Portuguese Migrants and the Border: A Preliminary Report
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Department of Geography

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1. Project Ottawa in Brief

The Ottawa-Gatineau region is unique. Intersected by the country’s most symbolically charged provincial border, the region is characterized by a particular dynamic influenced by the border that, on several levels, represents a major spatial discontinuity despite the long period it has been in place. Populations, cultures, and practices, along with legislation and law, are different on either side of the border. Yet the border does not present substantial obstacles to the exchanges and interactions of everyday life. In some respects, the activities of individuals in the region limit the risks of Canadian dislocation by fostering a transboundary territoriality both for individuals and groups as the cradle for a new Canadian identity.

Objectives

This research project seeks to shed light on the intrinsically ambiguous and contradictory effects of the border in the region known as the National Capital. Based on the premise that the border modulates the spatial practices of individuals and groups who live in the region, and who have appropriated the border both symbolically and materially, the project aims to reconstruct their everyday experiences of places and spaces that the border separates and brings together. The study examines the practices and representations associated with the border, the unique cultures it helps to create, the collective identities that emanate from its existence, as well as the political actions that fuel it. The study will show how these historically structured border features are taking on a new character in the contemporary context of the relations that develop between the populations of Ottawa and Gatineau under the influence of the larger environment. Inspired by the most recent work on the border concept, we are focusing on the following three dimensions: the border as a barrier, an interface, and a territory. Our analysis of the processes surrounding the construction of the border will be based on the theoretical and methodological propositions involved in the study of everyday spatial practices. Narrative, which asserts not only progression, practices and representations, but also strategies and ploys, will be our material. Our attention will focus on minority populations, who tend to be more vulnerable and prone to putting in place certain strategies for benefiting from the opportunity structure offered by the border. The targeted groups include official language minorities, populations of newcomers, gays and lesbians, single mothers, and street-involved youth. Each of the targeted groups acts according to a different logic in regional space.

Methodology

The Scope

Situated at a practice/theory interface, this project is a deliberate effort to show that the border continually acts as a structuring factor of the region’s social conditions. Whereas globalization, both economic and cultural, has led many to somewhat hastily declare the “end of territory”, one of the goals of the project is to renew interest in one of geography’s key concepts by illustrating its scope in understanding the everyday geography of a number of Ottawa-Gatineau’s more marginal groups. The research is being conducted in three stages, corresponding to the three-year duration of the project.

Stage 1. Establishing the context: the region, its populations (2007-2008). Not much is known about Ottawa-Gatineau’s social space. Different initiatives by public groups have, nevertheless, highlighted certain characteristics of the region’s social space. We seek out these traits and analyze them, paying particular attention to border-related issues. This first stage of research also seeks to build a solid base of information on the target populations through existing data on the groups (census, surveys, etc.), along with their organizations and institutions. It also seeks to conduct deeper analysis of directly and indirectly related programs and policies, at different levels of government, and the issues they raise regarding the management and delivery of services. Information-gathering will take several forms, including initial
document review as well as interviews with representatives of agencies and organizations serving these populations.

**Stage 2. Collecting narrative through discussions with individuals and groups (2008-2009).** Of all the approaches used to reconstruct the everyday, the interview is the most common. We will focus on this approach to conduct two types of interviews: (1) group interviews (10 to 12 participants) to identify the issues surrounding the border experiences of the different target populations; and (2) individual interviews to deepen our understanding of different aspects of the experience. The goal of these interviews is not only to explicate the realities of the participants with respect to spaces and places in different contexts (living, appropriation, production, consumption, relaxation, management, etc.), but also to reveal the tensions and contradictions that enter into their relationships with social space. Interview themes include issues of difference, belonging, segregation, exclusion, identity, and power in relation to the concept of border.

**Stage 3. Analysis and synthesis: the reconstruction of social space and the border effect (2009-2010).** The information gathered through the interviews, especially the regional social space constructed through the process, will be analyzed during the third year of the project. In addition to transcribing the proceedings of the interviews, the research team will conduct an in-depth analysis of the content. Initially, the narratives related to each particular group will be studied in detail. A comparative analysis will then be carried out to determine the differences and similarities between the groups’ spheres of reference.

**2. Immigration and the Border: A Broad Overview**

Project Ottawa focuses on immigrants to Ottawa-Gatineau from Latin America, China, Portugal and the Azores, and French-speaking Africa. Each of these groups encompasses a different spatial, temporal, and linguistic dimension. Latin Americans, for example, are dispersed across both sides of the border. In contrast, the Chinese are largely concentrated on the Ontario side. In contrast to the other groups, the Portuguese have resided in the Ottawa-Gatineau region for an extended period of time. Finally, while there are admittedly issues of language associated with each of the groups under consideration, Francophone immigrants have different experiences of the dominant language of the area.

Newcomers to Canada make settlement choices based on a number of factors including but not limited to available resources, services, knowledge of language and culture, and familiarity with existing communities. The Ottawa-Gatineau region is comprised of one urban region in two provinces with distinct approaches and policies to each of these issues. The region differs in terms of government funding structures, resources, opportunities for advancement, attitudes towards newcomers, and linguistic norms among other things. By choosing to settle in either Ottawa or Gatineau, newcomers make settlement choices that dramatically define their daily lives.

