

Portuguese with American Dreams

by

Natali Lameiras Martins

Advisor: Professor Doctor Jorge Ribeiro

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Portuguese immigrants in the USA, their process of integration and education

Natali Lameiras Martins

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With love,

Natali

Foreword

My parents migrated to Andorra roughly 30 years ago. I was not an immigrant tough. I was born in Andorra and nevertheless I felt during many years that I was myself an immigrant, and thus a low status citizen. Most of my cousins, who were also perceived as immigrants, lived in France. And that made us so different. When we used to meet in Portugal, I felt that I was a different kind of immigrant. Their emotional attachment to Portugal was different from the one I, my sister and other cousins and friends from Andorra had to Portugal. For years I wondered why?

My own experience as a daughter of Portuguese immigrant pushed me to nurture a curiosity that developed into a passion about immigration as a field of research. Some years ago, I participated as an undergraduate student in a documentary movie led by Saguenail and Regina Guimarães. That was a very meaningful experience as I had the opportunity to voice many things that I kept locked inside myself. Most of all it made me realize that my experience as a daughter of immigrants has some anthropological and sociological value. I also had the opportunity to compare my experience to others' experiences as daughters of immigrants, to find some similarities and also differences. I believe that was a turning point in the way I thought about myself and about immigration. That is when my interests began to change and consequently my academic career. Enrolling in the master program on History, International Affairs and Cooperation was the step I needed to formalize my interest on immigration.

Studying immigration issues has helped me to make sense of my own life. I understand pieces of my own life through articles about immigrants from all over the world. I feel less lonely (and less weird too!) in my life experiences. I discovered I am *second generation* according to immigration researchers' terminology and that everybody (not only me and not only immigrants!) develops multiple identities according to contexts. I understand the implications that micro, macro and meso levels of society have in each immigrant experience. Different immigrants' experiences develop from different social contexts.

Without any doubt, immigration is a big field of research with great potentialities. Personally, I enjoy reading comparative studies with a sociological approach on immigration. I find fascinating the way researchers compare two different communities in the same host country, or two communities from the same country that has settled in two different host countries or in different cities in a host country, or the same community in the home country and in the host country. Right now, I know it sounds quite messy but reading about those kinds of research is so exciting!

Since I had the opportunity to come to the United States of America for a couple of years thanks to a Fulbright grant, (for which, again, I am extremely grateful), I decided to develop a research about the flow of Portuguese immigrants in the United States of America. I wanted to know more about the history of that flow of immigration, its development and assimilation process in the society and its current characteristics. As a second generation myself, I wanted to focus on second generation of Portuguese in the United States. As a teacher, I wanted to know more about the educational institutions that welcome Portuguese students. This dissertation is about this process of getting to know the Portuguese community in the United States of America. I hope you will find it as valuable as it has been for me.

My next step, probably for a doctorate degree, would be to develop a comparative study between different Portuguese communities around the world, including the Portuguese community of Andorra. Let's see what the future has been cooking for me!

For my parents and their dreams

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Note regarding language use

After thinking for a while about the language I would use in this dissertation and after a try in Portuguese, I finally decided to write it in English. One of the more important reasons for that is the fact that, at the time of writing, I felt more confident writing in English than in Portuguese.

Concerning the interviews from the ethnographic research, in the last chapter I did not translate the interventions of my respondents whenever these were in Portuguese. I believe that the potential readers of this research may be at least bilingual in Portuguese and English. Nevertheless, wherever I have used excerpts from these interviews, I have explained and analyzed its content in English.

Enjoy your reading!

Introduction

The title of this dissertation, which is *Portuguese with American Dreams*, refers to those Portuguese who left their western European country, and more specifically the places where they were born, dreaming of a better life abroad. In the last centuries, Portugal has been a country of emigrants, and the United States a country of immigrants. Portuguese as well as other communities from other countries have been attracted by the American Dream. The American Dream is for (real and imaginary) immigrants a promise of freedom and better life.

The issue of migration is a complex one, as it does not only involve the individuals who actually migrate. As Papastergiadis (2000) writes: “The identification with migration often continues long after the physical act of movement is over” (p. 55). In fact, children and grand-children of immigrants are referred to as second and third generation of immigrants, or as American with Portuguese heritage or ancestry (in this case). This same issue of migration gets even more complicated with the globalization phenomenon. Globalization compromises to some extent the future of the nation-states. The meaning of borders is being redefined due to continuous transnational flows of products, ideas and people. The sense of belonging is no longer confined to exclusive citizenship, political allegiance or standardized linguistic practices within strict national borders. The diasporic communities with bi-local affiliation are an example of that issue (Papastergiadis, 2000). In this dissertation, I tried to look at the ways Portuguese American diasporic communities deal with their dual affiliations and try to preserve their heritage throughout the generations. The Portuguese community schools are a good example of that kind of efforts.

This dissertation is on the Portuguese that settled in the United States in the last centuries until nowadays. It is interesting to note that even if the Portuguese community in the USA has most of the time been invisible, I find in every supermarket I go in New York City Portuguese rolls of bread and in every wines and spirits stores bottles of the most well-known Portuguese wines. The presence of Portuguese is thus evident in the United States’

society. Unfortunately, researches on the Portuguese community in the USA are not as easy to find as the Portuguese bread and wine.

With this research, I aimed at contributing to the field of Portuguese immigration in the United States, firstly reviewing what has been written on that field and secondly developing a qualitative research. Throughout the dissertation I put the accent on second-generation immigrants, namely on their educational integration in the American and Portuguese schools.

The first chapter is a review of the different theories of assimilation that have played and are still playing important roles in the researches on immigration in the United States. It also includes a section on bilingualism and another one on generational status. The second chapter consists of the history of the Portuguese communities in the United States. I use some of the main authors in the field to highlight the main characteristics of the Portuguese community. The third chapter is a compilation of data about Portuguese-American commitment to formal education. In this chapter, I write about the role of education in immigrant's lives and about some quantitative and qualitative studies done in the field that focus on the Portuguese community in the United States. Finally, in the fourth chapter I present the ethnographic research that I developed in a Portuguese community school in the state of New Jersey.

Chapter 1

1. The assimilation challenge: Theories about assimilation, immigration and bilingual education

Many theories on immigration, assimilation and bilingual education have proven to be relevant to my research in some way. Each of them brought new concepts and new perspectives and thus enriched my point of view on Portuguese immigration and assimilation to the USA. Those theories are products linked to particular social contexts which make the theory more or less relevant. As Fagerlind and Saha (1989) explain, “ideas and concepts do not occur in a vacuum but are products of the social, cultural and historical events surrounding them” (p. 5)¹.

Firstly, I intend to give a basic definition of the concept assimilation, then, I describe the theories about assimilation and immigration that I have found more valuable in my research’s process. In this section, I write about the main points of four different theories in the field: classic assimilation theory, new assimilation theory, segmented assimilation and transnationalism, respectively. I also explain Rumbaut’s typology on generational status. Finally, I refer to some main points on bilingual education based on the most recent book by García on this theme (2008).

1.1.The concept of assimilation

According to Feinberg and Soltis (2004, p. 25), the concept of assimilation is a cultural one and “it refers to the process whereby one group, usually a subordinate one, becomes indistinguishable from another group, usually a dominant one.” According to them, the process of assimilation takes place when the subordinate group adopts the style, speech,

¹ Fagerlind and Saha (1989) refer in their article to the concept of development.

tastes, attitudes patterns and economic status of the dominant group. Assimilation may include a more political path, called political socialization by Feinberg and Soltis. According to the authors, political socialization consists, in the context of modern society, on “the widening of a person’s political loyalty beyond the local group to the nation as a whole” (p. 25).

Next, I introduce different theories where the concept of assimilation gains new meanings and thus new implications. In fact, as Feinberg and Soltis (2004, p. 25-26) explain there have been many different opinions about the way assimilation should take place. Some opinions are closer to the *melting pot theory*, others to the *salad bowl theory*, just to quote two of the most well-known American theories on immigrant assimilation.

1.1.1. Classic Assimilation Theory

I begin by the first well known theory initiated by Robert Park in the beginning of the twentieth century. Park as a sociologist was one of the founders of the Chicago School and developed the classic assimilation theory with his students and associates.² Park wrote that “[E]very nation, upon examination, turns out to have been a more or less successful melting pot” (Park, 1928, p. 883). In one of the earliest definitions given by Park and E.W. Burges in 1921, the assimilation process is described as:

a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life. (as cited in Alba & Nee, p. 828)

Such an approach which views assimilation as a one-way process leading eventually to the incorporation of the immigrant into a common mainstream life has led to the formulation of the classic assimilation theory. The aim of this process consists firstly, in acculturation, which means the adoption of cultural identifications like language, then, in “structural assimilation” which refers to participating in the social structure. Through that

² Park also formulated the concept of the marginal man which was lately developed and popularized by Stonequist (1937). As Park (1928) wrote: “He [the marginal man] was a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused. The emancipated Jew was, and is, historically and typically the marginal man, the first cosmopolite and citizen of the world” (Park, 1928, p. 892).

process of acculturation and structural assimilation, immigrants attain “the prize at immigration’s finish line: the middle-class, white, Protestant, European American framework of the dominant society” (Suárez-Orozco, 2005, p. 72). In fact, it is the dominant group who sets the terms of what it means to be assimilated.

In order to “successfully learn the new way of life necessary for full acceptance” (Warner and Sole, as cited in Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 827), all ethnic groups of immigrants must show a gradual renunciation of “old cultural and behavioral patterns in favor of new ones” (Zhou, 1997, p. 70). It is thus a subtractive process because immigrants are expected to abandon their old habits and values and adopt the mainstream ones from their host country. It implies the loss of defining ethnic or national characteristics in order to be part of the dominant culture in the host country.

According to Park, newcomers in order to assimilate into the mainstream society have to follow the only way possible to attain it which consists on rejecting their own culture and embracing the mainstream way of life. It consisted then of a dual process composed of gain and loss: on the one hand, gain of a new culture and social structure and, on the other hand, loss of old culture and society (Suárez-Orozco, 2005, p. 72). Thus, according to the classic assimilation theory, assimilation is a unilinear process because all newcomers were expected to roughly follow the same pattern of change.

As Suárez-Orozco (2005) explained:

The basic theme in the narratives of “assimilation” and “acculturation” theories that came to dominate the social sciences predicted that immigration sets in motion a process of change that is directional, indeed unilinear, nonreversible, and continuous. (p. 72)

Assimilation is also perceived as an irreversible and continuous process. It is said to be continuous because it took place across generations (Suárez-Orozco, 2005, p. 72). It was also believed to be highly beneficial to immigrants. They gain a new culture and gain the opportunity to participate in a new society (Suárez-Orozco, p. 72).

Nevertheless, Park (1928) suggests some racial challenge in this process. In fact, according to him, some immigrants need more time to assimilate than others. Some of them, because of physical traits have a more difficult assimilation path, as Park argues:

All our so-called racial problems grow out of situations in which assimilation and amalgamation do not take place at all, or take place very slowly. As I have

said elsewhere, the chief obstacle to the cultural assimilation of races is not their different mental, but rather their divergent physical trait. (Park, 1928, p. 890)

So, according to the classic assimilation theory, assimilation which implies rejection of home culture and adoption of host culture is the desirable path for newcomers to take and would also eliminate the racial problems found in the host societies.

Once regarded as “the unquestioned organizing concept in sociological studies of ethnic relations” (Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 826), this theory has been heavily criticized for bearing an ethnocentric predisposition (which meant that everyone had to assimilate into the Anglo group: the White generally protestant American). As Alba and Nee explains

(...) in recent decades assimilation has come to be viewed by social scientists as a worn-out theory which imposes ethnocentric and patronizing demands on minority people struggling to retain their cultural and ethnic integrity. (p. 827).

Gibson (1988) challenged the classic assimilation theory when he introduced the concept of selective acculturation, which is also known as assimilation without accommodation. Gibson demonstrates that immigrants maintain their traditional cultural norms and values while making adjustments and learning what they consider is necessary from the host country to succeed. Selective acculturation is then a different path for assimilation of immigrants. Gibson’s selective acculturation could also be understood as the first step towards further assimilation into the mainstream, namely for the following generations.

Finally, one assumption that this theory makes is that immigration is composed of delineated waves of permanent move. That means that, firstly, those flows of immigration were not perceived as a continuous phenomenon, but as one that will later or sooner stop. Secondly, immigrants are seen as people who settle down in a new country seeking a new start with new opportunities without plans to return to the home country. This assumption is the one that is more challenged by what is known as the new era of immigration: flows of immigration are uninterrupted (people keep coming from one country or another) and immigrants tend to be, as Suárez-Orozco (2005, p. 73) wrote, “actors on a transnational stage” (Levitt, 2004; Suárez-Orozco, 2005). Moreover, as the focus of scholarly attention has moved from the first generation population to the second generation of immigrants and thus frequently from adults to children, the classic theory was challenged by alternative

approaches: segmented assimilation theory and transnationalism for instance. I write about them later on this same chapter.

1.1.2. New Assimilation Theory

In 1997, Alba and Nee refreshed the classic assimilation theory and converted it into what is known as the new assimilation theory. They argue that the concept of assimilation is still very useful to understand the new era of immigration. They believe that assimilation is still the most accurate way to describe and understand the integration into the mainstream of many individuals and ethnic groups across generations. Nevertheless, they do define assimilation not as a linear process of ethnic obliteration but as a dynamic one in which minority and majority cultures converge. Moreover, they recognize that a change occurs in both immigrant communities and host communities. Like it has been happening for centuries, the newest immigrants are likely to change America as much as America changes them. Furthermore, Alba and Nee (1997) argue that the best way to let immigrants assimilate is letting them do it at their own pace in pursuit of their own interests. In short, they defend that the process of assimilation with its gradual adoption of host culture, language and behaviors and corresponding abandonment of their home culture, language and behaviors is a requisite for immigrants to attain a positive socio-economic mobility.

Concerning this last theory, Portes (2005) asks

Thus, if assimilation almost always takes place, the key question for the future is *what sector* of that society immigrants and their children assimilate to. (p. 7)

In this comment Portes (2005) introduces one of the latest and more widespread theories that deal with assimilation of immigrants in the USA: segmented assimilation.

1.1.3. Segmented Assimilation

Initiated in 1997 by Portes and Zhou, the segmented assimilation theory was put forward to “review the challenges that it [second generation] confronts in seeking adaptation to the American society” (p. 74). It enunciates how assimilation can take place differently for different groups of second generation. Pap in 1981 formulates a good question that could be the base for Portes and Zhou to develop their theory of segmented assimilation. Pap (1981) asked in the last chapter of his book which has a suggestive (and quite near to assimilation theories) title “From Portuguese to American”:

The term Americanization implies changes in the life-style, in attitudes and habits, in the direction of what it is considered characteristic of the American way of life. (...) If Americanization means learning to do as Americans do, **what segment of the population of the United States at any given time actually constitutes “the Americans”?** (...) Who, ultimately, sets the norms for what is to be understood by Americanism? (p. 218, my emphasis)

In fact, what is American and thus what Americanization consists of have been changing over time and place and even over different people’s perspectives. So, the question formulated by Pap (1981) and developed by Portes and Zhou (1997) is very relevant to the understanding of the assimilation of immigrants.

Portes and Zhou (1993) give two reasons that show that theories that used to define the immigration of the beginning of the twentieth century cannot apply to the contemporary immigration. In fact, the conditions have changed. On the one hand, the transnational flow of European that came to the USA was uniformly white and thus the immigrants did not encounter major obstacles to join the mainstream. As Portes and Zhou express “Such an advantage obviously does not exist for the black, Asian, and mestizo children of today’s immigrants” (p.76). According to Portes and Zhou’s article,

over 85 percent of children of immigrants in 1940 were born to Europeans, or, in current terminology, non-Hispanic whites. By contrast, approximately 77 percent of post-1960 immigrants are non-Europeans. (p. 77)

On the other hand, the economic opportunities that immigrants found one century ago have sharply decreased with a progressive national deindustrialization. The gap between working class and middle class has widened.

The process is segmented and immigrants can be assimilated into different segments of American society. Portes and Zhou (1993) identify three main paths of assimilation:

One of them replicates the time-honored portrayal of growing acculturation and parallel integration into the white middle-class; a second

leads straight in the opposite direction to permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass; still a third associates rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity. (p. 82)

The first path is similar to the ideal one described by the classic assimilation theory. The second is the less desirable path. The third one includes economic success with the maintenance of the national or ethnic identity, which seems to be the more difficult and challenging to attain. About the second path, Portes and Zhou (1993) have identified three elements in the social context that promote this "downward assimilation". As they write "the first is color, the second is location and the third is the absence of mobility ladders" (p. 83).

The feature about the phenotype traits is not an individual handicap but a handicap created by and that belongs to the host country (Portes and Zhou, 1993):

Prejudice is not intrinsic to a particular skin color or racial type, and, indeed, many immigrants never experienced it in their native lands. It is virtue of moving into a new social environment, marked by different values and prejudices, that physical features become redefined as a handicap. (p. 83)

About the second feature, Portes and Zhou (1993) clarify that in inner cities live most minoritized groups consist mainly of immigrants and native poor. Children grow up among the "adversarial subculture by marginalized native youths" (p. 83). Finally, the third feature, according to Portes and Zhou (1993), is related to the "evaporation of occupational ladders for intergenerational mobility" (p. 83).

About the resources that may be available to immigrants, Portes and Zhou (1993) refer to three different kinds of resources and give some quick examples. The first resources mentioned by the authors are educational loans from government programs like in the Cuban case. The government gave Cuban refugees youth the opportunity to attend college and consequently amplified their possibilities to attain social mobility (p. 85-86). Other groups have been received with public sympathy like the Irish that settled in Boston (p. 86). And finally the resources that Portes and Zhou insist on are the ones provided through the co-ethnic community. One example given by the authors is the community schools that reinforce the authority of parents' cultural views and plans (p. 86) and the co-ethnic business that gives employment to recently arrived immigrants (p. 87).

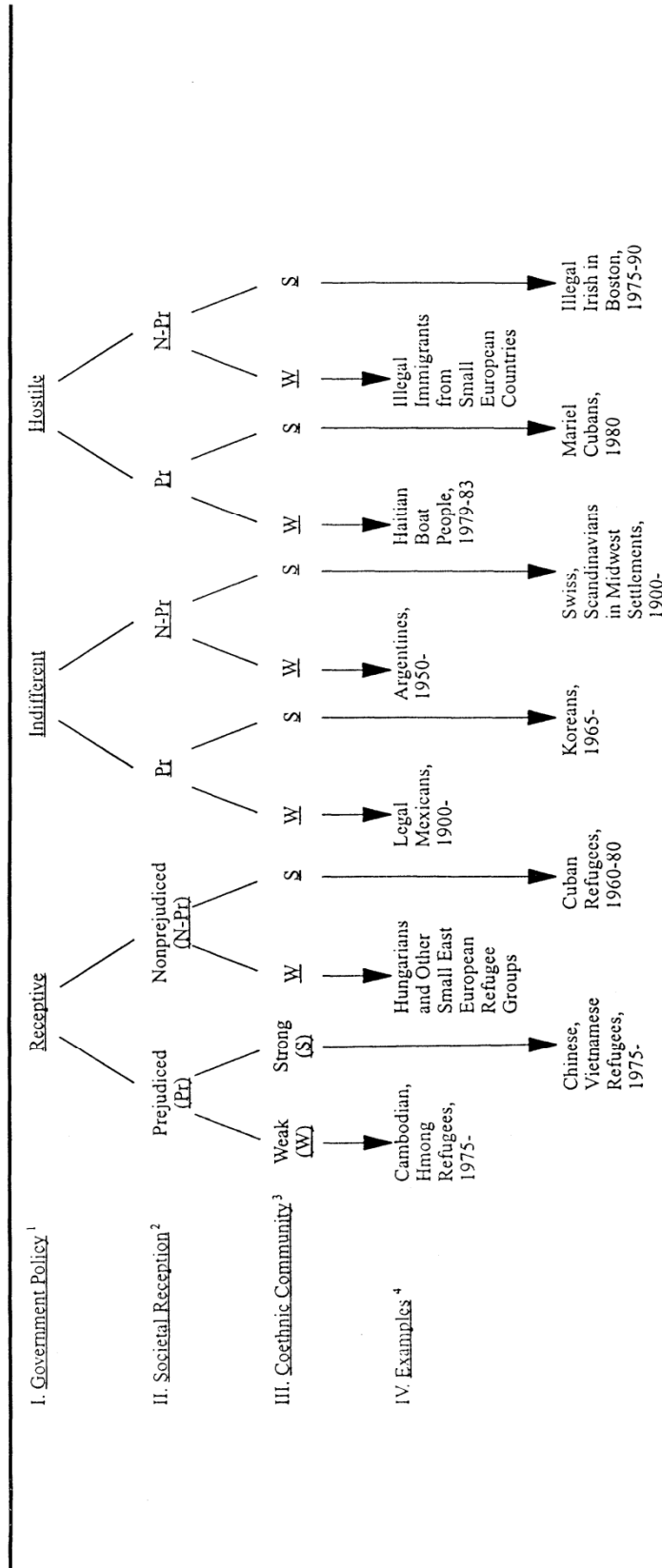
Nevertheless, Portes and Zhou (1993) also alert their readers that some communities are not a positive influence for second immigrant's children. They argue that

From the standpoint of second-generation outcomes, the existence of a large but downtrodden co-ethnic community may be even less desirable than no community at all. (Portes & Zhou, 1993, p. 87).

