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Maintaining Ethnicity:
**A Case Study in the Maintenance of Ethnicity Among Chilean
Immigrant Students**

By Stephanie A. Corlett, B.A.

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts**

**Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
November 1, 2000
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the degree of Master of Arts

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Brian Given, Supervisor

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
December 11, 2000

Abstract

This thesis investigates the ways Chilean immigrant students perceive to maintain their ethnic identity within the multicultural city of Ottawa. The data collected for this thesis spanned two years and is based on semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and visual anthropology, among Chilean immigrant students currently enrolled or recently graduated from post-secondary institutions in the Ottawa area. An examination of the perception of multiculturalism's significance in the participants' lives, the student's pre-conceived notions and expectations of Canada, and the effects of social institutions and culture on the immigrant student's maintenance of ethnic identity. Literature on multiculturalism, immigration, and ethnicity are also explored to show how they compare and contrast to the perceptions of the immigrant students. This research indicates the most predominant methods to maintain ethnicity for these Chilean students are through the retention of social institutions, and culture.

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Introduction

I grew up in the suburb of Oakville, Ontario, Canada's multicultural nature was something I had taken for granted. The hallways of the high school I attended were a mosaic of students of different ethnicities, and equality was not something that had to be 'legislated.' Carleton University proved to be a similar environment, and my studies in anthropology led me to be increasingly curious about where different people of different ethnicities had come from, and what the experience of being in Canada was like for them. This curiosity, along with a passion for Latin American history, combined to form a research question: what is the experience of coming to Canada like for a Latin American student?

In order to make this research question both manageable and meaningful, it was necessary to narrow its focus. For reasons of both interest and practicality, I narrowed my original focus on "Latin American" students, to Chilean students because I had an interest in Chilean culture. To further focus my research, I chose post-secondary students who were either in the process of completing studies, or who had recently finished a degree or diploma, and who were Canadian immigrants in order to examine the experience of an ethnic identity other than Canadian.

The next requirement was to narrow the direction of the research question. I considered various areas of interest with respect to immigrant students' experiences in Canada, however, my discussions with new Canadians resulted in the exploration of the subject of the retention of ethnicity. I explored the premise that immigrants strive to

retain their ethnic heritage while in Canada, but wish to determine to what degree this was the case. Ethnicity is examined within Canada's multicultural framework; I felt it was important to determine if the participants perceived Canada's Multiculturalism Act actually had direct or indirect influences on the immigrants' experience in Canada, therefore I had to ask myself questions such as: is official multiculturalism a factor in an immigrant's decision to choose Canada; does the policy facilitate acculturation in Canada; does the policy reduce racism; does the multicultural policy play any significant role in the maintenance of ethnicity? Specifically, I sought these answers to determine what effect the Chilean immigrant student's perceived multiculturalism would impact them.

My early research showed me that my general interest in multiculturalism and ethnicity were more complex than I had originally anticipated. Literature on these large issues is vast. However, information regarding Chilean or Latin American culture in Canada was scarce. Additionally, much of the available literature was mainly statistical, which offered perspectives of the Chilean immigrants in Canada solely from a quantitative approach. This left a research gap, as there was little rich information on some social aspects of Chileans in Canada. Thus, I was able to pursue a qualitative approach to the research question, by applying information on ethnic retention gathered from the participant's perspective with existing academic work on immigrant experiences in Canada.

This research is particularly interesting for a variety of reasons. I have investigated the social dimensions of Chilean culture that pertain specifically to ethnicity.

This research is also unique, because, unlike quantitative data, it provides the participants with voice, which was not present in much of the previous literature. “Multiculturalism” is also a popular theme in Canadian society. Additionally, the participants’ views of the effectiveness of the multiculturalism policy and programs is useful for various sections of the Canadian government, such as the Department of Canadian Heritage and Multiculturalism, and various immigrant organizations, whose mandates pertain specifically to immigrant populations.

This thesis is presented in five sections. Chapter One defines terms, exploring concepts such as ethnicity, acculturation, and multiculturalism, and provides conceptual definitions of the terminology through a process of induction, in order to understand how the terminology is understood for the rest of the paper. A number of theoretical approaches are then examined and assessed.

John Berry’s acculturation model is explained in detail. This model illustrates an immigrant’s degree of maintaining his or her ethnicity by categorizing him or herself into one of four categories, which include: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. Each of the categories is explored, and the terms therein defined. This section is followed by a description of my methodology to utilize Berry’s model, including participant observation, semi structured interviews, and visual anthropology.

Chapter Two provides a brief description of Chile in a historical and cultural context. This chapter focuses on Chile’s geography, population, politics, economy, and technology, and how these aspects relate to Canada. Easter Island is also briefly described, as the participants’ refer to some aspects of the small island as part of their

construction of ethnic identity. During the research process, questioning the ways Chile differs from Canada became important, and I needed to assess how differences would influence the immigrants' ability to maintain ethnicity in Canada. By comparing and contrasting Chile and Canada, an understanding of how the Chilean immigrant students' lives changed when they immigrated to Canada was developed. Provided with this information, the reader will understand where the participants' have come from prior to immigrating to Canada. The research indicates that the two countries are not as different as anticipated.

Chapter Three examines how the Chilean participants perceive Canada's multicultural policy and ideology. An exploration of Canada's history of immigration, and its eventual adoption of a multicultural framework, was used as a basis for questions on how individuals maintain their ethnicity while in a new country. The effectiveness of government policy, verses the actual composition of Canada, and which had more of an impact on immigrants, was also questioned. This chapter begins to answer these questions with an overview of immigration in Canada. It goes on to explain multiculturalism today and how immigrant populations contribute to Canada's multiculturalism. This chapter also describes the actual multicultural composition of Canada. Multiculturalism and its social implications are important to this research because they are key to understanding the participants' perspective of Canadian society and experience life in this country.

Chapter Four presents profiles of the participants' to allow the reader to better understand the individuals throughout this research. The profiles include information on

when the individuals came to Canada and their stated motivations. Most participants came to Canada with family, or to visit family. This, as we will see, proved an asset to their ability to maintain their ethnicity.

The second and third sections of this Chapter contain information gathered as a result of the various methods mentioned in Chapter One. This data, along with previous literature, focuses on the Chilean immigrant students' migration experiences and expectations, and their perceptions of the multicultural aspect of Canada. This chapter also describes the participants' view on how they perceive themselves in Ottawa society and how multiculturalism affects their ethnicity.

Chapter Five begins with information gathered regarding social institutions. This Chapter discusses the Chilean immigrants' perspectives on marriage and other social relationships, including friends, as they relate to ethnic retention. The Chileans were questioned on their beliefs about the value of religion in Chilean ethnicity, and it is found that for the majority it is not a necessary factor in the maintenance of ethnicity. Education as a factor in social incorporation, along with language and accent as possible barriers, were also explored in this chapter. This analysis is followed by the importance of Chilean politics in the participant's ethnicity.

This chapter deals next with the Chilean's construction of culture. The participants describe their views of the Chilean and Canadian cultures, in order to evaluate what aspects of their ethnicity are important to retain, such as family values and language. Finally, the last section of this chapter specifically deals with ways the Chilean immigrant students maintain their ethnicity. This section begins with an identification of elements

that the respondents maintain as defining factors of their ethnicity. These aspects include the importance of traditional foods, language, and family values, and are conveyed by the participants' through photographs which they have taken. These photographs feature photographic compositions, which demonstrate the important aspects of ethnicity as perceived by them, either graphically or symbolically. The photographs will show that besides language, for the Chilean participants, surrounding themselves with household artifacts, and the presence of friends and family, were considered the most important aspects to maintain ethnicity for these Chilean immigrant students.

This research ends with a conclusion of the most effective ways used by Chilean immigrant students to maintain ethnicity. It will summarize the main issues raised throughout the research, and deal with the process that the immigrant experiences from the idea of leaving his or her country, to the actual immigration process, settling in a new country, and finally, maintaining Chilean ethnicity with the new, adopted homeland.

Chapter 1: Theory and Methodology

1.0 Introduction

The objective is to understand how Chilean immigrant students maintain or do not maintain their ethnicity within a multicultural society. To address this question we must ask ourselves several questions. What elements characterize Chilean ethnicity in Canada? How do these characteristics differ from their perception of ethnicity in Chile? I also came to question my own ethnicity.

One theoretical model in the vast literature on ethnicity and specifically the maintenance of ethnicity complimented the goals of this research. This model is based in cross-cultural psychology, and was established by John Berry. Although it is not a model derived from anthropology, I found it to be the best-suited strategy to address the maintenance of ethnicity among my sample of Chilean immigrant students. More specific reasons for choosing this model will be discussed later in this Chapter.

1.1 Definitions

Concepts used in this research need to be defined here, to better understand the analysis that follows. These include: ethnicity, cultural maintenance, and acculturation.

Winthrop (1991: 9) defines ethnicity as:

...the existence of culturally distinctive groups within a society, each asserting a unique identity on the basis of a shared tradition and distinguishing social markers such as a common language, religion or economic specialization. Ethnicity implies the existence of social markers, recognized means for differentiating groups coexisting within a wider field of social interaction. [Those] distinctions are made on various grounds, including physical appearance, geographic origins, economic

specialization, religion, language and such expressive patterns as clothing and diet.

Dashefsky includes the notion of self-identification in his definition of ethnicity, stating that “ethnic identification takes place when a group is one with whom the individual believes he has a common ancestry based on shared individual characteristics and/or cultural experiences” (cited in Driedger 1978: 15). This definition includes the important aspect of self-identification, although it does not include the ability to change ethnicity over time. The immigrant students, as individuals, share visual physical characteristics that identify them as an ethnic group within the general Canadian population, and involuntarily subject them to processes of re-socialization within this role as they become assimilated into a new culture (Isajiw 1999: 18).

The most often used definition of ethnicity, and the one utilized throughout this research, is that of Isajiw (1985: 16), who defines an ethnic group as “an involuntary group of people who share the same culture, or descendants of such people who identify them and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group.” He goes on to define ethnicity to include all aspects of a culture (1999: 17). Culture is defined as the customary ways of thinking and behaving of a particular population or society (Ember and Ember 1996: 5).

General theories of ethnicity include the primordialist (or essentialist), situational (or circumstantial), and subjective (or constructionist) approaches. The primordialist or essentialist approach argues that ethnicity is ascribed at birth and therefore is permanent and cannot change (Isajiw 1999:30; Cornell and Hartmann 1998: 48). In 1975, Harold

Isaacs described ethnicity as “a basic group identity... [that] consists of the ready-made set of endowments and identifications that every individual shares with others from the moment of birth, by the chance of the family into which he is born at that given time in that given place” (Cornell and Hartmann 1998: 48). Isaacs continues to explain that there are eight elements that contribute to a person’s basic group identity which include: the physical body; the individual and family name of each person; the history, nationality, language, religion, culture, and geography of the group the person is born into (Cornell and Hartmann 1998:48-49). Although the elements outlined by Issacks are generally shared by his approach, it is problematic, because it assumes ethnicity is static and unchanging.

The situational or circumstantial approach is less static. It assumes that individuals are able to choose their ethnicity, and express it when it is advantageous to them. (Cornell and Hartmann 1998: 57; Isajiw 1999: 31) This theory describes ethnicity as “the medium through which various groups [organize] to pursue their collective interests in competition with one another, interests that [are] products of the circumstances in which those groups [find] themselves” (Cornell and Hartmann 1998: 57). This definition acknowledges group cohesiveness, and introduces the idea that ethnicity might be an identification which can be accepted or rejected. This definition is powerful in cases where an individual self-defines as a member of an ethnic group. However, it fails to account for physical traits that are the basis for non-voluntary ascription, such as the distinct physical features of Native Indians from Chile or the Mestizos.

The subjectivist approach views ethnicity as a “social-psychological reality” or a perception of “us and them” (Isajiw 1999: 31). Subjectivists believe that ethnicity is “dependent on the socio-psychological experience” (Isajiw 1999: 31). Therefore, to subjectivists, ethnicity is constructed both in the individual and the individual experience, but is also impacted upon by the society in which the individual finds him or herself. What is critical to the subjectivist/constructionist approach is that self-ascription to an ethnicity is equally important to ascription by others (Cornell and Hartmann 1998: 72; Isajiw 1999: 31). This approach is not static, but a dynamic one, because it assumes ethnicity is constructed within individuals; it evolves throughout a person’s lifetime, and from one generation to the next. This dynamic model also allows for reconstruction, as conditions within societies change (Isajiw 1999: 33). This theory is more flexible than both the primordialist and situational theories. It will also be shown to be closely related to Berry’s model of acculturation, as both view ethnicity as a social construct that varies from one person to the next, and both argue that a person’s ethnicity can change over time.

For the purpose of this research, the term “retention of ethnicity” is interchangeable with the “maintenance of ethnicity.” This is because the respondents are first generation immigrants to Canada, who retain and maintain various aspects of their ethnicity. Also, much of the literature on ethnicity used in this research was conducted by Isajiw, who uses the term “retention of ethnicity,” and Berry, who uses the term “maintenance of ethnicity.” These terms are defined as the extent that cultural identities

and characteristics are considered to be important by the individual, and the degree the maintenance of those characteristic are strived for (Berry 1997: 9; Isajiw 1981).

In their classic definition, Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936: 149) define acculturation as the “result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes occurring in the original culture pattern of either or both groups.” Winthrop (1991: 4), along similar lines, defines acculturation as cultural change under conditions of direct contact between the members of two societies. Berry (1997: 8) uses the term as “the set of processes by which individuals and groups interact when they identify themselves as culturally distinct.” The definitions of Winthrop and Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits fail to acknowledge that acculturation may take place within a multicultural society. Berry’s definition is more appropriate for Canada’s multicultural society since acculturation in this country deals with more than two cultures.

1.2 Theoretical Approach

The theoretical approach for this research will follow John Berry’s acculturation model (Berry et al.1997: 296). Berry proposes a multi-option acculturation model that assumes neither uni-dimensionality nor assimilation as the final result. Berry offers a taxonomy in which the mode of acculturation adopted by an individual or group is determined. This strategy categorizes individuals using two simultaneous criteria: cultural maintenance, which determines the extent and importance of, cultural identity and characteristics, and contact and participation, which is the extent to which they should become involved in other cultural groups or remain primarily among themselves (Berry 1997:9).

Berry's model assumes that all immigrants will fall into one option or category of acculturation. His acculturation strategy, which he applies to immigrants in pluralistic societies, contends that an individual can shift from one category of the acculturation process to another at different times during his or her life, although each is mutually exclusive of the others. The four categories, according to Berry, are integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization (Berry et al. 1997: 296). (See Appendix A, Figure 1; for the detailed model). Assimilation occurs when an individual does not wish to maintain his or her ethnic culture, and he or she is fully immersed in the dominant culture. Integration occurs when an individual desires to maintain the ethnic culture and to interact with the dominant group. However, if an individual wishes to maintain the "heritage culture," (Berry 1997: 9) or the culture of his or her mother country, while avoiding interaction with the dominant culture, then he or she is included within the third category of separation. Marginalization results when an individual lacks interest or the possibility of maintaining his or her heritage culture, and also lacks the desire for relations with the dominant culture.

Berry's model also includes factors that affect the acculturation process. One of the model's strengths is its ability to look at the group-level phenomena and the individual-level variables as factors affecting acculturation (Berry et al. 1997: 14-15). (See Appendix A, Figure 2; for a detailed framework). Group factors include the society of origin, group acculturation, and society of settlement (Berry 1997: 15). Individual factors include those present during the stage of pre-acculturation, such as age, gender, status, and language; and factors that emerge during the process of acculturation, such as

strategies for acculturation and coping. This model not only accounts for all stages of a person's life that would affect the acculturation process, but also examines factors in immigrants' society of origin and society of settlement which also impact upon their experiences. It is for this reason that chapters specifically on the background of Chile and Multiculturalism in Canada are included in this examination.

Berry's Model of Acculturation is the most appropriate one for this study for a variety of reasons. At present, it appears to be the most comprehensive model available, accounting for the many possible influences on the immigrant during the acculturation process, such as home and host society, age, education, expectations, and proximity to a social network (Berry 1997: 15). This is also a useful taxonomy because it fits with the categories of acculturation generated by this study's informants, such as integration and separation. Additionally, other models had the disadvantage of describing the various types of acculturation without a means of determining where new immigrants experiences are in variance with the model.

This project will therefore focus on a few particular aspects of Berry's model, such as age, education, and how gender affects the pre-acculturation factors of maintenance of ethnicity, and acculturation strategies. Since university students, the subjects in this study, for the most part have not had the life experiences of older immigrants migrating to another country, they will be affected by only a few of the factors outlined above. Although actual age and level of schooling will vary, the social status will be relatively consistent, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Four.

Berry's model provided me with the opportunity to ask the immigrants directly about the two main issues that drove my own research interests: do they maintain relationships with the host society, and is it important to them to maintain their culture? The answers to these questions will be included in Chapter Five. Berry's model is up-to-date and compatible with Ottawa society. In comparison, a paradigm commonly used for immigrants in Canada is by Jean Leonard Elliott (1971: 7). This "minority reaction to subordinate status" taxonomy is out-of-date as it uses categories that is not appropriate for the Chilean population in Ottawa. This model looks at ethnic minorities with only two incompatible goals: survival as a distinct ethnic group, or admittance into the Canadian mainstream (Elliot 1971: 6). The participants demonstrate that their goal is to both maintain ethnicity and integrate into society. Elliott creates a taxonomy by which immigration strategies can be categorized depending on whether they are being pursued actively or passively. The nature of Elliot's strategy will determine which of the following outcomes ensues: assimilation, Anglo-conformity, involuntary segregation, militant integration, accommodation, ethno-centrism, voluntary segregation, and militant separation (Elliott 1971: 8). Although Elliott's model is similar to Berry's model, it is problematic because the categories are rigid and exclusive. It also appears to be geared toward a more uni-cultural society and not the current Canadian multicultural reality; this may be due, in part, to the fact that Elliott was writing this taxonomy in 1971, (other work was continued into the 1990's), when Canada, built on immigration, was only on the verge of officially institutionalizing multiculturalism as a public policy. Her taxonomy has limited applications to this project because an official multiculturalism

limited applications to this project because an official multiculturalism policy would, in theory, encourage all ethnic groups and aid immigrants to maintain their ethnic identities.

One must realize that Berry's model is based on the assumption that the individuals involved have the ability to choose the way and the amount they integrate to the host culture (1997: 9). Since this is not always possible, we will discuss in Chapter Five some of the non-voluntary characteristics, such as accent and language restraints for these Chilean immigrant students. Many would accept the idea that no one would choose to be marginalized by a society; marginalization would result in attempts of forced assimilation combined with forced segregation from the society (Berry 1997: 10). Moreover, in Canada, integration can only take place when society is willing to accept the immigrants and their culture. Berry (1997: 11) explains pre-conditions that are necessary for integration:

These preconditions are: the widespread acceptance of the value to a society of cultural diversity (i.e. the presence of a positive "multicultural ideology"); relatively low levels of prejudice (i.e. minimal ethnocentrism, racism, and discrimination); positive mutual attitudes among cultural groups (i.e. no specific inter-group hatreds); and a sense of attachment to, or identification with, the larger society by all groups.

