easy to find a job]"*, alleges, *"I arrived there one day and at the end of one day, I went to work."* Mr. Vargas, like so many other immigrants never *"lost one day of work."*

It is necessary that the informants did not waste any time in finding a job. They went to Canada to work, not play. Employment was found through various means. Those that emigrated in the early Fifties had jobs waiting for them on the railroads, or on the farms.

Mr. Teodore, who went to earn ninety cents per hour, explains, *"I embarked in 1954... I then went on contract to the railroad for one year."* Mr. Domingos, who emigrated to Canada in 1956, asserts, *"we went there... we went there to the farms... I went to Quebec, there to a farm,"* where he

worked for seven months without seeing or speaking to another Portuguese.

The first informants suffered by working under contract, which was arduous work and paid very little. Mrs. Moniz's father was one of the lucky Portuguese "pioneers", *"My father would sit at his bosses table, with the family... it was very welcoming... my father was lucky. But there were many that didn't have it [luck]... I had a godfather of mine that didn't have luck... what he wanted to eat, he couldn't eat, and after the boss didn't give him food. He ate what was in the garden, or carrots, or cabbage, or cabbage... everything raw [stressing]."*

Mr. Domingos, who worked both on the farms and the railroads declares, that working on the farm was difficult, lonely as you worked *"seven days a week earning fifty dollars per month."* The earnings were not sufficient to help Mr. Domingos liquidate his debts back in Portugal. As a result, Mr. Domingos, ran away from the farm to work on the railroad for ninety cents an hour *"where there was a few more Portuguese."*

Mr. Silva, a very proud Portuguese "pioneer" in Canada, claims, "When we got there [farm], they want to skin us into working 24 hours per day [abuse -- work to the bone], and they would pay \$30.00 a month to us. We smoked, it was \$5.00 per month -- and we had to chop wood to heat our house, or else we wouldn't be given dinner."

Work on the railroads for the informants was just as laborious as on the farms, with the exception that they earned more. Many of the jobs on the railroad were directed by agents that were placed on railroad stations waiting for farm runaways. Mr. Domingos, explains that after he left the farm he went to Montreal, "I sat down on a bench inside the terminal [railroad]... then a guy passed... he looked like he was Portuguese and I directed myself to him... he was there waiting for people that ran away from the farms to recruit them to go work in the railroad."

Work on the railroad was at times dangerous and consisted of long hours. Mr. Teixeira, who worked 12 years on the railroad, professes, "We were almost next to Alaska building a railroad... it wasn't a lot that we earned per hour... but

it was 12, 13, 14 [hours per day, which made up for the meagre hourly rate]. Mr. Teodore, a retired railroad worker, states, "I was with drills, 'drilas', to drill those rocks, to after put 'dinamite' [dynamite] to blow with that... to extend the lines [railroad]. Sometimes rocks would fly through the air and the men would run from it, for it not to fall in the head. It was always dangerous [chuckles]."

Work was also dangerous in factories where the informants found relatively high paying jobs. Mr. Teodore, after leaving the railroad, went to work in an aluminum factory for one and a half years, "You earned well, earned, there, there you earned well. Now I also have to tell you, not everyone could get used to the factory due to those gases that were... ooh, I couldn't get used to it. I was always throwing up there in the factory." Mr. Domingos, after working on the railroads for a year and a half went to work on the mines, "I went to work in the mines... 'uranium, plutonium'... I worked in the mines thirteen years... and then I stopped because in reality I couldn't work no more in the mines... my lungs couldn't take any more dust."

All of the informants in the study changed jobs more than once because they either wanted to earn more money or find better working conditions elsewhere. Mr. Rebelo, who had his own aluminum installation business and exemplifies the attitude of the immigrants, asserts, *"I started to work like any other person... I passed through every working system, from the cleaning to the factories... I went through life, I never stopped too long in the same place... I had several businesses... from aluminum installation to mechanics... I never left the cleaning even as a supervisor of the cleaning crew... I always had a part-time [job], or something."*

The informants believed that they had to be hard-working to establish themselves in Canadian society. Mrs. Pereira's husband who worked for six years in a steel factory doing mouldings, remarks, *"We Portuguese there, have to show that we want to work... because, look we don't know the tongue, it isn't our country... we work there for them to see that we are competent, for them to see that one day later... at the end of a few months we have the same guarantees that all the others have... and then when they see that we are people of work*

[hard-working] they already give us more work." Mrs. Pereira, adds that the English bosses in her factory like the Portuguese workers because, *"we work hard and give more than what we have... because we want... our money and want to work, isn't it?"*

Mr. Costa, who worked in numerous jobs in Canada believes that work is sacred, *"It is necessary that you work... but if you are a lazy person, you will not munch, I will not give you anything [help you out]... go and dig a hole [vai cavar -- go to hell]... I'm not working to give it to you. To give to a lazy person is not right."* Mr. Costa, also, affirms that, *"We [immigrants] have to grab the work with teeth and nails [take any job]"* when you *"live in another nation [Canada],"* because *"if we don't work in Canada... you will die against a corner... die against a corner... there is not doubt."*

5.2.3 MONEY

With respect to money, two sub-themes emerged: a) the desire to return rich, and b) attitudes towards spending and saving money. The only way the informants were able to

realize the dream of returning to Portugal, was to work hard and save lots of money. Money is the predominant reason for emigrating. The dream of the migrant was to return one day a rich man, just like the migrants who returned from the "Americas" and Brazil.

Mr. Costa, who was able to buy two beautiful properties in Portugal with Canadian earnings, best analyzes the importance of money and immigration, *"When I got there, I thought to make money... to earn money to make a little life, to plant money [save], without it you don't make a living, we make a living with money, without money you can't do anything, you can't even talk... can't do anything and can't even talk, can't even talk... if you plant money you can talk [laughs]."* Mr. Costa illustrates a prime example of the freedom that could be achieved by saving and having money in Portugal. These feelings stem from pre-revolutionary times where the few rich people in Portugal had a lot of power and influence while the larger working class had none.

Saving and not "wasting" the hard earned money was a way of life for the immigrants in Canada. Mr. Costa, who has

pictures of Canada throughout his house, claims, "There are lots there in Canada, Portuguese in Canada... who never, never had and never will have the money to come to their homeland... Portugal, why? They don't know how to make a living [how to save]... They don't know how to make a living [whispering]... They want only... It is for today, to eat, to eat [spend]... and they don't care about tomorrow, it's only today that matters, if it's missing, it's missing, there is some for today that we are going to eat and tomorrow it will come, maybe, tomorrow it will come... maybe."

Mr. Pereira, illustrates an excellent example of the informants' life in Canada and the importance of money, "First we bought a car... we walked for two years on foot there [Canada]... we bought a new car of the year, for \$4000.00... it wasn't one of those sports or anything [luxury]... but it was a 'Pontiac'... after we saved money and we bought a house, it wasn't new... it was second hand... it was a good life, there was nothing missing... but we also didn't exaggerate, we didn't eat at restaurants... but going out like you see sometimes people go out... they go to places and waste [spend]

money, no... it was nothing like that... but even this way we made our lives the way it should be from inside our door... we had our little things... and we saved money to pay the house!" Mrs. and Mr. Pereira, sold their home in Canada and moved into an apartment in order, "to save money... to come one day richer here [Portugal]... richer, even richer... very rich."

The informants were always looking for better opportunities to earn more money, even if those opportunities meant working in dangerous situations. Mr. Teodore, who asked for a transfer in the aluminum factory in Kitimat, declares, "I went to work aboard, loading and unloading ships. But it was dangerous, it was dangerous... it was a job to work under death! Sometimes those bunches of aluminum bars would separate in the air... that would fall and every one [aluminum bar] was a hundred pounds, 'a hundrede poundes'. I needed money, you earned well, that then you earned well [taking a big breath]."

Money was freedom, it was a way of looking to the future, as Mr. Teixeira, exclaims, "I was happy when I saw the cheque... and I would say... Hey Jose [To himself], this is

enough to pay this and that... this is good." Mr. Teixeira, was able to fulfil his childhood dream of buying one of the biggest properties in his village.

The migrants' dreams were achieved by working hard and saving money. They considered themselves *"very good immigrants"* if they *"never spent one dollar to waste."* Saving was the utmost issue, one could buy all the necessities to live a good life and not be extravagant.

5.2.4 FAMILY

With respect to family, two sub-themes emerged: a) as a support system and b) painful separation from family members. Family life for the informants in Canada was strenuous, especially in the first few years. For many, emigrating meant leaving their loved ones behind. Mrs. Medeiros's father who emigrated in the second "emigration", sponsored the family nine years later. Mrs. Medeiros, describes his absence, *"All my friends have their fathers and I don't have mine."* Mrs. Moniz's family also had a difficult time while her father worked in Canada for five years, before he was able to sponsor

them.

It is not uncommon to see entire families who have been uprooted by emigration living in different parts of Canada. Mr. Furtado, who did not want to converse because he did not have anything positive to say about his experience as an immigrant in Canada, states, *"I have a brother Jose who is in Winnipeg... I have two in Galt... one in Hamilton... and it was me that was in Brampton... that is to say we were all separated from each other."*

It became evident that there was a distinct difference between family life in Canada and Portugal. These differences had to be overcome by the informants. Mrs. Pereira best analyzes her family's daily routine, *"arriving at home, that I worked at night and he got home so tired from working, because he worked for himself [piece work]... the more he worked the more he earned... already the girl with some two years of age, or some one year, because I started working right away with her [no maternity leave]... because the youngest came with three months [returned to Portugal], he didn't catch any of that, because I stayed at home for a while*

and I raised him almost until he went to school here... but there, it is that thing... it is very good but also we both have to work... I had to work and when he came even very tired I had to go to bed, and many times we didn't even have dinner or anything together... already everything was ready for him to eat and stay with the little girl, and I went to bed to sleep, to go work at eleven o'clock at night... for not give her to anyone [baby-sitter]... it is too tiresome... because he came home tired and he still had to stay with the little girl for me to be able to sleep... therefore it was with many sacrifices."

Family life was a very important aspect in the immigration experience for the migrant in Canada. The first immigrants were the backbone of the Portuguese communities in Canada, which provided valuable information and support to newly arrived immigrants. Families were divided and united, but the scars of these experiences are still evident.

5.2.5 SUMMARY

Canada was the country where the informants were able to make a good life for themselves and return one day richer to Portugal. The life-style of the informants in Canada was onerous. Language, work and the new environment were the most difficult. Mrs. Sousa, describes the informants first few years in Canada, *"Difficult... we cried, we cried a lot... It was many, many times that I decided that we won't survive this [life in Canada]."* Mrs. Sousa like so many others was stubborn and did not give up. They decided to give themselves a *"chance to get adjusted to the country... to find work, to learn English and make friends."*

The obstacles of living in Canada were overcome and the general consensus of the informants was, *"I love Canada... I think that Canada offers the best opportunities than any other country I know."* These informants were able to realize their dreams in Canada, and many declared that they owe everything they are today to Canada. The four major themes contribute towards a successful immigration experience in Canada: 1) master the language, 2) ability to find a good employment, 3)

ability to acquire and save money, and 4) the influence of family support.

Although the informants described many negative experiences and feelings they had in Canada and about Canada, the conversations usually ended with them acknowledging that Canada is a great country. This is related to the interviewer-interviewee relationship. Since I was Canadian, the informants might have felt that they had to say something positive about their lives in Canada.

5.3 RETURN TO PORTUGAL

Four major themes emerged in my conversations with the informants concerning their return to Portugal: 1) the reasons for their return, 2) their subsequent life in Portugal, 3) the problems encountered by their children on returning to Portugal, and 4) re-emigration to Canada.

5.3.1 RETURNING TO PORTUGAL (REASONS)

Many Portuguese who emigrated to Canada, left with the intention of returning one day to Portugal. For example, Mr.

Rebelo stated during a conversation in São Miguel: *"I like my country, I always liked it, I always wanted to return here, always... even during all that time I spent in Canada [15 years], I always wanted to return. It was never my intention to stay there [Canada]"* Furthermore, Mrs. Medeiros, whose emigration to Canada was sponsored by her father in 1965, also states: *"My husband was always a person who wanted to return to São Miguel, always! He would say -- 'I here [Canada] don't want to die.'"*

The vast majority of Portuguese immigrants retained an ideology of return, even after living many years in Canada. They reinforced this ideology by sending remittances to family members and by maintaining links with Portugal. These links are extremely important for those who return, for they enable them to select the optimal time to return. Mrs. Moniz's father returned just after the revolution in Portugal because he, *"decided... the politics is better, we will go there."* Mr. Domingos, who lived in Canada for 17 years, made five attempts to reestablish himself in Portugal before he succeeded permanently. According to Mr. Domingos, the

conditions were not right during his first four attempts, "At the fifth time is when I thought... that [the situation in Portugal] isn't very bad, the fifth time I already seen things a little better."

Furthermore, by visiting Portugal occasionally, the migrants were able to maintain links between the Old and the New country. In visiting, migrants were also able to see economic, political and social changes. For some, however, many years passed before they were able to revisit their homeland. Mrs. Medeiros, who lived in Canada for 20 years, explains her first visit to Portugal, accompanied by her seven year old son and her husband, "We arrived at the airport, we got a taxi... He [husband] arrived in 'Avenida' and told the taxi driver to please stop the car and he [chauffeur] said -- 'yes sir'... he [husband] got out of the car, crossed 'Avenida', sits on a ledge [overlooking Ponta Delgada's harbour] and he said -- 'ah, this is where I feel good, this over here is my origins, this over here is what is mine,' I stayed staring... oh, he wants to return... we went back [Canada]... stayed a few more years saving a few dollars...

and he [husband] would say -- 'I want to return to Sao Miguel.'" Mr. Vargas who lived 11 years in Canada, explains that he visited Portugal three times: "*for three weeks each time to visit the family.*" Mr. Vargas was able to maintain his links with Portugal and to "*matar saudades*" (to fulfil a longing; cheer himself up).

However, for some migrants like Mrs. Sousa, visiting meant going back and seeing all the people she left behind when she emigrated: "*It took 11 years before we came back to see our family... we were so afraid to come back and never wanted to go back to Canada again, and we decided... no we are not ready yet [financially/ emotionally], let's wait another year.*" The desire to return to Portugal is usually intensified during these visits. Migrants arrive in São Miguel where they are inspired by the open space, the clean air, the blue sky, the ocean, the food, the aromas, and the easygoing pace of life. People in Portugal seem friendlier than Canadians, and the visitors temporarily forget their arduous struggles in Canada, and seriously consider the possibilities of returning to Portugal permanently.

All of the informants provided several reasons for returning to Portugal, and it was difficult to classify these reasons into clear categories. In some cases, the decision to return to Portugal was influenced by negative or "push" factors in Canada. In other cases, the attractions or "pull" characteristics of Portugal influenced their decision to return.

"Push" factors given by the returnees include: poor health, language difficulties, not owning a house, stressful working situations in Canada, and the lack of family in Canada. The "pull" factors included: family members, savings, "love of the homeland", the possibility of retirement, and the opportunity to enjoy the property they own in Portugal. Together, these factors contributed to the final decision of the informants to return to Portugal. Some informants cited three or four different factors that influenced them to return, and for many, both "pull" and "push" factors were relevant.

Mr. Costa, who emigrated to Canada in 1954 and returned to Portugal in 1969, illustrates how various "push" and "pull"

factors encouraged his decision to return. "Push" factors contributing to his return included: climate, language, and children. As Mr. Costa explained: *"If I had children, I would be there [Canada]... But as I don't have children, I'm over here [melancholic tone]."* A more significant "push" factor in Mr. Costa's decision to return was language. He explains that he *"could manage,"* but for *"things of responsibility I would have to talk with others, to go for me [have someone translate]... But if I knew enough good English, I wouldn't come here, but as I didn't know English, I go to my land... I will spend all my life like this, without knowing how to speak English! Eh man, ah no!"* The frustration of not being able to communicate effectively with the host society in Canada influences some migrants' decision to return to their homeland, as in Mr. Costa's case.

Another negative aspect of Canada that added to Mr. Costa's decision to return was climate, *"The only thing I don't like there [Canada], it is the winter! I don't like nothing about 'snow'... In the summer, it is the mosquitos."* Mr. Furtado, who lived in Canada for 12 years, also feels very

negative about winter in Canada, "Only the fault that it has [Canada], that I don't like is the winter! The winter, the snow, cars that don't start, it's a mess... 'My God' everything white, you could see nothing at all! The wind 'para o caneco' [blows like hell]! And I said -- 'no I'm not going to stay here'... I was dying to run away."

"Pull" factors that influenced Mr. Costa to return include: family and friends, savings, property in Portugal, and patriotism. Mr. Costa has very strong feelings of loyalty to Portugal, "It's my land, this is my land... I like the country I was born... we should like the country where we were born... If I was born here and I don't like this here... what is this [it is not right]?" These patriotic feelings were expressed by many of the other informants, they want to go and finish their life in their homeland, as Mrs. Moniz expresses, "She [mother] always had the idea of coming back... she didn't want to die there [Canada]."

The most important factor influencing Mr. Costa to return was family. Mr. Costa spent the first 10 years of his married life separated from his wife who never emigrated to Canada to

be with him. This separation from his spouse added severe pressure for him to return and reunite with his wife. Visiting his wife and friends was no longer substantial to him, "I came here again [Portugal], to see my land and my wife and the friends... and then I went there again [Canada]... and I came back here again [Portugal]... and then went back [Canada]... well this is not living, I'm going to return... I'm going to return!"

Family ties in Portugal also influenced Mr. Vargas, who lived in Canada for 11 years, to return, "I returned for the reason that I had my in-laws and parents here... they were a certain age, and there was no one here to take care of them... therefore I decided to come here." Mrs. Pereira's decision to return was also influenced by her parents who lived alone in Portugal, "We were going to come back some day at a later date... but my parents were here alone, and my father took to illness, and at that time two sisters of mine came here... and then I told my husband -- 'look, no one has ideas about going to Portugal [sisters don't want to return]... we should go, and instead of going later we will go earlier." Mrs. Pereira

explains that she does not regret returning when she did because, "I have my mother that is 80 years old and I also have a brother that is also sick... they live right here on the street, then I'm here close to her... I'm always by her side, eh, I make food here and I bring it to her, at last I'm more at her side!"

Retirement, being tired of working in Canada or of working for others is another prominent "pull" factor for some of the informants. Mr. Teixeira, who has two sons living in Canada, stated: "Then I came here... I no longer could... I can't work any more... I'm going there [Portugal]... I have there those little things [property]." Mr. Domingos, who now receives a Canadian pension, stated, "I was already tired of working. I worked there a lot... I was tired, and I returned here to Portugal." Mr. Domingos, went on to explain why Portugal becomes more attractive to migrants after they reach a certain age, "Canada is a good country, but that is a country for young people. A person that goes there to work they get tired at the end of a few years, and all of a sudden he has the tendency to go to his country to finish [die]. But

here [Portugal] we still pass a few days with more satisfaction than there. That people with age here, with ages of 60 or 60 something, well it is a different way, another life... a person goes out, it is a smaller place... he speaks here and there, he already knows that person, he goes up to there [tavern]... or he has his backyard or little piece of land, he has his distraction [something to keep him entertained]. There [Canada] a person that is old, in the winter puts himself in the basement, or if it isn't in the basement he goes to the old folks home to talk to the friends. In the street he can't be, to the coffee shop he doesn't go because those coffee places there he doesn't know about, and they are all young people... a person ends up by dying there."

It is difficult to determine which factors are more significant in promoting the migrants to return. All of the informants encountered negative factors in Canada. Many of them were able to overcome these factors and move on with their lives, while others had more difficulty. In general, however, the "push" factors had less effect on the decision of the informants to return to Portugal than did the "pull"

factors.

The returnees fall into three different groups: 1) migrants who returned to Portugal after accomplishing objectives they had set out to achieve at the time of their emigration, e.g., to make money and return to Portugal as a rich person. These migrants had intended to emigrate only for a certain period of time; 2) migrants who returned to Portugal due to unforeseeable circumstances. These migrants had originally intended to stay in Canada permanently; and 3) migrants who returned to Portugal because of the negative experiences they encountered in Canada. These migrants perhaps would have remained in Canada had their experience been more favourable.

The ideology of return was important for the Portuguese migrant. The love of the homeland, family ties, the accumulation of savings, and property owned in Portugal were far more significant in influencing the informants' decision to return than evaluation of life in Canada. It is important to note that rarely was there just one reason for the return of any informant to Portugal. On the contrary, it was a

combination of two or more factors.

5.3.2 LIFE IN PORTUGAL

Life in Portugal has changed dramatically for the informants since they emigrated. Mrs. Simas who lived in Canada for 12 years explains the changes that have taken place: "This [Portugal] changed a lot, this changed in all aspects... the living standard today is a lot better than that one [before emigration], when we left from here to Canada. Our streets today are full of automobiles, and good new automobiles... it is because there is money. Today, see how people are, all well dressed, well presented..." Mrs. and Mr. Pereira, who now live in a small rural village in São Miguel, state: "This modified, even that it is much better... Nothing is missing, there is nothing lacking. We go to the supermarkets and there is so many foreign things [Mrs. Pereira]. Even clothing and everything. They are big [supermarkets -- Hipermercados], there is many things in there, it is like abroad [Canada]... you live well [Mr. Pereira]." Mr. Domingos, who is now retired and spends his

free time helping out the community in Rabo de Peixe, explains what brought about these changes, *"This here [Portugal] has modified a lot after the 25th of April [revolution], until the 25th of April, little changed here... it was when democracy entered."* These social, economic, and political changes were positive factors for the returnees.

Being away from Portugal for so many years meant that returnees had to re-adapt to the Portuguese way of life. Links with family and friends helped the migrants keep in touch with "surface" changes occurring in Portugal while they were away, but "emigrating" to Portugal proved to be a different story. Mr. Travassos, who had bought some parcels of land in Ribeira Grande, illustrates how he felt on his return to Portugal, *"It is true that we all speak the same language, but I didn't know anyone from here. I use to think at times -- 'hey dude, who knows if these people are going to steal my cows from me'... There were many things [problems], if you are used to living in an advanced society, at first you find it strange [difficult]... but after we start to adapt."* Mr. Domingos, who now lives in Rabo de Peixe, illustrates why

Mr. Travassos might feel this way, "We [the returnees] already come with other conditions, other ways of being... already with a life more or less organized [money saved], and those [non-migrants] no, and there is always a jealousy between those that came [returnees] and those that stayed [non-migrants]... And sometimes they [non-migrants] would say... the person [returnee] was here and wasted [spent] a little more [money], in reality they [returnees] already brought little money [savings] from there [Canada]... and they [non-migrants] would say -- 'Hey that one that comes here [that returned from Canada], he is almost there [in Canada], he is almost busted [broke], he came here and made himself all rich, he is almost there.' There was always a jealousy, [between] the person that came [returned], [and] that they [migrants] left one way, and returned in a different way [more established]."

This Portuguese attitude towards the returnees is so strong that even after living in Portugal for 13 years, Mr. Pavão's family still feels like they are "outsiders", "The society here is very closed. It's not easy to approach people

and talk to people. But I find that even though my father is from here, he is treated like someone from the outside, we're outsiders."

Returning to Portugal for some of the informants meant re-experiencing some of the same conditions that existed when they first emigrated to Canada. Mrs. Sousa, who now is a successful business woman in Portugal, explains how her family felt when they returned, *"But again the same way we cried when we went to Toronto... the same way we cried when we come back, even though we were surrounded by old friends and family, but again we were away too long!"*

Returning to Portugal is not as easy a process as many think. Mr. Rebelo, apart from other reasons, returned because of some property he inherited. He explains how migrants in Canada should prepare for their return: *"We come with our little heads in the air thinking that we know everything, and came convinced that it is possible to make [a new life in Portugal]... to form [establish] our lives over here rapidly, this is an error, a big error! It is a big error because the information unfortunately isn't the best, not everybody*

knows... it is necessary to come for holidays, stay here for a while... little by little you learn what there is, attempt to get the maximum amount of information possible. Already that the immigrant wants to come here, they have to come here once in a while [visit] to learn information. This information unfortunately isn't the easiest thing to get from our regional government. This cost me many millions of 'contos', that I lost because of the lack of information about many things that were happening here."

Many informants on their return to Portugal continued to work. Informants that are at the age of retirement keep busy by working for themselves in agriculture. Mr. Teodore, who was a farmer when he emigrated in 1954, returned to Portugal to do the same work, "Afterwards I came here. I started my life here in the fields [agriculture], cattle and sugar beets, corn. It is agriculture. I don't have it [large scale] because age doesn't permit this. I have cattle, this I have... so that I don't stay home. Only for me not to be around the house."

Other informants have become successful business people

by opening restaurants, hotels, bars, and stores. Mrs. Sousa, who worked 15 years in Canada, claims that her experience abroad has made her a successful business woman who is able to deal with any problem: *"It made me a much stronger person [migration experience]. You look at the world with different eyes... I am a successful business woman [in Portugal]. When I say successful I'm not only talking money, I do a good job, I'm respected. I'm very proud of my work, but that again I couldn't have done it if I didn't have the experience that I learned [in Canada]."* Mr. Rebelo, who asserts that he had many difficulties in adapting to life in Portugal is now extremely happy with his new business: *"Today I feel renewed. I always had this ability for business, and now I own the restaurant-bar '....' that is spectacular, it has a panoramic view, like in a few places in the world."*

Having businesses in Portugal also meant that the informants had to adjust to the labour laws of the country. Many migrants had subconsciously acculturated themselves to the Canadian working environment, and, as a result, had complications in Portugal. Mrs. Medeiros and her husband, who

own a very nice restaurant in Ponta Delgada, stated: "Over here the labour laws, [are] very different from Canada. An employee over here is very, [well] protected. Bosses here suffer a lot. A boss here has to go looking for an employee, and the employee almost never has to go looking for the boss. But it is hard to get use to, because I went there [Canada] and I always worked. I was always in the working world and it wasn't like this. If we there [Canada] didn't produce, that's it, you're fired!" Mrs. Pereira, who now works in a passion fruit factory, explains how non-migrants feel about working conditions both abroad and in Portugal, "I worked there and I'm working here, and sometimes the people here are not accustomed how to work... I worked in the wood factory like this [standing up], only watching those lines, and we wouldn't stop, even to go to the washroom. It was necessary that another [worker] stayed in your position, and we wouldn't complain, because it just couldn't be... And we had to work to earn our pay [be hard-working]. If we say this here to them [females] or to them [males] they start thinking right away that, that is slavery! But it isn't! They [non-migrants]

want to earn and they don't want to work a lot...
unfortunately there is a lot of that here."

Since the informants emigrated to Canada, life in Portugal took a turn for the better. With experiences attained in Canada and with their savings, the majority of the informants were able to establish successful family businesses in Portugal such as food stores, restaurants and hotels. However, due to the unskilled jobs while in Canada, a few informants returned with little work experience and as result continued to do the same type of work as when they emigrated.

5.3.3 CHILDREN AND RETURN

Returning with children can be a very demanding experience, for both the parents and the children. Many of the informants' children went through the same experiences that their parents encountered when they emigrated to Canada. The most difficult aspects for the children of the informants include: language, work, citizenship, and acculturating to the Portuguese society.

Language is the most inconvenient aspect for the children

who return to Portugal. Mr. Travassos, who returned to Portugal with his 10 year old son, states: *"I have a son that was born there. At first he had difficulties because he didn't know how to speak Portuguese, and afterwards he had to learn how to speak Portuguese. He adopted fast, but anyway it was a little tiresome."* Mr. Rebelo, who has two sons, asserts: *"Initially, for my children, it wasn't easy, especially the oldest. The oldest it wasn't at all easy, he didn't speak even one Portuguese word!"*

Age is perhaps the most essential factor in the process of returning with children. When children reach a certain age the return process becomes extremely difficult for both the parents and the child. Mrs. Sousa, who stayed at home for six months to help her children adjust to Portuguese society, explains the traumas of returning with Canadian-born children, *"When we decided to come back, we were at a certain stage of life. Miguel was nine years old, Paul was 13 years old... it was very, very difficult for them! It is very difficult... because if they keep suffering [adjusting], you suffer too... They suffered so much to integrate to a different culture."*

Since Mrs. Sousa's sons had attended Canadian schools they did not know how to speak Portuguese and their studies were jeopardized because of their return to Portugal. "Miguel had to start everything all over, so he is two years behind other children of his age. Paul [is] like he left Canada in grade eight... Well, he passed from grade eight to grade nine and that is it [Paul is 20 years old]!" To avoid difficulties, when returning with children, it is advisable to return when they are at a very young age, "The problem is for those [returnees] who come here with children 10 years old or older to adapt [to Portugal]."

Mr. Simas, who returned with his two year old son to Portugal, illustrates how children can influence their parents to stay permanently, "The immigrants [returnees] did a lot here, only now things are changing. Many of them are selling what they built and returning back [to Canada], because of the children... because they are not seeing a future for the children here on the island [São Miguel]. In the case of young people that had already attended school [in Canada]... it is very difficult for them to adapt to this [Portugal]. We

see this in almost all of them. I don't want to exaggerate, but almost... 90% of them return back [to Canada] because of the children."

5.3.4 RE-EMIGRATION

For those children that either returned at a very young age, or else were born in Portugal, re-emigration becomes very important to the informants who wish to ensure that their children have the rights of Canadian citizenship. Mr. Theodore, who became a Canadian citizen in Calgary in 1959 and returned to Portugal in 1965, re-emigrated to Canada in 1987 because of his children. *"The girls [his children said] -- 'Oh, daddy was there [in Canada], we are without rights [Canadian citizenship]!' Therefore, then if it's because of this, then I'll go to sponsor you there. If you 'wana' go to Canada, you go to Canada. I went then in '87 and I returned in '91."* During the five years Mr. Theodore was in Canada he worked in the Convention Centre in Toronto where he liked it a lot because, *"it was no longer the same Canada."* Unfortunately, Mr. Theodore's re-emigration to Canada was not

necessary because his children were born after he became a Canadian citizen and, as a result, the children automatically became Canadian. Today, Mr. Teodore has two children living in Canada, one in California, and three in Portugal.

Mr. Furtado re-emigrated in 1982 in order not to "lose the papers" [Canadian citizenship] and because of his children: "They started to tell me [other migrants], you have to go back [to Canada] because one day your children [will] want to go back [to Canada] and they can't go. And then if you want to come here you have to have Canadian papers [should return to Portugal with Canadian citizenship]... I was forced to take the Canadian papers. I tell them [children] to go back [now] and they don't want to... they are working here, everything is well."

For some of the informants, re-emigration is always a possibility at the back of their minds. "Reverse" links are maintained with returnees to Portugal and with immigrants in Canada. Information about both nations is exchanged between these two groups of migrants. The informants are interested in social, political, and economic changes taking place in

Canada. These links are also maintained by visiting Canada occasionally.

Even though the possibilities are there for the migrants to re-emigrate, over time many no longer see it as a viable opportunity because: *"We begin to adapt to all of this [Portugal], and start forgetting the other [Canada]."* Mr. Travassos, who owns his own agriculture business, states: *"No, I will never return... no... no. Visit, maybe I'll go there, because I have family there. Now, for me to go live for good in Canada, only if this here is completely destroyed, if not I will never go there. He is never going to work there!"* Mr. Furtado, who is now a truck driver in São Miguel, asserts: *"Now I work for me and her [his wife] and the hell with the rest. Some say -- 'why don't you go to Canada?' And I said -- 'What for, to work for them!' They can work for themselves, because I'm working for myself. That's it, this is life!"*

Age is also a major factor in determining if the informants will re-emigrate. Many are already retired while others are approaching that age. Mr. Simas states: *"It is*

clear that with my age I don't think about returning to Canada, only visiting, because with this age I'm never going to have good opportunities with good employment like I had [in Canada]. I'm 59 years old, there are no businesses that would take a 59 year old man... like they say it here [Portugal] -- 'there is no longer juice [strength], you already squeezed out everything.' Therefore, I will probably go many times to Canada if God gives me life, visiting my family [there], only that. But to go there to work, already no!"

Other migrants realize that re-emigrating to Canada would mean once again a new start. Mrs. Pereira, who at first did not want to return to Portugal, sees re-emigration as follows: "Only that sometimes I say to start a new life over there [in Canada], I don't know if I have the patience or the strength again, because I already know what I went through, when I came back and all of that [emigration]."

Re-emigrating becomes a very important aspect of the return process for the informants whose children lack Canadian citizenship. The informants re-emigrate to make sure their children have the right to emigrate to Canada in the future. For those informants who have both Canadian and Portuguese citizenship, re-emigration is no longer necessary. These

informants have adapted to the Portuguese society and see re-emigration as a difficult task. Many informants assert that they need to visit Canada occasionally, and they have a need to escape from the island: *"We have the need to go to Canada, even if only once a year. We have the need because this is an island, everything is very small."*

5.3.5 SUMMARY

For the respondents, returning to Portugal after many years as an immigrant in Canada proved to be far more difficult than they would have believed. Many thought that the return process would be easy, but while they were in Canada the information they received through links established with Portugal about economic, political, and social changes that occurred was minimal. As a result, many informants had difficulties in re-adjusting to Portuguese society.

"Pull" rather than "push" factors were by far the most important in influencing the decision of the informants to return to Portugal. The love of the homeland, family ties, the accumulation of savings, and property owned in Portugal were the most important "pull" factors.

In the return process, many informants encountered the same situations in Portugal as they did in Canada when they first emigrated. As a result, many stated that they would

refrain from re-emigrating to Canada. Re-emigration is always seen as a possibility, however, and, as a result, informants make sure that their children retain all the rights of Canadian citizenship.

By far the most important aspect of the return process to Portugal is the repetition of what they experienced as new emigrants to Canada. This is because, once again, they are leaving family behind; they maintain links with Canada; they feel the need to re-visit Canada; and finally they maintain the ideology that it is always possible to return to Canada.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 SUMMARY

The life experiences of the fifteen informants who first emigrated to Canada and later returned to the island of São Miguel, were initially grouped into three chronological periods: 1) life before emigration; 2) as immigrants in Canada; and 3) following their return to Portugal. The respondents emigrated to Canada in two major ways and during two periods: 1) contract work in Canada (between 1952 and 1957, known as the "emigration period" according to the informants); 2) sponsorship by a family member (between 1958 and 1974). Numerous reasons were provided by the informants as to why they left the Azores and emigrated to Canada. The principal "push" factors for their emigration from São Miguel were: a low standard of living, a lack of jobs, and the unstable political situation, specifically before the 1974 revolution. The dominant "pull" factors for emigrating to Canada were: the desire to earn more money, better job opportunities, and the prospect of a better future.

For the informants, Canada was a country in which they could make enough money so that they could return one day to Portugal with their accumulated wealth. However, they had to overcome numerous hardships in their new country, which made their first few years demanding and onerous. A strange

language, hard work and an unfamiliar Canadian environment were the most difficult hardships they had to face. Through hard work and determination most were able to overcome such difficulties.

The general consensus among the informants on their emigration experience in Canada was that they loved Canada and that Canada offered them the best opportunities in the world. Many informants claimed that they owe everything they are today to their migration experience in Canada. In short, Canada for them was a country in which they could realize their dreams.

The love of their homeland, family ties, accumulated savings, and property owned in Portugal were the most important factors motivating the informants to return to Portugal. Returning to Portugal, however, after many years as immigrants in Canada proved to be far more difficult than they would have expected. In particular, life in Portugal has become relatively more expensive than in Canada. In many situations, nonmigrants receive better wages and have better employment, resulting in a negative view towards emigration and returnees.

Re-emigration to Canada is still a legal option for the informants and their immediate family. Many informants, however, stated that they would not "emigrate" again to Canada because they would once again have to contend with the many

hardships that surround the emigration experience.

For many of the informants their life experiences as migrants have not been easy, and they continue to suffer in their homeland just as they did when they first emigrated to Canada. Many who returned to Portugal have found themselves divided between two worlds; a world which they wished they never left and subsequently returned to (i.e., Portugal), and a world in which they never intended to establish strong roots (i.e., Canada).

By allowing the voices of the fifteen informants to be heard, a deeper understanding of their life histories has been achieved. The selected research methodology also created an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect between the informants and myself which was essential for the research to proceed.

Probably the most important aspect of the study is that each transcript is a life history which contains an array of valuable information about the informant, full of life events which are perceived as extremely meaningful to the individual informants. Yet at the same time, their life histories proved to be remarkably similar to one another. Many of their stories were highly personal, and touching, and at times the discussions evoked tears, as it was very difficult for some of the informants to re-live the more painful and traumatic aspects of their experiences. Furthermore, given the pain associated with recounting these events, I suspect that much

was left unsaid.

The stories recounted here are based on a relatively small sample of return migrants from one immigrant group. Further research is needed on life histories and return migration of other ethnic groups who emigrated to Canada during the same time period as the Portuguese (e.g., Italians, Greeks). The experiences of such groups could be studied and valuable comparisons could be made. It would also be interesting to compare the Portuguese - Canadian returnees originating from Mainland Portugal with those from Azores.

6.2 PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

The study had a great deal of meaning for me on a personal level, and I feel truly honoured that the informants shared with me their life histories. Interviewing these migrants has made me realize many things about myself. First, I too am an immigrant and nothing will ever change that. Second, my world, like theirs, is also divided between two nations - Portugal and Canada. Third, regardless of the ultimate success or failure of the migration, as migrants, we all encounter many of same experiences. Finally, we were all risk-takers, and in one way or another, suffered as a consequence of becoming migrants.

Carrying out my research gave me an exciting opportunity to return to Portugal, and to better understand my parents'

longing for and ambivalence about returning to their homeland. An unhappy outcome of my research, however, was that for the first time in my life I realized that I can never be one hundred percent Portuguese nor one hundred percent Canadian. Even in Portugal, I will always be seen as an immigrant, whereas in the past, I thought that I would be accepted wholeheartedly as a Portuguese. Even more disturbing was the experience of disapproval from those who had never ventured from their homeland (São Miguel). In visiting São Miguel I was referred to as "a mosca do verão" (the summer fly). Similarly, in Canada, I doubt that I shall ever feel myself that I am a 'true' Canadian.

I also feel sad that many other returnees to Portugal have encountered a similar paradox. We shall never entirely feel that our lives have been fulfilled, and we will always wonder if migration was totally worthwhile, especially when we perceive that those who remained in the Azores seem to be well and appear to be living happy lives. In short, given the memories and traumas of migration we will never stop wondering what might have been had we never emigrated!⁷

⁷ Further personal reflections are seen in square brackets throughout and at the end of each transcript (see Appendix A).

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APPENDIX A:
TRANSCRIPTS

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NOTE: Before taking part in the study, all participants were informed about the nature and purpose of the research. Prior to each interview participants were advised of the importance to the researcher of tape recording their life histories. In each case they were informed that their personal histories would be translated, transcribed and included in the appendix of the thesis. All participants said they understood and agreed to the intended use of their life stories. To protect their identity, pseudonyms were used and specific place names were changed.

MR. TRAVASSOS

Setting: Informants house around eight o'clock at night. We conversed at a table in the informants hall-way while his family sat in the next room watching television. The background noise was mainly from the television in the next room.

Before I went to Canada... eh, already (ja) when I... when I went to Canada, I went with twenty four years. [Did you know anything about Canada? Did you have education?] I was a young guy... I didn't have any life... I worked under (for) my father. [Did you like working for your father? Was this a family business?] And afterwards, my wife was already in Canada, do you understand? Afterwards my wife at that time, isn't it... and I... we started dating and afterwards... eh, I went to Canada, do you understand? (lots of background noise from his wife, children, parents and in-laws in the next room watching television). [Usually the men emigrate first and then sponsors the family, but there are many examples in Portuguese migration where the woman emigrated before the man. How long was she there before you emigrated? Did she sponsor you? Was it difficult being away from each other?] That is to say I got married in the church there, [He probably got married over the phone or through City-Hall in order to be sponsored.] and afterwards I started my life there. Over here, I worked only under (for) my father. My life over here before was a farmer (cattle) under (for) my father, Do you understand? And afterwards when I went there... then, that I started to work under (for) a company there in Canada. [Was it difficult finding your first job in Canada? How did you find your first job? What did you think of Canada when you first arrived? What did your parents think about you emigrating to Canada? Did you have other family members in Canada?]]

How was it for you to go to Canada?

For me to go from here to Canada it wasn't difficult, but when I got there, that was what was difficult.

What was difficult?

I found a lot of things that were difficult. The first thing the language... [What kinds of problems did you encounter because of the language barrier?] eh, it is the biggest difficulty... and afterwards to work under other people which

I have never worked, isn't it. [How did you feel about working for someone else? Did you like your job? Were there other Portuguese working with you?] When you work for yourself things are one way, when you go and work for another person things are different, isn't it. [What was different?] The work changes, I over here was a farmer (cattle) like I am today... at that time I went to work for a company of construction... eh, to make... eh, 'basement' of houses, do you understand? Hey dude (e pa -- a Portuguese expression when greeting a person (mostly a male friend) there is no proper English translation) that there at first was tiresome (aborrecido)... those jobs, they were jobs... a job a little heavy, do you know? Afterwards, from there, I was there a few months... after a few months I found another job in a factory of cattle... of killing cattle... eh, of killing cows and pigs... there was already good. [What did you like about this job? What was the difference between this job and your construction job? Were there other Portuguese working with you? Was it difficult to find this job? What did you think of the 'bosses' in Canada? My first job was in the summer of grade nine, a friend and I went to work on St.Clair and Old Weston Road in the slaughter houses (I'm assuming in the same place where Mr. Travassos worked), it was the worst job I have ever had. I think we lasted one or two days, we were unloading the cow hide from the train or unto the train, the smell was horrific, we start smoking in order to be able to breath in something that smelled a little better. This was outside in the fresh air, I couldn't possibility imagine myself working in the plant.] But I worked at night time there... I use to work at night... I didn't like it a lot... also I didn't like much this. [At the time did you regret emigrating? Did you want to return to Portugal? Before you emigrated, what kind of employment did you think you were going to get in Canada? Was life in Portugal better than life in Canada?] Afterwards I was there... hey dude, there twenty months (concerteza) more or less like that. And I bought a 'farm' for myself there, do you understand? There at that time things started to get better. [What made you buy a farm? How did things start to get better? Were there other Portuguese farmers that helped you out?]

Where did you buy your farm?

'Edownville' in the Province of Ontario. [Why did you choose to buy your farm here? Were there other Portuguese farmers in the area? Was it difficult for you to purchase your farm? Were you scared? What did your wife think about you purchasing a farm in Canada? What did your father think?]

What kind of farm was it?

A dairy farm. [The same type of farm you had in Portugal?]

And how long were you doing this?

I was there nine years. At first I also found a lot of difficulties there on the 'farm'... because eh, it is as follows... when I went to work... when I went to Canada I went to Canada in 1974 in October, eh... And in 1975 in August, that is probably the twenty weeks, eh. I was in Canada and I didn't know how to speak almost nothing in English, isn't it. I was in this... I worked a long period with Portuguese there in this factory of killing cows and pigs... no... no... I didn't know how to speak a lot of English, only a few things. [I think this is the worst possible thing for the Portuguese emigrant, they find their employment where there are other Portuguese, therefore the need to assimilate, to learn how to speak the English language is not needed.] When I went to the 'farm'... when I set it up for myself... I went to the 'farm'... I didn't understand anything... that is to say I knew how to work with cows, I had already worked with cows over here (S. Miguel), isn't it. But I didn't know how to drive tractors... I didn't know how to work with those machines (farm)... I didn't know anything. Afterwards, but I never thought about that directly, isn't it... before I bought it. When I bought it, that's when I began to see... in reality, hey dude, I shouldn't have done this, isn't it. But afterwards there were periods more tiresome, because a machine would break and I had to go buy the pieces and things... you know that was a little tiresome, isn't it. But afterwards I started to learn fast. As a person needs it... the things... you learn fast, I learned fast. After I start to evolve that's it... I didn't have any more problems. That is to say I was there nine years and things always went well. At nine years I ended by selling it. I came here to Portugal to visit, [what did you feel when you first arrived in Portugal? Were your intentions always to return? For many Portuguese immigrants, many years pass before they return to Portugal for a visit. The time period away from Portugal could be the result of many factors, particularly when it comes to succeed in Canada.] and I saw that it was a little good over here.... there... this over here you don't need to work seven days a week and there I had to work seven days a week. [How true, unfortunately I feel that they will become more Westernized and start working seven days a week like we do.] Afterwards, I went there again and

I sold everything, and then I came here. I came to establish myself here. [Was it difficult to re-establish your life back in Portugal? Was it difficult to sell your farm in Canada? Did you sell it to a Portuguese immigrant?]

Were your children born in Canada?

I have a son that was born there. He came here at the age of ten. He adopted well, but at first he had difficulties because he didn't know how to speak Portuguese, and afterwards he had to learn how to speak Portuguese, isn't it. He adopted fast also, but anyway it was a little tiresome, but he got accustomed to it. [Age of a child is very important in the return process, I believe the older the child the more difficulties the returnee will encounter.]

And your wife?

She also got use to it, you know she also liked it there, isn't it. But anyway she is now use to it here, there are no problems. This over here is like Canada. [Was the decision to return yours or your family's? Does she want to return to Canada? Men perhaps have more freedom in Portugal, they are able socialize with their friends on a daily basis. On the other hand, I believe that women have more freedom in Canada, they work, therefore they have the monetary means to be independent.]

How is it like Canada?

When I say this is like Canada... that is to say -- today there are no difficulties over here. [What kinds of difficulties did you have in Portugal before you emigrated?] I... I have my life over here... eh, better than in Canada... better than I had in Canada. [Interesting that he went to Canada to have a better life and he returns to Portugal to find a 'better life' in the place that he left. As the old saying goes, one could travel all over the world trying to find the perfect spot and most likely one will find it where one first left from.] That over here I have land (ploughing) that I own, and I have a man that works with me. And even today I went there to the cows and I'll go tomorrow, but there in Canada I had to go from morning to night... morning to night... always there! [Did you have any one working with you on the farm in Canada? Do farmers in Portugal make more money than farmers in Canada?] My wife here she doesn't need to go work with the cows, she stays home all day long and there in Canada she had to help me, milk the cows and everything, do

you understand? [In mainland Portugal the women tend to help the men more with the farm work, they will go to the fields with them, but in the islands, especially in S.Miguel this type of work is reserved for the men, the wife will stay at home and take care of the pigs, chickens, children and the garden.] That's why I say this is better than Canada, money and also there is not too many difficulties. [What kinds of difficulties exist at the present time?] We earn enough to live, that's it... there are no problems. It's good... it's good... at least for now it's good... that is not to say that it will turn bad some day, isn't it. I don't want to say that Canada is not good, isn't it. [Returnees refuse to say anything negative about Canada, and if they do they will try to balance it with something good. Do you think that you wasted those years in Canada? Would you have been just as successful in Portugal if you didn't emigrate?] I was there nine years... I wasn't nine... I was eleven years there, I liked... I like that country a lot, isn't it... it is good. [What is so good about Canada? I think the money is what these immigrants think is good about Canada. They fail to see the future of their children, of Canadian education, of the opportunities that exist.] But since I'm Portuguese I like this more over here. But I also liked that there... at first I didn't like it... like I said to you, because of the difficulty of the language and I don't know what else... and I was a little bit tiresome. But afterwards I began to like it. After being there for a period of time... I already knew all of that... I already knew how to speak English... that is to say -- that is not to say that I could speak like you, isn't it, nor write or anything... But I knew how to write the checks, I knew how to run my life, do you understand? [Very important to learn the basic language skills, in order to get by.] I knew how to speak ????? if I wanted to go to the doctor, or if I wanted to buy anything I had no problems, do you understand? I had to learn... I had to learn fast... that is not to say that it isn't a English like yours, isn't it. But I got by, do you understand? It was like that. [The reason he probably had to learn fast was because there wasn't a Portuguese community where he was, therefore the only thing he could do was assimilate to the English society he lived in. Do you still speak English with your wife or children? Do you miss Canada?]

So, how did you go to Canada?

I got married to my wife... eh, by city hall over here. Afterwards she returned and sponsored me and I got married by the church there. [Would you have emigrated if it wasn't for

your wife?]

Was it easy to emigrate?

Yes it was, yes it was. She sponsored me and I went there. There was not many difficulties. [Which difficulties did you have emigrating? Could you describe the process of being sponsored in more detail?]

How did your family react to your decision to emigrate?

My family didn't give me any difficulties... I was already of age... anyways they always helped me. Today, maybe the people are not... eh, Canada does not have so much importance like it use to have at that time, isn't it. Maybe you don't know this, isn't it... Canada at that time had a lot of importance because you could have (earn) a better life there, isn't it. Today, over here in Portugal also you live better, that's why people do not make such a big deal (importance) about Canada. [Actually some of them look down at the emigrants, what they fail to see is that if there was no emigration they would have more difficulties obtaining the things that they have today, there would be more competition for jobs, education and land. When I used the library at the University of Azores I had some discussions with a few students that believed that the emigrants were rift-raft and they never did anything to help their country. Unfortunately some of these students have 'tunnel vision', perhaps they were too young to remember the difficulties that existed in Portugal before the revolution, they belong to the 'new rich' class, they are blinded by the light, they take things as they are, they don't look into the past nor the future. Perhaps, many will one day want to emigrate to Canada???]

Importance in what aspect?

It was only the money. [The most important aspect of the emigration. Did you emigrate because of the money?] Today it is not only the money, in those times you would only think about the money there in Canada. Even at that time... I didn't go there... I went in 1974, from 94 to 74... twenty years ago... but, here twenty years there was a few who went before me or even more... they only thought about going to Canada because of the money. But, certainly we go there and we start to see other things that we didn't see here, isn't it. There are people who really like that (referring to Canada), isn't it. And at least it is a good nation. But at first... eh, people emigrated there because of the money,

because of better conditions of living, isn't it. This over here wasn't sufficient, and they emigrated there because of this (under the dictatorship and corporatist state of Premier Antonio de Oliveira Salazar living conditions in Portugal were difficult. Employment was hard to find and payed very little.) ???, eh started... dated my wife... I liked her... she liked me, because of this I got married and went there. I have other family... I have my sisters there and everything... and uncles and people like that from my family. But I went was like this, because I got married with her and she sponsored me... she sponsored me and I went there (to Canada). But it was because... I went there just because... I use to hear that Canada was very good... and it was, that is I don't want to speak bad about Canada... [Do you have anything negative to say about Canada? I think he was holding back something.] but it was a good nation. But here today is better than there. [How is it better?]

Would not return to Canada?

No, I will never return... no... no. [Do you have your Canadian citizenship? Why will you never return to Canada?]

How about a visit?

Visit, maybe I'll go there, because I have family there. Now, for me to go live for good in Canada... only if this here is completely destroyed, if not Joe will never go there... he is never going to work there. ??? well... because I here had luck, don't you know. I came here... I was a few years there... I came here, I bought land here, I bought cattle, I bought everything here, I established my life here, that's it.

[I feel bad that he had to start his life over twice because of this infatuation he had with Canada, with earning the 'almighty dollar'. Emigration is not for everyone, sometimes I wonder if it would have been better for my parents to have remained in Portugal. The emigrant has to be really lucky in Canada to want to stay there, he has to be able to earn and save a lot of money.] I have my business here... eh, over here I earn enough to be able to pay a worker, that there I didn't earn for that [in Canada he didn't earn enough money to be able to hire farm help, but in S. Miguel he could. It perhaps should be noted that farmers in Portugal are heavily subsidized by the government and in the last few years there have been many farmers who have improved their life style with these subsidies.] That there I was the one who had to do the work. To pay a worker there at that time they earned twenty

to thirty thousand dollars at the end of the year. And my land that I had there wasn't substantial for my family, and for me to pay the debts and to pay a worker to take care of the cows, thirty thousand dollars wasn't enough, that is to say, this over here is a lot better. [I'm happy that he was able to be successful in Portugal. Why did you decide to farm in Portugal?]

Was it difficult for you to start here again?

Hey dude... that is not to say that it was difficult like Canada, isn't it. [What was different?] But I was also not use to here... I also arrived here... at first there were a few difficulties, isn't it. A person who moves from one village to another, isn't it... already when he arrives at the other village... he already finds difficulties. In my case, it is not to say by this... I... I am not from here (Ribeira Grande)... I'm from the Sete Cidades. But when I came from Canada, the Sete Cidades didn't have the conditions that... eh, I wanted... eh, and I bought this house over here and bought land up there by Sao Braz. Because of this I had to leave the Sete Cidades to come here, do you understand? If not, I would have established there in the Sete Cidades, but there in the Sete Cidades there wasn't the conditions that I wanted, and I had to come here, it was because of this. [Did having a farm in Canada help you to be a successful farmer in Portugal?]

What conditions were you looking for?

I was looking for the conditions of buying the land I bought... I bought it in one body only, do you understand? [many farmers in S. Miguel have small plots of land scattered around making it difficult to alternate the cattle between them]. In one part only... and over here in the island, in the Azores... I don't know if you know about this, the people have the land, but in a lot of parts, do you understand? Separated, and after this brings a lot of difficulties to run a business of agriculture or ??? lavoura (farming?) or something else... brings a lot of difficulties. If a person is in one part (referring to a large piece of land) only, he already doesn't have so many difficulties, do you understand? [Takes some Canadian farming methods back home. He assimilated to some aspects of Canadian culture.] Like this week, I don't know if you heard yesterday, isn't it... and even yesterday I heard. There was a taxi cab, one cow was walking on the highway, isn't it. A taxi cab had a head on collision with the cow... broke... the car was all damaged,

and eh, killed the cow and the taxi cab stayed all damaged. In my situation this doesn't happen, because all my cows are always in the same place, do you understand? They don't go unto the highways or nothing like that... it is just like Canada, do you understand? already, they don't go out, that is to say, this is, since I was there for a few years there, I learned a few things there. After when I came here, in the Sete Cidades I had to buy the land in many parts, do you know. And I didn't want it like that, and I found it up there in one part only, that's why I wanted to move here, that was it. I wanted in only one place. And afterwards, since I found it in that place there... for me to buy a house in the Sete Cidades it would be to far, that is to say... ????? your cousin that got married to your cousin... I know him, isn't it... we are friends today... we are neighbours... but at that time I didn't know anyone. I only knew the people of the village where I was born, do you understand? And it would be convenient for me to go there, because it was all people I knew, and I would go there. But... after... now I moved because I bought (land) up there, and I moved over here... well, ??? now I have to started to know other people different again, that is it. [S. Miguel, in all of Portugal there are a lot of regional differences, between people, customs and pronunciations. There seems to exist some antipathy between the different regions, which is very unfortunate considering it is a very small country.]