The following figure, (Portes and Zhou, 1993, p. 84) resumes clearly all variants and paths previously described that play a great role in the modes of incorporation that youth follow. As it is shown in the following figure, the route that a group takes depends largely on both contextual and individual factors.

There have been some criticisms of segmented assimilation. For instance, some researchers are skeptical about the idea that co-ethnic communities protect families from downward assimilation. In fact, co-ethnic communities are sometimes synonymous of ghettos and thus have negative social and economic impact on youth (Morenoff and Astor, 2006, p. 41- 42). Other critics argue that segmented assimilation does not but should take into account some dimensions like race, gender and class.

FIGURE 1
MODES OF INCORPORATION: A TYPOLOGY



SOURCE: Adapted from Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 91. Copyright © 1990 by The Regents of the University of California.

1. Receptive policy is defined as legal entry with resettlement assistance, indifferent as legal entry without resettlement assistance, hostile as active opposition to a group's entry or permanence in the country.
2. Prejudiced reception is defined as that accorded to nonphenotypically white groups; nonprejudiced is that accorded to European and European-origin whites.
3. Weak coethnic communities are either small in numbers or composed primarily of manual workers; strong communities feature sizable numerical concentrations and a diversified occupational structure including entrepreneurs and professionals.
4. Examples include immigrant groups arriving from the start of the century to the present. Dates of migration are approximate. Groups reflect broadly but not perfectly the characteristics of each ideal type.

Figure 1. Modes of incorporation: a typology (Portes and Zhou, 1993, p. 84)

1.1.4. Transnationalism

Another significant theory that studies the incorporation of immigrants - that I find very useful- is immigrant transnationalism. It challenges other models of assimilation and gives a new perspective on contemporary migratory movements (Portes, 2001, p. 182). In my research, I noted that the use of a transnational lens has proven to be very relevant to understand the more recent Portuguese migration experience to the United States of America.

The theory of transnationalism adapted to immigration was first formulated by Basch, Schiller and Blanc-Szanton (1994). The authors defined transnationalism as

the process by which transmigrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders. (Basch et al., 1994, p. 6)

In fact, Basch, Schiller and Blanc-Szanton noted the significance and thus coined the concept of immigrant transnationalism, bringing it to full public attention (Portes, 2001, p. 184)³.

Investigators on transnationalism perceive migration not as a linear or static phenomenon between country of origin and country of destination but as a circular and dynamic one between multiple heres and theres. Transnationalism emphasizes trans-local belongings and identities rather than nations. At the local level, immigrants have been changing the economic, political and social structure of their communities in the home country sending remittances and promoting different kind of initiatives.

Global capitalism and its growing ease of transportation and communication has been facilitating and thus increasing the number of long-distance exchanges. The exchanges between communities in different countries have become less expensive, more frequent and more regular (Levitt 2004; Portes, 2001; Suárez-Orozco, 2005).

³ Portes writes about the problem of adumbration that took place around the transnationalism concept. In his own words (2001, p. 184): “The fallacy of adumbration consists in negating the novelty of a scientific discovery by pointing to [these] earlier instances.” (the insertion of square brackets in the word “these” is mine). As it often happens with other (social) scientific findings, some researchers had already observed the phenomenon in question, but they failed to note its significance. In Portes’ words: “Multiple instances of grass-roots cross-border activities exist and have been extensively documented. Yet, until the concept of immigrant transnationalism was coined and refined, the common character and significance of these phenomena remained obscure” (Portes, 2001, p. 184).

As Ghaffar-Kucher (2008) suggests, “many families remain *both* sojourners and settlers, or emigrants and immigrants, and this duality affects the way they see themselves and the way they conduct their lives” (p. 30). Transnationalism is thus the links that immigrants nurture between their home country and their host country. These links help bridge “two important aspects of immigrants’ experiences: on the one hand, the formation of families and immigrant communities in the host country and, on the other hand, the continued orientation of these groups to their homeland” (Menjívar, 2002, p. 531).

Portes in 2001 writes an article that aims at clarifying what is transnationalism and what is not transnationalism in order to avoid the exaggerated use of the concept (p.182)⁴. In his article (Portes, 2001), the author explains the concept of transnationalism by showing its application, its meaning and delimitating its scope. In the political arena, immigrant transnational phenomenon is what takes places when hometown civic associations are established by immigrants to improve their sending communities. In the economic area, the phenomenon in question is present when we consider enterprises established by immigrants to export or import goods to and from their home country. Finally, in the socio-cultural area, we find immigrant transnational experience in the election of beauty queens and selection of performing groups in immigrant communities to take part in annual hometown festivals for instance (Portes, 2001, p. 187).

Immigrant transnationalism is very relevant because it takes place in the growing immigrant communities around the world and involves their home and host countries and local towns in several areas: economic, political and social. This theory by its focus on transnational contact and communication has a lot to do with the last concepts that I explain in the last part of this chapter (1.3): bilingualism and bilingual education.

1.2. Generational status

⁴ Portes (2001, p. 185-187) handles the different meanings that have been given to the concept of transnational and also clarifies the meaning of other words or expressions used for similar phenomena like “transnational from above”, “transnationalism from below”, “international” and “multinational”. Indeed, not all cross-border activities can be embraced in the term transnational. See figure 1 by Portes, (2001, p. 187) for further details on this issue.

Studies on migration used to focus on the first generation adults or on their children who are born in the home country, but not that much on the ones that are born in the host country, who are called the second generation.

Recently, many authors have been focusing on the importance of distinguishing between the first and the second generation, and even between the first, the 1.25, the 1.5, the 1.75 and the 2nd generation, according to Rumbaut typology. In fact, the term “recently arrived” does not provide enough information about the age of the immigrants on arrival. Thus, the generation grouping proposed by Ruben Rumbaut (1997a) is very useful because it cautions against “lumping foreignborn and native born children as a ‘de facto’ second generation” (p. 336). Rumbaut (1997a, 1997b) argues that foreign-born children should be divided into 1.25, 1.5, and 1.75 generations according to their age on arrival in the host country. In fact, a child that has arrived in the host country, in this case the United States, has a very different experience of the country of origin and of the host country from the one that an adolescent has upon arrival. Generational status plays a role in the way the youth experience the host country and the school (see for instance, Portes and Zhou, 1993; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008; Valenzuela, 1999).

The figure below clarifies the different generational stages according to Rumbaut’s terminology.

2nd generation	1.75 generation	1.5 generation	1.25 generation	1st generation
Born in the USA	Born abroad. Arrived between ages 0-5	Arrived between ages 6-12	Arrived between ages 13-17.	Arrived after the age of 17

Table 1. A visual representation of Rumbaut’s immigrant generations (1997b, p. 950)

Ghaffar-Kucher (2008) found these distinctions in age on arrival to be a helpful guide for her doctoral research on Pakistani youth in New York. Ghaffar-Kucher supports in her doctoral thesis that

Not only is the background of these youth so different and so influential on their future academic trajectory, but also their familiarity with the school system, their languages skills, and also simply the psychological effects of moving to a new country and missing “home.” (p. 296)

The fact that 1.5 generation and most of all 1.25 generation experience a different academic, social and linguistic system before coming to the host country influences their adaptation to it. That also differentiates them from the so called 1.75 generation and the second generation.

There is also a clear difference in language acquisition and use between the diverse generations. Rumbaut (1997b, p. 950- 951) argues that children who arrive before puberty are more likely to learn to speak English without an accent. The command of English plays a great role in academic performance and socialization. That may have great effects on youth's sense of identity and feelings of belonging. Rumbaut (1996) found that youth who had been victims of discrimination were far more likely to remain "loyal to a national-origin identity" (p. 167).

It is thus important to take into account the generational status of the immigrant population, because each generation copes with different assimilation challenges and have different immigrant experiences.

1.3. Bilingualism and bilingual education in the USA and its implications for immigrants

The way the American society thinks of and uses bilingualism and bilingual education has many and great implications in the lives of its immigrants. That is the reason why it is relevant to consider these concepts to understand the flows of immigration from non-English speaker countries.

Ofelia García (2009) gives a global, detailed, completed and updated perspective on bilingual education. First, it is relevant to clarify that the concept of bilingual education and bilingualism does not refer to the education of (only) two languages, and thus is near to the concept "multilingual education" used in other writings, for instance by UNESCO (García, p. 9). As García argues "we prefer the term "bilingual education" here because it is more grounded in theory, research, practice, and reality than multilingual education" (p. 11).

Ideally, bilingual education is different from traditional language education mainly because of two reasons: the first one is because bilingual education does not use language as the subject but as the medium of instruction (of other subjects); the second one is that the

main goal of bilingual education is not only to learn an additional language but to use “two languages to educate generally, meaningfully, equitably, and for tolerance and appreciation of diversity” (García, 2009, p. 6). Nevertheless, there are many kinds of linguistic education, misleadingly called bilingual education, that do not follow these basic premises. García identifies different kinds of bilingual education and demonstrates that some of them are less desirable because they do not aim at using “two languages to educate generally, meaningfully, equitably, and for tolerance and appreciation of diversity” but for other goals.

This identification and clarification of different kinds of bilingual education is very useful to avoid confusions and to dismantle kinds of bilingual programs that are not desirable and resistance from American society to bilingual education. In USA, bilingual education is often blamed because it is perceived as a way to preserve separate linguistic and ethnic enclaves and because it does not embrace the languages of all minorities that are settled in the country (García, 2009, p. 10). Bilingual education is also criticized due to the fact that it is often attached to programs identified as subtractive bilingual education. Transitional bilingual education is a kind of bilingual education, which is less desirable because it uses the home language just in the first stages of the program with the aim to teach/learn the host language (García, 2009). Giving full priority to the host language and abandoning the home language weakens the skills and linguistic self-esteem of immigrant students. Moreover, in many cases, immigrant students are kept in a parallel system of education that is generally going to be highly detrimental to their overall academic achievement (García, 2009). But, as García argues, bilingual education does not have to be subtractive and thus should be additive.

Other interesting points that García (2009) makes about bilingualism throughout her book is on the one hand, that bilingualism should not be perceived as a problem as it is sometimes perceived by American society, including teachers and parents⁵. On the other hand, it is relevant to note what it means to be bilingual, and thus in what bilingualism consists of, according to García (2009). To be bilingual does not mean to be necessarily fluent as a native-speaker and to be proficient in all language abilities in more than one

⁵ García (2009) and Wright (2004) refers to Ruiz who in 1984 has published a framework composed of three different language orientations: language as a problem, language as a right and language as a resource. Different social and political contexts have promoted one or another perspective on bilingualism and on bilingual education. Read García (2009, p. 13-16) for details on this issue and Wright (2004) for real examples from different countries.

language (García, p. 44)⁶. This has many implications. For instance, one of them is that translanguaging, like code-switching or code-mixing (which is generally perceived as an inadequate language use and lack of knowledge), are considered natural and sophisticated skills of bilingual speakers (García, 2009, p. 50).

To finish, concerning bilingual education I would like to highlight the metaphor used by García (2009) to explain (ideal) bilingualism. According to her:

From a monoglossic view of bilingual education as a bicycle with two balanced wheels, we propose a bilingual education that is more like an all-terrain vehicle in its heteroglossic possibilities. (García, 2009, p. 17)

In fact, bilingualism is much more than talking two languages with the same level of proficiency, it is about talking different languages and to be able to navigate with certain ease in bilingual contexts. It also increases cultural and linguistic awareness. In fact, a bicultural person does not only have two different cultures, but these two different cultures are to some extent intimately connected and thus communicating. Bilinguals and biculturals are more culturally and linguistically aware and have the abilities to build bridges across the different languages and cultures and to adapt to different situations.

Finally, language practices are an important part of people's ethnicity (García, 2009, p. 104). The concepts of language and bilingualism are closely related to biculturalism, bilingual identity and the development of an (ethnic) identity (García, 2009; Wright, 2004). Sharing a common language in a group facilitates the incorporation and the feeling of belonging into that same group. As García (p. 100) writes "A multiple identity developed through participation in different communicative networks gives children the possibility of developing more broadly, of drawing from many multiple perspectives."

Ethnicity and identity are situational and subjective constructions according to more recent researches. Once perceived as natural and static, ethnicity and identities are now becoming hybridized identities (García, 2009, p. 103). This gives place to hyphenated identities, as Portuguese-American.

⁶ Language abilities according to García (2009, p. 61) are divided in oracy (which includes listening and speaking), literacy (composed by reading and writing) and, for deaf children, signacy (that embraces attending and producing).

The theories presented in this chapter are useful to understand Portuguese immigration in the USA through different relevant lenses. They explain many significant phenomena related to immigrants' experiences. Consequently, it is highly useful to be aware of the existing theoretical background when developing or reading a research about immigration issues. The influences of the theories mentioned previously are easily found, in an explicit or in an implicit manner, in this dissertation.

Chapter 2

2. Portuguese immigration in the United States of America: an overview

When looking for information about Portuguese migration flows to the United States, the book *The Portuguese-American* wrote by Leo Pap has been considered the main and more complete reference on the field. Pap (1981) based on more than one hundred and seventy sources shows

how those who came from Portugal, even through only a minor component of American society, spread across an unusually broad canvas of American history reaching from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the present and from New England to Hawaii. (p. 238)

In fact, Pap describes the dynamics of Portuguese immigration from the discoveries of the Americas until the twentieth century⁷. Others authors have also been writing and developing new theories on issues related to Portuguese immigration in America. I intend to present in this chapter the history and some of the main characteristics of Portuguese immigration through the works of some great researchers in the field.

In the 19th century, from 1800 to 1870, timid Portuguese flows of immigration to the United States came and it was mainly from the Azores⁸. The Azoreans entered the whaling business and began to settle on the east coast of America, namely in New England, on the still Spanish West coast, namely in California and sometimes as far as Hawaii (called at that time Sandwich Islands) (Pap, 1981, p. 18, 28 & ; Vaz, 1965, p. 43; Williams, 1982, p. 5). Many sailors deserted when gold was discovered in California in 1848. They left behind their country, their job in the whaling business and settled in California looking for gold.

⁷ The first chapter by Pap (1981) is on the Portuguese role and influence in the “discoveries of North America to the early days of the Republic” (p. 3). I do not focus on that period as I am more interested in the flows of immigration that took place in the last two centuries, according to Pap’s second chapter, in the “beginnings of postcolonial immigration from Portugal” (p. 18). For more information about that initial period of discoveries, see also Vaz (1965) who also gives a special focus on the arrival of Portuguese in California.

⁸ Portuguese immigration at that time was also significantly composed by immigration from Cape Verde islands.

Afterwards, most Portuguese settled in California working as shepherds, fishers or farmers (Vaz, 1965, p. 37). As Vaz (1965, p. 43) puts it: “The whaling ship was the early highway to the New World, and in the period from 1833 to 1863 unknown numbers quietly made their way to a new life.” Williams (1982) also writes “Most often they [novice sailors] ended up in Massachusetts, less frequently in California and occasionally in Hawai” (p. 5).

According to Pap (1981), the first period of mass immigration to the USA from Portugal took place between 1870 and 1921. After 1870 there was a clear increase in the flow of Portuguese to the United States⁹. According to Pap from 1861 to 1870, 2,658 Portuguese entered the USA. In the next decade, from 1871 to 1880, the number is 14,082, more than 6 times more than in the previous decade. The beginning of the 20th century began with a sharp increase of Portuguese immigrants; in fact, from 1901 to 1910, 69,149 Portuguese entered the USA, from 1911 to 1920, 89,732 Portuguese immigrants came into the USA. The number abruptly decreases in the next decade due in part to the economic crash in Wall Street and its implication in the American economy.

In the 1960s and 1970s, a new flow of mass immigration from Portugal took place to northern Europe but also to northeastern United States, which diminished in the 1980s thanks to a more healthy political and economic Portuguese landscape (Holton, 2005, p. 12). The Azorean Refugee Act in 1958 and the new Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965 encouraged the new flow of Portuguese immigration (Pap, 1981, p. 97)¹⁰. For instance, according to Pap, in 1965 2,005 immigrants born in Portugal entered the USA. The following year the number increased abruptly to 8,713 and in 1967 to 13,927. Pap states that “by the late 1960s, Portugal had become one of the four leading sources of new immigration to the United States” (p.97)¹¹. The number then slowly began to decrease after 1969. From 1960 to 1969, 73,095 Portuguese came to the United States.

⁹ Pap (1981) notes the ambiguity that the term Portuguese bears at that time which had great implication in different statistical resources. In fact, Portuguese could or could not embrace people from continental Portugal or from the islands of Azores, Madeira and Cape Verde according to different criteria based on mother-tongue, race or place of origin (Pap, p. 50-51). He also notes that some statistics do not count Portuguese-Americans that were settled in the islands known today as Hawai.

¹⁰ Pap (1981, p. 97) explains that some Portuguese that entered the United States did not come directly from Portugal, but through Canada or Brazil. Consequently, the numbers indicate people born in Portugal, however they do not indicate necessarily departures from Portugal to the USA.

¹¹ According to Pap (1981, p. 97-98) the four leading sources of immigration were: United Kingdom, Italy, China and Portugal in this order.

Pap (1981) identifies an interesting implication about this dynamic of flows of immigration. According to Pap, with the new flow of immigration, there is a challenging increase of Portuguese community diversity in the USA. With an increasing diversity, tensions arise because of differences in the regional origins and, among many other possible reasons, because of different levels of experience in the USA. Tensions appeared namely between the newcomers from the Portuguese countryside and “heavily Americanized second and third generations” (Pap, p. 100). Wolforth (1978) refers to internal differences between the Portuguese groups. She explains that Portuguese people paid more attention to their place of birth than to their nationality and thus different identities were reinforced by islanders and Portuguese coming from the mainland. Consequently, Portuguese people perceived themselves based on the place of origin and skin color (from the mainland Portugal, Portuguese islands or Cape Verde islands). Wolforth (1978) adds that “many “white” Portuguese consider the Cape Verdean “black” or “Negro”, not Portuguese at all” (p. 128). To some extent Americans tended to perceive Portuguese people in the same way, maybe influenced by Portuguese self-identification. She refers to the racist comments of a U.S. immigration officer in 1921 that support the idea that “Black Portuguese” were “mentally inferior” (p. 46). Wolforth based on Estellie M. Smith’s comment that declared that the Portuguese were “the niggers of New England” adds that “But, if so, the Bravas [Black Portuguese from Cape Verdean islands] were among the most “nigger” (p. 46, my insert). Becker (2009) has also written about the way these conflicts take place in the school arena. Her findings are presented in the third chapter of this thesis.