The characteristics identified above are preconditions which, it will be argued, Canada meets. Built on immigration and assimilation, Canada has come a long way in its attitudes towards immigrants with a visible multicultural society, and a multicultural policy that attempts to be the land of opportunity for immigrants.

1.3 Methods

It was explained earlier that much research has been completed on immigration in Canada, however this information is mainly quantitative. Quantitative data is very useful in many respects. However, a qualitative methodology is more valuable in this type of exploratory research as it provides depth rather than breadth. Quantitative research also requires questionnaires to be formulated prior to collecting data, which was not feasible for this project.

The best-suited methodology for this research is a qualitative approach described by Dorothy Smith (1999) as “standpoint ethnography,” as it allows the participants’ voice to be heard through the researcher. The methods used to accomplish this task include limited participant observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and visual anthropology. In other words, triangulation, (which refers to “a variety of techniques to test a research question” (Jackson 1995: 173),) was used in order to attain a greater level of reliability. This approach is also necessary due to the lack of current in-depth information on the topic of maintaining ethnicity by Chilean immigrant students: ethnicity relies on both the outsiders’ and insiders’ perceptions, therefore using a single method would not offer a complete picture of the participants’ experiences. This study bridges some of the gaps in current research by exploring, in depth, the personal experiences of one immigrant group in Canada using a multi-faceted approach.

Since the study would examine each participant’s experiences and feelings in detail, it was necessary to work with a small, manageable snowball- sample of participants. This optimum number was determined to be less than ten, but more than six: while too many participants would yield too much data, too few would not offer enough

variety of experiences. The final sample was developed through a “snowball” technique. The snowball technique involves meeting with one or more people who meet the criteria of the group to be studied, and asking them for names of other who may also meet these criteria (Jackson 1995: 401). The contacts are then interviewed, and they, in turn, are asked for more referrals. This method provided a sample of Chilean immigrant students that would have been difficult to amass in any other manner. The final group consisted of eight students, engaged in studies at one of Carleton University, the University of Ottawa, or Algonquin College.

1.3.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

The first step in the research process was the semi-structured interview, which constituted one element of the triangulation approach. The interviews were conducted with each participant in person, and ranged, in duration, from one to two hours. A majority of participants (6) were interviewed two to three times for more detailed information. Jackson defines semi-structured interviews as in-depth interviews that “record people’s descriptions and explanations of events in their world” (1995: 138). These interviews consist of a set of open-ended questions which allow the participant to provide detailed information and, because they are not rigidly structured, allow the participant to add information when they see fit. These interviews focused on Chilean students’ perceptions of how they maintained their ethnicity. The participants were asked if they perceived having a personal “process” of maintaining ethnicity. For the purposes of the study, the process of maintaining an ethnicity was defined as the participants’ conscious formulation of a strategy to facilitate their maintenance of Chilean ethnicity in

Canada. Also, participants were asked if they believed this process was 'conscious' or 'unconscious.' They were asked: what aspects of their ethnicity they wanted to preserve and which aspects they would like to embrace from Canadian culture; who in their family or community had a predominate role in maintaining the ethnicity; and what they thought was the best strategy for the maintenance of their culture in Canada. In an attempt to ensure optimum accuracy of the data, each interviewee was asked the same questions, and after answering, was given the opportunity to delve deeper into topics he or she felt were important. Additional information, introduced by free-dialogue on the part of participants, allowed a deviation of topics from the pre-defined questions, thus introducing some that were important to the participants. [The questions used in this study are included in Appendix B].

1.3.2 Participant Observation

The second element of the triangulation approach was participant observation. In the traditional anthropological research process, participant observation typically required the researcher to be a part of the study subjects' daily lives, and the researcher participated in and/or observed activities with a community for an extensive length of time (Jackson 1995: 128). Modern participant observation involves first-hand research where a researcher joins a community, organization, or group for an extended period of time (Ember and Ember 1996: 236). For this project, it was not feasible to live with eight students for the duration of the project, therefore a modified form of participant observation was necessary. To this end, contact was maintained with participants, during periods of times between classes, at home on weekends, and at social events. All

students could not be visited at all times, therefore available time was divided as equally between participants as possible to reduce bias. Although this modified method was not 'ideal,' exposure to the participants' personal time provided insight into the subjective and objective complexities of their ethnicity, which manifested in their daily lives (Jackson 1995: 131). It also allowed observation of participants' interactions with other people in various social contexts, and comparison of observations with the participant's interview information. Thus, this method functioned as a supplement, forming the second element of the triangulation approach, by broadening and verifying the interview information.

1.3.3 Visual Anthropology

The third element of the triangulation approach was the use of visual anthropology. A visual anthropology method was used in this study to examine the participants' environments and the elements they deemed important to their ethnicity (Peacock 1986: 49). The visual anthropology approach, which analyzes visual material such as art, film, and/or photographs, was used because it could record images, forming a permanent record, which could then be discussed by researcher and participant. This form of recording also has the advantage of capturing information unavailable to the naked eye (Ruby 1989: 15); not only does it capture information of an important psychological nature to the participant, but it also highlights objects which may have, over time, become 'invisible' in his or her own environment.

This project employed a method specifically known as photo novella (Peacock 1986: 49), in which the participant takes the photographs, and later analyzes their content

with the researcher. This technique was used by Worth and Adair (1972), who taught Navajo Indians in the Southwestern United States how to use the motion picture camera to find out what the First Nation's would choose to film. They found that the prominent themes in Navajo films were community, religion, and spirituality, elements important to that particular culture. Worth and Adair came to conclusions about how, in this case, "a group of people structured their view of the world -- their reality through film" (1972: 7), and generalized that visual anthropology helps to "reveal culture as determined and organized by the people within that culture" (1972: 253). The photo novella is a very valuable research tool because it focuses on the participants' perspectives of their ethnicity and culture.

Each respondent who wished to participate in this aspect of the study, was provided with a disposable camera to take pictures of what he or she felt best symbolized his or her ethnicity. Although Collier (1986: 13) warns that this can lead to the researcher having "an overload of photographic information," this problem was minimized by having the participants discuss and explain the photographs: these discussions helped to assess why the participant took a particular picture verses others, and what elements were deemed important. It also offered the researcher an opportunity to inquire about 'invisible' objects in the photographs, and their significance. Results of the joint analysis of the photographs by researcher and participant, combined with the results of the semi-structured interviews, and participant observation, helped create a complete picture of each participant's level of acculturation.

1.4 Limitations

This project presents findings of a study conducted using a sample of eight Chilean students, and explores their experience of acculturation in Canada. While it is representative of the experiences of its participants, it cannot be construed as representative of the experiences of all Chilean immigrant students in Canada; the immigration experience is unique to each individual, and to each region of Canada.

One possible problem which may arise when conducting research, which involves interpretation of the experiences of participants from another country, is cross-cultural bias: as a Canadian researcher, my socialization, acculturation, and experiences are determined by my Canadian identity. The participants in this study, the Chilean students, are from a distinctively different society. Each of our backgrounds determines our understanding of the world, the way we speak, listen, and how we process information. From a research point-of-view, it is important to realize that my interpretation of the participants' responses may not be entirely accurate, due to our disparate backgrounds. While this problem cannot be entirely eliminated, attempts were made to minimize this bias through in-depth interviews and analyses of the photographic contents.

There is also the problem of demand characteristics, which can occur when participants offer responses that they believe will please the researcher (Jackson 1995: 269). This did not appear to be a significant problem in this research, as the participants freely offered, on some occasions, negative opinions about Canada and their experiences in this country. I also made it clear from the outset that I would not find negative opinions offensive, and what was most important to me and the research was honesty.

Another limitation came in the area of the photo novella aspect of the project. Only four of the eight respondents wished to participate in this aspect of the research. Therefore, when discussing the visual portion of the data, we must remember that only half the sample is represented. The other limit in this regard was the number of pictures each participant could take, which was twenty-seven, the number on each disposable camera provided.

In some cases, participants wished to take pictures of articles or subjects which were not available. A participant, Elizabeth, for example, wanted to take pictures of Spanish records, compact discs, and sheet music to show how important that particular type of music is for her in maintaining her Chilean ethnicity, but she was unable to find all the necessary artifacts. This problem was overcome by researcher and participant dialogue about what pictures he or she had wished to take, but were not able to.

I had also proposed to take a portrait of each participant to demonstrate how he or she indicated to others his or her Chilean ethnicity. This exercise was intended to explore what Worth and Adair (1972: 7) explain in "Through Navajo Eyes," as new ways people are now seeking to present themselves to others. This led to the question of if costume, pose, or physical characteristics were deemed to represent ethnicity. Participants, however, did not want formal photographs of themselves used publicly. I proposed, instead, that each draw a picture of how they felt they show their Chilean identity. However, only one individual was willing to participate, for reasons which were not made clear.

This chapter has explored the key definitions of ethnicity, acculturation, and maintenance of ethnicity. Berry's Model of Acculturation, which offers a framework for identifying a person's strategy of acculturation, has been identified as a key model to exploring maintenance of ethnicity. The theory and methodology, as outlined here, provide a basis for understanding the information gathered and subsequent analysis. Before this can occur, however, it is important to examine the society of origin of the respondents; the next chapter will offer a brief description of Chile in regard to its geography, population, politics, economy, and technology and how these aspects compare to Canada. Also, a brief look at Easter Island will be presented, for as previously mentioned, the participants' refer to some aspects of the small island as part of their construction of ethnic identity.

Chapter 2: Background of Chile

2.0 Introduction

In order to understand what the immigrant students maintain from Chile and what aspects of their ethnicity are naturally preserved in Canada, it is important to examine the similarities and differences between the two countries in the Chilean immigrant student's experience. The theoretical framework that is used in this research, explained in detail in Chapter One, requires this description of the participants' country of origin to literally understand where they are coming from (Berry 1997: 16). Chile, located in the southern hemisphere, differs fundamentally from Canada; it has a variety of climates, ranging from desert to sub-Arctic conditions, and is sparsely populated. It has come from being a dictatorship, and is now ruled democratically. It is modern, and enjoys most of the amenities which Canadians are used to. This Chapter will further describe Chile from the geographical, population, political, economic, and technological perspectives, and will do this while comparing its various aspects to Canada. This will allow the reader a general understanding of how these elements affect the participants' transition to their new home. Easter Island, which represents an element of Chilean identity, will also be explored.

2.1 Geography

Chile's geography is described briefly since it is important to inform the reader of its basic characteristics. Also, areas that will be discussed by the participants are outlined here in more detail to understand discussion later. The South American country of Chile is the longest, most narrow country in the world (World Factbook: Chile 1999). The area of Chile is 748,800 square kilometers with a coastline of approximately 6,400 kilometers

(World Factbook: Chile 1999). The terrain consists of low coastal mountains, fertile central valley, and the Andes mountain range. Chile has natural borders with the South Pacific Ocean to the west, and the Andes separating Chile from Argentina and Bolivia to the east. The Atacama Desert naturally divides Peru and Chile in the north, while the southern tip of Chile is the Southern Ocean. (A Map of Chile is featured as Appendix C). Easter Island and the Juan Fernandez Islands in the South Pacific are also part of Chile.

Chile has a variety of natural hazards because of its proximity to the Andes Mountains. The melting snow in the Andes is a constant cause of flash floods that damage nearby villages (Winter 1991: 7). Climatic hazards include active volcanism in the Andes, and tsunamis, which are large waves created by underwater earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and earthquakes (Europa 1999). Also, sudden storms and strong currents are a constant threat to fishermen along the coast of Chile (Winter 1991: 7). Canada experiences different natural hazards, including cyclonic storms east of the Rocky Mountains, and the continuous permafrost in the north, which is an obstacle for development (World Factbook: Canada 1999).

The climate in Chile is varied, according to geographic region. The north is characterized by the Atamaca desert, which is a scarcely populated area. The central region is known as the Central Valley, which has a cool, damp climate. All of the respondents were originally from this central region which is highly cultivated and resembles the Central Valley of California (Winter 1991: 9). Santiago, the capital of Chile, is located in this area and has an average temperature of 28 degrees Celsius in summer and zero degrees Celsius in winter, with an annual rainfall of 35 centimeters

(World Factbook: Chile 1999). Southern Chile's climate is harsh with strong storms, freezing rain and high winds. Although this region occupies one-third of Chile's total land area, it has a minimal population density. (Winter 1991: 10).

The environment is currently experiencing problems which include air pollution from industrial and vehicle emission, water pollution from raw sewage, deforestation, soil erosion, and desertification (World Factbook: Canada 1999). Whereas Canadian environmental problems include air pollution and resulting acid rain, metal smelting, coal-burning, vehicle emissions polluting agricultural and forest resources, and ocean waters becoming contaminated due to agricultural, mining, and forestry activities (World Factbook: Canada 1999).

2.2 People

The population of Chile is described to contrast the differences with Canada, as it has influenced the participants' perspective of Canada upon arrival. The Chilean population, in 1999, reached 14.9 million people, comprised of 95 percent white-Amerindian (mestizos) and European origin (white), 3 percent Amerindian and 2 percent other ethnic groups (Europa 1999: 191). Even though a majority of the population has Indian blood, the Chilean people think of themselves as Caucasian since they are more influenced by the European and North American culture than the historical Native culture (Winter 1991: 43). In 1999, Canada, in comparison, had a population of 31 million people, with persons of British origin comprising 40 percent, French origin, 27 percent, other European origins, 20 percent, Amerindian, 1.5 percent and 11.5 percent other (World Factbook: Canada 1999). According to the World Factbook, in 1999, Chile had a imperceptibly small immigration rate (less than one percent), whereas Canada's

immigration rate is 5.96 percent. The statistics indicate that Chile is not as racially diverse a country as Canada; it is, in fact, perceived as one of the most homogeneous countries in South America (Winter 1991: 43).

Chile's religion is mainly (89%) Roman Catholic (World Factbook: Chile 1999). Canada on the other hand, has a greater diversity of religions, with 45 percent Roman Catholic, 12 percent United, 8 percent Anglican, and 35 percent of other faiths (World Factbook: Canada 1999). According to the World Factbook (1999), literacy, defined as a measure of those over age 15 who can read and write, in Chile is 95.2 percent, whereas in Canada it is slightly higher at 97 percent.

According to Winter (1991) and the informants, Chilean's are similar to people in Canada in two ways: first, people in Chile dress like North Americans, although they do not dress as casually or as formally (Winter 1991: 52). For example, Elizabeth explains that normally she dresses more formally than her classmates on a daily basis, however she would not likely to dress much differently for a 'formal' occasion. Second, like Canadians, Chileans have a typical nine-to-five workday. This, however, is very different from other Latin American countries, as others observe the siesta, which is a mid-day nap following a long lunch (Winter 1991: 41).

2.3 Government

Many of the participants and their families continue to be influenced by the politics that surround Chile's history, which is why the government is described here. Today the government in Chile is democratic, although this was not always the case. In 1973, dictator Augusto Pinochet, along with four branches of the army, overthrew the

elected democratic government; the 17 years of military rule which followed included arrests, imprisonment, torture, and the murder of supporters of the former President, other leftist political parties, and those who opposed Pinochet (Derechoschile 1999). Many Chileans fled during those turbulent years to seek refugee status in other countries, such as Canada. Today these refugees, along with Chilean immigrants, have settled in cities across the country, although the Chilean community has been divided by strong political differences.

In December 1998, Pinochet, was in the news when he was charged, by a Spanish Judge, with human right violations, and was placed under house arrest in Britain to await an extradition ruling. On March 2, 2000, the British Home Secretary announced that extradition proceedings would be dropped because Pinochet was deemed medically unfit for trial (Derechoschile 2000). In Chile the decision to not hold Pinochet was met with mixed reaction; supporters were understandably pleased with the decision, while those who opposed Pinochet were not (Derechoschile 2000). Pinochet, however, may still face extradition to Spain for trial; new medical tests are pending in Chile to see if he is suffering from dementia. If it is found that he is not, then his Parliamentary immunity will be lifted and charges laid. (Derechoschile 2000).

2.4 Economy

The two countries do not differ much in respect to economy, although it is important to briefly describe as the participants judge the difference between social programs, employment, and commodities. Like Canada, Chile enjoys a free-market economy. The current Chilean government has reduced its role in the economy, shifting its focus from a state-controlled marketplace to social programs, since the Pinochet

government's attempt to move Chile's economy from the state to the market, emphasized individualism and consumerism, widening the gap between rich and poor. In 1998, 20.5 percent of the population was below the poverty line and the unemployment rate was 6.4 percent (Europa 1999: 191).

2.5 Technology

Many of the respondents discussed the use of electronic mail to maintain contact with friends and family still in Chile, therefore it is important to look at Chile's technology with respect to computers. In South America, Chile is the fastest growing country with respect to technology (Europa 1999: 199). In 1994, telephone penetration had reached 1.5 million, or one telephone for every nine people. A study conducted in South America in 1999 concluded that Chile was leading other countries in the installation and distribution of Internet technologies, and had the highest number of computers per capita, with 5.04 for every one hundred inhabitants (Ascuca 1999). Argentina, by contrast, had the second highest rate, at only 1.34 per one hundred inhabitants (Ascuca 1999).

2.6 Easter Island

Easter Island is important to Chileans because it is seen, throughout the society, as a familiar symbol. Replicas of the sculptures of Easter Island are used for commercial purposes; one example of this is the bottle for Chile's national drink, Pisco. A description of the Island is necessary to understand the relevance of the various household articles which will be described in Chapter Five.

Easter Island can be described as one of the most remote islands in the world with the closest neighbors of Tahiti and Chile over 3,500 kilometers away. The island is small

and triangular with an extinct volcano in each corner and a total area of 165 square kilometers (Brookman 2000). Named Easter Island by Dutch Admiral Reggoveen, who discovered the island in the South Pacific on Easter Sunday in 1722 (Brookman 2000). Today, the island, people, and language are referred to the resident population by the original name of Rapa Nui (Winter 1991: 13). Chile officially acquired Easter Island in 1888 during Chile's period of expansion (Lonely Planet 2000). The population of approximately 2000 people is largely Polynesian (70%), and the majority lives in the capital city of Hagoa (Lonely Planet 2000).

The island attracts tourists and academics from around the world because of the mysterious human-like stone megaliths that cover the island. Although various theories, from lost-continent to extra-terrestrial, surround the megaliths and the origins of the island, archaeological evidence indicates that the origin of Easter Island was by Polynesians. The huge statues, or Moai, date back as far as AD 900 (Winter 1991: 13), and are made from the volcanic basalt, which was mined at island quarries then transported to the coast and erected (Lonely Planet 2000). Mystery surrounds the design and transport of these Moai statues, however it has been recently determined that the statues were originally used as religious idols and later as burial places (Winter 1991: 13).

The population reached its peak of approximately 10,000 people, which exceeded Easter Island's ecosystem, resulting in the destruction of the Island. Forests were cleared for agriculture and for the transport of the Moai statues to their final coastal locations. This resulted in civil war, and eventually cannibalism, as the social order of the Hagoa

declined. The Moai that exist today have been re-erected by archaeologists since many were toppled or destroyed by the Huga Roa during civil war (Brookman 2000).

