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Managing a double identity: Luso-descendants and Portuguese language retention, identification with and ties to ethnic communities, to Portuguese and American cultures, and to Portugal and the United States



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- ❧ I feel I owe it to my grandfather to keep his legacy alive. He left the Azores not because he wanted to abandon his culture and way of life. He left because he wanted to provide a better economic future for his family.*
- ❧ I am in the process of getting my Portuguese passport. Even though my grandfather had to renounce his Portuguese citizenship, he is now going to have a grandson who will go back and regain his citizenship.*
- ❧ Yet, I also think my grandfather made the right choice and I am very proud of being an American.*
- ❧ (Interview with a third generation Portuguese American in California, whose grandparents arrived in the United States in the early 20th century).*

Introduction



- ✧ A close economic, cultural and political connection between diaspora communities and their ancestral society can be of mutual benefit to both.
- ✧ For diaspora communities, and especially for those in which integration into the host society's mainstream institutions is well underway, a common identification with the country of ancestral origin may be the last mainstay in the maintenance of a shared identity and group solidarity, from which all group members may benefit.



Introduction



- ❧ In addition to identity, history, and family ties, the maintenance of an attachment to the home country also provides opportunities for economic, political, cultural and scientific exchanges beneficial to both the diaspora and the ancestral society.
- ❧ For the home country, the mobilization of and engagement with the diaspora communities can present a means to promote its national political and economic interests as well as its language abroad.
- ❧ It is a win-win situation for both parties.

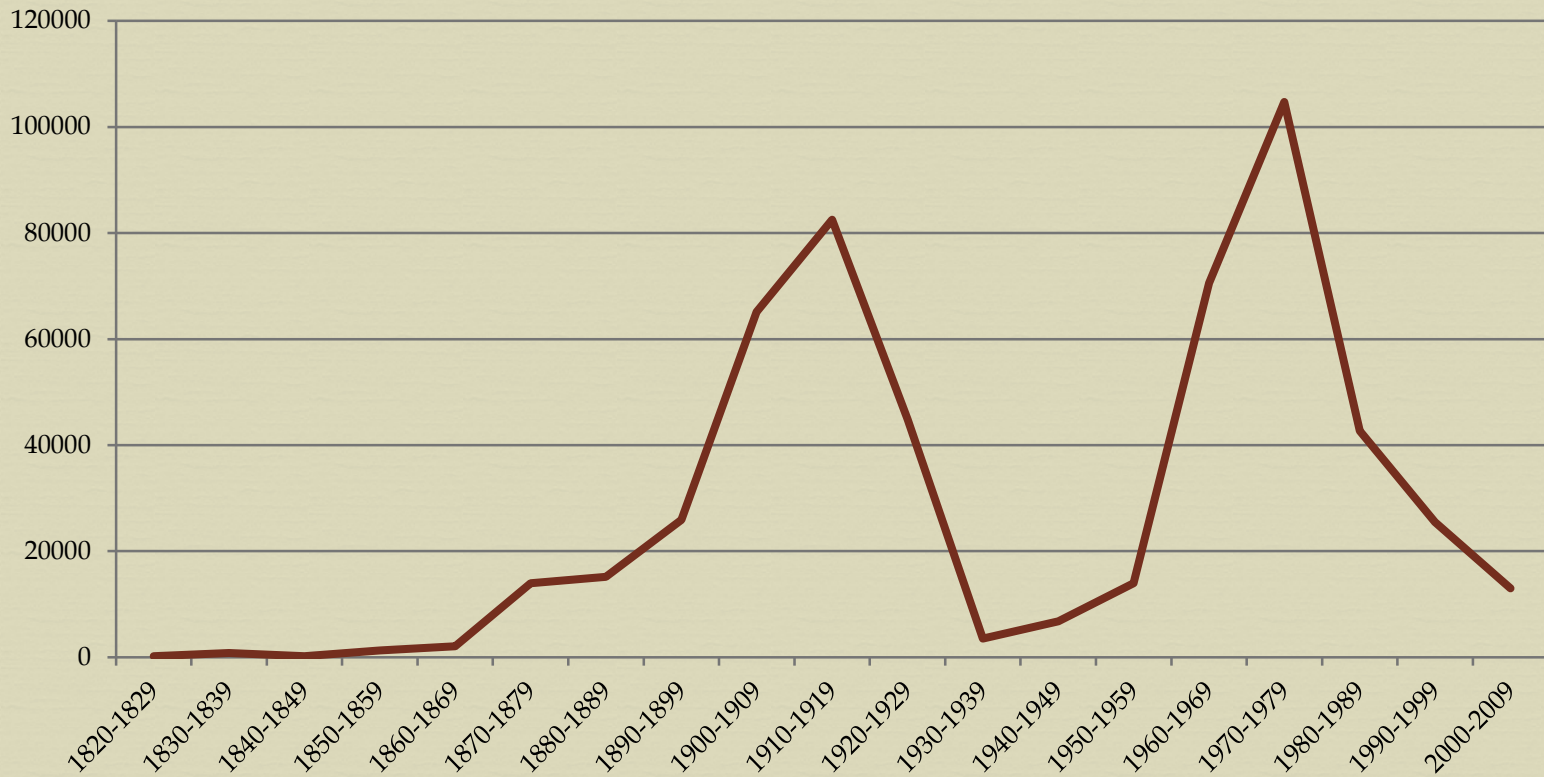
Introduction



- ✧ The capacity of diaspora communities to engage in socioeconomic and political action beneficial to the ethnic group and the ancestral society is positively associated with the level of educational, socioeconomic and political integration into the host society that individuals of those communities have achieved.
- ✧ Yet, higher levels of integration may lead to an increasingly diluted ethnic identity, and thus to low levels of identification and loyalty to the ancestral country. This trend is perhaps even more pronounced in situations, such as the case of Portuguese migration to North America, where the level of immigration has declined sharply and the immigrant generation is increasingly being replaced by its host country born descendants.



Immigration timeline from Portugal to the United States



Introduction



Given their level of integration into the American societies and their level of interest in their heritage, Luso-descendants, I argue, are at an optimal stage to be mobilized as an ethnic community, which may engage in concerted socioeconomic and political action on its own behalf and on behalf of Portugal.