With the exception of Quebéc, immigration policy is under the responsibility of the federal government while settlement is a shared jurisdiction between federal and provincial governments. As a result, Ontario and Québec have different funding allotments, structures, and priorities for immigrant settlement. To understand the resources available to newcomers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, it is therefore imperative to examine separately the structures that govern the provision of services to immigrants on each side of the border.
Funding Structures and Organizations in Ottawa, Ontario

In 2005, Ontario signed the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (COIA), which increased federal funding to Ontario for settlement related programs to $920 million over five years (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005). Ontario settlement agencies obtain these funds through Calls for Proposals that are issued through Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

In the Ottawa area, a number of organizations work directly with immigrants and provide a wide range of services, most of which are focused on facilitating settlement, finding employment and learning English. The Catholic Immigration Centre (CIC), Ontario Community Immigrant Services Organization (OCISO) and Ottawa Public Library are the largest organizations that provide such services. The YMCA’s Newcomer Information Centre (NIC), created in 2007, is also a valuable resource.

Other agencies focus on specific services. Hire Immigrants Ottawa (HIO) and LASI (Local Agencies Serving Immigrants) provide support in finding employment. HIO works across the Ottawa-Gatineau region with employers to facilitate access to skills-appropriate employment. LASI is an umbrella organization formed in 1997 through a coalition of local immigrant-serving organizations (The Catholic Immigration Centre, Immigrant Women Services Ottawa, Jewish Family Services, Lebanese and Arab Social Services Agency, Ottawa Community Immigrant Services Organization, and the Ottawa Chinese Community Service Centre) and provides employment-based support services to newcomers.

Other organizations serving newcomers include Jewish Family Services, the Lebanese and Arab Social Services Association (LASSA), the Ottawa Chinese Community Service Centre, and the Conseil économique et social d’Ottawa (CÉSOC), each of which target their services to the needs of particular cultural groups. Some organizations, such as Immigrant Women Services Ottawa (IWSO), provide situation-specific services, in this case counselling and support for women that have experienced domestic violence.

In addition to the aforementioned organizations, newcomers also make use of the services offered by local community centers. These include organizations such as the YMCA, United Way, and Community Health Centres. Organizations such as these provide health and social services through a wide range of programming initiatives. For example, the Southeast Ottawa Community Health Centre offers a fitness and multicultural health program for newcomers.

It is important to note that at the municipal level, in contrast to the City of Gatineau, there is no bureau or department at the City of Ottawa that deals directly with immigration issues.

Funding Structures and Organizations in Gatineau, Québec

Under the Canada-Québec Accord of 1991, Québec has the right to determine its own immigration levels, financial criteria for sponsors, and criteria for independent immigrants, including its own “points system” (Canada’s Immigration Program, 2004). The federal government transfers an amount of money to the province annually, currently set using a formula, though not less than $90 million (Canada’s Immigration Program, 2004). Annual funding for organizations is available through the Support Program for the Integration of New Arrivals (PANA), the Regional Integration Program (PRI), and the Support Program for Intercultural Relations (PARI) (Immigration Québec 2008).

Compared to Ottawa, there are relatively few settlement agencies that operate in Gatineau. At the municipal level, the City of Gatineau has a division which supports “Cultural Communities, Arts, and
Letters”. Through the City, immigrants have access to French courses and a variety of workshops, as well as personalized assistance. Non-governmental organizations providing settlement services include the APO (Accueil-Parrainage Outaouais), Dépanneur Sylvestre, Réseau Outaouais, SITO (Service Intégration Travail Outaouais), and the Association des Femmes Immigrantes d’Ottawa.

Funding restrictions and eligibility criteria limit the degree to which newcomers residing in Gatineau may access services available in Ottawa and vice versa. There are also other differences between the two sides, including (among others) taxation levels, language of instruction in schools, attitudes towards immigrants, and language of daily life. This portion of Project Ottawa attempts to identify how the different realities of Ottawa-Gatineau influence immigrants’ everyday geographies: How do different cultural norms inform the settlement patterns of these individuals? How do settlement patterns inform access to resources? How, and for what purposes, do immigrants strategically use the spaces of Ottawa-Gatineau to organize their daily lives? What are some effects of these strategies in informing identities?

3. Interviews with Organizational Representatives in Ottawa

Given the important differences in the structure and organization of immigrant services on each side of the border, we conducted two separate focus group interviews with representatives of agencies serving immigrants in Ottawa and in Gatineau. The Ottawa group convened at the University of Ottawa on May 29, 2009, from 14:00-16:00. The roles and mandates of the organizations represented varied: a number of them provided settlement services to newcomers (CIC, OCISO, and the Somali Centre for Family Services); others worked in the areas of employment counselling (HIRE Immigrants Ottawa); health and community resources (South East Ottawa Community Health Centre); and community capacity building (United Way). Recruitment was done via email and telephone, sometimes through personal contacts within organizations. Dr’s Luisa Veronis and Caroline Andrew facilitated the session in English, while Brie McAloney took notes and undertook transcription.

The interviews focused on various issues relating to the agencies: their missions and objectives, the resources available to them, their geographic opportunities and constraints, partnerships, and clientele. The following paragraphs summarize the comments made by the representatives from the Ottawa organizations:

Resources

All participants agreed that the overall funding and resources are relatively good. They explained that the government has put a lot of money into settlement programs in the past few years. However, they agreed that even though funding and resources are reasonable, they are not adequate and a number of gaps exist.