How was it?

It was easy... yes it was easy. When I had more difficulties was there in Canada at first... eh, because I didn't know the language, and like I said I didn't know how to drive tractors nor those machines to cut the grass... I don't know if you know that there, isn't it. But all of that modern... and compared to what we had here... today over here I also have machines to cut the grass... I have tractors... these things, but at that time there... that time when we went there we didn't have any of this, it was one mule and a few carts, a few things like that, do you understand? I never saw... I did see it over here in the island, but I never drove it... I didn't know anything about it. When I arrived there in the farm... that I found myself in all of that... that is when I thought... I said -- hey dude, in reality now, this now is what people say ??? (a prova trouce o rato), do you understand? But... but... we, if the person is intelligent, that is not to say that I'm very intelligent, but if a person is intelligent he resolves things... learns... isn't it. It was what happen to me... I resolved... I didn't have problems.

[It makes me very happy to know that this immigrant, these immigrants they strive to do their best, they don't let anything get in their way and the majority of the time they succeed.] There are people that... some people isn't it... to speak about other people, but some people sometimes go back, and at the end of one or two years... eh, they are not liking it too much and they go away (he is referring to returnees who re-emigrate to Canada). [Why do you think they return to Canada? Do you know of any one who has returned? What kinds of difficulties do these people have that make them return? What are these people looking for that they don't find when they return to Portugal? I can't see the returning process being easy, especially if you have been living abroad for a period of time and only return occasionally to visit. I can't speak for every immigrant living in Canada and wanting to return to Portugal, but my father has had the idea of returning since the day he landed in Canada. He has visited occasionally, he has bought numerous pieces of land in Portugal over the years, and built himself a little nest egg in Portugal. What scares me is that he fails to realize that there might actually be difficulties in the return process, after all Portugal has changed drastically in the last twenty years, and he is no longer the same person. I think that some returnees might actually return blindly, they don't want to acknowledge that time has changed their attitudes and the country which they grew up in, these are possibly the returnees that encounter the greatest difficulties on their return and subsequently end up by re-emigrating to Canada. A retired uncle of mine spent the last three winter months in Portugal and he said it was the worst time of his life. It was drastically cold, everything was extremely expensive, he said that he would not spend another winter in Portugal. Even though he spent the majority of his winters in Portugal, he has become accustomed to the warm comfortable home environment of Canadian society.] I... for myself thank the lord, I never had difficulties... I arrived here, at first it was difficult for me to adopt to a few things, isn't it... that is to say -- there are things here that are very different than what is there, isn't it...

Can you give an example?

lets see, something... when I bought these parcels of land, there in Canada you buy a house... you buy a piece of land or something else... you get a lawyer and you say -- I bought this and that, and how much money do you want to take care of these papers for me, and he says -- hey dude so much money, isn't it... that's it. Over here no... over here you also do

this isn't it, but today I have a little more experience over this. But at the time... eh, arrived here I bought these parcels of land, and I have to go to the estate (fazenda???), that is to say to government service... that is to say your cousin could describe this to you a little better because he works there in the government, isn't it.

I think so.

Is (yes)... eh, this over here is very different than there... eh, a person there goes for his drivers license... you start here by this door... you get to the end... everything is already resolved isn't it. Over here no... over here you go to a government department... right over here in R. Grande... right over here... you have finances in one place... there... eh, civil in another... there is I don't know what in another... I don't know what in another... you walk back and forth with papers from one place to another... don't you know? It's a system very different from there... this is a little better than it use to be, isn't it. [It seems to get the easiest question answered you have to see a bunch of people, there is so much red-tape involved in anything you have to do. I think what facilitates things is who you know, not what you know. When trying to acquire some statistics on emigration, I had to go to four or five different offices and speak to ten or more people, at the end nothing was accomplished.] But it is still very backwards compared to Canada. And at first if you are use to living in a advanced society, after you come here at first, at first you find it strange (you miss it) isn't it. Hey dude, there in Canada it was like this... in Canada it was like this... I would resolve this better... Hey dude, I shouldn't have come, and after hey dude, there are good things here... after don't you know? That is to say -- there are some confusions at first, but after we start to adapt, start to know people that's it. I now... I... I resolve everything without any problems, is (yes) I have no problems. And after... eh, at first also when I bought these parcels of land, isn't it. I had to find men from there (referring to Canadian emigrants) I didn't know any one in that village... that is to say -- it is true that it is the language... language... we all speak the same language, but I didn't know anyone from there. I use to think at times... hey dude, who knows if these people are going to steal cows from me... they are... that is to say -- there were many things that sometimes I use to think about that, but after you start socializing, getting to know the people, that's it... we are all now friends... now there are no problems. [Did you feel the same way when you bought your farm in Canada? This is

strange, even though he is Portuguese and he is living in Portugal he sees himself as an outsider and doesn't trust his neighbours. This could be a reason for some immigrants to return to Canada, they never completely re-assimilate to the Portuguese way of life, they find themselves on their return to be different than the residents. They are no longer 'true' Portuguese, they are 'outsiders' living in a world that no longer exists.] The difficulties I had here were these. Now, in regards to the way we live, here I never had difficulties because I always earned enough money to sustain my family and I have no problems, do you see. This over here for me its like abroad... I have over here... eh, two cars (opened his garage door to show me a pick-up truck and a family car, both of them were new) I don't have any problems, that is to say I'm not rich and I'm not poor. But I want to say I don't have difficulties, if I want to go I have no problems, do you understand? Because of this is that I say it's the same as Canada, it's because of this. (some noise) The house... house is not of rich people but it's a house that you could live [very nice house]... that is to say -- I don't have any difficulties... eh, I had luck isn't it. I arrived here that is to say -- I got involved in the business again... I started... I'm working always, isn't it, but I'm always earning money... I'm always going (forward)... I don't have problems.

Did you build this house?

No, I bought it already built... I bought built... I only brought the money with me and I bought everything... yes... yes. [Why didn't you import your belongings from Canada?]

How many cows do you have?

I now have thirty dairy cows. I must have about fifty... fifty something heads, isn't it. But dairy cows about thirty. I already had more, but now I have less. [Thirty dairy cows producing milk could very easily make him over \$100 000.00/year, very good wages. Cousins of mine are making enormous amounts of money in dairy farming, everything they do is subsidized by the government (i.e. cows, milking machines, tractors.)]

Why?

Hey dude... I already have 43 years, and after eh, I have, my son doesn't like cows, my biggest problem is this. Eh, after I also don't want to invest so much on that, it isn't because

of the business... no... no at this time it isn't that bad, isn't it. But he doesn't like cows, he is studying, I have only one son. Also for me to have more cows... eh, I had to invest more, isn't it... that is to say... we have to... we can't... if we were too stop... I reach a period that I, started to think I'm not going to invest more, I'm going to stay here, until he sees, until he finishes school or until he knows what he wants, if he doesn't want cows. If he wanted cows I could buy more cows, isn't it. Hey dude if there is no money, I go to the bank and we will pay it off, there are no problems, But he doesn't like it and I also started to think, and I said -- well I'm going... to stay with less work. I could decide if I want to stay one day a week at home, in the next day if I go or not, that is to say -- already something like that, with more relaxing. Hey dude, for now and after, then if I see that he wants to join me in the business, or something else, then we will see what we should do. But he doesn't like cows, he likes more to work there with those computers things like that, I don't know what he's going to do, isn't it. [By the look of things there seems to be a future in farming in Portugal, the government will subsidize young farmers with up to 50% of their total cost (i.e. cows, machines, seeds, land). However, young people in Portugal don't want to live the old life styles, they want the modern world, they are becoming westernized. I wonder if is son will want to return to Canada to pursue a career in computers.]

How old is your son?

He's eighteen.

Then you've been here for eight years?

I'm already here for eight. I've been here for more than eight... it was eight in last November but I'm satisfied... I'm satisfied. With this is not to say that at some latter date I suddenly, it could be that I go to Canada, isn't it. [Earlier you said that there would be a very little chance for you to return to Canada, what would make you return?] If this over here becomes bad... if it's for me to have a business for myself... over here always... the way it is... I will never go. [If I was in his shoes I wouldn't return either.] But if it's to say like this -- hey dude, the business went bankrupt, isn't it... if it was, it is not to say that some day it could go wrong, isn't it. Eh, if it is to work for a company or something like that... I prefer to go there, because there you work, but it's better living conditions, isn't it. To work for work (Portuguese saying

(trabalhar por trabalhar)) there it is better, we also work more but we also earn more, we live better, isn't it. In my way of seeing things, isn't it, that is to say -- there are people that may not see eye to eye with me, but in my way of seeing things, to work for work in a factory in something else there it's better than here. [Have you ever worked in a factory in Portugal? To me it seems that the workers in Portugal are better off than the workers in Canada, their pay might be less, but then again they don't work as much and there isn't as much stress.] Now if it's to have your own business, it is not to say that there it is not better, but my type of business over here I think it's better [Many Europeans, French, German's and Dutch are moving to Sao Miguel and other islands to farm.]. First thing, the temperature over here is better, in the winter, the last two years was always sunny here during the winter, there one time I was there in that farm six days that I never sold one litter of milk, the milk was all emptied down the drain, because of the 'snow', the truck never could go get the milk. It was a lot of 'snow'... a lot of 'snow' with wind... the truck never, six days never went to get any milk. [Did you get compensated in any way for your loss of milk?] And even every year there in the winter it is very cold, over here a person is a lot better, isn't it. But everything depends on the persons taste, I'm very satisfied, isn't it... that is to say I've seen some people that are here one year or two, at the end of one year two they go away (return) isn't it. Already they are not liking it, and something and they go away... I know a few like that. [What made them return to Canada?] In me, I think I'm more or less here... [What do you mean by 'more or less'?] do you want to drink something?

No, I'm fine.

Do you wanted?

No, No I'm fine.

If you wanted, I'll go and get it.

You have a very beautiful house.

Hey dude, it's nothing special, but it has good comfort, isn't it, that is to say, it's like that.

Are you a Portuguese Canadian?

No, no I never went for my Canadian papers, my wife has

Canadian papers and my son was born there. [Why didn't you want to become Canadian? Do you regret not becoming Canadian? Perhaps, the language difficulties kept him from becoming a Canadian citizen.]

Do they want to return?

Well ??? for me to be sincere... if I was to die today... eh, I believe that maybe they will return, both of them (laughing). But when I'm alive... they like me and I like them, we see eye to eye... I'm like the... the boss isn't it, they are getting by. [Unfortunately there are many that still think this way, I am the man, I am the boss of the family (machismo). Second generation Portuguese are changing their sexist attitudes and becoming more open-minded (pluralist).]

I don't know if some day my son will want to go back... I don't know, isn't it! When he finishes, if he finishes studying or something else and he wants to return, then at that time I'm not going to hold him back, but... but today my wife still prefers Canada, she likes that there more, than she likes this here, isn't it. [Why does she like it there more?] I don't know... she was there for many years... always, but now she is use to this here also. I don't know she always has a preference, the same I have, I also like Canada, but I have a bigger preference... If you were to give me a choice I will choose this here more, she will choose more Canada. But we get along here, we have no problems. She goes there once in a while to see her family, and that's it... yes... yes it's good... yes it's good. At first it was worse because she wasn't use to it... this over here today, already there are some, some 'stores', isn't it, that is to say -- the Canadian way (large supermarkets), there are good stores also to go shopping and something like that. [I find it extremely interesting that at one time the Portuguese immigrant needed a little Portugal to be able to survive the first few years of immigration, today the returnee needs a little of Canada in Portugal to make the re-adjustment process easier. Today one can find many businesses that have the Canadian flag outside their establishments and the names of the businesses ending or beginning with 'Canadian' or 'Canada'. Perhaps if there are a substantial number of returnees the establishment of a 'little Canada' will occur.] But eight years ago they were very backwards... there were a few small things, isn't it... that is to say -- a person that is use to be in Canada in those big stores and arrives here, the way you go shopping is very different, isn't it. That is to say -- you go and buy clothes there in Canada you choose isn't it, you enter, you choose what you want, what you don't want, isn't it. That is

to say over here... eh, sometimes... today it's a little better, isn't it... but you had to go... eh, madame, ask the employees isn't it... I have to buy a 'sweater', I want to buy a shirt, this or that, there are not too many things, I don't know if you already noticed that, isn't it. [I don't understand why the returnee doesn't except life in Portugal the way it is. After all he/she has already lived there, they should know more or less what to expect, I can't see there being too many surprises. Perhaps they have acculturated to the Canadian way of life more than they realize, the comforts of living in Canada are not found everywhere.]

No, I didn't notice. [I thought the supermarkets in Portugal were too big, the majority of the products are imported from abroad, even products that are produced in Portugal are overlooked for foreign products that cost more. It is sad to see people's attitudes and customs changing.]

You never noticed, the window cases they are not like there, you enter in Eaton's, or other stores like that isn't it, ??? over here no... here are a few things all very, very small..... you get there, hello mister, I want to buy a 'sweater' this or that... eh, today... today it's a little better, isn't it. You go to Ponta Delgada, have you gone to Ponta Delgada?

Yes, I have.

Yes, there are a few streets there that already present a few things, isn't it, but it doesn't compare with that there. Eh, the employee brought three, four 'sweaters' for you to choose, the design that you want, the quality that you want, isn't it. That is to say, already there are people that don't have problems with this, but the person that is a little more shy, don't you know? Hey dude, shit (possa) I don't like a lot this design, I wanted the other one... hey mister, and after the employee has to go to the boxes to get I don't know how many other sweaters... the person doesn't feel as well as if he was there choosing by himself, isn't it. That is to say -- there are these certain difficulties. But now she is use to it, she already gets by.... And now, already... already there are stores in Ponta Delgada of fabrics and things like that... already presents some show cases more or less goods (nice), also the things are getting better over here, isn't it, that is to say -- that's why I say... there are no difficulties. Hey dude, it isn't everything good... good... there is always something bad, isn't it. In every part of the world there is, isn't it. But in general we don't have

problems, that is to say. [Did your wife have more difficulties adjusting to the life in Portugal?]

What do you consider to be bad?

I consider a bad place... oh, you can consider a lot of things bad, isn't it. If a person doesn't have health, this is very bad (laughing) this for me is the worst, and not having money is the second, isn't it. If a person eh, doesn't have health... with health rather not have money, with health you get jobs and earn money, isn't it. Hey, if the person doesn't have both things he is miserable, isn't it. My case over here... thank God has been like this, more or less good, isn't it (laughing). We have our health, I earn sufficient money, I'm not rich, I'm poor isn't it, but I earn sufficient money to, to maintain my family without difficulties, I have no difficulties to maintain my family, isn't it, therefore I'm satisfied. It's like this. Now eh, I understand that there are people... like I have also done business were I have been wrong, isn't it. That is to say -- that sometimes we think... hey dude, this is going too good, but after things don't go as we want them to go, isn't it. That is to say -- I never had this problem, I never encounter it, but I'm speaking about this with respect to some people who sometimes come live here and are here one year or two, and after they go away (they return) isn't it, the same as... I use to have a neighbour of mine, he went to Canada, he was all happy that he was going to Canada with all his family... eh... eh... eh... he got there, was there a year and a bit and return again. He said that there wasn't what he thought, he thought that it was a better nation, and he didn't like it a lot, he likes it better here. I have a man who works with me, he already worked with me... eh, when I first came here, he worked with me I think about three years, or four years and after he went to Canada. He was there only one year and a bit, two years and he came back, now he is working with me again. He also didn't like it there. [Some people are still infatuated with life in Canada, they think that things are easier for Canadians, that we are all rich.] Well, this now also there is a bad period there in Canada, isn't it. Yes, at the time I went there, there was an abundance of jobs, isn't it. This now the guy didn't have to much luck because of this, he is a worker, but when he got there, like there are not too many jobs now, this wasn't now, this was already two years ago, there wasn't to many jobs in 1990... I think -- that he went there... eh, already the crisis were beginning there in Canada, and he earned a little money... he had work but earned a little money... eh, the way he earned there... here with me he earned more... he lived

better here than he was living there. After he came back. That is to say -- that I never had these difficulties thank God, I always had luck... I had always luck of having work and earning sufficient money. I had, with respects to money... that is to say -- at first when I bought the 'farm' there, I also had difficulties, isn't it, because I had a lot of debts... when I... I was there for a short period, I bought right away the 'farm', I didn't have money, that was all bought on credit isn't it, that is to say, ??? I had difficulties with money, isn't it. But after two years I started organizing my life according to the money I earned, that's it... I always got by (was able to survive --fuime safando sempre). And over here, here I already had a life, already brought a few monies from there here... here then I never had problems. The thing already came established, I already didn't have problems.

Did you leave anything behind?

No, no I sold everything I didn't leave anything, I didn't leave anything there. Eh, I came back I left everything sold... I sold everything.

When you got here, did people ask you why did you return?

There were people who said this... there were people who asked me why I returned back, but there weren't many... because well, the people may have even thought about this isn't it, but I wasn't talking to... too many people here... I spoke to a few... some person may have thought about this, there were a few people who said this at first, but I reasoned this way.... well, I'm going to try it out, if it doesn't go right, I will sell everything again and go back. [I don't understand why they don't think about planning their return, what they are going to be doing in Portugal and how they are going to do it. It seems that they just 'gamble', in the same way they did when they emigrated to Canada, if it works, it works if it doesn't I'll return home.] Because I'm a free person and I like to be free anywhere I arrive, and I do things always by my head... if I'm right good... if I'm wrong then I don't have to blame anybody, do you understand? [Very free spirited, and I could see this being alright if it was only him, but how about his family, how do they feel about starting life over and over again, very selfish view-point.] And I thought about coming, so I came. Eh, if it didn't give, some people would say -- hey dude, (that guy -- flano) came was here for a few months, a few years and went back, this is also not going to be good for you, and I said -- hey dude, I'm going to try it.

I like to try things out, if they don't work I'll go back, and it was like that, I tried it out, I'm satisfied... I didn't... I didn't have, have problems. But I, I think the following, it is very good that we do business and all of this, isn't it. But it is also good that we know how to do business, isn't it, because if a person does business and knows how it was done... eh, that's good.... it is not to say by this that something won't go wrong, isn't it. Sometimes a person could do business that you think... hey dude, this business is going to go this way or that way, and after things don't go as you thought, isn't it. But a person has a certain certainty... a person has to take a chance, isn't it. [The key work for the emigrants and the returnees, they took a chance, they are not afraid to try things out.] But they have to have a certain idea of what they are doing, isn't it. After, sometimes there are some people that had difficulties and had to go back because they got involved in some businesses that they shouldn't have, do you understand? Well, I don't want to say this on the bad side (eu no quero dizer isto nao e por mal) isn't it. It appears to me that, that if the person didn't have these bad transactions (business), because I know of some cases, that have been like that, they shouldn't have made those transactions the way they did, isn't it. Because the people liked living here in Portugal, just because life wasn't sufficient for this (money), and after they had to sell everything and go back again. That's why I say they invested too much when they did their transactions, maybe transactions they didn't understand what they were doing, I don't know too much of what happen, isn't it. But this is an idea, what I understood more or less was this, isn't it. The person, in my case there in Canada I made a transaction I didn't understand nothing about it, do you understand, at the time, today two hundred thousand dollars isn't a lot of money, but at that time two hundred thousand dollars was a lot of money... But eh, and I did that transaction, but if I knew... eh, the difficulties that, that was going to bring me, isn't it. I'm a stubborn person, do you understand? And after I was able to go always ahead because I'm a bit stubborn, but at first I had a lot of difficulties because I didn't know too well what I was doing, if I knew what I was doing I would have stayed in the factory I was working... and, and until I was in better condition to buy the 'farm' (money), don't you know, and after I would buy it. And I didn't want to know about this, I risked and everything could have gone wrong, it didn't because I was a stubborn guy... hey dude, I have to try (succeed)... I have to try (succeed)... and I succeeded isn't it, but if I had failed I would have really failed (se eu esmoreceu, tinha esmorcido mesmo).... Because that, at the time I had a lot of difficulties there, because I didn't understand what I was

doing. Because ??? eh, in some place you don't understand, you have to ask a person to explain it how you can resolve it or if you invent something with your head, isn't it, but you have to, you have to, a person has to explain how you have to do the things, isn't it. I think it as to be like that, isn't it, but I know I did everything from my head without knowing what I was doing very good, and after that wasn't working out to good, and.... it is like this.

From my journal: This was my first interview, I found it very interesting and I think it went well. The informant was very nice, there were lots of expressions with his hands, banging on the table, and a big smile on his face. It was very interesting to me that this informant said that he had done no crime nor had anything to hide. I also believe that there might have been other reasons for the return to Sao Miguel that the informant did not want to go into.

I wish he would have said more about life in Portugal before he emigrated, there is a need to understand his life before emigrating. It seems that it wasn't that bad, there was a chance for him to succeed as a farmer, but because of his wife and perhaps the dream of emigrating to Canada he emigrated when didn't have too. His success before emigrating might also had an impact on his decision to return to Portugal. This success could have also influenced him to purchase the farm in Canada. I am happy that he has been able to re-establish his success in Portugal, and now it seems that he has both money and good living conditions the two things that Portuguese emigrants look for in foreign countries.

MR. TEODORE

Setting - Interviewee's house, kitchen table. Early in the morning.

When I embarked for Canada, we embark because life isn't running well, right? We go looking for a better situation [What kind of situation existed? What kind of situation were you looking for?]. Ah, then I embarked in 1954. In April 1954. In April, now, on April 23, it makes 40 years, that I left for the first time. I then went on contract to the railroads for one year [Did you know anything about contract work in Canada? Was it difficult to emigrate as a contract worker?]. You know that in the railroads, the 90 cents an hour we earned was very little, right? And then I was almost two years without coming to any communities or "towns". In Canada it was always in forests - thick forest - this does not foster any friendships [This must have been very difficult for the first Portuguese pioneers, coming from Portugal where the world around them was small, one knew everything and everyone, and all of a sudden you're in British Columbia working on the railroads. Perhaps those that were in the army and went to the colonies, the emigration process might have been easier for them]. Then, there I went to the aluminum factories in Kitimat. There, in the aluminum factories, as you know, the earnings were better. There I earned well and more, right? [Was earning money the most important factor in your migration? Money, saving money seems to be the most significant issue of the migration process for the Portuguese. Conceivably, acquiring a large amount of savings would enable the immigrant to return.] Afterwards I came here to marry. When I came here to get marry, they wanted to give me 6 weeks for me to come here, and I thought it was too little and I quit. [Were you scared to quit? Had you saved enough money to return to Portugal and stay for good? Why did you need more than six weeks holidays?] And then I... in 1958, I went there again after I was married, right? [How did you feel about returning home and then re-emigrating? Was it difficult to re-emigrate to Canada? Did you have a special visa?] And then I went around looking for work... and no work - and all of this depresses one, right? I even wound up in Prince Rupert, on the Pacific coast - you know where it is, don't you? -- 200 miles from Alaska. There, I found myself with \$2 that I had. I had nothing else. Without family, without anyone, without any Portuguese there. [Why didn't you bring your wife with you to Canada? He must be very courageous to travel all over Canada without speaking the language, alone and without money. The will to succeed is definitely there --

the way of the emigrant!!] There was nobody - nobody! Just Indians. That there is only Indians! Then I wound up - I went to the railroad offices. And then they told me that I had gone on friday afternoon. That I had work, but only on monday should I go. With these \$2 I rented a room, and bought some sardines to eat. And after, I went to eat these on saturday and on sunday. And then I went to eat, in the afternoon, uh, (pause)..... "close" to Prince Rupert. I, uh, took 2 or 3 hours by train, to get there. There it was good. [What was good about it? What did you do on the railroad?] Even almost one could work for 24 hours. By day, there on the railroad - know why? - not that we actually worked, but rather waiting for the train's, then it wouldn't arrive, then they would close the lines for it to pass, and it wouldn't pass - then in those days, the railroad wasn't like today. They were somewhat screwed up, right? That the trains... that... they would de-rail, unlock - all those types of things! Then I was fired in October. [How did you feel about being let-go? Why were you fired?] I went to Calgary. In Calgary, I stayed for 2 years. [why did you decide to go to Calgary?] As you know, the constructions paid \$1.25 per hour. Hard work (stresses). I was there for two years. Errr... now I'm lying, I'm lying... it was \$2.25 an hour that the construction paid, it was hard work - bricks, more bricks - bricks! At that time they didn't have those machines to go bring them up, no, it was all by hand. I was there for two years, and after, I came here - I came here. I returned to visit here, but with ideas of staying for good. But I didn't stay. [Immigration has become a way of life for him.] Once again, I returned. [Why did you re-emigrate? Why didn't your wife emigrate with you?] I went then to Streetsville... now I think they call it Mississauga or something. Whatever... I was there for two years in '68. No... I went there in sixtyyyyyy.... three. And I returned in '65. I was there for two years. [Why did you go to 'Streetsville'?] Therefore, when I returned, I never went again... only in these last few years - these five years. From '65 to '87, I never - nevermore returned. But then, at this time I was Canadian. I became Canadian in Calgary in '59 [Was it difficult to become a Canadian citizen?]. I've been Canadian since '59. I went, then, there. I came here in '87... the girls, 'Oh, daddy, was there, we are without rights...' I said, 'Eh? What are the rights?' Therefore, then if it's because of this, then I'll go to sponsor you there, right? If you want to go to Canada, you go to Canada. I went then in '87. In '87, and I returned in '91. I was there for almost 5 years. But I'll tell you the truth, I liked it. These last five years, I liked it. (Musical car horn blares its tune in background). [What was the difference between the first three times you emigrated and the last time?

Is it possible that you would have made a life for your family in Canada if you went to live in Toronto during your first emigrations? Perhaps the establishment of the Portuguese community in Toronto made life much easier for him during his last emigration.]

I worked at the... CN Tower. But it wasn't in the tower. It was in ... in... umm... those 'booldeengas' (buildings) that are there for the 'shows'. There were there... they have these, these really big 'booldeengas' (buildings) that are right adjacent to the tower. Uhhmn... I worked there almost 5 years. I went there... uhhhh.... I arrived - on the day that I arrived, the next day, I went there to work. [The will to work and make money is so great. He doesn't need to re-emigrate, but he does for his children.] I stayed always there. I like it. This, then, I liked it. It was no longer the same Canada. It was no longer the same Canada... because at that time, it use to depress the people... ??? ... Tomorrow's day is bleak, isn't it? [What do you mean, when you say depress the people?] But now... that now is good - now it was very good. I liked it, in the last five years I liked it. [I have heard different from others, when they first arrived the work was hard and times were difficult but the money was good, it was easier to save and to make a living.]

You said it was a different Canada. How has Canada changed?

How did Portugal become different...? How did this evolve so much to the way it is? This wasn't nothing, to the way it is now. This now, 100% it wasn't. 100%... Like Canada also wasn't. In Toronto also wasn't... there weren't those 'booldings' (buildings)... like there are there now. If there were, there were ten, or a dozen or something like that, right? The rest was all those puny antique things of the type... of the English type that are there. This was what was there. Look, I'll tell you the truth, I know Canada from Halifax ... (pause)... Vancouver (laughter)... I know all of it. Aww... those provinces, as well, I know all of that. You know, the railways, we ran through all of it. Ran through all of it while working on it all. I was almost 4 years in the railroads, right? [It must have been exciting to travel all over Canada by railroad? I wish he would have said a little more.]

Any thing else about Canada?

Oh, but of course, problems... I did! Wouldn't I?? It was the

language. But I... always brought from here a few things (words) of English from my father. My father was in America for 14 year, right? And he was American. [Interesting that his father had also emigrated and then returned to Portugal. Perhaps, he heard positive things about his fathers experience as an immigrant and this made it easier for him to emigrate. Why didn't you emigrate to America like your father did? Very interesting that his father also became a returnee?] He was in America, and he spoke English well. I always brought a few things. But... however, at that time, we didn't think of Canada... ah, [Why didn't you think about emigrating to Canada?] only a few things (words) were worth the effort. But since I knew how to read, right? I grasped the reading better than the speech. By reading, then, I started developing ... I spoke well in English. But then I came here, I was here for so many years, right, I started losing... losing... But, like it is, I have here my little girl, this one knows how to speak English well. Right? This one was there in school, right? And that which one learns as a child, one will never forget. But, after a certain age... I went there at 27... after a certain age, under, we only thin... thin... in English, we think about life, we think about our children... so many things. So many things that present themselves before us. [There are more important things in life than learning how to speak the language, you only need a few words to get by. I know of some people that only after living in Canada for more than twenty years they have finally made an effort to learn some English. Probably due to their children finding partners from other ethnic groups, better late than never!]

So how did you arrive at your final decision to return?

Yes, because I turned 65 and I couldn't work there any more. Uhm... I'm retired... you know, when I went there in '87, I believed I wouldn't find work because I was too old for that. I went there at 61. Now, a man of 61... what's he going to do there in Canada? So many youths -- there are so many young men, right? But at the time, it was good. Canada was good at the time. There was lots of work. For whoever wanted to work, there was work. But I am also one of those that, once I enter a job I don't slack off, right? I'm not killing myself, either, but... let's work. At that place my (female) boss liked me. I stayed there always. I entered the first day, and I never left it. So many that entered and left, right? I was there almost 5 years, huh? It was her that was 'manager' there. It was a lady from the continent. Uh... I forget the name now of the... of the... 'Convention Centre'.

I was the boss of the night... from 11 pm to 7:30 in the morning. I was in charge of the work I had there. It was ??????? of the 'shows'. There were always shows that needed always maybe 20 people. 10, 12 people, depending on the show, for example, an auto show was a show that takes a month... over a month... in there. And that requires a heavy duty cleaning, and we took longer, and had more people, right? And when there was no shows -it was rare, rare there not being - there were three compartments... three divisions. If it wasn't in one, it was in another, in another, all of them had something all year round, all year round. Oh, that was, that traffic, close to I don't know, I don't know how to say it. The auto 'show' traffic almost 100 000 people.... per day, another 80 000 because in the escalators, there was the thing that counted, if you put your foot, it was counting, yeah, that was.... Then I sometimes assisted when they open those things to see the amount of people who had entered or exited. And I also, trust that I had with them. I liked it, hey guy (rapaz (boy)) I like it, I liked it. The last five years, right? [Big change from working in construction or in the Canadian wilderness, probably making more money than he ever did.] The last years I liked Canada, because it wasn't what it use to be in the years I was there, no it wasn't, it wasn't, no it wasn't, no. [What was different?] This was my life there in Canada. I went and I came three times. Afterwards I came here. I started my life here in the fields (farming). [Was this the same type of work you did before you emigrated and during your emigration period? Why didn't your wife emigrate with you?]

What are you doing here?

Cattle, and.... sugar beets, corn (em fin) right? It is agriculture, now, it is that I don't have it, I don't have it because... age doesn't permit these... I have cattle, this I have. So it goes, so that I don't stay at home, do you know? Only for me not to be around the house. [I'm happy for him, my grandfather worked in the fields until the day he died, he was always happy, he always had something to do.]

Did your wife emigrate to Canada?

No, she was always here, she was always here. Eh, because I use to go, you know? When I went there, now in '87 I went with the idea of enrolling my children.... in Canada for them to go to Canada. ??? Now its three years, uhm, 'citizenship'. In my time it was five years, I embarked in '54 and I became

Canadian in '59. This one, my youngest, they started to tell me there that, eh, the youngest after six months they could... and I went... to immigration. And they, this and that, I need for my daughter to take the Canadian papers (Become a Canadian Citizen), and so. He started to see, but tell me something, why do you want her to become a Canadian citizen if she is one (stressing)? But sir, but how is she if she was born in Portugal? But, son of a bitch, this is all, this is all controlled. Nobody gets away with anything, anything, anything, anything. She went to get me a sheet, because you know, I every year, I use to participate the embassy in Lisbon what was happening with me. [Why did you do this?] One more child, two more children and they, and she went to get the embassy's books, my children, all of them, all of them, they are all Canadians. And after I... hey dude I wrecked my life (laughing). [How did you wreck your life? Why did you children want to go to Canada?] Bon, I'm here, I'm here, I'm here. But I liked it, I liked it. I have two children there and one in California. And three here. [Big family! Why did one go to California?] They went there at the time I was there, no there was one that went first, she got married and went there with her husband and the other went with me, got married, got married and stayed there. [Do they like living in Canada? Do they want to return to Portugal?] And I have three abroad and three here. The boy that lives here in front of me... and the little one that is here, the youngest one, and the one that is getting married in July, the doctor. These don't think about going there. [Why don't they think about emigrating?] He... she is also Canadian the doctor, whichever one from here, the boy because whichever one, because they were born, I was already Canadian. [He is very proud of them being Canadian.] They went to get the citizenship of the father, my wife isn't, no, she isn't. This was my life.

What did you do before you emigrated?

I was a farmer. My life was always this one, to work in the country (farming). I learned about Canada in '54 through the government. Yes the government made a contract with Canada. 1 000 men, no, no if I'm not wrong I think it was 1 500 men in '54... from here, from the island. When I embarked there were 1 000 with a contract for one year in the railroads. For the 'Welch Company'. It was an Italian. And the first 300 to the 'farms' in 23 of March '54 to the 'farms'. I embarked in 23 of April for the railroads. And on May the 3rd I think there were also 200 to the 'farms', they went to the 'farms'. But there had already gone 18 men from here Sao Miguel in the

previous year, in '53. And I by chance met some of them in Montreal, when I arrived there, they were already there for a year. Oh, they would say they had bad luck, that those 'farmeiros' (farmers) were, bon. Eh... there were 'farmeiros' that were worth nothing (were no good). I know a husband of a cousin of mine, he withdrew the money in a bank for, the ticket 12 'contos' (1 conto equals 1 000 escudos -- about \$120.00). And he went to earn fifty dollars per month. He poor guy... the fifty dollars that he earned he use to send to his father to liquidate the debt of the ticket (passage), right? And October arrives and he is fired from the farm.... And he without money, without a place to go, he returned to the farm, the same farm for six months for nothing (worked for free for six months), doing the same wrong. [The contracts must have been disorganized for this poor man not to have no one or any place he could go for assistance, I can't begin to imagine how he must have felt.] Then in April they called him to the railroad [Who called him to the railroads?], for him to be able to finish paying the ticket. Uhm that.... Canada isn't, now it isn't what it use to be, believe it is like the way I'm talking (telling you). There are many people that don't believe it. Those that go there now, now you guys were good for nothing (stressing), hey man. [I disagree, I'm sure that every emigrant suffers in one way or another, the difference between the pioneers and today's emigrants is that the Portuguese Community in Canada is now established enabling people to seek help. But nonetheless emigrating to a foreign country is very difficult, I know that I would think twice about it if I was to emigrate again.] All the men that came here [Canada] were all men of 'nariz' (nose? strong), all men that knew how to work, and of heavy work, all people of working hard (mandar peso), now... if they talk the way I'm talking, because I'm talking the truth, they don't believe it. Ah, also it doesn't bother me, it doesn't bother me, because who suffered it was me. [I think it bothers him.] Sometimes we in the streets.... (Whispering) "Hey man that man over there is Portuguese?" and after all of a sudden ehhhh, after the other also passes by and would feel... I would say, "hey man we are Portuguese". [It must have been very difficult not knowing the language or anything and being alone.] Now, we go to Canada, for example to Toronto or Montreal. Dundas is all Portuguese, eh... College above that is all 'Terceirensos' (people from Terceira) (laughing). This is a lot different. The person that leaves here to a country like that and goes to family or friends, it is very different [Family and friends most of them have their own life, the help they give is usually not sufficient. For many Portuguese immigrants it is easier to get help from a neighbour of another ethnic group than from your own family.] When I embarked I didn't go to

anybody..... I went, eh, eh, we went as friends with one another, right, with luck. And that's it. I, I in '56 got a letter from a brother-in-law that is in Kitimat. "Hey dude leave that alone, come here, this over here eh, eh, this over here, this over here you always earn more money". He went (A sort -- looking for luck) with luck there, he was in the farms, he left that, I think he earned 80 dollars... he went there and got a work in this factory. And I left the railroad and went to this factory. (clears his throat) Lets see, I arrived there I encountered, there was 600 people unemployed there, Portuguese runaways, [What do you mean by Portuguese runaways? Perhaps those that left the contracts to look for better jobs. It is interesting that even though the Portuguese during the 'emigration period' were few and spread out, linkages, information about better jobs were available.] Italians ehh from other parts to see if they would find a job there (in the factory). (Whispering) "Shit, I won't find a job here, hey man", But it was so in the day I arrived, hey dude. But in the next day I went to the Oh... Oh office... eh hh so many people in there, eah and they threw all of them on the street. But I went, a man from 'Porto Formoso' and one from 'Lagoa' (villages in Sao Miguel), all three. Ehh 'man' we go to the post office to see if we have letters, or something.... [It would be interesting to find out if information about better employment came across the Atlantic to Portugal by mail and returned by mail to others in different parts of Canada.] and I say it like this "hey John over here is where we find a job... work right, in the post office. Lets see if this, if we wait here, wait here for us to try. By chance we enter in there, we already knew, knew a little English..... And after a servant said, he didn't say anything, brought three applications..... for me that wasn't nothing because I understood a lot of written English, the one from 'Porto' also and the other also, we did it (fill them up), give it to them. At ten o'clock to the inspection [Very adventurous.]. We started to work right that day, I earned that day already, [It is very important to him that he didn't waste anytime finding a job.] I and the others also, the other two. You know the majority of the people that were in there, didn't understand any English. Bon, I don't want to say that it was only like that, but it was men (boys) that didn't bring almost any education from here. And after they had many difficulties in finding work. I stayed there..... almost one and half years, close to two years when I was there. You earned well, earned, there, there you earned well. Now I also have to tell you, not everyone could get use to the factory due to those gases that were. OOOh I couldn't get use to it, I was always throwing up there in the factory. I then asked to go to the dock, you know what the dock is? [Did you

like working there?]

Yes.

I went then to work aboard, loading and unloading ships. But it was dangerous, it was dangerous, it was a job, to work under death (stressing) I could say it like this to you. Sometimes those bunches of aluminum bars, would separate in the air, that would fall and every one was a 100 pounds, 'a hundred pounds'. Bon, its over and done with, the young age makes all of that, I needed money, but you earned well, that then you earned well (taking a big breath), it is like that. [Money is very important, perhaps more than life itself.]

Did you buy a house in Canada?

NO, I never bought one, I never ended in buying one. The first time, it was the contract that the government made with.... We already brought the visa for good from here, from the embassy, the embassy Canadian. It already came all ready from Lisbon. The government was in charge of everything, everything, everything. We only paid, and went to get the passport with everything ready. It was to embark and nothing else. [Did you know what kind of work you were going to be doing in Canada? Did you know of anyone that emigrated before you?]

Could anyone emigrate to Canada?

No, no, no they had to get inspected. The Canadian doctors came here. Three Canadian doctors came to do the inspection to the men. Oh yes, we were all naked, and they would feel the muscles with things they would put here to see what the heart said. En fin (nonetheless) it was a rigorous inspection. [How did you feel about being inspected?] But before we went to the..... to the Canadians, we already had gone to the ministry of health over here. The ministry of health had already inspected everyone. Then they were advised that in such a day, in such a hospital, so, so in the Hospital of Sao Jose in the city (Main hospital in Ponta Delgada) that they should go to the inspection. OOh (stresses) what a crowd of, of people were there. But it was fast, because they had been already inspected in... they had in front of then what the ministry of health had said. It was, it was the ministry of health that constraint a lot. And one could not go if they didn't pass 'terceira class' (grade seven). These things like that. It wasn't like, lets go, no it was with a lot of patience. Bon, in this part the government had reason, had reason because

I'll tell you the truth. It is sad a person that makes part of a family and gives to another to read. Sometimes in the eyes of other nations, men who are not Portuguese, Italian then ????? there are also many that do not know how to read. But, this part they had good reason. But after, I think it was '60 and onwards if they knew or didn't know they went (read and write). There was no inspection, there was nothing, its like it is now. But in my time it was a rigorous inspection. But a lot of people, a lot of men didn't pass (inspection). They would stay in the country with their job (farming). But I think some of those returned to embark after the '60s. Hey guy, in that time it was very rigorous going to Canada (stresses). This was, I started earning 90 cents. Two years always 90 cents per hour. I payed five dollars per day, we earned seven there were two left. For food and.... the room, right? It is like that. Lets see (come e), I experienced cold, 56 below zero, North Pole. Hey guy that was cold, that was.... It was putting your feet in the fire, and, and not feel it. I was with drills, 'drilas', to drill those rocks, to after put 'dinamite' (dynamite) to blow with that, to extend the lines. Sometimes rocks would fly through the air and the men would.... run from it for it not to fall in the head. It was always dangerous (chuckles), [It must have been scary working under such conditions. Why didn't you try to find another job, if the money was no good and it was dangerous?] it was like that. That time, now yes, now yes, now Canada is a great country. [Why is it so great now?] Yes, I liked these last five years, yes I liked it. If I didn't retire I would have stayed. [Would you have sponsored your wife?] The company said that I couldn't work any more, they even made a party for me. I will tell you the truth, I was well considered (valuable employee) there in the Convention Centre, they liked me, and they liked me in there. Do you know, I.... ???? that a lot, I...always, always had my eye open in all of that (kept a watchful eye). Oh, this then, that... did you go in there?

yes.

And did you go into the 'garajas' (garage)?

Sorry.

In the 'garajas' behind?

No I haven't.

UUUh, that is world that is there, that is a world. There are

twelve 'garajas', that carry, Oh I don't know, more than a thousand cars in there. Ooh, that is the world, that is the same traffic as outside in the streets, in there. When the 'shows' finish, they close at midnight or at one o'clock, when they close, eehh! Crazy (stressing)... collisions, they destroy each other in there, already 'tocados da bebida' (tipsy, with alcohol), Oh, that is accident after accident, it is firemen there (laughing), there is so many things, it is so many things. Bon, but this does not involve me, this is..... My wife liked being there, [How long was your wife there? Did she want to stay? Did you travel in Canada with her?] But we could not stay there because I didn't own my own house and I wasn't at a age to purchase one, right? [Where did you stay?] I no longer could buy a house there. Then many would say for me to sell this over here, but I would not do this, I have my life over there, it is there, there, there, [Sao Miguel]. Until I came here, I am not doing bad here, I'm doing good. I am good (stable) we don't need anything. We have everything from home, vegetables, it's good, it's good over here, we live well. Uhm, the young, the young one doesn't want to go back, she doesn't think about going back. She has everything here, she's in grade twelve, she's going to apply now to enter university. The other one is a lawyer. That one over there, this year gets is degree in history and philosophy, what more do they want? They want... don't need to go there. It is like that. [He is right, they definitely don't need to go to Canada.] My daughters (in Canada) are coming now in July, to the sisters wedding. But the wedding is not here, it's in Lisbon, ???? outside of lisbon, four hours from Lisbon. (pause) It's like that. Anything else? [I wonder if the children that emigrated are doing as well as those that stayed? I wonder if they also have post-secondary education, and careers like their brothers in Portugal?]

Do you miss Canada?

Yes, yes, yes sometimes, [What do you miss most?] eh it is like I said, I liked it this time, I liked it a lot. I miss it, I miss it a lot. And I won't go [die] without going there one day to make a visit to my children, right? And to see where I have been, Yes this then I hope so. Oh Jesus, so much we go through in this life. Oh, life was difficult, even to go to the doctor sometimes... for example, me in '54 I went to the doctor because of my head, dizziness, 'dizzy', I went by myself there..... I don't know if you know, maybe you don't know, 'kenora' in 'Manitoba'. I went by myself, a man (referring to himself) didn't know where he was, didn't know anything, was there like a stooge (pateta). Then one day also

I had so much pain in my teeth, this cheek was very swollen I went to a dentist, some guy, Ukrainian, was who brought me there. A man (referring to himself) without knowing where he should walk, would walk without knowing if those people were good or bad, all these things had a lot of influence, oh lots of influence, yeap. There were 100 Portuguese men that worked with me in the year I went. But when you did these things you did them by yourself. It was by yourself, no one would accompany you. [Why did you do these things by yourself? Why wouldn't anyone accompany you? I don't understand this mentality, perhaps everyone wanted to be a 'big man' and not ask for help from one another. I would have thought that these first migrants would have supported one another and helped each other in everything. I feel bad that some Portuguese feel this way, but for some reason there exists lots of competition between Portuguese in Canada, I often wonder if the Portuguese Community does exist or is it only a facade, there is so much back-stabbing.] Then in '55 a guy that lived just above me here, who wasn't 24 died there, and I saw all of this, after... so much happens to a man, so much happens to a man. What time is it?

It's ten O'clock?

I have to go to work.

Where?

I have to go and heat up water, do you want to see a pig killing, Do you want to see it? eahm, do you want to see it? But it is in the afternoon, you could come.

Thank-you.

It's like this. It was very bad in my time, yes it was, yes it was. It was 'maduro' (difficult), yes it was. It is true that the houses there in that time you could buy it, it isn't the same price as today, 10 000, 12 000 dollars was good enough for a house. But to earn that money. To be able to earn that money, Oh.... It is like that..... (pause)

From my journal: Lots of expressions with his hands, tears in his eyes throughout most of the conversation especially when he talked about the early years in Canada. I thought it was hard for him to open up, perhaps he wanted to say more about Canada but didn't. One of the first things he asked me was if

the government was going to read this report. He invited me to a pig killing in the afternoon which I attended, but he was too busy to talk to me or perhaps he didn't want to speak in front of his neighbours. I liked the interview, I thought that he had suffered a lot from the migration experience but it seems that he lives a happy life now.

I am happy that he went into some detail about his good/bad experiences in his migration, it has helped me understand the difficulties he must have experienced, not knowing the language, looking for a job, being alone, and having his family back in Portugal. I believe that the underlying reason for him not to emigrate with his family and keep returning to Portugal stems from his fathers experience as a migrant in the United States, he emigrated alone and returned. Things must have been good for him to return a second time and stay until his last emigration in 1987, although he doesn't realize it Canada during those first few years helped him get established in Portugal. The Canadian dollar must have given him a head start, especially before the revolution in Portugal. He mentions that at the time it was easier to get help from a stranger (ukrainian) than from a fellow Portuguese, I fail to understand this mentality, I can't comprehend why we as Portuguese immigrants in Canada can't help one another, I hope that the future proves different.

Mrs. Moniz

Setting - Early in the afternoon. The conversation took place at the informants house (backyard, dinning room, and kitchen while she was baking bread).

I went in April 1958, I was one of the first, the, the second emigration. In relation to the family, first went my, my father that went '53. Therefore he stayed there five years, at the end of five years he came here to get us, to make the papers and everything and we, he went away and then we went after because he had to prepare the papers first for us to be able to go back. But we went to the Quebec. 'La Province de Quebec', and we were there, it was, I was there 20 years. [Were you happy to emigrate to Canada?] I came here... I didn't have any difficulties, because I went with seven years, my brother went with five, we, I can't say a problem that I had more difficult than the others that were there. I never had problems like, like being Portuguese. You know the problems we have being emigrants, I don't know if you already noticed. Were you born there?

I was born here.

You were born over here. Then with what age did you go there?

I was ten years old.

Ten years, you could have noticed that the Portuguese, when they go there they want to take everything that is here, there. Do you understand me? [How true, it is very difficult to give up the culture and customs of our heritage. For most of us we want everything that Canada has to offer (money), but we still need a lot of the things we left behind, perhaps because of this we return to Portugal. One only has to shop in a Portuguese supermarket to see the multiplicity of Portuguese made products offered to the Portuguese consumer in Canada. It is interesting that we immigrants want a taste, a smell of something that brings us back in time, not necessarily that the product is superior to another made in Canada or elsewhere it is simply a longing (matar saudades) that we have. For example, when I shop at the Portuguese Fishmarket on Bloor Street I often purchase a Portuguese chocolate bar, for about the same price, but half the size of a Canadian chocolate bar. The importance of eating that chocolate bar is great, it brings back childhood memories -- a different time a different place.]

Yes mam.

A folkloric group, the way of eating, a supermarket, do you understand? The, the, the (stuttering) no, no they are not able to live, ??? with the people that are there. That in your case they are English. The Portuguese have many difficulties in communicating with the English. [Why do you think that is? I don't believe we segregate ourselves purposely, or that we dislike the host group (English/French) or any other ethnic group in Canada. We just feel more at home, the home we have so much trouble giving up (Portugal), when our neighbours and the facilities we use are Portuguese oriented. I don't remember anyone ever saying that the reason they bought their house where it is, was because the neighbours were not English.] It's always living like them (referring to the Portuguese back-home). [I don't see anything wrong with that, I am happy to be part of two cultures, sometimes I feel like I'm part of more than two cultures because I live in such a diverse society]. The young ones no, who is young, but the old ones. For example, I, I, I refer more to my father and my mother. My father was very easy to adapt, but my mother no, do you understand me? But we were, were easy because we were young and we went to live with them (referring to Canadians) slowly learning their way of living like them, the way, we went they thought we were french. But we spoke Portuguese at home, but outside we only spoke french. [This is the case for most Portuguese families in Canada, however I have seen some speaking only English with their parents and their parents responding in Portuguese. At home for the longest time we were allowed to speak only in Portuguese, but as time passed this strict rule was abolished and now I hear my parents speaking half and half.] But what I want to tell you is that the Portuguese has a shortcoming of taking everything that is theirs there, where they shouldn't. Because we have to respect the way person lives there, to be able to communicate better, to live better with them. Because the Portuguese have the tendency, I don't know if it's now, because I, I've been here now for 20 years. They have the tendency to put faults on those that were there. They are very lazy, they don't want to work, dress like this, don't work, never save money for the life, ta, ta, ta. [Yes, I have heard this many times, but I don't think that it is directed at any particular ethnic group as a whole, I have heard some of my parents' friends stating exactly the same thing to their sons, and they are Portuguese.] But it's their way of living. I never had problems there because we played with the french, and we spoke all day French, and when I came home it was Portuguese. I never had difficulties. Where in Toronto and

also in Montreal we see a group that has a Portuguese church, and then there is a folkloric group, there is a soccer team, there are Portuguese shops, it shouldn't be (whispering - out of breath). [This is what is so great about Canada.] We should go to, to and not to a country, and let it be whatever (which one) and not only a group resisting back, but going to the people (going forward). I think it's this, I never had difficulties in Canada. [I wonder if this bothered her while she was growing up in Canada, or did she realize it after her return!! There is nothing wrong with assimilating to the host society as she is suggesting.]

You said that your mother had difficulties?

Ah, because she didn't.... (pause) she, she always had the idea of coming back, are you understanding me? She didn't want to die there. [I never thought that dying away from your homeland would actually make a difference, after all you are dead. However, we could see the strong ties between the emigrant and the homeland, a very legitimate reason for returning. It also could be the underlying reason for retiring in Portugal -- I want to die in my homeland.] I understood, she, she worked, never had a house, never had a car. To save a little money to come back here and buy a house. [Very important to be able to afford your own house.] To live better but she died right away, she didn't have, have time to profit what she wanted (enjoy life), but what she wanted was, was to die here. [Very dramatic, I feel extremely bad for her, I wish things would have been different.] She already died 16 years ago. If she, she was alive it would be another thing (something else), she, she 'fulfil his life all over, you know', but from her idea, but she wasn't able to do that. That's why I say it's not worth to say this --- to earn so much money and come back --- but live, because that way we don't loose, do you understand me? [Great philosophy, unfortunately most of us will only learn too late.] We don't loose (stresses this), and after we ??? why didn't I do this, we regret it. But I'm happy to be here. [I'm glad.] I had more problems here than there. In the sense that I was living alone had no family, after I had, had here a grandfather, my, my, my grandparents had seventy something (referring to age), then they were getting older, I had to take care of them. Then my mother died, I had to take care of my father, I had my children... it was a very active life only at work, where there I didn't have that. [I'm sorry to hear this, it seems that a large part of her life has been dedicated to taking care of others, perhaps that is why she feels so strong about one enjoying their life before anything else.]

When did you return?

I came back in '74, when there was the revolution of the 25 of April (last revolution in Portugal). My father decided, ah the politics, the politics is better, we will go there, perhaps we will have a life more modern to live. But it went slowly, but it came, life is better now, but it took its time. [What took its time, modernization?] But I like to be here, but I don't want to go there. I'm scared that if I like it, I've already made my life here, isn't it? In relation to my father, my father already died three years ago. Therefore I made my life around him because he was here, I didn't want to leave him alone. I'm afraid that if I would go there, I would like to stay there for good (laughing), do you understand? [Did you want to stay in Canada when your parents returned? Why didn't you stay?] It was this. My children, I wouldn't like them to go, because today we already have the same opportunities. A future for life, a better future, over here as well. [Do your children want to emigrate to Canada? I agree, I didn't see too much of a difference between Canadian and Portuguese living standards.] But you need to go to Lisbon, or, or you can go to the Continent, to Spain, to, to I don't know, which ever way they want to study they will go. And if they want to go to Canada they can go as well. I don't have like this, I don't have problems. No, no I don't have to tell you the truth I don't have. My brother had, my brother in comparison to me, had many, had we the teachers because he was in the 'Cesep', I don't know if you know what the 'Cesep' is, we there in Quebec have after the high-school, have three years, to see if the people that are there the youth that are there are able to go to university, not to have to choose this one, this one, that one will go to university, they for themselves will give the marks the ones that have good marks, went, went to university, and the ones that didn't have, would not have the need to loose time and money, and for by themselves would be looking for jobs, isn't it. And we had the 'Cesep', and my brother had lots of difficulty was with the teachers, there were one that was racist, and my brother was very good in school, one day he had, had it and he gave him a punch, he already had age for this and he was almost expelled for it. But he had good marks. [This is unfortunate, and violence is not a solution, I just hope that the teacher realized what he/she did doing was wrong.]

Did he stay there or did he come back?

No, he is there still 'business administration'.Xerox

Company.

yeah. Well I think his future is there, he comes here, year in year out, well he spends his holidays. [Does he regret not returning with the family? Does he want to return someday?]

And you have already gone to visit there, since you've been here?

He is the one that always comes here, he always comes here, for me to be helpful to my grandmother I could not leave her alone, after my father went there once, after I didn't want to leave him alone. And after going there and leaving all the men at home, what were they going to do (laughing)? These things like this, the Portuguese, it is that. [Very traditional way of thinking.]

