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THE PROCESS OF ADAPTATION OF AN ETHNIC GROUP:
THE CASE OF SPANIARDS IN OTTAWA

by

Ana Isabel Guada Martinez

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

Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

December 1985

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The Process of Adaptation of an Ethnic Group:
The Case of Spaniards in Ottawa

submitted by Ana Isabel Guada Martinez
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Thesis Supervisor

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ABSTRACT

This is a study about the adaptation of immigrants in Canada, the Spaniards in Ottawa, with special focus on their acculturation, occupational adjustment and/or economic adaptation to the host society, and how this process of cultural and economic adaptation occurs simultaneously with the maintenance of ethnic ties.

The process of integration of ethnic groups into the wider society refers to participation in the different dimensions of the society: that is, integration into social, economic, cultural and political life. Full social and political incorporation rarely occurs in the case of first generation (original adult) immigrants. Therefore, this study concentrates on the adaptation into the cultural and economic sphere of the host society, assuming that there is a very low degree of social and political integration, in the case of the Ottawa Spanish community.

Based on secondary data we have described the immigration of Spanish people, only those born or residing in Spain, to Canada during a 26 year period (1957-1983), and using semi-structured interviews (31) and participant observation, we have analysed the level of acculturation, occupational adjustment and ethnic attachment of the Spanish immigrants in Ottawa. These two processes, integration and ethnic attachment, were measured by various indicators such as occupational status, satisfaction with

job, use of official languages, intention to return to the homeland, personal relations and ethnic community involvement, among others. It was found that length of residence in Canada, year and age of arrival, and other variables are apparently less important than education and occupational status, in the cultural and economic integration of Spanish immigrants to the host society, and their maintenance of ethnic ties as well.

This should be considered an exploratory study of the Spanish community, which could serve as a basis for further research on this ethnic group in Canada.

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INTRODUCTION

Although relatively heavy immigration to Canada is recent (not more than twenty years), Spain and Canada have been associated for centuries, beginning with the voyages of the Basque fishermen to Canada's Atlantic coastal waters and Spain's exploration of the Pacific coast.

When mass migration from Europe started in the nineteenth century, the Spaniards (mainly from Galicia and northern provinces), generally went to Latin America. This wave of emigration, almost exclusively to South America, was later substituted by the migration of labour to Western Europe, specifically to France and Germany in the 1950's.

Spain has provided few immigrants to Canada, compared to other ethnic groups.² As a consequence, there are fewer studies about Spanish immigrants in Canada in relation to other South European groups such as the Italians, Portuguese, and Greeks. Because of this lack of literature on the Spaniards, in most studies they are often fused with other ethnic groups or just grouped in the "others" category.³

Hence, information about other South European groups (Portuguese, Italian and Greek) in Canada will be used in this study, assuming that there are certain similarities among these groups. Some of the common characteristics found in South European immigrants in Canada are: the Latin background, the

recentness of arrival (members of these groups tend to be relatively young), their ethnic past is more immediate, their ties to the ethnic group are in general stronger, and they have less Canadian experience; the same Catholic background (except the Greeks); the experience of dictatorial governments in the home society; a low level of education (despite the restrictions of post-war immigration concerning education; South Europeans generally came sponsored by relatives), and finally they have experienced one of the greatest degree of exploitation in the work area: low job status and high job segregation (Reitz, 1980).

Statement of the Problem

In this research it is intended to examine some of the general characteristics of the immigration process, focussing on the employment situation of the Spanish ethnic group (Latin American excluded), with special reference to the case of Ottawa. We will attempt to study the integration into the economic and cultural life of the host society of one sector of the Spanish population in Canada: that is, first generation, or second generation Spanish immigrants who arrived in Canada after fifteen years of age.

The objectives of the study are to describe the occupational adjustment of the members of the Spanish ethnic group, and its relation to their level of acculturation and maintenance of ethnic ties.

Special emphasis will be given to the pre-immigration experience of Spaniards. Most of them are voluntary settlers, their main motivation to emigrate has been economic (like other South European groups), although a small number are political refugees (Sacco, 1958). We will be investigating how their occupational background and working conditions in Spain have affected their occupational adjustment in Canada.

Central questions, among others, to be explored in this thesis are:

- What are the occupational patterns of the Spanish immigrants?
- How have "entrance status" affected their opportunities to move out into the larger society?
- Do they tend to work in occupations dominated by the majority group, by their own group, or some other ethnic group?
- What changes in employment situation have they experienced and why?
- How many times and for how long have they been unemployed?
- What are the processes and channels used for finding jobs?
- Is the maintenance of attitudes, values and ethnic culture an asset or a liability for occupational adjustment?
- How does the level of acculturation influence or is influenced by their occupational achievement?

— This thesis is structured in five chapters as follows:
Chapter One examines the main theoretical approaches and evidence on immigration in capitalist societies, stratification or ethnic inequality, occupational segregation, majority group control, ethnic integration, acculturation and ethnic attachment.

Chapter Two is intended as an historical review of the factors (push and pull) that have accounted for the emigration of Spaniards; focus will be placed on the socio-economic situation in Spain at the time larger groups of Spaniards entered Canada (1963-1976). An analysis of the prevalent value system in Spanish society is considered important because those values are brought from the homeland, and often are preserved and maintained (at least partially). This background may influence the immigrants' general adaptation to the host society, specifically their economic absorption.

Chapter Three is a presentation of the general characteristics of the Spanish immigration in Canada within the overall context of immigration since World War II, although a brief description of the early Spanish exploration and the immigration of Spaniards prior to the 1940's will also be given.

Available statistics on the Spanish ethnic group will be shown, particularly: patterns of settlement, demographic characteristics, intended occupation. After this general view of the Spanish immigration to Canada, we will concentrate on a

description of the setting; that is, a description of the ethnic community in Ottawa.

Chapter Four includes an analysis of the interviews pointing out the major tendencies found, and also particular individual cases that are considered typical (case history) of particular situations.

The first part of the analysis refers to the general background of the immigrants: their immigration experience, demographic aspects such as age, time of arrival, settlement in Canada, level of education, among others. The second part deals with the process of occupational adjustment and general job situation of the Spanish immigrants (intended and first occupation, present job, job seeking behaviour, etc.) Finally, the degree of maintenance of the ethnic culture and the level of acculturation is assessed. In this chapter, overall trends are noted, and because of the exploratory nature of this study, most of the data analyses are descriptive.

Chapter Five will be dedicated to summarizing the information presented in the preceding chapters and the main findings of the research.

CHAPTER ONE REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND THEORY

Spanish immigration to Canada as mentioned above is one of the least studied among all the groups of immigrants to Canada, perhaps because of its small size when compared to other ethnic groups.

We have been able to locate only two (2) M.A. theses that have specifically focused on Spaniards in Canada: Sacco in 1958 and Fernández in 1972. These studies refer to the Spaniards in Quebec and Montreal, and neither of them considers in detail the occupational adjustment of this ethnic group. Even in Spain, very few studies have been dedicated to the Spanish immigration to North America in general; most of the literature refers to Western Europe labour migration (Díaz Plaza, 1974; Muñoz, 1972; Rubio, 1974).

In the United States the majority of the studies on Spanish speaking groups are concerned only with Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban and other Latin American immigrants (McTaggart, 1979; Wilson and Portes, 1980; Rogg, 1974).

In Canada, Grace Anderson has included Spaniards together with other Spanish-speaking groups in Canada (1973, 1977, 1974), focusing mainly on ethnic organizations, ethnic press, and general characteristics of this linguistic group. In our opinion, there is a need for specific research on Spaniards from Spain,

separated from other Spanish-speaking groups; there are unique regional elements that differentiate the Latin American countries from Spain, despite the elements of common history as well as traditions and similar legal background, language, religion, etc.

Specific research on Spanish immigrants in Ottawa is also lacking with the exception of a study about the working conditions and occupational background of several ethnic groups, by the Ottawa Carleton Services Organization in 1981. But again, Spaniards and Latin Americans are considered as one group; therefore, the results of this study are applicable in general to Spanish-speaking groups and not specifically to Spaniards, that is, immigrants from Spain.

Since few studies are available with respect to Spanish immigrants in Canada, the topic should be approached with flexibility, and developed in an exploratory manner, and immigration and economic adaptation will be viewed within the context of maintenance of ethnic culture and level of acculturation of Spanish immigrants in Ottawa.

Thus, this research may be characterized as exploratory and descriptive rather than a validation of hypotheses. Our interest is directed not only to the description of a small immigrant group in Ottawa, their history, their formal institutions and manifestations of Spanish culture, but also is concerned with their occupational adjustment and some of the factors affecting this process.

The notions provided by the existing literature on immigration, labour force status, occupational adjustment of immigrants, acculturation and maintenance of ethnic culture, among other general issues, will serve to situate Spanish immigrants within the overall context of Canadian multicultural society.

Ethnicity and Labour Force Status in Canada

West European and North American capitalist countries have long employed foreign workers from underdeveloped areas of Europe (especially Southern Europe), and from Third World countries.⁴

Most of the immigrants contribute significantly to the productivity of the country into which they immigrate. Richmond (1974) has noted how immigrants act to push the local labour force, and they occupy bottom positions which are difficult to fill with the local labour force.

When an immigrant considers coming to Canada one of his/her major considerations is the "availability of work and the prospective income a job would provide" (Anderson, 1974). As Gross puts it: "it is an occupation which gives access to a living, a level of comfort, prestige and life chances" (1958: 605). Occupation in industrial societies is so closely related to income, education and prestige that it has become a major determinant of social status. Position in the system of social stratification apart from ascribed statuses such as sex, age and

ethnic origin, rests upon achievement in the work world,

As noted before, the individual position in the economic structure is among other factors affected by ethnic origin. Economic inequality among ethnic groups can be described as "the position of an ethnic group in the economic hierarchy, and in terms of differential opportunities for mobility to higher levels. The economic position of each ethnic group changes over time and it is affected by continuing patterns of immigration, and by opportunities for economic mobility". (Reitz, 1980b)

Canada in common with most other pluralistic societies is ethnically stratified. According to John Porter there is close association between ethnicity and economic status in Canada:

"Where ethnic differentiation has arisen, as in the United States and Canada, through immigration, there has been a host or charter group that got there first and determined the conditions under which the other groups might enter. These conditions ranged from unfree slaves immigration to free selective immigration under which the host society made judgements about the appropriateness of various groups for particular jobs. Migration is an economic process by which one factor of production moves with an other factor - capital. The entire process is selective in which people get sorted out according with their believed-in qualities or aptitudes for different economic activities." (1965: 33)

Post World War II immigration has tended to reinforce the existing tendency for those of British origin to be over-represented in the managerial, professional, and higher levels of occupational status, relative to those of Southern European origin (Richmond, 1970: 22). When Porter analysed the differential occupational distribution of ethnic groups he

considered a group over-represented when it had a higher proportion at a particular occupational level than that of the total labour force (1965: 76).

Blishen (1970) also analysed the relationship between social class and ethnicity, country of birth of immigrants, and religion. Like Porter he considers that occupational position is affected by ethnic affiliation, country of birth and other ascribed social characteristics:

"The ascribed statuses which a person occupies at a particular point in time are not randomly assorted; there is a degree of correlation between them; and these ascribed status patterns are related to occupational position. White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants for example are more likely to achieve high occupational status than other ascribed status combinations." (1970: 112)

To explain differences in the economic position of different ethnic groups, discrimination is often considered an important factor (Blishen, 1970; Reitz, 1980a; Blau and Duncan, 1967). The Anglo-Saxon attitude toward South European immigrants has been shown to be less positive than the attitude toward Northern Europeans (Reitz, 1980a; 1980b, 1982; Pineo, 1977). Although there is some evidence of discrimination against certain ethnic minorities, the level of overt discrimination "has decreased significantly" (Richmond, 1967, pp. 78-84). This prejudice in covert forms of discrimination retards large scale integration of the members of ethnic minorities in the public sphere of the majority society. There is no evidence of Spaniards who have acquired the requisite skills, achievement of high-ranking

(elite) positions in the economic and political spheres of the host society. According to Hughes it is in the private sphere of informal clubs, cliques and primary social relationships of the majority ethnic group that a high level of prejudice and discrimination, and high level of social distance on the part of the majority members, continues to operate, including only a few members of ethnic minorities (1974:181). There are covert forms of discrimination, especially against Southern European immigrants, who continue to be treated as unskilled manual laborers. They are expected to fill "menial" labour and construction jobs (e.g. cleaning: Portuguese and Spaniards).

When immigrants of various ethnic origins, but similar educational backgrounds and previous occupational levels are differentially stratified in the occupational structure, it is deemed to be evidence of the existence of discrimination (Li, 1978).

The explanation for discrimination and continued low occupational status and income of certain ethnic minorities often involves the theory that the majority group controls the occupational reward system. Porter has referred to the "gatekeeping" positions of the majority group within organizations, and how they have the power to exclude some and include other ethnic groups. Reitz (1981) has evaluated extensively the majority group control theory in his Toronto research on Italians, Portuguese, Greeks, West Indians, Chinese and other ethnic minorities. This theory predicts ethnic

variations in the allocation of rewards, and in the amount of discrimination expected. On the other hand, significant group control over jobs could exist if minority group members are concentrated in specific "gatekeeping" roles in the occupational structure. Examples of segregation in occupational and organizational domains are visible and have become stereotypes: Italian builders, Jewish tailors, among others.

In some cases minority groups may establish "ethnic domains" and the impact of reward allocation would depend upon the resources available for allocation within the minority domain. Reitz (1980) presented data showing that "poorly educated South Europeans earned higher incomes if they worked in settings where the ancestral language was spoken". Also Hatcher's census data (1978) showed that socially distant groups with high occupational prestige tend to be occupationally "specialized". These studies suggest that ethnic segregation in jobs does not always imply the impossibility of immigrants achieving high levels of status or income, although in our opinion it is very difficult for immigrant groups (specially those with low levels of education and small number of members) to establish themselves in high income or high status positions.

One condition for the emergence of an economic enclave is the presence of immigrants with sufficient capital brought from the original country or accumulated through savings. From a dual labour market perspective, immigrants are generally restricted to

the secondary labour market sector, although immigration laws have recently encouraged the migration of skilled and professional workers. In general, immigrant workers are viewed as a vulnerable labour pool,

"destined to the low wage, unstable occupations of the peripheral economy. Past occupational experience and other investments in human capital count very little for these immigrants because, unlike workers in the primary sector, they are hired primarily because of their vulnerability rather than their skills." (Wilson and Portes, 1980: 300).

In their study about Cuban immigrants in the United States, Wilson and Portes argue that there is a third alternative condition added to the primary and secondary dichotomy of the dual labour market theory, which is an important and valuable contribution for an explanation of the economic success of some immigrant minorities.⁶

One of the purposes of this study will be to determine whether the Spanish immigrants in Ottawa tend to be concentrated or dispersed in the occupational structure. There is no evidence of the existence of ethnic enterprises (enclaves) at the present time, but through the data obtained (interviews, participant observation, and other sources), we intend to find out whether occupational segregation exists or not (especially in the case of early immigrants) and whether these enclaves may be uncovered.

Immigrant Women

Almost all studies about ethnicity and occupations refer to the male population. Most of the existing research has treated the experience of immigrant men and immigrant women as essentially the same: the experience of women is generally "subsumed under that of men" (Jacobsen, 1979). The nature of women's and men's situations is different and cannot be treated as if it were similar; immigrant women occupy a particular and different location in Canadian society than men. It is important to point out that ethnic variations in occupational distribution are not the same for men and women (Reitz, 1982; Denis, 1981).

Arno Poelis considers that women are concentrated in the high and low-paying levels of the Canadian labour market because immigration admission practices since the fifties have encouraged the entry of these types of workers; the highly educated professional, and the unskilled worker. Many immigrants cannot choose to work where they would like to. She analyses the situation of immigrant women in the garment industry and in domestic service; in her opinion "most immigrants only have a few years of schooling and have language problems. This situation is perpetuated because the women have no exposure to either of the official languages on the job..." (1979:5)

Boyd refers to the "double burden" of immigrant women who are often classified as dependents upon entering Canada when they make "substantial labour force contributions, and when they work

they find themselves in the predominantly female occupations, compared to male immigrants and in blue collar occupations, compared to native-born women". (1975:406) They are less likely to be found in what are probably either the higher status or economically rewarded occupations.

Both Arnopoulos and Boyd have referred to the difficulties experienced by immigrant women, especially if they are married: the husbands are accepted in Canada as independent immigrants, they are admitted as dependents without any interest in their qualifications.

Language, education and the chance to find jobs according to their qualification can be considered among the problems or major difficulties for immigrant women in Canada which can explain their concentration in low status occupations. The low level of education and lack of knowledge of French or English have made them vulnerable to discrimination and exploitation. Without the language they are isolated from the larger society which their husbands and children enter more easily. Learning a new language is especially difficult for women since they are less likely to join the work force immediately, as men do (Commission on the Status of Women Report, 1970). It is usual to find them in work settings where they do not have to speak English or French, and also as homemakers. Their choice of jobs is limited by their backgrounds. As Johnson puts it: "Such people often preferred to make contact with the labour market through a fellow

countryman, even though he might be offering a lower wage."
(1982:41)

As we have seen above there is some information on job experiences of women in certain ethnic groups in Canada. In Reitz's opinion,

"the consistently poor position of many minority group women does not, however preclude the possibility that the pattern of ethnic inequality may not be the same for women as it is for men. Structural factors and socialization patterns may differ between groups, resulting in different patterns of ethnic inequality for women." (1981:10)

Boyd has suggested that discriminatory practices against immigrant women are extended and is generally the most important cause of the pattern of greater inequality among women compared to men.

It is important to point out the importance of ethnic values when analysing the economic role of the immigrant women. There is a predisposition to attitudes, values, norms, and behaviour which are part of the baggage of the immigrant groups brought from their countries and "passed on largely through an implicit socialization process". (Breeley and McCready in Glazer and Mohynihan, 1975:210)

The centrality of the family is well known in South European groups, they are centred on the home for the most part, and extending from the home to immediate relatives, and close friends (Chimbo, 1980; Alpalhao and Da-Rosa, 1980).

Sturino, analysing the economic role of the immigrant Italian wife, concludes that the primary sphere of influence remained her home and children; though she frequently entered the market place as a wage earner, "the nature of her economic role cannot seriously conflict family values" (in Caroli et al, 1978). Also the author states that her earning power does not threaten the man's role as provider and chief authority because she works generally in low paying occupations, therefore her wage is usually seen as a "mere extension of her role as the family's shopper".

Alpalhao and Da Rosa support Sturino's point of view when they refer to Portuguese wives and men's attitudes towards women's work: "Generally men consider that the woman's place is the home" (1980:130).

Integration of Ethnic Groups into the Wider Society

Contemporary research on ethnic groups is characterized by two competing theoretical perspectives: Assimilationist and Survivalist. The Assimilationist position has been dominant in American sociology, reinforcing also the "melting pot" model of immigrant adaptation. Even recent American empirical research has supported the thesis of "inevitable assimilation" and disappearance of ethnic ties so that ethnic group members achieve upward mobility (Cohen, 1977).

Survivalism is a position which maintains that ethnicity has not become less important in present times, but continues to have a large impact on social, economic and political aspects of modern urban life. Contemporary survivalism can be divided into two categories: a) primordial, which emphasizes the role of the ethnic culture itself and its ego-maintaining and psychologically valuable attributes (Novak, 1973); b) contextual, which focuses on the role of changes in the host society (Yancey et al, 1976; Glazer and Moynihan, 1970, 1975).

According to Weinfield, ethnic survivalism has enjoyed a greater historical dominance in Canada than in the United States. Sociological research in Canada "has been influenced by the survivalist assumption which stresses the continued salience of ethnicity for the English and French, and for all other ethnic groups in Canada". (1981:82)

In any case, we think it is very important in the study of ethnic groups to consider both the structural and cultural situation of the ethnic group, and on the other hand the situation of the wider society.

As Yancey et al put it: "Ethnic groups have been produced by structural conditions which are intimately linked to the changing technology of industrial production and transportation" (1976:32).

At this time we will consider the three major concepts that will be used in this study: occupational adjustment, acculturation and, ethnic attachment.

The process of integration of ethnic groups into the wider society refers to full participation in the different dimensions of the society; that is, integration into social, economic, cultural and political life. This concept of integration or adaptation is broader than assimilation; Gordon describes integration in terms of a social structure situation which would be impossible to approximate without "the elimination of hard and fast barriers in the primary group relations and communal life of the various ethnic groups of the nation" (1964:246).

Assimilation as we have noted earlier is conceived of as a process in which an ethnic group becomes an indistinguishable part of the larger society. The term assimilation implies complete absorption of an ethnic group into the host society to an extent where the ethnic group no longer has ties with its former culture (Gordon, 1964; Newman, 1973).

The traditional models of ethnic integration are: 1) the anglo conformity model, 2) the melting pot model, and 3) cultural pluralism.

Anglo Conformity Model: Immigrants in the United States and Canada will conform to the lifestyle and values of the majority

group, that is, to the Anglo-Saxon Protestant ("WASP") group. According to Gordon this has been the most prevalent ideology of assimilation in America and this assumption is often bound up with racist attitudes (Nordic racial superiority).