Introduction



- ❧ Further, in accordance with the concepts of “the third generation interest” and “symbolic ethnicity,” I argue that:
 - ❧ Luso-descendants, today, unlike earlier immigrant generations, do not face a hostile context of reception in America. As such, they may openly assume and practice their ethnicity without having to incur the socioeconomic costs or bear the psychological wounds caused by prejudice and discrimination, as was the case with their ancestors.
 - ❧ The expression of their ethnicity and pride in their ancestral roots and nation is not an obstacle in their path toward continued structural integration into American society

Introduction



- ❧ Lastly, given that not all Luso-descendants remain interested in their ethnicity or ancestral origins, I hypothesize that those who do, after controlling for generation in North America, are more likely to:
 - ❧ Label themselves as being Portuguese or Portuguese American.
 - ❧ Have higher skills in and use of the Portuguese language.
 - ❧ Have achieved high levels of integration into American society, while simultaneously engaging in selective acculturation or, if already assimilated, returning to their roots and adopting a “symbolic ethnicity.”

Main variables under consideration



- ☞ Context of reception: negative, positive, neutral
- ☞ Type of acculturation: dissonant, consonant, selective
- ☞ Connection to ethnic communities: family, friends, neighbors, feasts, ethnic social activities.
- ☞ Portuguese language skills and use.
- ☞ Level of education, income, occupational prestige and political participation
- ☞ Connections to Portugal (keeps informed about Portuguese news, visits and remittances to Portugal).
- ☞ Note: due to space considerations, I will not provide descriptive data on some of these variables, and I will remit the reader to previous papers I have written on the topic of the integration of Luso-descendants in the United States (cf. Scott, 2010, Scott 2010, Scott 2009).

Introduction



☞ Data sources:

- ☞ In-depth interviews in California and New England in 2010.
- ☞ Online survey with 1507 respondents (324 from Canada, 1183 from the United States).

	One and a half	Second	Third	Fourth and beyond	Total
Canada	156 48.1%	144 44.4%	23 7.1%	1 0.3%	324 100.0%
United States	325 27.5%	559 47.3%	183 15.5%	116 9.8%	1183 100.0%
Total	481 31.9%	703 46.6%	206 13.7%	117 7.8%	1507 100.0%

Note on generations



- ❧ First – immigrant generation.
- ❧ One and a half – children brought to North America before they were 14 years old.
- ❧ Second – first generation born in America.
- ❧ Third – grandchildren
- ❧ Fourth – great grandchildren and a few respondents who indicated that they were fifth, sixth and seventh generation.

- ❧ Note: This study does not include the first generation.

The theory and the Luso- descendants

- Identity formation is connected to processes of acculturation and assimilation into the host society. Berry (1997:9-10) posited four possible categories of acculturation for immigrants and their descendants:
 - (1) assimilation, which involves identification with the host culture;
 - (2) separation or identification only with the original culture;
 - (3) integration or a high level of identification with both, the ancestral and the host cultures; and
 - (4) marginalization or a low identification with both.

The theory and the Luso-descendants



- The recent sociological literature, on the second generation and segmented assimilation, associates ethnic and country of origin identification, and ancestral language maintenance with the following processes:
 - Context of reception
 - ✧ Negative, neutral or positive
 - Type of acculturation
 - ✧ Consonant or dissonant, and selective

Negative context of reception



- ❧ Negative or hostile contexts of reception may lead to quick straight-line acculturation and assimilation and “thining” of the ethnic identity (c.f. Altschul et al., 2008).
 - ❧ “People whose ethnic, racial, or other social markers place them in a minority status in their group or community are more likely to be self-conscious of those characteristics. Youths may cope with the psychological pressure produced by such differences by seeking to reduce conflict and to assimilate within the relevant social context – the modal response of the children of European immigrants in the American experience” (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001: 151).
- ❧ Yet, in situations where ethnicity has been politicized, or taken the form of “identity politics”, a negative context of reception may lead, in a “reactive formation,” process, to a “thickening” of the ethnic identity.
 - ❧ “An alternative reaction may lead to the rise and reaffirmation of ethnic solidarity and self-consciousness.” In this case the ethnic identity “thickens” over time and the connection to the mainstream institutions decline” (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001: 151-2).
- ❧ This process may be associated with engagement in militant identity politics.
- ❧ Some young Luso-descendants want to assume their ethnicity precisely for this purpose, that of engaging in identity politics, in the same manner that members of some minority groups do in America.

**Early 20th century Portuguese immigrants faced
a negative context of reception--most pursued assimilation as the solution**

My grandfather built a house in Taunton, but it was in an Irish neighborhood, and the Irish would not accept him and the family. They had a very difficult time...

They would keep their shutters closed because the Irish would throw things for them to get out of the neighborhood...

My grandfather used to say: "You Irish, you lost your flag because of whiskey!" Somehow in Ireland they had given whiskey to the soldiers and they lost the battle

(Interview with a female whose grandfather arrived in the United States in 1903).

Back in those days we were considered lower than second class. We were at the bottom of the pit... We were seen as not being smart enough to hold certain jobs, like lace weaver.

They [Irish, Italians, Polish and Canadians] called us "black Portugee" and "dirty Portugee" because we would go and get the swill from the neighbors to feed the pigs.

The Irish and the French would say, "Portuguese lala [feasts] and shit in the parlor."

Irish boys would be waiting for us...The Irish and French boys broke my nose!

(Interview with an octogenarian whose grandparents arrived in America in 1893, settling in West Warrick).

☞ *I was growing up in my pre-teen and teens years during WWII, and obviously loyalty to America was very, very strong, and although my grandparents and great-aunts would say, "you should be proud that you're Portuguese," that was secondary to feeling that I was really American. And particularly with the little that I heard about Portugal being fascist and neutral during the Second World War, and Salazar, I did not walk down the streets saying, "WOW! I am Portuguese."*

☞ *Today the recognition and acceptance of multiculturalism in certain parts of the United States is such that you can have those interests and you can voice those interests without being uncomfortable. In my parent's generation, there was much more this feeling that you had to hide your ethnicity and culture. Some of my dad's older sisters did as much as they could not to identify with the Portuguese culture.*

(Interview with an septuagenarian in California whose grandfather arrived in the United States in the late 19th century).

Nowadays, Luso-Americans do not face a negative context of reception, and thus there are no longer socioeconomic and psychological costs associated with being ethnic. They are free to be ethnic and to be proud of their ethnicity.