How old were you when you came here?

I had twenty three years. [She was old enough to stay in Canada, but her responsibilities lie with her family.] I already have forty three.

Did you want to stay there? Did you have to come here because of your parents?

I, I, I, I meanwhile, I got married in '76, '76, after I couldn't find work here, I said what am I going to do here all day at home? My mother was still alive, I'm going there, I went there, went there stayed there three months, my mother had one, one 'cancer' in the head, I was coming here to take care of her, because here was different the hospitals didn't take the sick, when they had their reason of being they came home, and after who was going to take my mother, so I came here I was pregnant, and I stayed here, stayed. [Would you have stayed in Canada if your mother wasn't sick?]

And your husband?

I didn't care. My husband works at the EDA he's an electrician. Therefore he has a good job. I, I am taking care of the five children I have. And it's, in the end that's it. We have to, I have my way, of, of filling my life. I, I take care of the yard, I take care of the house, here is very different from there. [Very nice house and a beautiful garden with many different types of vegetables.] You understand this, you've already noticed it. The women work a lot here, less than before, than twenty years ago, a lot less, that they

would go to the land and everything. I think that I don't have time to think of going there, if I were all day lying in the sofa watching television, I would say, eh 'pa' this is also boring, I'm going there, I'm going to work, I'm going to do something else, but I, I don't worry much about this, my, my girl has four years. [A very busy lifestyle.]

She just came from school?

NO, no she's with me she doesn't go to school, she doesn't go to school.

How many children do you have, five children?

Five, five children. [Large family, this is unusual nowadays, the average size is two or three.] One is sixteen years, she's in the Secondary in Ribeira Grande, another one thirteen, one eleven, another seven, and this one three years. All born in Portugal. But I made them Canadian, because one day they may want to go there to study, or want to emigrate there, or work... they have that opportunity. [Was it difficult to apply for Canadian citizenship in Portugal? Portugal has everything like Canada but they still want their children to be Canadian.] I, I by chance never found there any difficulties, it is like I told you. We tried... we didn't have any Portuguese around us, not one. We, I was raised without Portuguese, without any one. Therefore I think the Portuguese should do something else when they go to Canada, don't bring what is theirs there. But try to adapt with the people to.... there are many Portuguese that don't know what Canada is. If we... they, they don't know what is, is the history of Canada, don't know how the people are, the mentality of the people. I think that is wrong, in a way. I went to school until 'high-school', how do I say it, until grande 12. In '73, that I left school was in '73, I had my diploma, that at that time it was good for very little. But I never found work, I came here with my father, my father decided to come here for good. He had... 'I already worked my years, I'm going back to Portugal'. And I said ---I'm going with you also, and I'm going to see if I like it, if I don't I'll come back --- but life turned around, and I was not able to come back (to Canada) (sadness in her voice--whispering), it is like this. [She is a really nice person, I feel bad. She probably could have had more chances in Canada at that time than she did in Portugal as a returnee.] It was like that. If life didn't turn around I would be there, I would be there. Because I would tell my father many times --- If I knew what I know today my father, I would never have come

back. [Admitting that she made a mistake in returning.] After my mother died, then my brother he was there, he missed us, naturally. But he had his work and everything, but we also missed him, the family was cut (was broken up). [This must be the most difficult thing for the Portuguese family, having the nuclear family divided. Probably a reason for so many not to return to Portugal, their children grew up in Canada, work in Canada and live in Canada. There is also the question of the grandchildren, finally having time and money to be with them.] After, health problems came, it wasn't problems of the country (political), it wasn't problems of adaptation, that we knew our language, we knew where we were going. [Did you know where you were going?] And my father also had a lot of real-estate (farm land) to work and everything, he liked to work for himself. He didn't want to work any more for others. [Good reason for returning.] My father went in the second emigration, father went, went was the second emigration. In the first, in the first there were a lot when the government asked for people to work in the lands (farms). My father went there in '53, my brother was 6 months. [Interesting that she mentions her brothers age and not hers, it must have been very difficult for her father and her family to be divided, especially with a newborn.] And when he went there, when they arrived in Quebec they were locked up for sometime until the, the proprietors of the, the 'farms' were not coming to pick them up. [Where were they locked up? Do you know why they were not picked up?] My father, because he was coming to work in, in Quebec, the owner of that (particular) farm took too much time to reach Montreal, to come pick up the worker. And he was there for 8 days without being able to speak to anyone, that atmosphere (there is a sense of disgust when she says this). [Things must have been terrible, I don't understand -- what happen to the government/immigration agents that were suppose to be taking care of these contracts???

If you have to go, I could return at another time? (she was baking bread in a wood stove - later that day I received a fresh loaf, it was delicious).

No, no I'm telling you, so you will be able to understand it. And afterwards at the end of 8 days his boss came to pick him up. But the family was very nice. [I'm happy to hear this.] They took very good care of him, my father was lucky, and us as well, but there were many that didn't have it (luck), do you understand me? I had a godfather of mine that didn't have luck, what he wanted to eat, he couldn't eat, after the boss

didn't give him food. He ate what was in the garden, or carrots, or cabbage, or cabbage (couve), everything was raw. [Meat and potato constitutes a large part of the Portuguese diet, this must have been terrible for him. I thought that these contracts would have been regulated by some kind of governmental agency.] But my father would sit at his bosses table, with the family, it was very welcoming, he felt that he was with family, he felt that those people liked him. My father had a lot of luck in that ambient, many didn't have it, cousins of mine also. That, my father sometimes would take food from himself and would give to them, and the boss (female) found out that and she was not happy --- bring those men here, and they shall all come and eat here --- don't you know that ambient, my father had luck. [For every bad person there is a thousand good people.] It was with a person with a person that wrote my mother. Wrote in portuguese, I have a picture here if you want to see. She wrote in Portuguese to my mother, and, ahh, I don't know she would say what was said, for her (my mother) not to worry, that she also had children, she would send pictures of her children, of the house, of the snow. This, this influences us very well, for, for an immigrant that goes there, and that felt as if has children, has a father or has a mother, or has a grandfather, feels at home with a family. Do you see? The luck was a lot for us. That ambient of family helped my father a lot. Everything. [With such a good experience one would figure that he would have wanted to stay in Canada. The photos that she gave me of her father during this time are all family oriented (with the farm family he worked for). Another interesting aspect is that they were all taken in winter to depict the Canadian winter (snow). The father looks happy and is sharply dressed, I'm clad that not all pioneers had bad experiences when they first arrived in Canada.]

The bosses were Portuguese there?

NO, French, French, French. Are you understanding me? He arrived there in '51 in '53, '3, '3. Because I was two and my brother was only six months, when he went there, he went alone. He had to go because they asked for agricultures only. At the end of five that when we had the right to go there, but we didn't go to the farm, my father went to "Les Prarie", that was more or less 3/4 of a hour from Montreal. Do you know Montreal, more or less? It was 3/4 of a hour by car from Montreal. My father couldn't take us to Quebec, because there wasn't a lot of work, because that was only a one man job to look after the cows, and everything. My father didn't have a place to put us, and my, went then to a 'foundry', to make

steel, to make steel pipes, all those things. I think he was a man, that had a lot of luck (pause) in Canada, because he always met people that were considerate, that respected (stresses), so you understand me? If the people from there respect you, the best you can do is respect them, isn't it? And try out their way of living. Not the way you live here (Child comes in calling for her), this over here is already faraway (the child asks the mother to put on a pair of shorts. She replies --- ok. ok.), and its like that. This concludes like this, our lives. We could have had small problems, but it's everyday problems with respect, respect to the house, house or family problems. But we never had anything else, if not, if not never real problems (they only had small problems). I think the best time I had in my life was there, are you understanding me? [Emigrating at the age of seven and growing up in Canada could be wonderful, after all she didn't have to experience any of the difficulties most of us older migrants face when emigrating to a different world.] The best time in those 20 years (pause), I had some difficulty in finding a job, but in all I can't say anything else. [Where did you work?] To say that I had a bigger problem, that I had difficulty in my job that they wouldn't take me, I spoke French, at times they thought I was Italian. (laughing) A lot of times they would say that one is Italian. No way. I am maybe like you. It's like that. [Interesting that she didn't consider herself to be Portuguese, even though she lived a Portuguese life in the house, she had assimilated to the Canadian way of life to the point that she considered herself to be Canadian. Today do you see yourself as Canadian or Portuguese?]

Do You still speak French?

Ah, very well, very well. You can't forget it. (child: where are the shorts? They are in the drawer in the bedroom, can you look?)

You can go and look?

No, leave it. (it's ok... to her son: yes, look it's there.)

You said you had gone there after you got married, for six months?

I was there only three months.

Only three months, your husband went with you?

He stayed there. I went there on the month of April, and he stayed there until October, and my mother died in December, he came here in October, because I would say like this well or are we here or are we there? Separated I don't like it, family separated, I'm not for this. [The separation of her parents must have been very dramatic for her, because she does not want the same thing to happen to her own family. It seems that although she is Portuguese, but in her heart she sees herself as being Canadian.]

And he liked to stay there?

He liked being there, but he, he likes to be here better, because his work he, he is "foreman", he, he is in charge of the workers in the section that he is, he doesn't work very much, he's already, already in the work for 25 years, we can't put 25 years of work in our backs (you can't forget 25 years of work), this already. He is almost retiring. He is 43 years, therefore it's like this. If you want to see the pictures I'll show you.

Could I see them?

For you to know the ambient we had. But luck we had a lot. Will you excuse me?

Please.

Here you have it for you to understand well, they're very old. They're all from there. You can sit down. They're all from there. Let me see. (pause) Look this is his family, this is his boss that he had at that time, this is the owner of the farm and his wife [The majority of the photos are dated between November 30, 1954 and February 1955. The photos are wonderful, those that depict the Canadian winter show snow removal machines, snow on the farm and her father and another person on a roof of a barn and the snow piled up just as high. One taken in Montreal illustrates the 'Sao Jose' (Saint Jose) church, which her father claims to be the 'most beautiful in Canada'. There are numerous photos taken with the french family where he worked. One very interesting photo shows eight Portuguese working on the railroads in Sudbury in 1954. This picture is from a friend who wanted her father to see what he did when the trains stopped. By far the most interesting photo illustrates ten Portuguese very well dressed and holding snowballs, dated February 1955. Her father writes in the back of the photo, 'These are all Portuguese boys that I know. They are all without work here in Montreal, it is a

serious incidence. In one which shows her father and a friend, he writes, 'This is the boy who is here with me. He is the husband of the woman from Sao Roque, which has been visiting you.' Interesting that perhaps the women that stayed behind during the 'emigration period' supported each other.]

What language did they speak?

French, everything in Quebec, was everything French at that time. Here it is once again his family, this is a nephew that she had, I think a brother, Oh! He, he, they would send a lot of pictures of the snow, so we could see it. Here is my father, here, here is my father also when he finished taking out milk. And this over here is like an assembly of people, that is here, that were all from here from our village. They emigrated with my father. And this was in the 'Chateau Frontenac', in Quebec, this was in '55, you see. (pause)

Did they all work there, near your father?

Yes, near. They couldn't all work in the same, same 'farm', because each, each 'farm' had the right only to one worker, one emigrant. As the agri... agriculture was beginning to, to grow a lot, the, the Canada because it had very few people they sent for them in Quebec. Ah! Here in the Azores people that worked in the lands (farms). Here it looked like a type of 'parade'. You are in Toronto, aren't you?

Yes, I'm in Toronto, did you live in Toronto?

Ah! I would go there during the holidays, I would go there during the holidays, see my aunts. And for 8 months. I didn't like it very much, I didn't like that ambient a lot, (laughter) but it's very similar to Montreal. This here is my father with, with a man, with that man, that man, who is from Sao Roque, he would eat cabbages, to be able to eat all day. Cabbages that he would take from the land, carrots that he would take, and take to be able to eat. When his boss saw that he was stealing food, she didn't like it, and said "why did you steal food, if you are eating?" Then, Ah! It's because I have someone who doesn't eat. "Oh! Man bring him here, I'll give him food ". [This must have made a big impact on her, she tells the same story twice.] Know everything, here is my father once again with, with the son of this lady. That I was speaking to you about, here is all of his family. Here is that man from Sao Roque, the family with him from the 'farm', the two sons my father this man...

From my journal: Very nice person, many expressions with her arms and hands, at times there were tears in her eyes. She let me take a picture of her baking bread and she also gave me some photos of her father in Canada during the 1950s. She showed me around her house, beautiful property... many plants (beans potatoes), pigs and chickens. At times she was nervous, but I found her to be very friendly and intelligent. I think if it wasn't for her being a female she would have stayed in Canada. She also commented on the environment of Sao Miguel, she said that the farmers were destroying it by using pesticides and fertilizers.

She is very proud of her father and things must have been very difficult for the family while he was on contract work for those five years, but there must have been benefits that she didn't mention (remittances). She has a different perspective of what Portuguese emigrants should do when they emigrate, and this might be the outcome of living in a Francophone community in Quebec where there was no ethnic mosaic. She believes strongly on the assimilation of the Portuguese with the host society, then again her emigration experience was very positive with exception of her brother's experience which he took care of it very well (probably because he felt that he was Canadian). The strong bond of the Portuguese family is illustrated by her return which was an obligation to the family. This bond depicts that the initial separation to the Portuguese family during the emigration Period must have been another difficulty that the emigrant had to deal with. The return of these pioneers must have been a constant state in their minds, perhaps even today when all the old ties have dissolved from family and friends that stayed behind that promise, ambition or returning to the homeland still exists.

MR. Teixeira

Setting: Late in the afternoon. At the informants backyard.
Background noise: the constant barking of his dog and birds -- large beautiful house.

If I still had advantage... health... or was younger I would still go to Canada, and there I would work, isn't it... that I would like to do more things, isn't it... [By the look of things he his doing very well for himself, but for some reason he still wishes that he had more money. What kinds of things would you still like to do?] but I can't (mumbling)... I went to Canada in '57... I have a property here that is a hundred years old.... with a hundred.... a hundred and eighteen hectares of land... I had another orchard with eighty... a hundred and eighty five... a part is wood (forest)... eighty is wood, isn't it... and the rest is pasture... [Very beautiful property from what I remember, one of the largest and nicest houses in the village.] 'tio Joao' (referring to himself) dough (ploughed/ hoe)... but do you know where I walked (was)... I walked in mines... 12 years in mines... 'Mirolanda'... and then I went to B.C....eh...eh... to B.C. to work to the north, isn't it... (dog barking loudly)... almost near Alaska, isn't it... from there I straightened my life (able to earn money to succeed in life). From all the jobs I had... something was always earned... [The most important aspect of Portuguese emigration is to earn money, earn lots and lots of money.] now it wouldn't let me.... didn't have houses nor properties... it was always wood and wood (forests), nothing else... it was this that happened. But I'm happy for that. [I'm sad, work and money are the only things he relates to Canada.] Before I went to Canada I was a worker.... I worked in that thing of masonry... making stoned streets, isn't it... this thing of... pavement that they did there (referring to the stone streets and side walks), isn't it... I use to do this, isn't it. And I worked in the farms.... before I worked in the farms... it was the job my father had... I worked from job to job, isn't it... and it was like that. But always happy, isn't it... that health was good... now is that it is no good for nothing... I went as an emigrant to Canada... In '57 was the last emigration that went to Canada... then later there was visitors and that sort of thing... But in '57 I went in the emigration, isn't it... with every right (referring to the right to work)... emigration, isn't it... that we went from here... the two before this one... before '57 isn't it... also as emigrants... the last one was in '57 and I went in this one... and I escaped on this one (was lucky)... [Things must have been very difficult for

him in Portugal to want to 'escape' so badly. I have heard many harsh things about life in Portugal before the revolution, but I also hear that in those times people were much happier than they are today, they were friendlier, always giving each other a hand.] uhm we are here with Gods blessing.... What I want is God to give me a little health... [It is sad to hear this, money doesn't buy everything, all of his childhood dreams were realized and now he feels too sick to enjoy them.] to every one and also to me, isn't it... [Not selfish at all, a very friendly person.] When I am to die... it isn't to go too late to the hospital, isn't it... hey guy it could even be here at home, isn't it... to go to the hospital to bother other people... poor he who becomes old... there are people who say, isn't it... or by another one, I use to hear this conversation, isn't it... age doesn't weight any body down... ah that's a big lie... what a big lie... (stressing).... that the old person... the old man, the old woman, isn't it... they still want to give those big steps, isn't it... and now with short steps where are they going... goes from here to church... by here, that's it... it reaches a time it doesn't go out... this is a great fortune that a man has in this world... it is not worth any thing (lowers his voice). [He must feel very useless at his age, whereas one time he must have been a very respectable and hard working man.] At first I worked in Canada... in the railroads... I like it a lot... they pay me... very happy I stayed... and with my co-workers they payed them also, there was no problem... and the advantage more beautiful, that I had... I worked for 'Mirolanda', that is the second richest company in the world, isn't it... I worked twelve years... in the mine. [What kind of work did you do? Was it difficult work for you? How did it compare to the types of work you did in Portugal?] And then I went to B.C. to work to the north... there in the north is where I knew what was a better life... it wasn't a lot that we earned per hour... but it was 12, 13, 14, (referring to hours) and lots of food... we didn't pay for food... [Interesting that having free food is so important to him, perhaps suggesting that he had to ration back in Portugal.] the company payed for it, it was the government of B.C. that payed for it... for this I thank very much Canada, isn't it. For this that happened to me... they don't owe me nothing... I profited with them and didn't loose... [He earned enough money to buy one of the largest homes in the village, very impressive.] When I went there I went single, isn't it and then latter... at the end of four years I came here in a ship, 'Volcania'.... in a ship, isn't it... and then they couldn't put anchor over here inside our dock, they went to Lisbon... there I was four days... then I returned back at the end of four years, no six years is when I got married...

I came here got married, something like that... [Did you court your wife before you emigrated? Was it easier for emigrants to find Portuguese wife's after they emigrated to Canada?] then I spent sometime with her there... I called her there, something or another there... at the end we came here... she had already done a cancer operation, isn't it... on the breast, isn't it... she died... when she died I went back to Canada with my children, Jose and Joao... I went way with my children there... I stayed there another four, already with this, this house, isn't it. Then my children are there very well... they are not looking for work, they are always working in the same company, isn't it... where they entered their in the same companies... Jose works in an electrical post... eh, the other one... Joao works in ah, how should I say it... in that thing of chemicals, in the same company, isn't it... and those trailers from here to there... but also... but that is to say, I'm happy with them... [It is very important for his children to have just one occupation, to have steady work, to be hard working like he was, to save money the way he did.] that is that... in a job... in the company that they started working very young and are still there... in the same company, this is very important... for me I feel happy with this... it is not to work four days or four months and then stay drying in the sun (stay at home doing nothing), even though you earn a lot in these four months, now another six months drying up... it doesn't give anything... [Very important to save money.] then I'm happy with my children there... but I would like to see them here... [It is sad that the initial emigration to Canada divided many families and return migration to Portugal is also doing the same.] but I am not able to help them with a good life... well, if they came here and the case that situation became very bad, there... turn bad there in Canada... over here the sky is full of dark clouds (it will be worse here)... well, they are well... the happiness that I have is my little children... away from me... it is like that... but also I'm happy. They were here two years ago, and I hope they come in the month of August... it isn't for sure, isn't it... but I hope that come here again... this is what I would want... is to see them again because I'm almost there in the grave, isn't it... I would like... ah we go on living here. [Very pessimistic outlook of his life, I'm very sorry to hear him speak like this, in the end you have to wonder if emigrating was the right thing for him. He made a lot of money, was able to buy everything he ever dreamed of, but his family is far away from him and he feels very sad.]

Why did you return?

Ah... You know... the strength was little and how I had these things here... [Did you always want to return to Portugal? Did your wife want to live in Canada? Do you ever regret returning to Portugal?] I said... ah, I can't any more... and it was reaching the time of retirement... what am I going to do here, isn't it... I can't work (referring to his work)... I can't choose work (he doesn't know how to do any thing else), isn't it... I am no good, isn't it (referring to his health)... then I'll go to my little things that I have there... and I go on living here... one time I eat 'papas' (boiled food/porridge), other times 'bolos' (cakes)... and we pass life (laughing)... I was 25 years in Canada... and I thank... these 25 years.... in these 25 years I made figures (money)... this house, isn't it... and these small pieces of land... that I finished telling you... in this manner... I, the way I am, I give short steps... 'short steps', isn't it... I can't run, isn't it, that's it, isn't it... I can't work, isn't it... until she arrives (referring to his death). [I don't understand why he talks so much about his death.] Then you want any thing else? (Showing us around his house)... We go on living... what we want is health, and peace... what is more important is peace and health... this is good...it is the best thing that this world has... peace and health... I live here with my daughter and I live with my sister, poor her, isn't it... is here with me. My youngest son is now in the Army, in Terceira... I just got a letter from him... ??? health... now, is he is young and could have a good life here, but he is in Terceira... he now, he was already in Canada... and now when... when he gets out of the army, maybe he goes back to Canada, isn't it... his brothers are very friendly, isn't it... (pause) I was in north of B.C.... when I finished there I came back... we were almost next to Alaska... building a railroad... a new railroad... to go to Alaska, and then the line closed... and at that time the line closed I came back... at this time... if it didn't close, I wouldn't come so fast... [It is a pity to feel the way he does, he worked hard all of his life to be able to survive, to get ahead and now that he feels old and tired he considers himself to be useless in Canada.] please come in. (pause) (showing the house inside). (Dog barking furiously at me -- scary) Don't make noise (talking to the dog)... he doesn't bite... he doesn't bite... doesn't bite... don't make noise (dog growling at me)... don't make noise the house is ours (dog continues to growl -- sounds very humorous in Portuguese) now I'm going to show you the photos of Jose Nunes, when he took his communion...(pause)... this is the little dinning room... [In fact the room was very large.] this is my daughter... uhm...

Hello, how are you? Good afternoon.

Daughter: Who is this gentleman?

He is here from Lomba, doing an interview for school.

Daughter: Oh yes. Is it going right?

Yes, thank you.

Please, there was here another room that was Jose and Joao (showing the house), isn't it... it is closed (trying to get in)... we go through the other side... this door opens to go there, something like that... now that my sister spends the night we close the door, isn't it. This is the best bed room, isn't it... I never sleep here in this room... where my wife died.... I had another little bed room there above... and I... when she died I never again cared about this... she was here in this room... this over here is my daughters, isn't it... Hey guy, I now want to show you a photo of Jose and Joao (walking around the house)... [He is very proud of his sons, I feel terribly bad that he has to be away from them.] do you know this? This is of the Black Sea, from outside...isn't it... I bought this in Canada... [At one time emigrants brought a little bit of Portugal to Canada, now the returnees want to do the same. It seems that no matter what, once you become an emigrant your heart gets divided between two nations.] I like this a lot, but it doesn't have any value (knocking on the object)... but I like it... I have little things over here, isn't it... not many... but I already had more. This is the photo of Jose and Joao... they don't want to come back... [I'm sorry to hear this, it seems that the most important things to him are his children and he can't be near them. Why don't you spend some time with them there?] they are well there... they like this here... but this is not enough for all, isn't it... I have some money and perhaps I will go there... that is right, isn't it. 'Dassis' comes here sometimes to be with me... this doctor 'Dassis' worked with me in Canada... his father worked with me... in the time of school... in the university holidays, isn't it... Doctor Dassis would go working with us, there... to earn money to help school... so he comes here many times. (long pause)... This was all earned in Canada... it was all earned in Canada... this was bought after 25 of April... like I had some money and the things were shaky and the owner sold... but when he sold me this I was after this house for 12 years... always secretly... secretly, isn't it... then he was the owner of this, isn't it... this was a rich house, this had furniture

inside here... then he took all important furniture and china ware to the city, to his house in the city, isn't it... then time passed and he sold this, isn't it... he sold it to me... I walked after her for twelve years (he wanted the house for twelve years)... this was a secret transaction that nobody knew about, isn't it... [Probably because he came from a poor family and people would make fun of him if he said that he wanted to buy a rich person's house.] and when they knew that it was in my hands (mumbles)... this was earned in Canada... this was earned in Canada. (pause) My life was made there, [I wonder what would have become of all the emigrants if they didn't emigrate, would they have succeeded like many that stayed behind did?] if it wasn't I would be carrying wood (small wild trees from public forests used for fuel to bake bread --'Queiro')... (laughing)... it was like this... it is like this, isn't it... son of poor people, isn't it... my father didn't leave anything... poor soul didn't have anything (crying - low voice mumbling ???). It is how the Italian says... eh 'piano, piano se va lonetano'... like the English also say, isn't it... the English say it... I heard that conversation there, isn't it... 'you try... working... don't go to far, take it easy... you... you go long way... take it easy'... don't go to fast... go slow... you far... but it isn't going fast... that is what they want to say... 'take it easy, you go a long way'... 'take it easy you got a long way'... then, I liked you coming here a lot... when you want you could come back, isn't it... if there is a night you want to sleep or ... I have room... I have room up there (very nice gesture).

The first years in Canada....

I found it difficult because of the tongue (language)... not knowing how to read a lot, something like that... I found it difficult... but... I wasn't sorry... I wasn't sorry (stressing)... I was happy when I saw the check... [I'm always sorry to hear that, the check seems to be the most important aspect of emigration, the future is based on what you earn, not education, not work, nor the family.] and I would say... hey Jose this is enough to pay this and that, isn't it... this is good... and I went passing this... and after, is that I went walking.... I would catch a word today.... I would catch another word tomorrow... and I knew already how to say little things... that is not to say.... speak English correctly... but I understood them... [I'm glad he tries to pick up a few things here and there. Were there other Portuguese working with you? Did you have any misunderstandings because of the language?] they would send

me there and I would go there... already I knew that I had to go because I understood them saying it... this was already an advantage, isn't it... besides this I looked at all times for a place to earn money. [Extremely important. Did you look for anything else besides a job (i.e. a nice place to live, better employment)? Why was money so important to you back then?] Then, like I already told you, I was in the mines for twelve years. (pause) My mother hugged me and said -- oh my son you need to make a life, and god will bless you (crying), it hurts for me to leave here, but I don't have a life to give you... [Life in Portugal must have been horrible for some, I can't even imagine.] I remembered her when I was there.... I sent her letters (mumbles ???)... [Remittances.] that she died in that room there... She had a little house... it wasn't like this one, isn't it... and after I said my mother is coming to my house... she comes here already with me here... then I went back again to bring Jose and Joao and there I stayed another four years... earn something... [Where did you work?] then I came here, like I said I no longer could... I can't work any more... I'm going there... I have there those little things... and I came here.... I'm here... sometimes you cry... another time your happy, isn't it... it's like this... the rest of our lives you don't expect anything else. (pause) [It is difficult for me to imagine the way he feels, my grandfather worked all his life in the farm up to the day he died and he never felt this way. Perhaps it is good that many are returning to retire, I just hope that they are at an age where they still have enough strength to do something back home and not feel completely useless.] My daughter and Daniel were born here... they all had advantages (chances) to go to Canada legally, isn't it... they didn't want to go... Daniel, then latter wanted to go visit his brothers, there he went... then he came back to the army... to Terceira in the army... and thinks he is going back again to his brothers. Now, that is right... they could be there legally (Canadian Citizen), isn't it... there goes one another from outside hey Pa your father has something, isn't it... but it is necessary to plan life... it is not now with the hands in the pockets (willing to help his son if he works hard like he did)... and walking in the swimming pools swimming, isn't it... it is necessary to work. He himself choose his cross... that what I have would be good enough for him to eat... would be good for him to work... he wouldn't need to work for anybody... that is not to say that him here, he would be better than in Canada... that is not to say... but... but it would be enough for him to live... [Very respectful of Canada, but things have changed and perhaps he would be better off working for himself in Portugal, many people have become rich farming, it is heavily subsidized by the government.] there was... there is

conditions for him to live... now you need to work... in any corner of the world you need to work... a man who doesn't work is no good (stressing)... He doesn't produce for the country, nor to himself... and harms others... and a nation needs good workers, like Pierre Trudeau said -- 'no matter to me... he come from Italy... come from here or there the friend who works for the nation and respects the nation... this one is the son of the nation... and the children that are born here and don't respect or work for the nation are not worth anything'... Pierre Trudeau... [Every one has their own philosophy of life and his of course is about work. This speech is very important to him, it gave him hope to become or feel Canadian, after all if the head of state chooses hard working people over those that were born in the country to become citizens I would have worked my skin off to do so. It feels that being Canadian is very important to him, I think if I came from a very poor family and I got the chance to have something that everyone else wanted (to emigrate to Canada) and they didn't I would feel special too.] I went to Canada with 30, 32 years... we had rigorous tests, isn't it... we had it... a guy with tuberculosis, or lung sickness or this and that couldn't go, isn't it... even they would feel your hands, isn't it... if the hands weren't hard, isn't it... now if the little hands were little soft, isn't it... would hold only pens... they didn't go, isn't it (laughing). They explored (selected) here in the people, a hard selection, isn't it. This selection among the people was very well defined... that they didn't want... they didn't want people... they brought many people from here... but they wanted people... that could work... they didn't want sick people... sick people they already had there (laughing) [What do you mean sick people they already had there?...] they wanted men that worked and fended for themselves... this is what they did... [How did you feel about being selected this way? Do you think that the selection was fair? Did you feel embarrass about anything that happen to you in the test?] Canada when they started to do this was already late... at least it woke up in time... but it is the first nation and the most valuable in the world... [If Canada is the best nation in the world, then why return?] it was... how should I said it... Germany... this one... it was a nation that even the race is purebred... for example, you gentleman... you like that lady and married her... but before you get married you take a x-ray... if you have syphilis, or are sick in the lungs or something like that... you take a needle before you get married... you could get married to her, they don't take that right, isn't it... you marry her... fruit there is none... to not have 'torturas' (handicapped)... even the race... the race is pure... Germany the first... the first nation in the world that did this... it

was... it was the Germans. [Where did you hear this from?] Before entering the last war... before, a lot before... they were already planning to do it, isn't it... therefore, it is the Germans don't have, and also America, isn't it... they pick them like fire, isn't it... for not agreeing, isn't it... and besides that they improved education, isn't it... children... they asked them what they wanted to be.... Oh I want to be a mechanic, to make cars and this and that... there were schools of this... and yet yesterday in a radio I have here.... because I don't pay much attention to television... I hear it until I go to sleep... until I feel like sleeping... but I hear English every day... every day I listen to the England news (BBC)... [I'm surprised.] it is English and in Portuguese, and this helps me... not that... that is to say... not that I earn money with this, but I have the curiosity to know what is a government... what is a government... I like this, isn't it... then this my taste... this taste like this is in a manner (way) valuable to me... that I'm not thinking of gossiping with this one or that one, isn't it... this doesn't interest me... what I like is that... Do you know where I sleep? I sleep in a very small room... I like it there... ??? Please (come along -- walking) Do you know where this came from?

No.

This came from... this came... this came from ??? Canada... there it is... and these there in these little rooms were from there... and everything that is inside here was from Canada (very proud).

Daughter: the chandeliers were from there, also.

I brought it in boxes, don't you know... and more little things also... and that, that is upstairs also... and even that painting that is there came from Canada... (pause)

Daughter: beautiful

It was your taste (her choice), isn't it... (laughing) with short steps... or the English way, isn't it... 'short steps'. (pause -walking around)... This is a 'clozeta' (closet), I have there the other one... where I have my little clothing, ehp (mumbling)... It is here... Joao was the one that gave me (present) this... I am here, isn't it... I am closer, isn't it... I like it here. (mumbling??? showing the house)... this is the little washroom... it was needed to finish this... (sound of little chicks on the patio right outside is small

bedroom that leads to the backyard, kitchen and bathroom) (Pause)... Where do you live? Is it in Toronto? Well then my daughter is going to give you the address... you could write it in English or Portuguese... you were in school, so you know how to write... when you get there... Hey Jose I was in your fathers house (with tears -- crying), this is what I would thank you for... Give him the address then...

If you need any thing, a letter?

No... no... you write Portuguese or English... When you get there... Hey Joao I was at your fathers house, isn't it... every thing is alright, uhm... your father is in good health... something like that... If you are here until the end of August you will see the Canadian flag in my window for the feast (Nossa Senhora Das Victorias -- last Sunday in August, very proud)

From my journal: We met at a tavern, I think he had already a little too much to drink, but he was very happy and proud to talk to me. He showed me his beautiful house, one of the biggest in the village, nicely furnished with big rooms which I found ironic because he preferred to sleep in a small (5.5 feet by 8.5 feet) room off the kitchen. There were lots of expressions with his hands, a lot of pointing to his property and at times tears in his eyes. At the end of the conversation I thanked him, but he said no, he wanted to tank me for giving him the pleasure of talking to me. He also offered me his house to sleep in at any time.

Very nice man, but I feel terribly sorry for him. He had a very difficult start in life and finally when he succeeded his wife passes away and his children live in Canada. His world is still not completed and I really wish it was because he seems to be such an honest and hard working person. He owes everything he has to Canada like so many of us immigrants. There are questions I would have liked to ask him -- his life prior to emigrating, work and family. I know that it was difficult, but I still wish he described more, I would like to get a better understanding of life in Portugal before the revolution. I think that his difficulties in Portugal made his emigration experience a lot easier than most, perhaps he was able to adjust faster coming from very low social standards, nothing could be worse -- after all Canada gave him hard work and conditions with one exception, he was saving money, 'receiving the check'. This ensured him a future, one that he could plan for, have dreams and hopes. He made something of himself, he was able to achieve the 'American

dream' in his own way. The ironic thing about his experience is that the country that gave him a life keeps his children away from him. Over all his experiences or should I say his philosophy of life was very interesting, I just wished he would have commented more on his return.

MR. COSTA

Setting: Early on a raining morning. At the informants second house, in the patio overlooking his orchard of orange and banana trees (very nicely cultivated). (This house has been for sale for many years, but according to some neighbours he is asking for too much money. The house is empty and very rustic with need of some repairs. However, MR. Costa is very proud of this dwelling). Background noise consists of birds, the odd car/bus/truck zooming by on the road and rain drops.

They are not going more to Canada (pause), for worse (bad) they had there, you didn't need to go over there, ah what a family, what a family. Now they are stealing, do you know what stealing is? [Referring to the young people in the island, it is not the same as when he was younger, then people were hard working and they went to Canada.]

Yes.

They are stealing cars and money... and the devil... they are stealing houses and, and stealing the things from them and they are there like this. They don't want work... it, it is spoiling (stealing) the other persons goods. And picking up cars and they have car keys anyways and they get the cars and they go any place (joy riding). But I think it didn't happen that much in the islands, it was more in Lisbon. It was about forty something boys, something like that.... it was forty or sixty or whatever it was, that came from there here (deportation from America)... [I believe a group of Portuguese living in the States were deported due to criminal activity. Once in Portugal these people started doing the same thing, now the two governments (Portuguese and American) are working together and these criminals are closely watched.] What nice guys those! (bird sounds in the background).... nice guys, nice guys.... that they were good guys (referring to them sarcastically).

What did you do in Portugal before you emigrated?

I was in agriculture (farming), I worked on the land, on this little farm (pointing to his land). [Did you like farm work?]

And did you work always here?

It was always until I left here.

MR. COSTA

Setting: Early on a raining morning in Lomba de Santa Barbara. At the informants second house, in the patio overlooking his orchard of orange and banana trees (very nicely cultivated). (This house has been for sale for many years, but according to some neighbours he is asking for too much money. The house is empty and very rustic with need of some repairs. However, MR. Costa is very proud of this dwelling). Background noise consists of birds, the odd car/bus/truck zooming by on the road and rain drops.

They are not going more to Canada (pause), for worse (bad) they had there, you didn't need to go over there, ah what a family, what a family. Now they are stealing, do you know what stealing is? [Referring to the young people in the island, it is not the same as when he was younger, then people were hard working and they went to Canada.]

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I was in agriculture (farming), I worked on the land, on this little farm (pointing to his land). [Did you like farm work?]

And did you work always here?

It was always until I left here.

Why did you decide to go to Canada?

I went to Canada because here at that time... because everything was not very good... you earned little... and worked a lot and... and... and there was no money in the hand, a little money and so and so. [I guess at the time things must have been very difficult but I don't remember anyone ever saying that they were starving or sleeping on the streets like we see in western societies today. I imagine that the future was bleak for many and with the government of the time there was very little hope for improvement, the only solution was to emigrate. I have heard from many people that things were poor but the times were happy times. Also, things weren't as bad in the other islands.] That is to say I had to embark to Canada and if they didn't embark to Canada they would have embarked to Africa.... they would go to Africa. [The grass is always greener on the other side. The Portuguese government did actually test a sample of emigrants in one of its colonies. Angola -- 'Colonato de Cela', in the 1950s a group of farmers were given land, tools, seeds, and animals to exploit the land, but because of environmental factors and social factors the program failed. One of the problems, the migrants wanted to live the life of the rich landlords and have slaves/servants do all their work, while they lazed around. If this test would have worked perhaps Portuguese emigration to Canada would have been diverted elsewhere.]

What would they be doing in Africa?

Africa is a good land..... Africa is a good land, for those who want to work (pause). It is a rich land like Canada, (oh yeah, I didn't know that). Oh yeah, it is... the Can...Can... A...Africa is better than Canada of richness... Cause Canada does not have the richness that Africa has, but it is necessary that we work, if you don't work it doesn't give anything, do you understand... it is like this. [I often wonder why Portuguese in Canada work so hard, I'm more than certain if they were asked to do the same tasks in Portugal (i.e. work over time, work on the week-ends) they would refuse -- the dollar???]

Why did you decide to go to Canada instead of Africa?

Because Canada opened and in Canada it was better dollars and over there it was not dollars, do you understand? [The almighty dollar must be the underlying reason for Portuguese

emigration to Canada. I wonder if there was a chance for Portuguese to emigrate to Africa, if they would?]

What year did you go to Canada?

In '54, I went in the second trip, in the second... in the second trip, in '54 there were two trips by boat. Some went in March and I went in April... in April I went with others to work in the railroads, do you understand?

How did you hear about Canada?

How did I hear (stresses), learn what?

How did you hear about the trips to Canada?

Well, then it was here... uhm, our government is that... uhm... ah... uhme, there was emigration to go there. [Did you know anything about Canada then? Was there any information given to the emigrants by the Portuguese or Canadian governments before they emigrated? What kinds of things did you hear from people that had emigrated before you ('52 and '53)?]

Was it difficult?

No... it was not difficult, it was not difficult, because they needed people there at that time... yeah.

I heard that you had to do tests?

You had to do tests!? Ah... those that went had to know how to read, if you didn't know how to read you didn't go there. Without knowing how to read, how would they go alone to a place like that... how could they find themselves, do you understand? It wouldn't work right, you would have to know how to read to be able to tell to know where you were at all times. [Did they want you to know any English? I could see them wanting the emigrants to know how to speak basic English, I just don't understand what use reading Portuguese would be for Portuguese immigrants in Canada. Perhaps, if it was mandatory for those pioneer emigrants to have basic English they would have been able to assimilate to the Canadian society and have less difficulties?] They went to the railroads, they went to the farms, they went to lots of services over there... I was there on the railroads for two years... [Did you like this type of work? Were there other Portuguese working with you?] at the end of two years I went

to the aluminum factory in Kitimat. [Why did you leave the railroads? Did you like working in this factory? Were there a lot of Portuguese working in Kitimat? How did you learn about employment in Kitimat?]

Oh yes!

Yes... aluminum factory (mumble), north of British Columbia (Bike zooms by)... there in British Columbia

How long did you work there?

Two years and so, and then I saw that the work wasn't good for your health so I left it. (rooster and birds -- country noises in the background). [Why wasn't the work good for your health? What did you do in this factory? Did other Portuguese immigrants also leave?]

And then?

And then I came here to Portugal, I came to get married... [Was it easier to get married as an migrant? Were there opportunities to meet Canadian women?] I left the factory, I came to get married... and after I went to Toronto... Toronto.... I was in Toronto... [Why did you go to Toronto? Did you work in Toronto? Did you like being in Toronto? Were there a lot of Portuguese in Toronto at that time?] and then I went to Galt... I went to Galt because I had there.... Galt.... I was only in Galt, now the name has changed, it is not Galt any more.... [There still exists linkages between him and Canada to know that Galt is now Cambridge. Do you have family in Galt that you keep in touch with?] now it's.... how it is, is... is called... what is the name of that place yea, (pause -- Mumbling) I don't remember the name.... the name... the name, it changed the name... it is not Galt any more. Ahh, I went there then... with the bags from side to side.... it reached a time that I came here three times for a visit and then I returned back. [Was it difficult to visit Portugal back then? What did you think every time you visited? Did Portuguese people look at you different in your return to the island? Linkages with the Portugal influence the return?] I returned back... back... I went back and stayed three more years or more. [Where did you go and what did you do when you returned to Canada?] And then I came here for good in 1969 and I never returned back again.... I already went there visiting with my wife after that, but I didn't go there to work.... but when I want to go there I'll go... I'll go when I want.... but with a visitors passport, because my passport

has expired. And when I get there inside.... with a visitors passport, I'll show my documents that I've been there (lived there), and that there wasn't any trouble with me... I could stay there, but with this age it is not worth going there.... [Age seems to be a very important factor to return.] now it is here, do you understand? Because I have something here... here... (whispering) to say that he is living there faraway. And then I'm alone, my wife passed away, I don't have any children.... so I'll be living the rest of my life over here, do you understand? [He seems to be very lonely.]

Did your wife go with you to Canada after you got married?

No... no... no... no, she went there... there to a wedding of a brother-in-law of mine, her brother... it was a girl who was her niece who was getting married.... we went there.... she had never been there, then I went there with her, because she had never been there.... at first she didn't want to go single to Canada..... because I went single to Canada.... I would get married there, something like that, that's it. She didn't go, I came here, and then there I was to attend the niece's wedding, she invited her to be her godmother, the niece invited her for godmother. So, there she went with me to visit, do you understand? We went to Galt, we were there with the... with the wedding... we went to... to... to... to... to... to... ah, 'Jaspers'... do you... you never heard of 'Jaspers'? [How did you feel about leaving your wife in Portugal when you returned to Canada? Did you want her to go with you? Why did you leave her behind? Were there other Portuguese women emigrating at the time?]

Jaspers!?

It's in British... in Alberta,

Oh, yes.

It's a little city, a little village in Jaspers, my brother-in-law was there.... I spent a few days with him, I was there a few days there seeing that there, and then I went to Vancouver, we went two or three days to Vancouver (mumbles). I stopped in Victoria, that I, uhm, ahhh.... there was Victoria... that I had not seen yet. I missed seeing Victoria and then I went ahh... ahhh... it's ahh... it's ahhh... it's ahh... how do you say it, it's an island, it's an island. [I imagine that he must have been very proud to have had the chance to emigrate, to have the chance to show his wife Canada.] think Victoria is an island that is located outside

Vancouver, inside the sea, the boat takes two hour trip to Victoria, which is the capital of British Columbia, (pause) it is Victoria, do you understand? And it's outside (not inland), two hours by boat from Vancouver to Victoria, but it is a good climate, good better than over here, it is a climate better than over here, it is a climate better than over here yeah, didn't you learn that? It is next to California, it's next to California, next to California... that... that... that Victoria, that island, it's an island, an "ilanda" (island), do you understand? [It is very important for him to remember all these different things about Canada.] (pause)

What did you think when you first got there, in 1954?

When I got there I thought to make money, [Reason for emigrating.] to earn money to make a little life to plant money (save), without it you don't make a living, we make a living with money, without money you can't do anything, you can't even talk... can't do anything and can't even talk, can't even talk... if you plant money you can talk (if you have money saved -- then he laughs). It is like that, hey man. [Perhaps the general feeling amongst many of the old timers that came from a society where the majority were poor with no say, and a few rich with all the power.] Then it's a good land, it's a good land, Canada is a good land... it is a good land... but the only thing I don't like there, it is the winter (stresses). That 'snow' doesn't fit my picture, [It must have been very difficult for those that first emigrated to Canada and had to work outside in the winter time. Do you miss Canadian winters?] I don't like nothing about 'snow', but in factories you can work. But in the winter with the 'snow' from one side to the other, in farms and in construction or stuff like that... ahhh, I don't care about that (with a sense of disgust). In the summer it is also mosquitos in the north that is serious case and also in the villages, in the places, in the towns (mumbling) there are a lot of mosquitos, do you understand? Lots of mosquitos (whispering). [I can't argue with him, being out in the bush with all those creepy crawlers it sure can be a pain in the rear.] And then is.... and then is.... but my worst, my worst is not that yet, it was the language, the language... no... no.... I didn't know how to speak English, isn't it. I got along, I got along, but to speak, to start a conversation and to go on, I didn't know, I didn't know but there I kept going on... going on.... and so...so on... something like that, but if I knew how to speak English, I would not be here (pause), I would be there, I would have a life like the others who are there, they have very good lives. [Reason for return -- he

could not assimilate if he didn't speak the language. To have basic English was not sufficient for him, he didn't just want to get by, he wanted to be able to talk comfortably, to be a true Canadian. I think he must have tried to learn very hard but he was not successful, probably because he didn't give himself enough time. Then again when you associate mostly with people of the same ethnic group, the need or the tendency to speak English is not required. I feel bad that he could not realize that assimilation only comes with time, and if he would have given himself some time he would probably be a happier person today. I'm sure the calling for return would still be there but the longer you stay the more difficult it is to return.] Because who wants to work in that land and who wants to make a living, makes a living (stressing). A lazy person who does nothing ever, never makes a living worth while, never makes a living, never makes a living. [The unwritten philosophy about Canada, the streets are paved with gold, the opportunities are there, chances are always available, all you have to do is seize the moment. This is a misconception, opportunity does not knock at every door. There are many immigrants who have become very successful, and have been able to make a beautiful life for themselves, I'm sure they worked very hard, but then again I'm also sure that there are many that worked just as hard but because of the luck of the draw they have not been as successful.] There are lots there in Canada, Portuguese in Canada.... who never, never had and never will have the money to come to their homeland Portugal, why? They don't know how to make a living, [How should one make a living?] they don't know how to make a living. (whispering) They want only.... it is for today, to eat, to eat... and they don't care about tomorrow, they don't care about tomorrow, it's only today that matters, if it's missing, it's missing, there is some for today that we are going to eat and tomorrow it will come, maybe, tomorrow it will come maybe, and if doesn't!? Over there they don't beg, over here they beg, do you know what it is to beg? [I don't blame them, life is not only work... work and work, there has to be time for leisure and pleasure. This is one problem with many of the first generation Portuguese in Canada, they work and that is all they do, they don't enjoy themselves. I see things changing with second generation Portuguese (younger immigrants) and I'm happy to see it. I have friends whose parents are millionaires and they still live the same way they did thirty years ago when they first arrived, they do all their living in the basement because they don't want to use any of the new furniture on the first floor, they will look for all the bargains, they don't know what it is to go to a restaurant or a movie, or buy new clothes. They have more

money than they possibly could ever use, they still work when they should retire and enjoy themselves, I can't understand their logic.]

No. [I find his explanation very interesting, but I think he must have thought me to be very dumb.]

You don't know? (clears his throat) You need some potatoes, I'll give you some potatoes, I see you need, I'll give it to you - I'll give you -- I'll give you (stressing), or some cabbages or something like this, or (em fin) some beans, something like that, or some oranges... things like that... so on and so on. But it is necessary that you work... but if you are a lazy person you will not munch, I will not give you anything... go and dig a hole (vai cavar) isn't it, I'm not working to give it to you. To give to a lazy person is not right, do you understand? It's like this, life is like this. ['Give-a-hand policy' -- as long as you try, but you have to try for me to help you, if you don't try, then I will not help you. Generally I find that Portuguese people are very giving, they just don't want you to have more than they do.] It's like this, (mumbles) I liked that land a lot, I liked.. I liked... but if I knew how to speak English... my head is weak, it is... a person to speak English needs to have schooling also. To speak English, to speak English is necessary to have schooling and ??? the faster you will learn. But we without schooling, I had a very weak schooling, my head is not good for that... it is not good to catch that English. [I'm sorry he feels this way, I think every one is intelligent in his/her own way. For example, he is a great story teller. It is too bad that he doesn't consider himself intelligent enough to learn English, If he would have given himself some time I think he would have been speaking English comfortably with me.]

No... eh.

Then I also saw something, I also saw something it is that, I saw... I had a book, that I took a book in English there. [I'm happy that he thought about bringing a English Portuguese dictionary, I don't think that there were many that did this. He really wanted to learn the language and assimilate to Canadian culture.] I saw eh, uhm... ahh, that English something like that (changed his voice -- whispering) And I went to the book and It wasn't similar to what he said, e pa (ehh man), this is not right, this is not right, this is not... is not, it's who can manage, do it by yourself (every man for himself) do you understand? That's not right, what

kind of a tongue is this one... how is it that eh... uhm, in the book is not correct, but it is correct in the book, but it is for England, for the English in England not in Canada... Ah... eee... eh... ah... Because the American tongue is "pigish".... and the Canadian is even "pigisher". [The different pronunciations must make him think that 'true' English is only spoken in England. Interesting is that in Portugal the, the English teachers have to be from England. Do you think that the Portuguese spoken in Azores is 'pigisher' than that of mainland Portugal?]

How do you mean "pigish"?

"pigish" is the tongue that no, no, no.... that is to say they speak in the way they feel like... one to another, in the way they want, one to another, in the way they want, do you understand? Because the right English is from England, isn't it... is not from Canada or America, the right English is from England. If you speak English from England and you see the book it is right, yes it is. [I really don't see how he could detect any difference, someone must have told him this when he started to use the dictionary and he believed them. How did you come to this conclusion?] But what I heard in Canada, what did he say? what did he say? I go and look in the book and it's not... ah, but I don't see this in the book... Ah, I don't know what it is, I left it alone I don't care about this, I will just manage. (mumbles and laughs) It is like this, it is like this. [This must have made an impact on the decision to return to Portugal, he really tries to assimilate, but there is just too many little things that really annoy him and I think he just gives up. Trying to use a dictionary in a conversation is not the easiest thing to do.]

What made you decide to return?

I had some things here, some land isn't it, and I, I always liked my land Isn't it, I always like my land. But if I knew enough good English, I wouldn't come here, but as I didn't know English, I go to my land I will not go to another nation, and all (mumbles) ah... uhm, and I will spend all the life like this, without knowing how to speak English, Eh man, ahhh no. [It is a shame that he didn't pursue the matter any further, I wish there would have been some one to help him out.] I could manage, I could manage, but things of responsibility I would have to talk with others, to go for me, do you understand? [It is one thing to get help from someone, but when it comes to personal things it could be somewhat embarrassing, and you may not want others to know certain

things about you. Even today there are still many places that offer help to the Portuguese immigrant, the sad thing is that the majority that use these services have been in Canada for many, many years. Things are changing, more and more Portuguese are attending school (ESL classes), but what they are doing now they should have done twenty years ago.] To Brazil there are people who go, they go beautifully and speak there beautifully... to Brazil... to Brazil to parts like this that speak more or less... for example, to Spain there we understand them... they understand us... the Brazilian they understand us, we understand them, that is right. Now with other nations it is not right, it is a pain in the neck to learn, it is like this, without school (whispering). [He must regret not staying in school when he was younger. When did you stop studying? Why did you stop going to school? Was it difficult to attend school when you were younger? Did you have to travel far to go to school?] Then I came here, well I didn't have children, if I had children I would see if I would back, but I didn't have children, what we have is enough for us to live, do you understand? (rooster in the background - very loud).

You spent 16 years in Canada, what did you think when you first arrived?

What did I think when I got here? To run my life as it was before.

Did you start immediately in this life?

As before... as before I went over there... I was in this way of life, I wasn't a pilot... nor was... nor was... nor was I that, I took care of the land that is there and I came to take care, do you understand? [Did you like doing this type of work? Why did you stay longer in Canada? Were there other opportunities for you when you returned?]

Did you find any changes?

Changes!? Eh changes... eh no. Ah changes, not very big changes, not very big changes, in many things there are changes, ah there are as many changes as there are in Canada... Canada has changed a lot in many things, very different in many things (Stresses) since I went there. Canada was also half backwards, it was very backwards Canada, it was very backwards.... back.... very backwards... back... yeah, backwards... backwards yeah... eh ahhh. [The majority of the changes probably occurred after the revolution.]

How was it backwards?

Backwards ahhh.... ahh... the movement... the movement, it was weak and everything, everything was little money. When I went there... there were men earning twenty five cents an hour. "Twenty five Cents an hour"... twenty five cents per hour, per work hour there was there. And I went there catching 95, 90 cents per hour.... do you understand? [How did you feel earning more money than those other people? Was this more money than you were earning in Portugal?] Then I returned here not too long, lots of money, they earn twenty, twenty something dollars per hour, twenty something, almost thirty dollars per hour. [Linkages are still open. What do you think about them earning so much money?] And when I when there in the railways an engineer was earning twenty.... twenty dollars... I'm not sure if it was per day or what. It was per day, twenty dollars per day in Canada. An Engineer, was the one that earned that, it was talked about... that he earned that money. And we earned what I earned, it was for something to eat and with some change left (low voice), it was. [One is never happy.]

It was?....

Yeah.... it was little (very low voice), it was little money.... [By the sounds of things he was earning good money, I don't know why he is complaining.] but now it rose up in the air, in a manner that gives lots of money, but there is nothing that goes up that doesn't go down. [How true, I guess he is foreseeing the future, what goes around comes around.] It went up and up and up until it blew up, and now it went down. Canada is not doing very well now. With lots of unemployment....My brother-in-law told me, he is still there.... 'Oh Joao, this over here... ehh as soon as some work comes by, it's like thirty dogs to a bone', do you know what that means? Do you know what that means?
No.

No, you don't know what it means, a job comes by.... a bone with meat, from a cow, the bone, bones, do you know what bones are?

[I think he was getting tired of having to explain the simplest things to me -- he is a great story teller.]

Yes!

Do you know what dogs are? [Yelling at me, I think I pissed him off.]

Yes!

A job comes by, it's thirty dogs to that bone..... a dog gets a bone, a dog gets a bone.... it's thirty dogs around that bone, that's how Canada is, with lack of work. [Great analysis of lack of employment in Canada.]

And when you went there, was it like that?