Pap (1981) refers to the historic and social reasons that Portuguese had to cope with when settling down in a definite place. About settlement, Pap (1981) points out that Portuguese immigrants tended to settle down in places that had “institutional completeness” (Breton cited in Pap, 1981, p.100) which means shopping facilities, churches, newspapers that use the Portuguese language and provide “a gradual blending of old customs and news” (Pap, 1981, p.100).

Brettell (2003) argues that Portuguese immigrants come to the USA following a network approach instead of a market theory approach (p.6). That means that Portuguese immigrants chose their destination in the host country according to acquaintances they have in the USA. As Brettell writes

Social networks contribute significantly to the perpetuation of migration streams once they have started because “they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration. Network connections constitute a form of social capital that people can draw upon” (Massey et al. 1993, 448). (Brettell, 2003, p. 6)

Monteiro (1993) also explains that the immigration process has mainly developed through blood or family connections, which was reinforced by the American laws of immigration that encouraged reunifications of families (p. 325). American policies on immigration had important implications for the flows of Portuguese immigrants (Baganha, 1993; Pap, 1981; Williams, 1982). For instance, the American law of 1917, known as the Literacy Test, limited the entrance of immigrants that were illiterate. That policy had important implications on the flows of Portuguese immigration (Pap, p. 79). Williams describes the impact of the new legislation as “immediate and severe”, and mentions that in 1916, 12,208 Portuguese entered the USA, and by 1918 the number declined to 2,319. Nevertheless, Baganha noted that in a longer term the number of Portuguese immigration did not decrease due to that law. She mentions that in 1915, only 3,738 Portuguese were admitted in the USA and 5 years later the number increased to 13,596. According to her, this increase is something intriguing taking into account the great rate of illiterate people in Portugal at the beginning of the century. Baganha inferred that the numbers in the American reports may be wrong, and/or the Portuguese that entered USA at that time by its famous Ellis Island, knew the test and its reading sentence and had probably learned how to write their name (p. 38). In fact, the different interpretations of this issue are a challenge for researchers on that field.

Another role of social networks is to keep alive the cultural values from the home country. In fact, “social networks (...) not only facilitate departures [from the home country to the host country] but also help to keep emigrants connected with the homeland” (Brettell, 2003, p.6, my insert). About that issue, Holton (2005) writes that the decrease of Portuguese immigration in the 1980s “left communities of Portuguese emigrants, particularly in the United States, without a fresh stream of foreign nationals to reconnect them to their homeland” (p. 13). According to Holton, that encouraged the consumption of international media and traveling, which are transnational ways to fool the geographical distance between the homeland and the host country.

About this issue, Brettell (2003) refers to the two dimensions of transnationalism that are present in the Portuguese case: transnationalism from the above and transnationalism

from below. In fact, the Portuguese state on the one hand and the Portuguese immigrants on the other hand have created and nurtured transnational ties. Brettell explains that

Not only have individual immigrants retained ties to their home villages, sent money back home, and built houses in their home communities, but the Portuguese state has constantly worked to sustain the loyalties of citizens abroad in order to support their own interest. (Brettell, 2003, p.xvii)

In fact, Portugal can still be perceived as a transnational state. This idea as Brettell (2003, p. xvii) and Holton (2005, p.8) show is, to some extent, not new as a version of it had already appeared in the colonial era. This second version of Portugal as a transnational country has been created by a “third wave” of immigration and by the phenomena linked to globalization (Holton, p. 11). Portuguese nation is not confined to the Portuguese state. According to Brettell, migration has become a rite of passage in the lives of many Portuguese and thus a great number of Portuguese live and work abroad. Secondly, most Portuguese keep their transnational ties and for instance, they return regularly to their home country in the summer months. As Holton explains: “In this way, geographical distance is collapsed through the regular consumption of international media and continual travel –both real and imagined– among communities living in and outside Portugal” (p. 12).

Wolforth (1978) and Pap (1981) identify different patterns among Portuguese immigrants in the United States according to their settlement. For instance, Wolforth identifies different dynamics between Portuguese immigrants according to their place of settlement (West Coast or East Coast) and demonstrates that Portuguese immigrants in California had higher rates of literacy than those that settled in New England. Baganha (1990) also argues that Portuguese immigrants that settled in California had attained a better standard of living, namely economically and socially, than those who decided to settle in New England, which, paradoxically, were the majority. Williams (2005) further develops this issue in his research showing that Portuguese communities in the USA had been shaped differently depending on the place of settlement and the conditions encountered¹².

Another interesting topic about Portuguese immigrants raised by Wolforth (1978) based on Rogers is the idea of “double melt”. In fact, Portuguese immigrants that arrive to the United States had to adapt to the American society but also to the existent Portuguese

¹² Williams (2005) focuses on Azorean immigrants in the USA. He shows that although Azorean immigrants that settled in the USA came from similar cultural and social backgrounds, their experience as immigrants in the USA differs greatly from each other, depending on the region they are settled in and on its specific opportunity structures and social hierarchies.

community. Pap about that explains that in order that immigrants assimilate into the mainstream society, they needed first to assimilate into their own community. As we have seen in the first chapter, Portes and Zhou (1993, p. 82) explore the different roles that coethnic communities play in the assimilation process of their members.

In Pap's chapter called *The New Portuguese Mass Immigration, 1958 to the present*, Pap states that Portuguese came to the United States due to economic reasons (p.96). He adds that most immigrants came to the USA and joined their family members that had immigrated earlier. Pap writes

the main motive of Portuguese emigration, after World War II just as in earlier periods, has naturally remained the economic one- coupled with the desire, in many cases, of being reunited with family members who had emigrated earlier. (p.96)

Other reasons have promoted the immigration of Portuguese to the USA. Many Portuguese men emigrated in order to avoid the enrolment in the army and the consequent participation in the colonial wars (Pap, 1981). Brettell (2003) also acknowledged other reasons for Portuguese people to leave their home country. She argues that people have more personal reasons to leave. These reasons are identified in narratives collected by qualitative researchers but they are often not considered in the broader theoretical discussions (Brettell). As Brettell explains "While economic motives may broadly explain why people migrate, these other motives might properly be considered precipitating factors to an actual departure" (p.31)¹³.

Brettell (2003) makes another differentiation between economic reasons and social reasons. That differentiation is relevant to the Portuguese case because, according to her, Portuguese tended to migrate in order to attain some kind of social prestige, which they could not attain in Portugal through its impermeable educational system (Brettell, p. 89). In fact, migrating and returning home (economically) successful was a way to attain social mobility (Brettell, p. 89).

For instance, some Jews fled from Portugal to escape religious persecution (Pap, 1981). As a matter of fact, Pap talks about the possibility that the first documented Portuguese settler in the American colonies, Mathias de Sousa, may have been of Jewish descent and may have arrived in Maryland escaping anti-Jewish persecutions (Pap, p. 9).

¹³ Brettell (2003) in this specific moment of her book talks about the decision of women to leave Portugal to escape gender ideology and patriarchal oppression.

Natural disasters, like the volcanic eruption in Faial that took place in 1957 and 1958, also have promoted flows of immigrations that are sometimes encouraged by the adoption of exceptional policies (like The Azorean Refugee Act of 1958).

Holton (2009) identifies another movement of Portuguese immigration to the USA. She demonstrates that some Portuguese that left Portuguese colonies in Africa in the process of decolonization, which are called *retornados*, instead of settling in Portugal have decided to migrate to the USA¹⁴. Holton shows in her research on *retornados* living in New Jersey, that

Some came to the United States in search of a surrogate Africa. Others came to escape what they characterized as the social toxicity of Portugal manifested in family feuds, soured business relationships, and a general environment of narrow-mindedness and critique. (p. 503)

Pap (1981) also refers to logistical reasons to explain the differences in the regional origins of immigrants coming to the United States. Pap notes that direct air connections and US consulates encouraged the emigration of Portuguese that lived near to these services. Thus, the inhabitants of São Miguel and Santa Maria took advantage of the relative easy access to transportation to the USA (p.99).

The states of settlement of Portuguese in the USA have mainly been California, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey and Hawaii. In the beginnings of the twentieth century, specifically, in 1910, there was nearly 25,000 Portuguese settled in Hawaii, which represented a tenth of the whole population (Fernandes, 1991, p. 52; Pap, 1981, p. 53)¹⁵. Nevertheless, the settlement of Portuguese in Hawai diminished considerably in the following decades and other states like New Jersey came to stage.

Every 10 years, the United States of America develops and publishes the results of its census. The last results available are from 2000. The American census is an incredible source of data. According to US Census 2000, 1,176,615 Portuguese live in the USA¹⁶. It is

¹⁴ Cabral and Mayone Dias (2002) collected 17 interviews of *retornados* that live in the USA (14 interviews were recorded in Massachusetts, 3 in California) in their book *Das Guerras Africanas à diáspora Americana* which could be translated as “From the African wars to the American diaspora”. In the interviews, it is easily noted the fascination that the Portuguese that served in Africa, or *retornados*, have nurtured for Africa. Nevertheless, it could have been very interesting if in the mentioned volume the interviewers had asked questions to the *retornados* about their decision to migrate to the USA.

¹⁵ In Fernandes’ book (1991), *Os Primos da América*, interesting pictures of Portuguese immigrants in Hawaii are included, some of them from the beginning of the twentieth century.

¹⁶ According to their report on ancestry, 1,173,691 people in the U.S. claimed Portuguese ancestry. As it is explained in the 2000 US Census brief report “The Census Bureau defines ancestry as a person’s ethnic

interesting to note that in this population 578,523 are men and 598,092 are women. The median age is 35 years old. Their median household income per year in 1999 is 48,300 dollars, which is above the median household income for the whole population in the USA, which is 41,994 dollars. According to the Census there are 93,702 Portuguese individuals below poverty level.

Portuguese in the USA are concentrated primarily in California, Connecticut, Florida, Hawaii, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and New York (US Census, 2000). According to the US Census, in California, there are 330,974 Portuguese, in Massachusetts the number is a little bit lower with 279,722 Portuguese, in Rhode Island 99,445, in New Jersey 78,196, in the state of Florida 48,974 and in New York 22,974.

The number of Portuguese that stated they speak a language other than English at home is 332,908 (US Census, 2000). According to the report published in October 2003 by US Census Bureau about language use and English-Speaking ability, Portuguese in 2000 was not one of the ten most spoken languages in the United States even if it was the case in 1990. In fact, Portuguese was the tenth most frequently spoken language at home in 1990. In 2000, Portuguese ranks 12th. Nevertheless, the number of people that frequently speaks Portuguese at home has increased. Actually, in 1990, 429,860 people stated that they spoke Portuguese at home and in 2000 the number increased to 564,630, so in ten years there are more 134,770 people who answered that they spoke Portuguese at home¹⁷. That may reveal a recent flow of immigration. According to the same table, about the ability that Portuguese frequent speakers at home have of speaking English, more than 320,000 stated that they speak English very well, more than 125,000 well, more than 900,000 not well and 28,311 not at all.

Nevertheless, it is important to note the fact that 564,630 people stated that they spoke Portuguese at home frequently does not mean that there are 564,630 Portuguese in the USA who speak Portuguese at home with frequency (besides the obvious statistical imprecision). In fact, according to the Fact Sheet 2000 on Portuguese available on USA Bureau Census website, only 332,908 Portuguese stated that they speak another language other than English at home. I guess that Portuguese language may be for the great majority the other language

origin, heritage, descent, or “roots,” which may reflect their place of birth, place of birth of parents or ancestors, and ethnic identities that have evolved within the United States” (p. 1).

¹⁷ According to the Report, other languages like Spanish, Russian, Chinese, Arabic, Vietnamese, French Creole and Gujarathi have known a great increase of speakers in the USA. In fact, their numbers have nearly doubled. The number of speakers at home of French, German, Italian, Polish Greek and Hindi has decreased.

spoken at home. In the Fact Sheet 2000 on Brazilian, I found out that 140,919 Brazilian stated that they speak another language at home other than English. One of the languages that Brazilian speaks at home may be Portuguese as well. Nevertheless, there is approximately 100,000 people that stated that they speak Portuguese at home frequently that are not Brazilian or Portuguese. They may be Portuguese-speakers from other parts of the world, like Cape Verde or Portuguese-speakers that label themselves as American.

A common characteristic of the Portuguese immigrants is that they nurture what Brettell (2003) calls in her book *Anthropology and Migration* the “Portuguese ideology of return migration” (p. 57). This ideology has effects on the transnational ties immigrants build. This intention of returning is an important factor that shapes the way the immigrants decide their departure from the home country and the way immigrants behave in the host country (Brettell, 2003). In fact, their level of involvement with the home country and with the host country depends to some extent on the immigrant plan of migration and its ideology of returning. Nevertheless, as Brettell shows there is a great distinction between the goal of returning and the actual return to the home country (p. 59). Brettell explains that the ideology of returning (in her own words “Emigrar para voltar”, which means “Emigrate to return”) is closer to the experience of Portuguese immigrants in Brazil in the nineteenth century and the experience of Portuguese immigrants in northeastern European countries in the second half of the twentieth century. A great majority of Portuguese emigrate with the hope of coming back to their homeland and display an improved economic situation. Dias (1989) notes that Portuguese immigrants in the USA adapt easily to their job and develop great capabilities to make savings that are mostly used to build a house in the homeland or host land.

Nevertheless, Holton (2005) point outs that Portuguese immigrants who come to the United States consider their immigrant status a more permanent one than the immigrants that had gone to northern European countries. In fact, according to Holton Portuguese immigrants in the United States tend to develop a high level of commitment towards the host country and do not visit the homeland as regularly as others Portuguese immigrants do¹⁸. Monteiro (1993) describes the process that Portuguese people go through when they immigrate and shift

¹⁸ In my research (described in Chapter 4), I found that a change in this dynamic may be taking place, partly thanks to the improvements in the international transportation. Transnational ties are more easily nurtured thanks to a broader access to technology that makes distance shorter than ever before, like the Internet and affordable intercontinental flight trips.

memberships. Monteiro analyzes how the Portuguese immigrants decide to stay in the United States and never return to their homeland (p. 334). In fact, Monteiro (p. 323) cites an interviewee who expresses that Portuguese immigrants have many things that tie them to the United States: their children, grandchildren, friends, businesses and acquaintance with the social environment, and thus, a return to Portugal does not make sense any more. They gain a new social environment where their family is gathered and then gradually lose connection to their homeland that becomes only a geographical place with no family or other meaningful connections for them. So, social networks work in two complementary ways, they persuade people to come to the USA and also to stay in the USA. Social networks change through time and become more limited and individualistic (from the community to the nuclear family) and they may gain a counterproductive effect on immigrants. One example is given by Monteiro who refers to the fact that Portuguese people leave the urban centers (where Portuguese immigrants are more concentrated) to the suburbs when they attain some social mobility (p. 336). According to Monteiro (p. 336), Portuguese immigrants go to the suburbs in order to choose their relationships freely “without being controlled by the group of Portuguese people. When one person dies, few persons come to the funeral (‘it is the normal thing here’)” (p. 336, my translation).

Monteiro (1993, p. 336) shows that Portuguese immigrants easily assimilate into the networks created by Luso-American institutions and then into the American society. Monteiro (p. 337) explains that progressively Portuguese immigrants abandon some of their Portuguese habits and adopt American habits, for instance they substitute their vegetable gardens by typical American gardens of lawn.

Portuguese immigrants in Pap’s book (1981) are portrayed as a flow of people with few years of elementary schooling. Pap states that in the early period of Portuguese immigration, Portuguese immigrants encouraged their children to go to work as soon as possible and thus invest little in formal education (p. 118). Pap explains that this low valuation of formal education may have been related to low levels of literacy, peasant or working-class backgrounds and reliance on physical labor. In fact, the educational politics in Portugal did not always facilitate the spread of formal education to poor villages and people in those villages tended to prioritize physical labor and its immediate economic value. As Pap (p. 116) writes, in 1968 Portugal was said to have the highest rate of illiteracy in Europe. According to the United States immigration statistics, during the period 1899 to 1910 a little bit more than 68 percent of all Portuguese immigrants with 14 or more years old were not

able to read nor write, which made them the nationality group with the highest rate of illiteracy in the United States of America (Pap, p. 116). In 1917 the Literacy Test was implemented to stop immigration of illiterate adults or adolescents, “unless they came to join close relatives” (Pap, 1981, p. 116).

Other traits that have been attributed by Americans to Portuguese immigrants have also been identified by Pap (1981). Some of the traits Pap (1981) refers to are “Law-abiding, obedient, peaceful, docile, hard-working, sober, honest and cleanly” (p. 119). Nevertheless, Pap also points out that some characteristics attributed to Portuguese immigrants are being challenged by the second generation. He mentions that

(...) crime statistics are cited showing the Portuguese ethnics have a very low crime rate. **(But a rise in juvenile delinquency among the second generation was noted on some occasions.)** (...) They rarely turn to public welfare and charity. **(But some American-born descendants show less industry and do apply for relief.)** (1981, p.119, my highlights)

It is interesting to note that Pap (1981) includes the comments about the second generation into brackets. The distinction between the first and the second generation is very interesting bearing in mind that other scholars have used the different generations to identify similar dynamics in other ethnic communities in the United States as we have seen in the first chapter (see for instance, Lee, 2001; Menjívar, 2002; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Qin, 2006).

Worlforth in her book in 1978 also noted that Portuguese immigrants had low literacy skills and low rates of criminality, which changed with the increasing “Americanization” of immigrants. Worlforth refers to Ross to demonstrate that Portuguese people were negatively influenced by Americans: “Edward Ross did notice in 1914 that the ‘American example and American strain’ affected the Portuguese and that, increasingly, they were following the ‘American example’ of excessive indulgence” (p. 21).

This pattern between Americanization and increasing violence is found in many other communities in the United States (see for instance, Portes and Zhou, 1993; Lee, 2001; Menjívar, 2002 and Qin, 2006). Becker (2009) demonstrates that the educational experience in public American schools is the responsible for such change. In order to be considered “cool”, kids are pushed to be more defiant and less obedient (Becker, 2009, p. 324). Her findings are analyzed in the third chapter in this thesis.

About the industrious trait of personality, Pap (1981) shows in note number 61 that Portuguese people have not always had the hard-working reputation in their homeland. Pap gives some examples based on different authors to support that idea. I would quote just the first ones he gives: “The Portuguese do not like to work, especially in the South (...). They attach little value to time or money, spend much time in chatting” (p. 260, note 61). He then concludes in that same note that “industriousness, far from being a fixed personality trait, depends in part on perceived opportunity to reward” (p. 260, note 61).

Later on in his book, Pap (1981, p. 204) analyzes the “strong subtle pressures towards “Americanization” that Portuguese immigrants felt that encourage them to learn English, especially the second generation that attended American public schools. Pap (1981, p. 221) talks about the role that American formal schooling and subsequent peer pressure had on second generation Portuguese to assimilate. That phenomenon could result in a generation gap unless parents adapted to some majority patterns (Pap, 1981, p. 221). Pap cites Edward Ross: “The chief agents of assimilation are the children” (1981, p. 221). This is also the case for many other ethnic communities in the United States (see for instance Qin, 2006). Later on in paper I refer to this issue, namely using Becker’s research (2009) on the experience of Portuguese students in an American public school.

Another fact that encouraged assimilation identified by Pap (1981) is that Portuguese people tended to be ashamed of their background and thus of speaking Portuguese in public. Even children of the so called “new wave of immigration” that took place in the 1960s considered Portuguese inferior to English (Pap, 1981, p. 221) and rarely kept contact with Portugal “except for business matters and relations with parents” (Pap, 1981, p. 221). Becker (2009) found out a similar pattern of shame among Portuguese students. Williams (1982) adds on this issue a new perspective quoting a researcher that wrote in 1949 that

Many Portuguese immigrants and their children have leaned toward discarding the Portuguese language, only in order to conceal their background as a means of overcoming social prejudices, but also in order to fulfill what they consider a patriotic duty. (p. 86)

Williams (1982) adds that American way of life was very different from the one in the Azores and thus “immigrants had little choice but to adapt” (p. 86).