This brief look at Chile from the perspective of the geography, people, government, economy, and technology shows that the Chilean immigrant students should not have to make drastic adjustments in order to adapt to their new home. The most significant difference is the climate and natural hazards, which for the most part are lessened in Canada and therefore beneficial to the newcomers. The government is also slightly different. We now have a better understanding of the similarities and differences between Canada and Chile. We will also be able to appreciate the transition the Chilean immigrant students had when they first came to Canada. Next, we look at Multiculturalism in Canada. First a brief history of immigration in Canada with respect to multiculturalism will be explained. This is followed by a description of the actual composition of Canadian society, the Canadian government's policy of Multiculturalism and the underlying ideology of multiculturalism.

Chapter 3: Multiculturalism

3.0 Introduction

Multiculturalism is an ethereal concept. Canada is an increasingly multicultural country due to its acceptance of immigrants from a diversity of countries. In 1971, the idea was entrenched in Canada's fibre, when the Liberal government of the day passed the Multiculturalism Act. Although it may be argued that the original policy was somewhat lacking, it did represent a positive direction for a country which increasingly prides itself in being a 'mosaic.'

To the Chilean students, the ideas and policy of multiculturalism are important only insofar as they impact on their day-to-day lives in this country. To open dialogue on this subject with the participants of the study, it is important to have a clear understanding of the policy and its terms to form a basis for discussion. Clarification of the concept of multiculturalism is useful to begin this examination, however, for the students, the perception of multiculturalism was not so much of the policy as the reality of a diverse society.

The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the meanings of multiculturalism and to develop an understanding of how the Chilean immigrant students regard the concept. To understand the development of multiculturalism, it is important to examine Canada's immigration roots.

3.1 Immigration and Multiculturalism

Historically, Canada has been a popular destination for immigrants from various European countries. In the early 1900's only those considered 'white' were accepted:

English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, German, and Dutch. The selection process for immigration based its assessment on an immigrant group's perceived ability to assimilate into the British and French majority (Burnet 1987: 66). Immigrants from these groups were deemed more likely to give up most elements of their traditional cultures, and assimilate into their new social environment (Frideres 1997: 537). As late as the 1960's, federal ministers of immigration defended their selection regulations, contending they were based on 'scientific facts.' Such 'facts' included the notion that Blacks should not be allowed to immigrate because it was "scientifically proven" that they could not endure cold climates (Burnet 1987: 66). Chinese were actively recruited to build the railroad in Canada, but with prohibitive measures, were actively discouraged from taking up permanent residence in Canada (Friesen 1993: 16).

During the period between the two World Wars, higher numbers of immigrants were accepted into Canada because of a need for cheap labour (Friesen 1993: 6). The immigrant policy was continuously concerned with the ethnic composition of Canada and therefore restricted entry of Blacks, Asians and other visible ethnic groups (Isajiw 1999: 82). At the end of the Second World War, technological advancement and a growing economy brought the need for diverse types of labour, and for this reason new immigrant populations were recruited (Burnet 1987: 65, Friesen 1993: 7). This was manifested by the opening of Canada for refugees who were primarily from Western Europe. It was not until the 1960's that a movement emerged to develop a racist-free immigration policy (Isajiw 1999:83). In 1968, a Merit Point System was put in place for a more fair immigration policy (Isajiw 1999: 83; Rodrigues 2000). The System was based on:

education and training; personal qualities; occupational demands; arranged employment; knowledge of French and English; relatives in Canada; and the rate of employment in the area of destination.

This chapter questions the efficacy of multiculturalism policy for established and future immigrants of Canada, and whether the policy was designed specifically for international recognition or practical implementation. When we look at immigration rates for Canada and the United States, we see that per capita Canada accepts more than twice as many immigrants as does the United States (Thompson and Weinfeld 1995: 185). Could multicultural policy affect immigration thereby changing the Canadian population? It has been estimated that because the birth rate is at such a low level that by the year 2150 there would be no people left in Canada if we did not accept new immigrants (Frideres 1997: 541; Thompson and Weinfeld 1995: 185).

3.2 Multicultural Composition of Canada

Multiculturalism may be broken down into three components: the actual composition of people in Canada; the Canadian government's policy; and ideology. When the idea of multiculturalism is broken down into these three categories, a better understanding of how multiculturalism affects the Chilean immigrants may be obtained. Kallen (1982) uses this tri-part analysis asserts that true multiculturalism is not possible in Canada because of the social implications of the differences between the multi-ethnic composition of Canada, the federal government policy and the ideology of multiculturalism. Kallen contends that multiculturalism policy is flawed partially because it focuses on objectives to aid immigrants in the maintenance of their ethnicity while insisting on their full integration in Canadian society (Kallen 1982: 61).

According to Kallen, the ideology of multiculturalism is problematic because it assumes that the population will have a balance of political, economic, and social power, which is not possible since “there are vast disparities in power between ethnic collectivities” (Kallen 1982: 60). Ethnic groups compete for the use of the policy to serve their own purposes prior to serving others (Isajiw 1999: 251). Therefore competition increases as all ethnic groups, including mainstream society, struggle for recognition. The ideology also assumes that all ethnic groups will desire the same level of ethnic distinction (Kallen 1982: 60). The government also can use ethnic groups to gain political momentum for their own political power (Bissoondath 1994: 221). This is not likely, as will be shown with the Chilean immigrant students. The degree each individual attempts to maintain his or her ethnicity varies within this one ethnic group, therefore we can assume that other ethnic groups will also have varied levels.

It is important to first look at the actual population of Canada in order to understand why the government created the multiculturalism policy discussed in the next section. It is also important to examine the Canadian population to see if this multiculturalism policy actually represents Canadian society or if the government developed the policy for another reason. We can see the actual multicultural composition of Canada when we look at downtown Ottawa or in either of the Ottawa universities as the various ethnicities can be seen easily. This is a direct result of the vast immigration Canada has allowed throughout its history, most of which has been recent, as briefly discussed earlier. Lupul shows how the current multicultural composition of Canada is a direct result of our history in her article “Networking, Discrimination and

Multiculturalism as a Social Philosophy" (1989: 6). She states that "as Canadians we are immigrants or descendent from immigrants who came to Canada at various times in our history from all parts of the world" (Lupul 1989: 5). Therefore we can see that multiculturalism is synonymous with the demographics. Figure 1 indicates the Immigrant population for Canada. The fifteen categories of immigrants are based on the place of birth as indicated on the 1996 census conducted by Statistics Canada. One must realize that within each category there are numerous ethnic groups. Therefore we can see that the immigrant population is diverse. In Figure 2, the Immigrant population within the Ottawa-Hull region is represented. In this chart, there are fifteen places of birth that categorize the immigrants. Once again, various ethnicities reside in each of these countries. This information from the 1996 census by Statistics Canada clearly indicates the multicultural aspect of Ottawa-Hull.

Contemporary Canadian culture is diverse and to understand an immigrant's ability to maintain ethnicity, one must look at the various aspects of Canadian culture. Isajiw (1999: 174) has described the Canadian culture as consisting of at least seven layers. The first and most important layer is a technological culture that places a premium on standardization and homogeneity. This layer is common to all modern industrial societies. The second layer describes how angloceltic culture is rooted in Protestantism and the British historical experience which both serve as a base for Canadian national institutions. Third is the Quebec French culture. Fourth, the sub-

Figure 1: Canadian Immigrant Population
 (Source Statistics Canada, 1996 Census)

Figure 2: Immigrant Population for Ottawa-Hull
 (Source Statistics Canada, 1996 Census)

cultures of other ethnic groups. Fifth, are the regional subcultures that represent modifications in the angloceltic culture. Sixth is a popular subculture, which are the current, short-lived phases. The seventh and final layer, is the counterculture. The counterculture develops as a result of the rebellions against the other layers of culture.

What is the significance of these layers for immigrants who wish to maintain their ethnicity? Isajiw argues, "that the technological culture is the most accepted and shared by ethnic groups and brings them together along with contributing to the persistence and perpetuation of ethnicity" (Isajiw 1999: 174). Furnivall (1939 cited in Dreiger 1978: 30-31) states that the social market place brings ethnic groups together but, he points out, bringing them together and integrating them into integrated society via industrial institutions does not mean all ethnic groups into society on an equal bases. Therefore according to this idea, while instead of helping immigrants maintain their ethnicity, it encourages homogeneity, and does not help them to maintain their ethnicity, it instead, tries to integrate them into the mainstream. There is, however, a potential for this to be corrected by the multiculturalism policy created by the Canadian government.

3.3 Multiculturalism as Government Policy

The governmental policy of 'Multiculturalism' is important to look at when dealing with ethnic identities because we will see where an individual fits into the government structure. The informants in this research did not realize what the policy means and how they could use it to maintain their ethnicity. Therefore the usefulness of having a multiculturalism policy is irrelevant for many immigrants in Canada, as they do not know it exists. I will show that only one participant among the Chilean immigrant students knew that there was a Multiculturalism Policy in Canada. It has been argued

that since Canada “has always been ethnically heterogeneous” (Burnet 1987: 65), multiculturalism was set up to deal with growing concerns as Canada became more visibly multicultural. Thomas (1992) explains this philosophy:

Immigration affects social structures, institutions and the rules which govern inter-personal and inter-group relations in Canada. Our national languages, values, morals, beliefs, knowledge, art, symbols and ideals are all affected in some degree by immigration...it has undeniable consequences for how we relate to each other and even for who we are as a people (212).

In 1962 the Royal Commission Report on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Canada was set up by Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson to analyze Canadian culture (Breton 1986; Esses and Gardner 1996: 147; Kallen 1982; Reitz and Breton 1994; Friesen 1993: 7). The commission was a direct result of ethnic political movements around the world during the 1960's, including an increasing number of French Canadians beginning to identify themselves as Quebecois (Burnet 1987: 66-67). The commission was set up to make recommendations on how to develop the nation as equally based on French and British ethnic groups while still accounting for the various other ethnic minority groups (Esses and Gardner 1996: 147; Friesen 1993: 7). The ethnic groups expressed concern as they felt their cultural contribution would be devalued in comparison to the French and English (Esses and Gardner 1996: 147). The pressure from these ethnic groups caused the commission to shift its focus from biculturalism and maintaining the bilingual aspects of Canadian identity to multiculturalism. This shift was met with overwhelming positive response since, by this time, much of Canada had become multicultural (Breton 1994; Esses and Gardner 1996: 147; Reitz and Breton

1994). For example, Friesen (1993: 8) explains that when the bicultural report was published there were “over two hundred newspapers...published in [languages] other than French or English [including]...Italian....Slavic and Chinese....” This indicates that Canada was already a multicultural society and therefore the framework should have been multicultural to start with.

The importance of ethnic populations was also seen by the change in the immigration policy in the 1960's, as it demonstrated the importance of the multicultural aspect of Canadian society. The Immigration Act of 1967 did not officially discriminate against race, national origin, religion, or culture, which was a remarkable turning point for ethnic groups in Canada (Esses and Gardner 1996: 147). This along with the multiculturalism policy set up a distinctive national identity that ideally would establish a source of national pride.

In 1971, the Multiculturalism Policy was introduced by then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau as “Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework” (Esses and Gardner 1996: 147). The purpose of the policy was to encourage all ethnic groups to maintain and share their cultural heritage with other Canadians (Berry and Kalin 1995: 302; Esses and Gardner 1996: 147). This was intended to promote recognition of other ethnic groups in Canada (Esses and Gardner 1996: 147; Berdichewsky 1994; Gwyn 1995). It was supposed to provide “personal and collective confidence among members of all ethnic groups, and thus promote tolerance of diversity and positive intergroup attitudes” (Berry 1984; Berry and Laponce 1994; Esses and Gardner 1996: 147; Multiculturalism and

Citizenship Canada 1990). This was done by the development of cultural programs and activities, language and heritage education (Esses and Gardner 1996: 148).

During the 1980's ethnic diversity became more apparent due to an increase of visible immigrants during the 70's and 80's Immigrant Population by Place of Birth and Period of Immigration (Statistics Canada 1999). The largest groups were from Eastern Asia, Southern East Asia, Eastern Europe, and Central and South America respectively (Statistics Canada 1999). This influx of minority immigrants and Canadians caused the Policy to be revised into the Multiculturalism Act of 1988 (Esses and Gardner 1996: 147). Issues regarding prejudice and discrimination were among the ten main objectives in this Act. These objectives encourage Canadians to:

- a) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage;
- b) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity and that it provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada's future;
- c) promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to such participation;
- d) recognize the existence of communities whose members share a common origin and their historic contribution to Canadian society and enhance their development;
- e) ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity;
- f) encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic and political institutions of Canada be respectful and inclusive of Canada's multicultural character;
- g) promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins;

- h) foster the recognition and appreciation of the diverse cultures of Canadian society and promote the reflection and the evolving expressions of those cultures;
- i) preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada; and
- j) advance multiculturalism throughout Canada in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada. (Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada 1990: 13-15; Esses and Gardner 1996: 147-148; Fleras and Elliott 1992: 285)

One can see from this example, how the Act no longer just reflected French and British ethnic groups but all minorities. It is evident that the legislation surrounding multiculturalism and the development of the multicultural policy that the Canadian government does recognize and promote the understanding of Canada's cultures. One example is the 1998 Winterlude festival in Ottawa, which had a large Chilean exhibition. Some argue that attempts to help maintain the identities of ethnic groups, such as celebrations or international exchange programs are trivial, and what is needed is better education to reduce racism (Friesen 1993: 12).

This revised Act sets a multiculturalism ideal. Through its assertions, the Act defines multiculturalism as the survival of all ethnic groups and their cultures, along with the tolerance of diversity with the absence of prejudice in a society (Berry 1984; Esses and Gardner 1996: 148; Weinfeld 1994). Breton points out the confusing arguments related to multiculturalism:

Multiculturalism as a government policy has been criticized on grounds related to the question of choice. It has been argued by some that an official policy fostering the maintenance of ethnicity is likely to make it more difficult for individuals to keep their ethnicity latent if they so wish.

Others argue the opposite: that the policy makes it easier for people to define themselves ethnically if they so choose (Breton 1978: 64).

Many immigrants are not aware of the multiculturalism policy, as explained by the Chilean immigrant students; only that Canada is a society that accepts any culture without persecution. One program that many immigrants might not realize is provided by the government through the multiculturalism policy are 'English as a second language' (ESL) classes in which many non-English- or French speaking immigrants participate when they first arrive in Canada. One might question if it is possible to develop appropriate programs and policy, such as multiculturalism, that could unify such a fragmented society like Canada (Frideres 1997: 538). We will see in Chapter Five if Chilean immigrant students feel that multiculturalism helps or hinders their process of maintaining their ethnicity. The ideological base of Multiculturalism can be seen as an attempt to discourage racism in Canada. This is a possibility as it provides a universal that incorporates the numerous ethnicities into Canadian society (Isajiw 1999: 253; Kallen 1982: 51). It also provides positive recognition to the collective identity of all ethnic communities, legitimizes multiple identities and can become institutionalized as a political value (Isajiw 1999: 253; Kallen 1982: 52). One main criticism of this point is that the ethnicity that is encouraged is the "non-controversial, expressive aspects of a culture," such as food, clothes, dance, and music (Moodley 1983: 326). These aspects of ethnicity will not harm the political structures of Canadian society.

Bissoondath argues in "Selling Illusions," that the multiculturalism policy does not account for the complexity of ethnicity, as the ethnicity of a group of people is as

diverse as the various ethnic groups. He continues that, “if a larger humanity does not at first prevail, time and circumstance will inevitably ensure that it ultimately does” (1994: 107). Therefore, according to this argument, an official policy of multiculturalism is not needed to maintain ethnicity, as it will preserve itself.

In this Chapter, we saw how Multiculturalism in Canada can be divided into three main categories; the actual composition of society, the Canadian government policy, and the ideology behind multiculturalism. This examination indicated that although Canadian society is physically multicultural, the Multiculturalism Policy devised by the Canadian government does not help immigrants to maintain their ethnic differences since most participant’s from this study are not aware that a policy exists.

In the next chapter, we will have a better understanding of the Chilean immigrant students in this research as we look at the participants’ backgrounds and current situations. Their pre-conceptions and first impressions will be discussed as we look at their expectations of Canada and their initial experiences, along with Multiculturalism, and how it affects new Canadians.

Chapter 4: Pre-Conceptions and First Impressions

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three sections. First, are participant profiles, which describe each of the participant's background. These profiles will give the reader a general understanding of each individual, and were gathered through participant observation and interviews as discussed in Chapter Two.

The second section of this chapter details the participant's migration experience and expectations of Canada. The themes in this segment provide a basis from which to determine whether the respondents are able to maintain their Chilean ethnicity while in Canada; it is necessary to examine the level of acculturation for each individual before we investigate how participants maintain ethnicity. The third section focuses on how the Chilean immigrant students interpret the multicultural aspects of Canada. We will look at the participants' knowledge of the Multicultural Policy and how the composition of Canada affects their perception of themselves as Chilean-Canadians. Again, the information in the three sections which follow was gathered from participant observation and interviews.

4.1 Participant Profiles

In order to begin an examination of maintenance of ethnicity within our participant group, it is desirable to become familiar with the individuals. Background characteristics affect an individual's ability to adjust to new situations. This is outlined in Berry's model as he indicates that the moderating factors prior to acculturation include: gender, education, migration motivation, status, expectations, and cultural distance.

These factors will be discussed in a brief introduction to each of the participants. A better understanding of how each respondent maintains his or her ethnicity can be attained by first examining his or her background. Each respondent was asked how he or she would like to be identified for this project. I discussed issues of confidentiality with them, and all except "Paz," who adopted a pseudonym, preferred to use their first names.

The following information has been taken from the interviews and participant observation with the Chilean immigrant students. The following section will therefore include a brief description of the participants, to familiarize the reader with each one.

4.1.1 Alejandra

Alejandra is currently studying Finance at Algonquin College. When Alejandra's father had the opportunity to work in Calgary when she was a teenager, the family immigrated to Canada from Brazil, where they were living at the time. Alejandra did not have a positive experience in Calgary because she felt ostracized by those in her school and community as a result of her Chilean identity. When the family moved to Ottawa a few years later, things changed for the better; Alejandra felt more accepted in the cosmopolitan environment. Currently, her parents are in the process of moving to Spain, and she will soon be accompanying them. She views herself as "a woman of the world" which is understandable due to the amount of moving she has done. Alejandra has a daughter who resides with her, and whose father is a Brazilian, residing in Canada.

4.1.2 Andrea

Andrea currently works as an esthetician. In 1994, shortly after Andrea graduated from a Chilean college with a Graphic Design Technician diploma, she had the opportunity to take time off to visit with her aunt, uncle, and cousins in Ottawa. Once here, she made friends easily and decided to apply for Landed Immigrant status. This process was time-consuming, as everything had to be done through the mail, and at that time Andrea had a limited English vocabulary. Using the services of a translator to facilitate the interview process, she became a landed immigrant in 1995. Andrea then attended College to become an Esthetician, graduating in 1999. Andrea feels at home in Canadian society, and has every intention of staying in this country.

4.1.3 Carolina

Carolina's family lived in Uruguay for two years prior to their move to Canada in 1983, when her father accepted an opportunity to work for an airline company. Still in grade school, Carolina knew only a little about Canada before her family moved. Her family had kept in touch with other families that had moved to Timmins, Ontario, in 1976, however information relayed by these families was not always the most accurate. Carolina was not apprehensive about the move, and did not think the transition would be too difficult when she realized that in Canada her family would live in a condominium with many other Chilean families. Carolina is currently studying at the University of Ottawa, and would like to visit Chile twice a year: once at Christmas to visit relatives and to enjoy the more tropical climate, and at one other time during the year to travel within the country.