No, it wasn't... what you earned was little... you earned little. [I don't understand, you said that people were earning twenty five cents an hour and you started with ninety cents, then you were making good money for the time?] And then you didn't know how to speak... they couldn't speak... and because of that no... no, ahe, ahhh..... (pause) At the beginning lots of houses were sold over there, very cheap houses, now it's 200, 300.... 200, 300 thousand dollars one house, (mumbles ????) and before it was little that you payed for a house.... but at the time a guy was earning money for himself to make a little living it wasn't to buy house. [Reason for his wife to stay behind, after all you could rent a room, buy little and save a lot. What do you mean by 'little living'? Why didn't you want to buy a house in Canada? Did your wife want to emigrate to Canada to be with you?]

How was it for you?

For living... for living... then some stayed there and some returned, but the majority stayed there... only a few returned... only a few returned. [It must have been horrid for these men to return. It would be wonderful to speak to these migrants and have them tell us their experiences.] Well that is a very good land, a very good land, I liked that land..... and if I had children I would probably be there.... but as I don't have children I'm over here (sad/low voice), do you understand? (lower voice -- long pause -- birds singing in the background.) [Another reason for returning -- he doesn't see a future for him or his wife there, but sees that his children would have a good future in Canada. Why don't you see yourself and your wife having a future in Canada?]

You returned in '69 for good, what did the people think about you?

They didn't have anything to do with me... I came to stay here... they... ehe... uhm... ahhh... I wanted to stay here,

I stayed. That had nothing to do with others, it had to do with me. Of course this has to do with me, ahh... ahh, I'm the one who looks after my life, it has nothing to do with others.

But at that time weren't there lots of people wanting to go to Canada?

Those who could go went, those who couldn't, stayed behind (angry voice). [There is a feeling of animosity towards those that went and stayed. He probably regretted returning in 1969.] I did hold anybody from going there, the others... they couldn't go that's it, I could, so I went... do you understand? [It must have been scary to emigrate and not know much about the place you were emigrating too. Did the government offer any type of information to those emigrating? What did people say about Canada at that time?] But at that time, they feared Canada... I mean.... they didn't know that land, they didn't know that land, they didn't know that land, what is Canada? What is Canada? The Canada... the Canada... is located north of... of America.... Canada is north of America.... Canada is north of America... and Canadas' population is little, it is little, Canada is very large, but it's populated at the edges, do you know what an edge is? From bottom to top in Canada, on the north side of America a long there... there is... there is there a.... a flowing river, that flowing river that passes by 'Niagara Falls'... that river is the one that divides Canada from America, and that river comes from the north... from Alaska... from the north... from there, 'Alaska... always downwards until... until... until... Halifax... until it enters the sea... that... that... that flowing river. And then an edge of that side, of that flowing river... is the populated one. On the north it's all grass and grass and forests always towards the north, do you understand? (dog barking and birds singing all the time). Why doesn't Canada have independence yet? Why doesn't it? It doesn't have it. [When did you learn all of this? I'm impressed, not everything is correct but it sounds to me that he probably knows more about the Canadian landscape than other immigrants that live in Canada today, good for him.]

Does have what?

Independence (raises his voice), independent from England, why doesn't it?

I don't know!

You can't say why it isn't? There is still little population, there is lots, but there is little. It hasn't reached the time.... to have independence from England, do you understand? (mumbles) That's why lots of people have gone there, lots of people have gone there, do you understand? It is necessary for the... the Queen of England to order Canada... she is the one who gives orders, and the money is hers, the money is hers (laughing), all that money is hers... Canada, do you understand? (laughing) Her name... picture is always there... on the dollars... ehh, when independence comes she disappears.... that woman disappears.... it won't be long until it happens, do you understand? The Queen of England, yes siryyyyy!!!! That's it.... it is like that guy. (sigh) It's o.k, it's o.k. [I like his knowledge, a bit wacky, but none the less he tries. He probably heard all of this from other immigrants and he never questioned them, assuming that they were more intelligent then him. I guess I should have set him straight and explained to him some of Canada's history and geography, but I felt at the time that since he was the teacher and I was trying to learn from him, I wasn't going to question his intelligence. Now, I wish I would have, it would be awful if he told someone else these stories and they made fun of him.]

What was your worst experience with migration, going or coming back?

I went there... I went over there... and then I came here to get married, and then I went back... I went back... I went over there (mumbling) and then I came back here again to see my land and my wife and the friends... and then I went there again... and I came back here again.... and then went back.... (whispering) well this is not living, I'm going to return... I'm going to return... then I went back visiting, ahh (lowers his voice, very low and sad -- hard to understand), I don't know I spent some 18 years or so.... that I was there... I was there about 18 years. [It must be very difficult to be away from your wife and friends. I just don't understand why he didn't become Canadian and sponsor his wife, I know that the language was a major difficulty for him, but all of us (immigrants) have to travel that same road, I still don't spe

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In which year did you get married?

In '59... in '59

Did your wife stay here from '59 to '69?

Yes she did. [Ten years apart must be very difficult especially for newlyweds.] Yeah, she stayed here with her mother, the mother was a widow, she stayed with her mother, and she had a married sister... here, therefore she stayed because the mother was here.... [Perhaps she was the last one to get married, hence she was obliged to take care of her mother and could not emigrate.] and the sister was here... the borthers they were.... he... no the brothers eh, they had already gone to Canada, they had already gone to Canada when I got married... they were there and then they came here also to get married (moto-bike zooms by)... it's... it's like this (all this is said in a very sad voice). Then, I left in '59, in '55 and then in '69 I return for good, I never went back.

In '69 or '65?

In '69, '69, '69 and I got... I'm receiving from Canada, I have enough time to receive, isn't it... my Canadian pension (rooster in the background -- loud) it's a little, it's little because if I were there I would receive it as they receive it over there... but I'm here, I don't receive it as them over there... for example.... I went there in '54, and I started working of course... and if I were there it would count.... my pension from the start until now, but the pension gave for Portugal and two or three other nations, was in '66... that's when the pension was given for outside, it didn't give... do you understand? [Did the change in these laws influence your decision to return?] And then I got only three or so years of pension... I came here in '69, in '66 to '69... three or so years that I caught only... it's about two... two hundred and four, five dollars only, do you understand? (really low voice) But if I stayed there It would count from the beginning, but I didn't stay there... so I only recei... recei... receiv... how do you say? They agreed... they only agreed, it was in, in '6... '6... '66, that's when they did that agreement, for the money to come over here to Portugal and it went to Italy I think, and I don't... if it went to one or two more, I don't know, I don't know... I only know of those two nations... then it's like this, it's like this... what they send is little. (very low voice) But I receive there and I receive here also because I paid here as well. I receive from both sides... Yeah. From one side only, it wouldn't be enough... one side only it wouldn't be enough... if I received only from Canada what's that for? (disgusting tone) It's not enough for anything... [I guess he is not happy about this especially after he worked so hard in Canada.] and I receive from here

so it's more or less enough to go on living, isn't it? If I received only from here it wouldn't be much.... and if it were the other side, it wouldn't be much. Then both together gives something... for living. Because it's not, it's not only to spend your life for eating... if there is any kind of sickness you spend money.... you need money, without money you die around (rot away)... that's not right, do you understand?

Do you miss Canada?

What?

Do you miss Canada?

I miss Canada, yes I do... if it were closer I would go there every now and again, but it's far away and you pay lots of money... if it were closer I would go... I would go. (stresses) I would go sometime there... but it's far away, something like... and then it is, it is a few 'continhos' (1000 escudos) to go there and return... and then it's not only the ticket... I would have to have some money in my pocket to eat, isn't it? But, with the pocket (laughing), it's like that. [What would you do there? Where would you go?]

Do you still have family there?

Well I have, I have two brother-in-laws there... I have there two brother-in-laws, yeah. One is in Galt and... eh, the one who was in Jasper, is no longer in Jasper.... he is now in ahh, in 'Pantaca', in British Columbia... ahah, it's near there... I don't know if it's in "Pantaca", is in British Columbia, isn't it? Because it's British Columbia. It's in a part that there is lots of fruits... I don't know if you have heard about... it's in a part that gives lots of fruit, it gives lots of fruits... it gives there... but it's not bananas, it doesn't give bananas, it doesn't give... no...it doesn't give bananas. And oranges I don't know, I don't know... I think it doesn't give also. [The way he talks is very humorous. I'm not making fun of the guy, but I really liked hearing him talk, re-listening to the tapes just makes me laugh.] But the rest... it has everything, pears, pearmain and everything lots of vegetables... lots of things and so on, nothing is missing there, yeah. It's like that, nothing is missing there. Nothing is missing there... There are lots of things that come from outside, lots of things from outside... Canada for itself doesn't have... doesn't have... for itself has little... If it weren't for other nations.... that send

there... they send everything they need in Canada... If 'snow' wouldn't fall there, maybe it would have (grow), if the 'snow' wouldn't fall, the snow burns everything over there... I don't give a dam. (very low) That's it, that's it. You have never got out of Toronto? [Interesting how he uses snow as a metaphor for killing everything.]

No.

You never went outside? Ahh, you should run (go) to see what is Canada. You should run to see what is Canada. When You run that Canada, then you will say, now I saw what Canada is. Now I saw... now I saw... saw... what Canada is. [He is very proud to have had the chance to see all of Canada.] Now a guy always in Toronto, always in Toronto, doesn't know what Canada, where it stops. I ran, I ran (saw/visited), I ran... eh, at work and other things... I ran for work and something like that... I in any case I know I entered in Halifax, which is at the beginning down here... ehh... ehh, Halifax... and from then on I followed until, until Kitimat... I ran. From Toronto to inside Edmonton, which is in Alberta, in the Province of Alberta... it's about three and half hours by plane, from Toronto over there to Edmonton... That is to say I went there to Edmonton, three and half hours and you go to Portugal... to the Azores... It, It I think for here is closer... I think, or more or less the same distance. To Edmonton which is in Alberta, and there is British Columbia that is more over there, which is another Province. (rooster) How many Provinces are there in Canada? [I'm really glad that he feels so proud to know all of these things. I think that he must have wanted to get his Canadian Citizenship and he studied or someone taught him some Canadian geography.]

I'm not sure?

You're not sure, [Very surprised.] with all that schooling and that size... I don't know... I don't know... I... I... I don't if I will miss out one, there is Halifax... 'Nova Escolsa'... 'Nova Escolsa', is Halifax... Nova Escolsa is Halifax, isn't it? Halifax and Nova Escolsa is the same thing, is that devil over there... [Very puzzled, it sounds like he is trying very hard to teach me Canada's geography.] Then... then it has Quebec, it has Quebec... there is Quebec and Quebec because Quebec is a Province and has a city Quebec in Quebec... And has that Halifax... Halifax and has what's the name of that devil... I don't remember what's the name of that devil.... [I guess he is referring to P.E.I.] And then it has also 'Terra Nova'... 'Terra Nova' is already away from

Canada, Terra Nova is away from Canada... But it's a province of Canada. It's where the cod comes from... cod comes from Terra Nova, and Portugal also goes... use to go there to fish, I don't know where they go, do you understand? Eh then... I was at the Province of Quebec... from Quebec there is the Province of Ontario.... Ontario Toronto... it's the Province eh... ahhh... Ontario eh... what's the other... what... what's the other one, how is it.... Manitoba... what's the province of Manitoba... the Capital of Manitoba... sor... sor... eh... eh, the capital of Manitoba, what is the city... the name of that city?
(laughing)

I can't remember!

(Still laughing) it's not in your head? [Puzzled that I didn't know, or perhaps testing me to see if I was toying with him. I'm very impressed that he knows all of this.] The Capital of Manitoba is 'Winnepego'.... Winnepego is the capital of thing.... a big city. It's a big enough city. That is the capital of Manitoba. What's the province of Ontario? Ahh, the capital of Ontario?

That one is Toronto.

It's Toronto! No it isn't, you're wrong, you're wrong... what kind of talk is that one... Toronto is the capital of Ontario?!

Isn't it?

Isn't it 'Otava'? Where the government is?

Oh yeah? [I didn't think appropriate to argue with him. Also I didn't want him to loose his confidence.]

Oh yeah, oh yeah (laughing)... Oh yeah... there, there is the government in Ottawa, it rules the whole Canada... do you understand? And the... the... that.... that province of Quebec... the province of Quebec, ahh... ahh the capital is ahhh... what's the capital of the province of Quebec?

You said it a while ago didn't you, didn't you say it was Quebec?

Ah, I think it's Quebec.... ah... th.. the... has Montreal which is much bigger, but is not the capital, the capital is

Quebec... It's Quebec in fact. [I'm very impressed. Where did you learn all of this?] And now the Province of the... that... that... Nov... the... Halifax, that's Nova Escoltia... the capital, I don't know if you know.... [This is still puzzling him. He must know that he missed out New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, but he just can't remember -- he is trying hard.] and then, as I said ah, Manitoba. Ah, Manitoba over there, there is another province which is 'Saskatchewan'... at school... at school... ah, school you learn all this.... then you're worse than me.... Yeah, Yeah you are worse than me (very happy tone). Saskatchewan, has two cities... has two cities... that province has two cities... and Saskatchewan, the capital of Saskatchewan... is Saskatchewan... Saskatchewan... We leave from there, from Saskatchewan from the province of Saskatchewan to Manitoba to, to Alberta... there are two cities, also... there is Edmonton, and has Calgaria... Now I don't know very well, but I think that it's Edmonton, that is capital of Cal... of Alberta, not Calgaria, do you understand? You turn to British Columbia, there is the... ahh... City of Vancouver... a very big city. But it's not the capital of thing... ah... ahhha.... ahhh of British Columbia, it's Victoria, Victoria stays 'ilande'.... outside, do you understand?

When did you learn all of this?

I learned, I learned... I learned... I learned... I didn't want to take papers... I didn't want to take (mumbles) I didn't care to take the papers... I told myself... while I'm here, I'm here... when I'll go there I know I will have to return with the papers I have with my documents, isn't it? [I find this hard to believe, he loves Canada, and I think the reason he knows all this geography is because he was trying to learn it for his citizenship papers. He probably gave up on the idea because he doesn't think of himself as being too educated or intelligent, what pity.] Therefore just as well.... but we could take Canadian Papers... we had some kinds of conversations and then we would pass, do you understand? For the Canadian Papers, we had to have a guarantee... but what for that guarantee if we don't know how to speak.... for what that guarantee if we don't know how to speak? Only when I know how to speak I would ??? [The language barrier is a major difficulty for him, becoming Canadian would not be sufficient if he didn't know how to speak the language, if he is not able to assimilate to the Canadian way of life there is no use in him becoming a Canadian citizen.] (laughing) it's like this, do you understand? It's like this, in this manner. Ehh, then I...

the best part that I liked in Canada was... was... the... the Victoria. There is a garden there.... there is a garden... I don't how many days it will take to run (see) that garden... that was a garden! That was a big garden and beautiful. In there snow doesn't fall... snow doesn't fall there... it's like here. [If you stayed in Canada where would you have resided?] That's like the climate in California because California is very close from there... California is close by, from there from Victoria, it's close... do you understand? It's like this. Then I was in the aluminum factory in Kitimat, that is far away from the city of Vancouver, above. We going by train... and there were roads to go by car and by train... and there was planes to go there... there were planes to go there.... there was a little city there... [It must have amazed him that a small city had its own airport.] there was a plane to go there but it was a small plane... would bring little.... it's like those over here from one side to the other and they fly amongst those peaks, do you understand? Amongst those peaks there, there are lots of mountains over there... towards inside those peaks it's a small plane... that doesn't touch with the wings... like over here, there were some small planes and there still are. But no big planes would go there because the air field was small, do you understand? Do you understand? That's right I was in that north of Canada, but there was more above it still, which still was Canada. [Did you like being in the north of Canada?] It was... what was the name now?... What was the name?.... It's under my tongue... the biggest fishing port of Canada... it is.... it takes four hours of travelling from Kitimat there. The biggest port of fish... of catching the fish on the sea.... eh... is not Port Prince... it's Prince Rupert.... You never heard of talking of Prince Rupert? It's the biggest port of fish inside Canada, there. It's at the north of the Province of British Columbia, to the north... to the north... over there, there is nothing else, but to Alaska. Above that part... it's to Alaska... to Alaska if a guy wants to go there he also goes... he has to... he has there in Alaska he as to work with a motor on his back... to give heat, if there is no heat he will die... he dies there yeah... yeah... yeah... it's very cold... Alaska is what has.... it's the North Pole, north... [Who told you this? I guess misrepresentations about Canada weren't uncommon at the time the first emigrants emigrated. What is strange is that he still believes all of these things, I feel bad and I guess I should have told him the truth. When I was young I heard many people say that in Canada you never washed dishes, after you used them you tossed them in the garbage, everyone had their own swimming pools, cars, televisions and lots of money -- Canada seemed like paradise to me, and probably to many

others. I used to wish I was in my cousins shoes, they seemed to have everything, little did I know that they had a lot of hand-me-downs, their parents worked long hours, that they didn't have the love that I did while they were growing up, this was the real life for immigrants children.] and eh, I don't know now, but I think it's still the same... there is a city there... there is a city there in Alaska... and that city the name of that city is 'Ukongue'... Ukongue... Ukongue... or is it like this Ukongo... kongo.... is the capital of that city... but that city... nah... I don't know... eh... they say because I never went there... [Who said? Some of his information is a little mixed up. The lack of knowledge about the country must have made some people tell stories that were believed by immigrants like him and then passed on.] to go there at that time... we almost went with the railroad... we were almost going there... but I didn't know how to speak I didn't go... [Do you wish you had gone? Did any other Portuguese go? I think that he probably would have gone to the Yukon if he knew how to speak the language. Perhaps there weren't too many Portuguese going and he was afraid, what would he do if there were any problems?] There is very cold... very cold... it was a contract for some months to earn I don't know how much money there and then to come back... I didn't go there. But they say that there then that... I don't know if the city is like that, it seems like it is... their house is snow... their houses is snow.... where they are stuck... yeah in the snow... yeah.... once a 'eskimolo' came... do you know what eskimolos are... there... there... of that part of Alaska... Eskimolo came to Toronto... In what did he come in? Do you know what did he come in? Inside... inside a... a casket... do you know what a casket is? A casket is a coffin... a man when he dies doesn't he have a coffin... he came inside that... in a very small space... it's a very small... with a glass on top and everything full of ice inside... and him inside alive... if there were no ice oh, he would die... it's because they live on ice and if there is no ice... lacks.... we live in the heat... if there is no heat we would die... and then with the cold they live with the cold, they resist is with the cold... they catch heat they die, Yeah was in Toronto there... I didn't see it, but eh, but I was told.... [He believes everything he hears, I just wonder if all the other immigrants were as gullible as he. The stories that he heard are very interesting, it seems that they are partially factual, but when you play 'telephone wire' things get a little distorted.] there in a coffin well adorned with 'snow'... and you would see it, and him alive.... but he goes back the same way to the same place... but if the 'snow', ice was missing... he would die, do you understand? It was told to me... because I didn't see it... I couldn't see

everything.... I couldn't see everything, no I couldn't see everything uhm. If I saw everything it would be good... if we saw everything it would be good, but we didn't see it... it is like this... it was like this, and I believed it, [Do you wish you saw all of these things? When these stories were first told to you, did you believe them?] that Alaska, Alaska is the North Pole direct where there is the worst cold, it is there... and there is where the war of '39... in 1939 there was a war, Germany with Russia... and England, I don't know what (mumbles)... and oh, the German... went through Alaska, through this Alaska... Because from Alaska there to Russia is very close... and the shortest way to get into Russia is through Alaska... what is, is to resist that cold... and he... the German... reached there... reached at that time... and they... they... they resisted ahead... resisted ahead... resisted ahead.... but France and England went over Germany... there, it seems they lost the war, and if it wasn't like that, he would resist to go ahead... he would resist to enter into Russia... and if he enters Russia, if he enters Russia, if Germany enters into Russia... Germany would put the entire world... if it would catch Russia on its own... they would put the entire world with the red flag.... the German flag, do you understand? There he lost... lost everything... there he got it in the shin... it was there... there at that time... (mumbles???) because he... if he... if he goes in through Russia, he would catch Germany... when he would catch Germany... Russia... catch Russia, and if he would catch Russia by himself, by himself, to his side, he would go around the entire world. [He sure is a great story teller, his stories are very amusing, I just wish I could catch the essence on paper. I wonder if this is the way he heard these stories or did he mix and match as time passed.]

Who is he?

The Russian... Russia. The German... Germany. It's like this, it's like this, it's like this. [It sounds like he is a bit confused.]

Where did you learn all these things?

We live with others and asked... and it was said... and asked one... and asked the other... and asked the others... and after one knows how to say something in english, the other doesn't, and after they would ask, and so. [What kind of information were you looking for?] Eh because there in Canada we catch... we catch the english more or less, even without school. How do you catch it without school? We catch it

without school. How do we catch it without school? I for example put myself with a girl... with a whore... that is... is... they're women that are no good. I put myself with women like that... I learn English... the money goes all away... she eats everything I have... I work for her... and I have to live without money in the pockets... I know it's like this... I know it's like this... we learn English with a woman! [Who told you this?] It's with a woman... there are women in any part of the world that are no good... do you know women... just as well... bad life and things like that... tha... tha... tha... and these women are always not doing anything... what they want is to eat... we get involved with one of those women... we are going to work... is everything to eat, do you understand? She to eat the... the... money of a man... she gets and wastes it, and that's all... how is that! The women there wants to pass life... she doesn't want care... she wants... then if a guy doesn't have money... she sends him away, and puts him in jail, do you understand? [Did you want to learn English with a woman? Where did you hear this? It seems that he would have done anything to learn the English language, and probably at one time he did think about getting involved with a Canadian woman to learn the language and become assimilated, but perhaps he heard stories and he got scared. I wonder if this was the mentality of the first Portuguese immigrants in Canada, perhaps this was the reason for so many of them to return to Portugal to get married, they were scared that the Canadian woman would only take advantage of them. Those sporadic Portuguese that landed in Canada before the 'emigration period' did get married to Canadians and assimilate. A friends' grandfather was left in Nova Scotia around the turn of the century, he found a job working in a hotel and got married to an Irish woman, three generations later my friend knows nothing about her ancestry or Portuguese culture.] It is then to, also learn English is with young children... young children are the ones who say right little conversations... little conversations and so on... through school ??? and are children that know better, than those children here... they know better than those children here... over here, [What makes you think this?] are children that speak like old people... like an old person... like any man... I liked... I liked... I use to like hearing those children talk... their mannerisms. Over here they don't talk with the children the way they talk there... over here they don't talk to the children the way they talk there... it is to raise the children the way they raise chickens or cattle or dogs around here, they don't give a dam... is that something! [I don't agree with him, yes there are some rude Portuguese parents, but I'm sure the same is true for some Canadian parents.] Hey guy isn't this boy your son... isn't

this girl your daughter, hem... go there (vai la)... go... go there taking raising your daughter and your son... aren't you proud of them... no... something, I don't know what.... backwards (before) a child would do something... they would get it... they would get it, do you know what is to get? Do you know? Don't you know what is to get it in your ass... in your head, if you do wrong... now... already... already.... already no one sees it... nor hear it, nor see it, to get beat up. [Old Portuguese mentality.] Any one does what they want, and that's it... it's like this way... I think it's the end of the world... I think it's the end of the world, do you know what the end of the world is? The end of the world is the world ended... that's it, everything disappears. Ne... ehm... there are things that we should know of them, and the books are for something... what are the books for? What are books used for?... That our god, do you know what is our god? 'God', said... stay there world... with 2 thousand odd years... with 2 thousand odd years... 2 thousand odd, the 2 thousand are finishing... and the odd ones we don't know how many... we don't know if the world ends... how it started... and also ends how it started... and also it ends, but I don't know when it is or when it isn't, and I don't know... but I... I... sometimes say It seems we are at the end of the world, things are giving out... it seems we are reaching the end... we don't get along, ones with the others... everything ill mannered, something I don't know how... it's there in such a manner that I don't understand... I was in Can... in America two times at my uncles house... I saw there a few things that I didn't see amusing... I didn't see amusing... this is that size... the sons entered, I don't know how many sons... sons would come... sons... sister in laws, something like that... that... that... At any time of the day... at any time of the day, of the night... from side to side... what is that! I saw there styles... 'hey pa' this... I saw that there, that is not like that... You see... over here is also the same as there... over here is the same as there... over here is the same as there... who is the father, who is the mother, we don't know... they don't have respect to the fathers to the mothers... they don't have any respect, isn't it. This... this is not life, because in a house... in a house there has to be a person to rule... and if there isn't a person that rules in a family house... there is a person that rules... how is this house going to function... how is this going to be... how is it going to exist, how is it going to be... how is it going to end, how is it... what is the law here of living, there is no law or nothing... there is no law, what is this... everything needs customs (laws, religion, customs from S. Miguel) to know how to live... there is schooling and things like that... it's this way, it is in this manner, guy. (pause)

[Interesting perception of the world.]

Did you like returning?

It's my land (country), this is my land... you were born in Canada, right?

I was born here.

You were born over here! And you don't like this here, but you like it better there, why? Why do you like it better there, why?

Because I lived there half of my life.

Half of your life... half of your life, but you know that you were born here... I like the country I was born, and you don't like the country where you were born... ah... we should like the country where we were born... that is their country, the country of the person... I was born in Canada, I like Canada... if I was born here and I don't like this here... I like Canada... what is this! [Patriotism to the mother-country, perhaps also a reason for returning.] Why because it's dollars, it doesn't matter... over here you also earn money... and over here you also live... for those who want to work they can also work here... backwards (before)... there wasn't... there was not... there wasn't automobiles here... I remember not having not only one car... one... no there was two cars... no two cars over here in this island... and one truck... one (stresses)... from a... a man from the city (Ponta Delgada). Ah now... it went along... it went along that there are cars, there are cars... [Too many cars.] something like that... now after Canada (after emigration to Canada) there is appearing cars in abundance here, do you understand? [I'm sure immigrants helped the situation for some in Portugal with remittances, but I don't think they were the sole factor in the development of Portugal.] Here a guy... a couple... a wife working in a job and the husband working in another job... they live good here... the two working, not one working and the other staying home... the two working... they also live well here... like there is the same thing in Canada... if one working and the other not working... they can't drink a beer or go to a hotel (bar)... it is not enough for that... to pay rent, food and everything and clothing... the work of one is not enough... they can't go drinking beers in the hotel... but if both of them work, that's o.k... there is surplus... there is surplus of money... and over here is also the same... over here... over here, all over there is lot of people who have cars... eh, who

doesn't have a car here, is the one who doesn't wanted... is the one who doesn't want to have a car... any one... any one has a car... any one has a car... and then the wife works, the husband also works... both have their own car... it's like there... it's like that. But there are still a lot who want to go to Canada and America... they want to go there, because they think that there is heaven, the heaven is not there... [When I was younger a lot of people wanted to emigrate, they were infatuated with all the riches that the immigrants brought back on their vacations, today I find that those that stayed are happy and have everything that most immigrants worked their entire lives to get. I think there are fewer and fewer that want to leave, those that want to leave are probably the ones that still have nothing in Portugal and think that they could be as rich as those that emigrated thirty years ago, unfortunately they are sadly mistaken. I think that the majority of the majority of migrants that arrived in Canada before the end of 1970 had a fair chance to make it in Canada, those that emigrated at a latter date are finding it more difficult to achieve their goals.] it is up there (above), do you understand? We go and live in another nation... but we have to crab the work with teeth and nails... [Must refer to his experience in Canada -- he had to work to, to the bone to be able to save some money to return to Portugal, it wasn't easy.] and if we don't work out there in any nation, you will die against a corner... die against a corner... there is no doubt.

Did you think it was heaven?

No, I... no I didn't go searching for heaven... I only thought about the money.... [To me the money and heaven are the same.] that was worth, and I was going to make a little life (some savings), with the money I earned there, do you understand? [Money is the most important factor for emigrating.] Because over here, it was something weak... it was weak... you couldn't live... you couldn't marry... you couldn't that... if you want to get married, how is that! (lowers his Voice) To get married you have to have a little house, you need to buy a little house... where's the money, you don't have it... and after... at least something to buy a house... to go ahead... something like that. That is dollars... you are going to earn dollars, and something like that... and over here it is this... we never improve with what we earn here, you never improve, it is good for nothing... then I went there. But now there are many people over here that they are living well (good), that don't need Canada... [Portugal has improved tremendously, the standard of living in

Portugal looks very good.] many people don't need Canada for nothing, do you understand? But there are still many that want to go... those that have bad luck here... they want to see if they have luck there.... but the guy that doesn't have luck could go around the entire world... never get it (referring to luck)... the guy that has no luck, do you understand what I'm saying? If a guy has no luck... he runs all over the world, and he never catches up to luck... he never sees luck... do you understand? Luck is not for him... and there are others who have lots of luck... they have lots of luck... but there are many that don't have any (in a low voice). Therefore, who doesn't have luck... the other also would say like this... a song... the guy... the guy who doesn't have luck should never have been born... do you understand? The guy that was born without luck, shouldn't have been born, do you understand? The guy that has luck that's good, but with out luck... with out luck... in this world with out luck... in this world with out luck... it is better not to be born, do you understand? He comes into this world to suffer... to come into this world for what... to suffer... why did he come to this world... but it is necessary that we suffer... Jesus... is Jesus, right? Jesus suffered a lot and has a cross (crying)... and we... any of us should have a cross... any of us should have a cross... any one has to have... every one has their cross... every one has it... some lighter... some heavier... every one has their cross, do you understand? Every one has their cross, yeah... It is like this. (sigh) In a City... in a city we live good... but if we go to the north... I... I... I... I worked... I didn't work with... with this cold... 60 below zero... 60 degrees below zero... in the railroads, to the north of Ontario... 60 below zero... it is...it is to die... but we at that time were not working... we were at the railroads, but we at that time were not working, we were at the railroads... but we went to work to make bon fires... with wood... (they had to show up to the job or they didn't get payed)... for when the train passed in the railroad... to see that we were there, for us to earn... because if we weren't there we would not earn anything, do you understand? We pretended we did something on the job... but we got close to the fire to keep warm... but then we were earning, but it was very hard with that cold... Eat... we ate... we ate well, everything we wanted and how we wanted... but the food is English style... English style... I like the English food... the English food is lighter for us... and the Portuguese isn't, do you understand? The Portuguese is heavy... the food is heavy... the seasoning and the things and so on... and... and English is something light, light... we eat... we eat it and you feel bad if it is always light... I also like the English food... any food to eat English or

Portuguese, I eat well... you already know that the Portuguese food tastes better... made the Portuguese way... it is tastier to us... but you reach a certain age and this food that we eat that is Portuguese is already no good, for us to eat... it is not good because we reach a certain age and sickness appears... oh, my arm hurts... my leg hurts... something like that... my belly... something like that... we need a diet... diet is food without salt, sugar no, fat no, pepper no, and then we live the English way, do you understand? Like this we go on living... ahead... but if you always eat the Portuguese way, you die suddenly, because you reach a certain time... our organism doesn't want the same foods we ate when we were young... with a lot... a lot... a lot of mixtures (sauces), something... seasoning... and something like that, do you understand? A Saint... a saint are the ones that had long hair... no one appears with short hair... no saint appears with short hair... there are no barbers there (laughing), it is like this. [Referring to my long hair.]

From my journal: Very nice man, with lots of gestures (pointing with his hands). There were tears in his eyes during some parts of the conversation. Some of his stories were very amusing but he believed them and was very happy to tell them to me, probably because he thought I knew less than him. I wanted him to tell me everything he knew, therefore I presented myself as being ignorant about the topics we talked, this led me to believe that he was very trustful and didn't question people, especially those he thought were more knowledgeable than him. Those that were less knowledgeable than him made him happy because he could convey all the things that he knew to them without having to justify them. He showed me his house where he lives alone. The house was very well kept, beautiful garden (all kinds of vegetables from sweet potatoes to sweet American corn that you can eat raw according to him). He was especially proud of his celery, but had no pigs or chickens because he thought they ate more than it was worth. I was surprised to see throughout his very clean house pictures of Canada which he pointed out with great enthusiasm. He commented that he was looking for a wife but did not need one to take care of himself (I believe that he is a very lonely person which I was sorry to see. I did see him numerous times after the interview walking alone in Ribeira Grande and Ponta Delgada and every time he presented himself has being occupied, but I never saw him doing anything). He commented on my hair and said that he did not see anything wrong with long hair, after all Jesus and all the disciples had long hair (laughing). One of the most interesting conversations that I had.

MR. FURTADO

Setting - Around seven o'clock in the evening. The conversation took place at the informants house in his living room. Background noise consisted of cars/trucks/buses zooming by on the road and the rain in his sky light.

My life here was as a... rural labourer. [What kind of work was it? Did you like a rural labourer? Was there a future for you in this type of work? Were there possibilities to do anything else?] Then I got drafted, was in the army, I was in Mozambique for 30 months. [Did everyone have to go to the army?] Nothing happened there. By chance, we were... were.. we asked Our Lord for something drastic to happen at the front, so that the Captain would be the first one to get a shot in the head. He treated us like animals and beasts. Anything wrong that we would do.... would get us 10 days or 5 days of prison. [what kinds of things got you in trouble? Was this the general consensus among other captains?] Then there was this guy from Ribeira Seca that told him we wanted to shoot him in the head - and the commandant -- the one below the commandant -- told us, I would be the first to shoot him in the head, but if so, we'd never again see neither sun nor moon. And he said the best way to do this - because we took care of the barracks and the four (pailotes ?) (background noise - child asking for his mama) - it was 10 Km away from that thing there, right? And now - erhm - and the one was looking after us, said I'm going to get in touch and tomorrow he will come down here, that will be ok. The other day the man was down here, we were all lined up in the parade grounds. And then he said what we needed... we needed, we told him, that he was not a dignified man to be with us. He should remember that we all left the Azores, and we should remember he was our father while he was living there. Baa, the man lowered his head and started crying thinking about this conversation. Ahh have mercy. The man got better than a soldier... he said -- when the end of the month came, if you don't receive salary come and see me, if it comes late, come and see me and I'll give it. Bon (well), in any case that happened. But he payed everything he did to us, he ahhh... how should I say, he left before us (army), because he went before us to Mozambique, he was in India, ???? and he wanted to take vengeance on us, in any case, he left before us and he was waiting to go to South Africa, or to Rhodesia, or something like that. And ahhh... if he wanted to eat he would come to the 'Mess', if he needed a ride he would get one from the army trucks, and ahhh... the trousers were torn and

the pants were showing (Clock chimes in the background). The time went by (passed) and we left the army. (pause) [How did you feel about being in the army?] A guy ahh... ahhh who was with me in the army was looking after some ships here in the City, it was because of the cattle that was to be shipped out. And he saw him and he asked for work for himself (army captain), and he "My captain do you remember what you did there in Africas? But that has gone by.... that will never go (be forgotten)". In any case we completed forty months, without having missing a day in the army. [That's a long time to be in the army?] Well then, I left the army. I came to become a farmer, [Did you own any land? What kind of farming did you want to do?] and then I decided to get a drivers license. I went to work for 'D. Maria Mota' (A rich property owner), I was making 1 500 escudos per month (about \$15.00 today). It wasn't enough but it was money. [Do you know what the average income was back then?] And then I saw that work was a bit more heavier, and I asked her for more money, and I was walking from down there (stresses) to my home, would it be midnight or one in the morning. [How far was it? Today public transportation in S. Miguel runs on a very strict schedule, from seven in the morning to seven at night. I found myself walking many times, at all hours of the night.] In any case I was there four years, Joao Caetano, I told him, I told Joao I'm going to Canada... I'm going to leave, this is not giving any results. [What kinds of results did you want to see?] And then I left in '74 and came to Canada. [Before or after the revolution? Was it difficult emigrating to Canada then? Were there other destinations available for emigration at the time? Why did you choose Canada?] I went then, I was there more or less 8 years. I was in the chicken factory, [It seems that a large number of Portuguese that live in Brampton work in the 'fabrica das galinhas'. What did you do there? Did you like this type of work?] it was good, good money that I earned, it wasn't, I can't say it wasn't, it was at the time. And then I came back in '82, I bought this house, I bought a taxi cab, only that the taxi cab hit my back (it wasn't a good buy) it was three hundred for the 'boneco' (dummy -- for nothing). I don't say bad things about that land, that land is good for living, and gives money. [It seems the most important thing about Canadian emigration is money. This obsession for money has made many immigrants successful in life.] Only the fault that it has, that I don't like is the winter (stresses), [I can't understand why he loathes winter, after all winter in S. Miguel is no paradise either, it is very damp, it rains for days sometimes, and the houses don't have heaters, the only difference is that there is no snow and the temperatures doesn't drop below zero.] the winter the snow, cars that don't start, its a mess, I'm

seeing.... I think it was.... in '80 if I 'm not mistaken or in '79 that I bought a car.... but used (Stresses) [I wonder why he stresses this?] The next month of January, there was such a storm, it was cold, "my God", everything white, you could see nothing at all (Stresses), everything white and wind "para caneco" (like hell) (stresses). I went to put the key in the car (to start) how, only red lights came on, and I contacted the person I bought it from. And he said you have to forgive me but in a day like today, there are thousands and thousands in that condition, ok all is fine. (Coughs) And then they came to get the car the next day, and when I followed the car... oh, so many cars all over the roads, in one side and the other, some were turned, some were straight, others buried, in any way... and I said -- no I'm not going to stay here (referring to Canada). [When you emigrated did you know anything about Canadian winters? Did you emigrate with the intentions of staying or returning?] Then I sold the car, I sold the house, and I came back. (pause) Who ever wants can go there... and I won't say I won't go one day.... one day I want to go there but visiting, and its because... how shall I say it, because of the retirement, because I was there more or less 12 years. After '82 when I came back, I was here almost six months, and I returned so I won't loose the papers. And ahh.... ahhh, then they started to tell me, you have to go back because one day your children want to go back and they can not go. [Who told you this? Did you go to the Canadian embassy?] And then if you want to come here you have to have the Canadian papers (Become canadian/citizen), everything went well. Then I was forced to take the Canadian papers, [If it wasn't for your children you would not have become Canadian?] I tell them to go back and they don't want too... they are working here, ok... everything is well. [Were they born there? Why don't they want to return? Was it difficult for them to adjust to life in Portugal?] Then I left and I came here (with a sigh), I finished fixing up my little house. I got myself a job... I'm with 'Casa Nova', I'm working with a truck, driving from village to village... A man does not stop, life is this. What can a man do? Earning for a living, today they are grown ups (raised), the girl is married, the man is also married, in the city hall. And now I work for me and for her and the hell with the rest. Some say why don't you go to Canada. I said "What for to work for them?" They can work for themselves, because I'm working for myself. That's it, this is life. (clears his throat and laughs) What more do you want me to tell you?

Was it difficult for you to start over again?

NO, NO it wasn't. It wasn't difficult. I mean I was unemployed for a while, because there weren't too many jobs. And who got me the job where I am today was one of my wives' aunts, because she said -- 'I'm going to talk to Mr. Casa Nova, it could be that he has work'. And she talked to him one week and the other week (next) he told me come down here, come and find out the result, I went. And then he said tomorrow you start work, yes sir. I went then to get a truck, I went to work in 'Avelhiera' to transport earth upwards and gravel downwards, and sometimes straw upwards to the summit, cars without mirrors, tires blowing up... ahh... ahhh getting by. ??? MY loved truck, it was strong, it would jump when it got stuck in the back, it had to go forward only if it got stuck in the front. Then I went to work on that place to make a water main, I spoke with a friend of mine to help me, I went through one way for him to come the other way, he didn't want to come, but I convinced him, when he came up here, he said -- "it was this one time, and the only time, I never come up again, this is not for me". And then I said, you are used to driving on the good roads, I would like to see you guys in these bad roads, a man can't even use the mirrors, you have to have your doors open to be able to reverse. [For some reason Portuguese drivers think that they are better drivers than Canadian drivers. The only difference is that they are perhaps a little more careless than us, sure their roads are narrow, there is no speed limit, a road that is a two way should be a one way, but they forget that where they only have a two lane highway with a few cars we have six or eight lanes with thousands of cars travelling over 100 kilometres an hour.] I would drive on average of certainly about 300 meters or more all reversing... and stopped, sometimes the box would hit the box (?), it was very narrow... until then he left... ahhhh, finished that work, we went then to Vila Franca. In Vila Franca it wasn't bad, we stayed there two years, or maybe... maybe more, making water mains, sewers for houses, and rain drains... three types of water mains. We were there three... over two years. Well that was finished and now we are going to Furnas... ahh, we went to Lomba do Santo, we were in Faial Da Terra... also doing water mains. There they are now more or less stopped (no work), they are doing small construction in Furnas of 'Agua Azeda', which is for the ministry of Forestry for the Serra do Trigo factory... it's all most finished... when it is finished there is nothing else, work is scarce. [Do you like doing this type of work or would you like to do anything else?] This is bad for the 'Caneco' (like hell) (lowers his voice). They have to get something, I don't know if they are going to get that building contract, for about a million and 500 contos... it's at Ponta Garca, it is also to make the same three things, the three

types of water mains, water to drink, sewage for the houses and for the rain. Now, what gives less money is the one ??? Now what gives more money they won't pay anything (?). Lets hope that he grabs that, because if he grabs it, it's going to be at least for five years of work, [What are you going to do if they don't get the contract? Were things like this before you emigrated? Do you wish you were still in Canada?] and that will be very good. Ahh... so... uhm, he is going to do that for three times (phases), I don't know how... they are the ones who understand that, I don't know. Well it's like this (sigh)... And like this we go on... every day to one place carrying the gravel... we carry 'turfo', we carry cement blocks, some say that "vieiros" are cheaper, Casa Nova is more expensive, if it wasn't for the beams, I think he would have closed down, Casa Nova. Nobody makes beams like them, beams (Coughs) and 'amobadilhas'. (pause) Oh, and they do... also do water mains in cement, they also do water mains in cement, up two meters in height... those big wheels and one meter in length (Coughs). That's it.

Your wife was with you in Canada?

(coughs)

And your children were born there or here?

They were here (Born), the girl went with five years (Coughs), and the boy went with two... He still had his dippers on his ass.(coughs... coughs). And the boy learned english with the tv. O, fi, oahh, the uncle was teaching him... he said, Manuel go on learning because your sister went to school with her eyes closed (coughs). And you, when you go to school, you will go with your eyes already open. You know already how to talk, and you will be reading something (will know some words). It was a mess around him in the living room... I use to follow him around downstairs in the living room with the five in the hand to give to the children and I never caught him (referring to his hand, to spank his son)... he was always going round and round and went under the bed. In one occasion those "bicicles" (bicycle) with two wheels, it had those two little ones on the sides, I bought him one... then he tore off one of those wheels and went to break the head of the boy. There he went the boy home screaming (referring to the son), the other there he goes to the hospital, and he took I don't know how many stitches. And now mine came from there to here on the way on the street on the road, crying and crying and I said come here I'm going to tell you a story (stresses). Then I sat down on the "droveway" (driveway) I sat down and he

didn't come, and he sat down on the curb... because if he came I was going to scratch his clothing (spank him --- he sounds extremely humorous telling this story).... ah... but then I said the... da... the... it is not worth while, boys it is not worth while to give them reason, because they are nasty (mad at each other) then latter they are Ok. And... ahh... there was this time a boy who was english that he gave it to the boy (referring to his son)... and he came home crying.... and then I said who was the boy that gave it to you (bet you up)... Oh, it was so and so, then lets go and see who it is. I gave the boy a slap, and my boy started screaming saying daddy don't give, daddy don't give, daddy you'll be arrested... arrested... arrested and I said I'll destroy this "corisco" (this kid)... until I said get the hell out of here you and him, because now you are like this but tomorrow you will be Ok (friends). I don't give a dam, that was a 'corisco' (brat) of a boy... oh boy (stresses). [How old was your son when this happened? Interesting that his son already knew aspects of Canadian life, suggesting that he had acculturated to some degree.] The girl never give me any trouble, but him... until we came here... he has been always calm (out of trouble), he is courting.... he was going around... with ahhh... before he started courting... he was hanging around with some boys, he use to come home late, and then he started courting and the girl she was serious (nice/trustworthy) it seems she straighten him up, yes sir. He is at school, at night (stresses) and working during the day. That I wanted... in night school... uhm... ahh.... when I came from Canada he went to school. And then he went on going to school learning, after some time at about this season (spring) it was a bit warmer... and a school report came... Manuel missed school.. what happened (stresses) we don't know. And then we would say Manuel did you go to school? Well, then didn't I go, then why did you miss school? (pause) Ahh my son didn't know... ok, very well... then I told him either school or work (stresses). Then I'm going to leave school and look for work, very well. [What kinds of difficulties did he have in school? Did your son attend Portuguese school in Canada? Did he speak, read or write in Portuguese before returning to Portugal?] He went looking for work, ??? and he went to work in the airport. He use to bring more money than I (stressing) of salary. [Why did he leave there? Was it difficult for him to find his first job in Portugal? Is there employment available to young people?] And then he left there, went to work for Joao Caetano from down here, finished at Joao Caetano went to another company in Vila Franca, from Vila Franca he was drafted to go the parachuting squad. He went to Lisbon, he spent a year in Italy as a parachutist, then he came back here, he worked at the post office in Ponta Delgada... about

a year and so... from there he went as policeman (security guard) in the hospital... he was there a month, a month or so. He said it wasn't working out, then he tried a school here, at Ribeira Grande... he works during the day and he is studying at night and I told him... Now it's better... studying at night (stressing) at that time you didn't want... oh, but life was different... Ok, all is well. He only says he doesn't want school... he doesn't want to work at school, because he is working at the school during the day. He is now making applications to become a policeman... he says I want to earn money without working too much and I said look for the best way.... as you understand (think), what you will do, will always be with you (reflects on you), latter don't come looking for me at the door (don't come crying home). You are big enough to solve your problems (make your choices)... I don't know very well what he has decided. I don't know if he's going to go this year to the police, because he is taking grade nine, so that he could become a policeman. It is like this (sigh). So there he went to buy a pair of shoes today, because he is going to a wedding from the son of ahh.... uhm ??? (lowered his voice) [I'm sorry to hear that he had so much difficulty with his son on the return to Portugal. Things must be very difficult for a young person to return, to re-adapt to the Portuguese way of life. I think once a child reaches a certain age the return to Portugal will be very difficult, the best thing to do is return when they are still very young or when they are old enough to make their own decisions. The problem is that the children are never involved in the decision process.]

Did your children want to return? (clock chimes)

Oh, they were like this... they wanted and they didn't, but then when they got here that was it. They didn't want to come, but that was more because of their friends, do you understand? [It is very difficult leaving your friends behind.] When they got here, they started finding friends.... [Was it difficult for them to find friends? Were they seen as outsiders at first?] ahh, the girl, when I came here one day visiting, [Linkages are kept open between Portugal and Canada, information about the new and the old countries are transferred. What did you think about Portugal on your visit?] she was 13.... and I was at my mothers house and this boy came over and brother who has died...and he said hey brother ... your daughter is talking to a boy out there, and as soon as I opened the door... he ran like hell, I didn't even see him, I couldn't even see who it was. [Very old fashioned.] Then it was my brother who told me -- this is so

and so... ohh, she is very young 13 years old. (pause) I went back to Canada because I was here visiting, I went back... the girl there in a wedding, and finds herself a fiancé from America. And I said that's good.... him there and you here they will talk on the phone, they will write letters. When I returned here and she continues courting the other, but the first one who spoke to her, after... ahh.... uhm, and told her if she wanted to go on courting him... then she left the one from America and, and married the first one that she had met. When she was 13 it was the boy who was talking to her... (mumbles) it was with him that she got married. That's it, so many times I have told them -- isn't better for you to go back to find a life (stresses). [You don't think they could find a life here? Why don't they want to go to Canada?] Ahh it is not worth it. Work for work we have here, and we have it in the land that is ours, bon. At any time we want to go back we can, because we have the Canadian papers (Citizen). Ahh life, life!!! (sigh)

And your wife, did she want to return?

No, No... No she wasn't very keen, she wasn't very willing but I insisted so much from one side to the other... and she came. [The woman has more freedom in Canada, she works and has her own money, she is out of the house, she socializes more.] The first time when I came visiting (cars going by) she would cry here. This house when I bought it, what was kept was only the walls, and the beams (birds chirping) the rest was taken down. This was at time the kitchen (referring to the living room we were sitting in) and I took down the oven (Wood burning oven), and I expanded one more kitchen here and built here this bathroom. And after when I went back to Canada, there was still some stuff to be fixed up, and my brother who was taking care of this... and then that kitchen over there was done (built), and they did another bathroom outside.... when we are working out there (backyard), instead of coming inside the house with dirty feet... we will empty ourselves out there, that's ok. That's good. Oh, but I did work a lot on this 'corisca' of a house in '82... (car drives by), this wasn't covered, this didn't have a wall there.... there in that thing there was nothing, those two... the partitions of the rooms, only the ones below were covered up, but it was with those strips with plaster, I pulled everything down... this is all ??? above didn't come out that well, because it was a 'mestro' (construction person) -- it is a custom to say --- It's better to wait, that wait.... I don't know how say it any more, anyway it was a, it was a unexperienced who did that. Because this is full of mole, this is all a mess (garbage -- very

badly done). [It is very difficult to get good affordable work done in your house, you must be vigilant at all times if you want the work to be done properly.] It was an unexperienced who did this, because I was in a hurry to see this fixed, so we could come and live here because we were staying at my mothers house. I was here at the attic, because this house didn't even have an attic, I built the attic, and ahh... I was here very late in the night, till dawn with my wife painting, the upstairs ceiling. And so much 'corisca' (mess) we made here, when it was the 'rest' everything stayed there, then we went back, and then when we returned for good in '85, it was then we finished the 'rest' and there it is. (pause) But I want to see if I put some product on those walls because of the, the humidity. Oeh... every year... this was painted last year, every year I have to paint this house, only because of the humidity. (long pause) That's it (low voice). [A common problem in Portugal, I believe derived from the type of construction materials used (i.e. sand with salt).]

what was that final decision, that made you return?

Hey Pa, I was dying to run away (raised voice). [Why did you feel so strongly about leaving?] I at the end of 80...2 no in '83 I came visiting, I even came alone, in '83 or '84 I came visiting alone, I saw all of this very nicely done, I came for six weeks, and I said... never, alone, never I'll come back alone (raised voice), ahh visiting. Either everybody comes or no one comes. But when I saw all this nicely done, [What was so nicely done?] I told my wife when I got back -- I said, we are going to decide because the house is ready for us to move in -- and she turned to me like this -- we are not going because we are going to buy a house again, and the other will remain over there, either we sell it or rent it... in any case I said no we are going to decide for us to return... I was dying to run away (raised voice -- and smiling) and she wasn't and I was, and she wasn't. But I insisted then she obeyed and we returned. [Very chauvinistic, unfortunately a lot of the old views are still prominent in the Portuguese family. The decision to emigrate was it yours and your wife's? Did she want to emigrate to Canada?] Ah, but I brought everything with me... the only thing I didn't bring was the car (could hear the wife in the background saying the car). [Why did you want to bring everything with you? Just like the first pioneers and those that followed brought with them as many Portuguese things as they could. I wonder if the return migration was as large as the initial emigration if there would also be a 'little Canada' or a 'Toronto street' where

the returnees could go and shop for their Canadian products. Have these people acculturated, to what degree have they acculturated??] I payed \$5 000 for a container, to bring... (raised his voice) Eh seea... I came ahhh, with a brother of mine, also came with me, but he came ahead of me --- only that he is back there again (lower tone). Ale, the container was for both of us, but if I knew, what he did... I would have it all by myself (Container). What I put inside was his, because he was in Galt and I was in Brampton. First it was his packing, he packed everything as it should have been and then we packed the rest, lots of things stayed behind (stressed). Then when I arrived here, I had workers working here (house), they went up there to unload, and he didn't even give me one single 'escudo' (penny). He must be of the Boar sect... I call it the Boar sect... but it is the Jehovah (hammering in the background), I call it the boar sect. (takes a breath and someone comes him and they greet each other) He then, ah... all went back, [Why did he return to Canada? Perhaps a future 'transilient' migrant.] he fixed up his house the way it should be, brought everything like I said, brought everything, went back in '84 the wife went in '86, because he went ahead of the wife who stayed behind with the children, he is then in Hamilton. He's now become a priest of that sect of Jehovah, he sold the house with everything he had inside. He had a little painting in front of the house, I don't know if it was the sacred family, or whatever in tiles. When he came here visiting he broke everything. He said those are tiles that are worth nothing. I don't know then if over there he uses saints at home or not, because I even told him in one occasion, I said --- your picture, when you take a picture, you hang it in the wall and it signifies that it is your picture, we have the paintings with our Lord because it is representing our lord. And he said that we don't know if that is our Lord or not, I might not be our Lord but it is a person who is there (raised voice), It doesn't matter who it is. [Religion is very important to the first generation Portuguese immigrants.] In one occasion I told him, I said -- you know lots of things, but tell me the meaning of the prayer (Eu Pecador), the prayer that our Lord taught us (child screams in the background) was our 'Father' and the Eu Pecador was made up by the people, tell me what does this mean, the meaning of Eu Pecador, he never wrote again. He has been there for nine years, last year he sent me \$20, during all the years that he was here, every year I sent him money. [Remittances, helped many of those that didn't emigrate.] Bon, but that is not important, he is there and I'm over here, with Gods help (Background noise - hammering). Each one of us with our own lives, I also have my brother Jose who is in Winnipeg, that he is below the older one, I have 3... 2 in Galt, and that other

who is in Hammilton. And It was me that was in Brampton. [Why did all of you go to different destinations? Did you sponsor any of your brothers, or did they sponsor you?] That is to say we were all separated from each other. But almost every weekend I was in Galt, but I always went to my brother Guilhermos house, it was there that I felt comfortable. [Family is very important to the immigrant in Canada, especially for the first few years. They are the entertainment, leisure and relaxation of the immigrant. When we were younger we had many family functions but as we got older and made more friends family wasn't as prominent as in the first few years.] sometimes, we would say a little lie to the others, and say I came for awhile, and then I would leave so things would go well (not to have arguments with the other brothers). But I was always comfortable... even today, the daughter every now and again writes to me, she is taking a course in London (Ontario) she is a bit faraway from Galt. I don't know if you know London? She is taking a course, I don't know if it is a nurses course or something else, or engineer or something like that. Then she is always saying for me to go visiting, because she has been here twice visiting already, alone. She came for my daughters wedding and she came for another reason but I can't remember why (Dishes being washed in the background (kitchen)). And then she is always telling... for me to go there.... and I have already told her, I'll go there... when you get married. I don't know if she is courting or not, I think she's 18 or 19 years old. I hope to be able to go there visiting one day, but when it will be I don't know. Now, to stay forever don't talk about that to me (with a sense of disdain). [He seems to be someone very set in his ways and manners, he believes what he believes and that is enough -- very strong personality, very rigid.] Well we can not say something like that because we don't know today or tomorrow here (things could change), because things could go bad, and we'll go back but you never know. [Do you think things will go bad? What would make you return to Canada? Because this is how you can, because there is lots of money coming from outside to Portugal but the money doesn't show up (you don't see it). I don't know where it goes (raises voice) every body is complaining there is no work, the government doesn't have money, but where does that money that comes from the outside go, that I can not tell you. [Portugal is heavily subsidized by the European Community. People receive many subsidies, everyone is trying to take advantage of the money that is coming in, one day they will have to pay back, then I think things will be difficult in Portugal.] That's why I'm telling you... today we are working but tomorrow we don't know. We can't talk bad about that land (Canada) because that land is good... only because of the

standard of living, and the level of life... then but the temperature... that's what's bad (stresses)... and also the "palheta" (language), [First time I ever heard this, I think it actually means straw -- 'palha'.] it is also necessary to know the "palheta".