- Gaps and needs in immigrant services
  - Participants mentioned the problem of eligibility for settlement services: refugees and those who are Canadian citizens are not eligible for settlement programs.
  - There is an issue in terms of access to services, particularly for newcomers who live in outlying areas of the city (but services are located in some parts of the city only).
  - Gaps in services exist for francophone immigrants.
Francophone immigrants in Ottawa
Participants noted that francophone immigrants in Ottawa face more challenges than those who are “more Anglophone.” Anglophone immigrants have more resources generally. For francophone immigrants:
- There is a lack of knowledge of services
- They do not feel welcome in an English environment
- The network of services is smaller, there are fewer services, they are not well developed
- Francophone immigrants are not as well connected (there is a problem of the lack of a network)

Collaborations with other organizations in Ottawa (and Gatineau)
Collaborations between immigrant-serving agencies in Ottawa (Ontario only) are significant. They play an important role to avoid duplication of services while improving provision by complementing existing services. Before the creation of LASI, agencies were competing, but they now work together. The creation of LASI seems to have been an important turning point in terms of service provision to immigrants in Ottawa. Participants noted that the fact that they work together makes a huge difference especially when looking at the existence of Hire Immigrants Ottawa (which was the outcome of the creation of LASI).

- LASI World Skills
  A coalition of local organizations founded by the Catholic Immigration Centre, Immigrant Women Services Ottawa, Jewish Family Services, Lebanese and Arab Social Services Agency, Ottawa Community Immigrant Services Organization, and the Ottawa Chinese Community Service Centre in 1997. HIRE Immigrants Ottawa is the product of this coalition.

- HIRE Immigrants Ottawa works with employers in the region. It also works with other organizations across the city.

- Participants explained that there is a lot of collaboration between immigrant-serving agencies and community health centres in Ottawa: the latter collaborate amongst themselves through the Coalition of Community Health and Resource Centres of Ottawa (www.coalitionottawa.ca).

- The United Way also plays a role: it is a funder for many NGOs in the city. As a funder, UW has noted a strong gap or need in terms of capacity building among immigrant-serving agencies beyond service provision. The main challenges NGOs face are: (1) coordination of programs/services, (2) evaluation of programs/services (an area where the UW tries to help, but has met limited success due to lack of funding), and (3) capacity building. The representative of the UW believes that a project is needed to do research in this area but that funding is a major issue.

Profile of clients
- Ottawa has the largest rate of skilled migrants per capita in Canada. Although Canada’s migrants fall under the following categories: 60% skilled migrants, under 20% of refugees, and the rest made up of family reunification, students, temporary workers, etc.; the categories served by CIC are proportionally reversed: over 60% of refugees, 15-20% of skilled migrants, and the rest.
Clients come from all over the word, with dominant group being migrants from China, followed by India and the rest of the South Asian continent; the diversity of immigrants has increased in the past few years.

Participants suggested that clients shop around for services. Some even go to several immigrant serving agencies without disclosing the information that they receive services from more than one (they should receive services from one agency only according to provincial legislation). But service workers attend to their needs nonetheless.

Differences in services on each side of the river
Participants generally agreed that immigrant services are better developed in Ottawa than in Gatineau and that this difference is significant – i.e., services for immigrants in Gatineau are generally lacking and not well-developed/structured. They suggested that in Ottawa services are better developed as a result of collaborations (e.g. LASI World Skills) amongst immigrant serving agencies and sustained efforts to build a strong network of support for immigrants while complementing existing services (rather than duplicating).

The border as barrier

- Overall, it seems that the border acts like a barrier when it comes to immigrant services. This is mostly due to the existence of jurisdictional regulations and provincial legislations regarding the provision of settlement services: these services are only for those who reside in the province, whether Ontario or Québec.

- Participants acknowledged that they do not know one another (those in Gatineau) and that interaction is limited (they search information on the web only when they need it).

- Participants insisted that they “do not have the mandate to serve” immigrants from the other side of the river. Nevertheless, they confirmed that their organizations serve immigrants who live in Gatineau (“secret services” or unrecorded, undisclosed services). Similarly, they explained that they also provide ongoing attention and services to immigrants regardless of their status, including refugees and refugee claimants (who are not entitled to “settlement services”) and those who have been in Canada for a long time and are no longer eligible for newcomer/settlement services (again, a form of “secret services”). In these cases, participants said they provide these “secret services” on the basis of humanitarian and compassionate principles.

- They strongly argued for the “need to combine the two units” (meaning the two sides of the border) and the “need to coordinate [services on] both sides” of the river.

- In particular, representatives of Hire Immigrants Ottawa stressed that the border complicates their work in finding employment for newcomers. This is especially the case given that the Federal Government is the largest employer in the region and is located on both sides of the river. They suggested that the area of employment would benefit most if the region became one jurisdiction.
The border in migrants’ everyday lives

- There was a certain level of debate with regard to the effects of the border on migrants’ everyday lives (and mobility).

- According to some, there is a strong/clear, one-way movement from Gatineau to Ottawa. The major factors attracting immigrants to the Ottawa/ON side include: jobs/employment, (settlement) services, language (including for children’s education), and generally a better sense of inclusion (anecdotally).