4.1.4 Elizabeth

Elizabeth is a landed immigrant who arrived in Canada with her family in 1988 when her father accepted a position in Ottawa. When she learned she was moving to Canada, Elizabeth first thought that she would have to speak French most of the time, and would therefore have to learn a new language. Prior to leaving Chile, she had begun to acquire basic English vocabulary, words such as “pencil” and “washroom,” which did not prove very helpful when she arrived in Canada. She enrolled in an English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) class that summer, and quickly picked up the new language. She is currently majoring in Political Science at Carleton University. Elizabeth hopes to move permanently to a Latin American country, and pursue a career that will benefit the society she chooses as her own.

4.1.5 Pablo

In 1991, Pablo came to Canada from the wine region of Chile. Pablo explains that when a Chilean citizen leaves the country and travels a lot, the usual expression to describe that person is: 'es pata de perro'.. which can be translated into something like 'is a dog's leg'. He therefore describes himself as “Pata de perro” or “Dog's leg,” because he frequently travels. This term is often synonymous with being labeled a ‘black sheep’ and, according to Pablo, the saying in Chile is: 'every family has a black sheep.'

Pablo's first destination in Canada was Montreal. Since he had attended French school in Chile, and spoke excellent Parisian French, he felt he would be able to communicate easily with Francophones in Canada. This, unfortunately, did not turn out to be the case as Pablo says he quickly found the heavy Quebec accent difficult for him to

understand. After much hardship in Quebec, he began to understand enough Patois to enjoy life in Montreal. Soon he moved to Ottawa, where he found that he could relate to the people more easily than in Montreal. Since his graduation from the University of Ottawa, Pablo has been working at an Information Technology firm. Returning to Chile remains on Pablo's mind. Pablo says that if he could visit Chile as often as he liked, he would go back once a month to take advantage of the excellent Chilean wine. For the time being, however, Pablo plans to remain in Ottawa with his wife.

4.1.6 Pablo2

Pablo2 is studying Civil Engineering Technology at Ottawa's Algonquin College. Pablo2 was just over one year old when his family moved to Canada from Chile in 1973. His father had the opportunity to take a job as a machinist in Ottawa. Pablo2's mother had completed her studies in the United States prior to arriving in Canada, therefore the family was somewhat prepared for the transition. Although he grew up in Canada, Pablo2 feels that he has maintained his Chilean ethnicity. He is currently working part-time while completing his final year at Algonquin. Pablo2 feels that moving back to Chile would only be an option if he did not have any financial "worries." Right now he would like to go back and travel through the country, since he has only seen Santiago and the surrounding areas.

4.1.7 Paz

In December of 1993, Paz came to Canada to study English. While here, she met a Chilean-Canadian, who she married. This relationship was not successful, according to

Paz, because while she was interested in experiencing and adjusting to Canada, he preferred to retain a strictly Chilean identity, and resisted integration into mainstream Canadian society in any way. They divorced, and Paz is currently completing a Bachelor of Arts degree in Languages at the University of Ottawa while working part-time. Paz is looking forward to returning to Chile this summer for an extended vacation to visit her family and travel around the country. She would like to retire in the South of Chile once she has traveled extensively throughout the world.

4.1.8 Ricardo

Ricardo's family first had an opportunity to come to Canada in 1979 but other obligations kept them in Chile. It was not until 1987 that the family traveled to Canada so that Ricardo's father could take a position in Ottawa. They had the choice of Australia and Canada but felt that Australia was too distant and too expensive. Ricardo is currently completing his Civil Engineering Technology degree at Algonquin College while working part-time. Ricardo says he would live in Chile if certain opportunities presented themselves. He states: "[I would] move back if I had a job there, ... well if I have a job there higher than I did here. Then, yes. When you get ... Canadian citizenship, you ... just to go work [in Chile] for a Canadian company."

One similarity is evident in this participant group: all the members seem to be enjoying the Canadian experience. As well, all wish to retain ties with Chile, and possibly visit on occasion or on a regular basis. This would indicate that all have adopted an acculturation strategy which seem to work well for them. The next section will examine elements that influence acculturation strategies.

4.2 Migration Experience and Expectations

The expectations of life in another country can affect an immigrant's acculturation strategy, which has a direct influence on his or her ability to maintain ethnicity. This section looks at the immigrants' backgrounds, migration experiences and expectations of Canada in order to better understand their maintenance of ethnicity.

All of the Chilean immigrant students in this study have similar socio-economic backgrounds and current experiences. First, all eight participants are immigrants to Canada. Berry (1997) suggests that the motivation for migrating to another country will affect the individual's ability to maintain ethnicity and integrate into society. We will see in the next chapter that a majority of the participants have had a good experience while in Canada and have been able to retain their ethnicity. Second, education levels for the majority of respondents are similar: all have post-secondary schooling, having attended either college or university. Finally, all participants are from middle- to upper-class background in Chile. All now consider themselves to be middle-class here in Canada.

According to Berry, age and gender also affect the individual's ability to integrate successfully into Canadian society. In this research, the ages of the participants' arrival in Canada varied from infancy to young adulthood. Berry states that age has a known relation to acculturation. When immigration begins prior to primary school, acculturation is less problematic than amongst older youth, who experience substantial problems as they cope with cultural transition concurrently with the transition between childhood and adulthood (Berry 1997: 21). This difficult transition is seen through Alejandra's experience as she had a difficult time in Calgary when she first arrived, which could be

contributed to the city and/or her age. She explains: “in Calgary I had a very, very hard time. I was 15 and it was very difficult...not just teen problems but cultural problems...nobody spoke Spanish. I had a big culture shock.” The culture shock Alejandra experienced was a realization that she was different from others and a perception that she was not accepted by those around her (Isajiw 1999: 101).

In the participant profiles we saw that there were three males and five females. Berry (1997) suggests that evidence from previous literature shows that gender affects the acculturation process: females have a more difficult transition, than males, and the acculturation process is also relative, being dependent on “the relative status and differential treatment of females in the two cultures” (Berry 1997: 22). Therefore, as Chilean females move from a “macho” society where men and women have different polarized roles, the men being dominant (Winter 1991: 50), they must decide if they will conform to Canada’s more equal gender status and risk the possibility of being ostracized by those in their culture who remain traditional. Isajiw (1999: 129) shows that women who become empowered in their adopted country with increasingly liberalized gender roles face new pressures as they embrace the empowerment, while struggling to maintain ethnicity. Empowerment may not only lead to ostracism by other immigrants in Canada, who maintain the machismo aspect of the Chilean ethnicity, but will generally not be accepted in Chile, and can therefore create complications when these women return to their home country.

Alejandra does not feel that embracing empowerment and challenging the traditional subordinate gender roles has compromised her ethnicity. She states, “I am

more assertive as a woman. [Here in Canada, you] go get what you want.” No other female participants felt their gender had an influence on their acceptance into Canadian society, or complicated their transition. This shows that these Chilean immigrant students welcomed the change in gender roles, which came with their new country. This may have been the case with Paz, who found that her husband’s strict adherence to Chilean culture while she increasingly embraced Canadian culture, created an unworkable situation. It may be problematic to determine, however, if Paz experienced more difficulty over empowerment issues; having entered Canada as an adult, her socialization took place in Chile, which likely affected her choice of husband. As she began to embrace Canadian values, he did not. Andrea immigrated as an adult, as well, but did not find women’s empowerment a complication. It might be argued, however, that she has not undergone significant gender-role changes here in Canada. Andrea completed post-secondary schooling, but studied for a traditionally female vocation of esthetician. However, Andrea did report she is happy in Canada, and does believe that gender equality or empowerment has been issues for her. This may be a result of her inclusion in the Chilean community. Regardless of age, this sense of community seems to play a significant role in acculturation and retention of ethnicity.

It must be remembered, however, that this sample is comprised of students; it is generally a better educated, and possibly more liberal group, than might be found had a random selection of Chilean immigrants been selected. Additionally, the students’ reception in Canada may be mediated by the relative gender equality found in university as a social institution, compared to a purely corporate environment or working-class

situation. Many large companies are seeing a need to educate and sensitize workers to cultural and sexual-equality issues; at various corporations, such as Shell Products Limited and Steelcase Canada, significant investment is being made into 'diversity training,' which may indicate that the perception and experience of equality in these organizations remains lacking.

Many of the participants, five of the eight, arrived in Canada with their families. In four cases, immigration was the result of the head of the family (father) obtaining a job in Canada. In one case, a family applied for visa to a number of countries, and immigrated to the country of choice, which was Canada. Only three participants immigrated alone, as adults. Of the three, Andrea had come to Ottawa for a vacation, and four months later decided to apply for immigration papers; Pablo wanted adventure, as discussed in his profile; Paz came to Canada to learn English, and had originally planned to return to Chile once she had completed her course work.

Some differences are evident between those participants who migrated with their families and those who had their initial experience of Canada on their own. This indicates that for those who came with their families the existence of a social network made the experience easier.

Ricardo and his family stayed with another Chilean family when they first arrived in Canada, until they found a house of their own. He said this about the experience: "People help each other. [They tell you] some of the tricks, do this, don't do that. My dad's friend was already here, so he helped us."

Pablo, who was the only participant who did not have any contacts in Canada, found it very difficult to make initial contacts with the Chilean community, and he felt alone and alienated. Pablo describes his experience when he first arrived in Montreal: "There is a Spanish group in Montreal ... but you have to know the people first. And as a newcomer, you [do not] know anybody. So it took a couple of years. It took a year before I got in contact with someone from Chile and spoke Spanish." He lacked the social network, and therefore had a negative experience until that network became available. If it is assumed that Pablo is as socially skilled as the other participants, his negative experience lends credence to the idea that a social network is important to smooth the transition. According to Pablo, without this network, the immigrant is more likely to return to his or her country or origin: he explained that, had he been in possession of a return-ticket when he was having transition difficulties, it would have been tempting to return home. At the time of his original purchase of the ticket to Canada, however, he did not buy a round-trip ticket, because he did not want to be tempted, in a moment of loneliness, to back out of his original idea to experience Canada.

Although Andrea came to Canada by herself, she stayed with her aunt, uncle, and cousins. Thus, she was able to easily integrate into an existing social network. This helped ease the transition required for subsequent integration into Canadian society. She found the transition very easy, and enjoyed Canada so much she chose to stay and became an immigrant. Other participants who arrived in Canada with their families also found the transition generally easy. This once again demonstrates that as long as these immigrants had someone of their own ethnicity with whom to share the experience, they

were able to adjust more easily while still maintaining their Chilean ethnicity. By virtue of immigrating with their families, some of the participants had a 'built-in' social network upon their arrival in Canada, while others found that the Chilean community provided the necessary stability they needed for an easy transition to Canadian society. Three participants lived in Chilean communities upon their arrival in Canada, making their transition easier than if it were just their own families. The respondents felt that the families in the Chilean community helped them learn the norms and values of Canadian society.

Expectations of Canada varied with the degree of knowledge each participant had about the new country. It is generally the case that immigrants tend to harbor idealistic expectations of their new home (Isajiw 1999: 100). However, these expectations are rarely met, which can lead to disappointment, especially in the areas of employment, opportunities, income, and cost of living (Isajiw 1999: 100). For the Chilean immigrant students, levels of knowledge about Canada varied greatly and, in many cases, information relayed to the immigrants prior to coming to Canada was factually incorrect. Climate was the most popular area of misrepresentation; five of the eight respondents believed Canada would be cold. Two actually believed that they would encounter Arctic air, ice, and igloos, proving that these stereotypical images travel beyond American borders. Elizabeth and Pablo said they had no ideas or images of the country before they came, since Elizabeth came as a result of her father's decision, and Pablo enjoyed the idea of traveling to new places. Both Pablo and Elizabeth thought that Canada was mainly French speaking, as stated earlier. Two respondents claimed to have some

knowledge of Canada prior to arriving. Paz had spoken to a Canadian visiting Chile, and therefore felt she had a good understanding of the people. She explains, "I met a Canadian and he was very, very friendly and very open." This perception, although naïve, has remained with Paz throughout her stay in Canada: perhaps this does not speak as much to a stereotypical view of Canadians as Paz's own friendly, open, optimistic nature. Carolina had watched a television show one week before leaving Chile, which showed many aspects of Ottawa including "the Rideau Centre [and] the Rideau Canal." While she found this information helpful, she did not have any real expectations of Canada other than believing it would be different than what she was used to. The participant's expectations did not prove strong enough to have caused disappointment, which would have had the potential to hinder acculturation.

All of the participants had different feelings regarding the immigration process leading up to their departure from Chile and their arrival in Canada. Health testing was recalled by two of the eight respondents, specifically the various doctors and the shots they had to receive prior to arriving in Canada. From the moment Pablo arrived at the airport he recalled the difference in the environment; he states: "I got to the airport [in Montreal] and [it] started from smells, from noises, everything was different." Carolina recalled that the condominium she first moved into upon arriving in Canada created their own Chilean group, while Ricardo had the experience of families helping other families. Andrea felt at home in the Chilean community in Canada, which resulted in her obtaining her immigrant status. She also recalled the long process of filling in forms and providing the necessary documentation; "The paperwork was everything you have to tell, then if

you are you... all your documents, legal documents, if you have degree, if you have money, all that.” Ricardo laughed as he remembered the cab ride from the airport and how he and his brother, with only a limited knowledge of English, had to help their parents who did not understand any English. He relates: “me and my brother were like translators, for my parents. And on the plane we were like ... and the good thing was we took a taxi and the guy spoke Portuguese so we were like yeah [this] is pretty similar [to Chile].” Overall, we can see that the participants said they had pleasant experiences, which may allow them to look back at their experiences within Canadian society, and help them work through any difficult times they may encounter in the future, further easing their integration into Canadian society.

The first three months immigrants spend in a new country can be the most difficult as they try to adjust to their new surroundings. During this stage, the experience or “availability of opportunity” is one of the strongest factors that accelerates the incorporation process (Isajiw 1999: 181). The Chilean immigrant students had both positive and negative feelings regarding this time period. Four participants had a negative experience. Among them, Pablo may have experienced the most difficult time in Montreal as he missed his family, had no Spanish contact, could not find a job and had to go on welfare, felt that he was “a different colour,” and could not understand Quebecois French.

Elizabeth’s first impressions were that everyone kept to themselves. One example she gave was her experience on a bus: “Where I come from everyone is very open. People will just talk in the bus... [Here] everybody was working toward their own need,

to get a seat.” Alejandra describes her first three months in Calgary as culture shock, as no one spoke Spanish there. She explained that there were Mexicans, “but they had been [in Calgary for] a long time and they were settled in the Canadian culture.” Carolina said that she was terrified the first few days of school because she could not understand what people were saying, but she learned English quickly and made new friends, which eased her transition.

Two, however, had an immediate positive experience, feeling at home in Canada right away. Andrea connected with people all around her upon her arrival in Canada. Ricardo lived in a Chilean community where all the children spoke Spanish. His parents told him that they deliberately chose to move into a community that was Chilean. He explains that his house was “one of the first houses that got built [in the area] and the community itself was Chilean.... [with] a lot of South American immigrants.” This Chilean community housed many of the other respondents when they first arrived in Ottawa.

The three months of the immigration experience seemed to affect the overall acculturation strategy for each respondent. As Berry points out, the length of time a person experiences acculturation will affect the type and number of problems that person has during the course of his or her experience (Berry 1997: 23). All participants, except Elizabeth, were able to adjust to their new surroundings in a positive way. It is the strategy used to cope with the adjustment that determines their overall acculturation strategy, as Berry explains. Once undergone, these experiences will help the students to positively deal with new situations in the future. It is likely that Elizabeth, who is the

only one who actively tries to separate herself due to previous negative experiences, will have a more difficult time acculturating. The duration of the acculturation process can be indicative of the relative level of overall adaptation to a new society.

Only three respondents described a change in outlook. Pablo feels he is more confident, and can do anything. He explains:

My confidence [has] improved as I mentioned before. Before I arrived in Canada I didn't know what [I] was capable of doing and [now] I know I can do pretty much anything. Moving to a different location, I can do that. Move to a different country, I have already done it; I can do it again -- meeting people without fearing rejection.

Alejandra feels more comfortable now that she lives in Ottawa rather than Calgary. The majority, five of eight responded to the question of how their life is different since they first arrived by indicating they feel it is "normal." Only Carolina said that she felt as if she had a split life, as her family and social lives were very different. She was told to stay close to her brother and maintain their family values, while she also had the opportunity of greater freedom with her Canadian friends at school. Carolina and her family finally got used to living here and now feel that they live like a normal Canadian family.

4.3 Multiculturalism

In Chapter One, we saw that the society to which immigrants migrate affects their acculturation strategy and their ability to maintain their ethnicity. As shown in previous chapters, Canada is a multicultural society and encourages cultural diversity. This section will examine the Chilean immigrant students' perceptions of Canada's multicultural society, and whether they feel it is beneficial with respect to their

maintenance of ethnicity. We will look at various aspects of Canada's multicultural society including the meaning of multiculturalism, the participant's awareness of the policy, the policy's meaning for Ottawa's society, and the immigrants' participation in the multicultural aspects of Canadian society.

Interpretation of the meaning of multiculturalism varied with each respondent. While two individuals could not provide a definition, Elizabeth, Ricardo, and Pablo gave more than one response in this area, while others offered only one interpretation. The majority, four of six, of those that responded believe multiculturalism is the respect and acceptance of other's belief systems, religion, political views, foods and language. Three participants stated that it was a society that was made up of different ideas, races, ethnic groups, that "merge into a single culture." For two participants, multiculturalism meant that a person could be who they were without changing. Therefore we can see our meaning of multiculturalism defined in Chapter Four was largely accurate from the participant's point of view.

Prior to arriving in Canada seven of the eight participants were unaware that a Multiculturalism policy existed in Canada. Isajiw (1999: 101), explains that many immigrants choose Canada because it has the appearance of being a "peaceful, multicultural society." But instances of discrimination, whether real or perceived, hinder acculturation as reality interferes with the immigrants' expectations of a land of opportunity. Pablo knew that policy existed to protect him from ethnic discrimination in the workplace. Canada's multiculturalism policy is used as a feature when Canada is promoted abroad; multiculturalism can therefore be viewed as a propaganda tool used to

convince prospective immigrants to choose Canada over other countries. However, it was apparent from discussion that the majority of participants were not aware of multiculturalism, as a policy, prior to their arrival in Canada. Therefore, in these cases, multiculturalism policy was not used in this way. Of course, it must be remembered that a majority of the respondents immigrated with their parents and had no choice in the process. It would be interesting to investigate further the parents' knowledge of multiculturalism, and how it affected their immigration decisions, but that is beyond the scope of this research.

According to Berry's framework, knowledge of multiculturalism policy can contribute to unrealistic expectations of Canada, and therefore cause greater alienation if these expectations are not met. By not knowing much about the country, these immigrants may have actually facilitated their integration into Canadian society.

Of the seven that had no knowledge of multiculturalism Policy prior to their arrival in Canada, five learned about the policy while living here. These individuals, however, still remain relatively uninformed about Canada's multiculturalism policy. Knowledge of the policy itself was not considered essential to this group of Chilean students. This realization is troubling because it is designed to help immigrants maintain their ethnicity. As seen in Chapter Four, multiculturalism as a policy is designed to help Canadians:

recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage (Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada 1990: 13).