What is "palheta"?

Its work... its how to speak (English).

Did you learn English?

I never learned because I was particularly always working in the chicken factory, and then in the chicken factory is like we are talking here... Portuguese. My wife was the one that was working in a plastic factory... I think there were only two Portuguese and the rest I think they were English... [I wish this was the case for many others who worked in factories, but unfortunately it isn't, the majority of their co-workers are Portuguese and they don't see the need to learn the English language.] and she forced herself to learn English, so that she could manage (get by). But I never learned because everybody was Portuguese, only if I went to school, but I said -- no, I'm so old, to school I don't go. [I'm sorry to hear this, perhaps he felt threatened because he had little education. Were you given the chance to go to school?] There were some younger guys that, that they went after me to Canada, and they could already speak English... but correctly, And why, because they use to go to those "cafes", those "Cabares", where there were those "Marias" (those women).... To go hunting (Picking up the girls), and they knew the "palheta", and to pay for beers, and those things, things like that. (pause) [This is common among many first generation immigrants, their socialization is kept between some friends and family, there is no going out, there is no chance for assimilating to the Canadian way of life. Second generation immigrants are different, they are buying their houses in Canadian neighbourhoods, they are marrying other races instead of returning to Portugal to find a partner, they are educated and consider themselves to be Canadian.] There was one from here... eh, the father lives a little up there (a few houses above), and even today he has a trailer on his account, the ???? of the Francisquinhos, a good boy. I even got to work with ahhh... when I went back from here, I didn't go to the chickens, I went to work with moving furniture... I don't know the name we called..."movin" I don't know. I already don't know the name. That is to say to move furniture, from house to house. For example, when you sell

your house to take the furniture to the other house. It was, it was with a guy from here, from Ribeira Grande, Pavao... we did the furniture moving, I was about a year and so with him. And this guy from up here that worked with him sometimes it was with a tractor-tractor-trailer... other times it was with a truck. We went far away... eh, there was a English guy that was a brother-in-law of that "policia Pavao", but he was already starting to speak Portuguese and the English "vai a tras dele" (go after it/was left behind/was lost)... We, I never touched English... we would start talking the three of us, always in Portuguese and the other who was English also would tag along with us in Portuguese, and he would manage... ah baaahhh... it was wonderful. (Moto-bike races by) [Extremely interesting, there is reverse assimilation, the English guy being in Canada should not be forced to learn Portuguese just because his co-workers were Portuguese. The mentality is outrageous, so what if I'm in an English speaking country, you want to talk to me you speak Portuguese because we sure are not going to speak in English to you. The least that they could have done was try, perhaps it would have been beneficial to him in the end.] Only when it was in the winter, when we would go to do those 'movings', when it was falling (snow), and I said -- Oh my God -- This one wants to run away. [Winter is really depressing to him.] E Pa (Oh boy) there was a year when I was there on a weekend, I don't know if it was Saturday or on a Sunday.... in the winter, I cleaned the "drivoway" (driveway) at least three times the "snow" with more or less about 30 centimetres to 40 centimetres high (raises his voice)... and I said --- this is not life for me. I will work, but it will not be here, I want to run away. [Weren't you trying to runaway from Portugal at one time? I guess some people will never get used to the Canadian winters?] Then we ran away, here. The wife didn't want, but I convinced her. But she is always sighing for that land. Ahhh, yes I'll go there one day, but visiting (stresses), for a trip over there. In the, the summer time, not in the winter (stresses), in the summer time. No.... ah we know that all is very different (clock chimes). They say Brampton is connected (linked) to Mississauga, all new houses all the way down there. That there is a new church in Brampton that I never got to know, I got to discount, I got to give money on Sundays... to build the church, but no,no... I got to see it but here on tv. And they even say that there is... there a Nativity Scene, like the one you have here at Ribeira Grande (door bell Rings -- loud) all in electricity. A guy from Ribeira Grande was the one who did it.... Ahh, yes I'll go there one day, not now (stresses). [We see a link with Canada, even though he left he still likes to know what is happening back in Canada.]

What did you think when you first got there?

The first time was when I went visiting (People came in the house and you could hear them talking in the background), I went there in '70 visiting, there is still that one. I went to the house of my brother-in-law's brother. (he is talking to the other people, very difficult to understand, VERY). I went there visiting, I went in '70, I also went in the wint... in the month of April. And then I went to work in a farm... of plants.... [Did you like this type of work? What did you think about Canada then?] and that was more or less what was...that... 20 minutes by car more or less, 20 minutes by car. I worked there if I'm not mistaken two or three days, and then.... at the end of those days the guy who took me, told me --- hey guy tomorrow I'm not going to work, find your own means of transportation, and I marked (remembered) the road for me after to come by foot.... I left home it was five o'clock in the morning.... I was walking and I was walking by that road that I More or less knew.... I said --- Well we get to this 'stop' and we turn inside, and it is always straight ahead until we reach the third stop.... it is more or less a little bit ahead, and we are there, Yes sir. There I went through the road ahead, there I went walking and walking, when I came to my senses I was almost back home again (raises his voice) already seven o'clock in the morning, and when I saw myself at the same place.... [Wasn't there anyone else that could have driven you to work that day?] and I said --- E pa (hey guy) (lowers his voice), this is... this one wants to run away (return to Portugal, sounds very humorous). A guy who was in the army with me is the one that saw me and he said --- Hey man what's going on, Oh pa, I got lost on the way (road), I was walking to go to that place.. so and so. And he said -- - Hey pa, let's go... there we went. I went then, I got to work and it was five past eight... there, but then.... I told them what happened... Well I had to work approximately more two days or whatever it was and he told me he didn't need any more... and I said--- eh well, if you don't need you don't need, and I went home. [Did you have papers to work in Canada?] Then I went to work on eh.... to build a swimming pool, I worked until eleven thirty in the evening.... then...(mumbles) it was a guy who spoke to me --- if I wanted to go work that day... and then work never came by (there was no work). [How did you feel about having no work?] There I went... I was at home, I went to sell drinks with that brother of my brother-in-law, Pinheiro, because his life is selling gingerale, orange in a truck, and ahhhh.... then there was some fighting... him with my mother-in-law, he wanted to hit my mother-in-law's face, he was never good for anything. His

luck was that I was visiting, because if I was there for good.... he would have been pushed, because he was very close to the "cela" (basement) stairs, that he would have been pushed and he would have 'measured' the steps, but if I would have done that... I would have to come back and that could have been bad for me. There, then my mother-in-law found herself another house, and I said --- oh my God --- my mother-in-law working, the boys with school.... my life there was from the bed to the kitchen from the kitchen to the bed, and then give a short walk around that area that I knew more or less, and I said --- hey Pa, What this guy wants is to take off (humorous). I went to the agency, I asked him when there was a plane, to come here.... and every now and again I would tell her (his wife back in Portugal) one of these days count on me there --- Hey you don't come back (mumbles) trumpt... tumpt tumpt.... [Why did your wife want you to stay in Canada?] and I said --- one of these days count with me. I went to the agency, and now he tells me --- if you want, right today --- and I said -- that's it... and he said --- you have to pay ninety dollars more, and I said -- be what ever it is 'corisco'... and there, I payed \$90 more... I spoke with my sister-in-law who worked there in a restaurant, I told her what was going on, my mother-in-law was working there as well, and my mother-in-law starts crying --- don't go away, this was in a Saturday... and don't go away... and I said everything is ready, for me to go, already today.... I have to go now to the airport to take off. Tomorrow morning I'm already there in S. Miguel (takes a big breath). There my mother-in-law comes home to pack my suit cases.... there then I came back.... When I arrived, I phoned from Ponta Delgada to the store a little down from here, saying --- hey come and pick me up... she fainted, because the brother was the one who answered the call and went to tell her... Maria, O Antonio is at the airport and so and so.... and I said--- This life is not for me. I am living a dogs' life (stresses). [Things must have been very awful for him, I just don't understand why he would return a second and a third time -- the Canadian dollar???] Always laying down and no..... in Wednesday.... I left on saturday.... and on the following wednesday I was going to go to immigration to find out if I was going to stay for good... and this one is leaving (stresses), I'm not going to stay here, this one is going.... and I went to Canada... it was because of her. [Why did she want you to go there? This is not the first time I have heard this, I guess if your husband is abroad making lots of money your social position increases.] Because.... there.... I already knew the land.... cold (stresses) it even fell a good amount of 'snow', in the month of May.... because I went in the twentieth... something of April, in the month of May it was still cold

(stresses).... and I said---- this is not a land for me. [Would you have emigrated elsewhere if there was an opportunity?] Some (mumbles) was talking to me.... then they were there already for good, they were there already for some time, they would say --- he is going die with the cold in here with us.... he is going to die with the cold... he is going to die with the cold. That's why I said --- when my mother-in-law sponsored me I came because of you, if it wasn't for the woman, I wouldn't have gone to Canada. Because I knew it from when I was there visiting, I said this is not a life. And them talking, we without knowing and they saying things to us, and us without knowing how to answer, it is very bad. If the person doesn't know how to say the 'palheta', is in trouble. And the first ones that went... they even said that they ate dog food.... they would see those things.... tins... those foods in the tins... there was a guy who told me... I even ate dog food. [I have heard this many times, I just wonder if this has become an 'urban myth' for the Portuguese?] From the first ones that went there. But today where ever you turn in Canada there is Portuguese People. Uhm how many Portuguese are not in Canada! Any place... be it in, in ahhh Winnipeg, or in the "cu do inferno" (any place -- hells ass). From beginning to the end there are Portuguese people in Canada. And eh ahhh, (mumbles) there is an aunt of my wife, she is over there and her husband, they went there before us, they say that the summer there seems to be only two months too. That is always cool over there, And I said --- that would be good for me (raises is voice) (mumbles) yeah ahhh Only... only, I would only stay a year there. And then the husband of that aunt of my wife, it seems that he has his legs broken, because he worked on a mill, and it seems that a log in the mill, it seems that I don't know what got stuck, and hit his legs and he lost his legs (mellow voice), they are in the process of coming here, I don't know if they will or not come. Oh, but that's a land, we can not speak bad about that land, that land is good... only because of living, and the standard of living can not be compared to this one, because this one is in very bad shape. [Standard of living in Portugal has improved a lot since I was young, I found it difficult to see a difference between the Canadian standard of living and the Portuguese.] Because over there we earn more than what we eat, and here we eat more than what we earn. Because there isn't government here in Portugal that knows how to run this country. The cost of living has risen to the top from the month of January and the salary hasn't risen.... that's what is badly done over here. The government is guilty of lots of things... he raised everything and the salaries have the same size, it's like the members of Parliament they are earning four hundred contos per month, and a man earns shit... and a

man who is at home being payed by the government earns 20 to 30 contos... a pension gives about 30... something.... what is that enough for... ahh there are lots of people here from Canada already retired, only that they are here, but that's because they are earning the good money that comes from there. If it wasn't for that they wouldn't stay here. Don't even think about that... they are going back again. It is like senhor Jose, do you know him?

No, I don't.

Yeah, they have a house down there. They also built a house, I don't know if it reached, it was spoken at the time... I also don't know if he said it was 27 or 30 thousand contos. Building a house like that only for those two lonely people, it would have been better for them to be over there. Only that over there sometimes... I seems that he goes two or three times per year there to Canada, he also doesn't stop for too long here. [This doesn't surprise me, those that could afford living both in Canada and in Portugal will do just that. Their hearts are divided between these two countries and it is very difficult for them to let one go.]

From my journal: When I first talked to his wife she said that he didn't want to speak to me because he had nothing good to say about Canada. There was very little eye contact, he just stared at the wall in front of him and talked about his hardships. His hands like all the other migrants were rough and worked in. He commented that the only reason I was able to speak to him on this particular day was because it was raining (he has a full-time job and he works on his land part-time). I believe that he had lots on his mind and probably would have said a lot more if his gentleman friend didn't visit him. I believe that this is a very proud man. I asked his wife if I could speak to her at a later date and he said that she had nothing to say because he had already told me everything. I like the interview and I was happy that he gave me the chance to speak to him, I doubt that in any other circumstance he would speak to any other person or to me again (I felt a little tension in the room).

I think this migrant was extremely fortunate to have the chance to visit and experience Canadian life before emigrating. The irony in his experience is that he concluded that Canada was no country for him, but he is sponsored and emigrates two times after that, first because of his wife and

later because of his children. The Canadian dollar is the underlying reason for emigrating. He has an extremely comic way of relaying his experiences. He has a very strong personality and rigid way of thinking. I enjoyed conversing with him. I now wonder if he will ever return to Canada if employment in Portugal becomes scarce.

MR. Rebelo

Setting: At the informants office, you could here clients in the background throughout the interview --- he only had a few minutes.

When I left here to Canada in '72, I left even though this is hard for me to say, but it is the truth... in spite of, of my social class, not to be... [The larger percentage of Portuguese migrants came from lower working class looking to improve their social status, make money!] then I grew and I was educated inside a social class that the others were not, but even though I went to Canada where I was for 15 years, because I didn't want to study and I had to find means... ways of living and like this I went, went in 1972 already married and... and... I started to work like any other person... I passed throughout every working systems from the famous cleaning to the factories and ?????... I finished latter because I got by better in English because I left here with the 'quinto ano incompleto' (three years in English).... I got along more or less in English... I was one year in Sarnia where I didn't know any one in order to develop my English... [This is strange, why would you want to go to Sarnia to learn English? I think there is more here than he wants to speak about.] and there I went... went through life I never stopped too long in the same place... maybe it is a fault of mine... but in the end I wanted to... to advance maybe in one field, but I was never an individual to stop for along time in the same place... I finished to discover that I had a tendency for business, I had several businesses.... from aluminum installation to mechanics... I have seven years of heavy mechanics.... I have... I never left the cleaning even as supervisor of the cleaning crew, I always had a part-time or something like, [It is very important to save money, the more you work and the more jobs you have the more you save. It seems that family life comes second for the Portuguese family in Canada and I think that this is a shame. Perhaps this is why the grandchildren are so important to many, after all their children grew up while they were out working twenty hours a day and life doesn't wait for you to become rich. Interesting that Mr. Rebelo has education, speaks the language and therefore could assimilate to the Canadian culture but he doesn't. He travels the same road that all the other migrants did.] but I have almost a degree completed in heavy mechanics, [His education is very important to him. It differentiates him from all the other emigrants and he wants people to know this. What he forgets is that there are many

others that also emigrated before and after him with good jobs and education back in Portugal.] eh and then I dedicated myself to the installations of aluminum where I made one... one... one... I started a family business (background noise: people talking) of aluminum installations of houses, construction, doors, windows and everything in this area, where in the end... where in the end... in the end I dedicated, already two years before I came here... derived from a bit of experience of mechanical inclination... I dedicated then to the maintenance of old folk buildings (pause). I was inclined a lot to the maintenance of buildings... apartments for the old... I worked in the... in the 'New Arisen Towers' that was at Bloor and Bathurst that was a luxury building, practically of luxury, there was a second building in Bathurst and Bathurst and Bloor... no one was in Bloor and Dufferin that was 'New Arisen Towers' and the other was Bathurst and Bloor... this was already a normal building for the old, and I took care more of the one in Bloor and Dufferin than the one in Bloor and Bathurst because I was working there longer, there it was my only two years.... after lets say, practically 15 years of Canada at this time... eh there was an opportunity in this country that never left my head to return here... I was forced because I didn't complete my studies or finished my studies... [How were you forced?] to earn money anywhere, Canada was one of the choices I had... [Which other choices did you have?] 15 years after there was an opportunity... a sale of something that I had left from my family here, and it was like this... [Probably inheritance. Many immigrants inherit their parents property back home and if there is no one left behind they will sell off the land and in many cases they rent it until they decide to return.] I came here.... I caught this opportunity and here I stayed. [He makes it seem easy to return.] Here it was extremely difficult... due to the years I was there, about fifteen years... eh it was difficult... it was difficult adjusting... because I left before April 25th and I returned after April 25th (1974 -- Portuguese Revolution)... a lot of things changed here.... the law, liberty and everything else... where the laws in totality, every body was with their heads in the air over here still... no... no there was no information... there is no correct information to the immigrant that returns, not even there (stresses)... [Lots of red tape in Portugal to get any type of document done. No government institution that aids returnees either in Portugal or in Canada, but this, is no surprise. It does not seem that there were many when Portuguese first emigrated to Canada.] we come with our heads in the air thinking that we know everything, and we come, we came a bit convinced that it is possible to mak.... to form (construct) our lives over here rapidly... this is an

error, a big error... it is a big error because the information unfortunately isn't the best... not everybody knows... it is necessary to come for holidays... stay here for a while... little by little you learn what there is... attempt to get the maximum amount of information possible, inside the possibility, already that they want to come here, already that the immigrant wants to come here... they have to have the possibility to come here once in a while or learn information like that.... [He is trying to aid other returnees from making the same mistakes that he did --- impulsive, not weighing out the good with the bad. Things after the revolution didn't stay the same and it probably affected his social class more than he wanted it too.] this information unfortunately isn't the easiest thing to get from our regional government.... [What kind of information would you want the regional government to provide the returnees with? Even though there are linkages between Canada and Portugal there seems to be a lack of information to returnees about the political and social changes in Portugal, or are those that want to return casting a blind eye to the changes thinking that things are going to be the same when they return (i.e. my father wants to return, but he fails to accept that the standard of life has changed dramatically. He still thinks that he could live the way his parents did (off the land). He left home at the age of 11 to go study and since then he never spent more than a few weeks vacation in the countryside, as a result his return would encompass two life chances -- a) a return to the land (countryside) and b) a return to Portugal. I think this will be more difficult than he realizes.] this cost me many million 'contos' that I lost because of the lack of information about many things that were happening here. And thank God, in this last year, therefore I am here for almost seven years... in this last year what cost me a lot, I was able to correct (establish) my life... but particularly what I had went (money)... therefore a lot, but a lot of lack of information to whom ever wants to return here (pause). [What in your view would be the most important thing for returnees to keep in mind?] Today I am... I am anew, and I always had this ability for business... and I have for a short period the bar, the restaurant '-----' that is... I don't think not even in Canada nor America, bon not 8 nor 80 but this without doubt it is spectacular... it has a panoramic view... spectacularly like in a few places on the world... [I found the club to be nice, but nothing out of this world. I thought at the time it was very snobbish and used mainly by what I call the 'new-rich' of S. Miguel, those that had a chance to succeed thanks to the emigrants that left (very subjective -- I have no prove of any of this, I only frequented the club two times).] I am extremely happy even

though it is -----, already from the eight of
 December of '93 until the present we were able to inaugurate
 --- members, plus those that exist... therefore we have close
 to ----- members at moment, and it is always.... there
 is facilities for -----, therefore it is inside the ----- in
 -----, [Unfortunately the construction of the ----
 ----- destroyed one of the oldest most -----
 of the island.] I could be wrong in the number but I think we
 have about ----- with a possibility to
 increase... eh the building of ----- (the -----
 -----) is extremely modern and large... is large and has many
 facilities... from a -----, -----, then to
 return to the restaurant in the -----
 which is the part that most interests me because it is the
 exploitation that I have... it is spectacular... it is
 spectacular, it is wonderful... eh... eh it is still at the
 beginning but already is... it is already in the mouths of
 good people in this land ???... I am very happy but my life
 was very difficult... my arrival, me adapting, me adapting to
 the system even though I like my country, I always liked it,
 I always wanted to return here always... even during all that
 time I spent in Canada, I always wanted to return, it was
 never my intention to stay there (I feel really bad for him
 and for others that left and had such a hard time returning or
 trying to return. He sounds very sad saying this)...
 [Portugal has changed a lot since the revolution, things,
 people are not the same.] I have double nationality, all of
 us... me and my wife, my children were already born there,
 both of them are Canadian... the oldest wanted to go to the
 army, he is the one that is at the moment in the army... he
 has dual citizenship, if he didn't go to the army he
 couldn't... he would always... always be Canadian... or
 should I say immigrant in Portugal. Eh, the youngest is doing
 well in terms of school... the oldest isn't as good because he
 came with an age... an age more advanced (older) therefore he
 came with thirteen, it was difficult eh... eh... eh... it was
 difficult and it continues to be... [What kinds of
 difficulties did he encounter? Time to return is very
 critical if you have children, the younger the better. I
 wonder if there were the same type of problems for children
 who emigrated to Canada. My sister, and me had more
 difficulties in adjusting than my younger brother. He went to
 a daycare (St. Stephen's) and we went to grade six and four,
 as a result we had to deal with racism and language
 difficulties when he didn't. The only difference in our
 upbringing was that my mother was a house wife in Portugal and
 she raised my older sister and me, whereas my brother was
 raised by daycare attendants. So, I wonder who had the better
 childhood in the end, him or us. But nonetheless it was

difficult on all of us.] eh therefore to other immigrants that have this decision to return to Portugal, eh it is preferable to come with the children already grown... [I would disagree, it would be easier if your children emigrated when they were young, this way they wouldn't have to assimilate/acclaculturate to a different society.] and with the notion that they know the country, and never bring them at half age, that is to say... mine came with thirteen... the oldest, the youngest came with... with eleven if I am not wrong now... ten or eleven, the youngest with ten or eleven... the oldest with thirteen... it is a critical age, a complicated age and it isn't advisable to bring them at this age... or before and stay... bon, it is the best that there is... more younger... or then after being in the country for holidays etc.... and having the notion what this is... but the best would be always to bring them before they are older, more younger then... (pause) [I wonder if he thought about all these things before he returned and disregarded them, and now he knows that this was a mistake.]

Was it difficult for you to adapt in Canada?

No, no it wasn't... already it was.... already ehh, I already spoke the language, already I went prepared for that, because I knew that I couldn't take any further steps over here... in... in... at that time, then this was in 70... 72 when I went there... I knew what was going on over here and I had to get away from it.... I want to leave from here... ?????... [What was going on over here that you had to get away from it?] then I prepared myself mentally that this is what I am bringing, and I prepared to go to a different country and all of that... then I already had an idea of what Canada was, [What did you know about Canada at that time?] I had 'quinto ano incompleto' (high school), I spoke some English and also some French at the time... this French particularly evaporated, and I went... I went prepared to face what might happen. [What did you think was going to happen?] You already know that it was a difficult thing at the time... but the intention of going and going to work was so great that I adapted to everything, but always with the will of coming back (stresses). My children initially it wasn't easy, especially the oldest... anew the oldest it wasn't at all easy, he didn't speak any... one Portuguese word... because we with our inclination... like immigrants we never spoke Portuguese at home, everything we did or said was always English.... [I don't understand, if you always wanted to return why didn't you teach your children Portuguese? I believe that most first generation Portuguese speak Portuguese at home. Weird, he

goes through all the same channels that all the Portuguese immigrants went through, we worked with Portuguese but he lives a Canadian lifestyle --- wants his children to assimilate to the Canadian society.] and then the children... at the time they didn't exist in the family, because it was too early still, let's say... that... maybe a chance to return to Azores, nothing of this existed in my head... [Now I know why he spoke only English, but earlier he said that returning was always in his mind.] the idea appeared a few years later... the idea appeared, and because of this we always spoke English at home.... this complicated life even more, it was complicated because when he came he didn't speak nor the youngest, but the youngest adapted, assimilated he is a completely different.... they are boys completely different from one another... then the oldest had difficulty with the language, and even today he continues to have some difficulty... the oldest continues... then ??? the age was the biggest problem, to bring him with that age here... and it has been a critical problem... adaptation... he now not even wants to return back (to Canada)... he as ended by finding friends, he likes the country.... crazy (he is crazy about the country), he doesn't want to leave here, but it jeopardized his studies (pause). He is 19 years old on the road to 20... ????... very little, it is possible that he... inside a short time he decides to study again... I am waiting for this, but... I reached a point that I, let's say stopped insisting... I insisted, but I can't do that... I already reached the conclusion that I can not insist... he has to reach his own conclusion of what he wants to do... [Returning has jeopardized his eldest son's education, this must be a heavy burden on the family. Education for those that emigrated to Canada must have also been a challenge, language, new schools, books, teachers, and friends must have played a role in the success of the children's studies. One major factor that I believe played a down role in the education of Portuguese immigrants in Canada was money. Money, paying the mortgage is a very important aspect of the Portuguese family, this leads the parents to having more than one job, sometimes being away from the house for more than twelve hours a day and having children fend for themselves. In many cases the children also work part-time to help their parents or to have extra money.] my wife and I are helping him naturally in what we could... we go on (pause).... This is a time where there is a lot of people coming from there here, [Why do you think there are so many returning?] but you need to be cautious... I hope this helps them... bon, I am here about seven years... eh it is possible that there is more information now a days, but doubt that this information has increased a lot... it is possible that there is more than when

I arrived, but (clears his throat) I don't know to what degree... it is dangerous to come without knowing... you need to know first... our country... how we work here, laws, everything in totality... before you make the decision to come here... it is very different from there.

From my journal: Nice man, at first he didn't want to speak with me, however his wife coerced him too. The conversation was rushed and I felt that he didn't say everything that was in his mind. I felt that if I was older or perhaps of a different social class he would have been happier to speak about his migration experience or perhaps he just wishes to forget everything about that portion of his life.

I was happy to know that he doesn't want other returnees to make the same mistakes as him. The conversation was short but he touched very important topics about the return to Portugal. I believe that he had a lot more to say about life before emigration and return to Portugal, but for some reason, perhaps time he decided not comment on these issues to any depth. At times I found the conversation difficult to understand and contradictory. Due to his education he believes himself to be different from other Portuguese immigrants in Canada, but we see that in the end we are all the same and we all had to go through the same channels.

Mrs. Sousa

setting: At the informants office. Our original appointment was cancelled. Many interruptions, telephone calls and customers.

Before I went to Canada I... I was... I... I... met my husband we married, we had our business, and for some family reasons... [Personal?] we decided to go live in Canada (shuffling of paper and people talking in the background)... before we just went there as visitors, and after being there we applied to become an immigrant. [Was this difficult? Do you know of any other Portuguese people that were doing the same thing? Did you try to get sponsored?] This was in 1970... when we could do these things. And the reason why we decided to go there was, number 1: even before I met my husband I always had the tendency to travel, I remember my older brother was fighting a war in Africa when the Portuguese have the fight with the... in the colonies, it use to be the Portuguese colonies Angola, Mozambique... he was in Guinea, and I had everything ready to go visit him, and we then go and see Angola and go see Mozambique... but then Luis turned up in my life and it was like first day in marriage six months, it was like oops (laughing). Then when we married my brother... my father-in-law and my father helped us buy our business it was a chicken farm... [First time I heard of a chicken farm in Portugal. I think at that time most people still farmed animals, those that didn't buy chickens from the farmers market or friends. Things in Mainland Portugal were probably different, there were already supermarkets.] we were very young, I was twenty, and he was twenty-three and we had our first business. Before that I was a student, but I was always very active.... I... I... use to teach the... the... Azorean people who wanted to emigrant to Canada, they had to have the basic school at least... which in Canada is like fourth grade, and most of them didn't have it and without the certificate they could not emigrant, therefore I use to come from school, high-school and in the night I use to... [The literacy rate in Portugal is very high now, everyone goes to school, adults that didn't know how to read are also going to night school to learn.] to tell (teach) these people Portuguese and then they go to exam and finish the papers and go to Canada... [Did emigrants have to learn any English before they emigrated? Did they want to learn English? I think that it would have been more useful if these future emigrants learned basic English, instead of learning how to read or write Portuguese. After all if they emigrate to Canada what use would they have reading and writing Portuguese. I could understand that

things must have been hectic during the 'migration period', but those that were waiting to get sponsored should have had at least basic English prior to departure.] it is funny how things turn up in peoples lives because it never crossed my mind to go to Canada... I was always like Lisbon, Africa, France, and I was very poor when I was a student in mathematics and English and then.... [Did you study English in school? Was English a popular subject for students to study? Today all my cousins old and young have studied and study English in school. When I was in Portugal I wanted to practice my Portuguese and they wanted to practice their English.] and then I went to Canada for fifteen years there and I worked in a bank for fifteen years... so I was always numbers and English (short laugh)... and... so we had our business and things... it was very difficult because they didn't believe on us we were too young, and you know you walk into a bank and you said well I would like to borrow some money because I have my own business they look at your faces.... you have to try to place yourself like in the 1970s in Azores... far away from everywhere, everything isn't it.... (laughing) so it wasn't easy and there was a lot of family problems so we decided that is it, we want to be independent, we don't want to... to... to get involved... we don't want the family, parents to come and involve in our lives, our private lives, and there was too much pressures because my husband comes from a very high society [This puzzles me why would you want to start a chicken farm in Portugal back in 1970 when your social class was higher than most and you had education.] and I come from middle class society uhm... there was pressures for both families, like my father-in-law wants to give us everything, but my father didn't want to be left off and he wants to give us everything... they were spoiling us instead of helping us (phone rings) to learn how is life... and then we decided to go to Canada... my husband.... my father-in-law was very against the idea, my father too, my mother was a very smart woman, she said it was the right decision for me to go. But I'm... (sigh, interruption by secretary)... so because we were living with a lot of pressures, like I said my mother was a very smart woman, she said... the best decision but not to eh... number one, we had nobody in Canada that could apply for us to go as emigrants (sponsor), the only other alternative that we had was to go there visiting, because both of our parents were alive then... it was difficult to say we are going and good-by, we said we were going for two weeks and we would come back and that is exactly what we dor.e, we went to Canada and it took us eleven years before we come back as visitors... [Why did it take you so long to return for a visit? Did your parents visit you in Canada? For some unknown reason many immigrants don't visit

for decades. It took me twelve years before I returned for a visit, and every summer I would say that I would go. I think a lot of it, was the fact of going back and confronting everything you left behind, especially when your life standards decreased since leaving. A lot can also be that you have not yet become a rich person.] to visit Portugal again, and it was exactly two suit cases like you were going to... to a visit, to stay for two weeks. [Was it difficult leaving everything behind? Did you think that you were just going on a visit at first and when you got there you decided to stay for awhile?] And then we... this was big decision we wanted to be independent and not dependent in anybody or social pressures in our lives, that you have to wear this, that you have to change for dinner and you have to... to... it was difficult and in Canada it was the best school I have ever been, because we learned a lot... number one, how stand in our feet, not to depend on anybody because by then my father-in-law was upset because we decided to stay in Canada, my mother-in-law too the... the whole family, they weren't very happy because in the those days when people emigrated to Canada it was for two reasons, political reasons or because you are very, very poor and you can't make it in your country and our case wasn't any of the above (truck drives by)... like we were not involved in politics, and we were not rich but we were not poor, and it was like a disgrace to emigrate... [I never heard this before, after all many that emigrated made their fortunes abroad -- there was Brazil, America and now Canada. I never thought that only the poor emigrated, the distance between the social classes must have been very great back then.] especially for my in-laws... to have a son has an emigrant, different mentalities, and we arrived at Toronto airport and there was no one there to help... wait for us because... we know some people there before, and very sure who they were and we sent a letters and there was no answer and we said we are going anyway... [Adventurous, most emigrated because of money, then why go through all the heartache and pain if you don't need too? Why did you choose Canada? Were there other places that you could have emigrated too?] (sigh)... and we arrived at Toronto airport... we had a dictionary English-Portuguese, Portuguese-English and I remember the immigration officer asked me a question and I knew very little English and I tried to answer him and I said -- 'wait a minute' and I opened my dictionary and he taught it was so funny (laughing, mumbling)... You know it is so difficult... usually when they come from their country they don't bring dictionaries under their arms... and they asked us if we had anybody waiting for us and we said no... [Did you have any difficulties at the airport?] and that we were going to find a taxi and look for these people because we had their

address... and they said -- no we will call the taxi, and we will take the number because it's your first time coming here and you don't know the country and the city and we don't want anything bad to happen to you... [Very nice gesture.] it was very, very nice of him. And then... we.... finally we discovered where the house, it was on Dovercourt and I forget the last... of like the small streets, and I rang the bell and said we are so and so and you received the letter from us, and they said -- oh yes, they are from the mainland from the continent, but they knew somebody here who was friends of my father-in-law (talking in the background)... and we spent the first week there, they were very good to us and then we went to a.... a flat there a room and a washroom... [Was it difficult finding the flat? When we first arrived in Toronto we stayed in some relatives' houses, back and forth for the first two or so months, just suitcases and nothing else until we found our first flat. That in itself was no easy task, we always had our own house in Portugal and now when you rent a flat you are subjected to the owners rules. Many didn't want children, some wanted you to take your shoes off in the middle of summer, another said that you could only flush the toilet after you urinated five times in it, lights out at ten and the rent wasn't cheap either. But what else could you do when you know nothing. What makes me mad when I think about it is that these landlords were Portuguese, they came from nothing and now they were so high and mighty because they owned some rundown house in the immigrant reception area. We shared some difficulties and I know that there are many others that went through worse.] oh like (raises voice)... a room and a washroom that almost fifteen people will use, it was quiet bad for us, and we started looking for our first jobs and that's how. The more difficult... we cried, we cried a lot... [I think that everyone cried in the first few years, sometimes we still do at home.] it was many, many times that I decided that... we won't survive this, I want to go back (car horn in the background), but another thing too was very special Luis and I... we said we decided no, we decided that this is what we wanted to do we have to give it a chance, [Strong mentality about making things work in Canada, when they didn't have too.] we have to give ourselves a chance, to get adjusted to the country, to find new work to learn English, to make friends and that's it. Because we went through a lot of problems (stresses), family problems before we left and that was it... Canada is our country (laughing) and is dear to us and it still is... it is still in our... in my heart has my country, [Irony she feels so strongly about Canada and returns.] I can never be grateful enough to Canada for what they give to us, because even though we cried a lot, even though we suffered a lot we missed the family, and it took

eleven years before we came back to see our family... to see our fathers and mothers, another reason for us not to come was because we were so afraid to come back and never want to go back to Canada again, and we decided... no we are not ready yet (laughing) lets wait another year and that is it. [Perhaps financial stability was a key issue -- you want to show that you could make it in Canada without anyone's help. I think this stability deters many from returning for many years.] Finally we met Mariana and Sabino, there are cousins of my husbands family, very distant cousins, but they had no kids of their own so we lived with them for six months... my first job in Canada was working in a Portuguese super market as a cashier... [Was it difficult finding your first job?] I... I hated [Why?] and then I worked in a factory for a year, and... I was never satisfied, I... I... this is not the kind of life I wanted, I wanted a better job (stressing), like... then we... because we had two or three weeks before we decided, like to really be a tourist, like we would walk around, we walked around we were lost for one night almost all night (noise in background -- something falling) we thought we were north of Toronto, we were somewhere in Brampton... there was all these adventures and then I applied for the bank I applied for everything, I was constantly applying for better jobs to improve our positions... uhm and then we went to an apartment and there was the... the pleasure of buying our first chair and our first table and our first time having the friends over it was... [It is a very nice feeling having something again.] it was very difficult times, but (stressing) one... one thing I'm certain of is... I'm not sure if I had the experience... the ability to deal with so many problems that I have now has a business woman if I didn't go to Canada, if I didn't live there for fifteen years, if I didn't work for the banks that I worked before, it made myself a much stronger person, you look at the world with different eyes, definitively because this is so small and that's why I am a successful business woman... [I wonder if the other returnees see their migration experience as a lesson in life.] when I say successful I'm not talking about money, I'm talking about... I... I... I do a good job, I'm respected, I do a lot of things that touch so many people's lives, both in mainland and here because I organize big parties that like... that only happens once or twice a year in Portugal and that I am very proud of my work, but that again I could have never done it if I didn't have the experiences that I learned... [Interesting that she was a banker in Canada and now she caters.] and that is funny because in Canada I never worked in restaurants, I never cooked and I never worked in nothing like that, and my business turned out to be so different here, but because I worked for so many years in the bank business, I started as a

clerk at the bank of.... bank of Montreal and then eh... uhm my kids grow, then I got pregnant for my younger... older son and I get this disease and then I have to be operated, I quit and I stay home for a year to recover... then I went to the Toronto Dominion Bank, and then (stressing) I went to the Royal Bank... then I stayed eight years at the Royal Bank but I worked between Bank of Montreal, Toronto Dominion, and Royal Bank almost fifteen years more (mumbling)... most of my life in.... in Toronto was working with banking, but also I did a lot of part-time jobs... [Did you know what you were going to do in Portugal?] I was interpreting for the... a the family court... the provincial family court, when I learned a very sad side of the Portuguese community, because has you know family court is when there is kids from twelve years old... twelve years old to sixteen years old they are being there because they are being judged because they stole something, or because they got in trouble for one reason or the other, and that for me was looking at the Portuguese immigrants there from a very different perspective... [I guess it is kind of tough when you're young and everything around your neighbourhood revolves around pool-halls, hanging out in the lane ways or at the back of the school yards and your parents don't get too much involved in your school work because they just finished a twelve hour shift and they still have to go and clean the bank. It is a shame that nucleus of the Portuguese family deteriorated because parents are so keen in saving money.] it is not the image that they promote... like when you come here immigrants ahh... ahh (phone rings -- background conversation) well... well immigrants they have good lives... they... [For many years the immigrants who visit Portugal fail to illustrate to the residents that they work like horses back in Canada. They don't say that they have a boss all day long screaming at the back of their necks, that they have to work ten to fifteen hours a day, that they have no recreation or leisure time, that they never go to a restaurant. Today things are different for the Portuguese immigrant in Canada, they are more established, they know the language and are beginning to acculturate to the Canadian way of life.] in Canada and so forth it is true... but there is a very sad side... stories, besides all of this, like it is covered with the financial... it is covered because they have a house... because they have a big car... because they have whatever (sigh)... but underneath this there is a lot of difficult... someone... there is... the immigrants there is... don't... they don't really integrate in Canada because they don't learn the language and they think Portugal is still the same when they left twenty years ago, it is not... it has changed (stresses)... [Lack of integration is due in large to the, type of work the immigrant has. The work place is

usually Portuguese oriented and so is their activities, as a result the acculturation takes longer. Today more and more Portuguese are assimilating to the Canadian society, they are already buying houses in none Portuguese neighbourhoods, shopping in Canadian supermarkets, having Canadian vacations and learning the language, things just take time.] so they never really adjust not in Portugal not in Canada or in Portugal therefore it is very difficult for most of the Portuguese parents... [Did you think Portugal was still the same?] Azoreans (stressing) parents because that is what I worked most in voluntary work as well... try to... try to... to ah... to ah... like... it is like the kids they have two lives they have the Portuguese family life at home, and they have the... the Canadian life at school with their friends and so forth, it was very, very sad... [I don't see anything wrong with being part of two different cultures.] it was a very, very sad experience but I liked my job I worked there (mumbles...) then I quit the bank full-time, I started working only part-time because It was a very demanding job (sound of car horn) and at least somehow I think I helped some of them and that was very, very important to me... I still miss Canada... we were very good immigrants... we never spent one escudo... one dollar to waste... [What is your meaning of wasting money?] we made good money we spent there... we travelled from Canada... my kids.... I always had uhm... ahh... we always had uhm... we always kept in mind that the culture for the kids was very important so we use to buy through the bank, because it was more inexpensive the tickets for them to go to Royal Thompson Hall for the special concerts just for kids... [Did you give them any Portuguese culture?] and ahh... and uhm... we use to take them places for kids... like we showed what was good about living in Toronto... and it was nice seeing Toronto changing, because when I arrived there in 1971 there was no... like if you want to buy something that was 100% cotton or linen you couldn't find it... it was no sophisticated boutiques that they have now and if you wanted to go to a good play you had to go to New York, Broadway... [Did you go to Broadway back then? I don't think the majority of immigrants were concerned with boutiques or theatre back then. I wonder if her assimilation to Canadian culture took place in the first few years or in her later years?] now it is different people come from New York and the rest of Canada to go to Toronto... and it was very, very excited and it was a very good experience to see Toronto change and I owe a lot to Canada... [It was and is nice seeing Toronto grow!] there is no two ways about it... really it is still a country that I treasure (happier tone).

How about your decision to return?

It was very hard because we... we struggled a lot and when we decided to come back we were in that state of life that kids... Paul... Miguel is nine years old... Paul was thirteen years... it was very, very (stressing) difficult for them, and very difficult for us to make this decision. But what happened was... ehm I... we at home always spoke English with them and you know the reasons why... [Different she actually tried to assimilate. Most first generation Portuguese speak Portuguese or half and half. However, things are changing rapidly and many are already speaking English at home. I have never realized it until now that most of the conversations we have at my parents are in English, but they still speak Portuguese to one another and to friends.] because working as an interpreter for the Board of Education of Toronto I saw so many things that I didn't agree and one of the things that I learned was... if you speak... I don't know if it is still the same way but if you... if the prime language that you speak at home is Portuguese then it will say in your student card he is Portuguese, and your second language is English therefore when you go through high school and you know that probably is always there that like... it is not that mark, but it doesn't help you... for instance, if they have to choose between a student that their first language is Portuguese and second language is English if the University has to choose between one of them and the other one the first language is vice versa... English and second language whatever they will go for the student whose first language is English... [I never heard of this.] I don't know if it is still that way but it use to be that way, more or less and I didn't want this to happen to my kids therefore we spoke... speak English at home all the time and... and as well for our interests our vocabulary will be much easier... [She spoke Portuguese to me????] and then it was an extremely hard decision for us, but what happened then... my father-in-law died and Luis was not happy there... he was happy but he wasn't settled lets put it this way... we decided to come back and I think it was... it was a very good decision because number one -- now my kids are much stronger [I find this hard to believe, you don't uproot your children to make them emotionally stronger in life.] than any kids that never left Toronto and had to adjust to a different culture... [Many of us in Toronto belong to more than one culture and those that don't, usually have been part of another culture in one way or another, so I'm not sure if this is good or not. I belong to two cultures and there are positive and negative aspects of this.] different language because they didn't speak Portuguese... eh, different

environment everything is different.... completely different (stressing)... it is like new American, old Europe.... therefore I think in the future even though one is 19, one is 13... 16 now... when in their lives... even though it is very difficult for them in class because if they keep suffering you suffer too... some how I think they are much... they are better prepared for uhm... for life itself because they went through.... they suffered so much to integrate to a different culture... [So did many of us who emigrated from Portugal at an young age.] so emotionally they are stronger... I'm not sure if they are going to do well financially... but at least emotionally they are stronger they can go through different uhm... uhm... different what can I say... different things in life and they will excepted differently because it was very hard for them... Paul especially because he was at a very difficult age... he was thirteen years old... he was a teenager... it was very... very difficult for them to leave their friends... even though the very first summer we were here one of his friends came over to spend the summer with us... he never really integrated in the Portuguese school it was very, very difficult... [Do you think it would have bettered your situation if you had taught your children Portuguese in Canada?] Miguel had to start everything all over... so for the kids in his age he is behind two years... uhm... he is a very good student, but Paul still... like he left Canada in grade eight and he is still here... well he passed from grade eight to grade nine and that is it... [I think that any type of move will have an affect on the children's education, now it is up to the parents to minimize this affect.] uhm and it is funny because they want to go back to see how their country is... they are very, very proud of being Canadian.... but just as an example for instance they have the two nationalities... they were born in Canada and when they came over for various reasons we (mumbles -- Canadian citizenship)... Paul now is in the Portuguese army he didn't have to go because he had the option if he wants to go he could go, if he doesn't he didn't have to go... but he felt that he had to go... so he went there... of course now he is not so happy... but he has to be there another two months (laughing)... but it is an experience... and it was very difficult... the reasons we come back was we thought we would be happy here and he is... it was very difficult for us to adjust, especially we live in the city... we walk a few meters and we see ocean and you felt... oh my God, it is like this... is it, I have no place to go because in Toronto... in Canada you drive for hours and there is always land and here you drive like for twenty-five minutes one hour and you see the whole island (excited)... [A sense of being jailed, freedom is somewhat lost, an island is not like a continent --- this

could be one of the most difficult things to adjust, your wings are again clipped and you can only go so far.] and it was very, very difficult for them... I stayed at home for six months to help them get adjusted... to go through the first stages of school and for us we cried a lot... but again the same way we cried when we went to Toronto... [I thought that it would be somewhat easier this time around, after all you already now the language, the culture, have friends and some money saved.] the same way we cried when we come back even though we were surrounded by old friends and family... but again we were away too long... [I guess the longer you stay the harder it is to return.] we were away for fifteen years, so there was a lot of things that happen in between that we didn't know.... so... like people were talking about politicians or so on and it didn't do anything to us... now we integrated... I worked for a travel agency and for the Azorean Government as in the tourist office... and now I have my own business and I'm very happy with the job that I'm doing but again Canada is still my country even though I was born Azorean, [Why do you keep stressing this?] I like Azores very much... life has been good to us here... we are very, very lucky because I'm pretty sure not too many places around the world... not too many places around the world have the privileges living in the place like we do... here we have particularly no pollution... [I'm not sure about this, I saw a lot of garbage where there should be none.] we have everything... you could put your kids for so cheap... like horse riding... tennis uhm... ahh... all kinds of sports... ocean sports we have very, very good facilities here and uhm... ahh in Azores and nature has been very good to Azores... we got almost everything here... we got pineapples to other exotic fruits to the... it is good living here... we are very lucky... and I think if someone had a chance to live in Cana... in Azores it doesn't matter if he can... Canadian, English or Azores they should come here... at least they will be in touch with nature... [You could do this anywhere.] they will see the farmers with the horses and like the old age and I think it is very important for the kids... that's why when we made the decision... we wanted the kids to be in touch with nature... because it's values that in Canada or in a big country never... not only in Canada you have a tendency especially big cities... like you don't see a cow (laughs)... like if you want to see a cow you have to go to the zoo... [You could drive thirty minutes north of Toronto.] but uhm... now I'm adjusted and things are rolling and I'm happy but I still want to go back to Canada... [I don't understand why she would even think about something like this, she seems to be doing very well --- life just looks too good for them to leave.] I still dream... I still tell, especially my oldest

one that they go... and... and I still think that he should go to Canada to University... it is the only way gra... graduate... there is a lot of things that really makes me upset in here... like there is too much bureaucracy in the school system... not one of the best and so forth, but like... like living in a place you have the good and bad to go with... but everything is much easier here because it is a smaller country like you don't have to travel one hour and half to go to the job... usually it's always a member of the family that takes care of your children so they don't have to get up six in the morning to go to the baby-sitter or to the daycare and so forth and this is very, very important especially for family values (constant talking in the background) and that's what I think... ah, but again I keep saying that there is no way I could have this success I have didn't go Toronto, Canada... Canada for me was a university degree in so many different aspects... I'm very happy that I went through that university.

From my journal: The informant was very elegant and professional. I liked the conversation we had, however I felt rushed even though she had her secretary make a few customers/friends wait until she was done with me. She seemed well established and perhaps in a better social position than she could ever obtain in Canada. The office was busy and I wished that we would have met elsewhere.

'Canada for me was an university degree', very interesting comment, I wonder if the other returnees see it this way. Definitely the migration experience is a form of education, you grow, adapt, learn, suffer, and you achieve your dreams. I find it difficult to believe that her children had any influence on her decision to return to Portugal. You don't uproot your children to make them emotionally stronger. She was very interesting to converse with, she gave me a viewpoint from a different social class. I still find it difficult to understand her initial reason for emigrating. I think at the time with an education in Portugal you could have done basically anything.

MR. SIMAS

Setting: Around noon. The informant was reluctant to speak, affirming he had nothing to say. It was a short teary interview. Background noise: constant noise from the register, customers, traffic and English music.

Before I went to Canada I was a truck driver... you know what a truck is? [I think he was testing my Portuguese.] I worked for my parents, we worked in lumber... [Was there a future for you in lumber?] it was this... here... Then I went to Canada, that is to say... [Why did you go to Canada?] in Canada I went to work for the first few months in the railroad, then I left... three months latter I went to work in the aluminum factory in... in Kitimat... in British Columbia... therefore it is 'Alcan', I don't know if you know it! I worked there for ten years, I left there and I went to work 'Gulf Oil'... (bus drives by)... I worked for 'Gulf Oil' for two years... and then after twelve years of Canada I left and I returned to the island (S. Miguel). Look, the reason why I went to Canada... I think that any person in the first place should say --- to look for a better future, in the first place. [A future for you or for your family? Why did you think there was no future for you in Portugal? What would you consider a better future, does it include money, employment, education, or housing?] In the second place --- any person that is born in a little island like this... always has... how should I say it, always has the hope of knowing other countries and other people... I think this is one of the reasons also... [Are these your reasons for emigrating or reasons that you think the other emigrants had? Interesting, another two residents also commented that they would emigrate because they felt trapped in S. Miguel, even though they had good jobs and seemed to be well off.] Then why did I return... It wasn't to stay, but... I got involved in this little business... mini-market and I kept staying... [How did you get involved? What did your family think about you staying?] kept staying and here I am for twenty years... this, and I like being here... [Then you don't have any second thought about Canada?] but don't forget that I love Canada (stressing -- raises his voice)... [Do you love Portugal more?] I love it and I think that Canada offers the best opportunities for young people than any other country I know... I had good opportunities and could have had a lot better if I tried or worked for... for these opportunities, I have had a lot better opportunities... I had good opportunities... I had good employment, I love Canada...

[This must be a dilemma for many immigrants that want to return to Portugal because they have now learned to 'love' Canada and they still 'love' or think they 'love' Portugal. Your heart is divided between two nations. Which do you choose?] That is to say --- difficulties that I had are those that everyone has... I never had employment difficulties, I worked always every day that I was in Canada... I never had employment difficulties... the only difficulty that I had in the first few years was the tongue (language), but this is... it is every one... every one has this difficulty when they get there... therefore (clears his throat) today, then I learned English, I was there in school at night... [I'm happy that he went to school. Were there other Portuguese with you in school? Why did you want to learn English in school?] there learning the English, and today... when I left there on the other hand now I'm not good, good but I speak the essential to get by in Canada... with the English language... like I said I love Canada... and every time I go there I like it a lot...

You go there a lot?

Yes, I go there... I go there... since I've been here twenty years, I've been there four years in Canada... [Why do you like going there? Did you also visit Portugal when you were in Canada?] I emigrated there in '59... in those days it was difficult, we left here from what we call... the airport here what we call the "aerovacas" (aircows -- the first airport of S. Miguel was built during WWII in Santana, Rabo de Peixe) because that was a pasture field... here, I left here and I went to Santa Maria, I can never forget this voyage it took thirty two hours by plane, because I left from here to Santa Maria, Santa Maria Boston, Boston to New York, New York to Toronto, Toronto to Calgary, Calgary to Vancouver and then Vancouver to Kitimat... without stopping, that is to say we stopped in the airport and waited for the hour of the plane, but it was thirty two hours by plane on the first time that I went... it was very long... [Were there other Portuguese with you in the voyage? Were you scared?] there was no planes like we have today, that is clear... it took ten and half hours from here to Santa Maria to Boston... (laughing)... it was a lot... (pause)... I already had my brothers there, the older ones that had emigrated in '54 or maybe in '53, but I think it was in '54... my two older brothers, and they sponsored me to go... I went, I was single... I went by myself... I think it was the best I think to go by myself, because only like that you could get to know Canada better... [Did you go to work or on a vacation? I wonder if the

emigrants had the same sense of adventure or were they just interested in finding a good job so they could make money.] when we don't have family, I ran (travelled) a bit, I know a bit of Canada... I know a little bit of Canada... like I said... [Do you know Canada because of the jobs you worked in or because you decided to travel?] then I came here, one time I was here visiting I found my wife, I got married she also went there... [It must have made a big impression on the women if you were an emigrant. I remember people looking up to the emigrants that returned for holidays, after all they were the big shots, they had money, the American clothing and showed off, now they are looked down at.] she was there for four years, a son was born there, and then we returned here and here we stayed... (pause)... [Did she like being there? Was your child a reason for your return?] Well it's like this, she liked coming back because she here... is a teacher and that is clear... there at that time no, perhaps today there is better opportunities but at that time in the place we were there wasn't many jobs for women, and it is clear she likes this here and she continues to work as a teacher here... [It must be very difficult for those that emigrate with education and good employment back home and in their destination only found labour intensive jobs.] oh, my son came as a baby with two years... [Great age for children to return to Portugal.] his schooling was here... presently he is taking a course at the University of Coimbra, [I believe it would have been difficult for him if he had returned with half his education in Canada and half in Portugal. He was very smart in returning when he did.] he already went there two times, and it is clear that he likes that, only that he was raised here and he loves the Island... I like this, isn't it! [I don't understand, you like Portugal, you love Canada, but you live in Portugal. Wouldn't it make more sense for you to live in Canada since you love that country?] I'm working for myself, I don't have any problems in life, thanks to God... [Perhaps this is the reason that he would rather stay in Portugal than in Canada, no bosses.] I have been successful even here... there I also have nothing to say (bad), [You have not one negative aspect of Canada but you live in Portugal, I don't understand?] I had a decent life there... a good life and I continue to say --- Canada has all the opportunities for a young guy to have a decent life, it has all the conditions, all of them... I had good work, good conditions (opportunities), but I could have had a lot better if I had gone looking for the better ones that it has there... [It seems that he didn't like working in the jobs he had, even if they payed well. Or perhaps it was his wife who never could find a niche to equal her life back in Portugal?! What kind of conditions (employment) would you have liked to have had in

Canada, what would have made you stay in Canada?] I think there is no country with a future like that, for me no... no... not only in life standards, but for example, I think it is a country... even in politics I think it is the country that has a clean democracy... more cleaner, more decent that we see... education, I think Canada is one of the first countries in the world... with one of the best educational systems that I know of... (long pause) [I'm confused, there must be something that he is not telling me, he leaves Portugal looking for a better future, he has nothing bad to say about Canada, he 'loves' Canada, but he returns to Portugal. The only thing that I see is that there is this invisible umbilical cord which is attached to many of the migrants constantly pulling them back?????]