To give an example we will quote an educator that in 1909 wrote:

"These Southern and Eastern Europeans are of a very different type from the North Europeans who preceded them. Illiterate, docile, lacking of self-reliance and initiative; and not possessing the anglo-teutonic conceptions of law, order and government, their coming has served to dilute tremendously our national stock and to corrupt our civic life... Everywhere these people tend to settle in groups and to set up here their national manners, customs and observances. Our task is to break up these groups... to assimilate these people as part of our American race and to implant in their children as far as can be done the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order." (Cubberly cited in Gordon, op.cit.:98)

In Canada, immigration policies and legislation have shown the extent to which the British origin group has served "as the standard for evaluating the desirability of potential immigrants. Until recent years the history of immigration policy has been one of restrictive legislation for the purpose of preserving the fundamental character of Canada's population" (Kalbach, 1970:10).

Melting Pot Model: All ethnic groups will contribute to the development of a new group which is an amalgamation of all groups (Newman, 1973). This idea of the melting pot was very popular in the United States before World War I (when most of the immigrants were Northern Europeans), but after World War II, it was not very

popular because the ethnic origin of immigrants was now different; therefore they were not so easily accepted by the dominant group as potential equals, and consequently more difficult to assimilate (especially Southern Europeans, Asian ethnic groups, and other groups of colour). This model does not make clear whether all groups will have an equal contribution to the melting pot, or whether there is to be a "proportionate influence depending upon the size, power and strategic location of the various groups" (Gordon, op.cit:124).

Instead of an impartial melting of the different cultural patterns it has been more a transformation of the "new" immigrants into the anglo-saxon mold. In Gordon's opinion there is not a single melting pot in the United States, but a number of pots or subsocieties: jews, catholics, protestants (no matter what the ethnic origin), racial or quasi-racial groups, and ethnic communities who decide to remain within the ethnic enclosure.

Cultural Pluralism: This model of adaptation has gained considerable popularity since World War II. According to Gordon, it refers to the legitimation of the preservation of sub-national communal life and some cultural differences for the nation's various ethnic groups (op.cit:158). This model considers conformity to the majority group in some areas vital for the integration of the society on one hand, and on the other hand the maintenance of ethnic culture differences.

The melting pot model does not apply to the reality of English Canada because the other groups have not contributed to the formation of English Canada as much as the dominant anglo-saxon group. The other two models explain only partially the situation of minority ethnic groups in Canada: the anglo-conformity model does not explain why ethnic communities still exist in Canada, despite a high degree of acculturation. Cultural pluralism, for its part has difficulties explaining the high rate of acculturation and secondary social integration to the host society, but can describe the low level of primary social integration of ethnic groups. Canada, in contrast with other receiving countries, officially recognizes ethnic cultures, and even encourages their maintenance, "Multi-culturalism within a Bilingual Framework" (Isajiw, 1983; Fisher, 1979).

Both Canada and the United States have developed a form of pluralism, but differently: in Canada the recognition of ethnic groups had been established earlier, particularly by the Quebec Act of 1774; also the role of governments in regard to immigration has differed. But Canadian pluralism cannot be seen as a policy of extending equal opportunities to all ethnic groups; there has been a pattern of British dominance as we have pointed out before, thus "a policy of non-assimilation makes possible a more rational yet more effective control over potential tensions arising from cultural differences by containing the demands of the different cultural groups within the bound of established autonomies" (Isajiw, 1975:132).

Gordon has suggested a new interpretation of ethnic integrations: Structural Pluralism, which he defines as "an intergroup relation situation in which ethnic groups of a society maintain a high degree of structural separation but at the same time are highly acculturated to the cultural patterns of the dominant group of the society" (1964). In this model, the ethnic groups keep most of their primary relations within their own group, but participate widely in secondary relations with the wider society. In Fisher's opinion, this model seems more applicable to Canada than the other three discussed above. (1979:48).

Structural Pluralism or pluralism of "ethnic stratification" (Isajiw, 1975), is very similar to the "adhesive" model suggested by Hurh and Kim (1979). To quote them: "adhesive adaptation may be considered as a variant or sub-type of pluralism. Nevertheless, adhesive adaptation appears to be a specific analytical category distinguishable from other ideal types of ethnic adaptation..." (1979:191). We will refer to this type of integration with more detail later as this will be basically the perspective used in this study.

Gordon has developed a multidimensional approach to ethnic adaptation that has been widely used in sociology. According to him, ethnic integration is not a single social process but a number of sub-processes or variables, by combining cultural, structural and attitudinal factors. His model consists of seven

processes of integration: acculturation, structural assimilation, marital assimilation, identificational assimilation, attitude receptional assimilation, behaviour receptional assimilation, and civic assimilation (1964).

Gordon refers to the assimilation process of immigrants and points out the differences between cultural and social (structural) assimilation. Cultural assimilation or acculturation occurs when the immigrants accept the cultural norms, and change their cultural patterns to those of the host society, while social assimilation refers to the large scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of the host society at the primary group level (1964:71). The author suggests that acculturation is a necessary but not sufficient condition for social assimilation; unlike acculturation, social assimilation requires the acceptance of the immigrant group by the dominant group. Gordon also argues that while acculturation has taken place in the United States, social assimilation has not. Assimilation is often incomplete and may or may not move at an equal rate at the cultural and social level; the two forms of assimilation are not necessarily conditioned by one another. An immigrant can become culturally assimilated but structurally remain unintegrated. On the other hand social assimilation can take place without full cultural assimilation (Isajiw, 1975:129).

Acculturation seems to be the first type of assimilation in Gordon's terms to occur and may continue indefinitely. Structural assimilation can occur either simultaneously or

subsequent to acculturation, and when it has occurred, all the other types of assimilation will follow naturally. There have been empirical studies that have criticized the empirical applicability of the distinction between acculturation and structural assimilation (Vallee et al, 1965; Breton and Pinard, 1964).

One of the major criticisms that has been made to Gordon's mode of integration is that he does not refer to economic incorporation despite its crucial importance in the integration process. For the purposes of this study we will analyse the integration of the Ottawa Spanish group into the wider society in terms of two behavioural sectors or dimensions: cultural and economic. Thus we will focus on the acculturation process and economic incorporation (in terms of occupational adjustment). We are not going to take into account primary social integration, political and identificational incorporation because we assume there is a low degree of these types of integration in the Ottawa Spanish community. We make this assumption because of the relative recentness of the arrival of immigrants from Spain, and according to other scholars, social integration, political and identificational incorporation rarely occur in the case of first generation immigrants (Berry and Tishler, 1978; Gordon, 1964).

Economic incorporation has been considered as the first stage of the immigrant's integration into the host society. The immigrants must work; when they find employment they generally

get drawn into the absorbing society's economic structure. Occupation can be a major link between the immigrant and the dominant society when they are surrounded by the charter groups, and must learn new roles, attitudes and values. Occupations can however become ethnically enclosed if the immigrants work in places where most of the other employees are members of their own ethnic group. The initial contacts with the larger society will be mainly through work, education and recreation.

Economic integration measures the degree to which the ethnic group adopts the occupational pattern of the wider society (Reitz, 1980a; Fisher, 1979; Porter, 1965). The higher the degree to which each ethnic group is proportionally represented in the various occupational categories, the higher the degree of economic integration. But, as Fisher puts it: "the distribution of each ethnic group among occupational categories is seldom, if ever, proportional to the group's size; one alternative is to observe how the group is distributed among higher-status and lower-status occupational groups" (1979:205). Another indicator of the economic position of an ethnic group is the average total income, compared to the general population (Goldlust and Richmond, 1974; Reitz, 1980a).

As we have noted earlier, documented information about the Spanish ethnic group in Canada is very limited; therefore we do not know their occupational distribution and average total income. The Census does not provide data for these immigrants

from Spain, nor for the total Spanish-speaking population in Canada, nor for Ottawa. Because of this, we will concentrate more on individual occupational adjustment throughout the sample interviewed in Ottawa.

The goal of the first generation immigrant will encompass his/her adjustment to the host society's culture and institutions in those areas of secondary group and institutional contact "which permit him (her) to obtain and keep a job commensurate with his potential and training, to receive appropriate retraining and education where necessary..." (Gordon, 1964:243).

Occupational adjustment has been treated as a subsection of assimilation or integration studies. Reynolds, in 1935 analysed the process of occupational adjustment of British immigrants in Canada, and the way in which their readjustment has been conditioned by "factors in their own background, and by the factors in the Canada situation" (1935:157). He considered occupational adjustment to be basic for the immigrant's cultural adjustment, and it can be measured by several indices such as: amount of geographical and occupational mobility since arrival in Canada, the amount of unemployment experienced in Canada, the degree of progress or regression as regards skill-grade, and the immigrant's own attitudes toward Canada, and his/her feeling of having gained or lost as a result of the immigration. The author refers also to the assimilation process in general, and the

difficulties encountered such as idealization of the homeland, different values, attitudes of the natives toward British immigrants, initial occupational displacement, among others. He concluded that the British artisan and the clerk had adjusted well in Canada, contrary to the unskilled labourer who mostly entered in low status occupations and suffered discrimination.

Richmond studied the economic experience of immigrants and ethnic groups in Canada (1967) focusing on their occupational distribution, occupational status dislocation, standard of living, average total income, length of time seeking to obtain their first employment.

According to Richmond (1967), more than half of the post-war immigrants entering Canada experienced a downgrading of their occupational status in the first job they had for six months or more. About half of those who fell in status later recovered their positions or improved upon it in Canada. This applies more to the British immigrants than to other ethnic groups. Richmond also suggested that among the immigrants expressing more satisfaction with Canada and most inclined to be naturalized were those "who had experienced some initial decline in occupational status, but subsequently recovered or improved upon their former position. The initial traumatic experience of occupational status dislocation appeared to sever the immigrant's attachment to the attitudes and values of his/her former country and compel him/her to adopt Canadian norms of comparison" (1967:187-192).

Goldlust and Richmond (1974) have also analysed the economic adaptation of immigrants in Toronto. They point out that it is important to take into account the economic experience of the immigrants: the industries and occupations in their homeland, other occupations, and social mobility together with their incomes and expenditures. They defined occupational adjustment as the individual mobility experienced, particularly the extent of occupational status dislocation on arrival and degree of subsequent recovery, and improvement status (1974:198).

Various studies have shown that there is often a discrepancy^B between intended occupation and the occupation obtained in Canada, especially during the first few years. In 1971 the Department of Manpower and Immigration in a longitudinal study about immigrants found that only 59% entered the intended occupation and after three years in Canada 31% were still not in the intended occupation. Goldlust and Richmond showed that on the average immigrant households in Toronto had experienced a decline of 3.56 Blisshen points of occupational status on arrival; but this was followed by an increase in the Blisshen score of 5.49 between the first occupation and that at the time of the survey (net upward mobility of 1.46 Blisshen points). (1974:193-226)

Intended occupation is a good indicator of the educational attainment and former occupation of the immigrant. The change in occupations and educational background may be measured by the

statistics of the intended occupation of the Spanish immigrants to Canada. As there are no data available specific to Ottawa, the information will be derived from the sample interviewed in our study.

Grygier and Spencer (1975) also carried out a study in Toronto on the economic and social behaviour of the immigrants. They found a high correlation between objective integration (based upon the overt behaviour of immigrants in various spheres, particularly the economic), and the immigrants current employment. They measured this "objective" integration by variables such as: lack of unemployment, lack of ethnic employment, ability to communicate in English, Canadian friends, among others.

In the United States, Rogg's study on Cuban refugees examined the relation between occupational adjustment and level of acculturation. He tested whether the Cuban refugee becomes more acculturated as he becomes occupationally adjusted. Rogg confirmed Weinstock's hypothesis that Cubans in higher occupations in the United States are acculturating rapidly, but also he found out that perhaps high occupational status of Cubans is obtained because they have acculturated rapidly. In the author's opinion the existence of a strong ethnic community favourably influences the adjustment of first generation Cubans although it may slow their acculturation in the short run (1974:130-139).

To measure occupational adjustment Rogg used objective observations such as: whether the refugee's occupational level was equal to or higher than his level in his former country. McCurry varied this measurement in her study of Vietnamese refugees in Canada (1979) considering whether the subject's field of occupation was similar or different from his most recent field of work in Vietnam. A report on Ugandan refugees (1977) found that a good indication of adjustment was whether or not they were in the work they had hoped to do in Canada (in McCurry, 1979).

Among the subjective observations indicated by Rogg to measure occupational adjustment are: whether or not the refugee believed he was using his prior skills. McCurry varied this aspect only taking into account when this occupational value was important to them. Rogg also used a general job satisfaction question, that is, how content they were with their present occupation in the United States. For the purposes of this study we will include satisfaction with current employment because we consider it may be an important item related to the level of acculturation of the Spanish immigrants in Ottawa.

Acculturation or cultural incorporation is a process which includes changes in language use, norms and values, religious beliefs, social customs, dietary habits, among others, but some of those aspects are difficult to measure. This is the reason why language shift is generally the item used most often to operationalize acculturation. In Fisher's opinion "the lack of

fluency in the language of the wider society is obviously a major barrier for integration. Moreover, language shift is usually closely correlated with other aspects of cultural incorporation" (1979:218). He considered that the higher the language shift, the higher an immigrant is exposed to Canadian culture. In our specific case we cannot measure language shift using population by Spanish mother tongue and population by Spanish spoken at home, because Spaniards and Latin Americans are included in the same linguistic group. In addition, a special tabulation for Ottawa would be needed.

We will focus then on proficiency in the English language (reading and writing), frequency of use, exposure to Canadian mass media, satisfaction with life in Canada, and adoption of dietary habits, that have been used in other studies in order to measure acculturation (Sengstock, 1978; Rogg, 1974; Grygier, 1975).

Language proficiency is one of the most important aspects to take into account in the analysis of occupational adjustment, particularly in the case of South Europeans and Chinese immigrants. They are usually concentrated in low status occupations which do not require high levels of education or well-developed language skills (Reitz, 1980a; Alpa and Da Rosa, 1980; McTaggart, 1979).

The majority of studies on adaptation of immigrants have considered other factors related to this process: education,

length of residence, and situation in the host country.

Education plays an important role in ethnic integration, not only in the acculturation process but also in the economic dimension. Generally a high degree of economic adaptation and mobility requires extensive education, although in some cases a high educational level does not guarantee upward mobility (Porter, 1965). Grygier (1975) has proved the dependency of occupational adjustment on educational and skill level. On the other hand, Breton and Pinard (1964), Hurh and Kim (1984), Goldlust and Richmond (1974) have also all reported a positive correlation between education and acculturation.

Grygier's findings indicated that a high level of education however, did not necessarily lead to a better integration unless it were combined with other factors such as fair language knowledge, successful transplanting of skills, formation of friendships with Canadians (1975). Borheck (1971) in his work about assimilation of Ukrainians pointed out the consistent and strong relationship between education and assimilation, under all conditions. He argued that the single most powerful predictor of both methods of cohesion (in-group choice and high assimilation) is formal education.

Length of residence is another factor related to occupational adjustment and acculturation. This relation has been reported by Reynolds (1935), Sacco (1958), Rogg (1974),

Chiang (1978)¹, Grygier (1975), among other scholars, and most of the studies agree on a positive relationship between integration and length of residence in the host society.

Kapos' research showed that the longer an immigrant had been in Canada the more likely it was that he had improved his economic status, although the rate of upward mobility was greatest for southern and eastern Europeans, who initially had a low entrance status. But, again education played an important role in this respect and those with a higher level of education had achieved greater upward social mobility (in Richmond, 1967a :61).

The economic and political situation of the host country at the immigrant's time of arrival is also related to the immigrant's integration into the wider society, and evidence of occupational concentration and the situation of the receiving country relationship is provided by Reitz (1981), McTaggart (1979), Richmond (1977), Hall (1973), Porter (1965), Reynolds (1935), among others.

The different industries developing at different historical periods, the different immigration policies, and the number of immigrants throughout different periods are important to be taken into account as external factors in the analysis of ethnic integration, and specifically, economic adaptation (ethnic concentration, changes in ethnic occupations, unemployment experienced). When immigration policies after World War II

favoured agriculture and domestic service, one could expect to find a high proportion of women in domestic service for those non-Anglosaxon ethnic groups with large proportions of immigrants. Kalbach points out that this holds true for all immigrant groups excepts Italians and Jews (1979:202).

To conclude, we will consider this previous research mentioned above in order to develop our own framework of analysis for the study of the Spanish ethnic group in Ottawa. We will take into account the indicators that in our opinion will better measure the integration of Spanish immigrants to Canada, specifically their degree of acculturation and occupational adjustment.

Most of the studies on integration and adaptation, have mentioned the importance of ethnic ties in the acculturation and occupational adjustment processes. We consider this an aspect that needs to be analysed in more detail for the purposes of our research.

Ethnic attachment will be defined in terms of "the individual immigrant's subjective identification with a particular ethnic group and maintenance of intimate sociocultural ties with members of his/her ethnic group" (Greenstone, 1975). Similarly, Isajiw defines ethnic identity as a "social process by which individuals or groups subjectively include themselves in a community of their alleged ancestors or predecessors, who have a distinct culture" (1983:109).

Porter and others consider ethnic cohesion to be a serious impediment to mobility, and an obstruction to economic success; they consider that "ethnicity may impose demands conflicting with those of the labour market; they may reinforce the old world value system, placing less emphasis on individual economic success; they may lead to intensify discrimination at the hands of the majority groups" (Reitz, 1980b:367).

In the United States, Yancey et al have suggested that high occupational status for many ethnic groups may be explained by a reduced salience of national origins and these groups have avoided discrimination by conforming to the dominant group culture (1976).

Breton in 1979 suggested that ethnic cohesion could lead to reinforce inequality because it interferes with "the free flow of talent; ethnic cultural values, socialization practices, extended kinship and segregation reduce for the members of some ethnic groups the chances for social mobility (in Vallee, 1981:645).

By contrast, other authors argue that ethnic group cohesion can facilitate upward mobility (Reitz, 1982; Herman, 1978; Chimbos, 1980); Reitz's findings in his Toronto study (1982) demonstrated that Chinese and Southern Europeans have fairly high income in relation to education and also have stronger ethnic group ties than, for instance, Northern Europeans who are less socially distant from the majority group.

There are immigrant minorities which despite their maintenance of ethnic ties and less acculturation, and high residential segregation, frequently do better than minorities in the mainstream economy. The effects of ethnic cohesion vary depending on characteristics specific to each group (gender, number, time of arrival, etc.). Ethnic groups such as Jews, Italians and Greeks have exercised control over economic opportunities without abandoning ethnic community ties. In the case of smaller groups the possibilities for group control may well be more limited (Reitz, 1980b). This is important to bear in mind for the study of a small group of immigrants such as the Spaniards who are not residentially segregated in Ottawa, but residentially dispersed. Nevertheless we assume that ethnic group ties are maintained by communication and are active in limited social situations. As Yancey *et al* put it: "Ethnic salience and identification, as transmitted through the family and friends can be maintained, whether they are in the same neighbourhood or not" (1976:399).

Other scholars have referred to the "manipulative" aspect of ethnic identity (Wallman, 1970; Herman, 1978, Fernández, 1972). Herman has noted that ethnic identity can be negative or positive for the individual. In his study of Macedonians in Canada he concludes that ethnicity is a category of identification which is flexible and interchangeable depending on the situation. Although on the macro level Macedonians are clustered in low status occupations, indicating certain constraints caused by

ethnicity, on the micro level ethnicity seems to have a positive effect "by channelling them into an occupation that assures them economic security if not success, and upward social mobility for their children" (1978:81). According to Nagata (1970), ethnic identity is restricted to a "private" domain - home, neighbourhood, church - while Canadian values tend to be used more consistently in the "public" domain, especially in employment situations. In the same vein, Gordon maintains that while structural assimilation takes place in economic, political and educational situations, religion, family and recreational institutions encourage minority pluralism (1964:151).

In Wallman's opinion most of the studies have stressed the negative aspects of ethnicity more than the positive ones. She argues that in the sphere of work it can be used depending on the circumstances: it may be a positive, neutral or negative value in the pursuit of individual or collective goals, "depending on the perception of the actors, and the constraints, and opportunities in the context in which they act; ethnicity can be an essential resource, an utter irrelevance, or a crippling liability" (1970:14).

The work orientation and behaviour of any social group reflects both the experience, goals and values of that group, and the constraints and opportunities of a particular setting (Rogg, 1974; McCurry, 1979).

In the context of majority group theory, ethnic culture is important because it may affect job qualifications such as education, or skill level, and also because it affects acculturation. Reitz explains how work related values "might vary among ethnic groups, and thus influence their reward allocation; specific cultural values could positively affect educational attainments, work performance, or the preference for specific occupations leading to a higher level of occupational rewards" (1982:7).

Ethnic identity is often maintained through family socialization, religious, educational and recreational institutions, ethnic press, among other elements. The maintenance of ethnic identity needs a large enough number of individuals to sustain certain cultural institutions. Despite the diversity of regional and social class differences among immigrants of the same ethnic origin (they arise from special historical, geographical and social circumstances), they have similar patterns of behaviour, attitudes and values, reinforced by a common language and national religion that have both served to maintain ethnic identity.