	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
When I was growing up I felt accepted by other Americans/Canadians who were not Portuguese.	46 3.1	178 11.8	118 7.8	611 40.5	554 36.8
When I was growing up I felt embarrassed about the Portuguese customs of my immigrant parents/ancestors.	583 38.7	543 36.0	135 9.0	207 13.7	39 2.6
When I was growing up I felt that people discriminated against me because I was from a Portuguese background	534 35.4	535 35.5	166 11.	207 13.7	65 4.3
When I was growing up I felt there was a lot of prejudice against Portuguese/Canadian Americans.	493 32.7	575 38.2	182 12.1	196 13.0	61 4.0
When I was growing up I felt negative feelings about myself because of prejudice against Portuguese /Canadians Americans.	682 45.3	574 38.1	123 8.2	104 6.9	24 1.6
When I was growing up I rejected the Portuguese culture so that I could fit in with other Americans/Canadians.	653 43.3	560 37.2	135 9.0	117 7.8	42 2.8

Theoretical overview: dissonant acculturation

❧ Dissonant acculturation occurs when children acculturate but parents do not. The children navigate the institutions of the new society without the benefit of parental guidance.

❧ *“My father wanted me to go to college close to home... But I had to leave my family so I could find my own identity, find my own way, because at home I was the interpreter, everything fell to me... Since I was seven, I felt very mature for my age, and so I felt it was time for me to distance myself from my family and really experience the world through my own eyes.”*

❧ (Interview with an one and a half generation female, who arrived in the United States in 1962 with her family when she was seven years old).

Consonant and dissonant acculturation indicators

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
When I was growing up I often entered into conflict with my parents because they did not approve of behaviors that were standard for other Americans / Canadians who were not Portuguese.	196 13.0	365 24.2	169 11.2	493 32.7	284 18.8
When I was growing up I thought Portuguese customs were old fashioned compared those of the U.S. / Canada culture in general.	118 7.8	380 25.2	191 12.7	632 41.9	186 12.3
When I was growing up I often had to serve as translator for my parents.	439 29.1	240 15.9	68 4.5	310 20.6	450 29.9
When I was growing up I was able to talk to my mother and/or father about personal issues such as dating or a party I went out to, a personal problem I was having, etc.	404 26.8	510 33.8	146 9.7	322 21.4	125 8.3
When I was growing up I was able to talk to my mother and/or father about school work or grades or other things I was doing in school.	175 11.6	367 24.4	149 9.9	586 38.9	230 15.3
When I was growing up my parents participated in my school life (talked to my teachers attended sporting events etc.)	245 16.3	421 27.9	135 9.0	471 31.3	235 15.6

Dissonant acculturation



- ❧ Crosstab analysis of the previous indicators showed that dissonant acculturation was more prevalent among people of the one and a half and second generations.
- ❧ Undoubtedly dissonant acculturation may have reduced the pace at which some of the one and a half and second generation descendants of Portuguese immigrants, who had to manage the academic and other institutions of the host society without parental guidance, advanced educationally and economically.
- ❧ Dissonant acculturation, given the decline in immigration from Portugal, is not likely to be a determinant factor on the path of acculturation and integration of future generations of Luso-descendants

Dissonant acculturation



- ❧ In this study I do not utilize language use and skills of children as compared to those of parents to measure dissonant acculturation. These, however, have been the principal indicators scholars have employed to measure types of acculturation (dissonant, consonant or selective).
- ❧ “Losing one’s language is also losing part of one’s self that is linked to one’s identity and cultural heritage. When children move decisively in this direction while parents remain steeped in their own language and culture, the conditions for dissonant acculturation are set. Communication across the generations becomes more difficult, and the resultant gap reduces parental authority and control” (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001: 144).
- ❧ When occurring within a negative context of reception, where prejudice and discrimination prevent integration, the result may be the alienation of the children from both the mainstream and the ancestral cultures, and downward assimilation (achievement of a lower socioeconomic status than that of the immigrant parents) may occur.

The context of reception in the early 20th century: like other immigrant groups, the Portuguese felt compelled to abandon their ancestral language in favor of English.

Theodore Roosevelt
In office: 1901 - 1909



☞ We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language; for we intend to see that the crucible turns people out as Americans, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house; and we have room for but one sole loyalty, and that is loyalty to the American people

☞ (quoted in Brumberg 1986: 7; cited in Portes and Rumbaut, 2006, p. 209).

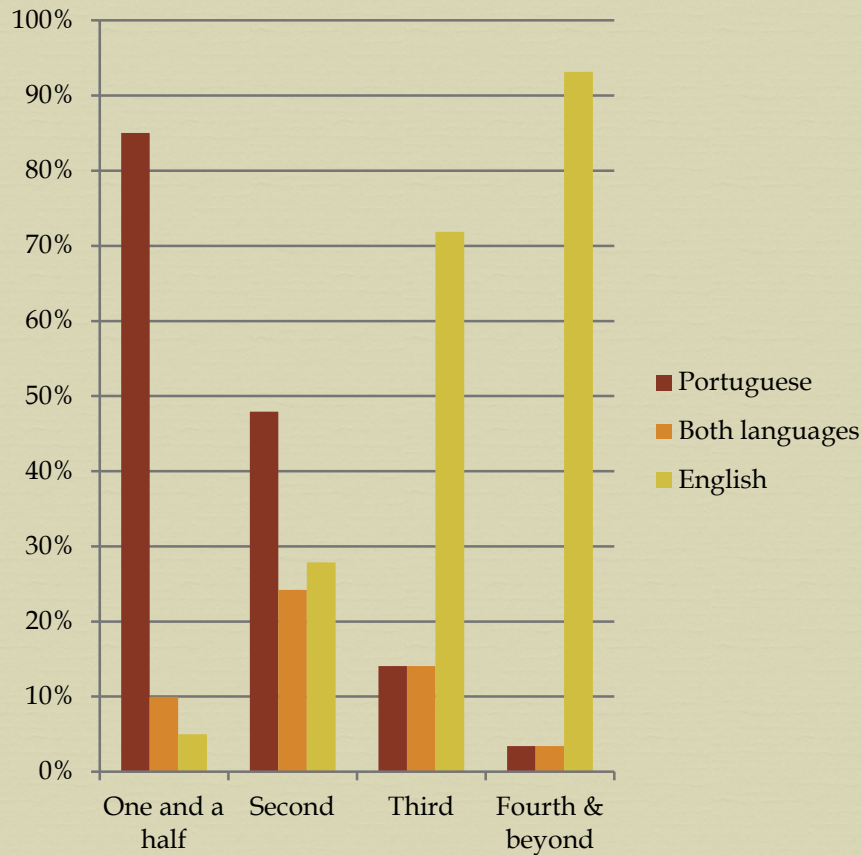
The “life expectancy” of the Portuguese language in North America