Pap (1981, p. 218) questions in his fourteenth chapter the meaning of “Americanization” as he recognizes the complexity of such term. In fact, he notes that

American way of life is not uniform and keeps changing according to time and place. This reflection can be directly linked to the segmented assimilation theory and Portes and Zhou (1993) affirmation that “the question is into what sector of American society a particular group assimilates” (p.82). Pap (1981) concludes his book declaring that “(...) as Americanization and integration proceed, it makes less and less sense to distinguish between ‘we’ and ‘they’, to talk of the contributions of a distinct group which is no longer very distinct from the rest of the population” (p. 238).

In fact, Pap supports to some extent the melting pot theory and thus to some extent the classic assimilation theory, believing that Portuguese with their own characteristics will assimilate into the broader American project. Wolforth (1978) concludes her book declaring that with the appearance of ethnicity it has become fashionable to admit minority ethnic heritage and thus she expects that Portuguese immigrants will take a different trend of assimilation that will provide them with the opportunity to value and preserve their heritage and be “more visible, more collectively aggressive” (p. 140).

Wolforth’s research (1978) is interesting because it challenges the idea that Portuguese immigrants in the United States are recent flows and thus are newcomers¹⁹. Wolforth demonstrates that Portuguese have been settling in the United States since the seventeenth century, which encourages her to develop the issue of the Portuguese invisibility in the USA. She refers to the invisibility that the Portuguese flow of immigration had received due to, according to sociologists like Estellie M. Smith, their low participation in political and social manifestations. According to her, Portuguese immigrants did not use the church, politics or their newspapers to advance socially or to voice political or social protests. Wolforth argues (as Pap does in his book) that Portuguese immigrants attain social mobility through hard work and assimilation and thus tended to disregard the value of formal education and their own heritage. She states that “Assimilation made material progress easier, but it also smothered the Portuguese heritage of many of the achievers” (p. 141). I refer later to that issue of the invisibility of the Portuguese community.

Bloemraad (2009) in her article challenges the idea that Portuguese are invisible in the political arena because of values they had been nurturing from their experience in Portugal

¹⁹ A book that follows this same path, insisting on the great Portuguese contribution to the United States is “Portugal in New York world’s fair 1939”, organized by Marques da Costa. Read for instance the speech delivered by the Commissioner General Senhor António Ferro on the occasion of the inauguration of the pavilion of Portugal, the 8th May 1939, included in the first pages of the book.

under dictatorship. She demonstrates that Portuguese values have little to do when it comes to become “more visible”. The context is the key. Through a deep comparison between the political experience of Portuguese immigrants in USA and Canada, Bloemraad (2009) proves “that the social and political context in which immigrants find themselves exerts a powerful experience on voice and visibility” (p. 47).

Dias (1989) in his article *Falares emigrantes* portrays Portuguese in a different way. In his article, he talks about the different destinations of Portuguese migrations flows, the occupations held by Portuguese people in different countries and the development of a new linguistic code among the community. About the immigrants settled in the United States, Dias notes that the Portuguese immigration flow dates from the seventeenth century, bearing some importance in the nineteenth century and significantly intensifying in the twentieth century. In his first remarks, he points out that Portuguese people in different countries have similar patterns due to the fact that the vast majority comes from poor rural areas and settles in urban zones where they do not establish contacts with the host communities. Dias disagrees with Pap (1981) and Wolforth (1978), stating that Portuguese immigrants are a homogenous group that has had great difficulties to adjust to the realities of their host country and thus to assimilate. About Portuguese people in America, Dias argues that Portuguese immigrants tended to stay and work in their communities, which led to the fact that they did not need to develop their English fluency. Dias refers to the implementation by Portuguese immigrants of important media like radio and newspapers that reinforced the use of Portuguese. Dias notes that Portuguese immigrants unintentionally have created and use a linguistic mix between English and Portuguese. Dias may have oversimplified the issue of Portuguese immigration, referring to Portuguese immigrants as “voluntary immigrants” (according to Ogbu’s terminology, 1998) and thus does not take into account the second and third generations²⁰.

Monteiro (1993) in his article based on ethnographic research carried out in Portugal and in the United States “Emigrantes imigrados: Da Lousã ao Connecticut, uma investigação em dois termos” develops the idea that “every immigrant is also an emigrant” (Martins cited

²⁰ Ogbu’s (1998) Cultural-Ecological Theory was developed to contrast differences in academic achievement between foreign-born immigrants and minoritized youth born in the United States. Ogbu referred to the former as “voluntary” minorities and to the latter as “involuntary” minorities. According to Ogbu, voluntary minorities are individuals who willingly moved to the new country in order to improve their life. Involuntary minorities are individuals who did not come willingly, such as refugees, asylum seekers, and those forced by conquest or enslavement.

in Monteiro, p. 323). Monteiro disagrees with Dias (1989, p. 325 & p. 335) and he explains that Portuguese immigrants have created strong social networks that tie them to the host countries.

Finally, Monteiro proves right the final expectations of Woforth (1978). In fact, Monteiro (1993) shows that after the decade of the 1970s Portuguese immigrants, encouraged by American and Portuguese governments, tended to celebrate their heritage more overtly (“Portuguese power”) and a clear sign of that change is the implementation of Portuguese schools. Nevertheless, he also notes that “the Portuguese flag never appears without an American flag next to it” (Monteiro, p. 340, my translation). In fact, Portuguese immigrants in the United States celebrated their double belongings, memberships and loyalties. Monteiro (p. 342) concludes that the Luso-Americans look forward to developing their unique identity with their own interests.

Nearly a decade later, Holton (2005) writes about current Portuguese immigration in the United States and to some extent challenges some ideas on Portuguese immigration supported by previous scholars, like the melting pot theory appeared in Pap’s (1981). In fact, Holton’s researches (2005) brings an update in the field of studies on Portuguese immigration to the United States.

Holton (2005) argues that European immigration to the United States is still seen as a phenomenon of the past. It is interesting to note that 30 years earlier Woforth (1978) insisted on the fact that the Portuguese flow of immigration was not a recent trend and came from the seventeenth century. One reason for Holton’s need to stress on the newcomer side of Portuguese immigration is because, nowadays, scholars tend to investigate flows of immigration coming from non-European countries to the United States disregarding flows from Western Europe that are still taking place (Holton, 2005). Holton (2005, p. 174) demonstrates that Portuguese migration is still a current observable fact, particularly in New Jersey.

As we have seen previously, according to US 2000 census, the fourth largest Portuguese population in the United States is concentrated in New Jersey (1st being in California, 2nd in Massachussets and 3rd in Rhode Island). Holton (2005) in the sixth chapter of her book *Performing Folklore: Ranchos folclóricos from Lisbon to Newark* refers to two interesting characteristics of Portuguese immigration in New Jersey: most of the immigrants come from the continent (and not from the Portuguese islands) and Portuguese immigration is

a recent fact. As Holton points out “The 1980 census numbers for New Jersey reveal that 83 percent of the population of foreign-born Portuguese arrived between 1965 and 1980” (p. 180) Another interesting indicator used by Holton to support the idea that New Jersey has recent immigration from Portugal is “the large percentage of Portuguese that speak Portuguese at home” (p. 180-181). In fact, according to 1990 US Census of Population and the tables presented in Holton’s book (2005) there were 56,928 Portuguese living in New Jersey and 55,285 people aged five or more who spoke Portuguese at home²¹. This high proportion of Portuguese speaking in Portuguese at home is very different from the proportions that we find in other states, for instance in California out of 275,492 Luso-Americans only 78,232 use Portuguese language at home (Holton, table p. 181). Furthermore, Portuguese living in New Jersey keep stronger ties to Portugal. According to Holton,

Although the Luso-American population is considered more permanently situated in the United States compared to Portuguese communities in northern Europe, who describe their emigrant lives as “temporary” (Klimt 1992), many of New Jersey’s Portuguese return regularly to their birthplace and dream of Iberian retirement. Over one-third of the Luso-Americans interviewed for the Ironbound Oral History Project reported visiting Portugal annually. Many in this group still maintained family homes or newly purchased apartments in Portugal. *Retornados* -those who had settled in lusophone Africa and were forced to return to Portugal after 25 de Abril, later moving to the United States-comprised the population that returned to Portugal least frequently. Among the second-generation Luso-Americans, all had been to Portugal at least once and some returned annually with their parents or alone to visit grandparents. (p. 185)

Holton in her sixth chapter “Dancing along the In-Between: Folklore Performance and Transmigration in Newark, New Jersey” also analyzes the macro contexts that have encouraged Portuguese to leave their homeland and settle down in the United States. She considers the governmental strategies that have encouraged Portuguese immigrants to assimilate into the American society preserving their ties to Portugal. Then she shows that revivalist folklore performance has been considered a way to link Portuguese emigrants to their homeland. In fact, she argues that “revivalist folklore is both a vehicle for the economic and emotional linking of emigrants to Portugal and a tool for achieving what Rumbaut and Portes term “selective acculturation” within the United States” (2005, p. 173). Based on the results she gathered on her three-year-long ethnographic research, she states that Portuguese

²¹ As we have seen previously, the number of Portuguese living in New Jersey according to US 2000 Census has increased to 78.196 people.

immigrants acculturate in the American way of life preserving some significant elements from their home-country:

Along the lines of Rumbaut and Portes's definition [of selective acculturation], Luso-Americans in Newark exhibit a high rate of bilingualism in the second generation, balancing assimilation into mainstream American society with the retention of core values and cultural practices from their parents' native context. (2005, p. 196, my insert)

The folklore performance is a clear example of Portuguese selective acculturation. In fact, Holton argues that "folklore dance in New Jersey is also a way for Portuguese-born parents to instill distinctly Portuguese moral values in their second- and third-generation "American" children and grandchildren" (2005, p. 186) Dancing folklore or *rancho* is a way for parents to keep their children and grandchildren in the same cultural continuum as them.

As we have seen, researches on Portuguese immigration in America have been shaped according to different trends of assimilation and have predicted trends of assimilation to come. Besides, research on Portuguese immigration in America still faces challenges identified by the previous mentioned authors. As Holton (2005) notes, little recent scholar research has been developed on the field. One limitation that it is still found in most of the literature and in some statistics of population is the inconsistent use of terms to refer to Portuguese immigrants that live in America. Pap (1981) in his book notes the way that the official immigration and population statistics have differentiated Portuguese based on geographical origin and race. In fact those who came from the Azoreans Islands were differentiated from those who came from the mainland or continent and from Portuguese that came from Cape Verde Island. He demonstrates that surveys carried out in the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century tended to make differences based on race, namely skin color:

Some official immigration as well as population statistics, as have already been hinted, have made a distinction between immigrants from Portugal of "Portuguese" or of "white" race, as against those of "African-black" or "colored" race. (...) Other special census counts have referred to person of Portuguese mother-tongue (whether foreign-born or not). (1981, p. 51)

That differentiation based on race, place of origin and language complicates the task of the researcher when interpreting and comparing statistics. Dias also (1989) notes the indeterminate way that the term "Portuguese" is used in North American census.

On the other hand, some researchers tend to refer to Portuguese-American as Luso-American which raises some problems of understanding (see for instance, Holton, 2005). Immigrants that come to the United States from Brazil are most of the time identified as Portuguese-speakers and then are included in the term Luso-American²². A consistent use of the terms Luso-American and Portuguese-American is highly needed. A clarification of the terms definition and use help to avoid confusions. It is important to bear in mind that there are important geographical, historical, cultural and even linguistic differences between Portuguese and Brazilian communities and thus it is highly relevant to use consistent and well-defined terms for each of them.

²² Plus, the American ethnic terminology complicates the situation referring to the Brazilian community as Hispanics.

Chapter 3

3. Portuguese immigrants, their perceptions on education and their involvement in American public education

In this third chapter, I present some data found around the issue of Portuguese immigrants and their commitment to formal education. First of all, I explain the potential role of education in immigrant's lives. Secondly, I refer to some interesting studies on Portuguese immigrants' commitment to education in the United States. Last but not the least, I expose the findings of an ethnographic study developed by Becker on Portuguese students in an American public school.

3.1. The role of education in immigrants' lives²³

Schools are one of the first and most important agents of socialization. Ideally, schools are important institutions that promote social cohesion and national integration (Piper, Dryden-Peterson & Kim, 2006, p. ix-x), what is called by Feinberg and Soltis (2004, p. 25) as "political socialization". For children of immigrants, schools are indeed a powerful agent of socialization and assimilation which generally includes a certain level of political socialization. When immigrants arrive to the USA and enroll their children in American schools they are taking the first step to promote the assimilation of their children into the mainstream culture, also known as "the American way of life" (Feinberg & Soltis, p. 25-26). They learn the language of the host culture, its culture and values. As Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco and Todorova (2008) express:

Schooling is particularly important for immigrant youth. For them, it is the first sustained, meaningful, and enduring participation in an institution of the new society. (...) It is in schools where, day in day out, immigrant youth come

²³ In this chapter, when using the concept education I am referring to formal education that takes place in public schools.

to know teachers and peers from the majority culture as well as newcomers from other parts of the world. It is in schools that immigrant youth develop academic knowledge and, just as important, form perceptions of where they fit in the social reality and cultural imagination of their new nation. Moreover, they learn about their new society not only from official lessons, test and field trips, but also from the “hidden curriculum” related to cultural idioms and codes – lessons often learned with and from peers and friends.” (p. 2-3)

In fact, educational institutions play a great role in the process of assimilation, not only through their official curriculum but also through the interactions among the whole community. The interactions that take place at school and thus involve the youth are going to shape their character, lives and identities. One of the findings of Suárez-Orozco et al. (2008) is that students have different levels of engagement in their classes according to the teacher and his or her pedagogy (p. 114). According to their study, the students were more positively invested in their academic performance with teachers who implement participatory classes and have a caring and firm manner (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008, p. 114). This may be related to some extent to Becker’s article that I describe later in this same chapter.

3.2. Education and Portuguese immigrants in the USA: an overview

Social and professional contexts are also key actors in the amount of investment that students put in their academic career. De Sá and Borges (2009) challenge the assumption that differences in social mobility among different ethnic groups are related to differences in skills or human capital (de Sá & Borges, 2009, p. 265). They argue that the Portuguese low investment in education is not inherent to the Portuguese culture but may be explained by contextual factors (p. 266). They refer to the segmented assimilation theory (explained in the first chapter) to show that the process to attain middle class status does not only rely on group characteristics (neither on education solely) but also on conditions encountered in the place of settlement (de Sá & Borges, 2009, p. 267, p. 289). Based on a research developed in Southern Massachusetts, also known as the “Portuguese Archipelago” for its high density of Portuguese residents, de Sá and Borges (2009) demonstrate that

(...) lack of affordable schools, information, guidance, and white-collar jobs, coupled with low returns from education, denied them [the Portuguese] both

the opportunity and the incentive to acquire the educational requirements for reaching middle-class status. (p. 289)

According to de Sá and Borges' article (2009), most Portuguese living in the Portuguese Archipelago do not have the necessary conditions to invest in their educational career, they lack opportunity, encouragement and professional and personal motivations. As Portes and Zhou (1993) argue

There are three features of the social context encountered by today's newcomers that create vulnerability to downward assimilation. The first is color, the second is location and the third is the absence of mobility ladders. (p. 83)

The European Portuguese phenotype is not an element that has been proven to promote downward assimilation for Portuguese in the USA, and thus is not that relevant in this case.²⁴ Nevertheless, the other two features are very significant as de Sá and Borges show (2009).

About the educational issue mentioned previously, Barrow, Borges and Sweeney (2002b) have some interesting findings that also challenge the cultural justification that Portuguese are not inclined to education. Their survey collected answers from 400 residents (Portuguese and non-Portuguese) of Southeastern Massachusetts (p. 100). The percentage of respondents that identified themselves as Portuguese, Portuguese-American or Cape Verdean is nearly 30%. Through that survey, Barrow and al. (2002b) found that the great majority of the respondents (77.2%) indicated that having a good education is very important (within a scale that went from unimportant to very important) to succeed. The percentage of Portuguese that indicated that having a good education is very important is higher (86.2%) than the percentage of non-Portuguese respondents (75.0%) (p. 107). It is also interesting to note that the percentage of Portuguese respondents that indicated that having a good education is very important to attain success is even higher than the one for hard work and ambition (p. 108). These findings challenge the belief that Portuguese tend to overvalue hard work to the detriment of a good education. Nevertheless, the results of this survey are based on opinions given by the respondents and opinions may differ from real attitudes because as

²⁴ The Portuguese phenotype is not identified as foreign in the USA and thus does not complicate the assimilation of Portuguese in the white group. Nevertheless, this is not always the case in other contexts. Portuguese immigrants in France cope with discrimination based on their phenotype. For instance, Portuguese girls (I mean girls with Portuguese parents and thus Portuguese phenotype) tend to be discriminated because they seem to be more hairy than French girls and thus are called "poilues". In the documentary "Ailleurs si j'y suis" by Saguenail and Regina Guimarães (2003), some Portuguese-heritage undergraduate students voice this kind of experiences.

the same authors say in another chapter “Expressed opinions are never perfect indicators of attitudes (...)” (Barrow, Sweeney & Borges, 2002a, p. 123).²⁵

Moreover, the opportunities that school provides to study Portuguese and Portuguese culture may be of great relevance, namely for first generation students. Sweeney (2002) based her research on Massachusetts and its public schools. Massachusetts has been a state with a significant immigration from Portuguese-speaking countries. Thus, public schools in the state of Massachusetts have good reasons to offer Portuguese language instruction. Nevertheless, ignoring the recommendations set in the *Foreign Languages Curriculum Framework*, whose final version was issued in 1999 and adopted by the Department of Education in Massachusetts, few public schools, colleges and universities offer some kind of Portuguese language instruction to their students, even if a great part of them come from Portuguese-heritage communities (Sweeney, 2002, p. 150, 152 and 158).

3.3. Portuguese students in American Public School: a research study by Becker

Adeline Becker’s ethnographic research has a lot to contribute to the field of Portuguese in public education in America. Becker (2009) has republished recently the article whose title is “The Role of the School in the Maintenance and Change of Ethnic Group Affiliation” that introduces her readers to the reality of Portuguese students in an American public school²⁶. Becker (2009) developed a one-and-a-half-year qualitative research that consisted of participant observation, personal interviews and questionnaires in an urban high school in New England. She followed 18 students from Portuguese families, 8 denominated “recent immigrants” (they are in the USA for less than 2 years) and 10 “early arrivals”

²⁵ Qualitative research can bring more validity to the findings as it generally focuses on attitudes and behaviors perceived by the researcher and it is not limited to opinions (except to some extent by the opinion of the researcher himself or herself). In the next pages, I focus on Becker’s article which is based on an ethnographic research and thus consists in an analysis of encounters and observations that she developed on a Portuguese community.

²⁶ According to a note at the end of Becker’s article, the article was first published in *Human Organization* 49 (1), 1990:48-55. That means that the ethnographic research may have been developed in the late 1980s.

according to her terminology²⁷. She observed them in a great variety of contexts: “social, athletic, religious and academic settings” (p. 321). During school visits, Becker observed them in different settings, in classes, in halls, at lunch, in the library, even in after-detention. She paid special attention to interactions between students, recent arrivals versus early arrivals, Portuguese students versus Anglo students and Black students, students versus teachers, and to some extent teachers versus parents²⁸. Through her research, she demonstrates the role that schooling plays in the creation of a national identity (p. 317). She also describes and analyses the challenges undergone by Portuguese students.

About demographics in the school, Becker writes that the majority of the students are from a racial and/or linguistic minority. Forty percent of the nearly 1,000 member student body is black, twenty-one percent is Anglo, fifteen percent Portuguese, ten percent Hispanic, eight percent Southeast Asian and six percent is Cape Verdean (p. 324). The faculty staff are ninety-three percent Anglo, most of them are second and third generation Italian, Irish or Jewish.