However, while multiculturalism is not a tool which the immigrants knowingly employ, its existence indirectly contributes to the acculturation process. But would an active knowledge of this policy, which plays such an important role in their lives as new Canadians, change their acculturation process? We will discover that, although few of the participants are aware of many of the formal elements of multicultural policy, it does have impact on their day-to-day lives, whether through English as a Second Language (ESL) programs or inclusion of ethnic content in festivals, playing an active role in making them feel welcome, included, and acknowledged.

It was evident to all of the participants that the city of Ottawa is multicultural in nature. As seen in Chapter Three, an expanded immigration policy over the last few decades has brought about more cosmopolitan urban centers in Canada. Of the eight respondents, five commented that Ottawa was the first place that they had seen an African-Canadian person. This difference in ethnic population from Chile, where ninety-five percent of the population is of white-Amerindian or white-European decent, shocked the participants briefly. Alejandra and Pablo, who came to different cities when they first arrived in Canada, did not encounter visible ethnic diversity. Alejandra noted that Calgary was not visibly multicultural. This made her feel “different,” and made it more difficult for her to adjust. For Pablo, as we have seen, the conformity of language was perhaps more evident than an absence of visible ethnic diversity. Berry (1997: 17) points out that integration is often the acculturation strategy for immigrants when they move to a society that has a positive multiculturalist ideology, like Canada. Others, such as Murphy (1965 cited in Berry 1997: 17), agree as he argues that when a society has a positive

multicultural setting, “the immigrants are more likely to provide social support both from the institution of the larger society and from the continuing and evolving ethnocultural communities.” Both Pablo and Alejandra noted a difficulty in acculturation in the less culturally diverse cities of Calgary and Montreal. Both noted that they were much more comfortable in Ottawa.

All of the respondents felt that they participated in the multicultural aspects of Canadian society. This promotion of full participation in Canadian society was outlined in Chapter Four. As one of its objectives, multiculturalism policy seeks to:

promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to such participation (Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada 1990: 13).

The respondents explained their perception of participating in Canada’s multicultural environment in a variety of ways. Elizabeth said that she and other immigrants feel they can participate fully because they perceive an ability to be Chilean without any other expectations: “You are allowed to feel Chilean, Brazilian, whatever. Here you can practice yourself.” Alejandra pointed out that Canadian society on the whole, makes sure that everyone keeps his or her own culture, and she contrasted this to the United States’ “melting pot.” This comfort level varied from participant to participant. However, these two examples show that multiculturalism increases Canada’s ability to allow immigrants to integrate into society without the unnecessary stresses of a pressing urge to conform, or “melt” into Canadian society. As was noted, the comfort level varied depending on how visibly multicultural the city of destination was, and what other barriers, such as

language, existed. No one in this sample felt marginalized. This implies that a majority of people will feel they can integrate into Canadian society, by maintaining their ethnicity and incorporating it into the Canadian mosaic.

All respondents saw the maintenance of friendships with persons from different cultures as an important element of full participation in Canadian society. In this way, they enjoyed the diversity a multicultural society offers, through interactions with persons from different ethnicities. Paz related that her two best friends are not cradle Canadians, but “one is Greek and the other is from Brazil.” Half of the participants felt that having friends of different ethnicities was their way of feeling incorporated into Canadian society. Pablo2 explains, “I find that there is a lot of multiculturalism here, I have friends from everywhere.” Friendships will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five.

Canada’s multicultural policy seeks to “promote the understanding and creativity that arise from interactions between individuals and communities of different origins.” Andrea and Paz said that they enjoyed going to multicultural events, including Winterlude, the Tulip Festival, and shows by various international bands at local pubs. The Chilean community saw itself represented at Winterlude, when it featured a Chilean exhibition in 1998. Such events offer Canadians an understanding of the different ethnic groups that participate, and are a way for the immigrants to discover other cultures as well as promote their own. According to Berry’s framework, when the society of settlement maintains or contributes to a social support system within the larger society, the new immigrants will have an easier transition and be able to choose the integration method of acculturation (Berry 1997: 15). Participants not only enjoyed seeing their own

community represented through exhibitions and music, but gained exposure to the multiplicity of cultures which Canada celebrates.

Overall, we can see that the respondents, and those they have interacted with, have adopted a multicultural attitude. This indicates that, although it is subject to regional differences, multicultural is an accurate description of Canada in general, and the Chilean immigrant students perpetuate it as they maintain their Chilean ethnicity within Canada's multicultural centres. Berry states that those countries with this multicultural attitude and ideology enhance an immigrant's ability to integrate into society and thus maintain their ethnicity (1997: 28). Clearly, the acceptance by Canadians of people from a variety of ethnic backgrounds may represent less the result of legislated multiculturalism than the general attitudes of the multi-ethnic makeup of Canada. This attitude, therefore, will likely continue regardless of the status of the policy. However, the government's codification of multiculturalism, which has led to an active celebration of diversity in Canada, has likely augmented the positive and embracing attitude of Canadian society, which has grown to accept and embrace new Canadians from all over the world.

This Chapter provided information regarding the participants, their migration experience and expectations, and their knowledge of multiculturalism. We have seen that, in general, Chilean immigrant students perceive that they are able to maintain their ethnicity in Canada. According to Berry's model of acculturation, the immigrant students are thus far integrated into Canadian society with respect to their migration experience and awareness of multiculturalism. They feel that they belong in Canadian society and

therefore will be able to acculturate with ease. The level of acculturation varies with each participant, as we will see in Chapter Five, as we examine more closely how the Chilean immigrant students go about actively maintaining their ethnicity, and what aspects they chose to retain while in Canada.

Chapter 5: Maintaining Ethnicity

5.0 Introduction

This Chapter examines the participants' experience with social institutions and culture in Canada. The maintenance of ethnicity will be investigated, with emphasis on how the Chilean immigrant students accomplish this ethnic retention. The information in this Chapter has been taken from interviews, participant observation and previous literature.

The first section will look directly at how the Chilean immigrant students are affected by various social institutions, including: marriage, friends, religion, education, social class, race, language and politics. The way the participants perceive themselves to be incorporated into Canadian society will also be discussed. The second section of this chapter will provide the participant's definitions of culture to help the reader understand how the Chilean immigrant students view their ethnicity. This section will also discuss stereotypical labels used to describe people from South America, how the participants identify themselves in opposition to those stereotypes, and a description of the Chilean and Canadian identity. It will also look at the process and attributes of Chilean ethnicity that the immigrant students maintain.

5.1 Social Institutions

The social institutions in Canada affect new immigrants either positively or negatively. This depends on a wide variety of factors, some of which have been discussed in earlier chapters, such as the immigrant's background, education level, and immigration expectations. According to Berry this has a direct impact on their acculturation strategy

and level of cultural maintenance. First, marriage is an important social institution in Canadian society. From simple observation, it is evident that intermarriage, which is the marriage between two different ethnic groups, is common practice in Canadian society. Isajiw (1999: 185) argues that intermarriage is a form of incorporation into society and a factor that can contribute to the loss of ethnicity. A study by Goldstein and Segall (1995) showed that “ethnically mixed parentage tended to be associated with lower levels of both external and the internal dimensions of ethnicity.” Therefore intermarriage can cause immigrants to lose sense of their ethnicity and assimilate into Canadian society (Isajiw 1999: 185). We will see if the Chilean immigrant students agree with these previous studies.

The Chilean immigrant students did not feel that their choice of a marriage partner would impact on the retention or expression of their ethnicity. Hence, they did not believe that it was necessary to marry another Chilean or Latin American to maintain their ethnicity. Thus, the conclusions of the above studies do not seem to apply for this case study since they do not deal with the perception of ethnicity as this project does. Three participants have had serious relationships with Latin Americans; Pablo is married to a Mexican woman, Paz was married to a Chilean man and currently has a Canadian boyfriend, and Alejandra’s daughter’s father is Brazilian. The respondents did not indicate they feel pressured into staying within their own ethnic group to find a girlfriend/boyfriend or life partner. Elizabeth explains her feelings regarding marriage:

What I think is important in my culture, not is what other Latin Americans consider important here in Canada. So really I don’t think it would be a problem to do that [marry

someone other than a Latin American] cause you [would] teach them those things [that are different].

Elizabeth's feelings are supported by other participants, such as Andrea. She said this:

No, totally no, you can marry whatever you want, as long as you want, want to keep it, and as long as your partner agree[s] with that. Cause you can marry someone from another culture and you can end up with a multiple-culture family, and I think that is good and I think if you want to teach your children then, whatever, every culture has something to offer. So you don't have to. No. Like I don't like any Chilean guys.

Participants have had relationships within their ethnic group because they feel there are common values they can share, although they admit that in an immigration experience, there are differences in opinion about what elements of one's culture are important to retain. In general, the participants feel it is not necessary to marry another South American to maintain their ethnicity. This feeling also applies to friendships, since the Chilean immigrant students feel that they are not restricted to interaction with other Chileans, but can socialize with anyone. This, I believe, is a good indicator that they are integrated into Canadian society, while the participants still intend on maintaining their ethnicity regardless of who they socialize with or marry.

Friends are an important aspect of everyday life. Isajiw states that retention of ethnicity is affected by ethnic friendships. He found that immigrants who have more friends of the same ethnicity, retained their ethnicity more than those who had a few to none (Isajiw 1987: 71). All of the participants stated that they had friends of different ethnicities than themselves, although, which friends the respondents felt most comfortable with was different for each member of the group. Two of the respondents

stated that they are most comfortable with their Chilean and/or Latin American friends. Alejandra said that right now the friends she spends the most time with, and are closest to, are mainly Brazilian. All participants had Chilean friends and connections to the Chilean community. Berry et al. (1985) conducted a study in Toronto that showed the retention of ethnic friends was an indicator of maintaining ethnicity. This group of Chilean immigrant students meets this criterion. However, Berry (1997: 25) states that the most positive acculturation will occur when the immigrant has supportive relationships with both the host society and their ethnic group.

Three participants said they felt more comfortable with friends who were non-Chilean. Elizabeth has mostly Aboriginal friends because she feels that she has more in common with First Nations peoples than either Chileans or Canadians. Paz says she prefers to have friends of a different ethnicity:

I think we don't share the same interests with Chilean people here...The Chilean people I know, we don't have common interests...they're more living in the past, they don't move forward.... I think it's because here...Chileans tend to be very negative.

Andrea indicates that she has "nothing in common" with Latin Americans or Chileans here in Canada.

It would seem that the participants feel that it is important, to some degree, to maintain contact with friends in the Chilean community. This type of contact is maintained even when, as in the case of Andrea, the participant does not feel that he or she has much in common with the community other than a shared ethnicity. When a participant, such as Elizabeth, looks for friendship only in the Chilean community or

within other minorities, integration into Canadian society can be impaired. Integration into Canadian society is optimized when an immigrant enjoys full participation in Canada's multicultural society, choosing friends from all segments of society, and not limiting friendships and contact to those in minority groups.

Religion is intertwined with ethnicity and plays an important role in the preservation of ethnicity (Isajiw 1999: 59; Bissoondath 1994). However, although Isajiw (1999: 61) believes that it is obvious that religion and ethnicity are interrelated, he does not believe that the inter-relationship between the two has been sufficiently researched. As we saw in Chapter Two, Catholicism is integral part of Chilean society. However, we will now examine what role it plays in the retention of Chilean ethnicity in Canada for these students.

The participants do not believe it is necessary to maintain religion for their Chilean identity in Canada. It was apparent from discussion that retaining the Catholic religion was more of a tradition for half the respondents because they were brought up with the Catholic religion. Two thought that maintaining religion was important for older people but not for them at this stage in their life. The other half of the participants agreed that religion was a large aspect of their ethnicity while in Chile, but this was largely because religion and government are closely intertwined there. Elizabeth explains that the government is: "Christian democratic, so when it comes to it, [the government, do not] want anything against the church because they are together. Anti-abortion, no birth control medication." Strict Catholicism, therefore, influences everyday life in Chile: it is not only the religion personally adopted by much of the population, but is

institutionalized in its government and laws. There is, therefore, little choice for Chileans in their country of origin.

The Chilean immigrant students felt that maintaining the Catholic religion was important for other people, but not for them directly. This may be a way they distance themselves from the control that is associated with the Chilean government and religion. Pablo stated that one of the aspects of Canada that he liked the most was the freedom. Many of the respondents may want to maintain their freedom of choice while in Canada.

Education is a factor associated with positive acculturation, as formal education provides problem analysis and solving strategies that can also be used in everyday life, not just academia (Berry 1997: 22). Isajiw agrees (1999: 183) that education is an important factor for social incorporation. He states that the higher the level of education the faster the integration process will occur, since the individuals will attain better jobs and higher incomes. Isajiw (1999: 184) continues by stating that higher education will also "facilitate better language usage." Therefore education can facilitate social interaction, which will be discussed later in this section. In this research all of the participants attended post secondary schools in Canada. Four respondents attended university, two went to Carleton University and the other two went to the University of Ottawa. The other four respondents attended Algonquin College while Alejandra attended both Carleton and Algonquin. Isajiw and Berry predict that the participants' integration will be relatively easy because of their education level, and they will be incorporated into society.

Language and accent can affect social interaction and therefore have an impact on social institutions. Use of a second language or the existence of an accent, can impair a person's ability to be understood by others, causing communication to be tense and stressful for both partners. The participants were asked if their language and accent affected them getting a job, and interacting socially with other people. Only one stated that it did affect them negatively. Two respondents indicated that their accent and language affects them somewhat. In response to a question about the impact of her accent on daily interactions, Elizabeth said: "if I get nervous in class...[I] speak really fast [and my accent is noticeable]. But I do not think it would affect me getting a job 'cause. ... when you are in an interview, ...talking I think I am okay," Regardless of the accent or second-language difficulties, respondents stated that they still felt they were still able to accomplish anything. This optimism allows the Chilean immigrant students to maintain their ethnicity by retaining their Spanish language while learning English and/or French to facilitate their integration into Canadian society.

Three agreed that their language and accent had no effect whatsoever on their ability to obtain a job or interact with other people. Only one participant felt that language was a barrier to get into society including the job market of his choice. Pablo indicated that language, as well a minority status, contributed to his inability to find work commensurate with his qualifications in Quebec. "I couldn't get use to the accent. I had the opportunity to go to the suburbs of Montreal, but quite frankly, other than the bonjour, I didn't understand it. Because the heavy accent in Montreal." Pablo also found that the jobs in Montreal were segregated for immigrants. He explained that: "In

Montreal immigrants can easily find something to do, if you work in an industry, a bakery, newspaper delivery. But you do not have access to the big, the most qualified industry jobs, because at that time, they were starting that separation debate and they didn't want to have any outsiders in big jobs, so it was really difficult for me to have a technical job, I am a systems analyst." Though, his language and accent were obvious barriers to his ability to find suitable work in Quebec. Also, it appears that in Montreal, immigrants were marginalized into certain types of low-paying jobs. Some proportion of the immigrant population in Montreal, however, is professional; a better fluency with Quebec French may have helped Pablo transcend the job barriers.

Andrea believes the opposite of Pablo. She feels that speaking a different language was an asset for her entry into Canadian society since she was able to meet people more easily because she was different from others. She has been encouraged by others to speak Spanish, which has helped her maintain her Chilean identity.

O'Bryon, Reitz and Kuplowska (1976 cited in Isajiw 1999: 188) focused on ethnic language in their 1976 study, in which they showed that ethnic language and use was strongly related to immigrant generations. First-generation immigrants had the highest language retention level, while second- and third-generation immigrants lost their language quickly. They argue that the retention of language depends on the opportunities available for language use. The study of O'Bryon et al. (1976 cited in Isajiw 1999: 188) is accurate in this case; the Chilean immigrant students, as first generation immigrants, have maintained their Spanish language, to demonstrate and carry on their Chilean heritage. They contend that, despite the importance of native languages to ethnic

populations, a second-generation immigrant has a more difficult time retaining language, which is demonstrated by Pablo2.

Pablo2, who came to Canada when he was a baby, is a first-generation immigrant, but because he did not learn Spanish in Chile, his experience personifies that of a second-generation immigrant. He grew up listening to his parents speak Spanish, but considers his first language English. Pablo2 said that he was “forced to learn Spanish to communicate with [his] Dad, [since] he didn’t speak too much English and [his] Mom spoke perfect English.” Therefore, Pablo2 took the initiative to learn Spanish by asking his parents what words meant and how to say certain words. As a result, Pablo is bilingual, and is comfortable speaking a certain amount of Spanish. But like a second-generation immigrant, his Spanish is more formalized than that of a native speaker. As O’Byron et al.(cited in Isajiw 1999: 188) contend, a certain amount of the language has been lost. This is the case with Pablo2, whose more formalized learning of the language has left him unaware of the subtleties and cultural nuances which a native speaker would understand.

Berry argues that the more different the language is in the new country, the more difficult the experience, due to the greater amount of cultural shedding and learning (1997: 23). This does not seem to be the case for the Chilean immigrant students, as they are able to keep Spanish as their primary language while speaking English to integrate into society. In Andrea’s case, she found that her ability to speak Spanish actually facilitated making new friends, as they found her “different” and liked the way she talked. Pablo2 was the exception in this group; he was able to acquire Spanish to retain

ethnicity, and uses Spanish on a regular basis, although he does not consider it his mother tongue. Their ability to maintain ethnicity through language is important, as discussed in the next section. The ability to maintain one's native language, while not being separated from society while learning the language of the adopted country, is an acculturation strategy. By doing this, the Chilean immigrant students were able to maintain their ethnicity while still experiencing full interaction in Canadian society

The participant's perception of socio-economic class was the same for all respondents here in Canada. They continue to consider themselves middle class. Only Alejandra was of a higher class when she lived in Brazil with her family. Seven participants agreed that it is very difficult to advance within the social classes in Chile. One participant did not respond because she did not fully understand the meaning of social class in Canada. Three of the seven participants specified that money was the only way to succeed in Chile. They stated that without financial backing you were not able to attain higher social status. Once again, they all agreed that Canada was an easier country in which to attain upward mobility, both socially and economically. Carolina said programs like the Ontario Student Assistance Program (OSAP) facilitated this because they made higher education accessible; Pablo went further by saying that education is the way to climb the social ladder in Canada because with education you can get a good job. This implies that this group perceives that higher education would enable them to transcend employment stratification, obtain higher-paying and higher-status jobs, and maintain their ethnicity without worrying about how it will affect their job. These participants believe that Canada is a colour-blind country, and that opportunity

commensurate with education will present themselves. This is an ideal embraced by multiculturalism policy, which strives to “promote the full and equitable participation of individuals ... and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to such participation” and “ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law (Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada 1990: 15). But is the goal of a non-racist society and workplace being realized? Let us further explore the experiences of our participants in this regard.

Racism and discrimination can be a very limiting factor in social incorporation, which can hinder the maintenance of ethnicity, since the individuals can view their ethnicity as a factor for their failure to be fully accepted into society (Berry 1997: 25). Half the respondents stated that they had not experienced any racism in Canada, and that their ability to maintain their Chilean ethnicity would not be threatened by outside forces that might discriminate against them. Discrimination in Canada is not institutionalized to the degree it was before the implementation of a policy of multiculturalism. However, it still exists. Despite legislated equality, members of a group can still face certain restrictions based on race or ethnicity. These can affect employment opportunities, which may be formally open to everyone although applicants of certain ethnic groups may be deliberately excluded (Isajiw 1999: 153).