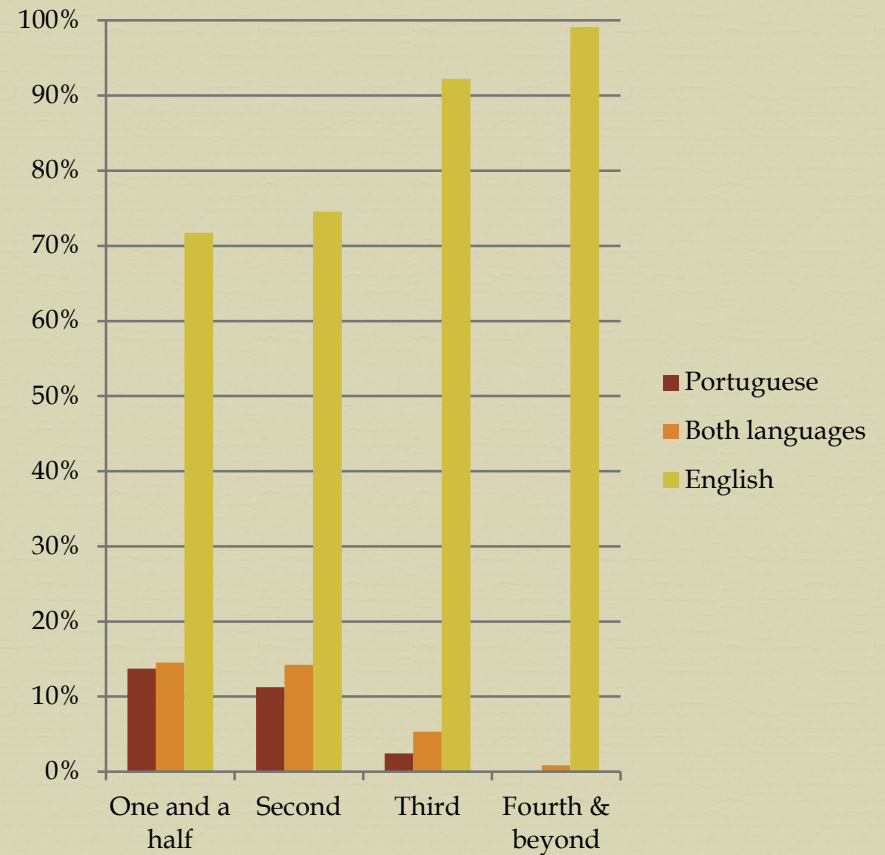
- Despite its adoption of a multicultural and multiracial identity in the aftermath of the civil rights movement, the United States continues to be a “graveyard of languages.”
- Like the languages of other immigrants, the “life expectancy” (Rumbaut et al., 2006) of Portuguese in the United States is short, barely surviving into the third generation.

Language at home in infancy and adulthood

Infancy



Adulthood



Portuguese speaking skills of Luso-descendants

Generation	1. Don't speak Portuguese at all	2.	3.	4.	5. Speak Portuguese very fluently	Total
One and a half	5 1.0	22 4.6	115 23.9	155 32.2	184 38.3	481 100.0
Second	40 5.7	100 14.2	196 27.9	211 30.0	156 22.6	703 100.0
Third	80 38.8	42 20.4	38 18.4	27 13.1	19 9.2	206 100.0
Fourth & beyond	60 51.3	41 35.0	10 8.5	5 4.3	1 .9	117 100.0
Total	185 12.3	205 13.6	359 23.8	398 26.4	360 23.9	1507 100

Selective acculturation and symbolic ethnicity



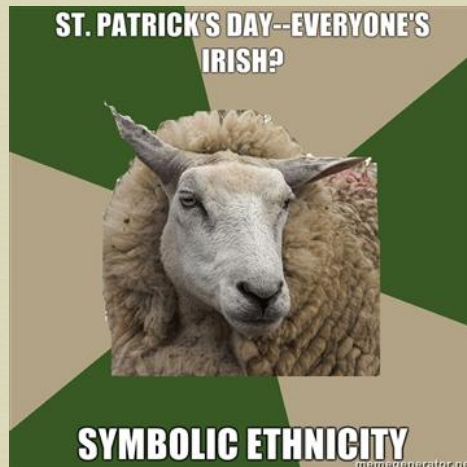
- ✧ In positive or neutral contexts of reception, together with consonant acculturation of parents and children, selective acculturation (purposeful retention of aspects of the ancestral culture) is likely to occur.
- ✧ Selective acculturation seems to be occurring among young people of today's one and half and second generation (under 30 years of age).



Symbolic ethnicity



- ☞ Segmented assimilation theory has focused almost exclusively on the experience of the children of immigrants.
- ☞ For an interpretation of the processes of identity formation and acculturation beyond the second generation, I draw on Herbert Gans' (1978) concept of "symbolic ethnicity."



Symbolic ethnicity



- ❧ The high levels of interest by third and fourth generation European Americans in their ethnicity after the 1960's was interpreted through the **“principle of the third generation interest,”** according to which, **“what the son wishes to forget the grandson wishes to remember,”** (Hansen, 1938:9).
- ❧ The third generation, already well-integrated and accepted into American society, according to Hansen (1938, cited in Gans, 1979:4) can afford to remember an ancestral culture, which “the traumatic Americanization forced on the immigrant and second generations impelled them to forget.”
- ❧ Gans, however, argued that what appeared to be an “ethnic revival,” was nothing more than a “a stage in the acculturation of American ethnic groups centred around the consumption of ethnic symbols” (1979: 1).