- Others, however, disagreed and argued that there also is a movement from Ottawa to Gatineau; in this case, the strongest factor of attraction is lower housing costs (both rental and ownership) and to a lesser extent cheaper groceries (this was a factor in everyday movement across the border).

- Towards the end, it was suggested that many immigrants work in Ottawa but buy houses in Gatineau.

Immigrant geographies of settlement

- At the end of the focus group, it was suggested that there is no strong geographical pattern when it comes to immigrants’ distribution in Ottawa (and Gatineau); rather, immigrants seem to tend to be dispersed throughout the city. There was mention of the distribution of social housing being a factor in shaping immigrants’ distribution in Ottawa. Based on their own personal experiences (2 participants arrived in Montreal before coming to Ottawa), participants mentioned that some immigrants who arrive in Montreal decide to move to Ottawa (sometimes within a few months) mostly for linguistic reasons. Participants suggested that migrants who come to the National Capital Region have Ottawa as their destination, and not Gatineau.

4. Interviews with Organizational Representatives in Gatineau

Organizational representatives from Gatineau convened at the Université du Québec en Outaouais on June 5, 2009, from 14:00-16:00. Seven participants attended, including representatives from APO (Accueil-Parrainage Outaouais), L’Association de Colombians en Gatineau, Dépanneur Sylvestre, SITO (Service Integration Travail Outaouais), and la Ville de Gatineau. Dr’s. Luisa Veronis and Anne Gilbert facilitated the session in French, while Christine Mousseau took notes and undertook transcription. The following paragraphs summarize the comments made by representatives of organizations in Gatineau:

Services available to immigrants

Local organizations offer a wide range of services. These services are largely funded by Immigration Québec, and include reception on arrival, aid in finding employment, francization, etc. Service organizations often work in isolation; they are not networked with each other. Further, there is no one portal through which an immigrant may obtain information and orientation on arrival.

Collaborations with Ottawa

- Few collaborations exist, largely due to differences in service organization between Ontario and Québec. Those interviewed do not have counterparts in Ottawa with whom it is possible to develop partnerships.
Some links exist with federal institutions, particularly in the field of employment.

**Profile of immigrants**
The number of immigrants who arrive in the region each year is rising sharply: from 1000 per year in 2001 to nearly 1,500 now. While in 2001, two thirds were refugees, this number has declined. Immigrants are educated (70% have a university degree), they find employment easily, and many disagree with the label "vulnerable population".

**The attraction of Ontario immigrants**
It is believed that Gatineau attracts some immigrants who settled in Ontario, including the French, who had been misinformed about the role of French in the province.

**Immigrant retention**
- The Outaouais boasts a very high retention rate of immigrants compared to other regions of Québec. Organizations in Gatineau make every effort to encourage settlement and employment in Québec, though it does not actively prevent crossing over to Ottawa.
- Whether or not a group lives on both sides of the border is a factor in determining residential choice. For example, the high concentration of Somalis in Ottawa facilitates their settlement there.
- Those immigrants that do settle in the Outaouais mainly locate in Hull. Others locate in Gatineau. Recent immigrants to Aylmer are noticeably absent.

**Issues of language**
- New immigrants are obliged to learn French. However, there is a gap between immigrants who attend French classes and others (those who already know French on arrival), as regards to their capacity for integration. French classes offer more than language courses: they increase the capacity to communicate by sharing cultural codes and social mores.
- The need for knowledge of English to access employment was discussed: participants stressed the challenge of learning English, which is often difficult. Others disagreed, emphasizing that English classes are available when required.

**The Québec model of integration**
The Québécois philosophy supports integration through an intercultural as opposed to multicultural approach. This philosophy plays itself out through a number of practical avenues, including the desire to avoid the ghettoization of immigrant settlements (for example, the City will not support cooperative housing for Colombians). While some representatives perceive this approach to be much different than the one undertaken in Ontario, others insist that the two provinces share the same general objectives (such as economic participation). Québécois organizations try to avoid a certain vocabulary, such as "host society", which encourages division and reinforces hierarchies.

**The "mental map" of immigrants**
- For the immigrants in the region, the border does not exist. They came to Canada without knowledge of inter-provincial divisions, and do not understand the provincial and municipal
restraints placed on them. For them, Ottawa is a part of their living space: the border is both more porous and more artificial than for the native-born.

- The size of the metropolitan area and the fact that Ottawa is the capital of the country was a source of attraction for many. Many aspire to governmental work.
- The use of an address in Ontario is common in some contexts. The reverse is also true.

5. The Portuguese in Ottawa-Gatineau

Individuals of Portuguese descent include those from Portugal as well as the Azores, an archipelago in the Atlantic Ocean about 1500 km west of Lisbon. Currently, there are approximately 410,000 individuals identifying as Portuguese in Canada (Census Canada, 2006). The majority of these individuals have settled in Montreal and Toronto (Teixeira, 1999), with smaller numbers in Ottawa-Gatineau (6,010 individuals in Ottawa and 3,485 in Gatineau) representing approximately 2% of the total Portuguese-Canadian population (Census Canada, 2006).