First of all, Becker shows that there are explicit policies that encourage schools to build “better understanding among ethnic groups”, to respect diversity, for instance promoting native language instruction. Nevertheless, her findings indicate obvious discrepancies between explicit policies and actual implementation. She found out that:

When explicit policies were compared to actual program implementation, it became apparent that, despite claims to the contrary, no Portuguese bilingual program existed in the high school. (p. 322)

According to Becker’s account, Portuguese students are discriminated institutionally. As Becker (2009) shows in her article, the school’s commitment towards bilingual education is false. For instance there is only one guidance counselor who speaks Portuguese in the school and he is only permitted to work with ninth graders (Becker, p. 322). Furthermore, as she expresses in her article “The Portuguese language-arts class was ironically scheduled in conflict with beginning English as a Second Language (ESL), so no recent arrivals could enroll” (p. 322). There is structural conflict in the school towards Portuguese students, especially recent arrivals.

²⁷ Something that could have been useful in Becker’s research is to identify students according to their generational status rather than to their date of arrival.

²⁸ I use the terminology used by Becker in her article.

She found out another important discrepancy, this time between policies and teachers' expectations and behaviors towards their Portuguese students. As Becker writes (2009):

Teacher attitudes and behavior reflected stereotypes of the Portuguese student as intellectually inferior, non-educationally oriented, socially backward, and marginal to American values, assimilation and upward mobility. [...] When the teachers' feelings were examined closely, many revealed patterns of racism, ethnocentrism, and cultural superiority. (p. 323)

Teachers are basing their perception of Portuguese students on prejudices and stereotypes and thus they are discriminating their Portuguese students led by those prejudices and stereotypes.

Becker (2009) adds later a fascinating analysis about how cultural values are understood and interpreted as inherent, static and negative characteristics held by all the Portuguese students and Portuguese-heritage students:

The faculty had reinterpreted Portuguese cultural concepts so that they now appeared undesirable. Values of hard work became viewed as anti-intellectual and non-educationally oriented. Close Portuguese family ties were seen as exclusionary and anti-assimilationist. Respect for authority was equated with docility and subservience. Protection of females was sexist and discriminatory. Fear of blacks was racist. Non-political involvement was un-American. (p. 326)

It is clear by this quotation that the school nurtures negative judgments about Portuguese culture and values. School staff uses the Portuguese cultural values to justify the negative academic performance of Portuguese students²⁹. The school prejudices turn into structural and social discrimination. Portes and Zhou (1993) refer to a similar case on Haitian students that are victims of discrimination at school because they are perceived as "too docile and too subservient" (p. 81).

Becker states that even the bilingual teacher who is from continental Portugal showed linguistic and cultural superiority over the Portuguese students because the great majority of them are from the Portuguese islands, from Azores (p. 329).

²⁹ The same process takes place in society and even in academic researches. Most researchers have tended to explain the political invisibility of Portuguese immigrants and their lack of motivation to invest in education based on Portuguese historical and cultural traits. Read Bloemraad (2009) about Portuguese political invisibility and de Sá and Borges (2009) about Portuguese educational investment for examples that show that the social context is the key to understand why Portuguese are less politically visible and less invested in education than other ethnic groups.

The contact between students' parents and teachers was also very limited. As Becker says:

Little, if any, attempt was made to understand the cultural difference between the school and the home, or to reach parents, the majority of whom indeed held unsupported attitudes about education. (p. 323)

Another interesting point is that “teachers treated the black students as the most prestigious group in the school” which could sound paradoxical because the majority of the staff is Anglo (Becker, 2009, p. 325). The counselor of the school confirms that idea and explains it saying that the “blacks rule the school” because they are numerous and they are “performers”, “outgoing” and thus “the most popular kids” (p. 325). Ironically, they are also those “who cause most disturbance” according to the counselor (p. 325). The author highlights that Portuguese do not mix with black kids due to anti-black prejudice. Portuguese parents caution kids against mingling with blacks. Anti-Black prejudice and racism among Portuguese may exist due to different reasons, as Becker explains (p. 327). First, in the Azorean Islands (from where the majority of the students are) there were no Blacks, and thus fear is the immediate response to the unknown (Becker, p. 325). Secondly, Portuguese have had contact with Blacks through conflicts: colonial conquests and colonial wars (Becker, p. 325). On the other side, Portuguese students may also have rancorous feelings towards black students because they are the favorite group of students in the school, even if black students' behavior (at least the one described by Becker) is considered disrespectful by Portuguese students. Nevertheless, as Becker points out in her article, black students are the majority in the school, which raises a great challenge for Portuguese students. At home they are told to avoid Black students but, at school, Blacks students are the most admired. Furthermore, Black kids may have bad feelings towards Portuguese too. Portugal was a colonist country that traded a great number of slaves. Consequently, a rancor based on historical events may be present on Black kids towards Portuguese kids. More likely, Black kids do not appreciate the fact that Portuguese are obedient and thus “uncool” (Becker, p. 329).

Becker (2009) finally also pays attention to the differences between Portuguese students between early arrivals and recent arrivals. In fact, the two mentioned groups do not mix in the school. There is no intergroup solidarity between the two groups. They occasionally mingle outside the school in Portuguese community events. In school, recently-arrived Portuguese students suffered social isolation and “were socially stigmatized” (p. 327). Recent arrivals do not speak English and tend to be excluded from the mainstream at least

until they learn how to speak English and to dress and act modern, American or even “Anglo”. They experience American school with poor support from early arrivals Portuguese students and from the school’s staff. As I mentioned before only one counselor could talk Portuguese, and he could only do it to ninth graders. Moreover bilingual classes had conflicting schedules which did not allow recent arrivals to attend classes taught in Portuguese.

According to Becker’s research (2009), Portuguese students, those labeled as early arrivals, nurture contradictory feelings towards their own heritage. They are proud of being Portuguese at home, but they are ashamed of being Portuguese at school and thus they try to avoid the Portuguese label. At school, the earlier arrivals feel forced to negate their home culture and to establish a different identity from the low-status Portuguese. Early arrivals want to be seen as Anglo, but others (teachers, staffs, other students) keep labeling them as Portuguese:

They [the early arrivals] called themselves Anglo but were classified by students and teachers alike as Portuguese. They have neither melted nor retained their cultural heritage (p. 333).

Becker (2009) argues that Portuguese students live in two cultures, one at home and the other at school. They are bicultural. When entering in an American school, children feel the social pressure of having to change the way they dress, speak and even behave. Another common message in American public schools as the one described by Becker is the devaluation of education as a vehicle to attain social mobility, which contradicts the immigrant parents’ expectations (Portes and Zhou, 1993, p.81). Levitt (2009) writes based on her research on immigrants in Boston, “They [parents] want their kids to fit in but not too much” (p. 1240).

The school is responsible for the shifting loyalties that Portuguese students undertake. In order to avoid further conflicts with their families and with their peers, children tend to adopt two cultures, one at home and a very different one at school. That also allows them to nurture two different cultures that are relevant to them. Parents have to develop a certain flexibility to understand what their children are going through.

The school does not help these students to adapt to their bicultural reality, it negates their Portuguese culture and discourages their acceptance into the “American” culture. [...] Portuguese students entered the public school with feelings of ethnic pride and left with notions of cultural inferiority and shame.

They usually arrived both respectful and obedient but often left defiant and inattentive. (p.331, 332-333).

Concluding, Becker's article shows that the public school's role in shaping ethnic and national identity had more destructive and negative social implications than constructive and positive ones for Portuguese students, parents and to the whole community.

About this article, I understand that giving more voice to the Portuguese and other students could have added more authority to the article. It could be very captivating to read the situation through the perspective and in the words of the students involved in the research. Moreover, it would be interesting to extend this research to other schools in other states and to have an updated version of this research. In fact, this research may have been developed in the end of 1980s and thus it would be extremely relevant to go now, twenty years later, and see if there have been changes in the way Portuguese are experiencing their schooling in American public schools.

Chapter 4

4. Little Portuguese People: the children of Portuguese immigrants in a community school³⁰.

In some American cities like in Greytown³¹, New Jersey, some students attend, after their regular American public school, an after-school institution that aims at preserving and strengthening their cultural and linguistic heritage. The actors of these particular social dynamics are the children of Portuguese immigrants.

The Portuguese community has been nurturing their language and culture through the participation in a wide range of community-based initiatives: sport teams and associations, dancing folk groups, religious celebrations and after-school programs.

This chapter is the result of my modest contribution to the field of ethnographic research on Portuguese students in the USA. My research covers an educational resource that is available to some Portuguese students: the Portuguese community school. The main original characteristics of this research lay on two aspects: firstly, focusing on a Portuguese educational system that has often been disregarded and, secondly, giving voice to teachers, students and parents involved in that system.

I observed a class of Portuguese-heritage students enrolled in a Portuguese community school in New Jersey during five months and collected interviews. My research aimed at understanding, first of all, the role of the Portuguese community-based schools, and secondly, the way children of Portuguese immigrants that have settled in Greytown voice their Portuguese heritage and their transnational experiences. Bearing those goals in mind, I planned to look carefully at their language habits and at their cultural and emotional links to

³⁰ I decided to name this chapter Little Portuguese People for two main reasons. The first one is because generally a place with a high density of Portuguese in the USA is called Little Portugal, following the same phenomenon as Little Italy in Manhattan, New York. Secondly, I am focusing on the children of Portuguese immigrants, which could be referred to as Little Portuguese, making reference to their young age and their heritage. This is the reflective process from where the title of this research Little Portuguese People came from.

³¹ Following ethnographic protocol, I have used pseudonyms for the name of the city, the name of the neighborhood, the name of the community school and the names of all individuals that participated in the research. In order to guarantee the anonymity of the participants, I have only revealed the American state where the research takes place: New Jersey.

Portugal and to the United States of America. In that process, I discovered a third issue of interest in my ethnographic research: I became interested in observing how the community school and its actors coped with the emergent educational policy from the Ministry of Education that aims at promoting the teaching and learning of Portuguese solely in American public schools.

Through my ethnographic research, I aim at understanding the current conditions of teaching of Portuguese in community schools. I focus on the motivations of parents to enroll their children in the community school, motivations of students to learn Portuguese and the motivations of teachers to teach Portuguese. I am also interested in finding out the relationships that teachers have with the Portuguese government. I pay attention to the potential challenges that parents, students, teachers and other school staff cope with and the way they do so.

4.1. Portuguese immigration to the United States: some relevant facts to the research

The Portuguese communities have been perceived as “one of America’s most intriguing communities” according to Glovin (2006). In fact, as we have seen in the second chapter, Portuguese communities in the United States have received little scholar attention and thus have remained to some extent invisible (Holton, 2005; Wolforth, 1978).

On the other hand, as we have seen in the previous chapters, Portuguese immigration to the United States has often been perceived through the lens of classic assimilation theory as part of the “earlier European transatlantic immigration” (Suárez-Orozco, 2005, p. 73). Indeed, Portuguese flows of immigration date from the sixteenth century when Portuguese Jews escaped religious persecution and sailors from the Portuguese islands (mainly from the Azores) looked for a better life in America. In the nineteenth and twentieth century Portuguese immigrants joined the massive wave of European transatlantic immigration and came to the United States seeking a higher standard of living. Portuguese immigrants wanted mainly to escape poverty and the lack of social and economic mobility at their home country (Pap, 1981).

As previously shown, assimilation was encouraged among Portuguese people due to the fact that Portuguese people tended to be ashamed of their background and thus of speaking Portuguese, namely in public (Pap, 1981; Williams, 1982). Children of Portuguese immigrants in the 1960s considered Portuguese inferior to English and kept little contact with Portugal. On the other hand, Portuguese immigrants have also been seen as poor and illiterate workers from rural settings who did not value education. Children were expected to go to work as soon as possible to contribute to the family's maintenance.

In this research, I intend to show how the more recent flows of Portuguese immigration have been challenging the mentioned classic patterns of Portuguese assimilation into the United States of America. Immigrants from Portugal keep coming to the USA, they are better educated and, generally, they highly value the education of their children. Moreover, after the revival of ethnicity in the 1960s (Fishman et al., 1987; Wolforth, 1978) and the encouragement from the Portuguese government to keep their national ties and acquire double nationality, Portuguese immigrants have been committed to the maintenance of some traits of their cultural heritage, one of them being their language (Holton, 2005). Portuguese immigrants have created different tools for achieving, according to Portes and Zhou's terminology (1993), a "selective acculturation" within the United States. One of these tools is revivalist folklore as identified by Holton (2005), others are the creation of Portuguese associations and the promotion of means of communication like Portuguese magazines and radio stations, and another one, that I considered more important for this research, is the creation and promotion of Portuguese community after-schools that teach Portuguese language and History to children of immigrants.

Segmented Assimilation theory is indeed a useful framework to study the different ways Portuguese immigrants have been acculturating to the United States of America. I will thus use it and complement it with the framework suggested by transnationalism, especially to analyze the ways that first and second generations of Portuguese immigrants use to navigate between two different countries, cultures and languages. Globalization has facilitated the contacts and relationships between the two countries, Portugal and USA. Nowadays there are easier and cheaper ways of long-distance communication and traveling (Suárez-Orozco, 2005). Actually, in New Jersey it is located the Liberty International Newark Airport where a Portuguese airline company (among many other airline companies) flies into. This company offers daily trips to the main cities in Portugal for an affordable price. Portuguese immigrants remain protagonists in the social, political and economic life in both

countries. On the one side, they send money to Portugal, they buy houses or apartments in Portugal, they spend their vacations in Portugal, they teach the Portuguese language to their children and read Portuguese newspapers and magazines and watch Portuguese TV channels; on the other side, they run businesses in the USA, nurture new social networks and encourage their children to be successful in the United States.

Finally, the fact that the Portuguese flow of immigration to the United States is not a phenomenon of the past but an ongoing phenomenon especially in New Jersey (Holton, 2005) supports the idea of Marcelo Suárez-Orozco (2005) who states that “ongoing, uninterrupted migratory flows is said to constantly “replenish” social practices and cultural models that will be “lost” to assimilation” (p. 73). Furthermore, as Portes (2001) suggests, the study of transnationalism is even more significant for those countries that have a large part of its population living abroad, as it is the case of Portugal. The state of Portugal is in Western Europe but its nation is scattered throughout the whole world.

4.2. Portuguese community schools in the United States of America

Fishman (2001) states that in the early 1980s he located more than 6500 heritage language schools “all of them outside of the public sector” and that involved “more 145 languages, 91 of which were Amerindian (...) accounting approximately for the 90% of the total number of schools” (p. 89). Portuguese was one of the immigrant heritage languages included in that group.

Vicente (1999, p. 35) explains that at the time he was writing there were 66 Portuguese community schools in the USA, among which 9 did not have any student³². According to him, the estimation of the total number of students enrolled in the 57 community schools were 3,843 and there were 183 teachers. Nowadays, there are 50 Portuguese community schools in the United States (“Professores de Português,” 2008). Portuguese community schools are generally run by recreational associations or churches.

³² Fernandes (1991, p. 51-55) writes about the efforts that Euclides da Costa made in order that the Portuguese school in Honolulu, Hawai remained open in the beginnings of the twentieth century. According to Fernandes, during the summer of 1917, more than 100 students enrolled in the school. Nevertheless, da Costa’s educational enterprise in Hawai did not last long. Fernandes describes the support given by the media to the issue, and finally the fate of the school and thus, of the teaching of Portuguese language in Hawai (p. 52). Fernandes includes a picture of Euclides Goulart da Costa with his students in Honolulu (p. 52).

Vicente explains that the community schools in the late 1990s were recognized as official by the Portuguese Ministry of Education. Consequently, students who completed the 9th grade at the community schools were given equivalency to the Portuguese 9th grade.

According to Bradunas (1988, as cited in Oliveira, forthcoming), community schools are institutions “that represent a vehicle for the conscious transmission of culture from one generation to the next”³³. Zhou (2009) corroborates this idea and explains that

Neighbourhood-based institutions provide a mechanism for restructuring the social life of immigrants and for tying children to their families, especially at a time when many acculturation pressures serve to distance immigrants from their US-raised or US-born children. (Zhou, p. 1154)

Suárez-Orozco (2005) talking about children’s needs to develop their instrumental skills also argues that

maintaining a sense of belonging and social cohesion with their immigrant roots is equally important. When immigrant children lose their expressive culture, social cohesion is weakened and parental authority is undermined, and interpersonal relations suffer. (p. 80)

Moreover, as Piper, Dryden-Peterson and Kim (2006) suggest, community-based schools are educational possibilities for children in a situation of displacement³⁴. Portuguese immigration to some extent can be perceived as a displacement situation. Community-based schools are the solution found by local communities to create a fairer environment for their children. As Piper et al. express

While celebrating these efforts [the efforts done by the local community], we cannot ignore the inadequacy and inequitable nature of state education systems. Emphasizing the responsibilities of the state and of the international community is critical to long-term equity in education. (p. 4)

In fact, in the case of Portuguese immigrants in the USA, both the home country and the host country (Portugal and the USA in this specific case) are responsible for the educational needs of the children of immigrants and for the creation of fairer educational conditions.

³³ According to Bradunas (1988, in Oliveira, forthcoming), daily family and community life are the agents of unconscious transmission of culture from one generation to another.

³⁴ Piper et al. (2006) in their book refer more directly to developing countries and children that live in underdeveloped contexts. In my opinion, the issue related to community-based schools brought by Piper et al. is to a great extent also valid for the context of Portuguese immigrants in the USA.

However, community schools may also be viewed as counterproductive. In Glovin's article (2006) the Portuguese after-schools are described as places where kids are forced to go by their parents, which can provoke negative results in the long-term. In fact, Glovin refers to Professor Holton following comment: "Some Portuguese parents force-feed their kids language and culture classes, which at times causes resentment (...) In some cases, this dynamic has been an obstacle to convincing heritage students to major in Portuguese studies".

Besides, Portuguese Government through the Department of Education has been recently promoting the integration of Portuguese language teaching within the American public schools system and thus discouraging the teaching of Portuguese as a heritage language in community schools. The article "Professores de Português nos Estados Unidos acusam Portugal de não investir no ensino da língua" ("Professores de Português," 2008), whose title translated to English means "Teachers of Portuguese in the United States accuse Portugal of not investing in the teaching of the Portuguese language" explains that the government has not been supporting the community schools neither with money, resources or training sessions. In fact the Association of Teachers of Portuguese in the USA and Canada (also known as APPEUC that stands for "Associação de Professores de Português dos Estados Unidos e Canadá") is very critical towards the new educational policy developed by the Portuguese government. According to APPEUC, the policy undervalues the teaching of Portuguese in community-based schools.

According to the previously mentioned article in Agência Lusa ("Professores de Português," 2008), Raul Rodrigues accuses the Portuguese government of investing in the implementation of Portuguese centers in American Universities. He adds that it is hard to find teachers of Portuguese for the high school where he works in Massachusetts, because teachers of Portuguese do not come from American universities. According to him, teachers of Portuguese are coming from Portuguese Universities and thus there is no need to invest in American Universities. In my opinion, this argument can be very paradoxical and counterproductive. In fact, this same argument can be served to explain the investment that the Portuguese government is doing in American Universities.

Vicente (1999) affirms that the *Instituto Camões* and its mission of teaching Portuguese have a limited accessibility because they are concentrated in Universities. He blames the Portuguese government for not having a Portuguese cultural center in the USA.

The Instituto Camões has recently opened a linguistic center in Newark in 2003. About the community schools, Vicente explains that their role in the diffusion of Portuguese language is limited to young and teenage learners with Portuguese heritage and thus do not have a central role in the wide diffusion of Portuguese language.

Vicente (1999), through a very interesting comparison between different European linguistic and cultural policies, points out one of the main weaknesses of the Portuguese linguistic policy. According to Vicente, Portuguese is one of the main languages of expression in the world outside its own country of origin. However, Portuguese does not have an official system of linguistic accreditation. Portuguese is the only language with a great number of Portuguese speakers spread throughout the world that does not have an official system of accreditation of Portuguese as a Foreign Language and its respective courses³⁵. Vicente argues that students of Portuguese would be more motivated to learn the Portuguese language knowing that they have the possibility to apply for an official diploma. This kind of exams, if well administrated, are highly regarded in the labor market. That is the main reason why students are generally very interested in investing in language education and in its respective official accreditation. This is an issue that has great implications for immigrants, namely second-generation or third-generation immigrants.