Despite the rapid shift to the English language, especially in the United States (Fishman, 1966), investigators in both Canada and the United States continue to study language retention and use, as important indicators of ethnic identification (Weinfield, 1981; Reitz, 1974).

One of the functions of language according to Sapir is to bind a group together and it represents a fundamental expression of collective identity. Thus, language can be considered an important variable to the maintenance of ethnic attachment. In most conventional sociological literature on assimilation, language retention is not a key independent variable (Gordon, 1964), but there are other scholars who consider that language retention promotes ethnic group cohesion (Lieberson, 1970; Reitz, 1974).

Joy (1972) and Lieberson (1970) consider that the maintenance of an ethnic language is not possible unless there is a sufficiently large number of individuals speaking that language concentrated in a given territory. On the other hand, Anderson (1973) argues that a high degree of interaction is observed even when the number of a particular linguistic group is small. She points out that in a small ethnic group, the members need each other, for social contact in the mother tongue, and for assistance.

Kinship and community resources need to be pointed out in relation to job opportunities, specifically occupational adjustment and acculturation of immigrants. Social networks and the ethnic community can be considered as a liability because, as Breton (1964) shows, they reinforce ethnic segregation. In addition, Beck et al (1978) and Li (1978) concluded that when Chinese Americans get jobs through relatives, as a consequence they work more often in Chinese businesses and they tend to have lower occupational status (cited in Reitz, 1982).

On the other hand, social networks and ethnic community ties may be considered an asset, specially for ethnic groups such as Jews, Italians, Greeks and Portuguese, who are highly kin-oriented, and who place great stress on the maintenance of these bonds (Goldlust and Richmond, 1970; Alpalhao and Da Rosa, 1980).

Social networks are also important as channels for initial entrance and for subsequent economic improvement. For example, Italians and Jews are concentrated in highly-rewarding occupations in the case of Toronto. In the same way, Portuguese immigrants in Toronto with low levels of education are eventually able to locate jobs which are "stepping stones" to more highly remunerative positions, through the auspices of friends and relatives. Anderson (1974) measured economic success of Portuguese in Toronto in terms of income; according to her, social networks are even more important than either education or urban background.

Friends and relatives may refer the immigrant to "occupational gatekeepers" who can either place them in low paying jobs with some possibility of social mobility, or they can refer them to jobs which are "traps" with no possibility for advancement. Anderson (1974) points out the importance of the first job in the subsequent career of immigrants.

Reynolds (1935) also refers to the importance of friends and relatives in the job-hunting process, particularly in helping to find the first job. His study of British immigrants in Montreal

showed how the absence of friends or contacts could lead to status dislocation of the immigrant, that is, to permanent or temporary work in a different field.

Recently arrived immigrants tend to associate within their ethnic group. The first generation immigrants usually interact with this enclave in a primary fashion, and with the rest of the host society in a secondary manner (Breton and Pinard, 1965; Berry and Tishler, 1978). The only exceptions are perhaps the highly skilled and professional immigrants who develop primary relations with the native born more quickly than the immigrants with a lower educational level (Fisher, 1979). Breton and Pinard focused on the importance of social networks in the process of absorption into a society, and demonstrated how educational background affected the ability to learn; for them "an immigrant with poor educational background, is twice as likely to associate within their own group" (1965:78-88).

For our purposes it will be useful to analyse the participation of immigrants in ethnic institutions, in relation to maintenance of ethnic ties, level of acculturation and occupational adjustment of the immigrant.

Breton used an index of community characteristics to predict the degree of communal participation of members of an ethnic group. He measured the "institutional completeness" of an ethnic community by the existence of an ethnic church, ethnic newspaper

and welfare organization. Ethnic groups who had all of this level of formal association were more likely to have a large number of members participating in informal interaction with each other (1964:193-205). The more institutions a group has, the more organized it is, the greater its chance of maintaining its identity.

Ethnic communities with a high level of institutional completeness have, in Breton's study (1964), a high proportion of persons engaged in manual occupations, and a high proportion of persons who did not have any knowledge of the language of the host society.

It goes beyond this thesis to analyse in depth the structure of the Spanish ethnic community in Ottawa, therefore we will only concentrate on the frequency of participation of immigrants in the ethnic church, and in other associations existing in the Spanish community.

Sengstock in her study of Chaldeans in Detroit showed that members of ethnic groups who participate in one aspect of ethnic life also are likely to participate in other aspects; she suggested that there are certain aspects of ethnic life which can be used to predict whether a person will or will not participate in these other aspects; these key variables may vary from one ethnic group to another, for example: a social center, a high degree of endogamy, attendance at an ethnic church (1978:64-65)

Previous research on the institutional participation of immigrants has pointed out the importance of the church. Usually this is the first organization joined by the new arrivals; churches satisfy not only religious needs but they also function as charitable organizations either directly or referring the immigrants to the appropriate agencies. They are also socio-recreational centres, they provide a nucleus around which other immigrant institutions may cluster (Reynolds, 1935; Chimbos, 1980; Anderson, 1974; Breton, 1964; Millet, 1979).

The churches as well as other ethnic associations are places which serve as informal employment exchanges or "job dissemination centres where news of employment opportunities is passed around" (Anderson, 1974:74). Church festivals or picnics as well as the functions of ethnic clubs are occasions where newcomers get to know others and may inquire and receive information about employment opportunities, job vacancies, etc.

Vallee et al have found similarities between ethnic associations and professional associations in promoting the interests of their group, enhancing and protecting its status and autonomy, by "gaining control over the selection and socialization of its members to some extent" (1965:66).

Participation and support for an ethnic association depends on social pressures. It varies depending on the economic and social status, education, generation and circumstances of migration of individual immigrants (Fisher, 1979; Chimbos, 1980).

Generally, wealthy professionals and unionized immigrants would not have a very high participation rate; high participation is more likely to be found among the lower classes: skilled workers, artisans, service workers, etc. According to some scholars, most of the membership of ethnic associations is middle-aged or old (Palmer, 1975; Fisher, 1979; Isailw, 1975).

Another aspect of ethnic attachment that we are going to consider is the contact with the homeland, and the idea of eventual return to the homeland. Bottomley considers the ties with the country of origin as an important factor in the development of ethnic identity (1979). The individual's perceptions and behaviour are definitely influenced by these contacts, as well as the idea of eventually returning home. Usually immigrants have idealized the past and they keep memories of the country of origin by reading ethnic press, intensifying contacts with family or ethnic friends, or frequent travelling to their countries of origin.

Previous research on Spanish immigrants in Western Europe has noted the generalized idea of return to the country of origin, mainly among the foreign born generation (Rubio, 1974; Muñoz, 1972). Sacco in his study of Spanish immigration in Quebec (1958) also found a strong desire to return home, which he felt might slow down their acculturation process.

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Although the maintenance of ethnic ties, the use of networks of contacts, tend to insulate immigrants from the wider society, and therefore to slow down their absorption (Porter, 1965), we do not consider ethnicity as an anachronism as Porter and others did; we believe that it helps the adjustment of first generation immigrants; it offers a positive reinforcement and a "degree of self-respect based on familiar cultural understanding" (Bottomley, 1979:78; Gordon, 1964; Isajiw, 1975). The ethnic community functions psychologically as a source of group identity; it acts as a "buffer between the immigrant group and the outside society. To some extent this has made it easier for the group to adjust without an extreme disruption of previous life its members had known." (Berry and Tishler, 1978)

Yancy et al argue that ethnic cultures in America are maybe the result of a selective process which consists of a constantly evolving interaction between the nature of the local community, the available economic opportunities and the national or religious heritage of a particular group (1976: 397). There are aspects of the original heritage that are maintained intact, but others have been adapted to the conditions of the host society. Isajiw (1975) considers that the "transplantation" of the old culture (in the first generation) is not a continuation of the old days. The ethnic community, in summary, is never created simply as a replica of the old country elements; it always progressively reflects the influence of the host society's conditions.

Retention of ethnic identity and assimilation are not necessarily contradictory processes: they are two processes operating simultaneously (Eisenstadt, 1955; Isajiw, 1975; Darroch, 1981). Ethnic organizational enclosure is not excluded by aspirations for cultural and socio-economic assimilation.¹⁵

To avoid discrimination or to facilitate the acceptance by the majority group, members of ethnic groups usually experience a loss of some elements of their culture. Sometimes this loss is perceived as a problem. The data presented by Breton shows that certain ethnic groups in Toronto "may see their cultural heritage as a liability, and at that same time they may value their culture not only in itself, but also as an integral part of their personalities" (1981:20).

In countries of large immigration with cultural pluralist structures, institutional dispersion or structural assimilation rarely occurs, mainly because of the attitudes of both majority and minority groups: on one hand the natives have desired the retention of their own primary group life, without the inclusion of immigrants; on the other hand, immigrants have needed the support of their own ethnic community.

According to Weinstock (1963), even the high socio-economic status of immigrants is not necessarily related to social assimilation: evidence of this are the cases of certain minority groups such as Koreans, Italians, Jews and Greeks in North America. Immigrant groups may become highly acculturated into

the host society way of life because of command of the language or high occupational status, but not be socially assimilated (Fisher, 1979). As a defence immigrants maintain or even enhance their ethnic attachment, and their mode of adaptation will be generally "adhesive" or "accomodative",¹⁶ that is, they would be acculturated (and to a certain extent socially assimilated), but they would place considerable emphasis on the importance of retaining some aspects of their background (language, religion, values, etc.). Richmond (1974) defines this immigrant adaptation as "pluralistically integrated type".

The concept of "adhesive adaptation" will be borrowed from Hurh and Kim, and used in this thesis as the particular mode of adaptation that we assume Spanish immigrants are more likely to be experiencing at the present time. According to this mode of adaptation, there are certain aspects of the new culture and social relations with members of the host society which are added on to the immigrant's traditional cultural and social networks, "without replacing or modifying any significant part of the old". In the light of this conceptual framework we expect the mode of Spanish adaptation will be adhesive, that is, they will be incorporated culturally (acculturated), maybe also to a limited extent, socially, but this incorporation would not replace or weaken any significant aspect of Spanish traditional culture and social networks.

NOTES (Introduction and Chapter One):

1. Between 1542 and 1792, Spanish expeditions on the Pacific Coast carried out explorations in the process of discovering many straits, islands and bays. The early Spanish presence can be testified by names of places such as: Carmel Strait, Mount Bodega, Quadra Rocks, among others. Vancouver Island even had a Spanish name at one time: Quadra and Vancouver Island to commemorate the friendship between the Spanish navigator Quadra and Captain George Vancouver. (The Canadian Family Tree, 1967:208).
2. An example of the small immigration from Spain (as a country of last residence) compared to Portugal and Greece, even in years considered of high wave immigration:

	1966	1967	1969	1970
Spain	1161	1527	879	808
Portugal	9525	9500	7182	7902
Greece	7174	10650	6937	6327

Source: Canadian Department of Employment and Immigration, Statistics Section, 1966, 1967, 1969, 1970.

3. In a study on citizenship carried out in Toronto (1978), the Spanish immigrants are mixed with Portuguese. This alters and makes the analysis of the data very difficult because the proportion is unknown. In this research an estimate of the proportion of immigrants from Spain was established. Portuguese and Spanish ethnic groups were treated as homogeneous "until further evidence indicates an error in judgement" (David Neice, Ethnicity and Canadian Citizenship: A Metropolitan Study, 1978:52).
4. Richmond and Verma(1977) give an alternative "global system" model of international and internal migration which takes into account the movements within and between industrial and post industrial societies, as well as movements from less developed to more developed areas. This theory is not going to be discussed in this thesis.
5. Job rewards include status or prestige, income and items related to job security: all of those are considered as job rewards which may or may not be allocated among ethnic groups (Breton et al:1981).
6. This additional hypothesis argues that: "Immigrant workers are not restricted to the secondary labor market. In particular, those inserted into an immigrant enclave can be empirically distinguished from workers in both the primary and secondary labor market. Enclave workers will share with those in the primary sector a significant economic return to past human capital investments. Such a return will be absent among those in the "open" secondary labor market"

NOTES (cont'd):

6. (cont'd)

(Wilson and Portes, 1980:302). Only Bonacich (1978) has referred to immigrant enterprises from a dual labor market perspective sustaining that immigrant entrepreneurs fulfill "middleman" functions by exploiting "their own national group in the interest of larger firms in the center economy". Wilson and Portes see structural reasons for the economic success of certain ethnic minority groups, that is, the existence of advantages for enclave enterprises, which those in the open competitive sector do not have (v.i. unorthodox but effective forms of financial and human capital reserves). This enables enclave firms to reproduce (imperfectly) "some of the characteristics of monopolistic control accounting for the success of enterprises in the center economy" (1980:302).

7. Whereas the American Constitution points clearly to a universalist vision of free and equal citizens, the Canadian British Act of 1867 legitimated group particularism through explicit recognition of religious and linguistic rights pertaining to the two "charter groups", the English and the French. Those principles were extended to all immigrant groups comprising the Canadian mosaic. (Weinfeld, 1981)

8. According to the Immigration Act of 1976, intended occupation, "...in the case of Landed Immigrants, is based on a statement of intention only and there is no guarantee that the intention was realized" (Immigration Statistics, Ottawa: Employment and Immigration).

9. In the case of recently arrived immigrants it appears that there is no relationship between length of time on their economic position. They have not been residents long enough to show much occupational mobility. This was proved by Rogg in her study of Cuban refugees: their economic positions have improved over time, only when measured in terms of possessions (1974:120-121).

10. The ethnic community can be a resource for its members. According to Breton it can be a source of relationships for the satisfaction of socio-emotional needs; of assistance in dealing with matters related to job and housing; of services performed in the context of a familiar cultural context, "as an organized social unit, it can also provide leadership and promote action to combat discrimination and pursue objectives with regard to culture maintenance, and immigration policies" (1981:27). In his Toronto study, he focused on the area of job discrimination and changes in immigration laws.

NOTES (cont'd):

11. The situational approach maintains that there is a two way interaction process, according with the demands of particular situations. It provides a model whereby, "immigrants may oscillate between polar types of behaviour, ... (and) tends to rely heavily on an intensive study of fewer individuals, by means of participant observation, rather than on the broader sample survey method" (Nagata, 1970:47).
12. It is important to point out that ethnic groups are not homogeneous, and besides the sense of peoplehood and historical identity that individuals share with all the ethnic group, they generally interact with the people of their own class in that ethnic group. This is what Gordon (1964) has called "ethclass". Also Chimbo (1980), Rogg (1974), among others, have referred to this variable in relation with acculturation and ethnic attachment.
13. Anderson in her study of Portuguese immigrants in Toronto found that men with high income positions used as gatekeepers contacts at trade unions of the construction industry; those who entered construction at the outset had a good chance of improving their economic position (progressive career), better than the ones who entered in cleaning and janitorial jobs (1974:102). Also Li's study of ethnic immigrants in Toronto (1978) demonstrated the importance of initial occupational level in stratifying immigrants. In his research, Italians tend to improve their status relative to those of slavic origin (p.37). Chiang (1978) showed that the present occupational status of Chinese immigrants in Montreal was predominantly determined by "initial achieved status in Canada... (thus) the relative immobility of Chinese immigrants was mainly due to the effect of first job rather than education" (p. 187).
14. In Richmond's survey of post-war immigrants in Toronto, 14% of the respondents, compared with 6% in the rest of Canada, expected to move on to another country or to return to their country of origin. Among these were a large proportion of British immigrants who originally entered Canada without intending to become permanent settlers. Other studies have shown that the return migration of British immigrants is largely made up of those who are satisfied with their life in Canada. They return to Britain because this was their original intention, or sometimes because of pressing family ties and obligations. Others were dissatisfied (a minority) with their life in Canada and returned basically because of "occupational maladjustment", especially in the case of male manual workers (Richmond, 1970a:72-73). There are no data available in Canada on the return of Spanish immigrants to Spain. Despite all the efforts made to obtain this information from the Spanish Embassy and the Consulate, this was not possible.

NOTES (cont'd):

15. The prevailing rationale of immigrants has always been to secure the means of personal and family mobility, if not for them, for their children. "Mobility in a competitive market implies assimilation." (Darroch, 1981:94)
16. Hurh and Kim confirmed the existence of "adhesive" adaptation in their study of Korean immigrants' adaptation in the United States (1979). They found that strong ethnic attachment is not affected by length of residence, socio-economic status and cultural and social assimilation levels. Maintenance of ethnic culture is strong irrespective of acculturation rate, educational level or length of residence in the United States. They argue this mode of adaptation would be a transitory stage toward the ideal pluralism or a temporary accomodation. This may serve as a defence against ethnic segregation, to mitigate the immigrant's daily frustrations, but in the long run to perpetuate ethnic containment of some minority groups. Adhesive adaptation is a typical phenomenon of first generation immigrants.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SPANISH IMMIGRATION: THE HOMELAND

Before analysing Spanish immigration to Canada, we will give a brief description of the social, economic and political situation of Spain, and the factors that appear to have "pushed" the population to emigrate.

Spain has traditionally been a "sending" country, specially to Latin America, since early in the twentieth century. In the post World War II period, Spanish immigration may properly be defined as a "temporary" one, that is, Spanish labourers emigrated in large numbers primarily to Western Europe, specifically to France, West Germany and Switzerland. Immigration to the United States and Canada, as we have noted earlier, has been small, compared to that of "guestworkers" in Western Europe. Despite all the differences between the two types of migration, permanent to America and temporary to Western Europe, the workers have confronted similar problems in their adaptation to the receiving countries. Evidence of this can be found in the literature available on Spanish immigration to Western Europe: Diaz Plaza (1974); Krane (1974); Rist (1978); Rubio (1974); Pascual (1970) and Muñoz (1972).

The socio-economic and political structure of Spanish society throughout the different periods of Spanish history reviewed below is drawn primarily from the information and data provided by Carrand and Fusi (1970) and Payne (1967).

We believe that a description of the economic and political situation in Spain as well as a consideration of the Spanish system of values is important before we begin the analysis of our specific problem, that is, the adaptation of Spanish immigrants, their occupational adjustment and their acculturation in Ottawa.

The largest waves of Spanish immigration in Canada are to be found in the late 1960's. However, in this chapter we will describe the political and economic situation in Spain following the Spanish Civil War (1939), because this period is considered crucial in Spanish history in terms of political and economic changes which resulted in the mass migration in subsequent years.

Alfonso XIII, the last of the long line of Bourbon monarchs, came to the throne of Spain in 1902, when the nation was still staggering from the shock of the loss of its remaining American and Asian colonies to the United States in the Spanish-American war of 1898. The removal of the last vestiges of a "once great empire" encouraged the growth of liberal ideas that eventually led to the founding of the Republic (1931-1933). Compared with most of the European countries, Spain was backward, isolated and impoverished; in 1930 Spain was at the level of development reached by England and France in the 1860's. (Davis, 1975:2)

At the beginning of the twentieth century, half of the adult population in Spain was still illiterate and the working classes in the towns lived more poorly than in any other part of Western Europe with the exception of Portugal and Italy. The slow pace

of economic development and the poor distribution of the national income were important factors in generating the antagonism that provoked the Civil War in 1936, as well as the Basque and Catalan separatism. Before the Civil War, less than half of the population owned any land at all, but the land-owning peasantry was nonetheless a capital-possessing class and, "despite its low income was relatively conservative politically" (Payne, 1967:50). In the interest of owners of medium and large size properties, all Republican measures of land reform were abolished by the rebel regime (Nationalist) in the first weeks of the Civil War. In contrast to the efforts to encourage more industrialization, very little was done by the regime to restructure land-owning and agrarian production until the 1950's; but even after the Civil War, capital investment in agriculture was still not enough to change its structure or increase efficiency.

The relative neglect of the rural economy was also due to the fact that Generalissimo Franco's government, like most of the twentieth century authoritarian states, was more attracted "by the glamorous goal of accelerating industrial growth than the prosaic task of organizing peasant agriculture" (Payne:54-55).

When Nationalist troops entered Madrid in 1939, they found a city semi-starving after nearly three years of Civil War. From then until he died in 1975, Franco ruled Spain as a Caudillo, "by the grace of God, and as chief of state and head of the government... he was a 'constituent dictator', the limits of whose powers were self-imposed" (Carrand and Fusi, 1979:5). Francoism

can be defined as an authoritarian system structured by political families, the army and the Falange.² At the beginning the Falange was a youth movement whose aim was to create a national Socialist state, a national revolution (nationalization of banks, land reform, recovery of Gibraltar, etc.). Franco took over the party, enlarged it (including Carlists, army officers, civil servants), destroying its identity, diluting its social radicalism. According to Carrand and Fusi (1979), the only thing this conservative bourgeoisie wanted was "to keep the workers in their place using the state and falangist vertical unions" (p.25).

Spanish society in 1939 was very different from other Western and European societies. Over half of the population was still living in the countryside in small rural towns. Besides inequalities in income, there was an acute regional imbalance between a "relatively rich commercialized agriculture and a primitive impoverished centre: between areas of development and areas of backwardness" (Carrand and Fusi:8). The Catalan peasant in spite of a severe crisis in the thirties, was a prosperous entrepreneur compared with the Castillian farmer on his arid small farm. Even Andalusia includes both the rich soils of the campiña de Cordoba with its agricultural entrepreneurs and industrial crops, and the "tragically poor farms of eastern Andalusia where only seasonal emigration to France provides a living wage" (Carrand and Fusi:9).