Pablo2 and Ricardo agreed that there is some racism in Chile towards other countries in South America and that it is carried with them into Canada in a joking, relaxed atmosphere. One example they gave were sarcastic comments they made to a friend to bother him, such as bringing up past political events in Chile and say remarks

like “remember when we cut your power” or “we took over your country” with a joking tone. From the participants’ point of view, there are few barriers in regard to class or race in Canada, which allows them the opportunities to attain their goals. They feel that, in this sense, Canada, as a society of settlement, is ideal for maintaining ethnicity.

All the participants agreed that Chileans are typically political. There have been a variety of previous studies regarding politics and ethnicity, many of which deal with the difference between refugees and immigrants. Igonet-Fastinger (1984 cited in Grmela 1991: 274) conducted a study on the differences between immigrants and refugees from Chile in the south of France. He concluded that the political refugees favour the political group, party, or ideological tendency, of their heritage country, whereas immigrants tend to leave the political situation in their country of origin behind when they immigrate. Igonet-Fastinger used Luisa Ramos’ 1980 study of Chilean political refugees in Denmark to qualify his findings (Grmela 1991: 274). Ramos concluded, “political refugees have a favorable attitude towards all behaviour which implies the maintenance of this identity” (Grmela 1991: 274). If this is the case, as these studies suggest, will the participants maintain their political views?

Frideres (1997) conducted research to test the assumption that immigrants exhibit different values than native-born Canadians, he found that both groups have very similar values. He concluded that immigrants quickly “develop similar political perspectives and concerns to native-born Canadians” (Frideres 1997: 548). Parenti (1967) also supports these results. He showed that immigrants acquire the same political values as cradle Canadians. This would indicate that immigrants assimilate into Canadian political

culture. Although the studies sampled from a population of all immigrants in Canada, we cannot assume that Chileans follow this trend, having a culture that is highly politicized.

Elizabeth describes how Chileans are not able to unite because they are stuck on political issues of the past. “There is much rivalry. They don’t have the unity others have...there are political issues...someone would not talk to another because he is a socialist, a “commie,” a communist, whatever.” Many Chileans are politically oriented and will not simply assimilate political views. Elizabeth also stated that many of the “trouble makers” were originally refugees, indicating her perception that there is a difference between immigrants and refugees. This may be a result of a refugee having less of a choice in the decision to emigrate from Chile.

One vehicle used by the participants in an attempt to maintain their Chilean ethnicity, is Chilean media; many participants continue to read newspapers, and keep up-to-date with current politics in Chile. Isajiw (1985: 31) believes that ethnic media is an important aspect of ethnicity retention, because it is a means to remain informed about the community of origin, it helps maintain ethnic perspectives on world issues, and reinforces ethnic symbolism. Most participants are not concerned with Canadian politics. Elizabeth also believes that many immigrants, including herself, are not interested in the politics of Canada. This may suggest two possibilities: first, that the Chilean immigrant students are adjusting to Canadian culture by not being as political, since Canadians are not typically political, while maintaining their Chilean ethnicity by following or keeping updated with Chilean politics; or second, that they are simply more interested in Chilean politics. Pablo states this about his view on politics:

My generation grew up [during] the dictatorship years, so politics for us was nothing but communism and that's it...When I left Chile in 1991, the transition to democracy was just made in 1990 so it was one year after. So everything was new. You have that new idea of politics, of what is going on in Chile and not what is going on in Canada because I grew up with that lack of politics. I don't really get involved with it here.

Carolina agrees with Pablo, and says that she tries to learn about past events in Chile because her father always talks about the past. However, she is not interested in current Chilean or Canadian politics. The feeling that politics does not influence the individual leaves Elizabeth disinterested in Canadian politics. She explains that she does "relate [to] student action" because it can affect her directly. Otherwise, she has no interest in politics.

A participant's self-perception of integrating into society is very important. A person's self-perception can show how they feel about themselves in regard to their acceptance by others. All participants found it easy to answer the question "do you feel included in Canadian society?" A majority of seven participants believe that they were included in all aspects of Canadian society. It was only Elizabeth who felt that she is only included some of the time. She explains: "sometimes...I think it depends in the kind of mood I'm in. I think sometimes I feel [included when I am] minding my own business, then I feel that I'm Canadian..." This is because Elizabeth feels that in Chilean society people are interested in your social life and talk to each other more than Canadians. Therefore, she finds that when she or other people do not present their concerns openly, they seem 'more Canadian.' Her perceptions are important, because

participants think of themselves as integrated or included in the social aspects of Canadian society. Other indicators, throughout this research, may support or contradict these perceptions of the respondent. Hence, self-perception is one strategy the immigrant can use to become incorporated, and have a pleasant integration experience. However, the perception of being included in mainstream society is not necessarily correct, as “society may not perceive the ethnic group as incorporated” (Isajiw 1999: 176).

The respondents indicated that most immigrants would feel integrated into Canadian society unless they had had a negative experience such as not getting a job because of their accent or being set apart from others in their school.

5.2 Culture

Culture is central to anthropology and to the study of maintaining ethnicity. This is because ethnicity is rooted in culture, as ethnicity is defined as a culturally distinctive group within a society, with common features that include, more than one of, language, religion, physical appearance, geographic origins, clothing and diet. Culture can also be defined in a variety of ways. It is important to see how each participant views culture so that we will then be able to understand how each understands and perceives their ethnicity. We can predict the nature of cultural aspects they will maintain while in Canada. For example, someone who constructs culture as values, religion and food, will look at these aspects of the culture to maintain their ethnicity while they are trying to integrate into Canadian society. We can see that all participants except Elizabeth feel they are accepted and belong within Canadian society, therefore no other acculturation strategy fits their profile.

Each participant had a different view of the meaning of culture. Andrea states that culture “is a [combination] of everything. ...Culture is more like, everything [that came] from the past to the present time. That makes culture alive.... It has been passing through generation, through generation.” The first idea that Ricardo thought of when he was asked what culture meant to him was “elcutos [which is] having an education. Not being smart, but having an education.” He explained further that culture is the knowledge of worldly things, and not necessarily academic knowledge. Pablo2 describes culture as “where [someone] came from, their lifestyle from their country.” Alejandra believes that culture “has a lot to do with your values, religion and...everything that you have at home...your eating habits and what you eat, how you raise your kids. Everything that helps to make the decisions that you make”. Elizabeth did not want to provide a textbook response to this question therefore her answer took some effort. She explains her understanding of culture:

Culture is... basically.... what makes you different than others... It's what you believe...but at the same time you can believe something that are apart from other cultures so it's not really your beliefs so...it's really what makes you as a person, so you can fit in that Chilean culture. And maybe at the same time I could have picked up a belief from another culture so it's really what I think, how I think I should behave, how I think I should act.

The participants, therefore, generally believed that culture was a way of being or a way of doing things that originated from their home country. Added to this definition were the beliefs and ways of perceiving things, which were incorporated from other cultures into the adopted country. Thus, for the participants, culture was largely a dynamic concept, embracing both the past and continually incorporating new elements.

Labels that generalize positive or negative aspects of a group of people can stereotype a culture. This is one way for a group to identify another group they perceive as the “out-group” and different from their own (Isajiw 1999: 144). I asked each participant if they agreed with the labels typically used for people from Latin America, including “Latinos” and “Hispanics.” Of the four respondents that answered, three had no problem with the labels as long as they were used in a general sense. Elizabeth states “I have no problem with them...when you are talking in general, I don’t mind. People already have a stereotype of what they are, what kind of things they may be.” Andrea agreed with this response: “Because you are with everybody in one group. We are all Spanish; we are all Latin. It’s not like a country symbol.” Carolina thinks that there should be no need for labels. However she said: “We are all Latinos...we are all the same. At the roots, we are all the same.” Alejandra on the other hand, understood the labels but did not like them. “I don’t like it because we have a big difference between Central America and southern...so ...I wouldn’t mind if they thought I was from somewhere in South America.” We can see that there is much rivalry between Latin American countries, and therefore these labels are generally acceptable to use as long as they do not describe a specific country. This illustrates the importance of the distinct Chilean ethnic identity, or at least the importance of regional recognition to the participants.

Isajiw (1999: 187) argues that as a person becomes incorporated into a society they will retain aspects of their ethnic identity to varying degrees. Therefore a person will develop multiple identities such as a Chilean-Canadian. The students mainly identify

themselves as Chilean. Of the eight participants, five felt that they are Chilean with no combination of another ethnicity. Pablo states; “I am Chilean...I came from Chile, although I am a Canadian citizen. I feel that you cannot deny your own background. It would be really idiotic to myself if I say I’m Canadian. You can see that I am not Canadian.” Andrea and Carolina said that they are Chilean-Canadian because they are not able to deny where they were born and brought up. Although she sometimes feels more Canadian since she understands Canadian society more than Chilean society, Alejandra remains confused about her ethnicity. She explains:

I am a melting pot, I think it’s all messed up in my head...even when I speak...I speak Portuguese at home but I get some Spanish stuck in there. I make a big mess and I find that my personality is probably the same way as my language skills...[I] grab a little bit of everything I’ve seen and learned and that makes me who I am. I don’t think you can choose to be one or the other.

Research conducted by Kalin and Berry (1996) showed that a majority of Canadians from a variety of ethnic groups feel that their identity is first Canadian and then that of their ethnic background. They argue that identifying themselves as “Canadian” does not diminish their maintenance of their heritage identity, and it is compatible with having a strong “Canadian” identity” (Kalin and Berry 1996: 1). Berry et al. (1997) found that when they asked immigrants if they thought of themselves “as a Canadian, ethnic origin-Canadian, or ethnic origin,” 59 percent self-identified as Canadian, 28 percent as ethnic-Canadian and five percent as just their ethnic origin. More recently, Boyd et al. (1981), discovered that 86 percent of immigrants identified themselves as Canadians.

Many factors can alter a person's perception of his or her own ethnicity. I asked each participant if he or she felt they had a choice in their ethnicity. The majority of respondents did not know, while two of eight said they did not have a choice. The remaining two said that they did have a choice. Andrea states:

that choice [of ethnicity] is always with you, because I totally believe that you can be Chilean, living in Chile and you never fit in your own society. That can happen in any country or any society. I relate [to this] because I never fit into my own society and when I came here I felt that something fit...I was Chilean, I was doing everything that Chilean people do [and I still did not fit]. [in Chile?]

The participants' agree that they cannot deny their Chilean ethnicity, which indicates that they must maintain a variety of aspects from their ethnic identity while in Canada. Each participant's perception of Canadian and Chilean identity was different. By learning what they characterize as Canadian and as Chilean, we can see how the Chilean immigrant students fit into the two cultures. We can also see if these correspond to what they actually maintain. Two of eight respondents believe that the Canadian identity included different rights and freedoms. Alejandra states that "you know your rights" and "you have so many rights". Paz and Pablo agreed that Canadians were very open when talking with them. Pablo also thought that Canadians were open in regard to their appearance: "you see people in the streets walking in a open kind of way...clothes, ears pierced, skin heads and people accept them [as normal]". Ricardo's first response when asked about Canadian identity was hockey and baseball, then the physical characteristics such as "blond, blue eyes...6'4". Pablo2 had the sense of unity and "all of us put together is what makes a person Canadian."

An individualistic person, to varying degrees, is how three of the eight respondents described what they thought was the Canadian identity. Andrea said that Canadians take care of themselves first, citing the example of "daycare [so a woman can] go back to work." Only Alejandra thought that it was values and attitudes that make a person Canadian: "I think it is made up of value more than anything...[and] the attitudes... When you work with men you don't have to deal with the sexual harassment". Carolina could not really define Canadian identity: "I don't know. I guess it depends, because the other thing I think about Canadians is ...there are so many different races. What is the real Canadian? I don't know."

Using the participants' definitions of what makes up their Chilean identity, we can identify some aspects they are likely to maintain. Answering this question was easier for the respondents since the Chilean identity was, and continues to be, important for all whom I interviewed. We will be able to see how the importance of each aspect of their Chilean ethnicity corresponds to its maintenance, as it would be logical to assume that aspects of their ethnicity they value the most will be maintained. Of course, the accuracy of this assumption will have to be determined. Five of eight respondents agreed that family values comprised an important aspect of their Chilean ethnicity. Pablo states that "Chilean society is very classic, very strict about family values." Alejandra noticed a difference when she brought her child with her to a Canadian party. She states: "I go to parties [here] and...it is very separate, it is a NO kids party. You get a babysitter... In Brazil and Chile it's not like that. If they invite you to a party they assume you bring your child with you."

Of the eight respondents, only two believed that food was a key element to their Chilean identity. Elizabeth and Alejandra said they maintain traditional things such as food, music, and artifacts. Each respondent had a unique variety of elements that were deemed important to Chilean identity. Alejandra states: "it is what you eat...your food, your language...I find men are more sarcastic in their jokes and especially...the Central Americans I find, they are more arrogant...a lot [has] to do with [what] you eat and you keep the traditions you bring from home." To Elizabeth, being Chilean meant "recognizing where [a person] is from, the place [she] was born, the place where [she has] a lot of memories of smell, taste, where [she] grew up, [and where she] learned all that [she] considers good in [herself]". Pablo described Chilean culture as "very tight. Culture in the terms of habits and...what will be acceptable...For example, if you want to do [something], well you can't, cause people will laugh at you". Pablo2 recalls the lifestyle in Santiago as being twenty-four hours long. He says there is "always something happening. There is never a dead night anywhere." Paz feels that "Chileans tend to be very negative" which is one reason why she does not enjoy socializing with them while here in Canada. Andrea recalls the macho male attitude in Chile that is carried over to the Latin Clubs here in Canada.

It was difficult for the participants to identify how they perceived a high status individual. To do this would allow us to see how the respondent's idea of culture reflected within their ideal individual, and what they aspired to be. Their answers varied from sports to business to work ethic, as seen in Figure 3. Ricardo felt that a professional

Figure 3: High Status Individuals: Traditional Chilean Vs. Chilean Immigrant Students

athlete, who earns a large salary, was a high status figure, while Carolina envisioned a high-status person as more of a poet or artist. Elizabeth identified a high status individual as someone “who can remind [her] of who [she] is”, such as a professor, “who does a lot of Latin American studies” and is able to teach Elizabeth more about her background. Pablo said a successful person in Canada would be someone “who works really, really hard, not necessarily being talented, but having a lot of papers,” in the sense of degrees and certificates.

I then changed the question to determine what a traditional Chilean would say regarding a high status individual. This would show the difference between the immigrant’s view and how they think a traditional Chilean would answer the question. This question was designed as an indicator of how much their views had changed since they left Chile. Again, the participants were split. The only consensus was among three of eight, who said it was a person in government or business. Elizabeth said a young person like herself in Chile would be a poet, while an older person like her parents would be someone who can organize people and act politically on their behalf. Pablo thought an individual who was influential in business or politics was a high status person for a traditional Chilean. Money was key to Alejandra. Two participants did not respond, as one did not understand the question and soon became frustrated, and the other was unable due to time constraints.

Identifying a Chilean in a crowded room could be done in one main way, according to the respondents. Seven of eight stated that one way to discover if someone was Chilean would be to listen to them talk. Elizabeth added that they would have an open

attitude. Carolina said the only way you could tell was by what they were eating, specifically “empanadas.” The ability to identify a Chilean is, therefore, perceived as mainly through language or a Chilean symbol such as a flag, as shown by the portraits taken by Elizabeth. She said there really is no other way she could readily be identified as Chilean, other than by wearing a Chilean T-shirt.

When some of the participants discussed visiting Chile, they noticed how they had changed since leaving their home country. This is a good indicator of their adaptation and integration into Canadian society. We can also see which aspects of the Chilean culture they maintain, contrasted against the aspects they are willing to abandon. For example, Andrea said that when she went back to Chile for a vacation she noticed the extreme pre-occupation with appearances: “friends and relatives were getting face lifts and breast implants, even though they did not have the extra money.” Alejandra also stated that she did not like the macho attitude and is happy to be in a culture that has more equal gender relationship. The participants, on the whole, have integrated a number of Canadian values, which include: a multicultural outlook, a cosmopolitan lifestyle, multiple languages, and more equality between genders. Generally, the adoption of elements of their new, adopted culture is viewed by most as progressive and positive. They recognize the changes in themselves, as indicated by their current impressions of Chilean society, and their self-identified preferences for newly-acquired ideas and values. However, equally important to them was the maintenance of aspects of their Chilean identity. The following section will examine these aspects, and the strategies the participants use to maintain them.

5.3 Maintaining Ethnicity

Maintaining ethnicity is the main focus of this study, and it is important to look at all the variables to see how the individuals acculturate into society, in order to determine the extent to which they maintain ethnicity. A study conducted by Isajiw (1999: 191) identified elements of ethnicity most often retained by third generation immigrants. Although this study is with a different generation of immigrants, it is still a good basis for exploration of the elements these Chilean immigrant students will maintain. The study showed the most highly retained elements of ethnicity were:

ethnic food consumption, possession of ethnic objects of art, feeling of obligation to help other members of one's group to find a job if in a position to do so, some knowledge of ethnic language by those whose mother tongue is English, feeling of an obligation to support the needs and causes of one's group, the feeling of obligation to teach children the group's language, and having close friends of one's own ethnic background. (Isajiw 1999: 191)

Language was an important aspect for the participants in Isijaw's study, and was, as well, for the Chilean immigrants. Maintaining Spanish as their primary language was important to all eight participants. Maintenance of family values that were expressed in Chilean culture was desirable to six of eight respondents. Figure 4 shows the elements which were deemed important by the participants for maintaining ethnicity. Food was important for four of eight participants. Surrounding oneself with Spanish speaking friends was an important aspect for Andrea, Carolina and Elizabeth. Household items, such as ornaments and artifacts, were desirable to Paz, Carolina, Elizabeth and Ricardo. Listening to and learning Chilean music was a key element to Pablo and Alejandra for their maintenance of ethnicity. Keeping up with current events was important to three of

Figure 4: Elements That Help Maintain Chilean Ethnicity

eight respondents. Also, remembering different aspects of Chile and the participants experiences in Chile were important for three respondents.

Here are detailed explanations by the participants when I asked them how they maintain their Chilean ethnic identity. Andrea said this about maintaining her ethnicity:

I am still trying to keep [learning] how to cook traditional dishes. I think about [Chile]...that's my personal thing. To remember, to make myself remember things... my grandma, or history. I try to remember and don't forget about it because it is part of my ...heritage. Something has to be remembered as I can maybe pass that information through my children, if I have, that. But I think that other generations they don't know that.

Alejandra said:

I keep...I like it that my mom invaded my privacy...And I hold the language, the music, I try to learn the way we dance. You know the way we dance and I wanted to learn the way that we sing songs. I don't know any of the songs, I learned with [my daughter] ...the little book she gets in English. I learned little nursery songs in English. I know mostly in Portuguese and Spanish. So those are the ways I try to keep [my ethnicity].