Anything else about Canada?

Ehh, for example, there is a story about me, right at first when I was in... when I went to the rail-road I got sick with high fever... (pause and starts crying out-loud)... I needed to go to a doctor and there wasn't one person that would go with me to the doctor... it was an Italian that went with me to the doctor... [This is very sad to hear, especially him crying. I feel bad that I brought up the subject. It must have been terribly frightening for him because he still feels all this pain after thirty years. Were there other Portuguese with you? If so, why didn't they help you?] it is clear that an Italian speaking half and half and I also speaking half and half and we there understood each other... and he went with me to the doctor... this, at that time... thirty years, lets see... yes some thirty years... I went there in '59, after leaving the army... eh... eh there were many, many things, it is clear that today we start forgetting all of this, [Yes, so he does have a lot locked up inside of him, I just wish he would have opened up with me.] but this afterwards goes away, and at first I think the greatest difficulty is the first few years... it doesn't matter who it is... it doesn't matter that it is that guy with education... that it is... the first few years are always difficult for a person in Canada... [I think what he is trying to say is that time is the most difficult thing in emigrating. All it takes is time for one to get used to something, and with time all will be healed, but the scars are still left behind. I know I will never forget my first few years in Canada, not being allowed to go swimming by the life guards because I was a Portuguese immigrant (they must have thought I had some kind of infectious disease or something -- would I love to meet those people today), just getting used to the Canadian way of living, it was sure

difficult leaving everything you loved behind. For many years I wanted to return to Portugal, the only thing now is I'm not sure if anything is calling me back.] I tell this to any person that leaves here... that ask me for my opinion -- the first few years are difficult but that country is very good (stressing)... I'm use to saying that --- God walked through there... and he did walk... [It seems that he is more of a Canadian than most Canadians I know. He has such a strong positive view of Canada.] it is like I already have said, that country offers us all the opportunities (stressing)... all of them... it has the best standard of life that I know of until today. The educational system, the political system... eh, all of this... they have everything, they have everything... they have everything... my brothers stayed there, all of us... we are eight, and I'm the only one here in the Island, the rest are all... I have three brothers living in Vancouver Island... I have one sister living in Kitimat... I have one sister and one brother living in Brampton in Ontario... that is to say they are all... oh, I have another one brother that is living in the city of Vancouver, that is to say they are all there... thanks to God... that all of them are very well, all of them... a while ago I had one of them visiting that has not been here for twenty two years... he loved this (S. Miguel)... he became enchanted... that is to say... in twenty two years this changed a lot, and it changed very much... very... very... very... [Migrants that want to return for good and have not been visiting in the last few years are going to think they got off in the wrong place.] This changed in all aspects... lets see --- the living standard today is a lot, a lot better than that one when we left from here to Canada... that is not to say that we here have the save standard of living as Canada... [I don't think there is much of a difference today. Some may even think it is better.] we don't have it, Because if we see it, we see it here in my business that many of the things here (food stuff) are so expensive like it is in Canada, but there you earn dollars and here you earn escudos, that is to say --- a lot more difficult to buy, but even like this you live well, you have seen it... our street today full of automobiles, and good new automobiles... it is because there is money... on the other hand I don't know if part of this money is false or not, but I know this is what we are seeing... [I heard that many people owe everything to the banks, I don't know if this is true or not. I think the subsidies from the EC have helped out the country a lot.] the streets full of cars... today, see how the people are --- all well dressed, well presented... it isn't how it use to be at that time... I have to say one thing --- this is owed a lot to the migrants money... because there are many things here done by the migrants, also... it is

necessary not to forget that... [The only problem is that many non-emigrants refuse to believe this. They look down on those that emigrated and say they didn't help the country a single bit. I think the animosity between these two groups stems from the visits of the immigrants and them showing off their money. These visits showed off money, but failed to illustrate that earning money in many cases originated from intensive labour.] and we could have done it a lot better even... only that our people... there is one thing here, one part of our people live from day to day... they are not preoccupied like in Canada, to save money for one day... when you are old or in the case of sickness... no, this here you live day to day... you earn today, you eat tomorrow... you earn tomorrow you eat after (day after)... and eh... or then you earn today to eat today... it is like this, life here... by brothers said that I should think twice... [Did any of your brothers ever want to return?] it is clear that when (to a costumer -- good afternoon)... when I came it wasn't to stay... when I came it was to spend some time here and return (Canada) only that I kept staying... [Why did you decide to do this?] kept staying and twenty years have gone by and here I am... [Was your initial return on a trial basis? What did you do with your belongings back in Canada?] it is clear that with my age I don't think about returning to Canada, only visiting, because with this age I'm never going to have good opportunities with good employment like I had, it's one of those things... I'm fifty nine years old... there are no businesses that would take a man with fifty nine... like they say it here --- there is no longer juice... you already squeezed out everything... therefore, I'll go... I will probably go many times to Canada if God gives me life, visiting my family... only that, but to go there work, already no... with this age... but believe me, any young couple that comes from Canada here... don't think that it is the same, because here you will never have the same opportunities that you will have in Canada. [Did you feel this way when you returned? What kind of opportunities didn't you have here that you had there?] Now, if you are retired, people at a certain age, yes sir... [So, you think this is a good place to retire?] oh that they have already money to establish themselves in any business, maybe in that case... but, to come here... to stop working there to come and work here I think they will cry (wail), never do this... no... [Did you cry when you returned?] there is no future for young people here... this is an island (stressing)... this isn't going to grow more than this, this will always be an island, this will never get passed this... this will always be an island... and thanks to God that there was Canada, United States... eh... for this people to emigrate out of here, if not, this would be so full

that we could not move in here... don't forget that there is one million immigrants living in the United States and Canada, that's what the statistics say... and here in Azores in the nine islands there are only 250 000. Thanks to God that these people emigrated... [Would this have evolved if there was no emigration?] The emigrants did a lot here, for example, today it isn't as much like that... but a few years ago when you saw a new house, a house... 'o la' we use to say --- this is of the emigrant, certainly... only that now the thing is... is changing... many of them are selling what they build and returning back, because of the children. [Children are a key factor in the decision to return, whereas in the initial emigration their role was not as strong. Parents may still see Canada as a provider for a better future for their children.] That is the thing, because they are not seeing a future for the children here on the Island... this has these things... in my case it is different, my son came as a little baby... he knows this, he lives here... he was raised here on the Island... but in the case of young people that already attended school, and comes here it is very difficult for them to adapt to this... and we have seen... we have seen this... almost all of them, I don't want to exaggerate... but almost all of them... 90% of them return back... [This is a very interesting figure. I'm not sure if this is true or not. What I think is that there are many that return only for short periods of time (i.e. the winter months or the summer months) and then return to Canada to be with their children or grandchildren.] because of the children... almost all return because of the children... because this has no future, like I have said there is no future here for young people... the biggest industry here continues to be agriculture, the country (land), farming, or let it be the cow, like we say it... this continues to be the biggest industry... there doesn't exist industries for these people to work... [This is the problem -- there are not too many labour intensive jobs in Portugal, but I don't think that new Portuguese immigrants in Canada are looking for these types of jobs anyway, life in Portugal is too good.] there isn't any of this here. (pause) This is an island, it will always be an island... it won't go beyond this... Like I already said I like being here, but I like Canada... I like Canada... and I don't permit that people speak bad about Canada, because I had good opportunities in Canada and I could have had even better opportunities if I had worked for that... that is to say if I went after the better opportunities, that is to say I was a bit comfortable, I liked the place where I worked and there I stayed all those years, but there were good opportunities to leave that city and look for other work... there were many... many... many opportunities at that time when I was in Canada, if today I

don't know... it is that thing... comfort... if being in one place and liking that, and staying... this is... there is that dynamic person that doesn't care of the place, [I feel that many Portuguese are gamblers, they are always striving to be better, to do better, be better than their neighbours, there is a lot of competition, these people succeed. I think all Portuguese immigrants are successful in one way or another only that some become comfortable with less. Portugal in the past gave their residents very little opportunities to succeed, there was very little chance to improve your lifestyle, many of these people felt trapped and the only way out was emigration, these are the people that admit that their country gave them nothing and they don't ever want to return.] is always looking for conditions, and these types have succeeded in life in Canada... many of them have succeeded in life in Canada, this way... in the other hand it is one of the errors of the young men that leave from here, like myself when I left here at the time I was a young man... to leave school (drop-out), not going to school to learn English, and many of them only preoccupy themselves with the check (earnings) and nothing else... that is to say that happens to many Azorean families, this is a pity... they only see the check... [This is true, many don't see anything else but money. It is very important for them to become rich, they save and save and don't enjoy life. What concerns me is that education is sometimes jeopardized because of the parents ambition to save money. I think that this attitude towards 'the check' is changing, at least I hope it is.] they don't live the Canadian life, I think this is bad also... [What do you consider to be the 'Canadian life'? It takes time, it takes a lot of time for us to acculturate, but I think we are doing a lot better than we used too.] but for a young man who has conditions of working, earn money and learn the language and go to school... they could have all the conditions in Canada, I had it... why don't they have it... but I was also one of these lazy people who abandoned this, no... I already knew the basics to... (laughing) to get by on the job or on the street with the people, I abandoned... I didn't care any more about night school... this is bad... but almost all, almost all go through this... almost all go through this (laughing)... I don't know why the other ethnic groups... eh...eh... succeed more in life there than the Portuguese... only that the Portuguese doesn't try, he doesn't go after this... [Why do you think they don't? Why did you stop? I think there are more and more first generation Portuguese immigrants going to school to learn English, even after being in Canada for many years. I think this is great. In the past I don't think that ESL was so readily available, and if it was perhaps we didn't know about it, or maybe I'm just fooling myself -- after you work all day

in construction or standing up with a hot iron in your hand and you have to come home to do all the house work and take care of your children, learning the language is the last thing on your mind.] I remember when I was in night school with couples that came from Germany that were already old... but these people they try, even at that age they try... to live the Canadian life, to learn the language... I think the Portuguese remove themselves a bit from this, it is a pity... [You have to give it time.] today I don't know, lets see I've been here for twenty years... when I came here this is nothing like it is today, this modernized a bit in the last twenty years... but in Canada I don't know if this continues or not... when I go there I go for two weeks, I don't have time to see this... I only visit the family, already the last time I was there, I went all the way to the end of Canada... I went to Kitimat, this is very close to Alaska... I went there, that is to say I was in Vancouver, Victoria... Toronto, Brampton that zone there... ah I was in the United States... Providence, Boston visiting family... that is to say I didn't have time to see that (referring to Portuguese attitudes towards the Canadian life --- assimilation), but I think it has not changed a lot in the Portuguese there... I'm not saying that they should get use to the Canadian ways inside their houses... inside their houses everyone does what they want and what they like, but outside... outside they should adopt more to life... [I think it has. More and more you see Portuguese who don't want to be Portuguese, especially those who are intermarried or first generation that basically grew up in Canada.] that is to say they should live more the Canadian life... outside...outside their home... I remember when I came here in... I already earned one thousand dollars per month in 'Gulf Oil', this was a good salary at that time, it is clear that this today is nothing for those guys there that work in construction, they say that they earn twenty or thirty dollars per hour... today it is nothing but at the time it was a lot of money when I came here... the work was hard, especially in the winter time when we were unloading those ships... we were draining those tanks of gasoline, oil all of that... it was hard but we earned very well... it is that thing, we are always looking for... for the money (laughing)... but it was very good, it was a good experience... it was a good experience... and if I was younger I would not have any difficulties in returning to Canada, no... no... I love Canada... I love and I think.... [It seems that he is a successful person, his wife is a teacher, and his son a university student. Then why would he say something like this? I don't understand -- he had all the chances and he returned when he could have stayed.] I don't know why there are people that hate Canada, I don't know... I don't

know and I have no idea... I even don't admit that they speak bad about that (Canada)... because I think there are people that could be a lot better off, and are not... no... no... no they don't walk ahead, they don't look for... if they get to a place they stay, which was my case... I stayed in that place, that is to say I stayed in that place that it wasn't bad... you earned well, but people don't look for better, they are comfortable... the Azorean is a bit comfortable (relaxed)... it puts himself in the house as long as the little check comes... he puts himself in the house and he doesn't preoccupy himself with nothing else... yes sir.

From my journal: We had set the appointment to converse a week prior but when I arrived he had changed his mind asserting that he had nothing to say, I explained to him my situation and the reasons for my interest in his migration experience and he then agreed. There was a lot in his mind but for some reason he didn't want to open up. There were many expressions and tears in his eyes especially when he spoke about being sick in Canada (I think that there might be more to this story that was left out). Towards the end of our conversation he seemed more relaxed but still reluctant to open up. This was the first time that I realized that people in general don't say anything negative about Canada.

The conversation was difficult to understand, I feel that there were many things that he didn't want to talk about, but this is his migration experience and I should be happy with what little he gave me. Perhaps there are many other stories in his experiences which he has tried to forget. It seems that he has to keep reassuring himself that he loves Canada, which doesn't make any sense. From what he tells me he had nothing but positive experiences --- he was making good money, very good money for the time period, his family was with him, he had nothing but good opportunities and he travelled a bit to experience the Canadian life. The interesting thing is that he never quite states his reason for return --- I came and I stayed and stayed, and now twenty years latter I'm still here. There is something missing, perhaps a really bad experience, maybe going to night school to learn English, going a step further than the other Portuguese immigrants at the time, trying to assimilate and finding out that it was more difficult than he had imagined, it could be that this turns him off and made him realize that Canada was after all not a country for him to spend the rest of his life. Very positive perspective about Canada, why did he leave?

MR. Domingos

Setting: Early in the afternoon. We met in 'Casa do Povo' (community center) and conversed while driving.

Do you want to go to the other school...

It's up to you.

Lets go to the other school... (inside his car) An accident there, then I worked in the mines for many years... Canada is no longer what it use to be (showing the school)... [Can you describe the way it was?] at the time when I emigrated, then there wasn't... there wasn't any that told the people of the Azores to go to Brazil, isn't it! [Would you have gone to Brazil instead of Canada if you had the chance?] At the time I was in the army in '54... and then I was in the army, there was emigration... here in the city Hall of Ribeira Grande... to give your name for the emigration to Canada, [Why did you want to emigrate to Canada?] and I left the army in November... I was in the army for two years, and right away in April I went to City Hall to give my name to go to Canada. Therefore, I emigrated to Canada on the fifth of April 1956... we went there... we went there to the farms... I went to Quebec, there to a farm... [Did emigrants know where they were going before they emigrated?] it was a bit difficult... I went there to a farm alone, at the time there weren't Portuguese, you didn't know one another... there weren't Portuguese there... I went to a farm... [How did you feel being by yourself? Did you get along with the other people in the farm? What kind of work did you do at the farm?] I worked there for seven months, seven days a week earning fifty dollars per month... at the time the dollar was 35 escudos here, one Canadian dollar... at the time one Canadian dollar was more than the American, 7%... then you couldn't make (send) Canadian checks to the Azores, because there wasn't any laws concerning Canadian checks in the financial institutions, you had to send checks in American money, that is to say when you made a check of one hundred dollars they would give you 7% on top of that, you received seven dollars back... [Hearing this makes me feel that indeed Portugal was exporting its people. After all if there was an agreement between Canada and Portugal for labourers, the least that the Portuguese government could do was accept any remittances in Canadian funds.] I went to the farm at that time... I never met any one, and then I had to leave the farm... at the time I went there with twelve contos, 12 000 escudos in debt... [Big debt

at the time. I believe a reason that many didn't return to Portugal at that time was because they had this debt which they had to pay for before they could return.] was the ticket (plane) which I withdrew from the bank here, and me earning fifty dollars a week I would never be able to pay my ticket, and I had to run... run where... I picked up the suitcase and put it in my back... I spoke to the 'farmaeiro' (farmer) at the end of seven months to bring me to the train station in Montreal [Why Montreal?], then I didn't know Montreal, but I wanted to see Montreal because it was the city... the city that people spoke a lot about at that time was Montreal and Can... Toronto. [Portuguese emigration was still in its pioneer stages in 1956, but linkages were already established felicitating future emigration.] The 'farmaeiro' didn't want to bring me and I picked up my suitcase on my back and I walked for seven hours on the road... [For how long was your contract on the farm? Do you have any idea why he didn't want to help you? Did you have to contact any immigration officer if you left the farm?] seven hours that I walked with the suitcase on my back... in a 'gravel road' and then I went on the highway... then there was an old man that stopped and brought me to the bus station... I took a bus, I went to Montreal... when I got to Montreal, I never knew Montreal... I went to Montreal by bus... a big city... I picked up my little suitcase and I sat down on a bench inside the terminal... then a guy passed... a guy there... he looked like he was Portuguese and I directed myself to him, [How did you know he was Portuguese? I'm assuming that clothing style helped him differentiate between a Portuguese and a non-Portuguese.] I spoke Portuguese to him, in reality he was a Portuguese from Agua do Pau, called Jose Maria... had gone there in '54... [How did you feel when you found out he was Portuguese?] two years before me... and he was there waiting for people that ran away from the farms to go work in the rail-road. [Were there many Portuguese that ran away from the farms?] Then at that time we spoke how much they paid per hour, they paid ninety cents per hour, and I made my calculations... nine hours per day, well I went that day to the rail-road and I worked in the rail-road for one and half years... [Was this type of work better than the farm?] then the rail-road stopped... eh... yes there in one 'ganga'... it stopped in the 'ganga' and there was a district of mining there, and after I didn't return to the 'ganga', I stayed there and went to work in the mines... I went to work in the mines... 'uranium, plutonium'... and I worked in the mines thirteen years... [Did you like this type of work? Did it pay better than the rail-road and farm?] thirteen years and then I stopped because in reality I couldn't work no more in the mines... my lungs couldn't take any more dust... I went to

Toronto, and then I started working with civil construction... I worked for a few more good years in the civil construction, [What kind of work did you do there?] and then I had an accident in my spine and I was operated there in the spine... then automatically... I had then decided to return to the Azores... [Did you always want to return? Was it a family decision?] I was already tired of working, I worked there a lot... I was tired... but when I was operated... then I started receiving my pension from 'Canada Compensation'... and I returned here to Portugal... [Why didn't you want to stay in Canada?] When I came here, in reality I didn't want to consider myself retired, if you are retired, well... if a person is use to working and then retires and starts having this mentality of doing nothing, then they die earlier. And I said well, I physically I don't have much to give to my country here, but... but I could... I could have some ideas and help society and this is what I did... I didn't want to be at home as a retired and I started thinking what can I give the community... it is my work but in something different... I started organizing things... contacting the government... to create institutions here in Rabo de Peixe because I live here in Rabo de Peixe... and this is what I do, I give my help... not physically but mentally... and this is what I have been involved in since I came... I built a center for people with age... a house that I have here in another street... a house for the older people in the village to go to, instead of sitting on the streets... and I thought there should be a place to receive the older people to be there socializing... talking... eating, there is a 'lunch' for them... when I left there Toronto there were homes where the older Azoreans use to get together to play cards and socialize, and here in Rabo de Peixe there was nothing. And I tried to create an institution like that, where they eat there... I went for the older people then I got myself involved more with the little children... [Was it difficult to start doing your project?] I saw there (Toronto) these institutions for children, isn't it! Well, and this is what I have done... this is voluntary work... here I don't earn money... this is time... here you don't earn anything (stressing)... [The reason for making this clear is that some people think otherwise.] I give my time... they already know me... I speak to the officials... but going back a little... when I went to Portugal those were difficult times... it isn't today... today it is very easy in Canada... [Easy to return or easy to adjust? What kinds of problems did you encounter?] when I went to Canada we reached Montreal and everyone went different ways, and no one ever saw each other again... [Were you aware that this was going to happen when you got to Canada? It must have been terribly lonely for him to be separated from his friends. How did you feel about

being alone?] I was seven months without seeing a Portuguese, I went there to a farm, and there I stayed and then when I left there... I went to the rail-road and there, there was a few more Portuguese... [How did it feel to be around Portuguese again?] but there were difficult times, I washed my clothing... I made my food, [Not done by Portuguese men in Portugal?] because I was there for a long time without a wife, that is to say... today in Canada it is very easy, we go to Canada... ohh, you speak Portuguese in any place... there is already lawyers who defend you in the courts... there are already people that are graduates... at the time there were none... the person had to learn by himself the little English or French... [The pioneers had it hard, but then again so does every one that emigrates.] they had to learn by themselves... you went to a store no one knew how to speak Portuguese and we had to try very hard to learn the language... to learn a bit... it isn't a perfect English like a person who went to school or university... but it is enough to defend (get by) one self where you needed... [I don't think the majority of first generation Portuguese migrants in Canada speak fluent English, but many speak well considering that they didn't go to ESL.] the winter, well... everything depends where you worked... I worked many winters at sixty below zero... [This must have been one of the most difficult things for the pioneers to cope with.] but I worked in the mines... in the mines... but many people... but even then I had a little opportunity different than many... I worked in the rail-road and after the rail-road I went to the mines... but many people there... poor (pity)... there when they left the farms came to Toronto and there weren't many immigrants... were not able to get unemployment insurance, some poor souls had to borrow money to eat... from their friends... [Hard times for those that left the farms looking for better opportunities. Linkages with Portugal must have let these people know that there was better money to be made elsewhere. It must have been awfully scary travelling around with little money and not knowing where you were going.] at the time there wasn't a lot of money but also at that time one person could go through the week with only four dollars... [It must be nice.] I remember that a person in a room with two people, it was three dollars each... it was six dollars that the woman charged, a French or English... well each one paid three dollars, and two dollars that you had you bought bread at the time... a loaf of bread and bananas, and some other things... and that was a bit... a bit difficult, yes it was... and well... for me it was difficult, but there were other people who had it more difficult than me... that I know... there was a phase there that until '61... many people suffered a lot... and in '61 it was a year... in '61 many people suffered that, there was a

big crisis... there were many people that only worked in the tobacco fields... [Hard work I hear.] I didn't go through these crises... I had difficult times there at the beginning at first etcetera, but there were people that suffered more than me... In '58 I came here and I married here... I came in '58 and I married in '58 and my wife went there in '59... [I believe this was the norm for the Portuguese. To emigrate and return with money to marry the one they loved. Pioneer woman to emigrate to Canada. The first women were allowed in 1957.] she went there, she was there one and half years... my first son was born... then my wife returned again (S. Miguel)... [why did she return and you didn't?] after she went there again and another son was born... and then... that is to say my wife went there three times... that is to say in the way of the difficulties of jobs, I had to sent her here... [Weren't you working at the mines at the time? or Was the problem that she couldn't find employment?] and at the end the last time she went there I bought three houses there... that is to say I bought a house for her with furniture, then she came here and I had to sell the house... [I find it difficult to comprehend why he kept sending her back to Portugal, after all they owned their own house and he was employed.] I didn't need a house for me alone, I managed in a room... [Perhaps he could save more money this way.] she came here, and she was here for one and half years and she would go there and I would buy another house... [Did your wife like being in Canada? Does she want to return?] and the last time the same house cost three times more... three times more, and this is what I thought --- now, well as long as I have this problem and I was operated and everything... now I won't stop more here, now I'm going to Portugal... and this is when I decided if I was to buy the third house it was too expensive, I already had a few monies, I also was operated in the spine and then I thought about coming here... [Originally did you always think about returning to Portugal?] I sent her here ahead and then I came latter, and I stayed around here... I stayed around here and very well... and I don't regretted, because if I stayed there it could have been worse... My children came here with me also... that is to say the two oldest... they came here, they had kindergarten and primary schooling there... when they came here you already know! They only spoke English, very little Portuguese... they went to primary school here, at this school... it was a problem at the time because they were Canadian... they were Canadian, they weren't accepted in the school, but it ended with me sending for the birth certificates there and they ended up staying in the school... [It is easier for young children to adapt to Portuguese life.] now it is easy, but at that time it was very difficult... they studied here not to go to the first grade... they didn't go to

the first grade they went to the third, but there was a problem because they didn't speak well the language and that... but they managed and they went on learning and they even graduated from high-school... [I'm happy to hear that.] my oldest son wanted to take electronic engineering, because he was Canadian he had to go to the continent and pay everything... [Why doesn't he become a Portuguese Citizen?] for you to leave me then you will go to Canada, there you will go to our relatives house, and there you will study... I went to Canada with him... I was there for six months... [Did you work during your stay there? Why did you go with him?] he went to school, and... I left him there... he had money in the bank there already... and I said --- Manuel this is like this and like that... this is a very big country there are many beautiful things, and there are a lot of bad things... you already have twenty years, I came with twenty two... twenty and twenty two is the same thing, and you already have more culture than me... I don't need anything from you, I only want to have your good name... I will go away and you will stay here, now this is your problem... well, he stayed there by himself... he took more than six years of school and was able to take electronic engineering... he worked at 'Pier Four', in a restaurant that was down there in Lakeshore... eh... he did a part-time there, there in the bar... and was able to take engineering... the other girl, is also there... she works for Macleans Cable TV, she is a secretary... she also took grade twelve here... she went there but I already didn't go with her... her brother was there... and there they stayed and I have only one here... it is that one that has twenty one years of age, he is here with me... he is in grade twelve... [Sad that the family is divided. The future for young people must look more promising in Canada. By the look of things it doesn't matter if your children remain in Canada or they return with you at a young age, because the end result is Canada.] this one, well this one has been there three times... he worked there in the summer holidays, but this one doesn't want to... he prefers to be here... he says he likes it here more because life there isn't for him (laughing)... he says that, that there isn't life for him... he says life there isn't for him... [What doesn't he like about life there?] he is also courting, he is going to get married... he is going to get married and he isn't going to get married... but he likes courting, but he doesn't like that a lot there... he says that, that there isn't life for him. (pause) I went in the second emigration... at that time... at that time when I went to Canada, it was difficult for people to lend you money to go to there... there were guys here that almost stayed behind because there weren't anyone that would lend them twelve contos (a lot of money at that time, about \$120.00)... it

wasn't to lend them, they needed some one who would be collateral for them... for twelve contos, because Canada was not know at that time... [Uncertainty about returning to Portugal is probably derived from many of those that went to Brazil seeking their fortunes at the turn of the century and never returned.] we didn't speak of Canada, because there had already gone one emigration... in '54 one thousand and something people went there... but they went there and that was it... at the time there wasn't that contact.... [What you are saying is that you went to Canada without knowing anything about the country or its people? How did you feel about emigrating with no knowledge of the place you were going to? Did the Canadian or Portuguese governments offer any kind of information package on Canada? From what he said earlier, I thought that there must have been a linkage that informed him where there were better paying jobs. I can't imagine emigrating blindfolded to another country.] it wasn't easy for them to give information about the country, because they were lost (spread out) here and there... [It seems that things were sporadic, there was no feedback on those that went the year before, leaving uncertainty for those emigrating in the future.] Canada didn't have a single ??? (lego?) open... you didn't know what kind of country it was... [Scary!] it was Bermuda at the time and America that was spoken about... [Popular destinations for Portuguese in the past. Was there emigration to Brazil at that time?] but Canada was still an unknown country... after this... after this emigration... after my emigration, then at the end of two or three years... then as Azoreans were sending money here (Azores), [Remittances help link the two nations. Money is very important because people begin to see their emigrant neighbour being able to afford luxuries and they now to want to emigrate.] they bought... some bought land... then people started talking about --- hey man, then that is a good country... they earn so much money... that guy went there... went there... went there one and half years ago, two years ago he didn't have anything... now he already has a house (stressing) then this already started... [Very important in determining the success of future emigration.] already started... eh, eh Canada... has fame... more fame... more fame through the Azoreans... but at the beginning when I went, it was difficult... eh even... a brother of mine give me collateral, but there were people that almost stayed behind because there weren't anyone that would give them collateral on twelve contos... at this time there wasn't any information about Canada... [Then why didn't you choose to emigrate to Bermuda or America?] hey well... eh well, I had... at that time, this was a very difficult time... I was also a person, I was a worker... I worked in the hot houses in Ponta Delgada

(pineapples) before I went to Canada and before I went to the army... well, that was a life of dirt and working hard... and we knew that from there we would never leave... you weren't able to make a life... I always had the intentions of leaving the country... then emigrate to any country... looking for better living conditions, well it happen that I was in the army and Canada came and that was it... [Portugal at that time it was very difficult to get ahead.] I didn't know about Canada... I gambled... I said --- hey man you have to see it, you have to try it... I went there, it wasn't very, very easy at first, but things got organized [What do you mean?] (could hear children playing in the background). When I came here, now not any longer, but when I came here about ten years back... sometimes it was people that left here, and left a few friends behind and we already come with other conditions other ways of being... already with a life more or less organized (With some money saved), and those no, and there was always a jealousy between those that came and those that stayed, [Did this jealousy always exist?] isn't it! And sometimes they would say, and sometimes the person was here and wasted a little more (spent a little more money) in reality they already had a different manner of wasting more, in reality they already brought little monies from there... and they would say sometimes --- hey that one that comes here, he is almost there, he is almost busted (without money)... the people here would say... he is almost there, he came here and made himself all rich, he is almost there... [I don't understand why the Portuguese that remain arm themselves as a 'charter group' against those that return. After all we are all Portuguese from the same mother country, the last thing we need is to be discriminated against. I feel shameful thinking about it.] but now all of this has passed, at the time people didn't get along too well... they accepted, but there was a jealousy of... of the person that came... that left in a certain way, and returned in a different way... and there was something that they felt (pause)... [During my stay in Sao Miguel I felt like an outsider even though I am Portuguese and speak the language. I found it very difficult to fit in and to meet people.] I came for good about ten years ago... that is to say I came here four or five times to see, [Why didn't you stay?] there was a time that I didn't return for seventeen years... seventeen, it was when I got married... in February of '59 and I came... I came in '58 and I got married in February of '59... I came in December in '58 and I got married in '59... and I went there, and I had seventeen years without coming here... [Why did it take you so many years before you returned?] and then when I thought about coming, but I came here for five years... five times... almost five months each time to get use to it (try it out)... the first

time that I came --- hey man, this is not well... [What wasn't right about Portugal at that time?] then I would go there, then at the end of a few months --- but I want to go there... but then at the end of five times that I came, it was five times --- hey man, well I already have here a few good friends, hey man I'm going there... [I'm assuming that he learned a lesson about jumping into emigration without knowing anything about Canada, and now he just wants to make sure. I think that all returnees should go back to their country and live there a few months before returning at full force. After all things are not static, the old ways change and along with it comes new ideas and new attitudes.]

What did you think about Portugal when you returned?

Well, this country... this here has modified a lot after the "25th of April" (Portuguese Revolution)... until the "25th of April" little changed here... here in Rabo de Peixe or the entire Island... there were a few things, a new house... a little better that belonged to a Canadian... [The dollar did help many re-establish in Portugal. Before the revolution there was little chance for those that were poor. I think that emigration did help Sao Miguel develop, however there were a few people that I met in my visit that disagree. Unfortunately these people are riding their high horse and don't see that overpopulation would have meant fewer chances for them to be successful.] but in reality, highways and even the people itself were the same as those that I went to Canada in '56... but after the '25th of April '74' there was a change... it was when democracy entered and all of this started walking a different rhythm... the people started being different, more open and also more rude, isn't it! This all changed since '74... because in the '25th of April' I was here visiting... and the people, even at that time in Rabo de Peixe were obedient (well mannered)... they socialized, but when the '25th of April' came all of that changed, some don't have any respect for the people (for others), but now this is getting better this isn't what it used to be ten years ago... this is getting better, that is to say people have a different vision... [What do you mean they have a better vision?] but they have better intentions about things, they respect things more, it isn't... after the '25th of April' that was a terrible thing (stressing)... the people were those that wanted more... didn't respect... now this is getting better... I came here five times... at the fifth time was when I thought I could adapt to this... I tried it out for four times, I got here and I couldn't face this, [What was it that was so difficult to get used to? What kinds of things were you

looking for?] at the end of being there for seventeen years... and then the next year you came back four or five months, at the fifth time is when I thought it is going to be in Gods hands, I'm going there... that isn't very bad, I already was there... the second time I already seen things a little better... [What kinds of things changed for the better?] that's it, I decided to come and I came... but I decided at a time that I said --- hey man, I think I was wrong in coming... sometimes we have a little problem and if we were there we would have this, but I struggled and today... [I have a feeling that everyone thinks twice about re-emigrating. Returning becomes more and more difficult after time, the longer you stay the harder it is to return. Any other difficulties that you may have had that made you want to return to Canada?] and today I even say it was good me coming... if I was there, I would always be in Canada, that is always that... and Canada is a good country but that is a country for young people... [It is good for work not to retire. According to my father the only reason that would keep him from returning to Portugal would be grandchildren. I think this plays a major factor in deterring a larger diaspora of return migrants. Those that have grandchildren no longer see Portugal as a place for retiring.] person that goes there to work they get tired at the end of a few years and all of a sudden he has the tendency to go to his country to finish (die). But here we... we still pass the few days (before dying) with more satisfaction than there... that people with age here, with ages of sixty or sixty something, well it is a different way... another life... a person goes out, it is a smaller place... he speaks here and there, [It is very important to be able to communicate with others.] he already knows that person... he goes up to there... or he has is backyard or a little piece of land... he has his distraction... there (Canada) a person that is old... in the winter in puts himself in the basement (many Portuguese people in Canada do their day to day living in the basement and they keep the upstairs kitchens and living rooms for company) or if it isn't in the basement he goes to the old folks home to talk to the friends... in the street he can't be, to the coffee shop he doesn't go because those coffee places there he doesn't know about and they are all young people... he could be at home in the basement or in the old folks home... then that is a life very... very, a person ends up by dying there... you put yourself there in cavern (basement), then there in the winter the heaters in those houses are not wholesome (healthy), isn't it? Even though they could be the most modernized they are still heaters, isn't it! Then, even people finish up by being pale they loose their colours, and it is like this.... [Very depressing view of retirement in

Canada.]

From my journal: Very nice person to speak too. He was well dressed and of great importance to his community. I found the conversation especially interesting when he said that he would have died of stress if he would have stayed in Canada ("Canada is not good for those over sixty"), this (Sao Miguel) was the country that gave him life and health. It seemed that even though he had acquired some riches in Canada, he was down to earth and tries to help those that are less fortunate in his community (social centres for the young and the old).

Very interesting character. His views of Canadian society should have made the return to Portugal easy. He sees Canada as being a country for the young, work and to make money not to raise a family or retire. However he contemplated a lot about returning for good and even after the return he had second thoughts which made it difficult to understand his logic. Here is a man who returns four times for a period of four to five months at a time and only in his fifth time does he conclude that all the factors are right. I would think that most people would have given up on the idea of return after failing the first or second time, but he doesn't. It seems that there are a set of key ideas (factors) that he wants. The problem being that some exist in Canada and some in Portugal, and he will only return if the Canadian factors exist in Portugal. Interesting that at one time Portuguese brought a some of Portugal to Canada and now the returnees want to bring some of Canada into Portugal. He is a lucky man, he is well appreciated by his community.

Mr. SILVA

(When first asked to be interviewed the informant refused, he claimed that talking about Canada always makes him cry. With some persuasion from his wife, the informant finally consented.)

Setting: Local restaurant called "A Familia". Constant background noise from the lunch crowd.

(Crying) After we returned from the farm [Did you run away from the farm? Tell me your experiences of working on the farm, what did you think, how did you feel, was it the same as the farm work back in Portugal?], we came to Toronto, and then there were three of us asking for work. And we went from door to door, and every time we opened a door, they waved us away, and we then knew there was no work. At Spadina and King Street (pronounced in proper Canadian) we met a 'gentlemant' (gentleman), and when we asked him for work, he replied, 'Sorry, guys, but I have no work for you.' And then arrived - we saw that the man was very well-mannered - (At this point, Joe Silva is crying loudly and sobbing) - And when he finished saying that, he went back in. This was at 8:30 in the morning. The man never reappeared, and we sat there waiting for the man - in our understanding, the man had gone to ask the 'bossa' (boss) if he'd give -- whether or not he had any work. When the man finally showed up, it was ten to noon, and he said like this: 'Desculpa... I'm sorry, I have no work.' And we all went away, and we were there three hours, until then, it was some stupid Italians, who waved us away, and made fun of us. [This is very sad to hear especially with all the crying, it seems that it was a very traumatic experience in his life. Perhaps the experience that divides the migrant from the host society, eliminating or postponing the process of assimilation.]

Would you like to stop or take a break (he was sobbing uncontrollably).

Mrs Silva: I don't like it here. [Why don't you like it here? Do you think all the other women who returned feel the same way as you? I assume that it was the husband's choice to return to Portugal. She probably left her life back in Canada, her freedom to go where she wants too, employment, and her children.]

She doesn't like it here. But the children say, uh, they say to her, 'He is good (stressing), he was a good father, and now

you have to be a good wife. You will go with him there to Sao Miguel. That's what the children tell her (Crying). [Their return to Portugal has divided their family, children remain in Canada and parents re-emigrate. Having the family divided is a reason I believe many other Portuguese in Canada don't return. After all, the children are Canadian not Portuguese. I think that it is very sad for her to be forced to return to Portugal.]

I can't talk, because they already wanted to give me an interview, and I can't take it, because I remember what we went through. [This is a very interesting statement, it proves that this migrant has a very strong animosity towards his migration experience. All the things that he went through make him cry. I feel very lucky to have him speak to me.] A lot of difficulty, tobacco farming, the guy didn't want to pay us, we didn't understand him, the man was speaking well (with good intentions), and we thought he was speaking badly. When we were talking badly, the man spoke well. We didn't understand, to the point that this tobacco guy thought we were wicked, and went to get a shotgun to shoot us. At that point, we saw the (mental) condition he was in, one of the Portuguese picked him up, turned him upside down (turfed him on his ass), took his shotgun and held it. His wife called to - to immigration, that, at that time was a Brazilian, to talk for us, to say, 'These men are not fighting, these men are saying that they want to receive their pay weekly. They don't want to receive it monthly. They have family in Portugal, they want to send their earnings to their family [a very important issue for many of the first migrants to make money and send it home to their families. I believe that some of these remittances also included articles of clothing and other personal things. The interesting thing about remittances is that sometimes it was not only for the immediate family but also for neighbours and friends] - and they didn't understand us, and we didn't understand them.' Do you understand? [We can see the language barrier to the extreme, where even guns are involved. It must have been awful not understanding or being able to communicate with your employer. I still remember when I first arrived being frustrated because I wasn't able to defend myself, I guess I should thank my cousins for helping me out during those first few months. But, many of the words I picked up I didn't know what they meant, like the first time I used 'fuck' my older cousin laughed his head off and all I was trying to do was borrow something from him. If it had been in school I would have gone to see the Principal for something I didn't know I was doing. It is funny now when I look back, but at the time it was very frustrating for me.]

Wife: The difficulty was always the...

It was always the language (stressing). Always the language. Canada is a good (stressing) land. [Interesting that even all these bad experiences that he went through he still believes that Canada is a good country. If Canada is such a good country why are you returning to Portugal?]

Wife: If I hadn't gone to Canada, I wouldn't have had money to be more established there... and here. [We see the monetary issue as being the key factor for migration. With the money they earned in Canada they are able to live well there and here.]

Only God knows whether or not we have it, or not, because, I will tell you...

Wife: With six children to provide an education to, you wouldn't have it...

Yes, you're right. But at the same time, I, before going to Canada, I had a grocery store. [Established person, probably wouldn't have emigrated if things had worked out. I believe at that time in Portugal it was very difficult to own your own store.] And I had a tavern. Like this (place here), it wasn't as luxurious like they have it today, right? But, we sold a lot on credit. [The rural-labourers usually got paid on saturday and that was the day that they paid their weekly bills. During the week many would buy on credit. The urban-workers got paid monthly and at the end of the month was the time for them to square off their bills. Many waited for a harvest (i.e. sugar beets) and with the money they would liquidate their yearly bills. As a result this could be costly for merchants who were just starting out and didn't have available income to keep giving credit to their customers.] And to give credit, you needed to have a lot of money to maintain yourself. I didn't have money, so I wasn't able to keep up. This is therefore the reason I went to Canada. I went to Canada, and to go to Canada since I was a shopkeeper, understand? - I had to wash my wife's aluminum pots to make my hands black. [The conditions must have been so terrible that a person would resort to these means in order to emigrate. I guess nothing could stand in the way of these migrants.] Because at that time, the only people they allowed in were the labourers. The farmer workers were the ones that got in. Shopkeepers weren't allowed in, nor was anyone else who had any skills. It was exclusively the farm workers. And I would scrub the pots, and I had to change my address from Rabo de Peixe (Fish's Ass) to Pico da Pedra (Stone Point), for

me to be able to go - for the people of my village not to see I was going to Canada. [Why didn't you want the people of your village to see that you wanted to emigrate?] To be able to... the emigration wouldn't authorise us, [Referring to the storekeepers!] and at the time I went for my inspection, we were all stripped butt-naked... and (sounding angry in the re-living of the experience) they even stuck a finger up our asses to see if we had 'eemoroids' (haemorrhoids). (Pause). And the women were all completely undressed from top to bottom - they only kept their underwear on - and they - they - squeezed all the women everywhere - in all places they squeezed and felt the women - even the breasts were squeezed, to discover if they had cancer, or if they didn't have 'cancr' - 'cancro' - 'cancer'. [Description of inspection seems very dramatic and it must have been very difficult for those that had to go through it.] Because, in the end, Canada has to be the most cancerous country I have ever seen in my life [He sounds very upset, the fact is that he had to go through that horrible experience to enter Canada and nothing came of it, there is still 'cancer' in Canada. The experience seems insulting to him.] For any little reason there is cancer, even though without smoke there's cancer - you can't smoke anywhere, the government prohibits tobacco - now what I'd like to tell the government is - is this: For instance, on monday, when all those drunks go to work in those 'booldeengsh' (buildings), and there is no fresh air coming from the outside - all they have is conditioned air that comes through 'machines', w-w-with the ??? they have inside, with that great vapour from - from those men that drank during the week - Saturday & Sunday - when they start evaporating inside those buildings... what does that do to them (stressing)? If smoke is bad, what would that vapour do to them inside those building that don't have air - pure. The Canadian government was good - what there is now sucks, and what's coming is even worst. Like Mr. Mulroney, of whom it is said so often, often, often: one fixed it up, and the other destroyed it. Now we are without Canada and without anything. [Is this one of the reasons for you to return to Portugal?]

Wife: But I can say Canada is good. Canada is good. I was always working there, but I liked Canada a lot. And if it was up to me, I wouldn't even come back. I came, because, well, you know why... [It is upsetting to hear her say this, after all she probably went to Canada because her husband wanted her too.]

The pity is that we left. We are the trees, and now, we left there our roots. Six sons, six daughters-in-law and sixteen grandchildren. [Did your children try to stop you from

returning? Do you find that your heart is divided between two countries?] And now I want you to tell me... in the situation that I now find myself, already today one lives as well in other countries as one lives in Canada. Canada was already good. And we did a lot for it. But now, every time it's worse, and every time it gets even worse for sure, because no-one does anything - they only want their number, and to earn the dollars. [What do you mean 'no-one does anything? I think he is referring to the new migrant groups that have entered Canada and didn't have to go through the same bad experiences that we went through (i.e. work, language, alone).]

I went on April 17, 1954. All these immigrants that went there, all of them when they got there, already the bosses - not even - the majority of them - went to get us at Immigration. We, in the Immigration, were following each other blindly around, and they would even say we were going to a country of negroes. [At the time Portuguese emigration to Canada was just starting and diverting from its original destinations of Brazil, United States, and Bermuda. As a result the first migrants probably knew very little about Canada, education in Portugal was limited to a few and as a result knowledge about Canada was limited. This illustrates the need to leave Portugal and find a better place. People must have been so desperate that they left not knowing where they were going. It must have been very scary and lonely?] And we were forced to take \$100 in our pockets and a blanket. And when we got there, when we started to see those people without understanding them, [language a major difficulty for him] those of us that brought the \$100, tied them in our underwear, fearing that they would steal our money. [The clash of two cultures, it indicates the fear that he had towards the host society, he didn't see Canadians as being friendly and this must have been a dramatic experience.] And the greater part of them, to the farms that we went to, there were Poles - great big thieves that didn't even own their own hair (they were always in debt). [Why do you call them thieves?] And when we got there, they want to skin us into working 24 hours per day, and they would pay \$30 a month to us. [Can you describe what you did at your job? Were you with other Portuguese or by yourself? Was \$30.00 more than you made in Portugal at that time? What did you feel when you got your pay?] We smoked - it was \$5 per month - and we had to chop wood to heat our house, or else we wouldn't be given dinner (Pause). For all of you to see what the immigrants went through (crying). And today there are no immigrants - today even they are entering, and they are speaking badly. They speak badly because, in fact, they have good reason, because all the other nations did a lot more much more than

Canada did. [Can you explain this further? I think that he is upset that he went through a lot to enter Canada and then to stay in Canada, and now the borders seem open to him -- anyone could enter. His statement about Canada not doing as much as other nations could only refer perhaps to the government giving little help to the immigrants at the time?!] Trudeau did much, but 'Marao' (Mulrooney - literally, "pig") destroyed everything. What 'Mulrooney' deserved was a shot between the horns - like some of the American presidents already had. But the Canadians are all sleeping. They talk, but they don't do anything! They only make campfires and burn pictures. They don't care, because they have the dollars and they stay with the name (?????). (Pause - extraneous noise.) [Do these things make you want to return to Portugal?]

This is the truth -- with my own experience, from what I saw, during my stay there - two sons of mine were born there. Today, these sons are 34 years old, born there, and I didn't see much result, after returning to my native country, I saw means a lot better than we all found in a foreign country - that we all erred - we should have all stayed in our own mother-land. We all left our mother to go to a step-mother. In the end, we got nowhere. [I find it very interesting that he would state this after admitting earlier that 'Canada was a good land'... after all he did state that Canada enabled him to have a good life both in Portugal and in Canada. I think that the means that he sees today in Portugal would not have occurred if emigration to other countries didn't take place.] (Pause). I find myself here, returning to Portugal two & a half ago. I am enjoying it. It's as if I was born anew. [I feel the same way when I return to Portugal. I feel young and free, and I often wonder what would have happened if my parents didn't emigrate.] There's a saying, and it's well said, "To be born again" - and it's true! 'Sera que a ceita que a toca e melhor'. It seems to me that to be born anew is best. That we've seen the errors of our past, and now we know what's straight or crooked. ??? [Migration was a learning experience?!]

This is to communicate to all of them what it was [It is interesting that he is concerned about people forgetting the Portuguese migration experience in Canada, however he has refused to be interviewed previously. Why is it so important to you that people know what you went through? Who is it that you want to tell about your emigration experience, Portuguese or Canadians?] - but at the same time, I'd like, instead of being taped, that it was on television, so they could see who is telling the truth --- the proper person and their features. But in the end, this wasn't the proper occasion. It could be

possible that some day I may go on television to tell everyone what it's all about. [I wish he would have told me what was in his mind.]

What's the reason you came back?

I didn't return for good for this reason... if I'd brought all my family with me, I'd be here for good. [How long do you stay when you come?] But now, it's impossible. Yes, all things are different, when we leave the tree on one side, and the roots in another, we never - there's always that longing. [Very strong family ties. I wonder if it was just as difficult for him when he first emigrated to Canada? How did he feel about leaving his family behind? How did they feel about seeing him emigrate to an unknown country?] And I - and after, if we let go - principally, at the age which we find ourselves - let go of our grandchildren, then they would hardly recognize us - they wouldn't even want to talk to us. Friendship makes for a sociable life. And a sociable life is what love is made of. Without sociality there is no love. They practically - they live and they fall from grace and divorce -and how much more would they do if we separate ourselves from them? It can't be. Today, marriage - if I were to ask everyone what marriage is - the majority would not - not know how to reply. They'd say, 'Ah, I was married in church.' 'I have a civil marriage.' Not the church wedding or even a civil marriage is a true marriage. The real marriage is the love for on another. If there is no love, there is no marriage. He who marries by church, is either Catholic or Protestant or Adventist. And the one that has a civil marriage is one that either has a house, or a car, or has money in the bank. The true marriage is the love for one another. If there is no love there is no marriage. It's better to put a rope around your neck and go in the tallest ship and when you get to the division between the two nations... through yourself to the sea. That he or she that gets married... one nor the other knows what they want....

You were there 39 years. Were you always in Toronto?

Yes sir. Always in Toronto...I lived on ----- for 14 years. At number -- ----- I lived 14 years. After those 14 years, I bought a house on --- ----- - Finch & Victoria Park, there I have been all - the rest of my time, and there, I have no other choice but to finish up with my bones buried there. There, I already buried a son of 33 years, my father, my mother, my father-in-law and my mother -in-law - and an uncle of my wife's. [Did you sponsor all these people to

Canada?] If the greater part of the my family from that generation is already buried there, I have no choice but to bury myself in the land where my family is interred. (pause -- sigh) Do you understand... therefore the Canada in fact was.... and many that went there were better off here... at least they would not dirty the face of the others that were there... and had already made the roads for these poor souls that went there to give us bad names... the immigration that went in '54, '53 and '57 and '56 or '56 and '57 these were men and made a great life... [I think it was different for them because they were scared and alone, Canada was not home, only a country where one could make money for a better future in Portugal. These men had to prove something, that they were hard working and good people, as for those that came after them their role was more selfish, they were only looking out for themselves, for their own future, they didn't have to prove anything to any one (Canadian Government).] After, from sponsorship and visits was that they dirtied the Portuguese blood... drunks, thieves, everything that was no good went there to dirty the others that had already open the road for them to go and dirty it... and closed the gates to many, and until then... until '57 never did the police spoke of a Portuguese, and from '57 onwards or perhaps from 1960 was when they gave the authorization for them to go there visiting... was when there started to have Portuguese police... the dirty the rot... the rotten from continent and from the Azores that went there to dirty the road of the immigrants that opened and worked and sweated and suffered (crying), [He must have been very proud to be an emigrant. To be a Portuguese 'Pioneer' in Canada. He worked hard all of his life and he felt special to be given that honour of entry, but now any one is allowed in with little difficulty and that he finds unfair.] For these to come and dirty us, do you understand what this means? This... they are still going to say what this guy is saying is all the purest truth... because you don't find any immigrant from those that went in '53... because the first immigration went from here there in '53... from my village went one, called Afonso Filipe... Afonso Maria... Afonso Maria Tavares... from all villages went one to see if they got along there... and when it was proved that the guys were hard workers and honoured was when they opened the immigration of '54 [This must have been his reason to move from his village to a smaller one, where perhaps there was a better chance for him to emigrate.] ...After they open it, there went... went few in '55... it was in '56 that the second immigration opened, and in '57 was when the biggest part of them went... in '57 already all married, but didn't have the right to bring more than four children... they would bring was from four children and under... and that one that was 30 years

old already didn't go... it was from 30 years and under, and it was rigorous inspections that the doctors from Canada came here to do... that there wasn't any woman that went with varicose veins in the leg, in the legs they had to dry up the varicose veins... any scar, they couldn't embark... and... and it was extremely difficult for us to pass in here... in this... in this inspection. But unfortunately or fortunately those that were lucky to pass... they passed and they made luck (had luck), latter came the others to destroy the good name of the Portuguese that had opened the roads... for them and they didn't know how to appreciate (background noise: cutlery, children talking, restaurant very noisy). (pause, clears his throat). Me going to Canada, that I had decided was the following-- ambition... I was studying, after I had studied I went to... to st..... after I studied the Americans came to Santa Maria together with the English... to construct a base... that the Americans were at war... it is clear that the base was in Santa Maria... when the war started slowing down it is clear that they went to Terceira... I was two and a half years in Santa Maria... when the Americans.... and I had already sufficient money... I came to Azor..... I came to Sao Miguel got married and I established my self, then that I didn't have knowledge of credit... after I decided to go again to the Americans that were in Terceira, we constructed the base in Terceira where I was five years with them [This indicates that emigration for the 'Micaelense' was difficult to other countries and as a result of the circumstances in their own island (lack of land) they emigrated to other islands in the Azores. In islands such as Faial and Corvo, they were probably employed in various types of construction, and in Terceira in the airport (English and American Air Force Base). This experience must have also been difficult seeing that the 'Micaelense' is not favoured by people in the other islands. When I lived in Terceira (1975-77), I remember visiting a district called 'Bairro Sao Miguel', the conditions there seemed worse than anywhere else in the island.] .. and there I learned a lot... I learned how to be plumber, and I learned... I learned how to be 'steamfeira' (? boiler room person). From there I came again to Sao Miguel, established anew, I was well off... but ambition... the Canada... the Canada... the Canada is close to America and I thought Canada is close to America and I thought I was going to make the same life that the Americans made in Terceira... this was my ambition to go to Canada to live like the Americans lived in Terceira... [Some how we always see the grass being greener on the other side.] they had their cars, their wives, they earned money like dirt... [The air-base in Terceira was originally English due to a six hundred year alliance with England, but after the WWII the English left and the Americans

moved from Santa Maria there.] To and we earning Portuguese money that wasn't sufficient even to pay the house rent. Many had luck... I had luck, because I was in the pipe line in the 'Praia' (Praia da Victoria -- a town in Terceira where the American Base is located) where we worked many hours and earned well, but the others... [Did you like being in Terceira? Why did you move back to Sao Miguel?] Poor souls didn't have luck... bon, that luck isn't for every one, isn't it. After then from Terceira when I came to Sao Miguel they started talking about the emigration of '53, that there had gone from every village one guy to see if they got along there, and from my village who went was that ----- they approved and then when it opened the emigration of '54, emigration of '56 and emigration of '57... (pause) And God knows that all of them that went and passed that the emigration of '56 those poor souls had the worst, more than the others... they went by ship... they took I don't know how long in the road (voyage) the weather wasn't good... in the end each one tells a little about their stories, this was mine... I know that I suffered... I suffered good, and... even then I don't regretted, what is done is done... I brought four children with me, two more were born there... I gave education to all my children, I made my life... now I feel retired, I'm here... but I see retired people here in the island of Sao Miguel with a lot less time than I, (worked less than he did) there in Canada that earn more money than what I earn in Canada... with a lot of tax that I payed the government... that I payed per year \$60 000 and \$70 000 that I have the papers that I could prove that I payed that tax... for me to now receive peanuts... that those that are employed in the government receive double... from only five or six years of being... they ask for their resignation and stay with their pension and I, that I worked all my life, little or nothing I receive. (pause) My name is ---- ----- -- Silva... I was born in 20th of February 1927... I'm 67... my thanks and sorry for any error that I had... [It seems that all these things that happen to him either hurt him inside or get him mad. These are the things, that I think, want to make him return to Portugal?!]