In the western world, rapid urbanization is a sign of industrial growth; in Spain this growth has tended to reinforce the dominance of those regions that had already become industrialized by 1936: Catalonia and the Basque provinces. The great exception is Madrid. It has long been an administrative, financial and social capital. Thus, there was not only imbalance in agriculture, but also imbalance in industrial development. Spain is a classic case of late industrialization. Even before World War I, its industrial structure was weak and dependent on imports and foreign capital and technology. Similar to Italy, the north became industrialized but the south did not. The Spanish late industrial revolution was largely limited to two regions: Catalonia and the Basque provinces. In the late thirties, Catalonia had developed light industries, machine shops, etc., in addition to its traditional cotton and wool industries. Also the Basque metallurgical and shipping industries had grown around the iron mines near Bilbao.

The Civil War, as we have seen, provoked an unprecedented economic recession and, until the 1950's, Nationalist Spain pursued recovery under the influence of Fascist models. The two key concepts were autarky and interventionism. Price and wages were controlled; foreign trade and exchange were closely regulated. Spain needed foreign exchange that could not be generated by exports and also Spain could not raise loans from the democracies that "ostracised it as a Fascist state" (Carrán and Fusi:51).

Throughout the 1940's Spain was poor: prices were rising faster than wages. After the Civil War, the government developed a wide range of control and rationing, but the state bureaucratic personnel could not make this system of control effective (lack of training, low morale, etc.). There was widespread corruption, favouritism and use of influence, and by the early 1940's, a massive black market had developed: "buying was not restricted to consumer necessities but were part of the ordinary functioning of big business..." (Payne:57-58).

In the early fifties there was inflation and a severe crisis. In 1957⁴ a team of technocrats of the Opus Dei introduced a new economic policy that emphasized rapid industrial growth.⁵ The first step was to open up the country to foreign investment and foreign trade.

The Stabilization Plan of 1959 was a result of a fundamental review of the regime's economic policies. This plan marked the end of twenty years of "pseudo autarky"; although it did not reverse the direction of government policy, it introduced basic alterations (Payne:63).

At the beginning the Stabilization Plan had a temporarily depressant effect in some industries, especially textiles; unemployment rose in 1959 and 1960. It was in 1959 that Spanish immigration in Europe increased up to its maximum (Pascual, 1970). The explanation for this increase can be found in the

economic situation of Spain and in the host societies as well. In Spain the demand for local manpower decreased, migrations to urban areas, increased; and the employment situation worsened. A great number of labourers were unemployed, or had lower incomes when overtime was eliminated; there were fewer possibilities for having two or more jobs as was the case before. This situation, together with structural problems on the farms (especially in the south of Spain), moved the government to foster emigration in order to solve the situation. This led to several treaties and agreements between Spain and other European countries interested in Spanish labourers.

The Spanish government which had tried to stop emigration before, now switched to promote it and organize it to reduce social tension. The legal basis and institutional channels for controlling and assisting migration were established in the 1960's. Official treaties with West Germany (1960), France (1960) and Switzerland (1961) were signed. Emigration was promoted by the government; evidence is the establishment of laws (Ley de Bases de la Ordenación Básica de la Emigración) and the creation of the Instituto Nacional de Emigración in 1960.

Despite the boom in the 1960's, agriculture was still precapitalist; labourers were only paid minimum wages which were much lower than industrial rates (Payne:69). A conservative government, supported by "terratenientes" was not capable of carrying out an agrarian reform (La Souchère, 1964:354). The function of emigration was to reduce unemployment and

underemployment in the countryside and to "soften the impact of the Stabilization Plan on the urban labour force" (Krane, 1974); in addition it would help to improve the nation's balance of payments through remittances sent home by immigrants. ⁶

From the middle of the nineteenth century until the 1930's, Spanish immigration was almost exclusively to Latin America; this was a different type of immigration than the more recent labour migration to Europe. During the first decade after the Civil War, opportunities for emigration were few, and did not open up until about 1949, when nearly 42,000 Spaniards migrated, mostly to Venezuela (Venezuelan phase). This lasted until 1955. For the next few years there was a decline in emigration until the widening of the European labour market in 1959-1960 brought about an increase.

After World War II the economic advance of some Latin American countries and the signing of treaties revived the overseas immigration which had stopped after World War I, mainly because of the increasing selectivity of immigration policies in Latin American countries, which were now less interested in admitting farmers or unskilled workers. Preference for Latin America can easily be explained on both historical and linguistic bases.

The main difference between overseas and European migration is the lack of social and economic integration in the case of

European migration. In Spanish-speaking Latin America most of the Spanish immigrants adapted with comparative ease until they became part of the local middle class (see Fernández 1984). In Europe the main objective was to save in order to better their situation when they returned "home" to Spain (Krane, 1974).

By 1940 the levels of agricultural productivity in Spain were lower than those that had been before the Civil War. Rural poverty in the 1950's forced farmers to migrate to the cities. As we have noted, in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Spaniards, mainly from Galicia and other northern provinces, had escaped rural misery by emigrating to Latin America. This pattern changed in the late 1950's and throughout the 1960's; it was the south and centre that became the "reservoir" of labour and the flood went not to Latin America but to other urban centres (Madrid, Barcelona) or to the farms of southern France. Finally, they became part of the Mediterranean reserve army, along with Greeks, Italians, Turks, etc. in the factories of the European community, notably in France and Germany. The exodus began in the 1950's and by the 1960's, Andalusia had lost more than half a million workers. Without this rural-urban migration, Spain could not have achieved its "industrial take-off". Emigration abroad shows that the growth of industry and services was insufficient to absorb the surplus population (Carrand and Fusi, 1979). In the 1960's as emigration abroad proved, industrial growth could not absorb all the new workers seeking employment. There were problems with the textile and steel

industries and when high protection was removed in 1961, an acute financial crisis resulted.

Thus, emigration abroad was a chance for social mobility, the chance to educate their children, to save up to buy a tractor, a business, a house. Among other goals these were common motives to leave Spain (Carrand and Fusi; 1979). By 1966 it was estimated that 650,000 Spaniards were working in other European countries; in many cases this resulted in a serious drain of semi-skilled labour, always in short supply in Spain (Payne:71).

By the 1970's the danger of domination by multinational companies was repeatedly denounced by the opposition: "the result of planning the economy had been to deny Spain the capacity for autonomous progress based on native technology; Spain was paying for technological imports" (Carrand and Fusi: 55).

As Spain was industrializing its heavy dependence on imported fuels was exposed as a weakness in 1974. It was the change in the patterns of the exports which indicated the revolution in the economy: by the 1970's exports of industrial goods became more valuable than Spanish traditional exports of agricultural products and minerals; tourism played a larger part in financing the take-off than oranges, tomatoes, etc. Perhaps the most important proof of the modernization of the economy was

the growth in the 1960's and 1970's of the service sector that absorbed some of the surplus work force, "extruded from a contracting agricultural sector that could not find place in a slower growing industrial sector..." (Carrand and Fusi:57). The gap between the two Spains (poverty and prosperity) had widened with industrialization and population movements; wealth was increasingly concentrated in the industrial regions of Catalonia and the Basque provinces, in Madrid and Zaragoza, thus regional disparities in per capita income were still severe (Carrand and Fusi:65).

The worst years for the economy since the crisis of 1959 (when the Stabilization Plan was established) were 1975 and 1976. Spain, as elsewhere, suffered very badly from the oil crisis, but its process of recovery in 1976 was slower and more precarious than the rest of Europe: unemployment, inflation, balance of payment deficit and unequal distribution of income, although salaries and wages had increased.

After 1973 Spanish immigrants began to return to Spain and in 1975 the doors of Germany and France were closed to Spanish workers. This return coincided with the nation's heavy economic burdens and a serious political transition from the Franco dictatorship to a democratic system.

According to Rist (1978), emigration has been beneficial to Spain, mainly because it reduced unemployment; in addition the

foreign exchange income because of the large remittances sent home, has been of some benefit. There are other authors that argue the advantages of emigration. Mendez Toro expressed its adverse consequences in the process toward achieving a balanced economic and social development (in Rist:38). In Diaz Plaja's opinion despite the growth of the Spanish economy, unemployment exists; emigration eased the problem in the early stages of development but there is still need for planning and for rational and coherent policies (1974). Pascual argues that emigration is a consequence of underdevelopment and incapacity to provide work to the Spanish population (1970).

Despite the benefits emigration has had on Spain's economy noted above, it appears that Spain can continue to export labour in such quantities indefinitely; in Payne's opinion there is a need for creating more jobs and more training in Spain (1967).

Despite all the gains made since 1950, it might be argued that the differences between the Spanish standards and that of the rest of Europe was even greater in 1965 than in 1935. The level of entrepreneurial leadership, though rising, was still not on a par with that of the Common Market countries. Despite all the efforts to speed development, the regime could not devote full attention to helping overcome the weakness of the economy, because it was based in large measure on the relative oligarchy-elements whose position the establishment was designed to protect (Payne:72-73).

In summary, we can conclude that the major push factors for emigration from Spain were economic, that is, a low standard of living and a lack of jobs. We can also suggest another reason for emigration, the unstable political situation. Political refugees from Spain were many and generally they crossed the border into France after the Civil War. The French government needed help to share the economic burden represented by the Spanish refugees; therefore, they made agreements with North and South American countries such as Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Cuba, Chile and Canada (Rubio, 1974:24).⁹ In 1939, however, only Mexico, Chile and Uruguay agreed to receive refugees from Spain, and from 1936 to 1939 there were about 190,000 emigrants to America, France and other countries.

The traditional role of Europe as a source of settlers in North and South America, Australia, South Africa, etc., was changed in the decade that followed the establishment of the European Common Market (Treaty of Rome, 1957). The intra-European Common Market migrations replaced the loss due to emigration from north and western Europe to other hemispheres, especially in the case of Italy. As a consequence of the vast concentration of international capital of the countries of northern Europe, additional manpower was needed to facilitate continued economic growth (Rist:7).

Greece, Portugal and Spain are moving into a transition phase from a strictly southern country role towards a position

more like that of the north. Greece became a member of the European economic community in January 1984, and Spain and Portugal are slated to become full members in January 1986.

At this time we will briefly refer to the system of values dominant in the post-war Spanish society because there is a predisposition to attitudes, values and behaviours that are part of the baggage of the immigrant, brought from the country of origin.

The suddenness of modernization in Spain meant that the older values of a pre-industrial society persisted in the era of rapid capitalist growth. According to Payne (1967) perhaps the most important change in institutional influence within the Spanish society since the beginning of Civil War has been the increased status of the Catholic church which has a greater prestige not only among the middle class, but to some extent among the lower class as well. ¹⁰ Before the Civil War, Spanish Catholicism was over-identified with the upper classes and less with the rural or urban lower classes.

With rapid economic change, the socializing function of the family and the role of the father becomes less important. Familial authoritarianism was first rejected by students and young industrial workers, which was perceived as a reflection in their parents' attitudes of an authoritarian political system. The classic family of the Franco era was traditional and authoritarian with careful control of the children's activities,

a control reinforced by attendance at religious schools. Nevertheless most of Spanish adolescents prefer to live at home and family ties are very strong. Authoritarianism, traditional attitudes to status of women, to abortion, divorce and contraception coexisted with the rational values of modern capitalism. Those traditional values remained rooted in working class families and it was mainly the working class families who continued to think that the women's place was the home (Carrand and Fusi, 1979).

There is a mix of secularization and traditionalism in present-day Spanish society. There is a process of change and at the same time of resistance to change and it is the upper middle class and the rural population that maintain the old family patterns. The secularization process has had a differential impact not only among the Spanish social classes but also among the various regions of the country. As we noted earlier, agrarian income and property are more evenly distributed in Catalonia and the Basque regions; in addition, religious feeling and participation are more intense in both regions than in the rest of Spain, among the Basques much more than the Catalans. Different from Western Europe where religious practices are more rooted in the countryside, industrialization has not secularized northern cities, and rural Andalusia remains the most irreligious region of Spain, "simply because the Catholic church there has been so close to the mass of the population so much part of the local social establishment" (Carrand and Fusi:101).

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The religious element should not be separated from the cultural element. There are moral values, social attitudes and behaviour patterns which though they have become secularized, and have drawn far away from religious origins, have their roots in religion. Spaniards create a religion adjusted to their personalities; it has developed a unique Spanish form (Bradford, 1962). This familiarity with the church is so extended that even with the triumph of the right with the Civil War, it did not change. Spain is a religiously conservative country; nevertheless, according to the Foessa Rapport (1975-1983), almost all Spaniards define themselves as Catholics, but in practice they do not follow church commandments or observe ritual practices. There are twenty-two percent of non-practicising Catholics compared to thirty-two percent of practising Catholics. Attendance at church on Sundays has diminished (Espagne_84, Revue d'Information de l'O.I.D.).

Individualism in Spain is strong; for Spaniards the person is more important than any institution or political organization (Fisher and Jones, 1958). This implies mistrust or indifference to institutions in general. Selfishness and personalism are aspects of the general value of individualism which have been accepted as being an integral part of the Spanish character structure. In general Spaniards do not tend to join associations; membership in religious, economic or political organizations perhaps brings people together but does not unify them. As Acevedo puts it: "They do not know how to cooperate

with each other. There is not a set of norms defining long-term contractual relations among a large group of people" (1971:131). This is especially true in rural communities.

The strongest expression of the spirit of cooperation in Spain is in the life of the family (Bradford, 1962:57). According to Acevedo, most of Banfield's hypothesis about the "amoral familism" in Italy, is also applicable in Spain. The major social unit in Spain is the nuclear family, but close social ties are maintained with other relatives (1971:123).

During the first decade of Franco's regime public education was neglected; by the late fifties and early sixties the funds assigned to education were insufficient; there was a lack of schools and teachers (La Souchère, 1964:354) and it was estimated that fifty percent of children of school age did not go to school. Apparently this figure was still higher in some rural areas in Andalusia. There have been changes in the last decade to upgrade curriculum and facilities and also to improve the quality of the teachers. In Spain education is the means for upward social mobility.

Most Spaniards encourage formal education for their children, although very frequently they discourage secondary school because they need their children as workers in their farms or businesses. Dropouts are higher among the female students than males. But, in general, people in Spain place a high value

on education. Their support of education "is not based upon the value of intellectual enlightenment but rather because good schooling pays off in aiding a person to secure a better job" (Acevedo, 1970:70).

Immigrants would judge the host society according to the values brought from their country of origin. Consequently, very often, they would tend not to accept immediately new cultural values, different styles of life. The process of acculturation will be influenced by the individual's background (demographic, socio-economic, political, etc.).

We have briefly described the socio-economic and political situation of Spain, in order to determine what factors have fostered the emigration of Spaniards to Latin America, Western Europe and to a lesser extent to North America. For the purposes of our study, the analysis of social class and regional differences as well as prevalent cultural values and societal networks in the sending country is important, because they predispose the immigrants to one or another sector of the labour force, and affect, in general, their process of adaptation to the host society or receiving country.

On the other hand, it is well known that the situation of the host country has also its impact on the immigration process and adaptation of the immigrants. As mentioned earlier, Spanish workers have emigrated to Canada and the United States in small

numbers; apparently, immigration policies in both countries have been less favourable towards Spanish immigration than to immigration from other Northern, Eastern and Southern European countries, such as Britain, Poland or Italy. Reasons for this lack of attention to this Southern European country, in our opinion, derive from the Franco political system and regime present in Spain for more than thirty years, and the relative isolation and absence of formal relations between the Spanish and Canadian governments throughout different historical periods. As Sacco puts it: "the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration did not have enough propaganda in Spain compared to that in other countries" (1958:47). We have been able to locate only a few references on the Canadian and Spanish governments relationship. One of them is found at the time of the Spanish Civil War when Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King analysed the Spanish situation. Canada was anxious for "strict neutrality" and the government provided surgical, medical and other humanitarian units, only if they were under the control or supervision of the Canadian Red Cross or some other humanitarian society. However, the debates in the Parliament did not indicate the general Canadian working class sympathy with the Spanish Republic as it could be found in a resolution passed by the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress in the fall of 1937, and in the considerable number of volunteers enlisted in the Red Army of Spain who formed the Mackenzie-Papineau battalion of the XVth International Brigade of the Spanish Republican Army (the "Mac-Paps"). There were also sympathies for the Nationalists especially in Quebec,

"stronger than anywhere else in the Americas" (Canada in World Affairs, 1937).

As far as we are concerned, very few treaties related to immigration have been signed between Canada and Spain, except for the "Operation Bisonte" and "Operation Alce" in 1957 and 1961 respectively. We will discuss these agreements in detail in Chapter Three.

Summarizing, it appears that the economic boom and development in the United States and Canada did not attract Spaniards as much as did Western European countries, mainly because of a greater demand for Spanish labourers, immigration policies in those countries, and also the obvious closeness to Spain which facilitates easy return to the homeland. As Krane puts it:

"No longer does overseas migration constitute the main stream of movement in Europe. The magnetism of economic opportunities and political freedom available in the the West European industrial democracies has served to keep Europeans at home. Workers from less developed countries have been attracted by the demand of labour in the booming economies of Western Europe." (1974:3)

In this chapter we are not going to consider the major "pull" factors for the Spanish immigration to Canada because this will be analysed in the next chapters, but we can anticipate here that like other Southern European immigrant groups, they have been attracted by higher salaries, better working and housing conditions, the possibilities for a better life for their children, and the presence of relatives in Canada.

NOTES:

1. Ever since the turn of the century the Spanish government had publicly recognized the need for land reform, but no specific steps were taken to redistribute land. In 1931, in more than half of Spain's provinces only two percent of the people owned less than five percent of the land (Puzzo, 1962:5). By September 1932 (Second Republic), an agrarian reform law was passed, but was one of the most inadequate and least effective measures of the liberal government against traditional powers. In 1935 the Popular Front Coalition promised to speed up the land reform; rural payments were suspended in Extremadura and Andalusia, preparatory to the resumption of land reform. During 1936 the peasants in western and southern Spain conducted their own land reform. The government ratified the land occupations and tried to help out with seeds, tools, transportation and credit (Jackson, 1974; Hoar, 1969). In 1936 there were more than 15 million people on the land (58 percent of the total population) (Puzzo, 1962:6).
2. The Falange was founded by Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923-1931). Executed by the Republicans in November 1936 he became a proto-martyr. The Falange neither triumphed as a mass party nor became the axis of a one-party state. The reason was that both Franco and the Conservative groups that had supported him in the Civil War did not want such a party, "they preferred the rule of one man to the rule of a party" (Carrand and Fusi, 1979:25-26).
3. Foreign capitalism has controlled important mining and industrial enterprises, e.g. a group of foreign financiers from Belgium, England and Canada controlled a number of Catalan hydroelectric power plants. This international combination was known as the Canadiense (Barcelona Power, Light and Traction Company in Toronto) (Puzzo, 1962:18).
4. It is a semi-secret Catholic lay order founded in 1929, but achieved prominence only after the Civil War. "Its goal is to increase the influence of Roman Catholicism in political, economic and cultural affairs, proselytizing among the elite elements of society. The great majority of its members, whether or not they have taken vows of celibacy, carry on secular careers in economic or cultural pursuits." Their political ideals are clerical, elitist, authoritarian and technocratic (Payne, 1967:42).
5. After 1959, Franco realized that the new post-war generation Spaniards were interested much more in a higher standard of living than in politics. He adopted economic four-year planning as in France (Pascal, 1970).

NOTES (cont. d):

6. amounted to more than eight billion dollars between 1965-1975 (Krahe, 1974).
7. The exodus to the city and the new current of emigration abroad expose the two causes of this massive population transfer: "the static agrarian system and industry's inability to absorb the excess rural birth rate" (Soucherel, 1964:349). Migration begins in the rural areas and most of all in the regions of the latifundio: Andalusia, Murcia and Extremadura.
8. Since the Civil War, the population of Madrid rose from 953,000 in 1936 to 2,378,934 in 1963; the population of Barcelona had climbed by 500,000.
9. Herminigildo refers to a considerable number of Spanish political immigrants who arrived in Quebec at the end of the 1940's and beginning of the 1950's. Those immigrants were opposed to the Franco's regime and organized active small groups in Montreal with the hope of returning to their homeland, after the end of Francoism (1985:6).
10. Before the Second Republic (1931-1933), the Church was a decisive influence in the economic, educational, political life of Spain. But with the liberal administration (coalition of Republicans and Socialists), there was a demand for the secularization of education, for the separation of the church and state. "It is important to appreciate the extent of the estrangement of the Spanish masses from Spanish catholicism because from it dates the advent and development of anarchism" (Puzzo, 1962:9). The anti-clerical legislation established by the Republicans (Azana) shocked Spain's large population and in 1933 new elections were called.
11. The status of the women is an important indicator of development. In Spain there were contradictions between the official dominant ideology of the early days and the demands of the industrial society. The low proportion of women in the labour force is a sign of backwardness in Spain; once women marry, in general, they do not work outside the home unless it is absolutely necessary. The rapid decline of domestic service is one of the most obvious changes in the status of women, but still in the poorest regions it provides significant employment (Carrand and Fusi, 1979:85).
12. In the United States the Spanish quota for immigration was only 252 per year although the American Ambassador to Spain promised to submit legislation to Congress to increase the immigration quota of Spanish nationals (Hispanic American Report, 1955:149,303). According to the U.S. Census, from 1921 to 1965 quotas for Spain, Portugal and Greece were 250,

NOTES (cont. d):

12. (cont d)

438 and 308 respectively, which are small numbers compared to the assigned quotas for Germany (25,814), Poland (6,488) or Italy (5,645) (Berry and Tishler, 1978:174).