Ricardo and Pablo2, interviewed together, gave a combined explanation on how they maintain their ethnicity. Their description deals mainly with Chilean celebrations or holidays where traditional foods and drinks are served, while they are surrounded by other Chileans. This is the ideal for these two participants. They explain:

Ricardo: Our community usually does that..

Pablo2: The Independence [Day celebration]...they do that in September. I guess it is just involving yourself in, sorry not involving, you just have it in there..

Ricardo: in Chile, we have the "huaso" which is the typical farmers in Chile, well not farmers, I wouldn't say

farmers, they own land, and the food. They make a drink. It's made with apples, it's like this alcohol thing, it's very sweet

Pablo2: it's a fruit alcoholic drink...

Ricardo: "chicha". It's very traditional...Also,

Pablo2: "pisco", it's like rum.

Ricardo: Yes and the wine, again the food. I make food with my mom, we make some empanadas.

Pablo2: making traditional food. Being around other Chileans. Then you start doing the remembering thing. Remember this, remember that...and sometimes I heard stories from him that I have never heard before. I think back and well. I know the area, and then he tells me stories about it and that brings me back to, going back to Chile and to remembering things with other people.

This information corresponds to the 1979 study conducted by Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach and Reitz (1992; Isajiw 1999: 189), which found other ethnic groups to retain ethnic foods among first, second and third generation immigrants.

Paz maintains the overall Chilean lifestyle while she is in Canada along with showing her friends different aspects of Chilean culture. She explains:

I like [to] keep the same schedule with my meals,...which is breakfast ...it's not light or heavy... It's usually toast and coffee milk, not just coffee like here, coffee like milk. Then lunch is the main meal of the day, and dinner is just a light meal. For me, that's just what I do. And keeping family like we do in Chile... you can [just] come over to my house without having to worry. You [don't have] to call... If I go out, I will dance a lot, not just drink. Like most people here just go out and drink, not so much the girls but the guys.... I keep up with what is going on in Chile, cause of my parents, I talk with them twice a month. And that's how I keep in touch with what's going on.. I have a couple media programs that I got from the television. Chilean television and sometimes I watch them...I [go] to my family here, my aunt at least once a week, making some nice stuff, nice festivals and I try to keep part of my culture to my friends and like [my boyfriend's] birthday gift. I baked him a

birthday cake typical from Chile. And I make him interested in my language too. He is learning pretty fast actually. Which is good. So I think that could be the main thing that I do. I try to pass, incorporate my culture to the people I hang around, in this case to him, because, he's around all the time.

The elements described by the participants differ from Isajiw's model. This may be attributable to the fact that the participants are immigrants, and not third-generation Canadians. They have had the experience of Chile, and except for one, they have spent their childhoods, and in some cases, their early adulthood, in Chile. Choosing to read Chilean newspapers, for example, would not be an actively engaged in by third-generation Chileans, who would not have as intimate ties with the country as a native-born Chilean person. Third-generation Chileans would be more likely to choose elements of ethnic retention that identify them as of ethnic descent, and validate their cultural ancestry, such as food, art, and some knowledge of language. The participants' choice of elements is a result of their innate, lived experiences of their home country.

Some of the above elements were also found in the pictures taken by Carlos, Carolina, Elizabeth and Paz. According to Collier (1986) "the camera is an instrumental extension of our senses. One that can record on a low scale of abstraction. This capacity makes the camera a valuable tool for the observer"(Collier 1986: 7). The participants were also asked to take pictures of what in their lives helps to maintain their Chilean ethnic identity. This method was used for two reasons. First, to allow the participant's to focus on their everyday surroundings. Second, to verify that what the participants discussed in the interviews is accurate in regard to their everyday life, which we will see

is true. The pictures are grouped into five areas. They include household decorations, food, personal reminders, and environmental factors. The study by Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, and Reitz corresponds to the information provided by the participants. This study provides evidence that elements, including ethnic objects of art, traditional foods, person ethnic articles and friendships, help in the maintenance of ethnic identity, (Isajiw 1999: 191).

Household decorations were the most common elements found in the pictures taken by the participants. In Figure 5, we see Elizabeth's family living room during the Christmas season. The tree is decorated and the gifts are wrapped, spread over the floor and sofa. In the foreground we can see the table has Christmas baking. In the top right corner of the photograph are some paintings by Guillermo Nunez, Elizabeth's uncle. It is these paintings that help Elizabeth maintain her ethnicity. These paintings are presented in Elizabeth's family home for everyone to admire and it helps the family, especially Elizabeth, to maintain and remember their Chilean identity. The paintings are by, Guillermo Nunez, who has incorporated the poetry of Pablo Neruda, a famous Chilean poet who died just before the military coup in Chile. According to legend, the poet was distraught by the dictatorship and suppression of his country. Elizabeth explained that the paintings were not shown in their house for a very long time for political reasons. This is because the family did not want to show their support for Pablo Neruda's work as he was a symbol of the artistic freedoms lost during the reign of Pinochet (Winter 1991: 91) and because politics can destroy friendships among Chileans.

Figure 5: Elizabeth's Living Room At Christmas Season, With Painting By Guillermo Nunez And Poetry Of Pablo Neruda.

Pablo Neruda's real name was Neftali Reyes Basoalto, he is described as being an advocate of the poor while his poetry was highly political. Neruda also received the Nobel Prize in 1971 (Winter 1991: 91). Carolina's family also has a poster with the poetry of Pablo Neruda hanging in their house, seen in Figure 6. This poem, A Mi Partido, reads:

Me has dado la fraternidad hacia el que no conozco.
 Me has agregado la fuerza de todos los que viven.
 Me has vuelto a dar la patria como en un nacimiento.
 Me has dado la libertad que no tiene el solitario.
 Me enseñaste a encender la bondad, como el fuego.
 Me diste la rectitud que necesita el árbol.
 Me enseñaste a ver la unidad y la diferencia de los
 hermanos.
 Me mostraste como el dolor de un ser ha muerto en la
 Victoria de todos.
 Me enseñaste a dormir en las camas duras de mis
 hermanos.
 Me hiciste construir sobre la realidad como sobre una roca.
 Me hiciste adversario del malvado y muro del frenético.
 Me has hecho ver la claridad del mundo y la posibilidad de
 la alledría.
 Me has hecho indestructible porque contigo no terminé en
 mí mismo (Neruda 1957: 720)

We can see on the right side of the picture, the poet Neruda himself. This picture helps Carolina maintain her Chilean ethnicity as it is a constant reminder of her ethnicity. She also enjoys his poetry.

Carolina also surrounds herself with other sorts of reminders of her Chilean identity such as in Figure 7, the Moai stone figures from Easter Island. We can see the human-like features that characterize the statues in the poster such as the elongated heads.

Figure 6: Poster With “A Mi Partido” By Pablo Neruda.

Figure 7: Poster Of Moai Statues On Easter Island.

protruding eyebrows and small mouths. Many earlobes are distended and have carved ear ornaments (Winter 1991: 13). It is difficult to tell the size of the statues in this picture, but they range from seven feet to seventy feet high (Winter 1991: 13). Although Carolina has never been to this island, she feels a connection because it is a symbol that is associated with Chile.

Other household decorations include various sculptures of typical entrance to the ranches or farms called “haciendas” in Chile, seen in Figures 8 to 10. We can see the typical elements and the variety of traditional haciendas from these sculptures. In Figure 8, the water container on the left side was originally used to collect rainwater for various household chores (Winter 1991: 20). In the middle of the sculpture, there is a gate to the hacienda typically known as a “retable”. The construction of haciendas vary, this sculpture shows the traditional adobe style, made from stones held together with mortar. The wagon wheel sitting outside the hacienda, to the right of the retable, is also a typical feature according to Carolina. This is because wagons are used in the farm fields, and break often.

Figure 9 shows another hacienda with some distinct features. This hacienda indicates it is more of a horse and cow ranch rather than a crop farm because of the rope and grain bag on the right and left of the retablo. The rope is commonly used in rodeos by huasos to corner and tie cows for competition. It also shows a sign with the name of the hacienda with the traditional adobe walls, which unlike the other sculptures seen are fences surrounding the hacienda and not part of the whole compound. Other common

Figure 8: Hacienda Sculpture.

Figure 9: Hacienda Sculpture.

elements of a hacienda are present in this sculpture, such as the firewood to the left side and a water container to the far right. The hacienda seen in Figure 10, does not have much foliage surrounding it which suggests that it represents a hacienda closer to the desert in the North of Chile. Once again, we see the retablo doors, water container and a sign with the name of the Hacienda. These sculptures are popular, as Ricardo also has taken a picture of one to show that it helps to maintain his ethnicity in Figure 11. This hacienda portrays the desert as we can see the numerous cacti in the foreground. The other typical elements are also present, such as the retablo, water container and the adobe style walls. Another "hacienda" is seen at the top of Figure 12. This sculpture only shows the retablo and the wooden fence that surrounds the hacienda.

Household decorations also show the traditional lifestyle of Chileans as seen in the following figures. In Figure 12, taken by Carolina, we can see at the bottom of the picture, a copper plate with "la trilla", or a traditional buggy pulled by an ox. We see the men and women working the farm or ranch are called "huaso" and "huasa", respectively. These people are represented in many of the copper plates that are in Ricardo's and Carolina's family homes. We will also see a copper plate in one of Elizabeth's pictures, [see Figure 47], although the picture was not taken of the plate specifically, this shows the significance of the plates in the participant's homes. Figure 13, taken by Carolina, and Figures 14 and 15, taken by Ricardo, show a "huaso" and "huasa" in the midst of a traditional dance, called "cueca". The cueca is a national folk dance that is performed today during most festivals and celebrations in Chile (Winter 1991: 96). The cueca is a

Figure 10: Hacienda Sculpture.

Figure 11: Hacienda Sculpture.

Figure 12: Hacienda And Copper Plate With The Huaso And La Trilla.

dance of courtship, “inspired by the ritual of a rooster stalking a hen” (Winter 1991: 96). The men and women dress as traditional huasos and huasas for the dance. The dance is subtle and expressive and each dancer holds a handkerchief, seen in the huaso’s up-stretched arms in Figure 13, and dance around each other while musicians play the guitar and tambourine. It is said that the crowd becomes unrestrained during this dance as they clap, shout and stamp their feet (Winter 1991: 97). The crowd and musician playing the guitar are seen to the right in the background of the copper picture in Figure 13 as well. The vibrant colours in Figure 14 show the costumes of the cueca dancers easily. The huasa is dressed in a traditional costume of a full skirt with bright colours. The huaso traditional costume is more distinct with a “flat-brimmed, flat-topped hat, [which originated in Spain,] and a bolero jacket covered with a waist-length, brilliantly coloured manta or poncho” (Winter 19991:52). Other elements to the huaso costume are “fringed leather leggings and short, pointed, high-heeled boots with spurs” (Winter 19991: 52). According to Winter (1991), the Chilean spurs were famous for their size and decoration. In Figure 14, we can see the special emphasis on the spurs towards the bottom right corner, along with the leggings and poncho. Another element not mentioned in a description of the huaso costume is the sash worn around his waist. In this picture the colours of the sash seem to represent the Chilean flag with the blue, white and red.

Figure 15 is a plate that shows the huaso and huasa in the midst of the cueca. The common elements exist in this decorative plate as well, such as the full skirt of the huasa and the poncho and spurs of the huaso. It is difficult to see other elements of this plate in this photograph due to the flash and the fine colour details on the plate itself.

Figure 13:Huaso And Huasa Dancing The Cueca.

Figure 14: Copper Picture Of Huasa And Huaso Dancing The Cueca.

Figure 15: Plate With Huaso And Huasa Dancing The Cueca.

The “huaso” on a horse was another popular household decoration in Carolina’s and Ricardo’s homes. Figure 16 shows a huaso on horseback, with a traditional woolen poncho and straw sombrero or hat. Once again, the huasos spurs are identified in this copper picture. The background scenery is different in Figure 17, which shows the Andes behind the farm in which the huaso is riding his horse.

The rodeo is one of Chile’s most popular sports. It was first held over four hundred years ago when the huasos gathered to round up and sort cattle in order to be counted and branded (Galvin 1990: 103). Today, the rodeo is a contest based on the skill of herding cattle and expert horseback riding. The rodeo is seen in Figure 18 as the huaso chase the bull, on the right side of the picture, half hidden by the huasos’ horse, to corner him in a specified area of the semi-circular ring called a “medialuna” (Galvin 1990: 103). In the center top portion of the picture, we can see the spectators watching the huaso corner the bull. The Chilean flag is also present in this picture in both top corners. It is apparent that the traditional symbols of the huaso, huasa, rodeo and the Chilean flag are important for many of the immigrant students as they are present in a variety of household elements.

We can see from the above pictures that copper is an important element for the Chilean participants along with what the decoration represents. Copper is a preferred metal by many artisans in Chile who use it for their artistic creations, according to the participants. Other household decorations, mostly made from copper, were important for Ricardo to maintain his ethnic identity as they were brought from Chile. These are seen

Figure 16: Copper Picture Of Huaso On Horse.

Figure 18: Chilean Rodeo.

Figure 17: Copper Plate Of Huaso On A Horse.

in Figure 19, with the copper plates with a variety of decorations such as a star on the left, a small farm under a rainbow in the center and the moon on the right of the photograph.

The national flower, named the “copihue” or the Chilean Bellflower, in the copper picture in Figure 20. The copihue can be seen hanging amid the dark leaves of the forests in Central Chile and in the south of Chile during the autumn among fern trees. The copihue is a member of the rose family and can be seen in a variety of colours, such as red, violet and white (Lonely Planet 2000).

Decorative teapots, bells, and fish decorations are other copper artifacts that Ricardo’s family, display in their home. Figure 21 shows two teapots made from copper with two Chilean key chains on the top smaller teapot. Bells decorated in the colours of the Chilean flag; red, blue and white hang beside a window in Ricardo’s family home in Figure 22. We can see the word “Chile” printed on the bell closest to the camera, which indicates that it is a handcraft made in Chile.

The copper fish hanging in Figure 23, displays one of Chile’s main industries. Again the main colours used are blue and red, symbols from the Chilean flag. Behind the fish is another copper decoration. This is a map of Chile indicating many of the famous places throughout the country. In the top right corner is the coat of arms of Chile.

In Figure 24, we see smaller decorations made from copper and other elements, in a wood case. These are a reminder of Ricardo’s Chilean ethnic identity. On the top shelf of the case are various cups made from ceramic on the left and clay for the other two cups. The second shelf holds an unknown black dish and a copper plate with Chile’s coat of arms in the center. The lower shelf contains a clay container and a small egg shaped

Figure 19: Household Decorations Including A Tea Pot Clock And Plates.

Figure 20: Copper Decoration With The National Flower Of Chile.

Figure 21: Decorative Teapots With Chilean Key Chains.

Figure 22: Bells.

Figure 23: Copper Fish And Chile Map Decorations.

Figure 24: Small Decorations On A Wooden Shelf.

rock, specifically marmel, in a small bowl made from the same rock. To the right of the rock, is a wooden sculpted bird. Wood is an important natural resource as it is the third leading export in Chile (World Factbook 1999). There are also two decorative copper pillboxes on this lower shelf.

A wool wall hanging, seen in Figure 25, shows three elements that are typical to Chile and a good reminder of Ricardo's ethnicity. These elements include the small farmhouse at the bottom of the wall hanging and in the middle, the Andes' mountains in the background with an eagle soaring. Above the Andes are llamas grazing in the desert with a small cactus to the left.

Clothing and instruments as household decorations were also found in the participants' pictures. In Figure 26, Carolina also has two artifacts hanging on her wall. At the top of the picture is a "chopalla", which is a musical instrument that is traditionally used by the Mapuche Indians in the country. Also hanging is a "sombrero", which is a traditional hat worn by not only huasos but also many Chilean men. The sombrero is found all over Chile and many other Latin American countries. Again these objects help Carolina to remember the country she is from and how it is different from Canada.

Smaller objects that Carolina surrounds herself with include figurines of typical Indians in Northern Chile, specifically the Atacameno and Diaguita tribes (Winter 1991: 48), seen in Figure 27. Although this photograph is out of focus we can still see the various elements of the figurines. The brightly coloured clothing of the female on the right stands out the most. This clothing is typical of the Indians in Chile as it is influenced by the Incan culture in Peru (Winter 1991: 53).

Figure 25: Wool Wall Hanging Representing Chilean Landscape.

Figure 26: Chopalla And Sombrero.

Figure 27: Figurines Of Indians In Chile.

As we see in Figure 28, Carolina shows a variety of elements that help to maintain her ethnicity. The bottom three will be discussed here, while the top wine and liquor bottles will be discussed in the next section. On the bottom left is a “emboque”, a game played by little boys in which they would try to throw the ball part onto the stick. In the middle is a traditional instrument made from clay, which sounds a lot like a recorder and played in a similar manner. On the bottom right side of the photograph, is a figure of a person in costume during a festival in the north of Chile called the “fiesta de la tirana”. This festival gathers up to 150 000 people in the village of La Tirana near the Atacama Desert each July to show their devotion to the Virgin Mary (Winter 1991: 111). The village of La Tirana means “the tyrant”, it was named when an Indian princess who was converted to Catholicism, became a tyrant as she tried to convert the rest of her tribe. The princess was murdered for her disloyalty while a priest later succeeded in converting the tribe. A sanctuary was then built to honor the Princess and the Virgin, which is the site thousands of people flock to each year (Winter 1991:111). Winter (1991) explains that the fiesta de la Tirana attracts many dance clubs that go to the village to honor the Virgin. The festivities continue for three days of continuous dancing with others playing trumpets, trombones, cymbals and drums in the middle of dancers. Participants pause only to eat and change their costumes and devil masks. Once the dancing is complete, the people make a pilgrimage to the Church of the Virgin del Carmen in the village.

Paz maintains her sense of ethnicity with the help of a constant reminder of the warm weather in Chile with a cactus seen in Figure 29. A wooden artifact, seen in Figure 30, has dried seeds from a cactus inside also provides memories of home for Paz as the

Figure 28: Various Chilean Artifacts.

(Top left to right), Chilean Wine, Pisco, Chilean Wine. (Bottom left to right) Embanque, Musical Instrument And Figurine From Fiesta De La Tirana.

Figure 29: Cactus.

Figure 30: Wooden Artifact That Makes Relaxing Sound.

noise it makes when someone turns it upside down, is relaxing and similar to a sound Paz associates with Chile.

Foodstuffs were another common element that helped the participants to maintain their ethnic identity. Elizabeth believes that her ethnicity is maintained by a variety of traditional foods. First, her cousin cooking a traditional meal that is usually only cooked by her mother, as seen in Figure 31. This meal is called “carne al horno”, which translates to “baked meat”. Elizabeth feels that by someone else continuing the tradition of cooking a traditional Chilean meal, she is maintaining her ethnic identity by continuously being reminded of her ethnicity.

Second, in Figure 32, which has been modified to show only the cake in the bottom left corner of the original picture, that helps Elizabeth maintain her ethnicity. Her mother bakes this traditional Chilean Christmas cake called “pan de pascua”. This cake is typical to Chilean culture with dry fruits, raisins, pecans and walnuts. Elizabeth’s mother sells these cakes since other Chileans are unable to buy this cake anywhere in Ottawa. The closest Chilean bakery is in Montreal, and I was told by many of the participants that they make the trip to Montreal just for the bakery.