Wife: It hurts to leave my children behind, we are constructing a garage for this new car we bought... I don't care if I'm here two months... two months here... two months there.... two months here... I have one still from the twins... one died --- mother, mother is only one... and father is only one, and I'm going to say, mother that I didn't leave you, you were the one that left me (crying) "I love you, you don't forget that, I Love you"... [I feel sad that her family is divided between two worlds. This is the case that keeps

many from returning. I feel that this was the situation that occurred when emigration first took place in Portugal. The only difference being that they thought they were going to return after making their fortune, and as a result those that remained accepted the departure with more ease.]

That I still want to tell you... the first words that we best learned was everything that was bad... because the 'busses' (boss) repeated 50 times per day -- 'you sun of a bitch... you.... ta hell with you... you don't listen to me... you... you a pig... you this and that...' and we always said 'thank you'.... 'thank you'... [Did you know what they were saying at the time or did you only find out latter? How did you feel when they called you these names and you still had to respond in a polite manner? This is degrading, and sometimes hard to believe, I guess there is bad in all of us, unfortunately!]

Wife: They didn't know what they were saying.

But when they repeated, there is more you know what I'm referring to... the words they repeated many times...

what were they?

No, no I can't... I can't, it's too much and you can't say those things in the public... but you know what I'm saying, OK. Therefore it was these words... it was first that we learned, everything that was no good.... because it was... it was what the 'busses' repeated every five minutes, now what was good we only cached after three or four months... what was good... what was bad was what we learned at the end of three or four days because they repeated 100 times per day... it was what was no good... but we were not after that... we wanted what was good... [Perhaps this is a reason for slowing down the process of assimilation for the migrant. I hope that it wasn't all bad for him. There is a lot that he is not saying, perhaps he just doesn't want to remember.] instead of them doing that great inspection there, if they said every one is going but they will bring a Portuguese dictionary to be able to defend themselves and at least you should know the basics... to ask for food... ask for work... to thank some one... to know how to say thank you... to know how to defend one self, in the manner of knowing how to go shopping, [Not a bad idea, but it is still difficult to speak with some one holding a dictionary in your hand and looking up every second word you want to say.] because many people bought little cans of tuna that were the little cans for the dogs to eat, and we thought it was tuna, but instead it was food for the dogs...

because it was less expensive we bought it, but we were thinking that it was tuna, but it was food for the dogs... [I have heard this story so many times, from so many different people, uncles, aunts, friends sometimes I wonder if it is an 'urban myth'. I'm not saying that it didn't happen, I'm sure it did, but to every single Portuguese migrant that came during the 'emigration' period?] it was like that our government sold us calling us dogs... [I thought that you were the one that chose to emigrate to Canada?] where they had our 'Africas' (colonies), where they should have sent us to Africa, [It is interesting that he suggests migration to the Portuguese African colonies. The only problem being that the 'dollar' didn't exist there, which was a reason that many emigrated in the first place. Another reason for not sending Portuguese to the colonies was that it did not work. The Portuguese government set up a test in one of the colonies with Portuguese people but the results were bad and future emigration cancelled, therefore they had to look elsewhere for the problem of over population.] at least we spoke our tongue, and even though the 'Africas' turned independent it is still a Portuguese colony like Brazil even today is a Portuguese colony... even though it is independent they speak our language.... and if we went to Mozambique, and to our colonies we would speak our tongue even if it was independent we would be always brothers to one another, and like this my descendants not even want to speak the Portuguese tongue because they say the Portuguese are no good... [Why would they say something like that?] and in fact it is to start with the first and end with the last, it is always... do you want to hear a story that I'm going to tell you -- while Jesus walked in the world... Jesus one remembered and sent three fire beams, one of them fell in Italy, another fell... fell in Spain... and one fell in Portugal, the one that fell in Italy, they were all at their doors... it was so hot that they fanned with their hands, because even today the Italians to speak... to speak they have to fan with their hands... Paizene que dire... and the one that fell in Spain, the larger part of the population was outside, the earth became so hot that they started to jump... and even today there is no one that can dance as well as the Spanish, and the beam that fell in Portugal, fell in the tongue of the Portuguese, because there is no one that speaks bad about one another as do the Portuguese... [This is unfortunate, I'm not sure about other ethnic groups but perhaps they could be just as bad. There is a lot of competition between Portuguese (first generation), and when they should help one another they don't they steal and talk bad about each other.] (pause... they are leaving). I have my own business for 22 years, and I was employed for one guy for 17 years, in plumber business... always when you

walk in the door and you say... good morning plumber... oh so you know what you're going to do... and I says yes I know what I'm going to do... so see I have problems here in my... my toilet or my shower, but I know how to do it, but I don't have time... always I find that the German people are the worst all over the world, even stupid like a country always trying to be smart and let the other people die in the drain... this is true, I can prove it to you... [Racist, I'm sorry that some Portuguese people think this way.] how many Germans I know.... I did it the jobs always telling me this bologna... (pause) we left here from our country... being this a small country and poor, when we arrived in Toronto we thought... I don't know... to heaven... when we passed in Agusta (Kensington Market) the Jews didn't sell the chickens and rabbits on Saturday or Sunday and on Monday they would throw it in the driveways, pigeons, rabbits and chickens that was a stench that no one could stop there... and in Spadina all the immigrants that didn't have work would go to Spadina with a little basket in the hand or with a shopping bag in the hand with food (lunch) for the contractors that came from the farms to get the immigrants to go cut grass, and roll grass, we would go to work there... they would bring us in the morning and would bring us back at night time... but we would come exhausted that we didn't even see the road... and right in the morning we had to move away from Spadina because the first car that would pass and would find a newspaper... they would make washrooms in those entrances... of... of the... of the houses that were more in, the bums at that time didn't pay for the newspapers... they got there picked up the newspapers entered in the alleys did their business and would throw the newspapers to the middle of the streets, the first car that would pass and hit that newspaper, they would have breakfast with that in their face... and there was in College and Spadina one... one washroom (public) that I lived close by for two years and I was never able to go urinate down there because from the first step to down there, there was washrooms in every steps... they would get there and would empty themselves right there. You don't remember, no... the washroom was there in the corner of College and Spadina... there was a washroom that we would have to go down a set of stairs... and we used a washroom there... the washroom we couldn't enter in there... [Attractive description of Toronto at that time.]

Wife: lets go...

only if I thought, and I had two or three days of the thinking of what I passed and what that was and what that is... the immigrants... that is there only the blood of the

immigrants... you take that away... the Canada would never evolve if they didn't put Portuguese and Italians to evolve that... take that away... and it is those now that are sucking the work we have worked so many years, and if there is anything they are always taking income tax... we... we arrived there we payed little tax, we payed... there we lived, we earned little but there was surplus... but now we earn a fortune and there is not one cent left... and when there is surplus when it comes to the end of the year, it is every thing to the government and it's not enough (he says a Portuguese prayer -- pause). It should be a cassette, but in film for them to see in the television... it would be the following--- to show 'Furnas, Vila... a Vila da... a Vila.... A Lagoa do Congro, and show the Sete Cidades', see the beautifulness that the immigrants departed from this... this enchantment. [Sao Miguel is beautiful, but the more I travel in Canada the more my perception of Sao Miguel changes.] They left from here and went to a country far away without knowing where they were going... and what these people suffered... where then the first... the first Portuguese that met up in Augusta, that even the Jewish... oh Saturday and Sunday when they didn't sell the chickens, the rabbits and the pigeons and all of that they would throw it to the 'driveways' where we could stop... with the stench... then latter, three years or four years after when the Portuguese started to buy houses and complained was when they started to clean up.

Wife: you also lived in Bellevue?

Yes, 120 Bellevue, in the house of Mr. Paiva. [The first flat we rented when my family first moved to Toronto, what an experience!]

Wife: Ah, ahh then don't I know who it is, he is my third cousin....

Who? who is it?

Wife: Paiva. (cassette stops recording)

From my journal: After leaving Rabo de Peixe I went to Ribeira Grande to get something to eat at "The Familia" restaurant. After I finished eating I noticed an older couple and I started talking to them. They were from Toronto, had just bought a new car and were finishing building a house. They were a very nice couple and I enjoyed speaking to them. They offered to show me the tourist attractions of the island, but it started to rain so we decided to postpone. The

conversation at times was teary for all of us. I felt awfully bad and I wondered afterwards how terrible it must have been for all of those first emigrants that migrated to Canada. I found the informant to speak honestly without care nor being afraid to open up.

I believe that he is full of pain from his migration experiences. He has suffered a lot and at one time he must have been happy to be in Canada, but things changed, they changed too much for his liking. Now he finds himself caught between two worlds, a world he wishes he never left and a world he can't leave because, as he states 'my roots are there'. I am sad for him, it must be very frustrating for a person to be caught up in two worlds. Unfortunately I believe this is the circumstances of many first generation Portuguese in Canada. The stories of his experiences as a migrant were very interesting. I believe that there is a lot that he could have shared but thinking about it makes him frustrated and sad.

Mrs. and Mr. PEREIRA

Setting: At the informants house, around eight o'clock at night. This was the second time we set the interview, the first time it was cancelled. He would only speak in his wifes' presence.

(mumbling --- they are talking amongst each other)

Husband: When? ... in '70

Wife: ... I went in '72, I still had 17 years when I went there, at the time... I went alone to my brother... [Sponsored] with the idea of working and earning some money... because here I didn't work and I was at home, and there wasn't big opportunities... [Before the Revolution life for women was limited. Those that could, tried to marry into a higher social class, or some one that had money. The work available to women usually tended to be in the service sector. One interesting difference between 'Islanders' and 'Mainlander' women was that the women in the islands didn't work in the fields.] I courted here my husband... he went abroad to the army, and I went from here to Canada... with the idea of being there two years single, [How did you feel being apart for two years? What kind of communication did you have with your husband while you were there? Did you tell him about life in Canada? (husband) What did you think about Canada at that time? How did you feel about your wife being there and you being in the army?] and then coming here to marry when he returned from the army... and this is what I did... [Interesting, during the 'emigration periods' the men went abroad and later returned to get married.] it was, I earned money? (detei-me -- to keep) I bought my things because here there wasn't great possibilities for this, [What kinds of things did you buy, that you couldn't buy here at the time? Can you buy those things here now?] then I came here to marry at the end of two years... when he got out of the army... he was in Mozambique in the war of... of... in the colonies of Portugal... **In the Portuguese Colonies... I was in the war of '64 there...** [What did you do before going to the army? How did you feel about being in the army at that time?] It was at this time, therefore I came... then I married, my husband went on a visit (Canada), but returned at the time... therefore in '74... in August of '74... **In '75...** in '75... in '75 he went. There I worked in a factory that made yarn... [Did you like your first job in Canada? Were there any difficulties at that time being a Portuguese woman in Canada looking for employment? Did you have any kind of education

before emigrating?] single... then I was still single... I worked for those two years in a yarn factory... then when I returned back married it was difficult to find work because I had given 'cuit' (quit) in that factory, I went then to a shoe factory... also there I worked for two years, then I went to a wood factory (laughing), and then after that I spent the rest of the time in a factory that made fabric... [Why did you change employment so much? Interesting that she changed employment so often without mentioning any difficult experiences that she might have had.] I had there two children, at last... (whisper?) there we could live, I can't speak bad about that country... I liked being there, and I would like to be there... but we returned because at the time... [Positive view of Canada -- but why do they return if they feel so strongly about living in Canada?!] we were going to come back some day at a latter date, [Almost all of us (Portuguese Migrants in Canada) came with the intentions of returning some day, we (my family) did, we're still here, even though talk about returning is still very much alive.] it even could have been now or even latter, but my parents were here alone... and my father took to illness... [Family is very important even after emigrating and starting a new life.] and at that time two sisters of mine came here... and then I told my husband, look no one has ideas about going to Portugal... [Why didn't your sisters want to return? Did your parents ever talk about going to Canada with their children?] we should go, and instead of going latter we will go earlier... and then I came earlier... [Interesting that the decision to return was initiated by the wife.] at this time we came, my daughter was four years old... my son was three months old... [It is probably easier for the children to acculturate to the Portuguese way of life at a younger age than when they are older.] and it wasn't with that idea that I had about coming one day... one day... one day I thought about coming latter... [She probably wanted to return at a later date when they had more money saved.] but I came, at the time my father was dying... fifteen days after I was here, but I don't regretted (low mellow voice)... I'm here either way... we here, we live... I also work here in passion fruits, in the production of passion fruit... [How is work here different than work in Canada?] therefore we live... in either case there it is better to live, but here... antiquity (old times) it was a lot worse... it was worse, but for a developed (advanced) country and to save money is Canada [Very important factor for emigrating.] (stressing -- sigh with a laugh) **Are you there for many years in Canada?**

Seventeen Years.

Seventeen years... then you are not there for many years...
did you already study here?

Yes, I was in primary school. (long pause)

I was sponsored to go to Canada by my sisters... that I had there, at the time I had three girls, and two boys there already... [When did she emigrate? Was it difficult for you to be sponsored at that time? Did you sponsor any one else in your family?] already there (mumbles?)... therefore I went to them... one of my sisters sponsored me and I went, because at the time I had a younger sister here, then the two were home... there were my parents and after there weren't a lot of possibilities for the parents to give the daughters a dowry, like we say, isn't it? Then I went... I went, I liked it... I did not regret it... It is... It isn't very good to be away from your parents, it isn't. [Very strong family ties seem to link the migrant with life back in Portugal.] I was at my sisters' house, I was very well (felt very comfortable), but a country like that doesn't exist (Canada)... I like that country... I really like it, if it was to... to stay and I didn't have anyone here I think I would never have returned... [I believe you said earlier, that the intentions of emigrating were to return at a latter date! Sometimes I think that the respondent tells me things that they think I want to hear.] I could have come... visit, my husband likes it better here... [I thought the decision to return was in greater part yours! The man must have more freedom living back in Portugal than the woman (i.e. usually after work they go to the local tavern for a drink with their friends, where as in Canada the best they could do is sit in the backyard and drink a beer.)] he likes it more, even though he works a lot, but he likes it... a way of being (mumbling)... there were some problems at the beginning... who doesn't have... to speak my sister had to go with me two or three days in the bus to teach me the way to the factory, because I took two buses... there was an occasion that I got off at a... at a 'street', that I shouldn't have got off... and then I walked and walked... walked... walked... and I had a note in my hand with the addresses and the telephone numbers of my brothers... and at that time I walked a lot ahead... (mumbles?)... and I walked ahead... and ahead... and then I went to a gas station to ask where that address was, and they said it was way back there... and I understood more or less that it was back there... and he was saying that it was more or less back there, therefore (laughing)... then my brothers came to pick me up (still laughing)... these are all problems that we have, but good people were those... because even here at times people are not

as friendly... sometimes I see Canadians... foreigners in the buses and people are not as friendly as the people there are (Canada), do you know! Speak in a friendly way with the people that sometimes I see and I don't get involved because it has nothing to do with me, isn't it? But sometimes I say... more on the stupid side, isn't it? This is a silly expression that we sometimes use... but we are not as friendly as there... there they welcome people in a different way, do you know! [I agree, it took a long time for me to meet people, even though I'm Portuguese and I speak the language I always felt like an outsider. Some times I wanted to leave and I had to keep assuring myself that I was just as much Portuguese as they were. When I lived in Portugal people would look up to the migrants that returned, presently I felt that they looked down at them as outcasts. I guess the dream of emigrating and the 'dollar' are no longer as popular as they used to be. I heard many people say that Canada no longer exist, Canada is in Portugal today.] **Here it is very different (clears his throat)...** Those ways, then the standard of life here is boring... things no... the earnings don't match up with day to day expenses... children studies are expensive... a doctor is not like in Canada, because there I had two children... cesarian I never paid a 'penny', and if it was here and I wanted a little thing for the better I would already have to pay... if we want a better doctor we have to pay, therefore... (a big sigh) it is our country... it is our country, if you wanted or not... but it is a little... we could... we have to see and adapt... we have to see things straight because it isn't like there... it is that thing, a developed country... a big country, over here we are in a small country... what can we do? **And you, where are you from? Are you from here, from S. Miguel?** [Emigrants wanted to bring a bit of Portugal with them to Canada, and they did, they built their 'little Portugal'. Now when they return they want to bring with them a bit of Canada.]

I was born in Flores, my father is from here.

Oh... from Flores

What did you do before you emigrated?

I worked in the country side (in the land/ farming)... [Did you like this type of work? What was the difference between working in 'old Portugal' and 'new Portugal' today?] **I worked in the country, then I went to the army... from the army I**

went there to Canada in '75... he went to be with me... I went as a visitor and then I returned, then I went... she sponsored me... my first time was only a day (with a sad voice)... he went and he came back in the same plane almost... (laughing) it wasn't in the same plane, it was in the next day he returned (laughing)... It was like this... they didn't let me leave the airport... the immigration wasn't very good there at the time... at the time it was bad... at the time many visitors went there (Canada), and they were cutting down a lot, do you know! And I was already married, only that in the papers (documents) that he went, he went as single... it was the wrong thing... it was the wrong thing... in the end, because it was better... it was better... it was better because they could have given him eight days... and in those eight days I would go to immigration with him to tell them that I was married... with the certification of marriage, that I had already taken from here... only that there wasn't enough time, because they said that he had to return the next day... right in the morning, therefore... the baggage stayed... the passport stayed... everything stayed there, and he went back... [Since you were Portuguese did you feel you were being treated differently? How did you feel about the entire situation then and now?] they only give me a passport here in Terceira... to not have any more problems he went away (returned to S. Miguel)... after, then we went it was in '75... in August he went there... there he worked... tell him where you worked there... I worked there in a steel mill... in a steel factory doing mouldings... [Did you like the job? Any difficulties going from farming to a factory environment? Did you ever regret leaving farming at that time?] (very melancholy voice)... I worked some six years in that... then I came here... then I was there for sixteen months by myself... [Why did you return a second time? When you were there did you feel that you had made a mistake by returning to Portugal for good?] after being here... after being here, the woman (wife) stayed here and I went, I was there for sixteen months... worked there in... how do you call that... those 'trucks' that move furniture... 'movi truck' (moving truck)... it was in Brampton that he was at... It was in Brampton, I was there in Brampton with a guy... the guy is from here... from S. Miguel... but he no longer has this, he sold it to his brother... he now has a store... like a 'super'... a 'storezinho' (a small store/shop), like a supermarket... have you see the big one that is here?

Yes.

It is something of that type, in Brampton... now here I work in something that heifers, pastures, fields... I already work there for eight years... [One could make good money in farming in Portugal today.] I was there for nine and half years... he was there for some seven years... I was there for nine and half (low voice)... It was very difficult... very difficult to come back and adopt to this way of life... it was a little... [Was it more difficult to emigrate or to return?] very, very difficult because at the time I had gone at a very young age there... then I got use to it (life in Canada)... [It seems that it was more difficult to adapt to life back in Portugal than in Canada.] then I brought by child with three months of age, that was very difficult for me... he was always sick... because it was another climate (way of life), then... it is everything, for everything is different over here, do you know! And then we came from means that we could say rich (stressing)... [It seems that they assimilated to the Canadian way of life.] and we came here to a impoverished society, to our village... then without car... without anything, you know how it is!... It is hard for us to get use to it, but then it went... went... [It is not as easy as packing the bags and returning. People tend to forget that they too change and grow with time and experience. Their needs and attitudes are now different, but they don't seem to realize it until they return.] look, thanks to the Lord, it goes by (time -- laughing)... and now it is just as good as there, when we first went there... [Things have changed dramatically in Portugal, it has become too westernized.] and in what a way, but there it is always better even without anything, do you know! [Weird, she initiated the return, but still has very strong feelings for life in Canadian society.] It is hard, but it isn't as hard as here, as here... only that sometimes I say to start a new life over there, I don't know if I have the patience or the strength again... [Life for the Portuguese emigrant woman in Canada must be very difficult and frustrating. The emigrant woman has to work, where as in Portugal most of them were house wives, the children are no longer raised by them but by a baby-sitter. Family life is very different, but there exists this freedom (i.e. making money?!) that didn't in 'old Portugal'.] because I already know what I went through, when I came back and all of that... but I never tell anybody that they shouldn't go to that country... go because it is a good country, it is a country to lift your little heads (to get ahead, save money) make something of yourself, as long as you have some brains in your

head and you know how you should work... because that there you have to work and you have to be able to show that you worked, because those people (Canadians) want people that work (hard)... also they don't want... because there you don't go to play, like sometimes you see them playing here... [From what I understand, in the work place in Portugal employees have more rights than Canadian employees.] **there it is very different...** in the jobs... in the work place, because I worked there and I'm working here, and sometimes the people here are not accustomed how to work... because in foreign countries (Canada) we there... one person standing up, if it is necessary... only to see (show) that I worked in the wood factory like this... only watching those lines working and we wouldn't stop even to go to the washroom... it was necessary that another stayed in your position... and we wouldn't complain, because it just couldn't be... and we had to work to earn our pay, do you know! If we say this here to them (feminine) or to them (male) they start thinking right away that, that is slavery, [Very different working ethics in 'new Portugal', but I don't think it was always like that.] but it isn't... [What would you consider to be 'slave work'?] we need to work to earn, because here sometimes there are many people that want to take advantage of others, even with the little jobs that are here, and everything... there are many people that want to take advantage of others, do you know! They want to work, and they want to earn... **want to reach the end of the month (pay day -- mumbles)**... they want to earn and they don't want to work a lot... unfortunately there is a lot of that here, do you know! [I'm not sure why they would be so concerned with portuguese working standards, after all it seems that it works in favour of the employees not the employer like in Canada!] And already there, there isn't a lot of this because they see... you don't want to work, get out of here... it is like this... **and now that work is weak there (not many jobs), but this is the same in the entire world... it is bad everywhere...** and we Portuguese there, have to show that we want to work... because, look we don't know the tongue (language) the first thing when we get there... we don't know the language, it isn't our country... we work there for them to see that we are competent, for them to see that one day latter... at the end of a few months we have the same guaranties that all the others have, do you know! And then when they see that we are people of work (hard-working) they already give us more work (mumbles), because it is necessary that we see... sometimes there is... there is... lots of people that want the positions but don't want to work, do you know! [I guess they fail to see the

difference between wanting to work and being taken advantage of. She appears to be the type of person that as long as she is making money, she is willing to work no matter what. I wonder if the positions in the factories that she had were piece work.] **This is, do you work or are you only studying?**

I'm studying.

Are you an only child?

No, I have an older sister and a younger brother.

Are they also studying?

They also study.

Do you live in Toronto? Yes...

Yes, I do --- and how about life in Canada?

The principal thing is the thing about us not knowing how to talk with the people... we want to talk with the people and we don't know, and sometimes he was speaking with us and we would say yes and we wouldn't know what he was saying... it is a little tiresome, isn't it? [Did you ever go to school to learn the language? Do you know how to speak or write English?] And arriving at home, that I worked at night and he got home so tired from working... because he worked for himself (piece work)... the more he worked the more he earned... it was in the moulding factory, and then he got home tired, already the girl with some two years of age, or some one year because I started working right away with her (no maternity leave)... because the youngest came with three months (returned to Portugal) he didn't catch any of that, because I stayed at home for a while and I raised him almost until he went to school here... but there, it is that thing... it is very good but also we both have to work, you know! And here we sometimes adapt... he have something from the home, from the land, from the backyard, you make a few `fava` beans... a few potatoes and you get along with that even if it's on the weak side (poor), and we get use to not saving the money where there, there is that difference... we want to save money (stressing), don't you know! [Very important for the Portuguese migrant to save money.] And ahh... only that I had to work and when he came even very tired I had to go to bed, and many times we didn't even have dinner or anything

together... already everything was ready for him to eat and stay with the little girl, and I went to bed to sleep to go work at eleven o'clock at night... for not give her to anyone (baby-sitter)... [It must have been very difficult and tiresome. The first few months in Canada were very hard on us (my sister, my brother and me, and most definitely for my parents also), we had to stay all day locked up inside a small flat, it was summer and very hot. We were not allowed to go outside, not even in the backyard because my parents were afraid.] and at this time he would say -- we are going some day to Portugal (laughing) this country is no good for nothing... [The money is good, but many of the things that come along with it are difficult.] it is too tiresome (laughing)... because he came home tired and he still had to stay with the little girl for me to be able to sleep... therefore it was with many sacrifices... [Back in Portugal after a hard days work, one is still able to go out for a drink or a walk to talk to friends and neighbours.] there was many sacrifices, but it was a good country... [Despite all the negative issues with life in Canada, they exhibit positive feedback on their view of Canada. Which makes me wonder if they are withholding their true feelings.] in any way you live... it is like this... **I was happy ahh when I came back...** it wasn't to come at that time, it was to come latter... **but we had to come... but it is good... it is good... it could be worse... we have a house, that is already so good...** sometimes my children say -- I'm not from here... I'm going to my country... My boy primarily... **They were born there...** I'm going to my country... I say --- hey man you don't even know anything... last year they were there for two months... **they were there for two months...** they liked it... **the first month...** the boy is more use too, here he goes to the soccer field... he has his outings here... there at is age of twelve years, you stay more at home there, isn't it? He is more into games (sports) and when it came to a certain time he was impatient to come back, because he had his friends and the street... it isn't like there... only that the girl liked it more, because she went out... she is sixteen years old and is going to be seventeen... she went out more with her cousins... she liked it... she liked it... but she also says that she likes being here... she is in the eleventh grade... she likes being here, it's like that (laughing)... [When my parents decided to come to Canada, they were coming only for a visit and wanted for us to stay. We begged and we came, after a few days of being locked up and not being able to go out we wished we would have stayed home spending the summer with our friends. Things were very different for a four, ten and

twelve year old child in Canada compared to Portugal. Did we ever regret it, just getting use to everything, not being in our own home with our things and our friends. It was difficult -- the glitter soon ran out.]

You said earlier that it was difficult here at one time, can you explain?

There was nothing... oh when I came here twelve years ago... in these stores... look there weren't any of these big markets (supermarkets) that there is now... the first thing -- I came and I missed it a lot (Canada)... we walked in these little stores that are around here, because the markets... in Ribeira Grande I think there was one... one... one of those little supermarkets... one that I remember that belonged to 'Mirandela'... eh there was nothing worthwhile... fruit, look it was at the time of the fruit... at the peak of the fruit (season) was when there was fruit... but it isn't this fruit that exists all year round... it didn't have... [In the supermarkets you find a lot of goods that have been imported from other countries. It seems that the 'Islander' prefer to buy these expensive goods rather than local goods (i.e. by visiting the open farmers market on saturday mornings I realized that people have changed their shopping habits. I went many times with my father before emigrating and the market was always full of people and now it was particularly empty.)) look, food for babies was disastrous, You know! In the pharmacy that there were a few little jars... and it was something very rare... because I brought the kid with three months of age and I looked for him... for him to grow a little more and there wasn't... and then I was able to buy it and I stopped because... eh fruit... that mixture of fruit had sugar... where there, there is nothing of this, it is natural... the food... something grated... eh those little jars... 'baby food' isn't it? Had salt where there it didn't have it... where there it did not have salt in baby food... and I stopped... I started making it at home... my way, and I stopped, but sometimes we wanted an apple and there weren't any... twelve years back... where a few years forward... I'm not sure how many... but probably five or six years back... this modified, even that it is much better... nothing is missing... [Why do you think it changed so much?] money sometimes is missing... [Probably because everything is expensive.] but things, there is nothing lacking... there is plenty of things... **there is nothing missing...** and we go to the supermarkets and there is so many foreign things... so many foreign things that there is... if a person has a strong salary (good)... the man and the woman live well... live well

because there is nothing lacking... Even clothing and everything, I don't know if you have seen it? They are big, there is many things in there, it is like abroad... [It is just like in Canada!] but, anyway you live well... only that my sister was here the other day... that she has been there... **she has been there thirty years...** there thirty years, but she always said -- it is much more expensive then abroad (Canada)... a jar of coffee, there... there are things from there that my sister told me, that twelve years ago when I came they were more expensive... but then because work was low, a lot... the... (sigh) the things in the store came down (lower prices), coffee... certain things... and still is... \$4.99 for a jar of coffee... [Strong link between returnees and Canadian life. Puzzling, they emigrate and they keep links with life in Portugal, they re-emigrate and now they keep links in life in Canada?!] and here we buy it for six hundred... seven hundred (six or seven dollars) do you know! And you don't earn enough for this, do you know! Therefore the standard of life here is a little tight, one needs to tighten for one thing to give for another... do you know! Because there... for example, one woman here, if she wants to buy a dress... she goes to work... I don't know... she goes to work for many days... one person that earns the minimum salary some 49... probably goes to work for ten days to buy a dress... and there probably in two days you buy a dress, you know! Shoes and everything, therefore the standard of life doesn't match the salary... with what you earn... this is what is very bad in Portugal, that it shouldn't be... or they should lower the things (prices) or they should increase the earnings... so that people could then live well, you know! But, then if there is still two people earning well... look, the person that earns well also buys good apartments, cars... it's that things... you're always, isn't it? Is always strongly... that is tiresome... but before it didn't have... then in my time it was even worse... when I was growing up... it was worse, who would see an apple... there were, the apples that grew in the trees in our country, we even called then 'peros' (pears?)... it wasn't apples that we would say... it was 'peros'... there were at that time... when we had then from our homes, or probably for one tenth of a cent... but there weren't any of these apples that exist today... [Imported from Spain.] existed no way... and eating, we ate a lot of little bread with half a mackerel (laughing)... it was tight... that was suffering (stressing)... [Things were difficult in 'old Portugal', but times were happy. Neighbours helped each other, people sang while they worked, life was much different than it is today.] today, thanks to God it is not like that, it is good... it is good... because in the old

days it was horrible... we could say that it was miserable (wretched)... [Those were different times, work and material things were probably difficult to get, but you can't compare the old with the new.] if there was... for example, in our village if there were some ten or twenty living very well and eating well (stressing) you could count them, because I'm not very much from those old times... and for the time (period) of my older brothers, what misery it was, do you know! It was even worse... to live from one income, because many times... it rained, you didn't earn, do you know! [Those that owned land were better off than those that worked for others. I think the problem in Sao Miguel was that the land was divided poorly, there wasn't enough to go around.] Today many people are employed, thanks to God, isn't it? Because if it was for you to live (earn from working the land) off the land, when it rained you didn't earn, it is tiresome... you ate what you had inside your door (what you produced off your land)... **before... there thirty or fourth years back... abroad was the same... I don't know because... it was bad... say the old...** my brother in-law says... my brother in-law says... that even heaters inside the house, that even people died in... in their cars... that the cars didn't have heaters, because the cars didn't have heaters... with cold, do you know! My brother in-law says, because he.... **he is there for thirty five years...** and there are others that have been there for some forty years... they are there, his brother... therefore you already see... **your brother Joe... brother Joe is there for forty years... he went in '54...** you see... and when I went there, the way my sister tells me...(clears his throat) because it has been twenty two years... the way my sister tells me, and in the manner which when they come here... now forward I have a niece with thirty years of age on the twenty fifth will come... [It is nice to hear that second generation Portuguese migrants are returning to visit their roots.] for the sixteenth of July I have another that will come, a brother... therefore they come... ehh everything is very different... worse... I think it is worse to raise your children there, because where I lived before it was a calm city... I was able to go from my house that took twenty minutes at eleven o'clock at night walking, it wasn't at eleven because I left home at ten thirty... there was one occasion that the car never wanted to start with the 'snow', this one was already in bed with the girl... because sometimes he went to bed at ten o'clock when ever he wanted too, and I got up at the time I knew I was going away (to work), isn't it! You didn't even disturbed one another, because one was sleeping to go to work and the other was going to work... oh yes that country has that, at the end

I called a 'taxi'... the 'taxi' never came, the car didn't want to start... because it has those things with the cold, isn't it? And I got myself and I walked, I didn't loose the day (stayed home from work)... [Great example of how earning money is important to her, she emigrated to get a better future (i.e. save money) and nothing is going to get in her way. Very dedicated and hard working.] I went on foot and I wasn't scared and nobody told me anything (she wasn't hassled by anyone on the way to work)... the place was calm (where she lived), only that now it isn't (stressing), now it isn't... **and in Toronto, in Toronto...** therefore the thing... the thing is different in the entire world... over here it isn't as calm as twelve years ago, when I came... it is no longer... but there they also say it isn't... [Do you think that it is safer to raise your children in Portugal or in Canada?] where I wasn't scared, and I went and no one did bad to me, and no one said anything (hassled her), do you know! (laughing)... **and the cold there, is a bit...** the cold there is cold, but I like that cold... **the cold here is worse than there, more humidity...** [It is very damp in the Winter.] I am impatient to go spent christmas there... christmas abroad... in Canada is marvellous, I like it a lot... christmas I like it a lot... those trees outside, that ice falling from the house corners, that 'ice'... and when there was no cold and no snow, it didn't seem like christmas... [She has acculturated in some aspects to the Canadian way of life.] and here, I also have this... christmas week if the weather is not cold, I say -- it doesn't seem like christmas... over here, it is also very cold... and the houses don't have heaters, and that's even worse... but there it is that cold more... more... it is more when snow is to fall, isn't it? Because when snow is falling it isn't very cold... and all that walking... **walking (a tone of disgust)**... with had all the way down because of the snow (laughing)... so much cold, it is a life... I ended up buying a house, I bought a house... first we bought a car... we walked for two years on foot there... **some one year...** after we bought a car, was it in '77 that we bought the car... **in '76...** we bought a new car of the year, for \$4000.00... it wasn't one of those sports or anything, but it was a 'Pontiac'... a 'Pontiac Ventura' at the time, we bought it for \$4000.00... after we saved some money and we bought a house, it wasn't new... it was second hand... we bought a house... then we came here to Portugal with my girl with two years of age... until that it was a good life... it was a good life, there was nothing lacking... there was nothing missing... but we also didn't exaggerate, we didn't eat at restaurants, we didn't go... we made our lives not like here from the door

inside, because the house was satisfied (had abundant with food and things)... but going out like you see sometimes people go out... they go to places and waste money, no... it was nothing like that... but even this way we made our lives the way it should be from inside our door... we had our little things... and we saved money to pay the house (stressing)... [It is very important for the Portuguese migrant to buy and pay for their house as soon as possible. Sometimes they have more than one job so that they can liquidate the mortgage in a short period. This means no unnecessary things (i.e. entertainment, vacations, new furniture, clothing.) only that one day we bought this one and we sold our house there, and we went to an apartment... [Many Portuguese I know do the same, they send all their saving to Portugal so that they could return at a later date.] which was to save money... to come one day richer here... [The dream of the Portuguese migrant.] richer even richer... very rich... [If you were planning in returning at a later date, why did you buy your house here at that time?] older, only that, that wasn't the case (laughing)... my father took to illness and we had to come fast... but this also wasn't bad, God has given us health... and we are living thanks to God... it isn't bad (stressing)... I like being here because I have my mother that is eighty years old, and I also have a brother that is also sick... they live right here on the street... [Family is very important.] then I'm here close to her, it is true that I work and everything but I'm always by her side... I come from work I go to her house... eh I make food here and I bring it to her... at last I'm more at her side... I also wouldn't go away and her stay by her shelf, because we are five girls and they are all in Canada... there is four there, and I'm alone here... therefore, no one had ideas about coming... eh it is that turn... if my children went there... it is necessary that he also wanted to go, I also wouldn't leave him behind and go with them, isn't it! But, I wouldn't stay here by myself! I don't know one day... I don't know... I can't tell you if I would go there... I can't say if I will end up there... because I use to say-- that I would never come here and I came (stressing)... I use to say it... so many times he would say -- Ah, we are going to Portugal, because there is where it is good... back and forth... I will never go there, I will go on a visit, but to live there I will not go because I know how you live in Portugal... because I went with seventeen years (to Canada)... but I already knew what life was like... because I saw my parents (hard life in Portugal)... and it was that turn, we there... and it is different there we go everywhere, we... it is very different... it is a life eh... no one has anything to do with us, over here it is becoming like it... it is... [In Canada the men have less freedom and

the women have more.] but more on the larger places (cities), isn't it! Not in the villages... the villages maintain the style of antiquity, do you know! Only that we begin to adapt to all of this, and start forgetting the other (laughing)... [Time is a very important concept in migrating, but if the linkages remain between Portugal and Canada it will be very difficult to forget.] I (sigh), **not even visiting I want to go there...** [Why do you like it here so much? Men and women feel very different about returning. It is difficult to understand her because she initiated the return but she wishes she had remained in Canada.] (she laughs)... he likes his country... the men generally like being here more, I don't know why! **I also have a brother that was there and he came here... you were already there!** My daughters always tell me -- when I'm big I'm not going to work in a factory like you do at night, because I don't want my eyes to be black, you already see... where the immigrant that is there has to work and has to go to these jobs, because he doesn't know how to speak... he doesn't know the tongue, and he has to get what appears... to be able to earn some money... [Contrast between old and new views. Mother only thinks about earning money and she has to take whatever job comes along in order to save money, the daughter sees that working in a factory makes you old and ugly, she doesn't want any part of that.] **this niece of yours where does she work?** (whispering)... in a factory of ??? **and the other also in ???** The other has a degree, but now... (mumbles ???)... It was in '72 that I went until '74, there were plenty of jobs... Plenty of jobs because we at that time, the bosses were English and they went to those that knew good English and Portuguese to learn how to tell us how we should do the work in Portuguese (stressing), the bosses would say --- teach me because I'm going to tell Maria how she is going to do that in Portuguese... [Did you have any Portuguese bosses? Did you like your bosses?] it is that turn, they liked the Portuguese people to work (considered them hard working)... we were better than the English to work at that time there... there were good English people that worked well there but they liked the Portuguese because we work hard and give more than what we have... because we want... our money and want to work, isn't it! [People that I know worked hard because they say they didn't know any better. They taught that if they didn't work hard they would lose their jobs. I believe that they didn't know the labour laws and because of that some were probably taken advantage of.] We needed... and at that time... they came to speak Portuguese with us and they would say -- Maria, do it this way or that way, there with their tongue (pronunciation) badly said but we

understood... but since '74, that declined... declined... declined.... at that time we couldn't, we had to try to talk to them... now they no longer came and talked Portuguese with us (laughing)... like they say --- you wanted... you wanted, you don't wanted go find yourself another... (laughing)... oh yes things... things declined... declined a lot... Then it went up again, I'm not sure of the year... **Ten years ago it was good... ten years ago when I was there, there was no lack of jobs... it declined again... it declined again... seven years up, seven years down... We all have our Canadian papers...** what we are doing now is our dual citizenship... because the children might needed, and when I took my papers (Canadian Citizenship) because of the time I don't have dual citizenship... it is almost a year since we have been taking care of this... here things take a long time, because if my daughter wants to go to university, she has to have her dual citizenship... also Portugal has this... abroad a portuguese has the same rights as a Canadian... and in Portugal a Canadian doesn't have the same rights as a... a... **Portuguese...** of a Portuguese, there could be an open place to go to university, but first is the Portuguese at the front, do you know! This exists here, therefore with dual citizenship she stays with the rights of anyone... she could go to Canada any time and she could stay here always... therefore this is what I'm doing for almost one years, that I'm with a lawyer in Ribeira Grande with papers and everything to Lisbon... with lots of expense, because I pay a tax here and she's being paying since she was fourteen, we pay... **we pay... I always paid...** we pay some two 'contos' per year (some \$20.00) per person... [A foreigner can only live in Portugal for two months without paying a residency tax.] **to live here, not to loose our papers...** we are Canadians, and to live here in our country because we are Canadian... then we are Canadians... we declined Portuguese (citizenship), do you know this! Therefore, we pay... but who ever has dual citizenship doesn't pay anything... because you are Portuguese here and Canadian in Canada, it doesn't matter... you have two passports... one Portuguese and one Canadian... and I only have one, Canadian... the Identity Card is Canadian here... the citizenship says -- foreigner... that says in the card... Therefore you already see, I don't pay every year... I pay every five years... **it is less expensive to pay...** because in the beginning you have to pay for five years every year... at the time we paid and ended up paying some ten dollars per year, it wasn't a lot for each... but then it went up... I'm not sure I think we were paying twelve contos (\$120.00) for

the two of us, for five years, I think it was like that... and now my girl is also paying... but if I could and I have this Dual citizenship, I don't pay anything and I have the same rights and this is what I want to do... it is what I want to do... what I want to do... Therefore, there are many people that have dual, already at that time when they did their papers there was this (you could have dual citizenship) and the lawyer was investigating and he said --- look, because of bad at the time you don't have dual citizenship (bad timing, if they did their citizenship at a latter date they would have been able to have dual citizenship)... and my son does have any of this, because when he was born... I was already Canadian, and when my daughter was born we were Portuguese therefore she could do the papers with us (file for dual citizenship)... which is a good thing... and he has to wait for me to be Portuguese or that I have the dual citizenship for him to apply for his... there are those... (laughing)... it isn't only coming to Portugal, it isn't only having Canadian papers... it isn't only having these things (laughing)... therefore, it is... it is like this... [I guess there are things that people overlook.]

From my journal: I think he originally said that we would converse just to get me out of his hairs. The first time we were suppose to meet he cancelled and this time around he also said that he was busy but I insisted that it would be O.k and I would wait. While I waited the wife refused to converse with me about her migration experience stating that she would be happy to speak to me in the presence of her husband. The interview was originally only for him but he wanted his wife to be present. The funny thing was that she did most of the talking. It was somewhat odd and uncomfortable at first but towards the end of the conversation things eased up and everyone felt more comfortable. They were interested in my migration experience and by talking about some of it made things easier. They were nice people who I think have worked very hard to be were they are.

The conversation was interesting. The reason she did most of the conversing was because she was the key person in making all the migration decisions -- she sponsored him and the return was ignited by her responsibility to her parents. Interesting that she found the return to Portugal to be more difficult than her initial move to Canada. She really stresses that money and saving it was very important to her and the reason she emigrated. I believe that money, the 'Canadian dollar' is the most important factor in initiating emigration from Portugal. I would have liked for her to give

me more details in her Canadian experiences, because I feel that these experiences affected her decision to return.

Mr. Vargas

Setting: Early in the afternoon. His young son walks in but does not say much. Constant noise of cars driving by.

I over here was a painter... like a carpenter of construction and painter... but like here particularly it wasn't sufficient for us to maintain (earn enough money to have a good life)... the level of life here is expensive... it was already expensive and is expensive... it is always the same... therefore I decided to emigrate.... [Why did you choose Canada? Were there any other possibilities at the time?] I migrated, I was there for eleven years... I liked it, I earned good money there... [Perhaps the most important factor in migration for the Portuguese.] I made there a life... I returned for the reason that I had my in-laws and parents here... they were a certain age, and there was no one here to take care of them... therefore I decided to come here... [Very strong bond between family members. Why didn't you just come for a short period of time and then return to Canada?] I got here I opened a... a business, it isn't bad.... [Was it difficult to open a business in Portugal?] but it isn't also good... I feel good here but to be honest and say the truth I'd rather be there... and one day I'm going to return to Canada with my children. [Are you already planning this return? Why do you want to return to Canada?] All my children were born there, three... the oldest came with nine years... a girl with seven and a boy with two years... it wasn't bad for them with that age... [Did they have any difficulties adjusting to the language, school, or friends?] now the oldest wants to go there, he is already 18 years old... [What is he planning to go do in Canada?] I went in 1974 to Canada (stressing)... I was sponsored, it was not difficult... at that time there was lots of work open... I arrived there one day at the end of one day I went to work... [I think this is the case for many that emigrate to Canada, their bags are still packed and they are already working somewhere.] I liked it, and even today I still would like to go there... the reason for returning was that one of my parents and my in-laws, that's it... [If it wasn't for them would you have returned at a later date?] I was there good... I had a house already payed for... you have to work isn't that true... we have to fight for life... I fought and I was able to... [He was able to succeed, I'm not surprised. I think that most first generation Portuguese have been very successful in Canada.] I use to work with cabinets for kitchens, bathrooms and bars... everything in wood... I was at

"Power Kitchen", in Weston Road... I had been with "Falcon" in Dundas and Ossington... I was with a carpenter... the other name I don't remember I think it was (truck drives by -- hard to hear)... a guy that was Zazina... they called the boss Zazina... he was Italian, almost all Italian practically... I don't have anything to say about them (in a comic tune)... either in work or money that they payed me... I lived always in Toronto, I liked it a lot... even today I think (stresses) about going there and staying there, I think so... I sold my house because I thought about coming here not for good, [For how long did you want to come here?] but also if I didn't sell my house I wouldn't have any money here, isn't it? [I have heard that some immigrants have all their savings in Portuguese banks, because they want to return.] This was a decision of both of us (wife and husband)... we agreed... [Does she like living in Canada more than in Portugal?] she also had her parents here, and I had my parents here... we agreed, us two and we came... and now at this moment she doesn't have here any body and I still have... a few... but she doesn't have nobody here... now she hopes (wants) to return back... she has there sisters, nephews... at this moment she has more family there than I do... [Entire families uprooted by emigration. I wonder if generations to come their relatives will retain the Portuguese culture in Canada.] one day it's going to resolve itself... [A very free spirited person, what happens, happens.] now here it's bad... because here, if I'm to sell what I have here now, practically the crisis here, money is very low... I have a house and land (a piece)... if I was to sell it now it is difficult... it is difficult to sell... it is not difficult to sell what is difficult is for them to pay what I want now... [I think land prices in Portugal were at an all time high and now it is coming down. Land is overpriced, some houses cost just as much as houses in Toronto.] I'm to hold off for one or two years more I think, we are going to see... [Do you think the longer you stay in Canada the harder it will be for you to return to Portugal?] this over here is good for people already with age (retired)... [Then you don't think that young families should return to Portugal?] the environment and the level of living doesn't compare to Canada... [I disagree, some things are better and somethings are worse, but I think they are comparable.]

What did you think about Canada?

I thought that, that was a different world... when you leave Sao Miguel and you go to... inside Toronto... that is another world compared to Sao Miguel... in 1974 there was already a

lot of Portuguese... some Portuguese 'stores'... [In '77 when we came to Toronto there were already a lot of Portuguese establishments where a new arrival could shop without feeling insecure about the product or the language barrier. That is not to say that difficulties were not encountered because they were, after all Toronto was 'another world compared to Portugal'.] we already know that the work you have to adapt... [Was work very different than in Portugal?] you have to adapt to the language... [Language must be the most difficult thing for the immigrant, but when your work place has a large percentage of Portuguese working there and there exists establishments that provide your every need the language barrier somehow is no longer an important issue as it was for the first immigrants.] you are at work you have to find ways to get by, it is just like that... but I was there 11 years, practically I already spoke a lot of English... and now my child was there two years in school, he already spoke a lot more than I did... correctly in two years... (long pause)... the winter was no problem practically because I worked inside the shops with heat... it is practically in the streets, it is that the winter inside the houses and the shops is not winter... it is always summer practically... the temperature is normal (serves a client)... the problem was the tongue, we here speak Portuguese and we go to a nation that the tongue is not the same... we feel, isn't it? We want to talk eh... ehh... or answer and we can't answer we feel (truck drives by) in reality we feel, but it isn't to come back... we there have all the comfort... we have to eat, we have to drink, there is so much abundance... we have to adapt there for a few months... then that passes... [Was it difficult for you to adapt? Did you have any other experiences in your adaptation that you care to share?] here there was no problem for my children, the problem is for those who come here with ten or twelve years for them to adapt... [Why is this a difficult age to return to Portugal?] that is to say the pronunciation... the pronunciation... the oldest one his pronunciation is always Canadian... it is a pronunciation that we see the difference between here and the Canadian when we get here... the tongue (mumbles)... he could be very smart in Portuguese school but the tongue is never the same as here... [Did your children attend Portuguese school in Canada?] but this does not affect... affect the kid from going to school... (mumbles -- long pause) My family said that it was not necessary to go there because I had a half decent life here as a carpenter... I earned more or less... but I made my decision and I wanted to see that which I haven't seen... [The grass is always greener on the other side -- those that returned for holidays came with their pockets full of dollars, this made those that stayed want to emigrate. An uncle of mine

emigrated before the revolution, at the time he was one of the best known accountants in S. Miguel, he had education, got payed well, socialized with the upper class, suit and tie job and he emigrated to come and work in a factory, he used to think that if all these no-body's could make something of themselves so could I. He was wrong, all he encountered was racism and he never was able to match his position in Portugal. I think that emigration is good for some but not for all.] you have to see it to wanted, isn't it? So I went, without any fear... [He seems to be a very free spirited person, but emigrating or in this case moving residency is not easy, but he makes it seem that there is nothing to it.] and now if I go it's even with less fear... I know what I'm going to do and where I'm going... [You have been here for awhile to think that things in Canada have changed? Will this change affect you in any way? What does your family think about you wanting to re-emigrate?] when I came my neighbours wanted to know why I returned... this is a small world, the person really wants to know why it is, why it isn't... and like this and like that... or didn't like it or liked it... then we start talking to them, and we start adapting ourselves to Sao Miguel's system... [Was it difficult for you to re-adjust to the Portuguese way of life? Were there many changes since you left?] the only thing I find wrong, with this government eh... well... because when I went to Canada I didn't pay any taxes because of being Portuguese.... here when we come back oh... oh... or to stay for good or not... then because of our children being Canadian they have to pay taxes to the government, this is what i find wrong (laughing). [I believe foreigners are allowed to stay in Portugal for two months before they start paying tax. However if you have both Canadian and Portuguese citizenship you don't have to pay anything.] I'm Canadian also, and because I was born here I'm particularly of two nationalities, this one here and there. [Do you have Portuguese and Canadian citizenship?] During those 11 years I came here three times visiting... for three weeks each time to visit the family... [Visiting enables the migrant to open new linkages of contact between the old and new country.] when I came here was only for recreation (passear), therefore I liked it... I really liked, it would cheer me up (matava saudades), [I usually hear from friends and family that when they visit Portugal they feel rejuvenated, their aches, stress, illnesses discontinues. I'm not sure if this is only a state of the mind, but when my parents return from holidays in Portugal they seem to look twenty years younger.] and then when I went there I would also like being there, that was the thing I wouldn't feel any different (low voice). [Do you feel that you have to visit Canada once in awhile to cheer you up? I wonder if this will

be the case for many that returned.]

How about adapting to Azorean life again?

It wasn't difficult, because I was already... I went there with 24 years of age... I already knew what Sao Miguel was, it wasn't too difficult (pause). [Did anything happen to you? When did you wish you had stayed in Canada?] I always lived in Toronto, but I seen (ran -- corria) all of that because we use to install kitchen cabinets in all those areas, in all those provinces... [Which provinces did you see?] and then I was also in holidays in America... in "Providence", and I went to a wedding in Montreal... Yes I seen a little bit... I already seen a little bit... it wasn't a lot, but I already travelled there a good bit. [Were your holidays in Canada the same as those in Portugal, did you feel rejuvenated?] (pause -- car passes) Now, now that there is more facilities here (life is better --- better standard of living)... but when I got there at the end of one year I went for my drivers license, and I had right away a car, when here there are people that live and die and never have a car... they don't know what it is to have a car... [I don't understand the importance of having a car in Portugal, when I grew up there weren't too many cars and people got along just fine, now if you drive anywhere in S. Miguel during rush hour it feels worse than any traffic rush hour I have experienced in Toronto. I just don't understand why everybody all of a sudden has the need for an automobile.] this for me was very good, I already started to see life differently... [It must represent success, perhaps he never saw himself owning an automobile in Portugal and in Canada just after a years work you could own one.] at the end of two years I put myself there buying a house and I bought, [I think this is one of the most important things for the Portuguese immigrant, to be able to buy a house and pay for it as soon as possible.] it wasn't new, but since I'm a carpenter I renovated (truck drives by) all of it, at the end of two years I sold it... [This is out of the ordinary, I would figure that after only spending two years in Canada and already owning your own house the last thing that you would do is sell it. All my aunts and uncles still own the same house they bought more than twenty years ago.] I also earned a lot of money, worked in the restaurants part-time... I also bought another one also very used, I also renovated, sold it at the end of two years... without losing one day (worked all the time, stressing)... [I feel bad that most Portuguese immigrants all they do is work and work to pay for the house and save money, there is no leisure time or entertainment outside the family.] I fixed it even part-

time... when I use to come from work... and the third house that I bought was the same, also I earned a lot of money... I didn't pay taxes to the government, because after two years... to sell it again you don't pay taxes to the government... before one year... I don't know how the law is now, but before it was like that... this also helped me live (survive)... but I had to work, I wasn't there playing... but it was worth it... it was worth it... Over here I started working... I was particularly 11 years old, after primary school... I went to the army, I came from the army, I was here for two more years... I wasn't able to do anything (save money)... it was to eat and dress... sometimes... sometimes (not always). There is where I found a life (low voice). [Emigration was an escape for many. There was very little that a person could do in Portugal at that time.] My wife and I went together, it is like this... it is a life... here is my youngest, this one that is coming now... I have one that was there for my cousins wedding, he is already thinking about going there... it... it... if I pay the passage (plane ticket) he will go there by himself (laughing). [For some reason the children always want to come to Canada, I know I did when I was younger, I just can't figure out why.]

To his son -- did you like Toronto?

(he nods his head -- Yes) You have to answer talking, not like that, he his recording. Did you like being there, and why?

son: Why! There are many beautiful things there...

And more...

Son: It is this.

Speak to him...

Son: I don't know (very shy)...

Why did you like being there?

Son: Because of those things we see there...

Different than here? What is different?

Son: It is more modern there...

Do you speak English?

NO! (nods)

Are you learning in school? How old are you?

Son: I'm twelve...

You have to say yes, he is recording...

Do you want to go there?

Son: Yes, I would like to go... for me to study, for me to learn English (pause -- foot steps in background)

What did you do when you were there?

Son: I went to see a place that has many toys for us to play with...

How long where you there?