13. Although Canada had no particular ties with Spain, no tradition of historical or emotional attachment, no other country excepting France provided so great a number of volunteer soldiers in proportion to its population: approximately 1,200 out of 12,000,000. The intervention of three totalitarian powers, Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union, lead to the conclusion that the Civil War in Spain was a confrontation between fascists and communists. This, in Hoar's point of view, was negative for the Republican pursuit of aid, and "it remains sufficiently alive today to discredit the survivors of the international force that eventually served in Spain" (1969:6).

CHAPTER THREE

RECENT SPANISH IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

In the previous chapters we have examined the theoretical framework on immigration and ethnicity, as well as given a brief description of the historical background of Spanish immigration and the homeland prevalent values.

In the first part of this chapter we will refer to the demographic aspects, with special emphasis on the intended occupation of the Spanish immigrants to Canada; the second part will be a description of the setting, that is, the Spanish ethnic community in Ottawa, its organization and general characteristics.

We have already noted in the introduction that the presence of XVIIIth century Spanish explorers can be found in Canada in British Columbia, and of Basque fishermen in Newfoundland.¹ But these explorations, especially in the case of British Columbia, were not followed by permanent settlement. Some Spaniards were included among the people who came to Canada because of the gold rush; very few, however, were permanent settlers. According to Woodsworth, by 1907 there were only 131 Spanish in Canada (1909:² 25). It was not until the 1930's after the Spanish Civil War that any identifiable number of Spaniards came to Canada as permanent immigrants.

As we noted earlier, the situation in the host country is very important in helping us to understand the processes of immigration, integration and ethnic preservation. While immigration to Canada has never ceased, it has varied in volume over time with two peak periods between 1901 and 1921, and between 1951 and the present. There have been important changes in federal immigration policies over time which have lead to different mixtures of people entering the country in different periods. Although there has been a strong preference in Canada for persons of British origin and for those from northern and western European countries as immigrants, the decision to open up and populate the agricultural areas of the west in the early years of the twentieth century led to an influx of southern and eastern European, mostly Poles, Ukrainians, and Italians. Twenty-one percent of post-war immigrants were of south European origin, mainly Italians, Greeks, Portuguese and to a lesser extent Spaniards (Hunter, 1981).

Sacco's study of the Spaniards in Canada, specifically those in Quebec, describes the demographic characteristics of this group, covering a ten-year period, 1946 to 1956. Therefore we will concentrate in this thesis on data relevant to Spanish immigration from 1956 to date.

In 1956 the total Spanish population in Canada was 2,598, of whom 48.4% settled in the province of Quebec and 24% in Ontario. The largest number of new immigrants during the ten year period

analysed by Sacco is to be found in 1951 and 1956 when they represented 26% and 22% respectively of the total 1946-1956 immigration (Distribution by Ethnic Origin, in Citizenship and Immigration Report, 1946-1956).

Almost half of the Spanish immigrants to Canada from 1946 to 1956 were female and children, who did not enter the labour force. The male population was concentrated primarily in industry: 44% were labourers, and fewer were in agriculture and the service occupations (mainly cooks and domestics). (Sacco 1958: 31).

Available data classify immigrants according to various criteria: ethnic origin, citizenship, country of birth, mother tongue, and country of last residence. Unfortunately, there are changes or omissions of those criteria from time to time which make comparison through the years difficult. Ethnic origin, for example, is not considered anywhere after 1967, with respect to intended occupation. Citizenship appears to be the most appropriate criterion for analysis, ³ because the distribution will include not only the immigrants who came directly from Spain but from other countries where they were residents between Spain and Canada, mainly in Western Europe and Latin America. Generally speaking, Spanish citizens are in more than 90% of the cases people born in Spain. ⁴

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, there has been very little interest in Canada for attracting Spanish immigrants

compared to other South European groups. Before 1962, Canadian immigration policy was "racist" and selective, favouring the entrance of British, American, and Commonwealth countries immigrants primarily, and it was not until 1967 (point system) that there was an enlargement of categories of admission permitting the entry of a large number of Europeans, and immigrants from other countries. In the restrictionist stage of Canadian immigration policy, Spain occupied a second (2nd) rank in terms of selection of immigrants (Sacco, 1958).

At this point, we are going to refer to two of the few inter-governmental agreements between Spain and Canada regarding immigration: "Operación Bisonte" in 1957 and later "Operación Alice" in 1960.

The "Operación Bisonte" was sponsored by the Canadian embassy in Madrid and the Instituto Nacional de Emigración as a test or experiment. Candidates were selected in the Galicia, Castilla la Vieja, Cuenca, Guadalajara, Palencia, Valladolid and Teruel areas: only young couples (less than 45 years of age) could apply, preferably without children, or if they had them, the applicant could leave them in Spain or could afford to pay for a boarding school in Canada (\$40 or \$50 monthly).

Other conditions or requirements as a basis of selection were: good physical health, good behaviour, farm experience and interest in agricultural tasks. The salary for an immigrant

couple was between \$90 and \$140 monthly and they could send money to Spain without any limitation at any time. The Canadian government was to pay the transportation costs of those applicants without financial resources and they could repay it back monthly over a two-year period. The Spanish immigrants sent to settle in Quebec could cancel their contract and change to another farm if they were not satisfied with working conditions, but these changes were under the control of the Canadian immigration authorities. After two or three years there was the possibility of becoming co-owners of the farm with the help of credit.

In an interesting footnote at the end of this document the importance of this expedition is emphasized, the first of this type, where each of its members had the "responsibility" related to the "good name of Spain" and its agricultural population, in a new country. (Instrucciones sobre emigración al Canada de matrimonios rurales jóvenes destinados a trabajos agrícolas en granjas de la provincia de Quebec, March, 1957).

This immigration scheme was coordinated in Montreal by the Services pour Immigrants Catholiques, and a total of 158 arrived in Montreal in two groups during May of 1957.

In 1960 another group of Spanish women came to Canada under the initiative of the "Instituto Nacional de Emigración", Comisión Católica Española de Migración. As is well known there is and there has been in Canada a demand for domestic service

which is difficult to fill because this work is considered "menial", has low prestige, and is rejected by most native-born Canadians. Therefore there was Canadian interest in immigrants who were willing to enter domestic service.

This immigration plan from Spain was called "Operación Alce". The small group of 51 arrived in Montreal where they were distributed to other Canadian cities such as Toronto and Ottawa (29). None of them knew English or French and were assisted in Montreal by the "Centre Social d'aide aux immigrants". They took language courses, cuisine, and information about the Canadian culture with the Sisters of Notre Dame du Bon Conseil.

Generally they came from Zaragoza, San Sebastián or Bilbao, Madrid or Palencia; some of them had experience as domestics before; others used to work as seamstresses, embroiderers or in factories in their country of origin. The salary was very low, only \$5 average per week which gave them no possibility to save; on their arrival in Canada they were eligible for a \$100 loan to buy winter clothes or other things they needed. Like many immigrants they were not accustomed to the cold weather in Canada; even in the coldest regions of Spain according to them "the snow does not last more than fifteen days..." (La Presse, Montreal, December 3, 1960).

Apparently there was also the demand in Canada from railway companies, Canadian Pacific Railways and Canadian National

Railways, for Spanish labourers in 1957, but unfortunately we have not been able to locate the evidence of this demand for Spanish labourers as noted by Sacco in 1958 (p.25).

The total number of Spanish immigrants to Canada during the period 1957-1983 was 19,798 (by citizenship) and 16,897 (by country of last permanent residence). This compares well with the total number of landed immigrants with Spanish citizenship for the period 1920-1941 (390) and from 1942-1956 (2620). (Sacco 1958: 19).

The flow of immigration in the post World War II period was sensitive to the fluctuations in the demand for labour, and the number entering the country was lowest in the recessionary period of 1959-1962. In the case of the immigrants coming to Canada from Spain (Country of Last Permanent Residence - CLPR -) in the 1959-1962 period; the total number was 1,735 which is very small compared to 1,372 that emigrated from Spain in 1967 alone; this was the largest number for any one year during the period of time we are considering (1957-1983). From 613 entering the country in 1957, immigration rose to a peak during the late 1960's, specifically, 1966, 1967 and 1968. Since 1969, Spanish immigration to Canada has been declining and only 271 immigrants from Spain entered the country in 1979. This is the smallest number during the 26 year period covered in this thesis. This steady decline might be explained by 1) the restrictions and changes in Canadian immigration policies (point system); 2) the

end of Franco's dictatorship in Spain and better economic and working conditions in Spain; and 3) the facilities made available for the migration to European Economic Community countries⁵ although Spain had not yet become a full member of the EEC.

It is interesting to point out that from 1958 to 1971 the proportion of Spanish immigrants coming from Spain (as last permanent residence) is smaller than the proportion of Spanish immigrants by Citizenship (see Table 3.1). The reason for this can be found in the re-migration of Spaniards from other countries in Europe, especially France, and in Latin America, especially Argentina and Mexico. This difference is more noticeable during the years 1963 (-607), 1964 (-449), 1965(-577), 1966 (-770), 1967 (-496), 1968 (-316).

During the 1970's and early 1980's Spanish citizens and immigrants from Spain entered Canada relatively equally, in the pre-1972 period those with Spanish citizenship having a slight edge; from 1972 on those in the CLPR category had a slight edge; there is a slightly larger proportion when considering country of last permanent residence., especially during 1980, 1981 and 1983. This suggests that there are now people emigrating to Canada from Spain who have a different nationality than the Spanish: statistics show that half (50%) of this group of immigrants come primarily from Iran, European countries such as Britain, and from Latin America, particularly Chile, and since 1983, also from Peru.

TABLE 3.1

Spanish Landed Immigrants in Canada (1957-1983)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Citizenship</u>	<u>Country of Last Permanent Residence</u>
1957	845	613
1958	447	318
1959	382	371
1960	603	526
1961	555	476
1962	499	362
1963	1,043	436
1964	1,123	674
1965	1,414	837
1966	1,931	1,161
1967	1,868	1,372
1968	1,683	1,367
1969	995	879
1970	912	808
1971	628	613
1972	493	523
1973	708	688
1974	717	727
1975	646	697
1976	548	633
1977	332	356
1978	269	289
1979	236	271
1980	211	355
1981	299	402
1982	260	440
1983	133	323
<hr/>		
TOTAL	19,780	16,897

Sources: Canada, Dept. of Immigration and Citizenship, Ottawa,
1957-1966

Canada, Immigration Statistics, Employment and Immigration,
1967-1983

In Table 3.2 is summarized the citizenship of immigrants from Spain for the period 1981-1983:

TABLE 3.2.

Citizenship of Spanish Landed Immigrants
by Country of Last Permanent Residence

Citizenship	1981 %	1982 %	1983 %
Spain	60	50	48
Iran	11	22	30
Europe	13	11	10
Latin America	8	9	5
United States	1	2	3
Others	7	6	4
TOTAL	100 (402)	100 (440)	100 (323)

Source: Canada, Immigration Statistics, Employment and Immigration, 1981-1983

The distribution of the Spanish immigrants in the various provinces in Canada is presented in Table 3.3. This immigrant group has settled mainly in the urban areas of Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia and to a lesser extent in Alberta and Manitoba. Up to 1961, Canadian statistics refer to the settlement of immigrant groups in Canada according to ethnic origin. Since 1962 the criterion for the distribution throughout the various provinces has been by Country of Last Permanent Residence. We will assume that the proportion of people coming from Spain as CLPR maintain the same distribution by provinces as those with Spanish ethnic origin, since we have no evidence to the contrary.

During the late 1950's and 1960's, Spanish immigrants were concentrated primarily in Quebec, mainly in the cities of Montreal and Quebec. By the early 1970's there was a tendency to settle more in Ontario, though the difference in numbers between the two provinces is not very significant (never more than 100). In the late 1970's and early 1980's the concentration in those two provinces varies slightly. The settlement of Spanish immigrants in Canada is very similar to other southern European groups such as Portuguese and Greeks, and also can be explained basically because when this concentration started in Ontario and Quebec, it continued when new immigrants were sponsored by relatives and friends. It may also be attributed to the non-existence of direct flights from Spain to other provinces, and the well publicized better economic conditions, and general development in these two regions.

TABLE 3.3

Settlement of Spanish Immigrants in Canada
(by Country of Last Permanent Residence, 1957-1983)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Ontario</u>	<u>British Columbia</u>	<u>Alberta</u>	<u>Manitoba</u>
1957	613	454	110	34	9	2
1958	318	180	99	24	8	2
1959	371	203	112	31	11	3
1960	526	308	149	21	13	2
1961	476	274	148	25	15	5
1962	362	206	120	11	14	4
1963	436	253	132	13	11	2
1964	674	406	205	27	13	10
1965	837	446	281	48	18	26
1966	1161	642	345	55	31	44
1967	1372	734	459	64	40	52
1968	1367	632	530	37	41	114
1969	879	361	384	57	24	22
1970	808	323	356	61	26	30
1971	613	224	284	58	13	19
1972	523	191	229	61	18	11
1973	688	244	335	58	27	9
1974	727	238	337	82	23	7
1975	697	246	254	72	65	29
1976	633	280	210	52	59	14
1977	356	136	122	43	42	6
1978	289	85	115	42	30	6
1979	271	127	86	29	20	-
1980	355	132	106	43	57	7
1981	402	184	98	60	43	6
1982	440	224	118	48	47	2
1983	323	115	136	34	23	6

Source: Canada, Immigration Statistics, Employment and
Immigration 1967-1983

Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration,
Ottawa, 1957-1966

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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

TABLE 3.4

Distribution of Immigrants from Spain by Sex
(Country of Last Residence) 1957-1983

<u>year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
1957*	1182	668	514
1958*	839	295	344
1959*	531	256	275
1960*	758	345	413
1961*	768	314	454
1962	362	146	216
1963	436	207	229
1964	674	359	315
1965	837	455	382
1966	1,161	677	484
1967	1,372	796	576
1968	1,367	811	556
1969	879	412	467
1970	808	427	381
1971	613	306	307
1972	523	276	247
1973	688	373	315
1974	727	444	283
1975	697	395	302
1976	633	316	317
1977	356	181	175
1978	289	133	156
1979	271	128	143
1980	355	165	190
1981	402	214	188
1982	440	223	217
1983	323	158	165

* By ethnic origin.

Source: Canada, Immigration Statistics, Employment and Immigration,
 Ottawa, 1967-1983

Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration,
 Ottawa, 1957-1966

In relation to the age and sex distribution of immigrants from Spain that have entered Canada since 1957, it seems not to be very different across the 26-year period analysed in this study. Generally speaking the proportion of male and female immigrants is maintained almost invariably (50% males and 50% females approximately), except for 1966, 1967, 1968 and 1974 when males outnumber females; the proportions are 58%, 59%, and 61% respectively. The cases of female superiority are only observed during the years 1962 (they account for 59%) and 1969 (53%); however, the differences are not very large. (See Table 3.4.)

Like other South European immigrants, the majority of Spanish immigrants are in an age group that places them at the beginning of their most productive period. Adults are mostly in early adulthood, the number of old people and adolescents is also small. It seems that Spanish immigrants to Canada have migrated as a family unit, with some exceptions of advance migration of the breadwinner of the family, common during the early 1960 s.

The largest proportion of immigrants from Spain is concentrated in the age groups 20-24, 25-29 and 30-34 years of age. The variation of these proportions through the years is very small; in the late fifties and early sixties approximately 11% correspond to the 20-24 year old category, and this percentage increases during the period 1966 to 1973. (Table 3.5)

TABLE 3.5

Distribution of Immigrants from Spain by Age (CPLR)

1957-1983

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>< 20</u> %	<u>20-24</u> %	<u>25-29</u> %	<u>30-34</u> %	<u>35-39</u> %	<u>40-44</u> %	<u>45-49</u> %	<u>50 +</u> %
1957*	1182	19	9	28	22	11	5	2	2
1958*	639	24	11	19	18	11	6	3	7
1959*	531	22	12	21	19	11	7	1	6
1960*	758	21	12	23	22	11	3	2	5
1961*	768	23	13	21	18	10	10	2	7
1962	362	27	9	27	15	11	4	2	4
1963	436	22	14	23	15	11	4	1	8
1964	674	27	15	18	18	11	4	2	4
1965	837	28	15	24	16	8	2	1	5
1966	1161	28	16	21	16	11	2	2	5
1967	1372	28	19	21	15	12	3	1	5
1968	1367	22	21	27	13	7	4	1	4
1969	879	30	23	21	9	6	3	1	6
1970	808	24	23	24	11	7	4	1	5
1971	613	26	18	25	9	7	3	1	10
1972	523	24	20	23	13	9	2	2	8
1973	688	28	16	22	14	7	4	3	6
1974	727	26	17	24	11	7	5	1	8
1975	697	29	16	21	13	6	4	2	9
1976	633	31	10	19	14	6	5	4	9
1977	356	29	14	20	14	7	3	2	11
1978	289	31	9	17	15	6	5	4	13
1979	271	27	13	17	11	11	3	5	13
1980	355	30	10	14	15	9	6	2	14
1981	402	29	6	18	12	11	6	3	14
1982	440	28	14	15	12	10	4	3	15
1983	323	24	15	11	20	9	5	4	10

* By ethnic origin

Source: Canada, Immigration Statistics, Employment and Immigration, 1967-1983

Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1957-1966

During the 1980's, the "less than 20" and "more than 50 years old" population increased, and there was a decrease in the 20 to 34 years of age categories. Immigration from Spain is now virtually "stationary" and it would be likely that these young and older individuals are being sponsored or nominated by relatives.

The "intended occupations" of immigrants from Spain on their arrival in Canada are divided into two types: (i) manual or blue collar occupations including all service, primary production and manufacturing workers, and (ii) the non-manual occupations which include all managerial, professional, clerical, commercial and financial occupations. The main trends of the intended occupations of Spanish immigrants to Canada for the period 1957 to 1961 are contained in Table 3.6.

Until 1961 most of the data on intended occupation of landed immigrants to Canada only considered the ethnic origin criterion, but after this year, the information is available by country of last permanent residence. There have also been changes in the nomination of areas of intended occupation. Up to 1973 the areas machining, product fabrication, assembling and repair, and construction (up to 1962), were grouped as manufacture. In this year (1973) the Service area became more specific. Previously this sector of occupation was divided into cooks, waiters and porters, domestic service and others; the new terminology refers to: protective service, food and beverage preparation, lodging,

TABLE 3.6

Intended Occupation of Landed Immigrants
(1957-1961) by Ethnic Origin*

		%

Managerial, Administrative	130	0.6
Professional and Technical	407	19.0
Clerical	184	8.5
Service	339	16.0
Manufacture, Construction	523	24.4
Farm, Agriculture	329	15.3
Others	347	16.1

Total Destined to Labour Force	2,142	99.9
Total non-destined to labour force	1,736	

* Spanish ethnic origin also includes other immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries.

Source: Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration,
Ottawa, 1957-1961

TABLE 3.7

Preferred Intended Occupations of Landed Immigrants
By Country of Last Permanent Residence (1962-1983)

	1962-65	1966-70	1971-75	1976-80	1981-83
Entrepreneurs, managerial and administrative	12	44	94	108	49
Sciences, engineering* and mathematics; and other professions	234	549	266	79	66
Clerical	114	183	120	59	55
Service	262	355	251	106	69
Machine and related, product fabricating, assembling and rep.	452	1270	382	171	116
Construction	86	295	212	59	27
Farmers	60	69	25	4	8
Total destined labour force	(1227)	(3050)	(1632)	(741)	(527)
Total non-destined	1082	2537	1616	1163	638

* Notice that this has been the professional and technical area where immigrants from Spain have been concentrated throughout the period we are now considering.

Source: Immigration Statistics, Manpower and Immigration, 1962-1976

Immigration Statistics, Employment and Immigration
Ottawa, 1977-1983

and other accomodation, housekeepers, servants and related, child care occupations, personal service and others. Another change that should be noted is related to the professional and technical area which before 1974 included all professional and technical occupations in general without any specification. Since 1974 this category has been divided as follows: natural sciences, engineering and mathematics, social sciences and related fields, teaching and related, religion, medicine and health. The lack of specificity of the earlier periods makes any comparison with later data somewhat difficult.

It may be observed that the intended occupation of immigrants from Spain has been mainly represented in the machining and related, service, professional and technical sectors. Evidence of this are the relatively high percentages of the total immigration destined to the labour force found in these areas, especially during the years 1962 to 1975.