Symbolic Ethnicity



- ❧ Other scholars who found Gans' concept of symbolic ethnicity heuristically useful, noted that for some people ethnic identity may be a label that they recall when filling out census or employment forms, for others it may involve an occasional consumption of ethnic foods and attendance at ethnic festivals, for others it may be a way to express their individuality, for others a form of identifying and perhaps being highly involved with a given community (cf. Alba, 1990 and Waters, 1990). None of these forms of ethnic expression conflict with other identities.
- ❧ As Sanders (2002:349) asserts, if the retention of ethnicity can be set at such a "low-bar" as that of "self-identifying" and "self-naming" as a member of a particular group, then "that ethnic identity can be a permanent part of one's identity, although the intensity of that identity may vary greatly from context to context."
- ❧ In other words, being American does not conflict with being Portuguese.



Symbolic Ethnicity



- ❧ *My siblings are all American. My brother got a master's degree ... works with the Latino community and speaks Spanish fluently. No Portuguese at all. Is he involved in the Portuguese culture? No. ... May be once a year, he may go to a "festa" and eat "sopas," and he buys "linguiça" once in a while and that's the extent of it.*
- ❧ *If you ask him today, I think he may say he is Portuguese-American. Even though he is not Portuguese and he does not get involved with the Portuguese culture, Portuguese functions and any of that stuff, he probably defines himself as Portuguese American. That's because from early childhood, all of us have always said: "we're Portuguese Americans."*

❧ (Interview with third generation Portuguese American in California, whose grandparents arrived in the United States in the early 20th century, June 2010).

Selective acculturation and symbolic ethnicity: Luso-descendants show a high level of appreciation for both the American and the Portuguese cultures.

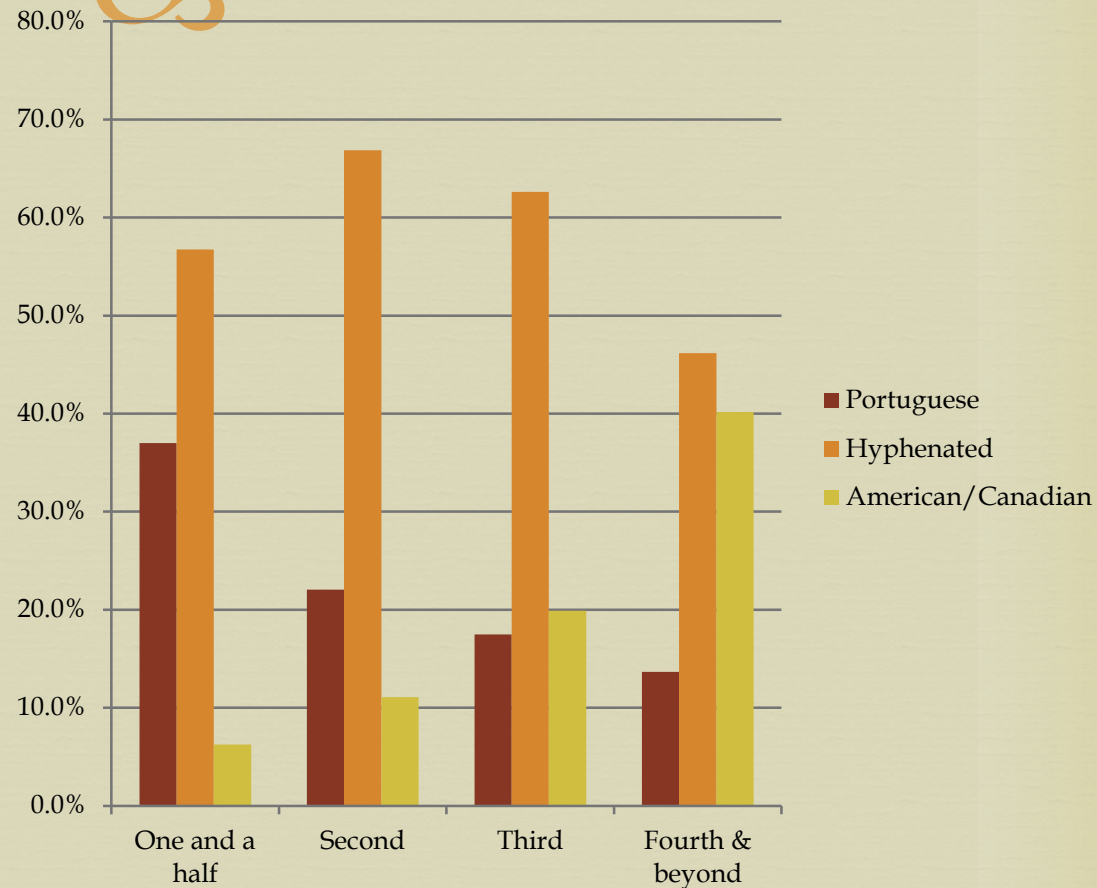
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
I am proud of my Portuguese heritage	83 5.5	6 .4	12 .8	265 17.6	1141 75.7
I am proud of being an American / Canadian.	20 1.3	35 2.3	138 9.2	607 40.3	707 46.9
People of Portuguese ancestry should do everything possible to maintain their ethnic culture in America /Canada.	30 2.0	22 1.5	89 5.9	489 32.4	877 58.2
America / Canada is a good place in which to live.	71 4.7	29 1.9	102 6.8	518 34.4	787 52.2
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	I like both equally	Agree	Strongly Agree
Currently I prefer American / Canadian culture to Portuguese culture	170 11.3	248 16.5	950 63.0	110 7.3	29 1.9

The identity of Luso-descendants: self-definition



Identity	Number	Percent
Portuguese	385	25.5
Hyphenated*	926	61.4
American/ Canadian	196	13.0
Total	1507	100.00

*Portuguese American or Portuguese or Luso Canadian





The hyphenated identity, for many of those I interviewed, is more than a label. It is the term that expresses who they truly are

When I fill out the census form, it always aggravates me... We have to classify ourselves as Caucasian. But are we Caucasian? So I never put that. ... I always put "other," because that's what I feel I am.

My daughter is the same way. I always tell her: "you are not white; you are Portuguese, you're Portuguese-American"

(Interview with third generation Portuguese American in California, whose grandparents arrived in the United States in the early 20th century).

I definitely identify myself as Portuguese American because when I think of an American heritage or an identity to me that means that your ancestors were here hundreds of years ago, that you like bluegrass, that you have relatives in North Carolina...

I really don't identify with the "tried and true" apple pie, fried chicken, and hotdogs, you know the "Americana..." I much rather have "papo secos" and "linguiça" and as many Portuguese fat foods as I can.