Portuguese migration to Canada has been ongoing for decades. In the 1950s Canada sought Portuguese migrants for agricultural purposes and railway construction; their numbers increased during the 1960s through sponsorship and family reunification (Magosci, 1999:1076). Many Azoreans arrived in Canada due to environmental and political changes at home. The eruption of the Capelinhos volcano in the Azores in 1957 resulted in the mass relocation of families to North America (Morrison and James, 2009:152). A significant number of Azoreans also arrived for political reasons associated with the rise of fascism in Portugal (Morrison and James, 2009:152). The dynamics of chain migration often resulted in two or three families sharing the same house or apartment on arrival; over time, these concentrations have became consolidated as immigrant neighbourhoods (Magosci, 1999:1076) particularly in cities such as Montreal and Toronto (Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2009).

Approximately 95% of the Portuguese in Ottawa-Gatineau arrived prior to 1991. This long history of settlement has contributed to the fact that the Portuguese community and its institutions (especially churches) are well-established on both sides of the border. These institutions operate in Portuguese, English, and French, and are largely focused on the preservation of Portuguese traditions and identities. However, while there has been significant Portuguese settlement in both Ottawa and Gatineau, interactions between the communities in Ottawa and Gatineau seem to be limited.

Population Characteristics

In 2006, there were 12,045 Portuguese immigrants in Ottawa-Gatineau (6010 in Ottawa, and 3485 in Gatineau), representing 1.2% of the total population of the region. There are approximately twice as many Portuguese in Ottawa as in Gatineau; however, there has been significant settlement on both sides of the river. In Ottawa, the majority of Portuguese have settled in the areas of Riverside and Gloucester/Cumberland. Portuguese settlement in Gatineau has been much more concentrated; the majority of Portuguese live in Aylmer and Hull (particularly Old Hull). The following map represents Portuguese settlement patterns across the region.
The following table provides data on selected demographic characteristics of the Portuguese in Ottawa-Gatineau as determined by the 2006 census.

Table A: Demographic Characteristics of the Portuguese Migrant Community, Ottawa-Gatineau

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese Immigrant Population</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage²</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa-Gatineau</td>
<td>12045</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>5805</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>6230</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>6010</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>2805</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>3205</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gatineau</td>
<td>3485</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1735</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### By Generation Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ottawa 1st Generation</th>
<th>3360</th>
<th>56%</th>
<th>1585</th>
<th>57%</th>
<th>1770</th>
<th>55%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gatineau 1st Generation</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>980</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa 2nd Generation</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>1020</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gatineau 2nd Generation</td>
<td>1130</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa 3rd Generation</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gatineau 3rd Generation</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### By Age

| Ottawa 15-24 | 1225   | 20%   | 555    | 20%   | 670    | 21%   |

² The percentages represent percent of total population.
### Portuguese Immigration and the Border

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Ottawa 15-24</th>
<th>Ottawa 25-54</th>
<th>Ottawa 55-64</th>
<th>Gatineau 15-24</th>
<th>Gatineau 25-54</th>
<th>Gatineau 55-64</th>
<th>Gatineau 65+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>630</td>
<td>3375</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1540</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>315</td>
<td>1540</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>315</td>
<td>1540</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Language Spoken Most Often at Home

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>English and French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>1495</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gatineau</td>
<td>1390</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gatineau</td>
<td>1390</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>715</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Census Canada 2006 Topic-Based Tabulations

“Generation status” refers to whether or not individuals migrated to Canada (the first generation) or were born here (2nd or 3rd generation). Over half of the Portuguese population in both Ottawa and Gatineau (55% and 56% respectively) are first generation migrants to Canada. In Ottawa, 47% of the first generation is male and 53% female. Similar sex distributions hold true for Gatineau, where 49% of the first generation is male and 51% female. Approximately 33% of the total Portuguese populations (in both Ottawa and Gatineau) are the children of migrants (2nd generation). Again, sex ratios are almost evenly divided. Third generation individuals are the grandchildren of Portuguese migrants. These individuals represent 9% of the total Portuguese population in Ottawa (38% of these individuals are male and 62% are female). In Gatineau, 7% of the total Portuguese population is 3rd generation (52% are male and 48% female).

Despite high levels of first generation immigrants, the Portuguese in Ottawa-Gatineau are a relatively young population. Twenty percent of the total Portuguese population in Ottawa are between the ages of 15-24. In Gatineau, individuals aged 15-24 represent 18% of the total Portuguese population. Fifty-six percent of the total Portuguese population in Ottawa are between the ages of 25-54. In Gatineau, 54% of the total Portuguese population are aged 25-54. Twenty-three percent of the total Portuguese population in Ottawa is over age 55. Individuals in Gatineau are slightly older; 28% of the total population is over 55.

To some extent, “language spoken most often at home” reflects the degree to which the Portuguese in the region maintain their ethnic identities; those who speak Portuguese at home are more likely to actively preserve Portuguese culture and traditions (Teixeira, 1999). In Ottawa, 25% of the total Portuguese population continues to speak Portuguese in the home. A slightly higher percentage (40%) continues to speak Portuguese at home in Gatineau. Ten percent of the total Portuguese population in Ottawa speaks English at home. In Gatineau, those speak English at home represent 3% of the total Portuguese population. Very little of the Portuguese population in Ottawa (35 individuals; less than 1% of the total population) speaks French at home. In contrast, 13% of the Portuguese in Gatineau speak French at home. Small percentages of the Portuguese population (1% in Ottawa and 2% in Gatineau)
speak both official languages at home.