TABLE 3.8

Intended Occupation of Landed Immigrants
By Country of Last Permanent Residence (1962-1975)

	<u>Total</u> %	<u>1962-65</u> %	<u>1966-70</u> %	<u>1971-75</u> %
Science, engineering and mathematics, and other professions	19	20	18	16
Machining and related, product fabricating, assembling & repairing	41	37	42	23
Service	18	21	12	15
Others	22	28	46	22
<hr/>				
Total destined to labour force	(5492)	(1227)	(3050)	(1632)

Source: Immigration Statistics, Employment and Immigration,
Immigration and Demographic Policy, Annual Publications,
Ottawa, 1962-1983

If this occupational distribution is analysed in detail, it may be observed that in the professional and technical sector the most common occupations are: draughtsmen, science technicians, and other related to architecture and engineering. Occupations in the service sector are primarily concentrated in domestic service, waiters and porters in more than 50% of the immigrants which indicated service as their area of intended occupations.

In the machining, fabricating, assembling and repair sectors, apparently the preferred occupation that immigrants from Spain intended to have in Canada throughout the periods analysed are concentrated in machinists and repair, and in smaller numbers in tailors and furriers.

Although there is a smaller concentration of immigrants from Spain in Construction as their intended occupation, it has to be mentioned that in this specific sector, the majority are skilled craftsmen: carpenters, bricklayers, stonemasons, and electricians, representing about 20 to 30% of the total immigrants destined to the construction sector.

In the managerial sector, immigrants from Spain are under-represented, although there was an increase in this sector after 1976: nine percent compared to one percent or less in the other periods of time considered.

Of particular interest is the high percentage of professionals and technicians on one hand, and of farmers, on the other hand, observed in the occupational distribution 1957-1961. Unfortunately we do not know the country of last permanent residence of the immigrants with Spanish ethnic origin because the information provided by the statistics available only gives the citizenship of those immigrants. In this period of time we have determined that 60% of the immigrants with Spanish ethnic origin were Spanish citizens, the rest have other European citizenship, or citizenship in one of the Latin American countries. Nevertheless, we may assume that most of these professionals and technicians have come from Spain, and also from Western European countries such as France, England, Germany and Switzerland where the Spaniards emigrated after the civil war and during Franco's dictatorship. They may be political refugees who, as is well known, are better educated than economic immigrants (Sacco, 1958; Hermenegildo, 1985). The largest representation of farm labourers is found in the 1957-1961 period though the general tendency has been a downward flow to the agriculture sector. It is important to bear in mind that during 1957 the "Operacion Bisonte" took place through which more than one hundred Spaniards entered Canada to work on farms in Quebec and Ontario (c.f. pp. 79-80) with special arrangements between the two governments.

The total number of Spanish immigrants destined for the labour force has been very similar throughout all the periods of

time analysed here; it generally constituted 50% of the total landed immigrants, with the exception of the 1976-1980 period when 69% of the immigrants from Spain were destined for the labour force. This period coincides with the entry of a low proportion of children, elders and women (Table 3.5).

It was not possible to compare the intended occupation of Spanish immigrants with the occupational distribution because there are no available data on this immigrant group specifically, and it can be obtained only through an expensive special tabulation obtainable from Statistics Canada. Hence, we will rely on the analyses of the interviews for data on this aspect.

Data available on Spanish immigrants in Canada and specifically in the Ottawa-Hull area provided by censuses refer to place of birth, which corresponds to 76% of the total immigrants who came from Spain as country of last permanent residence. The distribution of Spaniards by mother tongue will not be used because this criterion includes all the Spanish-speaking immigrant groups in Canada (70,150 by 1981), a sizeable proportion of whom fall outside the scope of our study; the same situation occurs with the classification by ethnic origin.

In the 1981 census, there are 53,540 Spanish ethnic origin immigrants in Canada, concentrated mainly in Ontario (47%) and Quebec (28%). By place of birth the Spanish population is 12,855 which means about 25% of the total population of Spanish ethnic origin, and 19% of the immigrants whose mother tongue is Spanish.

The majority (approximately 57%) of immigrants whose country of birth is Spain entered Canada during the years 1955-1969. Spanish immigrants by place of birth in 1981 are mainly concentrated in Quebec (5,705) and in Ontario (4,480). Of those in Ontario 68% are located in Toronto (3,040). In the Ottawa-Hull area there are 680 immigrants born in Spain, more than 15 years old; 570 (84%) of these are resident in Ottawa.

Although the distribution of Spanish immigrants by sex is generally the same, by any criterion used, there is a little higher proportion of women in the Ottawa area: 54% females and 45% males (Census 1981, Statistics Canada). According to the 1981 census, population from Spain is concentrated in the City of Ottawa and to a lesser extent in the surrounding suburbs of Vanier, Nepean and Gloucester.

The distribution by age shows a larger number of Spanish immigrants by place of birth in the 35-44 and 45-54 categories in the case of Canada as a whole and specifically when considering Ontario. Ottawa's distribution shows the same tendencies with a large proportion in the less than 15 years old category.

Description of the Setting

As we have discussed in earlier chapters, all ethnic groups may share a need for association based on ancestral culture, but they may vary in the need to preserve traditional culture.

We will often refer to the Spanish ethnic group as the "Spanish community".⁷ The Spanish immigrants in Ottawa are a group of people who share the Spanish culture and language, although they are not concentrated in a limited territory; therefore they are not highly "visible".

In the Ottawa-Hull area there is approximately a total of 1,500 Spanish immigrants (foreign and native born). Because of the lack of literature and accurate statistical information about this immigrant group we will basically use information obtained through participant observation and informal interviews with leaders and other members of organizations within the Spanish community of Ottawa.

Spaniards tend not to have concentrated in certain areas of the city as, for example, Italians and Portuguese appear to have done. During the 1950's and 1960's they tended to live in the downtown and Vanier area, but presently they are dispersed among all the Ottawa areas, Kanata, Nepean and Gloucester. There is also a small group in the Quebec sector (Hull, Gatineau, Alymer), but no ethnic organizations have developed in this area. Apparently in the early days some Spanish immigrants were temporarily living in Hull because they had a little knowledge of French which facilitated their adaptation to the new country.

Evidence gathered in the interviews indicates that on first arrival, the Spanish immigrants lived with relatives or friends,

as other Southern Europeans did (Portuguese and Greeks) (Anderson and Higgs, 1976; Chimbos, 1980); later they rented houses or apartments, and with time they have bought their own houses, mainly in the east side of the city, where perhaps the costs were lower. Generally, it appears that they purchase houses as soon as they have saved enough money for the down payment, and despite the rising cost of housing and interest rates, to own a house is a major preoccupation for them.

Unlike the case for other ethnic groups, such as the Portuguese and Italians in Ottawa, specific food markets or variety stores, catering to the special needs of the Spanish community have not developed because this requires a sufficiently large group to serve. Some years ago they had a food store but it did not succeed. Thus, Spanish products (canned fish, olive oil, asaphrañ, etc.) are bought in common supermarkets or grocery stores; some Portuguese or Italian food stores supply special needs of Spanish people. The Spanish immigrants living in Ottawa obtain Spanish goods, books, newspapers and records in Montreal, in a store called "Libreria Española", which caters to the needs of Spanish-speaking people including Latin-Americans.

With respect to special services for assisting the recently arrived, initially there were a few "brokers" to help in translations and filling out forms. This was offered on an informal basis for the Spanish immigrants, but later those private services were not needed because the government offered them free and in Spanish.

Presently there are about two bookstores, two travel agencies, three garages, two restaurants (Don Alfonso and Checkers), which offer typical Spanish food, one real estate agency, among other ethnic services for special needs of Spanish immigrants.

It is interesting to point out that some of the services are shared with the Portuguese immigrant group, as is the case of some food stores, bakery, travel agency, bookstore, medical and religious services.

During the early 1960's there were no formal organizations where the Spaniards could meet. Apparently the small group living in Ottawa by the 1960's used to get together to play soccer (Hispanic Club), usually with Portuguese teams, and from those sport activities emerged the idea of establishing a center where they could meet, especially for recreational purposes. Until the late 1960's this Centro Español (Spanish Cultural Center) ⁸ did not have its own location. Presently they are planning to build new head-quarters.

Before analysing the social structure of the Spanish community, we will refer again to the concept of "institutional completeness" (Breton 1964). Spanish communities in different Canadian cities and ~~also~~ in Western Europe have shown a low degree of institutional completeness (Anderson, 1977; Breton, 1964; Muñoz, 1972). Breton, as noted in Chapter 1, determined

the level of institutional completeness (high, medium or low) on the number of churches, welfare organizations, newspapers and periodicals serving the ethnic community.

As we have already noted, culture and the language that it serves, can not be dissociated. Generally, those who care about their cultural heritage also care about their ancestral language (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1973: 13).

The Spanish language is maintained within the family and reinforced by the Catholic Church. Spanish immigrants have been concerned with the problems of cultural maintenance among the younger Canadian-born generation. They maintain that if the children were to have a meaningful exposure to the Spanish culture and enjoy its expressions, they will first of all need to know the Spanish language. Spanish language maintenance is viewed as a responsibility of the family. Nevertheless there is a part-time school functioning on Saturdays, sponsored partly by the Embassy of Spain. There are about one hundred children attending this school, also some Latin Americans; some of them enjoy going to the Spanish classes; others are coerced into attending. It has to be considered that while other children are free or at play during weekends, those Spanish children go to language lessons. There are five teachers (not all trained) and five courses depending on the children's age. Initially Spanish classes were held in churches, but the school sponsored by the Embassy has been functioning for approximately ten years in public or separate school locations.

It is interesting to point out that although almost all Spanish people in Ottawa tend to speak English (they say it is the language of the whole country, whereas French is the language of Quebec), some families send their children to French schools. This group sees an advantage sending their children to those schools because, "they will know three languages instead of two". Another reason mentioned was that through English books, a negative image (robbers, adventurers) about Spain is transmitted to the children. Hence, they prefer French education as they consider it more objective. Some of the children prefer to say they are Canadian and do not speak about their Spanish background "because they feel they are inferior, and will probably be discriminated by natives". This aspect would be interesting for future research on second and third generations of Spaniard-Canadians.

Religious services are held in Spanish on Sundays in a French Catholic Church (Sainte Famille).¹⁰ Initially these religious activities were held in Vanier (White Fathers) and were very important for the adjustment of the recently-arrived to Ottawa. This institution, in addition to its manifest religious function also has a social function; it provides them with the opportunity to meet each other. In the wintertime people stay and gather in the basement chatting and drinking coffee, after Mass. In the summer the churchgoers stay outside the church socializing for more than one hour sometimes. There have been conflicts or rivalries among the members of this organization,

specially between the "pioneer" participants who organized the first activities and the "new arrivals", mainly because of leadership and differences in interests. Evidence of this conflict is the disappearance of a monthly bulletin that was once published.

The parish priest is from Belgium and speaks Spanish fluently: he alternates the religious services with other Latin American priests when available (from Chile, Colombia, Mexico, etc.), and sometimes with a French priest who also speaks the language. There is a parochial committee (Inmaculada Concepción) which perform several activities such as liturgy, catechism for the children, visits to sick persons, organize religious festivities (picnics, raffles, dinners, dances) at Easter, Christmas, Saints days, etc. Also this committee has a choir, integrated primarily by second generation Spaniards.

The Spanish religious community has about 200 members not all of whom frequently attend services and other activities. It is interesting to note that approximately 50% or 60% of the church members are from Central and South America. This proportion has been increasing over the last three years because of the large number of refugees from Nicaragua and El Salvador, among other countries, that have been entering the country recently.

There is a very close connection between the Centro Español (the secular organization of the Spanish community) and the religious association. Obviously the Spanish community is small and, with very few formal organizations, therefore the people who attend both of them are almost the same ones; but it should be pointed out that formal membership in the Centro Español is low, only 40% of the total Spanish households in Ottawa.

In this instance, Latin American, Portuguese and Italian people are included and participate in the membership. These inter-ethnic relations have also been observed in Vancouver, Victoria (Anderson, 1977) and Toronto (Herrero, 1985).

The Spanish are sociable people, therefore clubs and meeting-places play an important part in establishing community solidarity and social life. Among the activities organized through the Centro Español are sports, dance classes, folkloric events, film projections, national festivities celebrations, etc. It has a monthly bulletin which informs the community about future events and publishes articles on Spain, immigration and other issues.

Apart from membership (\$120 a year), the Embassy sponsors many of the activities that the Centro organizes. There is a very close relationship with the Embassy, which acts as an intermediary of the Spanish government, specifically the Instituto Nacional de Emigración. The Embassy intends to meet

the needs of the Spanish immigrants in Canada in a general sense, that is economic, cultural, recreational, etc. Recently (1982) they have created a new service called "Departamento Laboral" to deal with non-consular activities such as social security, pensions and other labour issues. The aim is to extend those benefits when Spanish people return to Spain, and the Spanish authorities will recognize and include the time immigrants worked in Canada as part of their benefits.

Other organizations working very closely with the Embassy are the Departments of Spanish at the Universities of Carleton and Ottawa. Both of them have theatrical activities and present Spanish plays and performances by amateurs. They participate actively during the "Spanish Week" organized by the Embassy every year in October.

According to one of my informants, there is a project of the Spanish Government at Carleton University to improve the level of education of the Spanish immigrants in Ottawa, through the Continuing Education Department.

In both universities, Carleton and Ottawa, there are associations for Hispano-American students organized by the Spanish Departments. Primarily, the members are from Latin American and other countries; very few members of the Spanish second generation participate in these activities.

The Spanish Embassy, together with all the Spanish organizations in Ottawa, has recently institutionalized the "Spanish Week" which attempts to preserve and transmit the Spanish cultural heritage. This "week" includes conferences, theatre, documentaries, recitals, dances, etc. It is interesting to note that the attendance to this cultural week has been scarce. It seems that the Spanish people resident in Ottawa are much more interested in recreation than cultural activities. This can be also confirmed with the low participation rate of the community when the center (Centro Español) projects films on Sundays. One of the "fundadores" (Pioneers) of the community explained, when interviewed: "... attendance at activities different from recreation is practically nil... even Canadian people are much more interested in Spanish culture than the Spanish people themselves".

It would appear that this situation is due to social class differences. As noted earlier the majority of Spanish immigrants in Ottawa do not have a very high level of education; we could say they are primarily working or lower middle class in origin. There is a minority of the community who have a better economic position and have high social prestige occupations (professionals, entrepreneurs, etc.). Often this group has completely dissociated itself from its working class compatriots and consequently they do not participate in the associations and similar activities. Hence, the cultural activities sponsored by the Embassy and the universities are of limited interest and the

large bulk of Spanish immigrants of working class origin and those with a middle class background dissociate themselves from associations and other recreational activities.

The ethnic media appears to be of little importance to this community. There is one television program in Spanish, sponsored by the government (multicultural policy) in collaboration with the Embassy, the universities and Centro Español. There is no local Spanish newspaper; it is possible, however, to find newspapers from the Spanish communities in Toronto and Montreal. Newspapers and magazines from Spain can also be found in Ottawa, although there are no specialized Spanish bookstores.

Conflicts of personality, clashes, intrigues, hostilities and factionalism are common in the Spanish community, not only here in Ottawa but in other cities like Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal (see Anderson, 1977: 28-29). These rivalries are also common in other South European ethnic groups such as Portuguese, Greeks and Italians (Chimbos, 1980; Hughes and Kallen, 1974). As we have seen before, institutional completeness in the Spanish community is very low, and furthermore, internal fragmentation within the country impedes the ability of leadership and membership to unite and cooperate in order to take concerted action in the interests of the ethnic category as a whole.

Criticisms of both the Spanish Center and the Parochial Committee are frequently made because of the lack of activities and also diffusion of the existent ones. Many of the immigrants are not available or do not want to assume responsibilities connected with organization activities. Perhaps these people lack experience in organizational life; perhaps they also lack resources to pay membership fees, or perhaps, many others are suspicious of the organizations.

Unlike Vancouver and Montreal, there is a dependence of Latin American ethnic groups on the Spanish community organizations.¹³ As Anderson notes, "this conviviality is based upon a common language of communication" (1977:2). There was a project for a new association for Spanish and Latin American people in Ottawa; the Spanish Embassy was trying to organize it with the cooperation of other Embassies representing Latin American countries in Ottawa (Interview with Cultural Attache in 1983).

Compared to other South European groups in Ottawa (e.g. Italians, Portuguese), the Spanish ethnic community does not have an elaborate structure of formal organizations and a large amount of ethnic services. Also, the Spanish community does not appear to have a high degree of residential concentration. Residential patterns and institutional completeness reflect the relationship between an ethnic group and the wider society, it is a measure of secondary social incorporation. This implies that the ethnic group has to interact with the wider society on a secondary level.

before we go on to the next chapter, however, we should point out that it is unlikely that immigration from Spain will increase in the near future. In the previous chapter the "push" factors which contributed to the pattern of immigration to Canada were primarily economic. During the past ten years it has been known that Spain would eventually be admitted as a member of the European community. As a result, economic expectations have also been rising, and there has been a real improvement in economic conditions there. Now that Spanish membership has become a reality, as of January 1, 1986, the impact of the "push" factors will be minimized.

Of interest to us at this time, as sociologists, of course, are the implications for the Spanish community in Ottawa and elsewhere in Canada as the continuous supply of Spanish immigrants slackens.

In the next chapter, we will see the extent to which this small immigrant group in Ottawa has become integrated into the wider society economically, culturally and socially, via a small sample of thirty-one members of this group interviewed in Ottawa.

NOTES:

1. The first Spaniards to reach British Columbia may have been the crew of the ship Los Tres Reyes under the command of Martin Aguilar who claimed to have reached the Strait of Juan de Fuca in 1603. There were other landfalls of Spanish in the 1774, Queen Charlotte Islands, Estevan Point, and in 1795 Mezeta sighted the mountains of Vancouver Island, but his subordinate Juan Francisco Bodega y Quadra sailed as far as Alaska claiming possession of only a few parts of the outer islands for Spain. The Spanish kept these explorations quiet intending to follow them up at their leisure. Therefore, it was possible for Captain Cook in 1778, on his last voyage, to suppose that he was the first on the coast and to begin "the popularization of the trade in sea-otter pelts which in the next ten years, was to bring the ships of Britain and the United States swarming to the British Columbia coast and destroy the Spanish influence there" (Norris, 1971:203).

In 1788 the Spanish returned to the coast, when the English were trading in the sea-otter pelts; as a consequence there was an expedition under Martinez to establish the claim of Spanish sovereignty and permanent settlement at Nootka; in 1789 Eliza re-occupied Nootka and built the Fort San Miguel and explored the surrounding waters (v.i. Strait of Georgia, Isla de Langara, or Point Grey, Espinosa and Esperanza inlets). In 1791 Don Pedro Alberni planted a vegetable garden at Nootka, "thus becoming the first European agriculturist in British Columbia" (Norris:204). But in 1790 Britain had a strong action against Spain, and she agreed to surrender her claims to exclusive sovereignty over the territory, and to limit her dominion to discoveries secured by treaties. Thereafter the coast of British Columbia was equally open to the explorations and settlements of both nations. It was in 1795 when the Spanish decided to withdraw completely and evacuated Nootka, when Quadra and Vancouver failed to agree on the limitations of their respective nations' claims. This was the end of the Spanish power on the coast (See Espinosa y Tello, 1971).

2. According to the Citizenship and Immigration Annual Report 1950-1960, from April 1920 to March 1925 there were only 265 Spanish immigrants in Canada (pp. 31-33).
3. Sometimes data on landed immigrants by citizenship is not available as in the case of Intended Occupation or Province Distribution. Therefore the criterion to use will be the Country of Last Permanent Residence which is also an accurate criteria because Spanish immigrants coming from other countries have been relatively rare, especially after 1972. From this time, again the number of Spanish immigrants by CLPR is larger than by citizenship. We can

NOTES (cont'd):

3. (cont'd)

assumé that the decrease of emigration to Western European countries from Spain by the mid 1970's could explain the decrease in Spanish citizens entering Canada from other countries such as France, Britain, Switzerland, among others. They tend to come from Spain directly.

4. To give an example, in 1955 the proportion of Spanish citizens that were native "Spaniards" and emigrated to Canada was 96%. When considering the other criterion, Spain as Country of Last Permanent Residence, the proportion of native "Spaniards" decreases to 88% of the total landed immigrants for that year.

5. By 1981, most of the emigration from Spain was a temporary one, primarily to France (85%). According to the 1982 Year Book, only 14% of the emigration was of permanent character, mainly to Switzerland (Spain Year Book, 1982). Approximately 56% of this assisted permanent emigration, by the Instituto Nacional de Emigración, was from the Galicia province.

6. A relatively high proportion of landed immigrants can be observed in Manitoba for the year 1968, eight per cent of the total. Although we have not been able to locate the existence of any special governmental agreement, the economic situation for that province was better compared to years before with an increase of employment in the Construction and Mining industries. There were projects such as "Kettle Rapids Hydro" at Gillan, nickel mining expansion at Thompson. Also there was a shortage of domestic service which was considerably alleviated "partly due to immigration from other countries" (Prairie Manpower Review, Nov.-Dec. 1968). For that year the intended occupations of Spanish immigrants were mainly: Machinists, and other skilled occupations (electricians, stonemason, woodworkers, etc.).

7. An ethnic community can be defined as "a group of people who follow a way of life of patterns of behaviour which mark them out as different from the people of another society, or from other people in the larger society in which they live... they have generally come from the same place, ... or identified with the particular locality where they now live. They speak the same language, ..." (Fitzpatrick, 1966:14).

8. In the early days the Centro Español did not have a place where they met on their own, therefore they used to get together for their meetings at the YMCA, or the White Father's Church in Vanier. At present it is functioning in Vanier as well.