4.3. The setting of the research and its demographics

The setting of this research is a Portuguese community school that I will call Escola Portuguesa Dom Afonso Henriques (Portuguese School Dom Afonso Henriques) situated in Greytown, New Jersey. According to the 2000 US Census, New Jersey State is the fourth state with the largest Portuguese population with 72,196 people, which represents 0,9% of New Jersey population. Greytown in New Jersey is a good example of a city that embraces a vibrant Portuguese community, concentrated in one of its neighborhoods that I will call Silverground.

³⁵ Vicente (1998) explains that the languages with greater expression outside their home country are English, French, Spanish and Portuguese. About their systems of accreditation, Vicente explains that the Spanish language has the *Instituto Cervantes* and its Diploma of Spanish as a Foreign language (known as DELE), French has the *Alliance Française* and its Diploma of French Studies (known as DELF) and Italian has its *Istituto Italiano di Cultura* and official tests offered by the University of Siena and University of Perugia. English has many different recognized tests of English (for instance, Test of English as a Foreign Language, known as TOEFL).

Silverground is a working-class neighborhood with less than 300,000 inhabitants. It is well-known by its Portuguese immigrants, their businesses and cultural festivals. Many signs of the long-lasting Portuguese settlement can be found in its main streets like ethnic restaurants, shops and bakeries, street signs and advertisements, religious centers, clubs, associations and newspapers (from the Portuguese American community and from Portugal, namely the well-known sports newspaper *A Bola*). In the neighborhood, there is indeed a strong Portuguese cultural presence. In its streets, there are also people chatting in Portuguese, references to Portuguese soccer teams and games, Portuguese books on the shelves of the closest public library, and finally and more interesting for this research: bilingual programs including Portuguese in the American public schools and Portuguese heritage language schools.

My research is developed mainly within the walls of an elementary level after-school educational institution for heritage speakers of Portuguese. The school is open in the afternoons from Monday to Friday and also on Saturday morning. Nowadays, the school has approximately 5 teachers and 100 students. The parents pay an annual fee of 250USD (equivalent to more or less 180Euros³⁶) to enroll their child in the school (interview with the teacher, March 12th, 2009). The staff often refers to the school's period of "glory" when there were 13 teachers and a thousand students enrolled. According to teacher Fernandes³⁷, the reduction of students in the school is due to the moving of Portuguese families from the urban setting of Greytown to the suburbs when they gain economical stability (interview, March 12th, 2009). This finding agrees with Monteiro's findings (1993) shown previously. There is a decrease of students in this specific urban community school but at the same time new schools have been established in the surrounding cities and suburbs (interview with the teacher, March 12th, 2009).

The class I observed was composed of 15 students whose ages range from 11 to 14 years old. The class I observed was led by Teacher Fernandes and the great majority of the students were second generation. A couple of students were 1.5 or 1.75 generation according to Rumbaut's terminology. One girl is from Brazilian descent and all the other students are from Portuguese descent. They are white according to American census terminology. The teacher is a Portuguese woman in her fifties that has been teaching in the school since 1980

³⁶ According to currency change on July 11th 2009 (website: www.xe.com)

³⁷ All names of the participants in the ethnographic research are pseudonyms, as previously said.

(interview with the teacher, March 12th, 2009). The students have been attending the after-school for at least 5 years.

The students I observed have classes on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons from 4pm to 6.30pm. The focus of the classes is teaching/learning Portuguese language and Portuguese History. The curriculum of the classes follows the Portuguese curriculum. The book used in the classroom has Portuguese fictional texts and activities designed for students whose mother tongue or home language is Portuguese³⁸.

Finally, the Portuguese community school follows the same calendar as the American public schools, which means that the Portuguese after-school is closed during the summer and on national holidays.

4.4. Methodology

After reviewing a great amount of the available literature on Portuguese immigration in the USA, I did what, according to Howark Becker, Park said in 1927:

Go and sit in the lounges of luxury hotels and on the doorsteps of the flophouses; sit on the Gold Coast settees and on the slum shakedown; sit in the Orchestra Hall and in the Star and Garter Burlesque. In short go and get the seat of your pants dirty in real research. (as cited in Burgess, 1986, p.10)

Effectively, I chose to “go and get the seat of *my* pants dirty in real research”, which in my specific case means that I decided to develop an ethnographic research in a community school in New Jersey³⁹.

In order to collect valuable information I used different sources of information and different methodologies, which is known as triangulation (Maxwell, 1996). In fact, I looked to confirm the information gathered using different methods or looking for different sources. Consequently, I used to some extent both data triangulation, which is the use of multiple sources of data, as well as methodological triangulation, which is the use of a variety of methods. Moreover, I benefitted from the flexibility that qualitative research and specifically ethnographic research has to offer to the researcher. This kind of research allowed me to make changes to the research direction and its questions during the whole process of

³⁸ In the same community school, younger students used books designed for learners of Portuguese as a foreign language.

³⁹ I am using Park’s metaphor, and thus I am not implying that I was getting my pants dirty because the school was dirty. In order to avoid any misinterpretation, I clarify that the school was spotless.

investigation, namely in its initial phase. I was interested in qualitative research also because it allowed me to treat each person as a relevant contributor and not merely as a number or “faceless individual” (Fontana and Frey, 1998, p. 73). I will explain next my process of investigation, focusing on the different methods used.

To get ready for the investigation, I read a great amount of literature on the different issues that I then considered related to my research: assimilation theories, bilingualism, community-based programs, Portuguese immigration to the USA, news from American and Portuguese newspapers, among many other readings. I also read theories on ethnographic research and other works done in the field to feel more comfortable with the methods used and to be aware of its ethical issues (see for instance, Becker, 2009; Lareau, 2003; Suárez-Orozco, 2008).

Then, I identified potential sites to develop my research. As a Portuguese second-generation immigrant myself and as a former teacher, I was interested in observing children of Portuguese immigrants in an educational site. I identified two different options: a public school and a community school. At first, I looked for access to a public high school to develop my ethnographic research. My first choice was an American public school that has been serving Portuguese heritage students. However, due to complex and time-consuming bureaucracy and difficult access, I turned to my second choice, which was a community school. The access to the community school was much easier and I felt really welcome. In fact, the Portuguese school *Escola Portuguesa Dom Afonso Henriques*, through Teacher Fernandes, immediately opened its doors to me. This was my first lesson learnt: access to some places takes more or less time and having an alternative site and some flexibility in the research is very important to avoid delays and frustration.

I went regularly to the community school, specifically to Teacher Fernandes’ classroom, since mid-February to the end of May. I attended once a week the lesson given by Teacher Fernandes, which took place from 4pm to 6.30pm. I usually sat down in the back of the classroom and took notes. I took field notes based on participant observations of what I saw before, during and after the class. I wrote down what I saw and heard, and also my reactions on what I was seeing or listening. I maintained the anonymity of the participants, even in my field notes. At night (or the following day), I typed the notes in my computer. When I had already collected a considerable amount of notes, I read the notes regularly and coded the information according to themes that I identified as recurrent. Then, I considered

new tracks of investigation and thus improved my research questions accordingly. According to Emerson (1995) field notes are a systematic way of writing down what one observes; however, they are only recreations of the actual events. In fact, field notes are considered as an interpretive act where, in this case, I present a version of the world (Emerson, 1995). In spite of this, field notes are still extremely important sources of data.

Besides the observations during class time, I attended a parents meeting where I could observe the interactions between the teacher and the parents, and also at a lower level the interactions between the parents and their child. After the mentioned meeting that each parent had with Teacher Fernandes, I had the opportunity to have semi-structured interviews with some parents in private.

I also had the opportunity to attend the celebration of the end of the academic year. The celebration consisted of a lunch with teachers, parents, students and other staff involved in the community school, different shows presented by the students, discourses given by the responsible staff for the school, a raffle and some awards given to the best students. In order to attend that lunch, everyone had to make a payment, which restricted the attendance of some parents and their children.

Moreover, I carried out an audio-recorded semi-structured interview with the teacher, Professor Fernandes, another one with the teacher auxiliary Ms. Alice, and a last one with a former teacher of the school. It is interesting to note that the conversation with Ms. Alice got more remarkable when I switched off the recording device. Consequently, I had to memorize as much as I could and then, afterwards, write everything down in the form of notes. In the mentioned semi-structured interviews, I asked about their motivations, opinions, experiences and feelings regarding the school, the community and the educational policy from the Portuguese Ministry of Education. Afterwards, I partially transcribed the interviews. It is interesting to note that the interviews were carried out in Portuguese.

I also carried out three focus groups interviews (also called group interviews) with some students in the last phase of my research. They lasted around thirty minutes each. Two of them were mainly carried out in Portuguese and the other one in English (with considerable code-mixing in all of them). The focus groups were audio-recorded and then partially transcribed. I asked the students to participate in the focus group at a late phase of the research in order to give us time to build a relationship of trust. It also allowed me to make the groups aware of the compatibility between the participants. Throughout the months

I could identify the different relationships of friendship (or not) between students. I chose to do focus group interviews instead of individual interviews with the students because I believe as Fontana and Frey (2003) refer that “they can be stimulating for respondents” (p. 73). I thought that students would feel less intimidated in a group interview than in an individual interview and I was also confident about the fact that they would actively engage in the group conversation. Some group interviews got more intense than others, as expected, but they all provided very interesting and sincere insights from the students. Focus group interviews are also a practical way to collect information in less time from more people. I did not want to make the students lose too much class time. However, in order to transcribe the group interviews I had to spend much more time and it took me longer than with regular one-to-one interviews. For instance, I had some difficulties identifying the voices of the respondents in some moments of the group interviews. The students involved in that part of the research had previously agreed to participate in it and had given me the authorization signed by their parents or guardians. Through the focus groups I encouraged the students to talk about themselves, their experiences and relationships at the Portuguese school and at their American schools. I also asked them to talk about their hobbies in America, their vacations and their visits to Portugal.

Besides, in the first month, I asked the students to complete a questionnaire in order to get to know information that was very difficult to perceive by only participant observations⁴⁰. For instance, I asked them their age, the country of birth, the country of birth of their parents and the language used at home, among other questions. I requested them to justify their answers when relevant. The questionnaire was composed of closed and open questions. On the one hand, I chose to use closed questions or questions with multiple answers for some kind of personal information like age, place of birth. It is the quicker and easier way to collect and then organize the data. On the other hand, I used some open questions in order to give the opportunity to the students to give their own answers. The questionnaire was mainly in Portuguese and the students could answer the questions in the language of their preference. Finally, I collected and organized all the information and then analyzed it.

In addition, I tried to implement the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) which is a projective narrative instrument used in *Learning in a New Land* (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008)

⁴⁰ As for the focus groups, the surveys were only given to those students who brought the authorization form signed positively by their parents and themselves. Strangely, only girls brought me the completed form and thus participated in the surveys and focus groups.

for one main reason. I was curious about the results that this kind of test could provide me with. I wanted to see if through that method children would share interesting insights about their identity. Some art educators argue that people reveal a part of themselves and their own life when describing and interpreting a piece of art, like a painting. Thus, I used three different pictures and not the traditional picture of a boy looking at a broken violin (used in Suárez-Orozco and al., 2008) which, I realized later, raised some challenges of interpretation. I read and tried to analyze the results of the TAT, with mixed success.

Moreover, I had some casual conversations with different people in the community. For instance, I talked with a Portuguese politician in the community, with a Professor that carries out investigation in the field of Portuguese immigration, with two former teachers of *Escola Portuguesa Dom Afonso Henriques* and with some people from the neighborhood.

Finally, I asked two former teachers in *Escola Portuguesa Dom Afonso Henriques* to answer by email a small questionnaire about their experiences in the school and their opinion about the political and educational turmoil going on between community schools and the Portuguese Ministry of Education. Only one of them sent me back the completed questionnaire.

At the end of the process, I tried to confront as much as I could the data gathered from the different sources and to analyze it as a whole in order to build relations of similarity and dissimilarity.

4.5. Findings

In this section I intend to describe some of the findings collected through the different mentioned above methods. I organized the findings by themes.

Students' use of language

In the community-school, students are told to speak in Portuguese. According to my field notes (February 19, 2009) "The teacher asks the students to not mix up the two languages Portuguese and English because the combination 'não é linguagem, não é língua, não é nada'. In fact, the teacher often calls the students' attention to talk in Portuguese. Translanguaging is not welcome in the classroom. Nevertheless, the teacher uses and lets the

students use English in determined moments to facilitate the comprehension of a word, or to give/ask for a quick translation of a word.

Students do talk in Portuguese with the teacher but they tend to use English with their peers. In fact, they showed a great resistance to speak in Portuguese, namely with their schoolmates, even during class time. According to my field notes (February 19, 2009) “They are excited and talk in English with each other. The teacher talks in Portuguese and asks the students to do the same. They do it when talking to her. They do not do it when talking with each other”.

Students tend to use English in spontaneous reactions: “When students are spontaneous, they tend to speak in English. For instance, when a student sneezes the teacher says in Portuguese ‘Santinho’ but the fellow students say ‘Bless you’. When some students leave the class early, like the three sisters at 6.10p.m., the students say ‘Bye’ instead of ‘Adeus’” (field notes, February 19, 2009).

Furthermore, I found out through the questionnaire that for most students the use of Portuguese is confined to the school space and thus, it may be at risk of disappearing, Fishman argues that “School use of a language is not enough” to attain successful bilingual development (Fishman, 1977 in García, 2009, p. 143). In fact, 7 of the 8 students who completed the questionnaire, affirmed that they prefer talking and writing in English than in Portuguese. Some refer to the fact that it is easier for them to express themselves in English, other student explains that they are more used to use English as they speak English every day. One student refers to the fact that she does not speak Portuguese because she makes mistakes in Portuguese⁴¹.

On the other hand, 7 out of 8 students who answered the questionnaire said that they tend to speak in Portuguese at home with their parents mainly because their parents (or grandparents in one of the cases) are not fluent in English or because their parents understand them better in Portuguese. One of the students referred to the fact that her parents made her speak in Portuguese with them in order that she improves her Portuguese.

When I had the interviews with some parents, many of them refer proudly to the fact that their child was able to speak in Portuguese with family members that are in Portugal. Parents highly value the fact that their children are able to speak in Portuguese. One mother,

⁴¹ All the students who completed the questionnaire are girls.

second-generation herself, explained that she attended the school when she was herself a child and at that time she did not like coming to the Portuguese community school. Nevertheless, she explained that now that she is a grown-up she highly values the fact that she speaks Portuguese and has a good job partly due to her bilingual skills. Consequently, she encourages (and to some extent obliges) her child (third-generation) to come to the community school (field notes and semi-interview, April 8, 2009).

Through the questionnaire, I noted that the great majority of students tend to speak more English than Portuguese or only English with their siblings. In fact, only one student who completed the interview chose the option “more Portuguese than English” referring to her linguistic interaction with her sibling(s). Students prefer to talk in English with their friends even with Portuguese-speaker friends because they feel more at ease when interacting in English (focus group interview, April 23, 2009).

A reason to talk in Portuguese in the American school is, according to the testimony of a group of students in a focus group (April 23, 2009), to make comments that others cannot understand. They referred talking in Portuguese at the American school when they wanted to say things that others could not understand, for instance derogatory comments: “Alexandra explains that she likes to speak in Portuguese when she does not want the teacher or friends to understand her. Micaela adds ‘You can insult them in Portuguese’. They laugh” (Focus group, April 23rd, 2009).

I found this pattern similar to the one shown by Ghaffar-Kucher in her doctoral dissertation (2008) about Pakistani students in New York City. The use of the home language is not linked to cultural reasons but sometimes to functional ones. The use of the home language excludes from the conversation people that do not understand Portuguese, like teachers or classmates.

Through the classes, I have also noted that students have some difficulties to express themselves in Portuguese even if the great majority refers speaking Portuguese at home. Students seem to be more comfortable talking in Portuguese about themes related to home or family. For instance, during a group activity on healthy eating habits, I noted that students had a good vocabulary on food.

The majority of students has an American accent. This may reveal the stronger influence that English has in the students’ lives, through schooling or television and their generational status. As we have seen previously, first-generation and 1.75 students learn to

speak English when arriving to America but generally keep a foreign accent. As the students I observed were mainly second-generation they did not show any difficulty, neither reveal any foreign accent when expressing themselves in English.

About their attitude towards the learning of Portuguese, students reveal a very positive attitude towards it. In the questionnaires and focus groups interviews, students said that they thought that Portuguese was important because they could communicate with their parents and other family members that do not speak Portuguese. They also noted that learning Portuguese will be useful for their academic or professional career. Finally, some of them referred that it was a way to maintain their roots. In fact, Portuguese language was mainly perceived as a resource, a tool for communication and a link to their heritage and their family members.

Cultural heritage and sense of belonging

The students I observed had a great knowledge of some Portuguese cultural traditions. For instance, during my first observation I was surprised to hear the majority of girls in the classroom talking about their “*enxoval*”⁴². The students also shared experiences about their parents or grandparents raising animals and cultivating vegetable gardens in America following their Portuguese peasant culture (field notes, February 19, 2009).

Some students referred that they participate in some activities outside the school, which are soccer, folklore dancing and religious events. However, in a focus group interview, a student declared that in the folklore meetings they speak more English than Portuguese, which seems quite paradoxical when we consider folklore dancing groups organizations that foster Portuguese culture and thus Portuguese language. Some students wore clothes and used paraphernalia with references to Portuguese soccer teams, like Sporting Clube de Portugal.

In the classroom, on the bookshelves, there were two flags, one American and one Portuguese side by side. In the end of the year celebration, some students of a higher grade from the same school sang the hymn of Portugal and the hymn of the USA. The students made presentations based on the “*feiras populares*” (popular parties), on Portuguese poetry and on a Portuguese play. A little student boy played a traditional Portuguese song with the accordion dressed in folklore clothes.

⁴² Set of clothes traditionally given to girls in order that they keep it and use when they get married.

At some points, I noticed that children felt more bicultural than bilingual because they seemed to nurture more contact with Portuguese culture than with Portuguese language. They also seemed to be more confident in affirming their Portuguese culture than in affirming themselves as speakers of Portuguese.

About their sense of belonging, the majority of the students said in the surveys that they feel themselves as Portuguese and American alike or more Portuguese than American. Some of them describe their dual loyalties as divided by time or space. One student described her dual loyalty as a matter of day and night and another as a matter of home and school. According to them, they feel Portuguese at home, at night, and they feel American at school during the day. Some students referred that they felt Portuguese when they were at the community school. Two students referred that they felt Portuguese when they are in Portugal. This is linked to García statement that “The learner’s identity is a site of struggle between the subjectivities produced in different social sites – home, school, communities, and thus it is diverse and changing” (García, 2001, p. 106).

All the students that completed the questionnaire answered that they felt more Portuguese when speaking in Portuguese. The great majority added that studying the History of Portugal helped them feel more Portuguese. Some students also explained that they felt Portuguese when they were dancing folklore.

Another stated that she was proud to be Portuguese. In fact, other two students mentioned that to be Portuguese in the United State was something special. Many referred to the linguistic and social advantages of having two cultures. A couple of students referred to the fact that they celebrate the holidays of two countries. In their works on Halloween that were hanging in the walls of the schools, I could note that students celebrate Halloween with incorporation of Portuguese elements, like food and songs.

The community school

I observed that students have ambivalent feelings about the school (focus groups interviews and field notes). On the one hand, they often complain about having to come to the Portuguese school and having to do double homework. They often express a wish that the teacher will not come to the class. Nevertheless, for most of cases those signs are momentary comments and are closest to the expected “cool attitude” than to real feelings about the

school (interview with the teacher auxiliary, March 13, 2009). Teacher Fernandes talks about that: “Porque é óbvio que há muitas crianças que nem à escola americana também querem ir, não é, há sempre aquela aberração ou aquele não gostar, mas que não é por nenhum motivo especial” (interview, March 13, 2009).