**Portuguese Institutions**
The Portuguese in Ottawa-Gatineau are supported by well-developed institutional structures. Local Portuguese interactions are primarily facilitated by community organizations, many of which operate out of churches. These organizations focus on the maintenance of Portuguese culture by providing opportunities to socialize, both informal and formal (often, but not always, focusing on religious celebrations). The presence of the Portuguese community is also made visible through a number of local businesses, as well as various public events and festivals. The “Mois du patrimoine portugais” in Gatineau (usually in June) is an example of one such festival; it is supported by the City of Gatineau, the Portuguese Embassy, and various Portuguese organizations in Gatineau. It is important to note that the majority of local Portuguese institutions, particularly the churches, operate in Portuguese.

In Ottawa, the Portuguese Community Centre operates out of the Church of the Holy Ghost (close to downtown). A number of activities are also run out of the Senhor Santo Cristo Church in Gloucester. In Gatineau, the Centre Communautaire Portugais les Amis Unis operates out of Notre dame de Fatima Church in Hull. Many activities also occur at the Eglise Catholique Portuguaise du St-Esprit (also in Hull).

A few organizations do not operate exclusively out of churches; their activities are also more pan-regional in scope. Such organizations include CASA (the Portuguese House of Arts and Culture) and the Comissao Desportiva Cultural e Jovens Unidos (CDCJ Unidos), which is a youth-centered sports organization. CASA’s mission is to “promote, support, and encourage the Portuguese culture through educational, social, and recreational programs for the community across the Ottawa-Gatineau region” (CASA, 2009). CASA supports Portuguese language acquisition through two schools: the Escola de Lingua Portuguesa do Lusitânia and the Escola Portuguesa Luís de Camões. They also hold regular social events such as music nights and golf tournaments. The CDCJ Unidos’ activities are also regional in scope, but are youth-oriented, primarily (along with their subgroup, the FC Unidos) engaged in soccer matches.

While a number of Portuguese businesses exist in Ottawa, there are comparatively few that are explicitly Portuguese in Gatineau. In Ottawa, Portuguese businesses include restaurants and bars such as Café Caco, Cafe Spiga, Casa do Churrasco, and Tugal's. There are also a number of Portuguese bakeries, particularly in the downtown area. Girol, a local bookstore, stocks both Spanish-language and Portuguese media (papers, books, movies, etc.).

While there are a number of Portuguese businesses in Ottawa, there are comparatively few specifically Portuguese-themed public events. In contrast, the City of Gatineau has devoted the entire month of June as the “Mois du patrimoine portugais”. During June, the local Portuguese community assembles to celebrate Portuguese cultural activities such as music nights, folk dance performances, and religious processions.

**6. Potential Effects of the Border (Hypotheses)**

The Portuguese have a long history of settlement in the Ottawa-Gatineau region. Individual choices between one side of the border over another have been largely based on existing social connections. Portuguese migrants have been drawn to areas in which other Portuguese (often family members) are
already settled (hypothesis 1). These geographic concentrations have allowed for the creation and maintenance of vibrant Portuguese communities with high levels of institutional completeness including churches, schools, and social organizations. This institutional completeness serves to keep the Portuguese “in place” on one side of the border or another; movement throughout the region is not necessary to retain Portuguese traditions and identities (hypothesis 2). While individuals will cross the border, these crossings are not directly related to purposes surrounding their Portuguese identity. In fact, the Portuguese communities between Ottawa and Gatineau seem to be somewhat divided, though the reasons for this remain unclear (hypothesis 3).

**Hypothesis 1**
The majority of Portuguese in the Ottawa-Gatineau region arrived prior to 1991. As one of the few immigrant groups in the area, and one whose native language was neither English nor French, their ability to adjust to this new environment depended on the social support of others in the Portuguese community. Choices in settlement were largely informed by knowledge of other Portuguese in a particular area, whether from the same family, church, village, or otherwise. Thus, the initial decisions of a few individuals to settle in either Ottawa or Gatineau (likely made on economic bases) subsequently affected the settlement patterns of other new arrivals.

These settlement patterns were initially influenced by certain characteristics of the Portuguese migrants themselves. Many such individuals arrived through Canadian government programs recruiting manual labour; a number of individuals worked in construction on arrival (Magosci, 1999). The lower socio-economic status associated with this work may have influenced initial settlement decisions in favour of Gatineau, where housing prices are lower. Cultural factors may also have contributed to the attractiveness of Gatineau: the Quebecois, like the Portuguese, are largely Roman Catholic and French and Portuguese are of similar linguistic origins.

**Hypothesis 2**
Portuguese migrants may be described as more culturally and linguistically homogeneous than many other migrant groups (Teixeira, 2001); they are therefore able to maintain mutually agreed-upon traditions in their own language within their contexts of reception. There is significant evidence that the Portuguese in Ottawa-Gatineau have maintained their cultural traditions within the area; a large number of local Portuguese organizations exist and boast high levels of participation. These include churches, schools, sporting organizations, etc., all of which serve to perpetuate local Portuguese cultural traditions. These organizations exist on both the Ottawa and Gatineau sides of the border. Because of this, it is not necessary for a Portuguese migrant who has settled in Ottawa to regularly visit Gatineau for Portuguese-related events; they already exist in Ottawa. High levels of institutional completeness therefore reduce the necessity for regular border crossings.