NOTES (Cont'd):

9. The ethnic school is not "officially" recognized by the educational authorities in Spain (as it is in other cities, e.g. Toronto). They are autonomous and independent from the Embassy, but usually through the Labour Department the school receives donations (money, books, etc.).
10. There are common celebrations with the French people who attend the Sainte Famille parish, especially at Easter and Christmas. Also Spanish and French share recreational activities sometimes for fundraising, such as picnics, dinners, dances, etc.
11. It is interesting to note that the priest in the Sainte Famille parish is actively involved with assistance for refugees from Central and South America (money, housing, work, clothes, health and other problems that most of them encounter when first arrive in Canada.)
12. Besides the diplomatic functions of the Embassy, it is very important to point out that, through its Departamento Laboral it acts as an intermediary of the Instituto Nacional de Emigración's plans, such as: distribution of scholarships ("Reina Sofia"), organization of trips and holidays for youngsters to Spain, grants for primary, secondary, special education and university students, among others. The scholarships "Reina Sofia" are mainly distributed for university and graduate studies, either in Spain or in other countries (Carta de España, Madrid, April 1985).
13. In the last years at least three new Spanish-speaking associations have been established: "The Latin American Club", Chilean Club and San Salvador Association. This is evidence of the differences between Spaniards and Latin Americans, which also exist in Vancouver, Montreal and Toronto (Anderson, 1977; Herrero, 1985).

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY AND DATA GATHERED

In the first three chapters of this study we have examined the literature concerned with immigration in general and immigration to Canada in particular. We have also provided a brief social history of immigration from Spain to Canada and other countries.

In the first part of this chapter we are going to describe the methodology used in this study and the problems associated with tracking down members of the Ottawa Spanish (non-Latin American) community to be interviewed. In the second part we will present the major findings of the research and our analysis.

A. Methodology

A sample of 40 respondents was chosen by means of a random sample procedure from lists compiled from various sources. Only 31 interviews were completed for several reasons. The final list of approximately 265 Spanish households in Ottawa was obtained by combining information from five different sources: Church assistance, Spanish cultural Center's membership, Bell Canada telephone directory, Spanish Embassy registration, and personal referrals. There was considerable difficulty getting a complete list of the existing Spanish households in Ottawa given the time at our disposal.

The sample included only Spanish adult immigrants (by country of origin or last permanent residence) who arrived in Canada at 14 years of age or over. The choice of this age is arbitrary but we can assume that at this age part of their socialization process had been received in Spain through the family and the school, and also, after their early teens, people tend to retain even a slight foreign accent. At any one time only one of the household heads was interviewed, alternatively male and female; they were all between 30 and 60 years of age.

The interviews were semi-structured including mostly open-ended questions. They generally lasted 45 to 60 minutes each and were carried out in Spanish, mainly at the interviewee's house or at work, and were all conducted by the researcher.

The field work was scheduled for five weeks but several factors such as: summer activities, visits to Spain, difficulties in locating some individuals, reticence to be interviewed, etc. extended this period to seven (7) weeks.

In general, the selected individuals cooperated with the researcher and were willing to talk about their experiences in Canada, sometimes beyond the scope of the interview; they were extremely receptive and showed the typical courtesy and generosity of the Spanish people at home. But in some cases, despite guaranteed anonymity, some of the respondents were suspicious that the information would be passed on to the government, the Spanish Embassy or other authorities. This reluctance

was more common in the case of older people, with many years in Canada, especially women. In general, men were less reticent to answer the interview questions and the only two who were reluctant to participate claimed they were very busy and also had to work at night.

Twelve of the original individuals selected were substituted by the following name on the list.

Before the formal collection of data three (3) pilot interviews were carried out in order to test the instrument with regards to vocabulary difficulties, clarity and effectiveness. After assessing the pilot test, several questions were deleted and/or revised.

Another method used for this research was participant observation (at church, Centro Español, informal contacts with members of the community), which is sometimes more reliable than other methods in studies such as this because some issues we were investigating were brought up more naturally in a non-interview situation than in the formal interviews. Therefore the material obtained while interacting with and observing Spaniards in Ottawa from 1982 on was also used as supporting evidence.

Another source of information was informal conversations held with representatives of the Spanish Government in Canada (Ottawa and Montreal) that is, the Embassy and the Consulate. In

addition, information was gathered in other institutions existing in the Ottawa Spanish community (church, club and school).

B. Analysis of Findings

In our analysis of findings numerical data have been used sparingly and only in a descriptive fashion in contingency tables displaying the background characteristics of the sample, as well as its occupational trajectory, acculturation and ethnic attachment. Generally the results are presented in percentages and analysed by sex, length of residence or another variable which at the time is considered to be pertinent or important for a better understanding of the results.

Sometimes the findings are reported descriptively with the use of direct quotations, excerpts and paraphrases of individual responses, together with ideal typical respondents profiles as the major illustrative devices.

The results presented here cannot be considered statistically significant nor wholly generalizable to a larger population, not only because of the small size of the sample (31), but also because of the limitations of the listings from which the sample was drawn. The Church list is incomplete and biased because it does not include all the Spaniards in Ottawa but only church attenders. Telephone directories are neither exhaustive nor representative listings; there are people who do not list their names; also there are cases where last names are

typically Spanish but could very well be Latin American and some names have been anglicised. In addition, Spanish women who have married non-Spanish men are under-represented because their last names have been changed.

Membership in the only Spanish Club in Ottawa (the Spanish Cultural Center) is small, approximately 40% or less, of all the Spanish families; therefore, this list is also biased because it only includes members. The Embassy list is also incomplete because not all Spanish immigrants in Ottawa register their names with this official institution.²

I. IMMIGRATION PROCESS

1) Description of the Sample

Age and Sex: Seventeen (17) males and fourteen (14) females were interviewed; the majority were between the ages of 35 and 44 (39%), followed by 29% in the 45 to 54 age group, and 22% in the 31 to 34 age group. There is a very small representation of the category 55 to 59 years (9%) and none for the older immigrants (59 years of age and over). The sample consisted mainly of long-established individuals of prime working age.

The main reason for the absence of elderly Spanish immigrants in our sample could be found in the non-inclusion of these individuals in the majority of the lists from which the sample was drawn. Excepting perhaps for church attendance (which was incomplete because the Church does not maintain updated

records), Spanish elderly people participate in institutions under the name of one of the household heads where they live. It has to be remembered that there is a tendency for Spanish and Southern European elderly people generally to live with their extended families. The same reasoning can be applied to the telephone directory list.

With respect to marital status, there are twenty-three (23) subjects, 71% of the sample, who are presently married; two of the respondents are a widow and a widower, and the rest, seven (7), are single males (23%). The proportion of single males is high considering their ages, mainly between 35 and 44 years old. The majority of these single men have been in Canada for 17 years or more, but they may have been too much involved with their careers and economic future, or perhaps for some of them the chances of marriage are reduced, especially within their own ethnic group because of the slightly larger number of male immigrants from Spain compared to females.

Among the people who are married or were in the past, seven met and married their spouses here in Canada, two were married in France, and fifteen were already married in Spain. It is interesting to point out that nine were married to a person of non-Spanish origin such as: French-Canadian (3), English-Canadian (1), Northern European (2), Portuguese (1), and Latin American (2). This seventy percent endogamy confirms other studies concerning the South Europeans' tendency to marry inside

their ethnic group (Reitz, 1980:120; Chimbos, 1980:111).

Most of the respondents came directly from Spain (65%), others (35%) had previous or intermediate immigration experiences in other countries such as France, England, Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and the United States. We will see later how this previous migration positively affects the acculturation of the subjects.

The average number of children per household from a total of 54 children is 2.3, most of them were born in Canada (60%); the rest in Spain and to a lesser extent in Latin America (Mexico and Colombia). The total second generation in this sample is 46 children and the total of third generation Spanish-Canadian individuals is 8 children. There are three individuals in the sample who came to Canada with their parents, they are considered second generation for the purposes of our study, but they were included because they came to Canada when at least 14 years of age and they received most of their early socialization outside of Canada (in Spain or another intermediate country).

Approximately 50% of the Spanish immigrants in our study were born or lived in regions where agriculture is the basic economy such as Galicia, Andalusia and Castilla la Vieja. Five individuals came from Castilla la Nueva, specifically Madrid, the capital. The third highest proportion corresponds to Asturias and Cantabria (4) which are mainly dependent on livestock and

also minerals such as coal. Two of the total sample came from Catalonia, well known for its industrial development, and only very few of them came from the Extremadura, Aragon and Basque Regions. Overall, the Spanish immigrants included in the sample had a rural background.

TABLE 4.1

Distribution of the Sample by Length of Residence and Sex

	Total	< 10 yrs.	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-30
Males	17	3	6	3	3	2
Females	14	2	5	3	2	2
TOTAL	31	5	11	6	5	4

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

The average age at which the respondents came to Canada is 26 years old. Only five of the individuals in the sample came after 35 years of age to Canada. On the other hand, the average number of years living in Canada was fifteen years, which means they came mostly in the early seventies (1970-1975), although as we have noted in earlier chapters, the peak waves of Spanish immigration to Canada were during 1967-1969 (see Table 3.1). This may be explained by the preference of Spanish immigrants at first to settle in Quebec rather than Ontario (see Table 3.3).

Ottawa was the destination chosen by 16%, followed by 13% who settled in Montreal on their arrival for a very short time, not more than three months, with the exception of one respondent who lived there for twelve years. Smaller proportions (less than 10%) have lived previously in Toronto, Sudbury, Trois Rivières, Vancouver and Hull, before their settlement in Ottawa. The reasons given for choosing Ottawa were (i) the existence of relatives (which was most frequently cited); (ii) possibilities to work or pre-arranged job; (iii) to learn the two official languages; (iv) to study at one of the two universities; and, (v) because the Canadian Embassy in Spain recommended Ottawa as the best place to emigrate to in Canada.

The existence of relatives is an important factor to be taken into account in the analysis of motives for migration in the case of southern European immigrants, but in our sample, the difference between independent and sponsored, nominated immigration is very little: 55% and 45% respectively. This larger representation of non-sponsored (or independent) immigrants can be explained because of the large proportion of single males in this sample (23%) who came to Canada, in almost all cases independently, and not because of relatives in Canada who sponsored them. Another reason is to be found in the males' higher level education compared to the females in the sample. As it is well known, the higher the educational background, the less the potential immigrant needs to be sponsored by a relative, especially with the point system established by Canadian immigration laws after 1967.

TABLE 4.2

Distribution of Sample by Sex and Level of Education

	Total Both Sexes		Males	Females
	No.	%		
Primary level or less	11	35	4	7
Secondary level (complete or incomplete)	7	22	3	4
Technical, Semi- professional	3	10	1	2
Trade School	3	10	3	-
University Level	2	6	2	-
Post-graduate Level	5	16	4	1
T O T A L	31	100	17	14

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

As can be seen from the preceding Table 4.2, the individuals in this sample seem to be distributed between two extremes: very highly educated (22%) and those with a very low level of education, just elementary school and sometimes incomplete (35%). The majority of the lowly educated persons were females (half of the female population), which reflects the traditional education pattern and the socialization of women in Spain, being prepared in life only to be housewives. It also

reflects the rural origin of both poorly educated males and females. Most of them had to start working very young, sometimes in their early teens or earlier, to help their parents to make a living. This low educated group came mainly from the north of Spain: Galicia, Asturias, Cantabria, where as we noted in Chapter II, poverty and general economic conditions lead people to emigrate. Galicia has traditionally been the origin of most Spanish immigrants to Latin America and United States, to the extent that in both the United States and Latin America an immigrant from Spain is nicknamed "gallego" (Muñoz, 1972:53).

Twenty-two percent of the respondents either completed high school or had some high school education and 10% reported having attended a trade school in Spain (mechanic, "maestro industrial", "hotelería").

Among the most frequently cited motives for migration to Canada by respondents were: economic, the superior Canadian economy, higher salaries and other general advantages. The data presented in Table 4.3 suggest that having relatives in Canada has not been the main reason why the interviewees have migrated to Canada. In fact, 42 percent of the sample declared not having any relatives here in Ottawa or in Canada at present. At the time of their arrival as mentioned earlier 45 percent were sponsored or nominated by relatives. Family reunion does not appear to be a very strong reason to emigrate to Canada. Apparently the presence of relatives is not a "major motive" for

Spanish immigration to Canada. Despite all the literature about southern Europeans "chain migration" characteristic of strong motivation for family reunion (Anderson and Higgs, 1976; Chisbos, 1980), Pereira Munzer (1981:101) has argued that to understand Portuguese immigration, "the extended family is acting as facilitator in the migration process rather than as the motivation for migration". This appears to be the case for the Spanish immigrants in our sample.

TABLE 4.3

Distribution of the Sample by Motives of Migration

	No.	%
More opportunities, jobs, developed country, new land	22	42
Had family here who sponsored, marriage to Canadian	11	21
Adventure, to try only	10	19
To study (languages, university, etc.)	5	10
Others	4	8
Total responses	52*	100

* More than one answer.

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

Motives for migration to Canada do not differ very much for Spaniards from other Southern European immigrants, especially Greeks and Portuguese (Anderson, 1974; Alpalhao and Da Rosa, 1980; Nagata, 1970; Chimbos, 1980). The major factors for emigration to Canada are a low standard of living and fewer economic opportunities in Spain when compared to a superior Canadian economy, high salaries, advantages of social security, a better future for their children, and sometimes, adventure, "to try" as half of the females in our sample reported (see Table 4.3). It was noticeable in the interviews that some female respondents claimed that their situation in Spain was not too bad but they wanted to come for a few years to see what might happen, i.e. for adventure.

South European immigrants usually leave their countries alone (Chimbos, 1980; Anderson, 1976; Alpalhao and Da Rosa, 1980), bringing their nuclear families after they have settled down and/or have become established in the new country. In this study, only six percent of the interviewees who were married abroad came alone to Canada; in the majority of the cases the nuclear family arrived complete.

2) Settlement in Canada

When asked about who helped them on arrival in Canada, the most frequent answer was the family, relatives and friends or acquaintances, especially from Latin American countries, and also Italy and Portugal. The next great proportion referred to the

help from the government, especially the Department of Manpower. The help from the government was mentioned with regard to economic support (\$100 weekly), English or French classes, and orientation to find jobs and housing. When analysing this aspect by sex, there does not seem to be any difference in the source of help; only that formal help was mentioned more often by males than females, but the difference is very small (10%). In addition, year of arrival does not seem to vary or change the importance of friends and relatives as the major source of help received. The highest proportion of those who reported receiving formal help arrived during the 1966-1970 period. During these years it would appear that immigration policies included extensive help for immigrants on their arrival; apparently it did not exist in previous years.

Residential Concentration: On arrival in Ottawa the majority of immigrants in our sample took up residence with relatives, generally in the east and west end of Ottawa, Vanier, Hull and Gloucester. Others lived in hotels or boarding houses located mainly downtown. In every case the first residence was a transitional place until they could move to their own house or apartment. Almost 85 percent of the sample now own their houses, and the ones who still live in rented premises, are thinking about buying their own property very soon.

In the majority of the cases the respondents declared at least two previous residences in Ottawa before moving to the

present one. The distribution of the sample by present area of residence can be illustrated in Table 4.4.

TABLE 4.4

Distribution of the Sample by Area of Residence

	<u>Number</u>
Ottawa	
- East End	1
- South End	2
- South/East	6
- West End	3
- Sandy Hill	2
- Centertown	2
Vanier	8
Gloucester	1
Orleans	1
Nepean	3
Kanata	2
	<hr/>
	31

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

Here we can see that there is not a strong residential segregation of Spanish immigrants, but it can be observed that there is a tendency to live in two areas: Vanier and the South-East. Only in a few cases did the respondents report that the selection of area to live in took into account the presence of other Spanish people, relatives, friends or acquaintances. These five individuals live in Vanier, West end, and Gloucester. Two of them are male household heads, who are more assimilated to the French culture than to the Anglo-Saxon; they are married to French-Canadian women and presently live in Vanier (a predominantly French area) because they feel more comfortable there.

In relation to the interviewee's satisfaction with their local communities and neighbourhood, almost 80% have not thought of moving or changing to other areas or houses, and those who would move in the future gave the same reason: to acquire a better house than the one they presently own, or to buy their own first houses.

The reasons given for satisfaction with present residence are very general, mainly because they like the area (beautiful, calm, residential), they are used to it, it is practical (near job, school, and recreational services). None mentioned Spanish community-related reasons.

The majority of the neighbours are Canadians, with very few exceptions where non-Canadian neighbours were mentioned; only 29%

declared to maintain any relationship or contact with neighbours. The majority argued the difficulty in establishing any primary relation with them, except for sporadic visits and a very superficial relationship.

II. OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

As noted in earlier chapters, economic adaptation of immigrants is a very important stage in the integration process. In this study the economic experience of the immigrant was taken into account, including the occupations into which they have moved, their difficulties encountered, job seeking behaviour, their present occupation and satisfaction, among other aspects. Sacco (1958) in his study of Spaniards in Quebec found that, similar to other immigrants at the initial stage, ⁹their adaptation to Canada is economic, dependent mainly on the better standard of life that they are able to acquire. If this adaptation occurs quickly, their general integration (social and cultural) to the wider society will be quicker.

At least half of the individuals in this sample have come from rural areas in Spain where they had a low standard of life, most of them came to Canada without any qualifications. Comparing their present situation with their former situation in Spain they have experienced some upward mobility; even though they have accepted and still do low status jobs in Canada. The income they now obtain, compares favourably to that received in Spain.

The concentration in higher or lower occupational categories has been often used to measure the economic adaptation of immigrants though there have also been considerations about the economic success of immigrants concentrated in certain ethnic specialties. With the small size of this sample we were not able to determine an economic specialty for Spaniards. They seem to share south European occupational niches: janitors, domestic service, waiters, construction workers, etc. On the other hand, in terms of economic success of Spaniards in high status occupations, that is, with high incomes it was intended to interview the owner of the one of the biggest corporations in the construction sector in Ottawa who is a Spaniard, in order to find out if his firm constituted an ethnic enclave in Ottawa. After many attempts, however, it was not possible to collect these data. We do not have the exact number of entrepreneurs and self-employed Spanish immigrants but we estimate that it is less than 10% of the total population of this immigrant-group in Ottawa. There are only four cases in our study that are self-employed: one in the electrical engineering area (for three years), another in the restaurant sector (12 years), one female embroiderer who is an employee and also a homemaker, and one small entrepreneur who is employed full-time in an Italian firm, but also has his own construction firm (home-repairs). Only two of these Spanish in Ottawa have paid employees and they can not be considered to be ethnic employment enclaves for other Spanish immigrants. None of these minority enterprises was stimulated by the demand from specific ethnic markets: that is these ethnic

Thirty-five percent of the sample arrived without a specific intended occupation. They reported that they came to Canada willing to take any job no matter where it was located and even if this meant a shift from their previous occupation. Some professionals or qualified individuals declared that because of their language problem and lack of Canadian experience they were prepared to accept anything. Another thirty-two percent intended to perform their own trade or profession, and nineteen percent expected to work in the service sector (mainly as waiters, cooks, domestics, etc.). A small proportion (13 percent) came with idea of learning a language and/or of continuing their studies.

With respect to the first job located in Canada there was a concentration (14) in service occupations (45% of the total sample), mainly cleaning staff, cooks, waiters and dishwashers. This coincides with the large proportions in the service sector observed in the intended occupation of landed immigrants for the 26 year period considered in this study (see Tables 3.7 and 4.5). The rest of the respondents were represented in various occupation categories as follows: skilled workers (10%), non-skilled workers (16%), professionals (13%), clerks (10%), technicians, semi-professionals (10%). (See Table 4.6.)

Generally speaking the immigrants who came to Canada before 1961 worked on farms or in the service sector, with the few exceptions of one or two university professors. During the period 1961 to 1965, the Spanish immigrants primarily found their

first job in Canada as domestics and cleaners, etc. The period 1966 to 1969 corresponds with the Expo 67 in Montreal, which attracted waiters and chefs, or they came to Ottawa because of the construction and development of new hotels and restaurants. During the early 1970's, which was when most of our sample came to Canada, their first jobs showed a tendency to be concentrated in skilled trades (machinists, mechanics, electricians, etc.) and also, as was the case in earlier periods, in the service sector. After 1975, as pointed out before, very few Spanish immigrants entered Canada, with the exception of professionals or workers with pre-arranged jobs.

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Distribution of the Sample by Sex
and "First" Occupation in Canada

	Total No.	%	Males No.	Females No.
Professions	4	13	3	1
Technical, semi-professional	3	10	3	-
Clerks, sales (White collar occupations)	3	10	1	2
Service	14	45	7	7
Skilled or semi-skilled*	3	10	2	1
Non-skilled**	4	16	1	3
TOTAL	31	100	17	14

* Such as mechanics, machinists, electricians.

** Such as general labour in construction and manufacture industries

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

The first job in Canada was found through friends, acquaintances or relatives (more than half of the sample). This job seeking behaviour in the case of southern European immigrants has been described extensively by many scholars (see Anderson, 1974; Muñoz, 1972; Chimbos, 1980). Others found their first job through other channels via newspapers, want ads and direct personal application at the workplace (35%). It is evident that personal networks have been the most efficient method for Spaniards to find a job, especially their first one.