I feel no divided loyalties between being American and being Portuguese. I feel very lucky that we're here. That's the beauty of being here, that you are allowed to celebrate your heritage...I can walk down the street and fly my Portuguese flag and no one can say anything to me...

(Interview with a fourth generation Luso-descendant female in California).

In-group v. out-group identification



	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
Currently I see myself as having more in common with regular Americans than with other American/Canadian individuals.	122 8.1	440 29.2	418 27.8	410 27.2	115 7.6

As posited by the “symbolic ethnicity” concept, one may assume an identity as a label without necessarily identifying with one’s ethnic in-group. Although in general those who labeled themselves as Portuguese were more likely to have an in-group identity, the correlation between these two variables was not perfect. Some who labeled themselves as Portuguese saw themselves as having more in common with other Americans than with other Portuguese people and vice-versa. Crosstab analysis shows that this variable is not correlated with generation. Fourth generation Portuguese Americans were just as likely to identify with the in-group as were individuals from the one and a half generation.

Determinants of an in-group Portuguese identity

Variables in the equation	B	Wald χ^2	<i>p</i>	Odds ratio
One and a half generation	-0.39	4.07	.044	0.68
Portuguese self identity	0.50	3.99	.046	1.67
Accepted by other Americans while growing up	-0.13	4.34	.037	0.88
Portuguese customs old-fashioned	-0.14	6.40	.011	0.87
Rejected Portuguese culture	-0.28	15.67	.000	0.75
Education is important	-0.16	4.31	.038	.085
Involvement in social activities in the Portuguese community	0.19	10.44	.001	1.21
Prefer American to Portuguese culture	-0.82	80.86	.000	0.44
Proud to be American	-0.23	7.59	.006	0.80
Keeps up with the news from Portugal	0.14	5.19	.023	1.15
Speaks Portuguese and English at home	0.58	9.24	.002	1.79
Percentage of friends who are Portuguese	0.20	13.56	.000	1.22
Level of attendance of family functions as a child	0.25	10.70	.001	1.27
Constant	2.04			

Results of binary logistic regression



- ❧ The table above shows the logistic binary regression coefficient, Wald test, and an odds ratio for each of the predictors. The dependent variable was transformed into a dummy variable, with Agree and Strongly Agree recoded as 1 and the other three categories recoded as 2. For the sake of clarity, I included in the table only the coefficients that were significant at the .05 criterion of statistical significance or less.
- ❧ The results show that those who have an in-group identification are more likely to have experienced a somewhat more negative context of reception, to be significantly less acculturated into American culture, and to have more ties to the ethnic communities. Those who speak both Portuguese and English at home are also associated with an in-group identity, with the odds of having such an identity increasing by a multiplicative factor of 1.8 over those who only speak English. Surprisingly, the one and a half generation is slightly less likely to have an in-group identity, but those who self-define as Portuguese are slightly more likely to have an in-group identification.
- ❧ It is interesting to note that those with an in-group identity are somewhat less likely to value education, a quintessential American middle class value.

Connections to Portugal: Keeping up with the news from Portugal



	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
Currently I keep up with what is going on in Portugal through television ,news newspapers,, Internet etc.	67 4.5	307 20.4	208 13.8	655 43.5	268 17.8

Keeping informed about what goes on in Portugal is a central aspect of engagement with the ancestral land. Of the respondents who took the survey, over 63 percent keep up with the news from Portugal on a regular basis.

Determinants of keeping informed about what is going on in Portugal

Variables in the equation	<i>B</i>	Wald χ^2	<i>p</i>	Odds ratio
Country of survey	-0.04	9.43	.002	0.60
Age	0.02	14.90	.000	1.02
Proud of Portuguese heritage	0.18	3.88	.049	1.20
Portuguese should maintain their culture	0.20	5.40	.020	1.22
Was able to talk to parents about school work	0.14	7.83	.005	1.15
America is a good place to live	0.33	12.85	.000	0.72
Proud to be an American	-0.19	4.71	.030	0.83
Portuguese language skills	0.33	31.23	.000	1.39
Attendance at family functions as a child	-0.18	4.62	.032	0.83
Attendance at family functions as an adult	0.22	6.45	.011	1.24
Attendance at ethnic feasts as an adult	0.31	12.60	.000	1.36
Interest in Portuguese things as an adult	0.58	41.50	.000	1.78
Number of visits to Portugal	0.10	10.08	.002	1.10
Sending remittances to Portugal	0.48	10.50	.001	1.62
Income	-0.14	7.64	.006	0.87
Constant	-4.00			

Results of binary logistic regression



∞ The result of binary logistic regression (with the dependent variable recoded as a dummy variable, with Agree and Strongly Agree recoded as 1 and the other three categories coded as 2) show that it is those who have a higher level of connections to Portugal, who visit, send remittances, have a higher level of connection to the Portuguese American communities, and who experienced consonant acculturation, who are more likely to maintain themselves informed about what is going on in Portugal. People who are older and reside in Canada are also more likely to be informed about Portugal, even after controlling for generation. Portuguese language skills are a strong predictor with the odds of keeping informed about Portugal increasing by a multiplicative factor of 1.39 for each level (1 to 5) of linguistic skill.

Visits to Portugal

	Frequency	Percent
Zero times	333	22.1
One time	258	17.1
Two to three times	315	20.9
Four to nine times	393	26.1
Ten or more times	195	12.9
Missing values	13	.9
Total	1507	100.0

When the airplane left Faial to take me back to America, for the first time in my life I understood what the Portuguese word “saudade” meant, and I felt even more Portuguese.

(Second generation young woman in California)

When the plane lifted off from the island of Terceira, tears were flowing down my face. How could my parents take me away from such a beautiful place, from a place where I had been so happy? My first year in America, I cried myself to sleep every night.... It was not until a few years later, after I went back, that the pain went away. Then I realized that I also enjoyed my life in California. But Terceira has never left me; it is still in my heart...

(California resident who immigrated to America when she was 12 years old).

We visited the Azores the first time in 1981, and we were absolutely amazed with the beauty and the traditions...