In the meeting between teacher Fernandes and parents, one mother expresses the worry (and subsequent dilemma) that her child does not want to attend the Portuguese school because it would put at risk his results in the American school. My field notes on this issue are the following:

When talking about the student the mother says that she does not want her kid to say that attending Portuguese community school is bad for his results in the regular school, she does not want him to complain that he does not have time to study for the regular school. However, she considers that enrolling him in the Portuguese school is the best thing she had done and adds that, later, when kids grow up they would regret if they were not enrolled in the Portuguese school. She also says that she feels “raiva” (anger) when she sees her kid learning Spanish in the regular school instead of Portuguese. (field notes, April 8, 2009)

The mother reveals a certain competitive attitude in her last insight. In fact, she is not happy with the fact that her child is offered to learn Spanish instead of Portuguese in the American school he attends. The use of the word “raiva” seems to reveal a kind of anger towards the superiority of the Spanish language in the American educational system.

In spite of their continued complaints, students are very motivated and engaged in the activities (field notes). They raised their hands to answer the teacher’s questions or to be a volunteer in the activities in enthusiastic ways. They also seemed fully invested when doing group work, like in the activity of creating a poster on healthy food and in the play to be presented at the end of the year. In the questionnaire, all the students answered that they like to come to the Portuguese after-school.

In the focus group interview (April 23rd, 2009) some of them refer that they are forced by their parents to attend the school but then they add that they understand that it would be useful for them in the future. A student highlights the fact that enrolling in the Portuguese school was useful to learn how to write in Portuguese. I include a section of one of the focus group interviews’ log:

6:52 - Alexandra then adds that “But it is also good to come to Portuguese school because you learn Portuguese and you might need it in the future, for like your job and stuff.”

NM⁴³ – And do you need it now or not?

(They talk simultaneously.)

A student – Sometimes you need it, sometimes you don't.

Another student - On vacations...

Micaela - I do.

Paula says it is useful when they learn about the History of Portugal. The majority say it is interesting. But then Paula adds that "Sometimes it is boring".

Gloria adds that she does not like learning about Portuguese literature.

7:20 Micaela says that "Some people can't talk to their grandparents and that is sad because they can't communicate because they don't speak the same language."

Micaela adds: "I speak better because of coming here but also because of my parents at home since we speak Portuguese at home."

Alexandra adds "I knew how to speak Portuguese before I came here, but like writing... no."

Then Alexandra continues saying "I like it more now because we learn, like, because before, in second grade or first grade all we learned were verbs and stuffs."

Paula interrupts her and says "We learn big girl stuff".

Alexandra - "Now it is like more stuff it is more interesting to learn about this stuff." (Focus group, April 23rd, 2009)

About the teacher, I noted that she uses a very traditional pedagogy, very formal teacher-centered activities. The activities that I observed consisted most of the time in reading a text (several times in order to give the opportunity to students to read a piece to the class) and then asking/ answering comprehension and grammar questions (field notes). The positions of the teacher and the students were traditional, the teacher facing the students and the students sitting in rows.

The teacher maintains the formality of the speech and encourages the students to do so. For instance, I have noted the following in my field notes

⁴³ NM refers to me, Natali Martins, the interviewer.

The students are talking informally to the teacher but she corrects the students and asks them to more polite and formal. She did so with Martina, the student with Brazilian heritage.

Martina asks the teacher “Tu queres ver?”

The teacher answers “A senhora”. (field notes, February, 27, 2009)

When teaching Portuguese History, Teacher Fernandes tried to include a few little facts from Brazil to grab the attention of Martina, the student with Brazilian roots. The teacher wrote everything in the blackboard and the students copied down all the information while listening carefully to the explanations of the teacher. Students really enjoyed the History lessons given by the teacher (field notes, March 5, 2009).

To finish, the teacher asks some questions of the History of Portugal. The students are very motivated and raise their hands to participate. The teacher asks the student the year of the beginning of Portugal and they answer 1143 and they all say “Quem não sabe a data 1143 não é bom português!” (which means “who does not know the year 1143 he or she is not a good Portuguese!”). Martina, who is from Brazil, is the only one who is not participating. Then the teacher explains that as Martina is from Brazil, an important date for her is 1822. But Martina does not pay attention. (field notes, February 19, 2009)

Teacher Fernandes invests in pedagogical trainings as she participated in at least two trainings during the months I observed her. The teachers from the school used to organize themselves in order to go together to the trainings that often took place in neighboring cities. The administrative staff of the school talked about some investments for the school at the celebration of the end of the academic year. In fact, in his speech, one of the responsables for the community school explained that the school will undergo some reparations during the summer and will be equipped with new computers. During my observations, I noted that the school had computers in the back of their rooms. However, they seem to be old and they were never used during the time of my observations. It seemed to me that they had not Internet connection in the school (field notes, March 5, 2009).

The teacher had a very good relationship with the great majority of the students. In fact, the students that participated in the focus group interview said that they liked her because she was nice and sometimes she was funny. However, I had the opportunity to interview a mother who confessed me that she did not like the teacher and her manners, her “palavras secas”. According to her, her child does not like the teacher either. In fact, I noted

in some observations that the kid I question tended to be less engaged in the class than her classmates. She added that her child used to like coming to the Portuguese school when she was in a class with a different teacher. Thus, now she was thinking of not enrolling her child next year, as she knew that Teacher Fernandes will teach the next grade the following academic year.

The parents of her students (interview, April 6th, 2009) said that they enroll their children in the community school because they want them to keep improving their Portuguese in order to be able to communicate with their family members in Portugal. Others said that knowing another language was always beneficial, especially for their children future careers. Some of them also referred that they want their children to learn how to express themselves correctly in Portuguese because they want them to adapt easily to Portugal in an eventual return to their homeland. In fact, the teacher explained me that after September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks, many Portuguese parents became interested in enrolling their children in the Portuguese school because they feared they had to leave the country soon (interview with the teacher, 2009).

In a casual conversation with a Portuguese politician in New Jersey, he stated that the school *Escola Portuguesa Dom Afonso Henriques* was a shameful place, a ghetto, with old manners and faced to the past. He argued that some parents told him that their kids cry because they do not want to attend the mentioned community school. He explained that the school staff does not understand that nowadays the Portuguese language should be taught as a foreign language and not as a mother or home language. He did not appreciate the fact that the school was encouraging the children to learn Portuguese classic literature. He recommended me to visit another different school in the area because he considered it an example of a good school that looks towards the future. He highlighted then that in this mentioned school students had computers.

A scholar that works in the field of Portuguese immigration explained that having a good teacher or a bad teacher in the community school greatly influenced the students' choices at the university level. She explained that Portuguese after-school programs often lack proper human and material resources. She referred also to the fact that many parents used to send their kids to the school just because there was a law that did not allow kids with less than 16 (?) years old to be left at home alone. At that time, the students used to have classes every afternoon in the Portuguese community schools. Another scholar in the field

and former teacher in *Escola Portuguesa Dom Afonso Henriques* declared in the questionnaire that

Due to the conditions of the faculty working at these schools and the school's infrastructures themselves, I believe students do not obtain quality learning and therefore are unmotivated in attending classes. (questionnaire, May 5, 2009)

She also identified as major challenges of Portuguese community school:

An aging faculty, deterioration of buildings, lack of learning materials, lack of students, lack of serious and quality professional development. (questionnaire, May 5, 2009)

The community school was challenged by several criticisms that denigrate the school and the school staff's reputation in the broader community. That situation originated a disengagement from the teachers. Teacher Fernandes revealed in the semi-structured interview that she felt very sad about the way the Portuguese community schools were being treated by the Portuguese government.

Teacher Fernandes also argued during the interview that, on the one hand, the community school was not a ghetto and, on the other hand, the community school encourages many students to pursue higher education on Portuguese studies.

Não podem considerar que estas escolas sejam um gueto porque não são. Porque as pessoas integram-se e estão integradas. E vê-se quando vão para a faculdade onde é que estas crianças andaram. Nós temos um centro lusófono em New Jersey, na Rutgers University e os alunos que vão para aí essencialmente aqueles que tiram uma licenciatura são aqueles que andaram nesta escola. Não é esse aluno qualquer que nunca foi a escola e chega ali e consegue fazer essa licenciatura assim.... (interview, March 13, 2009)

It is interesting to note that by the way she talked, there was an assumption that some people considered the school a ghetto. She then, highlights the important role of the community school in promoting the enrollment of students in Universities that offer Portuguese studies.

The teacher and the new educational policy

Through the interview (March 13th, 2009) I learnt that the teacher felt very discouraged because according to her, the Portuguese government, namely its Ministry of Education, does not want to support the community-based schools and is investing in the implementation of Portuguese in the American public schools.

Teacher Fernandes demonstrated that the relationship between the community school and the consulate, and thus the Portuguese government, has worsened. She based that on the fact that when a child left the community school in order to go back to Portugal to study, the school made him/her a certificate that was signed by the school and also by the consulate. However, according to the teacher, the consulate has been refusing to do it:

Teacher Fernandes: Sim, há famílias que vão [para Portugal]. Todos os anos a escola transfere alunos.

NM: Ou seja, voltam para Portugal.

TF: Voltam, regressam a Portugal, levam uma declaração daqui da escola dizendo que frequentaram. Antigamente essa declaração era reconhecida no Consulado de Portugal, agora não é, dizem que não há necessidade disso.... De modo que... Mas continuam e levam e pronto.

NM: E porque é que o Consulado deixaria de fazer uma coisa dessas, ou seja, de...?

PF: Bom, porque como sabe, não sei se já ouviu, o Governo Português está muito interessado nas escolas americanas e não propriamente dar apoio a este tipo de ensino. (interview, March 13, 2009, my insert)

She also explained that the Portuguese government is pressuring her to decide until 2010 whether she wants to stay or not in the United States. If she decides to stay she would lose her connection with the Portuguese educational system and specifically with its retirement system. The teacher expressed that, after 30 years of teaching Portuguese, she felt like her parents had disinherited her (field notes and interview, March, 13, 2009). I include a piece of the interview to exemplify this issue:

Professora Fernandes: Os desafios aqui, nós estamos um bocado preocupados... Os professores na minha situação, no meu estatuto, porque como lhe disse o governo português não está muito interessado em manter a oficialização das escolas, não está mesmo interessado. Então, nós até 2010 temos que tentar ou, 2010, 2011, temos que escolher se queremos regressar ao nosso país, continuar com a nossa carreira lá ou então desvincularmo-nos do sistema a que pertencemos. Portanto acho que isto é como que a nossa mãe ou o nosso pai nos está a falhar um pouco não é, e

sentimo-nos um bocado desmotivados. É doloroso. Tanto trabalho que se fez... Estas escolas como vê não fazem mal nenhum a ninguém. Isto não está a prejudicar ninguém portanto não havia necessidade nenhuma de uma atitude destas. Mas são questões políticas... (interview, March 13, 2009)

In one occasion, the teacher and the students talk about this issue in class. My field notes are the following:

Then the teacher asks the students their parents' opinion and their own opinion in the political turmoil. Miranda says that her mother agrees with the implementation of Portuguese in American Public Schools if the curriculum stays the same that the one used in the Portuguese School. Micaela explains that there was once the opportunity to have Portuguese in her school, but then it was not possible because there were not enough students in the class. Judy says that "The Portuguese school should not close. It is important to learn the past of our parents, how Portugal began. (field notes, March 26, 2009)

In the celebration of the end of the academic year, one of the main administrators of the school said that the integration of Portuguese into the American public schools was something positive but that does not substitute in any way the work done by the community school. He refers to the fact that Portuguese in the American public schools is going to be too basic for the children of Portuguese. Thus, he states that the community school will remain open and a proof of that is the fact that some reparations are going to take place in the building during the summer. He also refers that there will be some new technological equipment in the school (field notes, June 7, 2009).

Portuguese classes in American public school

About the teaching of Portuguese in the American school, Teacher Fernandes argued that the American public schools lack certified teachers (but I observed that in the Portuguese after school that does happen too) and also does not provide the cultural component of the Portuguese language (interview, April 23rd, 2009). She adds that

Teacher Fernandes: O governo de Portugal quer completamente cortar a obrigação que tem com a comunidade portuguesa, com os portugueses aqui não lhes dando o ensino, porque nunca lhes deu, porque são eles é que o pagam. A constituição diz que o governo de Portugal era obrigado a ensinar

grátis o português a todos os cidadãos mas não é isso que acontece aqui nos Estados Unidos. Isso nunca aconteceu. Então eles estão agora a tentar reparar mas acho que não é a melhor forma porque já verificamos já foi tentado haver o português integrado e não resulta porque não é a mesma coisa.

NM: Porque é que acha que não é a mesma coisa?

TF: São duas horas só, por semana. Mas é diferente, não vivem tanto a cultura com tanta intensidade e não vivem o ensino em si. Eu creio que não. Pelo menos o currículo que nos vemos não é o mesmo e há crianças que perdem o interesse porque depois veem que não vale a pena porque que até sabem mais do que aquilo que [os professores] estão a ensinar...

(...) Eu penso que, a minha opinião é que uma coisa não impedia a outra. Eu concordo que o português seja integrado porque dá um estatuto... um estatuto mais importante a língua portuguesa. Mas, creio que estas escolas que deviam continuar a ser apoiadas e a manter este programa e a manter-se activas e vivas porque as escolas estão muito vivas e para isso nós vemos os alunos que continuamos a ter. Mas pronto o governo entende que não é assim então a partir de 2010 nós vamos ter que decidir e é isto... (interview with Teacher Fernandes, March 13, 2009)

Some parents declared that the way the American public schools teach language is not consistent, children learn some words in different languages but do not become fluent (interview, April 8th, 2009). In the party held at the end of the year, the director of the school insisted in the fact that in the American public schools Portuguese children learn only some words of Portuguese. One student declared that the Portuguese classes in the American public schools was not a good experience because he did not learn new things (field notes, March 26, 2009). As mentioned previously, a student said that her mother will agree with the Portuguese government of solely implementing Portuguese integrated into the American public schools if the classes follow the same curriculum used in the community school (field notes, March 26, 2009).

American public schools and their bilingual education are seen by parents and students as ineffective ways of learning languages. According to parents there is a lack of relevant bilingual education for bilingual or heritage learners of Portuguese (according to García, 2009 and Valdés 2001 terminology, respectively). Nevertheless, immigrant parents and their children highly value the learning of Portuguese language for reasons that go from communicative to professional (interviews with parents, April 8, 2009 & focus group interviews with students, April 23, 2009).

A mother revealed another mixed feeling about the American public high school closest to the community. The high school is close to the community but according to her is badly frequented. She was thinking of sending her child to Portugal after finishing middle school in order that her child does not have to attend the high school in question. She felt that the school was not safe for her child and thus it was preferable to send her to Portugal. A neighbor expressed the same feeling of lack of safety. She commented that the high school in question is no longer what it was some years ago. She also complained about the fact that the students of that school are not polite because in the afternoons when kids go out from the school they leave a lot of rubbish in the streets where they pass by, which is something that according to her did not happen before.

About the school, a member of the staff informed me in a casual conversation that the high school situation has changed a lot and was no longer full of Portuguese students. The main ethnicities of its students have changed to Hispanics and African American. Actually, Greytown and namely Silverground are no longer locations primordially populated by Portuguese. People from Ecuador and Brazil are moving to Greytown and thus changing the demographics of the city and its schools.

The ideology of return to Portugal

The majority of the students declared that they like to visit Portugal, mainly because they meet their family there. One student referred that she feels freer in Portugal. In fact, she explained that she used to spend her summer in Portugal and freely ride her bike (focus group interview, April 23, 2009).

On the other hand, some other students said that going to Portugal was “boring”, mainly because they were staying in small villages where “only old people lived there” and they feel isolated especially when staying with family members that do not drive (focus group interview, April 23, 2009).

The students that completed the questionnaire had all gone to Portugal at least once (two students referred going only once). Four students stated that they go to Portugal almost every year. Two students chose the option “once a year”.

Some students in a focus-group interview mentioned the high price of the tickets flights in the month of August as a reason why they do not go often to Portugal. A student explained that her family prefers to drive to Florida and spend there part of their vacations (focus group, April 23, 2009).

About the plans of their parents to return to Portugal, 4 of the students who completed the questionnaire stated that their parents have plans to come back to and live in Portugal. The other four students stated that they did not know. None of the students chose the option that stated that their parents do not want to return to Portugal. About their willingness to go to live in Portugal, 3 of them said that they will like to. In the focus groups and in some casual conversations, some students expressed their wish to pursue their higher education in Portugal. One student said that the education in Portugal is better, even if she could not explain what exactly she meant by “better” (focus group interview, April 23, 2009). It is worthy to note that nearly all the students that filled out the questionnaire, indicated in the last question about their plans for the future jobs that require at least an undergraduate degree. For instance, a couple of them want to become doctors, two want to become teachers, one wants to become a scientist, another one a pharmacist. On the other hand, four students said that they would not like to go live in Portugal, mainly because their friends are in America. In the survey one student referred to her limited knowledge of Portuguese as one of the reasons why she does not want to go live to Portugal. One student also referred to the fact that she liked living in the USA and, in her opinion, in the USA there are better opportunities to have a good job.

In sum, I found their experience in Portugal to be typical of other transnational immigrants. In fact, the respondents seemed to be thoroughly acculturated into the host culture, but they perceive their parents’ hometown as a place of recreation and as a symbolic support for their identity as Portuguese-American, just as Mexican-American do (according to Smith’s research in Portes, 2001, p. 190).

4.6. Limitations of the research

To be an observer, on the one side, who is not invisible and, on the other side, who cannot directly intervene in what is happening in the classroom was a hard challenge. As Adler and Adler affirm (1994, p. 378) “One of the hallmarks of observation has traditionally

been its noninterventionism. (...) Simple observers follow the flow of events.” As Lareau (2003, p. 9) explains in her book, initially I “wanted to be treated like the family dog”, or in this case I could be more like the classroom fish, which means that I wanted to be ignored and be allowed to hang out with the teachers and students. I realized, similarly as Lareau did, that actually, my presence had a more active character (Lareau, p. 9). I noted that the presence of a noninterventionist participant observer is to some extent by itself interventionist. Several times the teacher I was observing interrupted the class to explain me and justify her opinion, behaviors or pedagogy. It was clear that my presence was a clear intervention in the field (not only for the teacher but also for the students and other participants) and thus I often wondered whether the participants acted differently or not because of me.

Another kind of limitation is that my previous experiences as a child of Portuguese immigrants in Andorra have shaped my initial assumptions on the field. There is no neutral qualitative or quantitative research, but in my case I had to pay extra attention in order to reduce the levels of subjectivity. My assumptions if not challenged could lead me to misinterpretations, and would then compromise my whole research. Nevertheless, I found that my own experience as a second generation immigrant and the fact that I speak Portuguese (and English) helped me to have an easier access to the community.

My research was also limited by time and space (as, some people will add, everything in life is). In fact, my involvement with the community was reduced by time constraints. I could only be present in one of the two weekly classes given to the students I was observing. Furthermore, my research has limitations linked to the fact that I was just observing a small number of students and mainly one teacher in a classroom. I had little opportunities to observe other classrooms in the same school and no opportunities to look at other community schools in the region.

I could not observe teacher Fernandes with another class or, which could have been more interesting, in a different community school. I did observe another teacher with younger kids a couple of times, but I did not have the opportunity to follow up those observations and neither to observe another teacher with older kids. This does not allow me to build comparisons.

Another limitation of my research is that I only saw the kids I was observing in the community school and in an event linked to the community school. I believe that it could have been very interesting to follow the kids in different social settings. It could have been

fascinating to attend some Portuguese bilingual classes in an American public school in order to draw some comparisons between the two educational systems: the public one and the private one. Observations in the families' home could also be useful as well as longer interviews with the parents. Other possible sites of observation could have been religious or folklore community-based organizations. I believe that carrying out multi-sited research could have been of great relevance. Consequently, the above mentioned possibilities remain open for future research.

4.7. Analysis of the findings and conclusion

The Portuguese community school may represent a way to balance or even minimize the process of Americanization, encouraged by American schooling, media and peer relationships. The Portuguese community after-school I observed focuses on teaching the heritage language, the history and the culture but, in my opinion, it disregards its potential of creating a stronger and critical sense of belonging between the students and the co-ethnic community and Portugal.

