

of what might be called one of the currently more neglected, or unfashionable races. For, as Professor Reid says in his introduction, "more than most ethnic groups, the history of Canada is to a certain extent the history of the Scots in Canada".

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GRACE ANDERSON and DAVID HIGGS. — *A Future to Inherit. The Portuguese in Canada.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976.

The presence of the Portuguese community in Canada today is largely the result of pressures from railroad and agricultural interests to recruit cheap labour in Southern Europe after the second World War. The government made attempts to restrict the flow of unskilled workers in the late 1950s, when economic conditions in Canada had changed, and concern arose that the Portuguese government was using Canada as a dumping ground for its excess population from the Azores. These attempts were not successful until the new immigration regulations of 1967, which attempted to control sponsored immigration, most of which was unskilled and doomed to a precarious existence in the labour market. The Portuguese still came in large numbers as visitors or illegally, until the loopholes were recently tightened. That is the not-very-pretty, not-very-principled background to the story of the Portuguese in Canada.

The attempt to tell that story is marred by several problems, some of which may be due to the excessively sociological research methods dictated by circumstance. But the shortcomings of the method are not overcome, and the result is an overly anecdotal account. The case study approach makes it difficult for the reader to generalise, and evidently for the authors, too. The material suffers from organisational problems. There is a discontinuity in places between the generalized, analytical parts of the study, and the narrative. Fundamental background factors are relegated to inconspicuous sections of the discussion, rather than used to introduce material to provide a solid context. The tone is that of the outsider looking in. The work lacks that passion which produces vitality; social scientists may like it but it will dismay some historians.

Portuguese immigration is divided into four phases. During the pioneer immigrant phase of the 1950s, men came here alone to work at labouring jobs in an isolation that was at times so complete that the information network about Canadian conditions was, in Portugal, maintained by letters home. The urban phase of the 1960s saw men moving to cities, family reunions, and family immigration, with a higher level of education and skills among the men than previously. The visitor phase, 1967-73, was marked by the flood of Portuguese who came as visitors and applied for landed immigrant status here. Over 40% of all immigrants during these years were visitors, many of whom were unskilled workers. The second generation phase, from the mid-1960s on, is the time when Canadian-born Portuguese enter higher education, employment, and the mainstream of Canadian life.

Of particular interest are the sections on family life, on settlement patterns, and the too-brief discussion on Portuguesismo. The family as described is very closely-knit, an important factor in resisting assimilation, and the centre of Portuguese life. It is claimed to be more important to the first generation than the individual. There are discrepancies between ideal and reality, however, most of them regrettably unexplored. Noted is the two to twelve year gap in family reunion.

Noted is the fact that the basis of family closeness is male bonding between the father and male siblings, not male-female ties. Noted also is female bonding between women remaining in Portugal; the authors say that women became mutually supportive when men were long absent, tending more to do so in areas with a strong tradition of male seasonal migration. The relationship between the Portuguese migratory tradition, the Canadian migration, and family patterns is provocative; the reader is left to speculate.

The authors note two changes in the family in Canada: *increased* sex segregation and a lessening of patriarchal power. They attribute the latter to the women's movement in Canada and Portugal, to long separations, and to increased female participation in the paid work force. Again, the reader must speculate.

The discussion of settlement patterns is extensive but not perfectly illuminating. Nine factors determining patterns are posited, and, in a discussion not clearly enough linked to these factors, settlements are surveyed by region. The survey is anecdotal to the point of tedium, full of case studies not linked to any analysis, and far too detailed. The importance of the crucial gatekeeper is noted; those few who acted as informal reception and referral agents established flourishing communities virtually singlehanded in many instances. One wonders about this function in other migrations.

The discussion of culture maintenance leaves methods unclear, as well as the content of cultural identity. The Portuguese seem similar to other groups: diverse, and in disagreement about the components of *Portuguesismo*. A *maneira de ser* or characteristic way of being in the world, is agreed to exist even by those who are not educated into the formal Portuguese culture. We learn that the Portuguese see their migration to Canada within the context of a centuries-long migration to many countries, rather like overseas Portuguese. Yet this self-description is not a central point in the work, as it might have been; it remains a passing observation. The authors see Portuguese 'inwardness' as transitory, but their discussion of the institutions of culture maintenance is not adequate to explain why. The church is discussed mostly in terms of religiously oriented quasi-social activities, the approach is folkloric, and anecdotal. Analytic efforts consist mostly on references to studies in other countries and the need for cross cultural work, rather than possibly unscientific but still useful generalisations from what was observed of the Canadian experience.

One startling lack is the failure to discuss adequately the role of Portugal as an imperialist country. This has greatly affected national priorities, resource allocation, and social and development policy at home and in Africa. Nowhere is the problem of underdevelopment on the continent or in the Azores linked to these priorities. This fundamental fact of Portuguese national life is discussed briefly in the text but not placed where it belongs in the introduction as an important part of the framework within which the Portuguese experience must be understood.

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MICHAEL B. KATZ and PAUL H. MATTINGLY. — *Education and Social Change. Themes from Ontario's Past.* New York: New York University Press, 1975.

This collection of important essays — most of which were first published in a special issue of the *History of Education Quarterly* in the Fall of 1972 — will