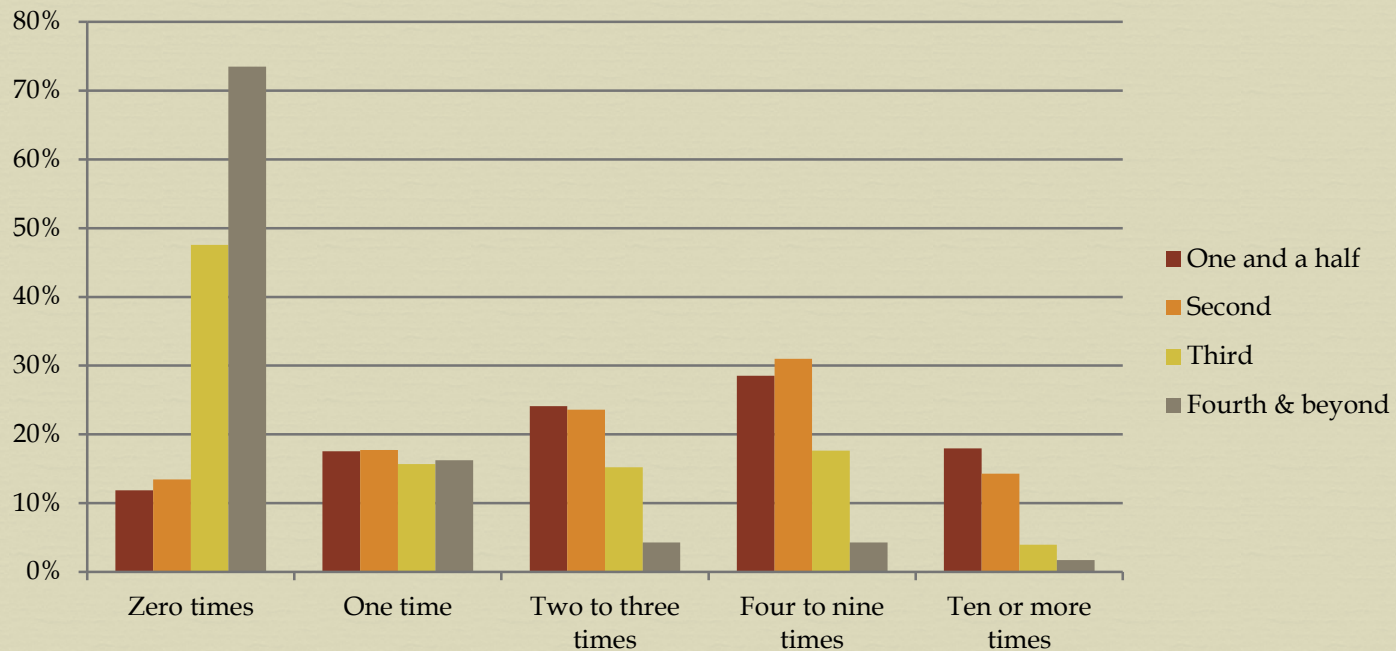
Going to the Azores was the real catalyst for my return to my ethnicity. It was an amazing turn in our lives. I began to develop my capability in the language skills, and started to take classes in the 1980’s at the community college. After I retired I decided to do something for and with the Portuguese community of San Jose...

(Third generation septuagenarian in California).



- ❧ *It is very strange, but I feel that I am home when I am there. I went to Terceira for seven weeks, the most glorious seven weeks of my life... After the first week in Terceira, I felt I belonged there. I became a part of them. That's what I loved the most. They accepted me as one of them.*
- ❧ *On a later visit I went to São Jorge and I was able to see the house where my grandfather was born, to touch the house and the walls where he was raised. It is still there. Someone else owns it now...*
- ❧ *If I can I want to go back. It is kind of a dream, but I would love to buy back my grandfather's house. Although I do not go back very often, this is something important to me: to buy back what was my grandfather's, my great grandfather's... going back I don't know how many generations in my family line. I would love to own that piece of property, to say that I have it. It's mine. It is my grandfather's home and I can pass it on to my daughter.*
- ❧ *(Third generation Luso-descendant, biologically half Portuguese, psychologically one hundred percent Portuguese).*

Visits to Portugal by generation



Crosstab analysis shows that it is the third and fourth generations that are most likely to have never visited Portugal. Yet, many of those whom I interviewed stated that visiting Portugal was a major event in their lives, a catalyst in their return to their ethnicity and to their ancestral language. Portugal ought to enable this type of travel by providing affordable flights and organized tours adapted to the needs of Luso-descendants.

Purposes of visits

	Frequency	Percent
Vacation	989	85.2
Visit relatives / attend family events	940	81.0
Businesses	83	7.1
Participate in religious holidays or events	186	16.0
Academic and cultural (present papers, attend the university there, cultural events)	68	5.9
Youth meetings / events	17	1.5
To live there temporarily	95	8.2
Genealogy/see where ancestors came from/find relatives	13	1.1
Honeymoon	7	.06
Political/sister city	3	.03

The data on the purposes of the visits show that it is mainly for traditional immigrant purposes that the Luso-descendants who participated in the survey are visiting Portugal. They chose to spend their vacation time in Portugal, to visit relatives, and attend religious festivals. There is already a significant number visiting Portugal for business and academic purposes, displaying modest signs of engagement of the diaspora for economic, scientific and cultural purposes. The visits for political reasons were negligible, with only three people indicating that they had visited for the purpose of establishing a sister city. (Just a reminder that this survey does not include those who immigrated to United States as adults).

Determinants of visits to Portugal

	Standardized β	SE	t	<i>p</i>
(Constant)		.673	-2.15	.032
Generation	-.093	.086	-3.02	.003
Portuguese American identity	.064	.130	2.47	.014
American identity	.051	.204	1.83	.068
Percent of Portuguese in the neighborhood during childhood	-.082	.042	-3.51	.000
State Recoded	-.059	.057	-2.51	.012
Both Parents Portuguese	.088	.182	3.09	.002
Level of education	.117	.024	4.943	.000
Had to translate for parents	-.118	.050	-3.51	.000
Interest in Portuguese things as an adult	.044	.076	1.82	.069
Keeps up with the news from Portugal	.098	.055	3.89	.000
Language at home in infancy	-.106	.107	-2.74	.006
Speaks Portuguese at home as an adult	.066	.193	2.81	.005
Portuguese speaking skills	.304	.063	9.09	.000
Percent of friends who are Portuguese as an adult	.072	.002	2.83	.005
Sends remittances to Portugal	.086	.124	3.61	.000
Number of children	-.096	.045	-4.12	.000
Income level	.103	.045	4.34	.000