Son: It was only three weeks...(Disappointed, very low voice)
(constant noise of cars driving by)

It isn't only him, any of my children... if they had wings they would fly there... the oldest one that has 19 years, this one... particularly I think that this year he is going (to Canada)... I think, because this here is difficult to find employment, [What does he want to do?] and... I have almost the entire family there... if he is to be good here or there it is the same, there is no difference... if he is to get lost here or there (turn out to be bad), but he is a good boy... he is working in construction... [Did he study in Portugal?] he works a lot and gets payed little (stressing) the problem with this country... is.... is this... Try this, an employee at the bank earns almost one hundred and something 'contos' (over a thousand dollars a month --- the average is about eight hundred dollars), and that one that is in construction not even earns half... there it is 'visse vursa' (vice versa)... the one that works in banking, in a bank... in my time it was like this, I don't know now... earned on average ten, twelve dollars... and I with carpentry earned twenty... you know we came home all dirty, isn't it? The problem isn't this, there is lots of water there... but I earned more money than the employee that was clean... [Does this change your view of Canada?] over here no... who ever works more earns less... this is also what is no good, I can't see this as being good.

And there are more things (laughing).

Like what?

For example, here... the one that climbs in life climbs always, he goes all the way to heaven, or to the end of heaven... I don't know if there is heaven or not... here who ever is small is like that, he is always small, there is no help for him to grow... they suffocate the person here... there you can't notice this because I was there... I had three houses, I was there in an apartment that I hardly knew my neighbours... there is no chance to hate someone, to be jealous of someone... [Interesting thing about the Portuguese is that when they should help each other more they don't. I think there is a lot of jealousy among Portuguese people, they always compete to be better than the other, if you have it, I also must have it. I'm not saying this is the general rule, but I have seen it more often than I would have liked too.] or you have a lot or you have little... there you don't see that... if you don't have a Portuguese or Italian neighbour that you know more... the rest is Greek or Canadian and you hardly know them, there is no chance for you to contact them (to get to know them) to know if he is well, or bad, if he earns a lot or little... [Why do you think we don't socialize with other ethnic groups?] over here no... your job characterizes you, he is like this... like that... you already know that a small world doesn't allow you to grow... you are always tied up (laughing). [Perhaps one of the reasons so many have chosen not to return to Portugal.] I was there for eleven years and eleven years here, it is already a lifetime (laughing). I like it and I would like to go... I would like to go (stressing)... when I go it is only with one "V", I will go and will never return (e so com um "V", vai e nao volta mais) (laughing)... oh I hope for this... I have already seen that here does not give (there is no future)... there is no future, for my children also no, here there is studies (school) but there is no work, who is going to study without work, and when there is a job... if there are twelve guys going for the test... tests to get employed, for example the son or the daughter of so and so already know they are going to get the job... they just go there for show, isn't it? Who is going to get the job is the daughter of so and so, the big person (big referring to position in society)... the one who is more --- could be more capable, more intelligent but because the father is low (referring to class) stays always low, it's not going to give anything... you don't see the son of so and so... that I know of, no... there can be something here behind the curtains... but that I know of, no... a person

is intelligent, is intelligent... it doesn't mean that the father is rich, they are like the others... here no, the father is rich, the child has everything... [apparently many work with the 'padrinho' system (Godfather), it is who you know not what you know that gets you the job.] if he is poor, he always stays poor (laughing) there, nothing is left over (laughing). It's a sadness, patience (what are we going to do, we have to be patient, there is nothing left to do), what can be done? It is to live these days... it is like this. If I return I want to do the same thing... I feel happy doing that area (carpentry), I feel and I know it well (stressing).

You have all of this here? [He seems to be well off, big house, nice business, his own boss, no stress.]

I will forget it... I will forget it... it is the same to be bossed or to be a boss... I already bossed there, I had a shop at Dundas and Roncesvalle, "...World kitchens" (mumbles), me and a partner from 'Povoacao' (a village in S. Miguel) Ernesto. (...Mumbles) there is no problem, you have to know how to live, the rest... to boss or be bossed... as long as a person knows how to boss... if there is one who is bossing and doesn't know how to boss, I don't like it... now if the person knows how to boss, I don't have a problem... there is no problem in being bossed. I was there in "... (mumble) Kitchen", I bossed there already... I left there and I went to earn an extra dollar an hour, I went to be bossed... this is like this (laughing)... (manias -- island expression) there is no attitude... if you go to that thing of capability and you have attitude you don't get anywhere. (pause) I bought one house in Symmington... I bought one, two... two, if I'm not wrong number 44 and the other sixteen or something... and the other in 'Silvington' (mumbles), Davenport and Silvington... the last one I had there... I had there a shop in Dundas and Roncesvalle... "... (mumbles --Hollywood?) Kitchens"... and I had no problems and I have this here (stressing), no one bosses me, and I'm capable of selling everything and going there to be bossed, I don't care.... these are opinions that we... (laughing) [Emigrating is not easy, it takes a long time to re-adapt to the new environment and even then you always think of what you left behind, you're never happy, some never feel completely settled, these are the ones that want to return and when they do, there is still something missing. Your heart is divided between two nations each pulling you. Sometimes I still think about returning, but every time I leave Canada and I enter its borders there is no feeling like in the world for me, I feel secure, safe and relaxed, I want

to be Portuguese, but I feel my country is Canada.]

And your wife?

She also worked there... she worked there an average of four years, then she started having children... she stayed home taking care of children (child minding), I think four or five, three, four... for life to grow (financially --- laughing... serving a client).

From my journal: Very quiet man, wanted me to ask all the questions. Always smiling, seemed very content at what he was doing. By the look of things he lives a good comfortable life, probably better than the one he had in Canada. The interesting thing about this man was that he made me realize that most of these migrants are not afraid of changes in their lives. They are gamblers never afraid of rolling the dice.

I feel bad for him, the initial reason for his return does no longer exist and he finds himself wanting to return to Canada because he sees no future for his children back in Portugal. In reality I think that his heart is divided between Portugal and Canada and he will never be totally happy living in either. Initial emigration was more of a curiosity than anything else, and he was able to succeed in Canada through hard work.

Mrs. Medeiros

Setting: At a local restaurant after the lunch crowd left. The restaurant was empty. The only noise came from the kitchen staff probably cleaning up after the lunch crowd or preparing for dinner.

I emigrated to Canada on the 19th of March 1965. I was 16 years old, it was a very young age, the reason I emigrated to Canada was very simple. My father is a person very old fashioned and I always liked to study, but since I am naturally (born) from the -----, we there didn't have high school and I had to commute to Ponta Delgada to come study, that's it. He was in Canada and he would tell my mother that he didn't want me to go study, because he didn't want me to leave the house, she like that is far away from you and that's it. [Were there other young girls from your village going to Ponta Delgada to study? Was it difficult for young women to study in Portugal at that time?] He made a lot of problems with respect to this, and afterwards I passed my primary more one year or two, ah it happens that it opened one high school in Povoacao that would go until the "setimo ano" (grade twelve). Therefore I wrote a letter to my father, I was only sixteen but I said now you don't have an excuse, I now can come sleep at home every day, because he didn't want me to stay away from home like that, but like I said he was very, he was very old fashioned, and then he... that's it. He didn't have anything else to say, and I was preparing everything to enter high school, and he says now I have thought about it all of you are coming to Canada (laughs) and that's it. And this was my reason to go to Canada, (laughs) was because he sent for my mother and my brothers and we all went to Canada okay. [Did your mother and your brothers want to emigrate to Canada? Was it difficult being away from your father for you and the family?] It happens that I already was dating and that's it. I already took my boyfriend (laughs) in my thoughts and I went legally, but afterwards he went there for a visit, for a visit to Canada and since they give him a month, he didn't want to stay there only one month and that's it. We got married and I started my life. But evidently with sixteen years of age, very young, such a thing, I started to make my life from the beginning without education there or here it was difficult right afterwards I had my son. [Did you have the opportunity to study in Canada? Did your husband want to emigrate?] It was a life a little difficult for a person who does not have experience in marriage or to arrive in a country that is not my language and I didn't understand

anything of that, it was difficult. But when we want something, when we want it we achieve it and this was what happened with me. I made a beautiful life in Canada, I made it yes, I did everything, but, I realized there my dreams. I didn't have after all, I took a few courses at night because my husband had to have english technical, because he was taking mechanics and he would say, ah all day long we are away from each other, at night at least we go, us two you take a course, any one with me, this was what I did. [I'm happy to hear that at least a few Portuguese back then were trying to learn the language by going to school. Were there other Portuguese in these courses you took? Was it difficult attending night school as a recent Portuguese arrival in Canada? Was there readily available information to Portuguese about night school in those days?] I was two or three years in school at night, I took a few courses a few things, it was not much but I learned a little, Ah that's it. We lived there twenty years, [After living there more time than in Portugal did you feel more Canadian or Portuguese at the time? Interesting, I would figure by emigrating at such a young age you would have assimilated to the Canadian way of life and not want to return to Portugal. I emigrated with eleven years, I have spent now more years in Canada than in Portugal, and at times I still think about returning, but I'm not sure if I'm more Canadian than Portuguese. I like to think that I am equally both, but I know I'm just fooling myself. After almost twenty years of Canada I feel terribly scared to re-emigrate to Portugal.] we made a life beautiful, we made many trips, we saw part of the world there from Canada. Over there, there is, there is more, there is more of a chance to make a voyage, we... who ever works there can obtain everything, and I always worked and my husband, and us two always worked. After we were there already twenty years, I think we had already done everything, and my husband was always a person who wanted to return to S. Miguel, always (stressing), he would say I here don't want to die. [I think this was the consensus among many Portuguese immigrants in Canada, I think their attitudes are changing because the family is changing. Their children have become more Canadian than Portuguese, they are getting married to other ethnic groups, grandchildren are born, your family members in Portugal are dead, you no longer have the choice, family is very important and you want them near you so you stay in Canada. I often hear my father say that he only lives for the two 'n's - natureza e netos (nature and grandchildren) so I think his return to Portugal would be cancelled if we (sister, brother and me) got married and had children.] Oh God we are still so young to speak in dying (a short laugh) but that's it. And I always was getting accustomed to his idea. [Did you want to return?] And he one

day, my son was seven years old and he said that now we have to go to S. Miguel to show our island to him, and we came. I will never forget this day, we arrived at the airport we got a taxi we passed in "Avenida" (Avenida D. Infante Henrique, a famous boulevard in Ponta Delgada), my husband is naturally from "Agua Retorta" but was raised over here in Ponta Delgada. He arrived at "Avenida" and told the taxi driver to please stop the car and he said "yes sir", he stopped the car, he got out of the car crossed "Avenida" sits in a ledge (Avenida overlooks the port of Ponta Delgada and the eastern part of the island) and he said ah this is where I feel good, this over here is my origins, this over here is what is mine, I stayed staring, oh... oh he wants to return (laughs) that's it. [All of my family feel the same when they go on vacation to Portugal, they feel anew, rejuvenated, young, no stress, they could eat anything and everything the food is fresh and wholesome, all their illness go away. I on the other hand feel empty, lonely, angry, cheated.] We went back (canada). He stayed a few more years saving a few more dollars [I wonder how much money do these returnees consider to be enough for the return.] and he would say always I want to return to S. Miguel and since I am a very obedient wife (laughs) even if I liked or not it had nothing to do with him. I didn't find it hard, I like living here uh, obviously twenty years later I had to adapt to this again, because this was totally different from what I thought. [What did you think?] But evolved, but a lot more things to learn the customs I was away from them, it was twenty years and I went at a very young age (to canada) at an age, That's it. All of a sudden we forget a lot of things. The first two years were very difficult, [Any specific thing happened to you that ever made you want to pack your bags and return to Canada?] I was always hopping that he would say we are going to return (Laughs), but he wouldn't say it, that's it. I began to get use too it. I like very much to go to Canada, I like going there every year to visit my friends. [Do you feel like you have to get away? Do you feel trapped?] We made many friendships and our family, but that's it. Lets see one month, a month or so per year and then we return over here. [Every time you visit is it difficult to come back to the island? Do you still wish you lived in Canada?] Ah life here, its progress it's evolving a lot and we have to accompany all of this. Now I have this business, I have this restaurant, now I am the boss (laughs) it changed now the story is another. Over here the labour laws, is a law very, very different from Canada. An employee over here is very, super protected. The boss here suffers a lot, a boss here has to go looking for an employee, and the employee almost never has to go looking for the boss, do you understand? But it is hard to get use to, because I went

there and I always worked. I was always in the working world and it wasn't like this. If we there didn't produce, that's it, you're fired, there was no explanation, they would say "laid off indefinitely" (stressing) we would stay puzzled, [Did you ever experience this in Canada?] even though we were protected by our unions, but that's it. There is this thing, in reality a little difficult to adapt to this, that I am adapted too, I have been ten years in this life, I know perfectly what I am doing. Ah I don't know what else you want to know. [Do you think the system here is unfair?]

Can you tell me any difficulties that you encountered?

Ah difficulties, the biggest difficulty that I encountered in Canada was the language. [Did you move into a Portuguese neighbourhood? Were there any Portuguese establishments that you used at that time? Did the Portuguese community in Toronto make things easier for you? Did you regret emigrating to Canada?] This alone, I am a person who likes very much to contact, to speak, and to be well read, and, and I like to know what I am saying and what I am understanding. And when I arrived there, those people talking to me and I not understanding, that was like some one was chocking me and it made a big impression on me and I would say to myself, I have to learn this language from today to tomorrow and it has to be this way, and so it was. [When I look back at the first year in Canada there were so many other things happening, just trying to adapt to our new home, friends and family that language was not seen as very important to me. I'm not saying there were no problems, because there were and there still are. All I know is that I feel more conscious about speaking English today then I did back then. I've been here for approximately twenty years and I still have this darn accent that really irritates me, but ten years ago it didn't.] It was a difficult... very big that was the language, in respects to the people, I love Canadian people, they are very friendly. [Did you have any difficulties or experiences with Canadians that either made your adjustment to Canadian life easier or more difficult?] I like the government of Canada I think it's a government that we can succeed our, our, our, what we think in life, we obtain what we want, the government, even though I think we pay taxes too much. But I think its in everyone best behalf. [What do you think about the Portuguese government since your return?] A rich country I like very much to be there, very much so. [During many of my conversations with returnees in Portugal I wondered why most of then never said anything negative about Canada, with the older returnees I thought they were scared thinking that I was

some kind of informant working for the government, and I insisted that the conversations were confidential, but everyone thinks that Canada is still the greatest country on earth, the irony is that they live in another country.] I think that the difficulty, bigger was English, but after learning it, already I was in my country, like we say it over here, I was there. [Did you feel to be a true Canadian, completely assimilated to the culture?]

Did you buy a house? [I'm not sure why I asked this question?]

We bought it, we had a rich house with a swimming pool, we had a motor home, we travelled all over Canada, we had a month we would do ten, fifteen thousand miles, we were people like that, we were a bit crazy (laughs), but it was a country where we learned a lot. [It seems that she had no plans for returning, that she had actually acculturated to Canada. Friends that still have the idea of returning never completely settle in Canada, those that have changed their minds about returning have started to buy cottages, travel to the Caribbean and in Canada instead of Portugal.] I own everything I am today, ah, to Canada. [Like so many us migrants who stayed or returned.] I learned my life there, and I learned very well, I like, I like being what I am, over here it wouldn't work (I wouldn't get a chance) because this is an island, and, and everything is well exploited (she didn't use the right term, but I think this is what she wanted to say). We... there is a big country, we, it seems that there is more possibilities. [Today it seems that Portugal and Canada have the same possibilities.]

You have a son?

I have a son, his name is Elvis,

Elvis!

(laughs) I was a big, in love with Elvis Presley.

My best friend is also Elvis, his mother is also crazy about Elvis, that's why she called him Elvis.

What a coincidence (laughs). At that time Elvis Presley would start singing those songs all the girls would go crazy and I was one of them, and I would say, no but this has its story.

When I was dating, the first film I saw in my life was with

my boyfriend, there in Povoacao, but the thing (Portuguese expression, no English translation) that in that time was different, the girls didn't go out of the house, eh, that was a serious thing. Well then I was already dating a guy who was already used to this rhythm of down here (Ponta Delgada). He would go the... the cinema, he had been already in the army, that thing. Well, then he said we are going to go to the cinema together, I said how, this is not going to be possible. Ah, its not important because my aunt is going with my uncle. That he had a aunt that was a teacher there, there from Povoacao, in one of the schools in Povoacao, well then he said there are no problems we are going with our uncles, with my uncles, and everything is going to be all right, and I said okay. Then we are going with them, and my mother give us permission, and we went, and then, the movie that I saw, the first movie of my life was an Elvis Presely Movie, "Viva Las Vegas" that's it. From there on (laughs) I already knew, if I had a son I was going to call him Elvis, This I knew (laughs). [How old was your son when he emigrated to Portugal? Did he have any difficulties adjusting?]

Then, your life here was very different from your life there?

Totally different. Was to come from a different world, don't forget this here is an island, and this island, 35 years, lets see 32, 35 years was very different, if there was two or three cars around, this was another world (emphasis). That I arrive there, I see for example, I arrive on the 19th of March and I still saw snow, 'snow', and I would say to my father how can we live here, there is so much cold, it's like a refrigerator there in the island. Ah you are going to get use to it, this is only now. And after, I arrived in airport of Toronto, with all that business, we get crazy (laughs), it was a big difference, but for the good. [What did you think Canada was like before you emigrated? I used to think that all the houses were bungalows, because that's what I saw in the American movies, that people never ate in the same plates more than once and everyone had a car. The first thing I remember about Canada was flying over Montreal and seeing all the houses with swimming pools and that made me very happy. At the time I thought it was a treat to swim in a swimming pool, now I wish I had the ocean at my door step like I did during my childhood in Portugal.]

And your father, was he there for many years?

My father was there for nine years when he sponsored us. He

went in the second immigration to Canada, still worked in the railroad, and today, (lots of background noise, difficult to understand what she said), there in Vancouver somewhere, I don't know where in Vancouver but he went straight to Vancouver. Then, it was like that, he was six months, away from civilization, after six months he would come down, he would write a few letters to my mother, it was, it was like that, different, but it was not like that when we arrived there. [It must have been very difficult on everyone.] When we arrived he already had a job, he already worked during the night, he was a security guard for greenhouses, 'greenhouses', he looked after the furnaces that heated in the winter, he looked after those things, they were big machines, and he would look after those things, That's it. When we arrived there he already had a good job, yes, that's it. When we went, we already stayed close to him, he worked at night, but was during the day at home. [Do you have any idea why he chose to live in Toronto?]

Was it difficult for you, your father being there and you being here?

Yes we would always say, ah all my friends have their fathers and I don't have mine, but I was also getting older, and I knew what was happening, he went there, that's it. For us to have a better life, wasn't it. My father had a little business before he went to Canada, but that went belly up, he stayed owing a few debts, he had to go earn money to pay that (laugh), it's like that. [Do you know if it was difficult for your father to be able to emigrate at that time?]

And your son, when you said you were going to return?

I have another thing to say here, It's that my son is also living here...

He is also living!

He was born.... married a Scottish, who was born in Scotland but migrated to Canada at the age of two, and he is living here, he has been here for four years, and we have a couple of grandchildren, that are all living here. They are Azorean, the children were born here....

Does he like being here?

They like it, they like it a lot, a person who likes a lot

simple things and likes a lot the island, even though, like I said we have a necessity to go to Canada, even only one time per year. We have the necessity to arrive there to see those big things, to get a car and go to America, (burp) America excuse me. That is to say we have this necessity because this is an island everything is very small, but on the other hand this is good. Our television already 70% is... is... speaks English, he naturally likes more to speak English, his Portuguese is very bad, very badly spoken... [I wish I had the opportunity to speak with him. What kind of work does he do here? Did he study in Canada or in Portugal? How did his wife adapt to Portugal? Did she encounter any type or racism?]

he will learn.

Yes.

And your husband, does he like being here, or does he wish he stayed there?

He already said this two or three times, but everything is because of the employees, they give us a lot of head-aches, but sometimes we say... what a thing like this, we never get anywhere... but they have to obey, something like that, it is not all like that, but eh (with a disgusting feeling). I should have never, that is to say, established this business, no, but it is a thing like that, only when you get that fury (madness) (laughs) then it goes away. [Did you know about these things before you opened your business? Was it difficult to establish a restaurant in Portugal being an immigrant?]

Did you leave family back in Canada?

Yes, I left, I have two brothers and one sister, I have nieces, my husband has his whole family there. He has six boys and three girls, it is also a large family, they are all living in Canada, 'thanx to me' (with emphasis). Because I was the first and I initiated all of this, [Chain migration, all it takes is one, my uncle emigrated in '59 and he sponsored over twenty something people.] since he was the oldest, and after he sponsored the other... other... other and everyone stayed there, now they are there and I am here (laughs)... It's funny, isn't it?

So, you sponsored everyone?

That is to say I didn't do it for everyone, I started with the first few and they in turn sponsored the others, with respect to my brothers and sister my father sponsored.

So you're responsible to have brought migrants to Canada?

Yes, I am responsible for a good number (laughs) I don't know about six or seven, we were there, since we had jobs, we had a half dissent job, we earned well and immigration insisted that people had jobs and houses and I don't know what else, and because we already had these things, it was easier and this was the time we would sponsor and they would come and would like it and they all stayed there. [Does any one else in your family want to return to Portugal? How long did it take to sponsor someone? Did it cost anything?]

Did they ask you why you were returning?

Yes, they asked us, our friends. I had a friend that in the airport during my departure she cried and would ask me, like Madalena would say, why are you going away, there is nothing for you there, you are not going to like being there. And I would tell her, you already forgot I'm married and I have to follow my husband, isn't it (laugh). Ah, you have to stay here, this Canada can not be without you (laughs). Once in a while ???? we had a few parties and they would like that. I also missed them all, a lot but I have made new friends over here. This is advance all the time, you can't look back.

You already repeated two times, if it were not for your husband...

I already knew you were going to ask me this (laughs). Yes, for the first two years I would have stayed to see this, but after I think I would have returned. I had, I caught a big deception, but I don't know if it is because we got involved in the world of business and here we got this big shock, employee, employer, employer, employee. There it was very (rigidos?) in the first two, three years until we adapted to this. Now, we are more involved, we know how to react better. Everything is learned isn't it, and we learn. [Did you plan what you were going to be doing in Portugal?]

Do you mind if I ask what you did in Canada?

No, I don't mind, I did everything in Canada. When I arrived there I worked in 'Leamington'... [Was there a large Portuguese concentration there at the time?] a town that is about 12-20 miles away from Windsor. Since my father worked in

the greenhouses, during the day there were the tomatoes to be picked and packaged in the, in the baskets, and I did that... did that... for a short time. After we moved to Toronto, my husband here was a bookkeeper in an office, [That must be one of the most difficult things about emigrating, going to a lower standard of living then the one you had back home.] he gets there and picks tomatoes he didn't like nothing about that. Ah, but we have to go and do something else that we can earn more at least. Then we went to Toronto, we had a son with five months, we had fifty dollars in our pockets and we went to Toronto, and we didn't know where Toronto was. But we had heard that in Toronto you made a lot of money, that you worked in construction and there was the hospitals to work in. [Were you scared?] Ah lets go to Toronto, lets go. I arrived in Toronto, in the morning we went in the train, and I will never forget, never, in 'Tillbury' where we took the train to Toronto, we had taken the train to Windsor, it was precisely the wrong way, then we saw the letters 'Tillbury' and the letters were the wrong way, and, and my husband said to me we are wrong, we are going to Windsor instead of going to Toronto, and he pushes the train emergency button (laughing). They come, the train attendants, you are doing wrong (something bad), and he said I don't understand anything they are saying, I know that I am wrong, he picked up the suitcase, the wife, and the son, 'tomba' (Portuguese expression -- bang?), we crossed the tracks and went to the other train. The men were talking, naturally they were saying that we couldn't do something like that, (still excited, with laughter in her voice) that is for emergency, isn't it, emergency cases, that's it. We went to the other train, we went to Toronto (very humorous). On arrival, in this condition, he saw that much bigger, that city bigger, and use to say, this over here already smells better, we over here are going to have a life (laughing). We arrived in Toronto we didn't know anyone, we sat in the train station on top of our suitcase, I gave the bottle to the baby, who had five months, and I use to say, now, how is it going to be, where are we going (still laughing). [What did your parents think about you leaving?] Father?... this is all going to be resolved. I had the address of an ant of mine who lived there in Toronto. And so, I said lets call a taxi and we will go to my ants house. That she is, she is going to help us, she will at least know where there is a room for us to go. It was... that was, we went, she use to live in Palmerstone, and she said okay, tomorrow during the day we are going to look for a room for you. [I am happy that she had some one to help her get settled in Toronto. I have heard some horrid stories about family members that treat their own relatives like dirt, they give them no support, don't help them in any way, and try to rob

them.] Naturally we wanted a room that had everything included, that we had nothing, we had a suitcase and fifty dollars in our hands, and it was like that. [This was one of the most difficult things for my family and me, to leave all our belongings back in Portugal, all of our childhood memories lost. Perhaps it was easier for those that had nothing and started their lives in Canada, if you have nothing you loose nothing.] The next day we found a room and after my husband went to look for work, but... but in Toronto he didn't know where he was because he didn't have an address, he already didn't know where he had left from Palmerstone, that is to say, he spent all day going around (lost) there in Toronto. [Was he scared? Did he try to talk to anyone? Did he meet any other Portuguese people that could have helped him?] But he found employment, is... is... a demolition, do you know what it is?

No, I don't know!

Do you know, is... is... well they destroy the houses. I got home, ah... you make a lot of money, really you earned a lot more than over here [Are wages comparable today? Do you think that you work more in Canada than in Portugal?] But this hurts the back, I have to find something else better (laughing). For a period of time until we saved money, to pay the apartment, then we went to an apartment, we did some shopping. [This must be one of the nicest feeling, finally buying your own stuff instead of hand-me-downs.] I know what, after he looked for another job. He worked in the Centennial Hospital, also in construction, [Did he like these jobs?] and me... me... I worked in a factory in Ajax. After we moved, we left Toronto we went to Ajax. Then I worked in that factory for fifteen years a factory that made parts for cars for GM motors we made the pieces for GM. Then there, from then on I said... Oh, I would like to do something, to create something. I went then with a friend, we there in our "basement" like we say it there (laugh) we started making underclothing therefore nightgowns robes all that thing. And one day we were already making good money, and that was giving (saving) and then I did both things and it was like that already at the end. I was making already boutique and I was home also doing my domestic work this all there. I worked in a hospital when my husband was working in the construction... 'Centennial Hospital', it said look here it's going to open.... ah, it said there the day... I don't know when any more. It's going to open the registrations for people to work in here this is going to need all types of work, Okay... Okay... At that time I still didn't know how to write

and read english... And he said Monday you're going to have to know how to speak english... [How did you feel?] And oh my God but I don't know how to write, I don't know how to speak... It doesn't matter the salary is good you're going to have to know how to speak english (laugh)... you're going to have to know how to fill out the application. I went but that was a big coincidence, I walked into the office the lady was interviewing me and I would say "yes"... "yes"... It seems to me that came out all alright... she gave me an application I signed and that was it, and she said "Monday... Monday"... and I knew that "Monday" meant Monday. "Monday" I get with a Hospital so big ,and my God where do I go now (laugh). What am I going to do? I got to the corridor and saw those ladies walking there through those doors and I followed them. One puts on a white coat and I put on a white gown... And I understood the lady that was interviewing me saying "level" seven... "level" seven. Ah "level" seven this must be "floor" seven. Okay I put on the gown , I put the things in my little car, and she said she was explaining and I understood between another conversation her saying that I had to put the products in those cupboards, that it was soap and that I had to put "ivy" that it's those intravenous those... those bottles of serum that we... that the patients take... And she said put that and then the towels, there, a few sheets. Clearly I started understanding one thing after another and there four months after I already was "team lady" of the seventh "floor" (she sounds very proud)... it was true, but it was like this. Those first weeks were very difficult, because I had a little radio, isn't it, and they sent... sent from the office they sent me things that I had to do, I would listen... at times... is it this he said? At times I had a problem understanding what he said. But that is always done, as long as I wasn't there giving injections to the patients, (laugh) that would all be done, it was like that. But then the Hospital was a job that I liked immensely. But it would pain me, you know... I would come home and would bring the problems of the patients. I would stay very preoccupied, I'd spend the night thinking about this and that. Then I went to the doctor, and the doctor said, "you have to leave that job, you have to leave there, that is not doing you any good". I was hurting myself, I had a lot.. meaning... I felt compassion. [I think this is a problem with many Portuguese, they preoccupy themselves with everyone else's problems.] I'd worry a lot about things that happened in the hospital, so I had to leave. I went to that factory, that I was there for fifteen years.

Did you like working there?

I liked it a lot. I had very good friends, I made lots of good friends there, because that was a factory that a lot of people worked at... I liked it a lot... it was where I spent the most part of my life, it was in this factory. (short laugh)

From my journal: It was very difficult to get her to agree to talk to me about her migration experience. At first I felt uncomfortable and was unsure of what to expect, however towards the end of the conversation I found the informant to be very friendly and of good humour.

Super person to speak too, a lot of her conversation was relayed to me in a humorous way. Time was a factor and there are many things that I would have liked her to have gone into more detail, especially her return experiences. Her migration experience like some of us didn't seem to be extremely heartbreaking. She had good employment and was able to succeed both in Canada and now in Portugal, I think she is very fortunate. Interesting is that she left Canada but can't get Canada out of her skin. I wonder if other returnees will have to return occasionally to Canada to feel free from the 'island'. She is one of the lucky ones because her son and his non Portuguese wife emigrated to Portugal with them.

Mr. Pavao

Setting - Approximately 12 noon. At a local bar, -- empty.
Background sounds - ambient, elevator-like music.

My dad was born here and he... uh, in nineteen fiftyyyyyy... I think it was 1954 he went to Brazil looking for a better life. And that's where I was born, with - along with - my sister. We were born in Brazil. [Was it easy to emigrate to Brazil in the '50s? Did your father try emigrating to Canada?]

When I went to Canada I was 16 months old. First we went through the States 'cause we had some family in the States, and then we moved to Canada. Uh, I had just my uncle - he was one of those first immigrants that went, and he's still there. In nineteen-I dunno-when, he was among the first immigrants to leave from here to Canada. [Do you know why your father didn't emigrate with him to Canada?] And he worked on the trains and on the railroads and all that sort of things, when he first lived there. And my mother had to move from Brazil, because of the climate. It was too hot and humid for her, and the doctor recommended a drier climate. So Canada - since we had an uncle there, we went.

So my dad was out of here for 30 years and he - the whole family -lived in Canada for 21 years, and then he decided to come back. It was an all-family project. My sister and I finished high school there, and we owned a variety store on Dufferin & Bloor. And... uh, my sister worked with my mom in the variety store, and I was still studying. I had just finished.... uh, high school, when my dad comes with the idea, 'Do you wanna come back to the Azores and build a hotel?' So I went... uh, to, I went to Humber College and I took a... uh, hotel (pause) course. And we came back. And I've been here thirteen years. That's it... Hahah, (laughing) that's a short story.

Was it difficult for you to come uh...

Oh... yeah... duh... for myself and for my sister it was very difficult because we left all (stressing) our friends behind, uh... ok, there was a language problem. [Did you speak Portuguese at home? Did you attend Portuguese school? Were you involved in the Portuguese community of Toronto? With regards to language there are different attitudes amongst Portuguese from the Continent and from the Azores. When I attended Portuguese school (Luso Canadian Center of Culture

and Education) 99% of the students were from the Continent, in my class I think I was the only one from Azores, the same held true for grade 11 through 13 Portuguese offered at my secondary school (Harbord C.I.). I believe the immigrants from the Continent emigrate with stronger notion of returning, and because of this they enroll their children in Portuguese classes. Where as the Azorian immigrant may want to return some day, they don't seem preoccupied with teaching their children Portuguese.] Uh, my Portuguese today is a hundred percent better than it was, because the Portuguese I learned was with my parents at home, and then coming and ru-ru-running a business you have to read and write. So you learn, right?

[Was it difficult to learn?] Because it was difficult to adapt because of... ok, the friendships that you leave behind. No-one here our age... we didn't know anybody, right? Here the... the... the society here is very closed. It's not easy to... to approach people and to talk to people. You learn that, right? Once they... they get to know you, it's... it's a little bit better. But I find that even though my father is from here, he is treated like someone from the outside. [Does this still happen today, or was when you arrived.] And that's how I feel after living here for thirteen years. We're an outsiders, right?.... even though I'm first-generation Azorian. Uh... Uh... and then the lifestyle was difficult too, in the beginning... so it improved over the last... pffft... fuck... the last five years, especially. [How has it improved? What did you find most difficult about the 'lifestyles'? But when we first came here it was nothing. 25% of the cars that you see now... still had horses... not all the island was electrified. Television was really poor... had one channel... now you have satellite reception and things like that. At least what's happening in the world today [chuckling]... before you wouldn't know what was going on, unless you read the newspapers... and even then... uhhh, news comes late, 'n' stuff. But it's... it's... it's a living. Working, working in Canada, I think it's the same, right? [Did you work in Canada in the profession?] It's a profession, it's a job you get paid for, more or less. And you live. I think the lifestyle here now is better than back in Canada and in the States, because the crisis the economy is going through. But Canada is a big country. It's gone through many crises. It will go through this once again. [Interesting that the economic situation of Canada concerns him. Linkages are kept open between Canada and Portugal, for some reason he doesn't want to let go.]

What did you think when your father first said, 'OK, we are all gonna...'

Oh, no, it was a family decision.

Oh, it was a family decision...

We sat down... and, uh, before we came... definitely my sister and I, we came here on holidays, [I am happy to know that this was a family decision and not an illusion of the father to return without consulting his family. Also, I am pleased to know that they had the chance to visit the island before they decided to return. It seems that their return was well organized.] just to sort'a check out the place, and... but then we're... I was young, and she was young. I was seventeen, she was... uh, nineteen. Coming here on holidays is completely different than after moving... moving in, settling... settling down! Because once you settle down, you start... duh, missing sort'a like, going to the theatre, or Big Macs, or ordering a pizza at 2 in the morning [laughter] or ... or stuff like that, you know, so... but then, now we got married, you start your own family, and then you don't run your... your life any more, your kids do [chuckle]. So for them it's a start... they're just used to this, they're not used to anything else. You live around them. But if... uh, one of the advantages we have, because of our business... travel and tourism, we travel a lot. I'm out of here six, seven times a year. I go all over Europe because I do all of the marketing for the hotel. So, like, you're living here, but, y'know, you're outta here every once in a while to breathe. [Why do you need to get away? Do you feel restrained living on a island?]

So do you feel like you need get out...?

Definitely! One thing I... I have a car, it's four years old, I only have 5,000 km. You could do that in 3 days in Canada, if you want [laughs]. That's one thing I miss here... it's getting in a car, and just, y'know, putting your foot down on the accelerator and just going. And here, you know, the island... living on an island is... this part of living on an island... although you're here, you don't see the ocean, but when you think about it you know you're, 'Hey! I'm closed here!' The only one way out - there's only one (stressing) way out. It's by plane -- or by boat. Whatever. Mostly by plane. [Something we take for granted the freedom we have in living in a country as diversified as Canada.] If you wanna leave, and then you have the other problem - if you wanna leave today, you're probably not likely to have the ticket to get out of here today, right? Only maybe next week, or next

month, or something like that. So that's -- it's sort of probably why in the back of your mind. When you plan these things you have to plan with a lot of time, y'know...

Any other difficulties that you've found on your return?

Ummm... there's one big difference that I, in Canada... when I was in Canada I didn't feel the pressure... but then I was young. And I was just getting at that age and stuff. It's the politics. Here, politics runs your life, where in Canada... well, I can't really compare, because I was 17... I left when I was 18, I voted once in Canada, and even then I voted... I asked my parents -- what party do you vote for? And they go, "Oh, the Liberal party is in the lead." You vote on the Liberal party. You didn't have any consciousness of what politics was. [Hopefully young people will become more conscious of the political system in Canada in the future.] But here, it's... it's day to day. You could pick up the newspaper... you watch the news on TV... it's just politics, politics, politics. There's a lot of things you don't agree with, some things you agree with... but, uh, it's part of the society, it's part of the living. [Has the political system in Portugal affected your decision to return?] You have to... here, especially on a small island, to get anything done (theme song from The Godfather starts to play ominously in the background -- no kidding!) you have to know people, even today - it was worse a few years back - today, if you wanna get something done, you have to get something done, you have to know... if you wanna go to the doctor today... if you're sick today... you have to know someone who knows a doctor - who knows someone to speak to --- and it's all politics. It's like this, it's just, uh, apart from the government... is where the parties... you're constantly, you know, you're talking with people and, and then you feel that everyone's divided already. In a conversation, you could be in a group, you could figure who's the Communist guy, who's the Socialist, who's the Social Democrat, it's part of the life... You, actually when you're in conversation, you start to pick these things up, you know (laughter), "Hey, which team is he on?" but then at the end, who cares? He works. I work. We're all working for the same thing. But I find it influences a lot of the lives here, but that's about all, I think, y'know... the communications are a lot better, like I said before. It was difficult for someone that always read the newspaper, who spent 3 or 4 hours of TV a day, in my case, watching sports, news, and, and just general programs -- and you come here, and then ----- nothing (stressing)... Zero. [The improvement of these 'communications' have done more harm to the social

process in Portugal than good. While growing up in Portugal we didn't watch television, we invented games to play, we went to the Sunday Matinee for twenty escudos (0.20 cents), people socialized in cafes with their friends, there was always movement of people, today walking in the city streets of Ponta Delgada or Ribeira Grande in the evening you see no one because they are all at home watching television.] I remember when I first... now it's a lot better... see, over the years, it's improved... uh, when I first came here, the movies that they were showing in the theatre - like, they'd make a big hit out of it - had already shown in Canada, like three years ago. [I don't think things are as bad as he says, the movies that they were showing while I was there were perhaps only three to six months old.] Even today, my wife, sh-she says, 'You kill me! Every TV program I watch, you say, "Ahhhh, I've seen this before..." I've seen it years (stressing) ago, and only now they're showing it on TV (laughs). [It is just like watching re-runs, nothing unusual.] Or I've seen it in the movies, or something like that. (Imitating female voice, presumably that of his wife) 'Oohhh, you've seen everything,' and I say, 'Well, of course.' It's true, you know. But it's improving - it's, uh, it's... now there's some movies I haven't seen [laughter], so it's getting a lot better. Now you have the video clubs, it's catching on, and you could pick up what's just come out. Like, they win the Oscar this year, and they're out. So...(pause)

Have you returned to Canada since then?

Oh yeah, I've gone back maybe four - four or five times. But I find that it's - it's becoming strange to me now. [Do you think that eventually you will see yourself as a 'true' Portuguese, that you will forget all about Canada? Interesting that he sees change occurring in Toronto, but many immigrants that I have talked too still think that Portugal has not changed in the last twenty years.] Unhhh, I dunno, it's changed a lot. 'Specially, OK - uh, I've been here 13 years, but every time I go back I see that there's a big change - uh although, uh, the area - OK - I lives - we live in, uh, for many years, in uh, it was a Anglo Saxon area. Up on Davenport and Bathurst - and that's where I went to high school, even though I lived in a different part of town 'cause I was raised in that area. And then I go back and see, and in these places it's not - it's different people that you - you - you see. A lot of Chinese, all the Jamaicans, but then it's the cycle of Canada. I remember when we moved into Canada, where we were living on Grange, where it's just today, uhhh... what do they call that - Green something...

Grange...?

That's also... right on Dundas and, uh...h...

Oh, that they have those townhouses...

...Yeah! We lived right down there! - Used to be houses there then they destroyed it. Uhm, I mean it was like there were some Chinese - China - Chinatown existed at that time there - it was small. But you had a lot of Yugoslavians, and, and those kind of... Ukrainian people around there. And then, now, and they moved out. The Chinese, and then came the Italians, and the - it's like a cycle - the Portuguese moved in, and now the Portuguese are going all out to the sticks, (suburbs) uh, Mississauga, Woodbridge, everywhere... Etobicoke. And now I guess it's the cycle of the Vietnamese, and the Black people, or - or whatever. Eventually, they'll probably move out into the sticks, and someone else will show up then. But that's what I find different. This ain't the same neighbourhood as it used to be. [How was the old neighbourhood? Did you have any Portuguese neighbours? Do you know why your parents moved to this particular neighbourhood?] But then, being away for some periods of time, it's normal. If you don't see someone for four years, and you see them, and - hey - the guy has a beard now, or something [laughs]. But Canada's still always Canada, y'know. [Pause]. But I, I've kept contact with a lot of my friends - even a lot of my friends have moved out of Canada. They're back in their home countries, a lot of them, especially the ones I studied with in, in, in college. Some of them have come here and visit me. I've gone visit them. (Pause - noise of someone inconsiderately coughing in background). Of course, the thing that was most difficult for me was the friends. (Sadly) I left all my friends behind. That, and football. American football. And the Big Macs (laughter). But now they have Big Macs in Portugal and all over Europe, so...

I was gonna ask you, did you leave family back in Canada?

Like, uh... oh I, I got off track there. It was a family decision, we all sat down. We came, we came here, and then when we came back from the holidays, my dad said, 'Well, whaddaya think of the idea?'... and stuff like that. I'd just finished high school, I was, I had ready an application for, uh, U of T for engineering. But then I said, OK now if I'm gonna go into hotels, why don't I learn something about hotels, so then I, I went into hotels.

Then we came here, uhmn, and we built... this one we built from scratch, we've already bought another one, another hotel, in, in town here. Uh, [pause], duhh, the... families... we have all my family, the only family I have here is an aunt. In Britanha. Uh, all my family is immigrant. In Brazil, uh, uh, Bermuda, United States and Canada. [How do you feel about being the only one that has returned?] Tr-traditional places where they immigrate from here. And they're all still there. All I have here is an aunt... and a cousin... and her sons and daughters. But they are in ----- [The name is derived from 'Brittany' region of France. A french ship sank off this coast and its survivors decide to stay in Portugal. An interesting aspect of the people of this region is that many are blue-eyed and blond hair, not common in other parts of Portugal.] I hardly go over there to ----- I rarely see them. They come here every once in a while. It's like not having family at all. The only family I have is mine... my father, my mother, my sister and my nieces, and my daughter and my wife, and that's about it. So when we go, uhm, to Brazil, or on holidays, or things like that, that's when we are with our family.

Do they say, 'Why did you return?

Oh yeah, I have a lot of people especially coming to visit as immigrants. Uh, friends of ours who were in Canada, or people we didn't know, and then they say... 'Oh, Canadiano, why is -----' And we say, 'Oh, it's because we live in Canada.' 'Oh, and, 'y'know, 'why'd you come back?' and then when they come with kids that are 16, 17 or older, then, 'Uh, this guy's crazy! Why'd he come over here?' but, uh, I guess it was a decision at the time of my life where I didn't have anything to find. We had a business there. Uh, all it was, was moving the business somewhere else, right? Uh, if I had... if I was married, I probably wouldn't have come. If I had kids, I probably wouldn't have come. That's the major problem with a lot of these immigrants today - is - is convincing, um, convincing the kids to come. [Did you need any convincing to return to Portugal? Do you think it is right for the parents to convince their children to return with them?] And then when they get older, when they have - when the kids get married, and they have - and then they're older, they wanna retire here, and they say, aww, I'm gonna leave my grandson, behind... oh, I'm not gonna leave my grandson behind, so I'll -- so they stay in Canada. So you don't get too many coming back, as you would think. Right? Unless it's - they catch 'em at a time, like they caught me, and my, and my, sister. [Would your parents return without

you and your sister?] I don't regret coming here... Sometimes, y'know, you're fed up with something, 'Agh! I wish I didn't come!' But those are just situations - you wouldn't normally say that. Uh, oh we've been lucky, we've worked hard, uhm, I dunno, it's like living anywhere else. I don't even know I'll die here, like, my daughter was born here, I keep telling my wife that who knows, I mean, maybe one day we'll go to Australia, or something like that [laughter]. I mean, my dad has packed his bags a few times, you know, why can't I pack my bags sometime? Although this is more of a commitment than anything else. But you never know. In business, everything has its price. Who says that some Chinese guy from Hong Kong [laughs] come here, 'Hey, we wanna buy your business...' Why not? You set up somewhere else. [I emigrated to Canada when I was eleven years old, before that we moved from between three islands (Flores, S. Miguel and Terceira) and it was very, very difficult getting adjusted to new homes, new friends and surroundings, I can't imagine ever leaving Canada and starting over because I know how difficult it was to move here. But for some reason he sees emigration and moving as easy as putting on socks, I can't understand this, it is very difficult.]

You have a lot of, uh, Canadians using your facility?

Yeah, more and more, because it's, uh, it's starting to be third generation. When it was, like, my, people my, like my father, you know they go to their old, um, old grandfather's house, or their dad's house, and they live there, and they stay for the holidays. Now you get some coming with young kids, I guess, 'I don't wanna stay in casa do avo alto em Britanha, eu nao tenho nada para fazer' ("grandfather's house in Britanha, I don't have nothing to do"), so what they wanna do is, they wanna stay in the city, where, y'know, they can walk on the beach front, or the harbour, and go and have a drink at night, and stuff like that. [There are lots of things that one can do during the day, but during the night Ponta Delgada is relatively closed down, there is almost no movement of people on the streets, except for the marina. The 'pubs' are more like private clubs and expensive, most of the cafes and restaurants close by ten and the 'discos' are out of the city. In reality there is little to do in S. Miguel unless you rent a car and drive around the island to see all the heavenly landscape.] A lot of them I find, too, 'I wanna know where my grandfather lived, how he lived,' y'know. So you get some. [The old ways are very difficult to find, your best bet would be to visit the Museum of Ponta Delgada.] Yeah. Not as many as we'd like, y'know, but we get some. Mostly

from - more from the United States than from Canada. But our major market is Portuguese from the continent - the mainland. And then Europe, we have England, from Great Britain, and Germans. And, uh, those are the major markets. We get - but we get from all over Europe. I've had people here from China, from Japan, from South Africa... we've had them from all over the place. If I had - uh - it's one of the things I'm gonna get one day... I'm gonna get a map of the world - just put a pin now from all the countries, because I'm sure we've had 'em almost from everywhere. You name it, they've been here. Even Russia, we've had. So... but in the business that we're in, you should have people like that. But how the guy in Russia heard that there was a hotel here beats me! I must be doing a good job. (Lots of laughter...) [I think he is doing a marvellous job, I hope he keeps having all the success that he has had. Interesting is that his hotel is designed like a motel, perhaps the first one in S. Miguel.]

From my journal: Great ambience, sensational person. He was younger then most informants I had already talked too. He had also been raised downtown Toronto, which made it more easier for us to converse, at least it felt that way. He spoke both in English and Portuguese which made me realize that he has assimilated to the Azorean way of life, probably more than he thinks.

A different mentality, I can't help but to think that if I was to return to Portugal I would feel a lot like him. Freedom is very important, living in a closed society where everything closes at a certain hour, you can only go so far, and the numerous amenities that exist in a larger place are not present, the freedom you were so use too could evaporate. The loss of freedom would be a very important factor that first generation Portuguese returning would not consider, but to someone that grew up in Canada it would definitely be an influence in their decision to return. Conceivably, loosing this freedom could be grounds to re-emigrate. His need to 'get away' from the 'island' perhaps brings him a sense of freedom that he wishes he never lost. I am very happy to have had the chance to speak with, I just wish that there would have been the chance to speak to other returnees with similar return situations.

APPENDIX B
GROUP TOPICS INTO MAJOR CATEGORIES

1. Before Emigration

1. life without emigration: 4-18,9-22,
2. importance of Canada (emigration): 4-17,6-47,
3. mentality of emigrants: 20-13,
4. advise to returnees: 20-15,20-20,19-20,9-21,
5. view on emigration/return -entirety: 8-7,8-32,9-28,
6. philosophy on life and work: 4-27,3-7,
7. work before emigration: 17-34,8-2,4-19,2-17,6-2
8. qualifications for emigrating (who goes who stays): 8-3,
4-28,13-7,13-8,13-17,13-21,5-7,15-8,2-29,
9. reason for emigrating: 17-1,8-1,8-5,8-8,5-3,5-6,5-13,5-44,
20-2,20-7,20-16,19-1,6-49,17-25,9-3,15-1,15-4,2-1,16-2,
1-17,1-18,6-4,
10. leaving Portugal:4-23,
11. contract/sponsorship: 13-17,1-15,3-30,2-2,2-18,2-28,
12. first trip: 9-9,
13. ticket (passage): 2-19

2. Migration experience in Canada

1. arrival: 17-22,12-8,3-21,17-37,9-16,
2. 'palheta': 17-2,8-20,4-20,1-2,17-16,20-4,9-6,9-25,16-15,
1-13,6-36,6-51,17-42,13-3,13-23,5-17,5-21,12-10,15-15,
2-11,16-13,6-35,
3. language in the household: 3-3,
4. Portuguese language in the work place: 6-39,

5. dictionary: 8-9,5-22,8-12,
6. missing home: 8-11,
7. importance of work: 17-6,5-20,5-43,6,1-10,1-24,1-25,1-30,
1-36,6-52,25,3-4,1-12,1-35,6-33,
8. life in Canada without a job: 6-46.
9. asking for work: 13-1,13-28,12-11,2-5,2-24,6-13,
10. bosses in Canada: 13-2,13-13,13-11,13-24,15-29,16-35,
11. work: 17-23,6-5,6-45,17-41,8-18,5-8,5-47,12-1,12-5,9-2,
15-2,15-10,2-9,1-4,17-43,8-14,12-2,6-43,8-4,4-2,4-5,
5-27, 20-3, 20-6,15-2,2-6,2-13,2-26,2-32,16-6,16-8,6-38,
12. Portuguese labour in Canada: 15-14,
13. work for women in Canada: 9-10,
14. part-time jobs: 20-5,16-24,
15. children's view of factory work: 15-28,
16. importance of money: 4-15,4-29,5-14,5-34,5-41,
17. saving (\$): 17-10,8-22,4-10,5-19,5-28,17-35,2-23,2-27,
17-40, 4-21,
18. Portuguese community: 2-22,2-21
19. helping other Portuguese: 8-19,3-24,
20. getting lost: 17-36,8-15,6-44,17-39,15-5,
21. discrimination/racism: 8-25,3-12,
22. Canadian at heart: 3-28,9-27,3-2,3-5,3-16,16-31,1-14
23. memorabilia: 4-14,3-1,3-23,
24. remittances: 4-24,6-29,

25. winter: 5-15, 5-36, 5-46, 15-24, 2-31, 16-14, 1-31, 6-7, 6-34,
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26. summer: 5-16,
27. making a living: 2-30,
28. house: 17-19, 8-10, 8-16, 16-23, 6-22, 17-38,
29. buying a car: 16-22
30. going to the doctor: 2-34,
31. shopping : 13-25, 15-20, 1-34,
32. bad experiences in Canada: 9-15, 12-4
33. pioneers: 2-20,
34. debt: 12-3, 12-18,
35. Canada: 8-23, 13-27, 5-25, 15-22, 13-9, 9-14, 9-17, 2-10, 1-23,
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36. Canadian people: 17-17, 13-12, 13-20, 13-29, 5-26, 5-30, 9-5,
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37. feeling safe: 15-23,
38. owe everything to Canada: 17-20, 17-3, 4-16, 17-5, 13-5, 2-14,
1-39, 3-22, 3-27, 16-26,
39. comparison between Portugal and Canada: 19-7, 15-7, 12-24,
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40. Portugal is Canada: 9-29,
41. marriage and love: 13-15, 5-9, 5-32, 12-13, 9-10, 2-3,
42. family back-home: 13-4,
43. being separated: 17-24, 13-10, 4-11, 3-19, 3-29,
44. family: 4-8, 13-14, 13-16, 5-38, 12-14, 15-26, 6-30, 15-16, 3-8,

- 45. children: 8-21,4-9,16-5,1-29,6-10,
- 46. chain migration: 17-31,3-26,
- 47. entire family uprooted: 17-30,19-18,
- 48. grandchildren: 19-19
- 49. religion: 6-28,

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- 1. preparation for returning: 20-10,

- 2. reason for returning: 4-12,5-11,5-23,5-29,5-31,5-39,12-6,
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- 3. bringing a little of Canada home: 4-30,6-26,
- 4. anew (rejuvenated): 17-9,
- 5. charter group in Portugal: 19-5,1-27,
- 6. life after return: 8-29,4-26,20-10,20-12,6-11,8-17,12-7,
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- 7. re-adapting: 17-12,8-28,12-21,15-12,15-18,16-16,16-18,
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- 8. becoming a Portuguese citizen again: 15-31,
- 9. wife and return: 17-11,16-10,1-33,6-21,6-41,
- 10. children and return: 17-26,8-24,8-27,12-16,20-14,20-17,
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11. children's view on returning: 6-19,
12. children and Canadian citizenship: 3-15,
13. taxes for children: 16-19,
14. children and Portuguese language: 17-29,6-18,
15. work for children after return: 16-28,
16. godfathers: 19-12,16-34,
17. finding work in Portugal: 6-15,
18. Canadian citizens in Portugal: 15-30,
19. establishing own business: 1-5,
20. using Canadian ideas in Portugal: 1-22,
21. money earned in Portugal: 6-3,
22. retirement: 13-22,12-25,4-5,5-33,
23. health: 4-1,4-4,
24. red-tape: 8-31,
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26. t.v.: 17-28,19-14,
27. politics: 19-11,19-13,
28. friends: 19-17,
29. possible mistake in returning: 17-33,3-18,
30. need to get out (visit Canada): 17-27,17-13,19-9,19-10,
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31. English language and return: 20-18,
32. old-new Portugal: 12-23,19-21,9-18,17-21,4-3,13-6,13-19,
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33. traditional view: 17-32,3-13,6-17,1-32,6-25,

- 34. life in Portugal today: 17-14,8-30,4-13,5-24,5-40,19-6,
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- 35. future emigration to Canada: 15-27, 5-42,
- 36. re-emigration: 12-22,9-20,3-14,2-4,16-9,16-32,1-19,1-37,
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- 37. children's view on returning to Canada: 6-20,
- 38. children and return to Canada: ???,3-11,2-16,16-27,6-16,
- 39. children and the future: 16-23
- 40. re-emigrating for children: 4-25,2-8,6-9,
- 41. wanting to return : 17-7,
- 42. visit to Portugal: 17-8,8-6,8-13,4-7,5-10,19-8,16-20,6-23,