**Hypothesis 3**
Despite high levels of participation within a wide range of social institutions, there is evidence that the Portuguese communities in Ottawa and in Gatineau do not regularly communicate. This is supported by the fact that the major community organizations, while aware of each other’s existence, do not regularly collaborate in planning or communicating their activities with one another. As a result, it is not unusual for the Portuguese in Ottawa and in Gatineau to celebrate the same religious festival on the same day, but separately at different locations. Practices such as these serve to divide the community and strengthen the role of the border in relation to the Portuguese identity.
7. Discussions with Community Members

7.1. The Portuguese in Ottawa

On August 20, 2009 (from 8-10pm), we held a group discussion with Portuguese currently living in Ottawa. Thirteen individuals met at the Senhor Santo Cristo Church in Gloucester. The discussion was facilitated in Portuguese by David Tavares, a PhD candidate within the Department of Geography at the University of Ottawa, who also transcribed and translated the session.

Attempts were made to recruit individuals through posters put up in public locations during the month of June. During the summer, the Project was contacted by Jose Carlos Rodrigues of the CDCJ Unidos, who noticed one such poster and took an interest in facilitating recruitment. Participants were subsequently recruited through a snowball sampling method, utilizing his contacts within the Portuguese community.

The group was comprised primarily of members of the Senhor Santo Cristo Church. Participants were first-generation Portuguese speaking migrants of both genders, and included the priest. The following issues were discussed:

The roles of the border
Participants saw Ottawa and Gatineau as two distinct cities, primarily based on language divisions (English and French). In particular, they discussed the degree to which the Portuguese community was divided by the border. They believed that this division was a result of differing immigrant origins (mainland vs. island Portugal). According to participants, this has resulted in some rivalry between Portuguese in Ottawa vs. Gatineau with respect to organizing public festivals and celebrations.

Differences between the two sides
Participants had a number of reasons for not wanting to live in Gatineau. These included: the language barrier (particularly French signage); a lack of familiarity with Gatineau, making it feel like a foreign place; distaste for Québec nationalism and language protectionism; and the periodic threat of separation.

One specific advantage of living in Ontario mentioned was the presence of two government subsidized Portuguese language Saturday schools in Ottawa and a lack of equivalent institutions in Gatineau.

Everyday needs and crossing the border
Participants expressed the opinion that they had adequate access to necessary services in their neighbourhoods. However, many also indicated that they travelled significant distances to meet at the church. Most participants crossed the border infrequently. When they did, their reasons included to visit friends, to take part in community events, for cheaper shopping, and to visit the Casino.

7.2. The Portuguese in Gatineau

Nine Portuguese individuals joined us on September 17, 2009, from 8-10 pm. The group, which was again assembled through the contacts of Jose Carlos Rodrigues, met at the Centre Communautaire Portugais in Hull. The meeting was facilitated in French by Dr. Anne Gilbert, a professor within the Department of Geography at the University of Ottawa. Laura Prazeres took notes, and Christine Mousseau undertook transcription.
The group was primarily comprised of Portuguese migrants from the Azores. The majority of these individuals had moved to Hull upon arrival in Canada. Many had not relocated since, and expressed strong attachments to the area (this sentiment was shared by the two young adults of Portuguese descent who were born in Hull). It is interesting to note that, unlike the group facilitated in Ottawa, this discussion did not take place in Portuguese; a number of individuals felt that they could “express themselves better” in French. The following issues emerged:

**Differences between the cities**
Participants were unanimous in recognizing Ottawa and Gatineau as two cities, though they noted that they are so intertwined that it is sometimes difficult to see dualities. Younger participants in particular emphasized imbalances in the region, stating that there is greater access to employment, activities, and services in Ottawa.

Participants mentioned that Ottawa is a more diverse environment; immigrants in the city are more active and visible. One noted that there seems to be more “racism” in Gatineau then in the past (particularly in reference to Muslims). Participants discussed the fact that, within the Quebecois education system, there seems to be little interest in other cultures or languages.

**The roles of the border**
For the most part, the social worlds of participants seemed to be centered around old Hull. However, participants indicated that they frequently cross the border. Reasons to cross included employment, entertainment, shopping, access to healthcare. Participants noted that they often work with in manual labour in Ottawa.

Apparently, these movements are not facilitated by linguistic competency; only one participant mentioned poor knowledge of English, but also noted that she can get by in Ottawa in French.

Participants also mentioned the border between Aylmer and Hull-Gatineau; they felt that Hull-Gatineau share common histories and identities, whereas Aylmer is more Anglophone.

**Identity and social ties**
All participants strongly identified as Portuguese, and many identified concerns that youth are not carrying on Portuguese traditions with the same dedication. Participants noted that they feel at home in Gatineau (which has a similar Latin character) as well as in Portugal (though Portugal has changed quite a bit since they left).

Participants indicated that family ties were central in organizing their social networks, and that friends and relatives were often equated. Individuals also mentioned that the “Centre Communautaire Portugais Les Amis Unis” played large roles in their social lives; they would visit it regularly for social and sporting activities. Participants also mentioned that there had been a split between two groups of Portuguese within the Centre communautaire; this led to the creation of the second Parish downtown (though they did not discuss details). Links with this organization, as well as with those in Aylmer and Ottawa, seem tenuous.
8. Synthesis and Conclusion

For the Portuguese population in the National Capital region, the role of the border largely depends on the issue under consideration. In terms of the Portuguese identity, the border is very strong; it reinforces the divides between the Portuguese communities in Ottawa and in Gatineau. However, in other areas of life, the border is more porous.