Interpretation of linear regression results



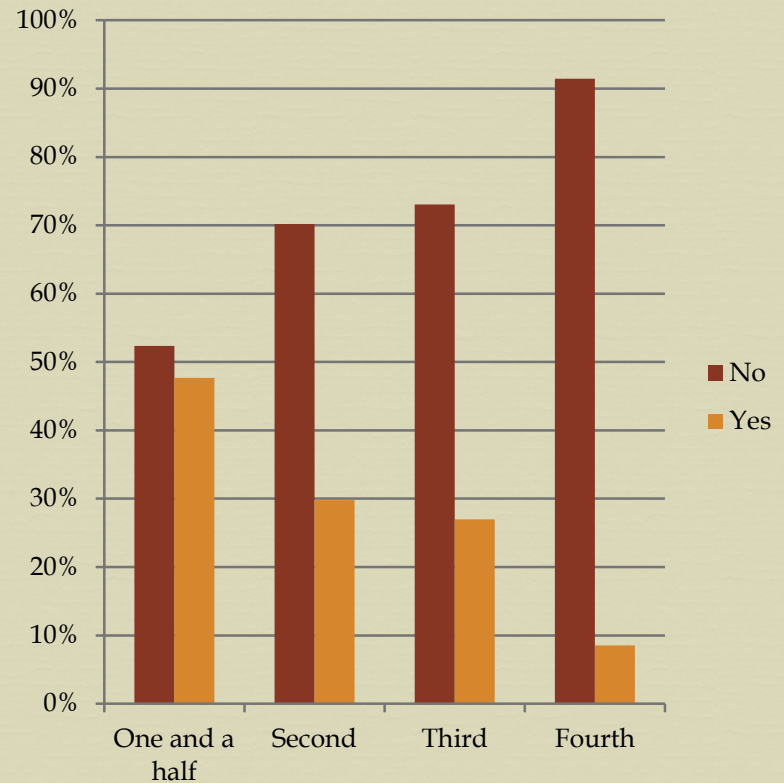
- ☞ With the effect of generation controlled for, the variable which has the highest level of correlation to the frequency of visits to Portugal is Portuguese speaking skills, with the language spoken at home also having an effect. Income is also correlated, with those with higher incomes being more likely to visit Portugal. Keeping up with the news from Portugal is also correlated. Variables related to connections to the community, participation in feasts, as child and as an adult were unrelated to the likelihood of visiting Portugal. Dissonant assimilation was related, with those who grew more disconnected from their parents being somewhat less likely to visit Portugal. The context of reception, on the other hand had no relation to visitations to Portugal, not unexpected given that the majority of the respondents indicated that they did not experience a negative context of reception while growing up. Overall, then it seems that once we control for generation in the United States, it is those who are bilingual and those who are more successfully integrated into American society in terms of income and education, and who keep up with the news from Portugal, that are more likely to visit Portugal. Those who have children are also less likely to visit Portugal, perhaps due to the expense entailed in family visits.

Remittances



Sent remittances?	Number	Percent
Yes	496	65.7
No	990	32.9
Missing values	21	1.4

Note: Due to a glitch on the online survey, which was corrected as soon as it was noticed, some of the respondents were unable to answer this question



Determinants of sending remittances

	B	Wald χ^2	p	Odds ratio
Generation	-.327	12.291	.000	.721
Gender	-.268	4.031	.045	.765
Age	.018	9.591	.002	1.018
Keeps up with the news	.270	17.293	.000	1.310
More in common with other Americas	-.137	4.999	.025	.872
Portuguese speaking skills	.243	13.537	.000	1.275
Attendance of Portuguese feasts as an adult	.394	25.206	.000	1.482
Number of visits to Portugal	.089	9.831	.002	1.094
Income	.121	5.546	.019	1.129
Constant	-3.698			

Interpretation of binary logistic regression results



☞ Sending money to Portugal is related most to participation in feasts as an adult and keeping up with the news in Portugal. The self-label identity variable does not have a statistically significant impact on sending remittances to Portugal, but the in-group identity variable does. The context of reception and the type of acculturation are unrelated as well. Those of the one and a half and the second generation are more likely to send money. The sending of money also seems to be connected to ties to the community.

Conclusion



- ❧ The respondents who participated in this study, whether through the online survey or through the in-depth interviews, are generally well-integrated structurally into American society (see Scott, 2010). They also identify to a large extent as Portuguese and Portuguese American. Although, there is a discernable decline across the generations in the level of identification and connection with Portugal, as well as in the use and capacity in the Portuguese language, the third and fourth generation Luso-descendants also showed a strong interest in their ethnicity and ancestral origins.
- ❧ Given that this study was not based on a probability sample, the results obtained cannot be generalized to the entire Luso-descendant population in North America. Those surveyed, however, represent a segment of the Luso-descendant population, which is highly interested in their ancestry and in the on-going construction of their ethnic identity.
- ❧ Portugal needs to capitalize on this desire for an identity ...

Conclusion



- ❧ The regression analyses included in this study showed that language skills and use are important factors in the maintenance of a Portuguese or Portuguese American identity and of ongoing connections to Portugal.
- ❧ The promotion of the Portuguese language in the United States, including among Luso-descendants, is perhaps the single most important action that Portugal can take in order to help mobilize the diaspora communities in North America.

Conclusion



- Secondly, the data showed the significance of travel to Portugal in the process of ethnic identify formation and the maintenance of loyalty to the old country.
- Portugal, therefore, should facilitate the travel of Luso-descendants by providing affordable flights, originating in multiple areas of the United States and Canada, and organizing special tours, specifically designed to meet the needs of the diaspora residents.

Conclusion



- ❧ The regression analyses also showed the importance of connections to the ethnic communities and rituals in the process of identity formation. The ethnic feasts and festivals, along with ethnic foods, museums and monuments will, after all, continue to be the symbols that belong only to Luso-descendants, to which they can attach their ethnic identity, and through which they can continue to maintain their ethnic boundaries in the Americas.
- ❧ The immigrant generation needs to allow the young to become involved in the planning and organization of the ethnic festivals and events, without fearing that the latter will “Americanize” them too much.

Conclusion



- ✧ While Portugal should continue to be a place where Luso-descendants come to visit, to discover their roots and who they are, it is time now for the interactions with the diaspora to become more multifaceted, encompassing an increasing number of economic, political, cultural, academic and scientific interchanges across the Atlantic.
- ✧ The future is ours to make!
- ✧ Thank you for listening...