Food is also important to Elizabeth’s Chilean ethnicity during the Christmas season as a basket of fruit is traditionally bought by the “man of the house” to bring prosperity to the family, as seen in the bottom right corner of Figure 33. Once again, this photograph was taken during the Christmas season and focuses on Elizabeth. This

Figure 31: Elizabeth's Cousin Cooking Carne Al Horno.

Figure 32: Pan De Pascua Made By Elizabeth's Mother.

Figure 33: Elizabeth And A Traditional Basket Of Fruit During Christmas.

strategy might have been used since the photographs were returned once the research was completed.

When Elizabeth lived in Chile, it was her grandfather that brought the basket of exotic fruit to the house. This is an important tradition to Elizabeth and her mother since her mother has continued buying the out of season fruits, and decorating the basket with pine cones, since they moved to Canada.

Paz feels that eating a typical meal of “sopaipillas”, as seen in Figure 34, contributes to the maintenance of her ethnic identity. This meal is typically served at “te” time or the Canadian lunchtime, and consists of squash cooked in a sweet sauce. Paz says that this meal would be given to children on rainy days to help warm them up.

Drinks were also important to the participants. Chilean wine and a liquor, named Pisco, were also examples for, Carolina and Ricardo. Carolina included wine and Pisco in Figure 28, while Ricardo shows Pisco here in Figure 35. Pisco is a fermented drink made from the Muscatel grape, and originated in Peru. This liquor is made by extracting the juice and pulp from the grapes and used as a mix with cola or lemon to make two popular drinks the Pisco and the Pisco sour. The Pisco sour is made up of the following ingredients; Pisco lemon and limejuice, powdered sugar and an egg white.

Grapes are also used for the world-renowned wine from Chile. Chilean wine is the only wine served at Carolina’s house. This is a reminder of their Chilean identity for the whole family. Carolina’s family also has traditional grapes as a constant reminder of Chile in their home, as seen in Figure 36. We can see in this picture, the grapes are stored in a stone bowl that is made from a specific rock, marmel, in Chile. The bowl is used for

Figure 34: Sopaipillas.

Figure 35: Pisco in the Shape of Moai from Easter Island.

Figure 36: Artificial Grapes And Marmel Dish.

Figure 37: Marmel Bowl and Polished Rock Eggs.

household ornaments all over Chile and can be used as in Figure 37 to display the polished rocks in the form of eggs.

Personal reminders of Chile were important to Paz in maintaining her sense of ethnicity. These reminders include pictures of her family, seen in Figure 38, since they continue to live in Chile. These photographs show Paz's parents consecutively from when they children on the left, to a family gathering with Paz as a child on the right. This picture also includes a Chilean flag that Paz keeps in her room to constantly remind her of Chile. The Chilean flag will be discussed in further detail later. Figure 39 shows other personal reminders of Chile. She keeps a doll made for her by one of her students' Mother back in Chile when she was teaching. This doll holds sentimental value of the years that she spent teaching prior to arriving in Canada. The yellow sheep in the middle of the picture is a doll that Paz was given when she was very small and she keeps as a reminder of her childhood back in Chile. On the right, is a picture of Paz's grandmother and friend in Chile. Her grandmother is very special to Paz as she has taken care of a child who was an orphan and is inspirational with her loving attitude.

Everyone's life is influenced by people around them, especially family members. Paz and Elizabeth both took pictures of people in their lives that help to maintain their ethnicity. People are a reminder of where you are from as is the case for Paz's cousin, who is half Chilean, seen in Figure 40. Paz feels that by teaching her cousin different aspects of her Chilean ethnicity, she will maintain her ethnicity by continuously showing others her differences from Canadian society. Elizabeth feels the same way about her friend, who took the picture of Elizabeth in Figure 41, because she did not want to be

Figure 38: Paz's Parents And The Chilean Flag.

Figure 39: Childhood Dolls And A Photograph Of Paz's Grandmother.

Figure 40: Paz's Cousin

Figure 41: Picture of Elizabeth Taken By A Friend.

photographed. This friend is from Argentina and they enjoy speaking Spanish on every occasion. In Figure 42 we can see the outline of another one of Elizabeth's friends, although the picture was taken without a flash and was underexposed. This friend is Canadian but speaks Spanish with Elizabeth and is very similar to Chilean people in her attitude. Elizabeth finds this comforting and enjoys showing her friend of four years her Chilean customs.

Elizabeth also tries to show her sister, seen in Figures 43 and 44, how to be more Chilean. Elizabeth's sister acts very Canadian according to Elizabeth and she tries at every chance to show her sister how to be Chilean. Here in Figure 43, we see Elizabeth's sister with her Canadian boyfriend.

In Figure 44, we can see the dried flowers that Elizabeth gave to her sister for Christmas. This is a typical Chilean tradition if a person does not have any money for gifts or when someone shows up at your house unexpectedly, you give them something that you have around the house. Elizabeth tries to show her sister this humble aspect of the Chilean identity. Teaching others the Chilean identity is for Elizabeth and others an important aspect of maintaining ethnicity.

Parents are also important to Elizabeth's maintenance of ethnicity, shown in Figure 45. For Elizabeth, her parents are the people that are the most influential in her life, including helping her to maintain her ethnicity. According to Elizabeth, her parents are the ones who brought her up and are constant examples of her culture.

Environmental factors that help to maintain ethnicity were also found in the pictures taken by Paz. She enjoys Ottawa because it has many landscapes that remind her

Figure 42: Elizabeth's Friend From Argentina.

Figure 43: Elizabeth's Sister And Boyfriend.

Figure 44: A Chilean Present For Elizabeth's Sister.

Figure 45: Elizabeth's Parents.

of Chile, such as in Figure 46 and 47. She remembers a place in Chile on the coast close to her hometown that looks like these apartment buildings. When taking these pictures she even felt like she was on a pier, which is why she had the picture taken again with her facing the camera in Figure 47. This would be a typical picture taken if she were on a pier in Chile.

Paz also noticed that the children playing hockey in the street looks the same as children playing soccer in the streets in Chile, as seen in Figure 48. Soccer is Chile's most popular sport, called "futbol" in Spanish. It is seen in the street, on the beach and on playgrounds all over the country. As Paz explains soccer in Chile is similar to hockey in Canada. Children in Canada dream of being in the National Hockey League (NHL), in Chile they dream of playing on the Universidad Catolica (Catholic University) and the Universidad Chile (University of Chile) teams.

The Chilean flag and other national symbols were also important aspects for the participant's ethnic identity. Ricardo keeps a Chilean coat of arms figure on top of his compact disk storage unit, seen in Figure 49 .

We also saw the flag in Paz's photograph with her parent's pictures in Figure 39. Elizabeth would also show someone else that she is Chilean by wearing her Chilean T-shirt seen in Figure 50. This is the same T-shirt that she does not like to wear in school because people would ask her why she is wearing it and what it meant, while not being interested in her Chilean identity.

How a potential parent plans on communicating to their children their ethnic heritage is a good measure of how they are maintaining ethnicity in their lives. It also

Figure 46: Landscape Similar To Chile.

Figure 47: Looks And Feels Like Chilean Pier.

Figure 48: Hockey In The Streets Of Ottawa.

Figure 49: Chilean Coat Of Arms.

Figure 50: Elizabeth Showing Her Chilean Ethnicity.

indicates how the participants plan on maintaining their ethnicity in the future since most are not planning on having children for a while. A large majority, seven of eight, felt that language was the most important aspect to show their children. This was also the most important aspect for the Chilean immigrant students to maintain for themselves. Two participants, Elizabeth and Alejandra felt that music was important. Stories in the form of legends and songs were important to Elizabeth and Alejandra, as well. Alejandra said: "I want her to know the songs. I want her to, you know, have some of the memories of growing up that I had". While the history of Chile specifically was important to Pablo and Pablo2, Paz suggested that providing traditional food for her children and friends was good to show others her culture. Ricardo and Pablo felt that they would emphasize all that was Chilean in their life when they have children. Pablo has a very complete idea regarding how he will show his children their Chilean background along with Canadian and Mexican:

first of all they are going to understand the history of Chile, in the sense of what...how the country was built, what are the stories of the country most likely the discipline they are going to know the places where I was born. My part of the family is still there, I will.. they will understand, I will let them know what has to be known about Chile. Geography, different aspects of culture... everything, my wife's side, they will have to know everything about Mexico. The culture the, the two groups that built Mexico so we have a pretty big load, and they will understand what is Canadian, what the history of Canada, how this country was built by immigrants and what are the two main groups that came, the English and French, to this country. I think they will have a pretty rough time to learn all that...But I mean they should, I don't want my kids to not speak Spanish. I want them speak Spanish.... because I grew up speaking French, I want them to speak French, live in the French county, they must, and English as well. I don't think they could go

anywhere without English. I think they will have those languages. As well as Italian and Portuguese so I want my kids to have the same background.

The interviews from Carolina, Andrea, Ricardo and Pablo show they will show their children the same aspects of their ethnicity they are continuing to maintain. Carolina for example said she would teach her children “the language. [She] thinks Spanish would be one of the languages [that she] would want them to speak. And [she would teach] them Chilean views. [She] would make the effort to show them...pictures of [Chile] and if [she] had the resources [she] would take them there and show them”. Andrea will show her children the “traditional things [such as], food, holidays. [For example], Canada day in Chile is 18 September [to celebrate the] 11 September [when the] government took over. [There is a] weekend of celebration. [She would teach] history and language”. Pablo² and Ricardo said they “would teach them Spanish, [and] would go as far as showing them the way of life of Chileans”. Ricardo would try to emphasize this aspect, whereas Pablo² would “emphasize that [their] descendents were from Chile yes, [and] speaking Spanish is a big thing”.

In order for the Chilean immigrant students to maintain their ethnic identity the social institutions and culture must facilitate the retention. As we see from this Chapter, the participants actively maintain their ethnicity through the social institutions and culture within Canada. For a majority of the Chilean immigrant students there were no barriers for their life in Canada, which allows them to maintain their ethnicity without compromising anything else in their life.

Conclusion

This project investigated the maintenance of ethnic identity among Chilean immigrant students. The evidence indicated that their ethnic identity is actively maintained in a variety of ways. There is no single method to retain ethnicity, as it is a complex task, requiring both a conscious and an unconscious effort.

The primary way the Chilean immigrant students maintained their ethnicity was by using their native language of Spanish as often as possible. They speak Spanish at home and, in many cases, while with friends. Most of the participants surround themselves with Chilean symbols, including art, music and dance, and this was evidenced through the photographs and interviews. The respondents plan to maintain Chilean ethnicity long enough to teach their children the Spanish language and their Chilean heritage, therefore making an effort to pass down their ethnicity from one generation to the next. A majority of participants maintain their ethnicity by deliberately remembering and reminiscing about Chile. A majority of participants continue to maintain close relationships with Chilean friends and family members who continually remind them of their ethnicity; continuing to learn about Chile by keeping abreast of current events, both social and political, also allows the participants to remain involved in their heritage culture. The celebration of Chilean holidays, such as its Independence Day in September, also helps to maintain the Chilean immigrant students' ethnicity. Many participants consume traditional foods from Chile as a normal part of daily life, while, on certain occasions, provide festive Chilean delicacies. The Chilean community was an integral part of acculturation for these students, proving especially helpful and supportive during

the initial stages of transition. Chilean ethnicity is therefore maintained, in these respects, through retention of customs and contact with the country of origin, which is greatly facilitated by the Chilean community.

The Chilean immigrant students' perceptions of maintenance of ethnicity are directly related to the participant's acculturation strategy. According to Berry's Model of Acculturation, all respondents except one, Elizabeth, were integrated into Canadian society. The individuals wanted to both maintain the ethnic culture and interact with the dominant group. Canada's Multicultural policy had a significant role in the students' integration into Canadian society, allowing the new immigrants to maintain their ethnicity, and was probably a key factor in the participants' perceptions that there is little discrimination in Canada. It facilitates the participant's integration by reducing concerns that they will be judged because of their differences. Additionally, it likely facilitates the students' integration, as they feel that those differences are important additions to the Canadian multicultural mosaic. Also, Ottawa's diverse society, the students' indicated, permitted them to use their Chilean ethnicity as a way to meet new people. Elements of multiculturalism were infused into their daily lives; most felt that they integrated into society by embracing the different ethnicities of others, and all indicated that they have friends from a variety of ethnicities.

All participants indicated that they had experienced an overall positive migration experience, which allowed them to have an easy transition to their new home. All had a social network of friends or family members to help them adapt to the new lifestyle. All the participants have a post-secondary education, which also facilitates their integration

according to Berry (1997) and Isajiw (1999). The participants, as well, did not have unrealistic expectations of Canada, therefore they were able to integrate since they did not feel alienated from any part of society as a result of misinformation and false expectations.

The social institutions facilitated the Chilean immigrant student's integration to Canadian society as well. This was indicated by the participant's perception that they could socialize with any ethnic group, rather than feeling segregated. The respondents favorably evaluated many features of Canadian society. As a multicultural society, it also offered them the ability to wear anything they like and remain accepted. They also enjoy the numerous rights and freedoms that are available in this country that are not available in Chile, including freedom of religion and increased women's empowerment. The most important evidence that demonstrates how the Chilean immigrant students are integrated is their conscious perception that they are included in Canadian society.

The exception in the group was Elizabeth, who falls within the separation category of Berry's acculturation model. This occurs when an individual maintains her heritage culture while avoiding interaction with the dominant culture. Elizabeth tended to restrict her contact to Aboriginal people and Chileans. Elizabeth does, however, believe that she participates in the multicultural aspects of society, but does not feel accepted by Canadians in general. She likes the freedoms and opportunities of Canadian society but dislikes the way people are individualistic and competitive. She also feels that she is an outsider and cannot be herself when she is at school. For example, Elizabeth does not like to wear Chilean T-shirts because she feels people will ask her why she is

wearing them. When she explains she is Chilean, she says they do not understand, and she therefore tries to avoid many of her classmates. Elizabeth continuously tries to show her sister, who she feels is more Canadian than Chilean, how to be and act more Chilean. Elizabeth is separated from Canadian society. The most obvious evidence to indicate that Elizabeth is in the separation category of Berry's model is that she does not wish to stay in Canada. She would like to finish her education at Carleton, and then move to a Latin American country to start her career.

This process of acculturation is complex and deals with a variety of issues. This accounts for the extent of discussion relating to all aspects of society throughout this research. The evidence indicates that all of the Chilean immigrant students, with the exception of Elizabeth, were able to maintain their ethnic identity by integrating, to varying degrees, into Canadian society. We find that it is Canadian society that allowed them to integrate relatively easily in a variety of ways. The government policy promotes multiculturalism, which manifests most visibly, for the students, through various festivals and celebrations that are multicultural in nature, and make them feel included in society. The actual diverse ethnic make-up of Canadian society, especially in Ottawa, allows the participants to perceive that they are not different because everyone was different in some way. The unique makeup of Canadian society allows the Chilean immigrant students to express their Chilean ethnicity without having to doubt or downplay their heritage.

Many immigrants perceive that Canada is a good country for individuals, to immigrate and settle in, especially those who want to maintain their ethnic identity. The city of Ottawa in particular is conducive to the maintenance of ethnic identity; some of

the participants' indicated that other Canadian cities were not as accepting or as visibly multicultural as Ottawa.

The Multiculturalism policy in Canada is an asset for immigrants as it codifies Canada's commitment to racial and ethnic diversity and equality for all Canadians. The policy's shortcoming, however, is its lack of promotion; the Chilean students were unaware of the policy and programs offered under its auspices, although some had unknowingly benefited from them. It would be desirable that more information be provided to new arrivals and those who wish to immigrate. The Canadian government should make a more active commitment to the provision of available and accurate information about the country and its policies. This information would be valuable not only to ensure that new Canadians avail themselves of the services provided as a result of the policy, but to also reassure recent immigrants that Canada has made a commitment to preserving and protecting the multiplicity of cultures inherent in its diverse population. Multicultural policy is important to immigrants because, although most of the students in this study found maintenance of ethnicity to be a highly personal activity, it was supported by the open, welcoming nature they perceived in Canadian society, an environment that this policy seeks to augment. Immigrants to Canada seek the opportunities and freedoms that this country offers, and they come seeking to embrace values they find in this society. But important to them also are the elements of their own ethnicities that they can bring to, and celebrate in, Canadian society. Indeed, the ideals of official multiculturalism are something Canadians should preserve, and if at all possible, perfect. If we, as a society, strive to meet this challenge, Canada will remain a popular

destination for immigrants, as the encouragement it offers and its celebration of diversity will be well known around the world.

Appendix A Figure 1: Acculturation Strategies

(Based on Berry 1997:10)

Host Culture

Heritage Culture

Appendix A Figure 2: Acculturation Factors

(Berry 1997:15)

Appendix B: Sample Interview Questions

1. Where did you live in Chile?
2. What images, ideas did you have when you first thought of going to another country?
3. When did you come to Canada? Who with?
4. Do you still have family/ friends in Chile?
5. How do you keep in touch with family and friends?
6. Did you visit Canada before you decided move here permanently?
7. Where did you/ your family live when you first came to Canada? What other areas did you live in? Why?
8. Why did you choose Canada?
9. What does multiculturalism mean to you?
10. Did you know anything about Canada's multicultural policy? Do you know about it now?
11. Can you describe your experience with the immigration process?
12. Did you or your family receive assistance from an agency in Canada?
13. Did Canada meet your expectations when you finally got here? How so? Why not?
14. What do you like most about Canada? The least?
15. What aspects of Canadian society do you feel most apart of as a new Canadian? I.e. labour residence social institutional cultural
16. Do you feel like you belong in Canadian society? In what way?
17. Do you attend multicultural events that Canadian government sponsors? Which ones?
18. Who are the friends that make you feel most comfortable?
19. What do you think makes a person Canadian?
20. How do you think of yourself as Canadian? As Chilean?
21. Where so you feel you are in the social class structure in Canada? Why is that?
22. What is the social status structure in Chile? Is it difficult to move up or down the social ladder?
23. What was your status back in Chile?
24. How does race within Chile effect social status? What races make up the Chile population?
25. If you could go back to Chile as often as you like, how often would you go? Why?
26. What does "culture" mean to you?
27. What does it mean to be Chilean? How does it feel, what do you smell, taste?
28. Many people like to characterize people from Latin America as Hispanic, Latino etc...How do you see yourself? Do you agree with these labels?
29. Does religion play a key role in your Chilean ethnic identity?
30. How would you show your children their Chilean roots? Would you encourage their ethnic identity to be Chilean?
31. Do you feel that you have a choice in your ethnicity? Ascribed by your language? Could you disregard your Chilean heritage or do others put it upon you?
32. Do you plan on staying in Canada? Why?

33. Would you go back to Chile to live? Why? Why not?
34. Do you feel that you have to marry a Latin American to preserve your ethnicity? Why?
35. How do you think your accent affects your chance of getting a job?
36. Can you describe what your first three (3) months were like when you first came to Canada.
37. How have they changed?
38. Picture in your mind a high status individual or a role model...what does this person look like? What are the qualities of this person?
39. How would a traditional Chilean back in Chile see a successful life?
40. Imagine that you walked into a room with a group of people...and you could see one person was a good Chilean. What did you see?

Appendix C: Map Of Chile

(Source: <http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/ci.html>)

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