Teachers should be encouraged to receive pedagogical updates. For instance, it could be interesting that they explore the Portuguese community, its needs and their role as teachers in those communities. Teachers could also cultivate their understanding of the potentials of bilingual education in order to make it more effective and more linked to the bilingual nature of their students. Teachers, parents and administrators should gather efforts and design programs and resources that take into account the characteristics, needs and challenges of their own community. They should also try to make their voice stronger in order to attract the attention of Portuguese and American policy-makers.

On the other hand, it is imperative that bilingual education in American public schools takes into account the specific characteristics of its students with Portuguese heritage when designing and implementing its curricula and programs. Valdés (2001) shows the relevance of identifying different kinds of heritage learners and their different needs. School administrators and teachers must identify the needs of their students and communities in order to develop efficient and meaningful programs that inspire their students and communities to preserve and expand their cultural and linguistic heritage fostering mutual respect (Valdés, 2001). Fishman (2001) supports heritage language as one of the valuable

national resources that need to be preserved. Portes (2001) argues that teachers must take into account and incorporate the transnational experiences of their students (most of them children of immigrants) in their teaching.

In my opinion, it is urgent that the Portuguese government cultivates a better relationship with the Portuguese community in the United States of America in order to be able to sponsor social, political and educational policies that are relevant for the well-being of the community.

The Portuguese-American community, the Portuguese government and American public schools should work together and join efforts in order to design and implement a relevant bilingual education for the children of Portuguese heritage. It is important that they work together to avoid the waste of material, human resources and time. It is also meaningful that the different agents in teaching Portuguese take into account the Brazilian and other Portuguese-speaking communities and their needs, and thus design and implement an inclusive curriculum.

Furthermore, it would also be important to think of designing a program where adults may be able to learn or improve their Portuguese “oracy” and “literacy” (García, 2008). In fact, some of them are second, third and fourth generation, and they do not know how to express themselves in the language of their ancestors but want to recover it. Others would like to improve their abilities in order to use their linguistic skills to acquire a better job or in order to teach their children or grandchildren more confidently.

Moreover, it would be interesting that the Portuguese community opens its doors to other ethnic communities to come and learn Portuguese language and culture. That will be a path to build understanding among the different ethnic communities, among the American society.

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I intended to gather relevant information from different researchers on the field of Portuguese immigration to the United States and, I wanted to contribute to the field with an ethnographic research. My contribution to the field of ethnographic research had the aim to cover two aspects of the field of Portuguese immigration that were too often forgotten: second-generation immigrants and community schools. My research aimed at voicing the interests, needs and challenges of a Portuguese community in New Jersey. As a second generation Portuguese immigrant myself and as a former teacher and someone interested in the field of education, I collected data on the educational situation of Portuguese immigrants to the United States from published researches and I focused on that same field in my qualitative research focus on second generation Portuguese immigrants. Through those methods, I intended to show the fascinating complexity of the different flows of immigration to the United States and the differences between each generation.

According to the findings of my research, there are important changes between the flows of Portuguese immigration of the beginning of the twentieth century and those of the end of the twentieth century and beginning of the current century. For instance, (first, second and even third generation) Portuguese have integrated into the American society without completely assimilate. Recent Portuguese immigrants do not feel the same urge to assimilate as previous Portuguese felt. Portuguese immigrants nurture transnational ties between two countries: they make part of the larger American society and they preserve their Portuguese heritage. Portuguese immigrants in the United States do not understand anymore their migration experience as a definitive one. They visit regularly their country and they keep strong ties to their places of birth. They even dream of coming back to spend their retirement in their house. Surely, some will pursue that dream and others will adapt it according to new priorities.

Portuguese parents invest in their children Portuguese education enrolling them in the closest community school. Children learn how to manage their commitments to two different schools, at the same time they complain and happily participate in classes. They speak Portuguese with their family members that are not fluent in English, and they are proud of their Portuguese heritage. They participate in many different cultural activities in different social contexts, which nurture their dual sense of belonging. They use their transnational experiences and use them in different contextual situations. In sum, they are Portuguese Americans.

According to my findings, the Portuguese community school is coping with many challenges: decrease of students and controversial Portuguese policies of education. Nevertheless, it still plays a relevant role in its Portuguese community, namely for its second and third-generation immigrants. The Portuguese government is encouraging the implementation of Portuguese integrated into American public schools. The community school staff feels threatened and, in a certain way, they feel they are victims of an unfair situation. In response to that, paradoxically, the responsible staff for the community school I observed decided to invest in the school. In fact, teachers, parents and children are convinced that Portuguese classes in the American system of education are not enough for them, they are heritage learners that have specific needs and demands. The community school, parents, the Portuguese government and the American government alike need to join efforts to preserve and promote the Portuguese language and culture through the generations of immigrants and to diffuse the language to other ethnic communities. United they can be stronger.

Social impact

I agree with Lather (1986) when she states that the role of research is to promote reflection and consequent social change. She explains it as “what Freire terms “conciencialization,” knowing reality in order to better transform it” (Lather, p. 67). She adds (1986, p.67)

My argument is premised not only on a recognition of the reality-altering impact of the research process itself, but also on the need to consciously channel this impact so that respondents gain self-understanding and, ideally, self determination through research participation.

I believe that researchers have an ultimate role to play in the social reality: use their research to promote reflection in the respondents, in the whole community and especially in the policy-makers involved in the issue. Academic research has a social impact that needs to be revalued.

The field of research of Portuguese immigration to the United States (and to other countries as well, consider for instance Andorra!) has exciting paths of historical, anthropological and sociological exploration to be discovered and shared with researchers and policy-makers around the world. As Holton (2005, p. 9) states “Portugal constitutes an extremely fertile arena for examining the dynamics of this global-local dialectic due to recent political upheavals that have set in motion a series of transnational contractions and expansions producing a radical renegotiation of spatial identity”.

Further research

In my opinion, the field of Portuguese immigration to the USA has many paths to explore. I believe that more updated research is necessary on Portuguese communities scattered around the USA. I would add that there should be more qualitative researches like the one developed by Becker (2009) and the one developed by Suárez-Orozco et al. (2008) to broaden and enrich our understanding on the way children of Portuguese immigrants (first, second and even third generation of immigrants) experience their schooling in USA. An updated (and improved) version of Becker’s work would be warmly welcomed in the field.

For instance, it would be interesting to take Becker’s (2009) article on Portuguese students in an American high school and use it as a platform to develop a similar study that Suárez-Orozco et al. (2008) have done on children (mainly first generation) from the Caribbean, China, Central America and Mexico. The book by Suárez-Orozco et al. gives an updated description and analysis of how these children are managing their schooling experience in American public schools. In fact, Portuguese students and the students followed by Suárez-Orozco et al. (2008) are part of minoritized groups in the same country, the USA, so they share some common characteristics as they cope with similar challenges⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ I use the term “minoritized” instead of “minority” because minority groups are not considered minority only due to their lower number compared to the mainstream group but because they have less power in the society. For that reason, they are not a minority group but they are a minoritized group.

It would also be interesting to invest in comparative research. For instance, a comparison of the experience of Portuguese first and second generation immigrants in different kinds of educational systems around the world could be a fascinating research.

Finally, I would finish with some open-ended questions for further research using the framework of this dissertation's title. On the one hand, taking into account that Portugal is receiving important flows of immigration, what are the characteristics of the immigrants with Portuguese dreams? What do their dreams consist of? And, on the other hand, what are the dreams of Portuguese first, second and third generation immigrants that are scattered around the world? What are the dreams of the Portuguese that stay in Portugal and wait for the return of the immigrant families?

What are *your* dreams?

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Appendixes

Appendix A- Questionnaire given to the students (Portuguese version)

Appendix B- Questionnaire given to the students (English version)

Appendix C- Table with the results of the questionnaire

Appendix D- Questionnaire emailed to the former teachers

Appendix A- Questionnaire given to the students (Portuguese version)

Caro aluno,

Agradeço a tua colaboração no meu projecto de pesquisa. Por favor, responde às seguintes perguntas sinceramente. Por baixo de cada pergunta há espaço para algum comentário que queiras fazer. Podes escrever em Português ou Inglês. Se tiveres alguma pergunta, chama por mim. ☺

- 1- Quantos anos tens?
- 2- Onde nasceste? *(Escolhe a resposta que se adequa ao teu caso.)*
 - a- Em Portugal.
 - b- Nos Estados Unidos de América.
 - c- Noutro país. _____
- 3- Se não nasceste nos Estados Unidos, que idade tinhas quando vieste para os Estados Unidos?
- 4- Onde nasceram os teus pais? *(Escolhe a resposta que se adequa ao teu caso.)*
 - a- Os dois nasceram nos Estados Unidos.
 - b- Um nasceu nos Estados Unidos mas o outro não.
 - c- Nasceram os dois em Portugal.
 - d- Nasceram noutro país.
- 5- Com que frequência vais a Portugal? *(Escolhe a resposta que se adequa ao teu caso.)*
 - a- Nunca fui.
 - b- Fui uma vez.
 - c- Vou todos os anos.
 - d- Vou quase todos os anos.
- 6- Gostas de ir a Portugal? Se nunca foste, gostavas de ir a Portugal? *(Escolhe a resposta que se adequa ao teu caso e completa as frases.)*
 - a- Sim, porque ... / Yes, because ...
 - b- Não, porque ... / No, because ...
- 7- Os teus pais gostariam, um dia, de ir viver para Portugal? *(Escolhe a resposta que se adequa ao teu caso.)*
 - a- Acho que sim. Falam disso às vezes.
 - b- Acho que não querem ir para Portugal.
 - c- Não sei.
- 8- Tu gostavas de ir viver para Portugal? *(Escolhe a resposta que se adequa ao teu caso e completa as frases.)*
 - a- Sim, porque... / Yes, because
 - b- Não, porque... / No, because
- 9- Que línguas falas?
- 10- Que língua gostas mais de utilizar quando falas e escreves? *(Justifica a tua resposta.)*

Porque? Why?

11- Que língua falas em casa com os teus pais? *(Escolhe a resposta que se adequa ao teu caso e justifica.)*

a- Inglês. b- Português. c- Inglês e português, mas mais inglês do que português.

c- Inglês e português, mas mais português do que inglês. e- Outra língua: _____

Porque? Why?

12- Que língua falas fora de casa com os teus pais? *(Escolhe a resposta que se adequa ao teu caso.)*

a- Inglês. b- Português. c- Inglês e português, mas mais inglês do que português.

d- Inglês e português, mas mais português do que inglês. e- Outra língua: _____

Porque? Why?

13- Se tens irmãos, que língua falas com eles? *(Escolhe a resposta que se adequa ao teu caso e justifica.)*

a- Inglês. b- Português. c- Inglês e português, mas mais inglês do que português.

d - Inglês e português, mas mais português do que inglês. e- Outra língua: _____

Porque? Why?

14- Que língua falas com os teus amigos? *(Escolhe a resposta que se adequa ao teu caso e justifica.)*

a- Inglês. b- Português. c- Inglês e português, mas mais inglês do que português.

d - Inglês e português, mas mais português do que inglês. e- Outra língua: _____

Porque? Why?

15- Gostas de estudar na escola portuguesa? *(Escolhe a resposta que se adequa ao teu caso e justifica.)*

a- Sim, porque / Yes, because ...

b- Não, porque ... / No, because ...

16- Participas em alguma outra actividade extra-escolar? *(Escolhe a resposta que se adequa ao teu caso e justifica.)*

a- Sim. Em quais? What activities?

b- Não. Porque? Why?

17- Geralmente sentes-te... (*Escolhe a resposta que se adequa ao teu caso e responde à pergunta.*)

- a- mais americano ou americana do que português ou portuguesa.
- b- mais português ou portuguesa do que americano ou americana.
- c- Português ou portuguesa e americano ou americana por igual.

Porque? Why?

18- Em que momentos é que te sentes mais português ou portuguesa?

19- Em que momentos é que te sentes mais americano ou americana?

20- Aprender a língua portuguesa faz-te sentir mais português ou portuguesa?

- a- Sim.
- b- Não.

21- Aprender a história portuguesa faz-te mais português ou portuguesa?

- a- Sim.
- b- Não.

22- Na tua opinião, que significa ser português nos Estados Unidos?

23- Que gostavas de fazer quando fores grande?

Obrigada! Thanks! NLM

Appendix B - Questionnaire given to the students (English version)

Dear student,

I thank you for your collaboration in my research project. Please, answer the following questions sincerely. After every question there is some space where you can write any comment if you want to. You can write in Portuguese or in English. If you have any question, call me. ☺

1. How old are you?

1. Where were you born? *(Choose the answer that suits your case.)*

a- In Portugal. b- In the United States of America c- In a different country. -----

2. If you were not born in the United States, how old were you when you came to the USA?

3. Where were your parents born? *(Choose the answer that suits your case.)*

a- Both in the United States. b- One was born in the United States but the other not.
c- Both in Portugal. d- They were both born in a different country.

4. How often do you go to Portugal? *(Choose the answer that suits your case.)*

a- I never went. b- I went once. c- Every year. d- Nearly every year.

5. Do you like going to Portugal? If you never went, would you like to go? *(Answer and complete the sentence.)*

Yes, because ...

No, because ...

6. Would your parents like to go back to Portugal to live there? *(Choose the answer that suits your case.)*

a- I think so. They talk about that sometimes. b- I do not think they want to. c- I do not know.

7. Would you like to go to Portugal? *(Choose the answer that suits your case and complete the sentences.)*

Yes, because

No, because

8. What languages do you speak?

9. What language do you prefer using when talking and writing? *(Explain your answer.)*

Why?

10. What language do you speak at home with your parents? *(Choose the answer that suits your case and explain.)*

a- English. b- Portuguese. c- English and Portuguese, but more English than Portuguese.
d- English and Portuguese, but more Portuguese than English. e- Another language: ____

Why?

11. What language do you speak outside home with your parents? *(Choose the answer that suits your case and explain.)*

- a- English. b- Portuguese. c- English and Portuguese, but more English than Portuguese.
d- English and Portuguese, but more Portuguese than English. e- Another language: _____

Why?

12. If you have siblings, what language do you use to speak to them? *(Choose the answer that suits your case and explain.)*

- a- English. b- Portuguese. c- English and Portuguese, but more English than Portuguese.
d- English and Portuguese, but more Portuguese than English. e- Another language: _____

Why?

13. What language do you speak with your friends? *(Choose the answer that suits your case and explain.)*

- a- English. b- Portuguese. c- English and Portuguese, but more English than Portuguese.
d- English and Portuguese, but more Portuguese than English. e- Another language: _____

Why?

14. Do you like studying in the Portuguese school? *(Choose the answer that suits your case and explain.)*

a- Yes, because ...

b- No, because ...

15. Do you participate in any activity outside school? *(Choose the answer that suits your case and explain.)*

c- Yes. In what activities?

d- No. Why?

16. Generally you feel... *(Choose the answer that suits your case and answer the question.)*

- d- More American than Portuguese.
e- More Portuguese than American.
f- Portuguese and American at the same level.

Why?

17. In what moments do you feel more Portuguese?

18. In what moments do you feel more American?

19. Does the learning Portuguese language make you feel more Portuguese?

- a- Yes. b- No.

20. Does the learning of Portuguese history make you feel more Portuguese?

- b- Yes. b- No.

c-

21. In your opinion, what means to be Portuguese in the United States?

22. What do you want to be when you grow up?

Thanks! NLM

Appendix C - Table with the results of the questionnaire

Question number	Questions	Answers to the questions	Number of students who answer positively
1	How old are you?	13 years old	4
		12 years old	1
		11 years old	2
		did not answer	1
2- 3	Where were you born? If you were not born in the United States, how old were you when you came to the USA?	Portugal / 6 years old	1
		USA	8
4	Place of birth of parents	Both born in Portugal	6
		One born in the USA	1
		One born in France, another in PT	1
5	How often do you go to Portugal?	just once	2
		every year	2
		almost every year	4
6	Do you like going to Portugal?	Yes	7
		No	0
		did not answer	1
6	Why do you like, or like not?	Yes- family in PT	6
		Yes- friends in PT	1
		Yes- a pet in PT (a cat)	1
		Yes- freedom to run	1
		0 - Just went once	1
7	Would your parents like to go back to Portugal to live there?	I think they do	4
		I think they do not	0
		I do not know	4
8	Would you like to go to Portugal?	Yes	3
		No	4
		Mixed feelings	1
8	Why would you like or not to go to Portugal?	yes- family in PT	1
		yes- education better in PT	1
		no- friends in the USA	4
		no- better life, better job	1
		no- lack of fluency in PT	1

9	What languages do you speak?	Portuguese and English	3
		Portuguese, English and Spanish	4
		Portuguese, English and French	1
10	What language do you prefer using when talking and writing?	English	7
		Portuguese and English alike	1
11	What language do you speak at home with your parents?	English	0
		Portuguese	2
		More English than Portuguese	1
		More Portuguese than English	5
11	Why do you speak the referred language with your parents?	Parents unable to speak EN	3
		To improve my Portuguese	2
		More at ease with parents	1
12	What language do you speak outside home with your parents?	Always Portuguese	3
		More English than Portuguese	2
		More Portuguese than English	3
13	If you have siblings, what language do you use to speak to them?	More English than Portuguese	5
		English	2
		More Portuguese than English	1
14	What language do you speak with your friends?	More English than Portuguese	1
		English	7
15	Do you like studying in the Portuguese school?	Yes	8
15	Why do you like studying in the Portuguese school?	Knowledge	3
		Useful for the future	1
		Language of my country/parents	2
16	Do you participate in any activity outside school?	Dancing Folk music	3
		Soccer	4
		Religious activities	4
		Other sports/activities	4
		No extra school activities	3
17	Generally you feel...	More American than Portuguese	1
		More Portuguese than American	2
		Portuguese and American alike	5
17	Reasons given	Family	2
		Language and culture	1
		School	1
		Country of birth PT	1
		School/home day/night	2
		Nationality	1

18	In what moments do you feel more Portuguese?	PT school	4
		Home	2
		When in Portugal	3
		Dancing Folk music	2
		Pride	2
19	In what moments do you feel more American?	School	7
		Extra school activities	2
		When speak English	2
20	Does the learning Portuguese language make you feel more Portuguese?	Yes	8
21	Does the learning of Portuguese history make you feel more Portuguese?	Yes	7
		No	1
22	In your opinion, what means to be Portuguese in the United States?	a linguistic advantage	2
		a special person	3
		Not to lose their culture	2
		Someone who learn from two countries	1
		Do not know	1
23	What do you want to be when you grow up?	Teacher	1
		Teacher in an American school	1
		Doctor	2
		Scientist	1
		Pharmacist	1
		Animal Cop	1
		Makeup artist	1
		I do not know	1

Appendix D- Questionnaire emailed to the former teachers

Learning Portuguese as a heritage language in the USA: the role and outcomes of Portuguese community after schools in the USA.

Please answer the following questions according to your experiences and opinions.

- 1- What are your relationship and/or experiences with Portuguese community after schools in the USA?
- 2- What is the role of the Portuguese community after schools?
- 3- In your opinion, what should be the role of the Portuguese community after schools?
- 4- In your opinion, what are the main reasons (and motivations) for students to attend Portuguese community schools in the USA?
- 5- What are the reasons why parents enroll their children in a Portuguese community after school?
- 6- What are the advantages of attending a Portuguese community after school (for the children, parents, community, society)?
- 7- What are the main disadvantages of attending Portuguese community after school (for the children, parents, community, society)?
- 8- What are the challenges that Portuguese community after schools are coping with?
- 9- Are there other ways to teach and learn Portuguese outside the community after schools in the USA? Which ones?
- 10- To what extent the teaching of Portuguese in the American public schools substitute the Portuguese community schools?

11- What is your opinion about the educational and political turmoil that is going on between the Portuguese community after schools (in the USA) and the Portuguese government and its Ministry of Education?

12- How do the Portuguese community after schools deal with its Brazilian students?

13- In your opinion, what are the conditions that need to be fulfilled in order that children of immigrants learn successfully the Portuguese language?

14- Do you have other comments? Please feel free to share them with me.

Thank you very much for your collaboration!