Many of the participants expressed strong affinities to their individual neighbourhoods. However, in instances where the necessities of daily life were not available within these neighbourhoods, participants were prepared to cross the border. Reasons to do so include employment, recreational activities, shopping, etc. Participants generally agreed that the border represents significant cultural differences between the two cities.

Both focus groups discussed their identification as both “immigrants” and “Portuguese.” In terms of the former, ideological differences between Ontario and Québec were highlighted, some of which affect individuals’ experiences in areas such as employment and education. Both groups agreed that the continued involvement and participation of youth in Portuguese community events is necessary in order to preserve the Portuguese presence and identity within the region. These opinions represent concern for the maintenance of the Portuguese community locally, which (though the respective communities may not be aware of it) is a pan-regional concern.
Appendices

A. Recruitment Poster.
This was placed in public locations including churches, community centers, and local Portuguese businesses.

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É um Português a viver em Ottawa-Gatineau?

O Projecto Ottawa gostaria de falar consigo acerca das sua experiência nesta região.

**O Que:** Troca de impressões sobre as vossas experiências acerca de Ottawa-Gatineau com duração de três horas em formato de grupo

**Quando:** Junho 2009 (data exacta ainda por determinar)

**Onde:** Ferto do seu local de residência (local a determinar)

**Resposta Para:** Luisa Veronis, Research Coordinator
613-562-5800 x1047 • GeoOtt@uottawa.ca

Serão servidos refrescantes e haverá compensação monetária pela sua participação.
B. Interview Guide.

An interview guide was used during the focus groups in order to structure the discussions. It was divided into three themes: “Imagining the City”, “Meeting Everyday Needs”, and “Social Connections”. Each group was asked the same general questions; whether or not and which “additional” questions were asked varied according to the topics individuals within the groups discussed. It is included below.

Table B: Interview Guide for Discussions with Community Members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme: Imagining the City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>5 minutes</strong> General: I’d like to invite each of you to introduce yourselves, and share with others why you were interested in participating in this Focus Group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>10 minutes</strong> General: Now, I’d like us to each reflect a little. Do you feel that Ottawa and Gatineau constitute one or two cities?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>30 minutes</strong> General: Do you experience any differences, or perceive of differences, when you are walking or driving down a street in your neighbourhood compared to others in Ottawa (or in Gatineau / Western Quebec), or others on the opposite side of the River?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>15 minutes</strong> General: I’d like each of us to imagine for a moment that Ottawa and Gatineau constitute only one city – and that the entire city is located in one province. What would be the implications of this?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme: Meeting Everyday Needs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>15 minutes</strong> General: Where you live, do you have access to what you need or want? More specifically, are the services, jobs, shopping, community groups, churches, or other components of your everyday life available in your neighbourhood? Or, do you generally find these things elsewhere in the city or on the other side of the River?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>15 minutes</strong> General: Individuals may cross the border for different purposes, such as to: go to work, to visit friends, to access community or social services, to pursue recreational opportunities, to go shopping, for entertainment, for other reasons. What are some reasons you cross the border? Why do you cross the river for these things?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Portuguese Immigration and the Border

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Additional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 minutes</td>
<td>General: In your view, why would someone move from one side of the river to the other?</td>
<td>Additional:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Have you considered moving to the other side of the river?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• What would stop you from moving to the other side of the river?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• What keeps you on the side you live on now?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General: Before moving on, are there any additional thoughts you really need or want to get</td>
<td>out around these issues?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Theme: Social Connections</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 minutes</td>
<td>General: I'd like you to talk a little bit about where your social ties are predominantly</td>
<td>located. I'm thinking about relationships with friends, community groups,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>located. I'm thinking about relationships with friends, community groups, church groups,</td>
<td>church groups, book clubs, fitness groups, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>additional:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Are these ties stronger in one part of the city than another?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Are these ties stronger on one side of the border?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• If you were to draw a map of your various connections within the Region overall, where</td>
<td>would you place the most dots?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 minutes</td>
<td>General: I'd like to talk a bit about who you are, how you identify yourself, and how you</td>
<td>identify the group to which you feel a 'sense of belonging.' What would be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>identify the group to which you feel a 'sense of belonging.' What would be this/these</td>
<td>these identity/identities?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>identity/identities?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>additional:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Do you feel these identity groups are coherent throughout the region of the national</td>
<td>capital?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>capital?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Do you feel some identity groups are dominant on one side of the river or the other?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Does this have an impact on your choice of place of residence or on what you think</td>
<td>about the other side of the river?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Are there parts of the city where you feel in a more minority position? In a majority</td>
<td>position? Does the border have an impact on your feeling in a position of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>position? Does the border have an impact on your feeling in a position of majority or</td>
<td>minority?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minority?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Are there ways, on a daily basis, in which you are made aware of living on the border?</td>
<td>Think about some of the scenarios where or when this is more apparent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Think about some of the scenarios where or when this is more apparent.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• What in your everyday landscape / travels confirms your identity?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