The importance of informal social networks for immigrants in the job searching process, not only for south Europeans but for other immigrant groups, has long been known (Reynolds, 1935; Turritin, 1976).

Apparently the first job was found relatively quickly and none encountered any problems at the workplace; the few exceptions were females working in clothing factories where, according to them, the working conditions were not very satisfactory. Arhopoulos (1979) also referred to this exploitation of immigrant women in her study of the garment industry and domestic service in Montreal.

With respect to the duration of the first job, eleven individuals stayed for less than six months, eight for one to two years, five for three to five years, three for six to ten years, and two who have been performing the same job since arrival in Canada (24 and 3 years ago respectively).

The reasons for leaving the first job that the Spanish immigrants in our sample located in Canada are mainly economic, that is, because they found a better paying job or one with better general working conditions. In very few cases (3) were they fired or laid off. It should be pointed out that in the case of females, the same pattern applies but childbearing was an additional reason for leaving a job. The interviewees declared an average of two to three jobs before their present job. It might be possible that the respondents did not report all the different jobs they had had in Canada, only the main ones since arrival; hence, it may be assumed that this average number of jobs may be higher.

As mentioned earlier, the occupational distribution of Spanish immigrants in Canada is not available in the published census data (a special tabulation could be run but the cost is prohibitive). The data in Table 4.7 suggest that presently there is a tendency for Spanish immigrants in Ottawa to be working in the service sector. These are low status jobs in the wider Canadian society; in the case of females this is especially true. On the other hand, there is a small concentration in higher occupational categories such as the natural sciences professionals, university professors (Spanish language), and other professions. Most of the individuals in these high status occupations are men.

TABLE 4.7

Distribution of the Sample by Sex and Present Occupation

	Total Both No.	Sexes %	Males No.	Females No.
Professionals	7	23	6	1
Technical, semi-prof.	3	10	2	1
Clerks, sales (White collar occupations)	2	6	-	2
Service	12	39	6	6
Skilled or semi-skilled (Blue collar occupations)	3	10	2	1
General labour (Non-skilled occupations)	1	3	-	1
Unemployed	1	3	1	-
Dependents	2	6	-	2
TOTAL	31	100	17	14

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

The concentration in higher or lower occupational categories has been often used to measure the economic adaptation of immigrants though there have also been considerations about the economic success of immigrants concentrated in certain ethnic specialties. With the small size of this sample we were not able to determine an economic specialty for Spaniards. They seem to share south European occupational niches: janitors, domestic service, waiters, construction workers, etc. On the other hand, in terms of economic success of Spaniards in high status occupations, that is, with high incomes it was intended to interview the owner of the one of the biggest corporations in the construction sector in Ottawa who is a Spaniard, in order to find out if his firm constituted an ethnic enclave in Ottawa. After many attempts, however, it was not possible to collect these data. We do not have the exact number of entrepreneurs and self-employed Spanish immigrants but we estimate that it is less than 10% of the total population of this immigrant-group in Ottawa. There are only four cases in our study that are self-employed: one in the electrical engineering area (for three years), another in the restaurant sector (12 years), one female embroiderer who is an employee and also a homemaker, and one small entrepreneur who is employed full-time in an Italian firm, but also has his own construction firm (home-repairs). Only two of these Spanish immigrants in Ottawa have paid employees and they can not be considered to be ethnic employment enclaves for other Spanish immigrants. None of these minority enterprises was stimulated by the demand from specific ethnic markets: that is these ethnic

businesses are not filling the demand for specialized requirements from specific ethnic markets, as has been shown to be the case among other immigrant groups.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that there are inter-ethnic relations between the Spanish immigrant group and the Italian ethnic group not only occupationally speaking but also socially. One in five of the sample have worked in the past for an Italian business or presently do. It is interesting to point out that we found in our sample some individuals who learnt Italian before English because they were working for or with Italians. We will see later how those two groups are related with respect to social networks.

Table 4.8 indicates the present employers of Spanish immigrants in the specific case of our sample.

During the interviews people frequently expressed an interest in getting a job in the public service in the future, mainly because of the advantages, notably the stability, that these jobs seem to offer. Those who have not yet obtained their Canadian citizenship, would be willing to do so, if they were able to find a job in the public service. This is not surprising since the Federal Public Service is the major employer in the Ottawa area.

TABLE 4.B

Present Employers of the Spanish Respondents by Sex

<u>Employer</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Males</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Females</u> <u>No.</u>
Public Service	4	14	2	2
Entrepreneurs, self-employed	2	7	2	-
Homemakers, domestics (live-out)	3	10	-	3
Spanish Employer	3	10	3	-
Italian Employer	^a 2	7	2	-
Canadian or non-South European	15	52	8	^b 7
T O T A L	29	100	17	^c 12

a. One male is also self-employed.

b. One female is also self-employed.

c. Two females do not work at this time.

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

At the beginning of this chapter we noted that women are mostly concentrated in jobs considered menial, with low prestige, mainly in the service sector: maids, cooks, live-out domestics, etc. These jobs are also considered to be "mobility traps", unrewarding and because there is practically no need to speak English, makes them easy for immigrant women to enter. One of the interviewees refers to her job in those terms:

"I am a maid in one of the well-known hotels in Ottawa; they treat me well, especially my boss, who is Canadian, but this the kind of job which does not give you the opportunity to move upwards, to progress, to learn new things. In other jobs, with time you prosper, advance, but here you stagnate, and besides this, you never learn to speak English or French because most of your co-workers also speak Spanish..."

In the Spanish tradition women are not incorporated in large numbers in the labour force compared with other industrialized countries. Nevertheless when they emigrate work is necessary if the immigrants intend to achieve their goals in general, and especially to increase their family income. The majority of the women in our sample work in the public sphere, outside the home. Generally they are paid by the hour because of the flexibility of the service occupations in terms of available time to perform their domestic labour at home. Part-time jobs of this type are generally better paid, especially in the case of live-out domestics, in private households (mainly in the Rockcliffe area) because it is common knowledge that there exists the demand in Canada for this kind of job, since it is usually rejected by Canadians. This situation was also found in Western Europe,

specifically in France and Germany in the case of Spanish female immigrants (see Muñoz, 1972; Díaz Plaja, 1974; Rubio, 1974).

Women also work for government institutions as cooks or cleaning ladies (hospitals, homes for the elderly, etc.) and for hotels, restaurants as maids or waitresses.

Five of the women in our study started working on their arrival as cleaning ladies in offices or institutions (e.g. hospitals, universities) because it was an occupation available which did not demand knowledge of the English or French languages and/or special skills. Also, because they had small children they could work as cleaners at night. Only two of them remained as domestics, the others changed to occupations where they were using their skills brought from their homeland (nursing, embroidering, seamstress).

Of the married men (8), most of their wives did not work because they had small children, or the husbands did not want them to work. Only two of their wives worked, one as a secretary and one as lab technician. In both cases the wives were non-Spanish Canadians. Apparently for Spanish males the raising of the children by the mother is a very important value. In addition the cost of sending the children to day-care or having baby-sitters is beyond their means, since the Spanish wives would have been in low paying manual jobs. On the other hand, not trusting children to strangers seems to be typical of southern

European immigrants groups such as Portuguese and Greeks (Anderson and Higgs, 1976; Chimbos, 1980; Alphalhao and Da Rosa, 1980).

To summarize: most of the women in our sample lack skills relevant for an industrial society such as Canada, therefore their occupational status is generally low. For those with only a few years of education the average rank on the Blishen and McRoberts scale (1976) is 449, while the ones who had secondary, trade or technical school in Spain have an average of 199 on the same scale. Only one of the female respondents has a university degree; this can be considered an exception; her occupational rank status was 12. Controlling for age and length of residence does not appear to differentiate the occupational status of females.

Analysing the occupational concentration of males (Table 4.7) it may be observed that they are distributed either in low status occupations (53%) or high status occupations (41%). If we compare the occupational ranks in the Blishen scale, controlling for sex and education we can see that poorly educated males have a higher average rank (367) than females with the same level of education (449). According to Blishen and Carrol, men tend to be concentrated in lower prestige occupations having low educational levels "but are paid a good deal more than women" (1978). In the case of individuals with an intermediate level of education (secondary, technical or trade school), females appear to be

doing better than males in terms of occupational ranking: 199 and 354 respectively. Females in female dominated occupations have lower prestige in the overall occupational hierarchy, but receive higher esteem as members of an appropriate female occupation i.e. nurses, secretaries (Blisshen and Carroll, 1978). It is not possible to compare females with university education and males because of the small numbers (only one). In any case, the average occupational rank for males with a high level of education is 35 on the Blisshen scale.

In the male professional group (6), two obtained their degree and training in Canada, whereas four arrived in Canada with a university degree. Except for the engineers they tended to have fewer number of jobs than the rest of the respondents. Only one of these engineers has experienced occupational dislocation, working on his arrival in a lower status occupation (machinist) because of lack of certification and knowledge of the language. This respondent presently has his own business and may be considered economically successful in Canada, after being in the country for only eight years.

Males who are presently working in the service and construction sector, generally started working on arrival in Canada in the same area, mainly as waiters (1), dishwashers (3), cleaners (2), cook (1), painter (1). Very few have moved to other occupations, although they have experienced some upward mobility in terms of salary.

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Only two of the male respondents work for the government, one as a draughtsman and one as a translator. Both emigrated from other countries en route from Spain, and received most of their education and training in Canada.

In terms of unemployment only a few of the Spanish immigrants have collected unemployment insurance or experienced unemployment to date. Only six males and four females have been unemployed while in Canada, and the average time unemployed was one to three months. During the interviews they criticized how some Canadians and some other immigrants live on unemployment insurance just "because they do not want to work". Portuguese also seem to have a low unemployment rate as pointed out by Alpalhao and Da Rosa (1980).

When female Spanish immigrants in our sample were asked about their husband's occupation, seven reported that they are in skilled or semi-skilled occupations (one is Portuguese), two in service occupations, two professionals (one Czech), one technician, one salesman and one unemployed (French-Canadian).

In more than half (58%) of the households, there is only one person who works outside the home. This is a high concentration of one-earner families compared to 29% where two persons work, and 13% where more than two members of the family work. This may be explained because of the preponderance of single males in the sample and may be due to male respondents not declaring that their wives were working.

The average hours worked for females was approximately 22 whereas, for males, it was 37. The respondents who declared more than 50 hours a week were those who have their own small enterprises. There were only two cases where the respondents held two jobs at the same time: they are employees in private firms and also have their own business (construction, embroidery). On arrival in Canada this situation was more common, as five of them pointed out in the interviews; they needed to have more than one job in order to make enough money to be able to save.

In this study it was difficult to obtain the total household income. The apprehension towards answering this type of question is well known, and this uneasiness was shown in the collection of the data. Therefore, the possibility of error was great and as a consequence this indicator for the evaluation of the economic position of the Spanish immigrants in Ottawa was not used as intended at the beginning of our research. We were only able to obtain a very general appreciation of their socio-economic standard of life, occupations and other observations during the process of the interview.

Just as in the case of job-hunting channels for the first occupation in Canada, subsequent occupations have been found through informal networks such as relatives and friends. For the present occupation, the situation changes because a large number (15) reported formal channels of job searching such as:

newspapers, unions, pre-arranged jobs or personal applications at the workplace, compared to ten individuals who used personal networks. Maybe, the interviewees, especially males, did not mention friends or relatives as job hunting channels to appear more efficient or self-sufficient to find jobs, or it might be the case that on arrival or during the first years in Canada, friends and relatives were more important because the newcomers did not know the language and lacked Canadian experience to use formal procedures for job applications.

The former aspect seems to be related to the factors that Spanish immigrants in our sample consider important for economic achievement in Canada. Half of the respondents give priority to knowledge of the language (mainly English); in second place they mentioned "who you know" (friends or contacts), and also to be patient, flexible and work hard.

With respect to the length of time in their present occupation the average number of years was more than eight years (45%), followed by 3 to 5 years (32%), and 5 to 7 years (6%). Only two females (6% of the total sample) have been in their current occupation for one or two years. This relative stability of Spaniards at work has been observed in Western Europe by several scholars (Muñoz, 1972; Diaz Plaja, 1974).

When asked about their intentions to change if they were offered better jobs, 42% would not change their occupations; 32%

would consider a change, but only if the offer was extremely good; the remaining 16% do not know at the moment. The male respondents who would like to change their present occupations refer to the possibility of finding better jobs in another firm, better positions maybe in the same workplace, or only when they are ready to start their own business. Women tend to be more "conservative" about changing jobs or positions; they refer to the lack of knowledge of the language as an obstacle to move from their current occupations. This aspect is relevant in the case of service occupations. Another aspect mentioned by females is their age which makes the possibility to change difficult not only because they do not want to start all over again but also because they would lose their benefits.

The four respondents who work in the government intend to stay in their present jobs for the security they have in those positions.

The "ideal" occupation for 29% of the respondents corresponds with their present occupation, whereas for 39% the "ideal" occupation would be a different one, in another area. Another 39% pointed out that their "ideal" occupation would be the same as they are in now, but performing higher positions or establishing their own businesses.

Those who declared being completely satisfied (32%) with their jobs seem to be the ones who are performing their "ideal" occupation. Others who are just satisfied with their present

occupations (55%) would like some changes either in the same workplace or in another area or sector. Only six percent of the total sample openly mentioned that they were not very satisfied with their present jobs.

The reasons given for general satisfaction in the present job were good income and benefits, good atmosphere and treatment, and flexible hours.

III. ACCULTURATION PROCESS

As stated before, language is one of the main indicators of the cultural incorporation of immigrants. Lack of fluency in the host country language, as mentioned earlier, is one of the major barriers to integration into the wider society. It is usually closely related with other aspects of the adaptation of immigrants, for example with occupational adjustment, social incorporation and other aspects of cultural incorporation (Reitz, 1980a; Chimbos, 1980; Roggs, 1974; Fisher, 1979; Weinfield, 1981).

It is difficult for the first generation immigrants, even if they know the language, to acculturate, because they have different values compared to those of Canadian society; generally this creates conflicts. Very frequently first generation immigrants do not have a command of English or French, that is they are not fluent in either of the two official languages. Almost without exception, the ability to speak English or French by the Spanish immigrants selected in this sample on arrival is

very low (Table 4.9). This language deficiency is, in part, due to their low level of education, not beyond elementary school in many cases. Those females who did not have language skills, recognized the necessity of improvement and being sometimes "ashamed" for not knowing either of the official languages in Canada.

TABLE 4.9

Distribution of the Sample by Knowledge of English and French at Arrival

Knowledge at Arrival	English		French	
	No.	%	No.	%
Excellent	-	-	2	6
Good	2	6	2	6
Average	5	16	6	19
Bad	5	16	5	16
None	19	61	16	52
T O T A L	31	100	31	100

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

In this study the males were currently more fluent in the dominant language, mainly because of the lower participation of women in the wider society (child care, low educational level, menial work, non-attendance to language schools, etc.). (See Table 4.10.)

TABLE 4.10
Distribution of the Sample and Present Knowledge
of English, by Sex

Present Knowledge of English	Total Both Sexes		Males	Females
	No.	%	No.	No.
Excellent	-	-	-	-
Good	13	42	9	4
Average	6	19	3	3
Bad	11	35	5	6
None	1	3	-	1
T O T A L	31	99	17	14

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

The use of Spanish at home is relatively high, over 70% speak mostly Spanish at home, while only 19% of the total households speak mainly English at home; ten percent usually speak French at home.

Parents, nevertheless, were unanimous in their support of bilingualism (English-Spanish or French-Spanish) for their children. Only in one household did the children not speak any Spanish.

Sponsored immigrants are often placed by their sponsors in job situations where no English or French needs to be spoken. In this type of situation they can manage with no English or French, especially if they have other individuals at work who can be used as interpreters on occasions.

Forty-eight percent of the sample speak mainly English at work although a little Spanish can be used. Only four individuals mentioned the use of French at work, and it is interesting to point out, though the frequency is very low (only two respondents), that some use Italian at work, as a consequence of having Italian employers (a construction worker and a hair-dresser). A large proportion of the sample, however, mentioned that they worked for or were related at some point in the past to the Italian ethnic group in Ottawa. Thus, special attention should be given to inter-ethnic relations in further research, particularly where latin-root languages are concerned; this may be an important factor in the integration process.

Three of the working women interviewed in this study noted that the type of work they have had since arrival in Canada has not demanded much ability to speak English (domestic service). Therefore, there is less incentive for them to shift to the dominant language. Generally, the husbands of those women who do not speak English at all do not command the language as well, and their children are in many cases their interpreters.

Although the proportion who declared they spoke English (29%) seems high, it would appear that in some cases the use of the language is very limited, only a few technical words or common expressions.

A higher proportion of males (71%) attended English (or French to a lesser degree) language schools than did females (36%). Most of the immigrants who arrived in the early seventies took classes paid by the government; others did it independently, or learnt English in high school (two cases of second generation immigrants).

Knowledge of the French language by the Spanish respondents was also very poor on arrival in Canada (Table 4.9). This is related to the low level of education of most of these Spanish immigrants. If they had attended secondary school in Spain they would have learnt some French since it is compulsory at that level. They would then have been in the position of the Portuguese immigrants as described in Anderson and Higgs (1976).

When asked about their current ability to understand, speak, read and write both languages, English and French, the majority declared to have improved, especially in English. Males seem to have progressed more than females, but in all cases they still retain a foreign accent and their writing is generally very poor since the level of work they do means that they do not need to write it very often.

It is interesting to note that length of residence does not necessarily improve fluency in English (Table 4.11).

TABLE 4.11

Distribution of the Sample by Length of Residence
and Present Knowledge of English

Knowledge of English	Total		Less than 15 years	More than 15 years
	No.	%		
Good, fluent	13	42	7	6
Average	6	19	2	4
Bad	11	35	7	4
None	1	3	-	1
T O T A L	31	99	16	15

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985.

On the other hand satisfaction with life in the host society is an important factor to take into account in terms of cultural integration. Like the Greek and Portuguese immigrants (Chimbos, 1980; Norvo, 1984), Spaniards are generally satisfied with their life in Canada. The present study showed that 26 of 31 respondents are extremely or very satisfied with Canada. This satisfaction appears to be associated with the greater economic opportunities in general, and to be living and working in a more developed country. The males especially made reference to this aspect. Females are very impressed with the efficiency of services. Other reasons for satisfaction with life in Canada are the order, organization and formality existent (19% of the total sample), as well as freedom, equality and respect for rights (23% of the 31 respondents). All these aspects were mentioned as the most important positive aspects of Canada by the interviewees.

There is a tendency to be more satisfied with length of residence in Canada as it can be seen in Table 4.12.

When the Spanish respondents were asked "what did they like least about Canada" or found more difficult to get used to, 14 people cited the weather, specifically the very long winter and continuous living inside the house as a consequence. Other negative aspects that were mentioned are high taxes, the people (not open, "cold", quiet, lack of "joy", etc.), different way of life and values (weak family bonds, permissiveness, etc.). All these findings are supported by other studies of Spaniards and South European immigrants which have been carried out in Canada

and Western European countries (Sacco, 1958; Chimbos, 1980; Rubio, 1974).

TABLE 4.12

Satisfaction with Life in Canada by Length of Residence

Level of Satisfaction	Total		Number of Years	
	No.	%	Less than 15	More than 15
Extremely Satisfied	11	35	4	7
Very Satisfied	15	48	9	6
Satisfied	5	16	3	2
Not very Satisfied	-	-	-	-
Extremely unsatisfied	-	-	-	-
T O T A L	31	99	16	15

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

About one-third of the sample claimed that they did not like the way Canadian people entertain themselves. Most of the men mentioned how they missed one typical entertainment in Spain: "bares y tapas". Obviously in Spain people tend to go out more often than here in Canada where weather forces them to stay at home, inside, and also because the practices and habits are very different. This difference in ways of entertainment was more frequently mentioned by men, no matter what the age, level of education or length of residence in Canada.

Some of the respondents also referred to the "old fashioned" clothes at the time of their arrival compared to the more modern and European Spanish styles. Still they prefer to buy clothes in Spain if they go there to visit. This aspect concerned with personal appearance, has been studied by many authors; "appearance is sacred in Spain..." (Martin, 1955; Diaz Plaja, 1970).

The subjects in the sample were asked to talk about the changes in their values and difficulties experienced after leaving Spain. When traditional Spanish families emigrated to Canada, by necessity, changes in their family relations, schedules, food habits, values, etc. took place. All these traditional values and habits were affected by the immigration process; generally circumstances and new demands in the host society made them change and adapt some of their values and practices to the new conditions. Approximately 29% of the total sample did not admit any change since their arrival to Canada, but there is evidence of some changes and acculturation to the host society, especially related to child raising. Mothers did not seem to find it difficult to raise their children in Canada although they recognize the existence of different values and methods; however from data gathered in the interviews it appears that there is very little conflict of values or generational problems between adult immigrants and second (or third) generation children. According to them they have tried to be "less rigid but not as liberal as Canadians are with their

children: the important thing is to find a balance between the two cultures...". Despite a few changes or adjustment in the Spanish families, family or kin ties are still of paramount importance (family obligations, patriarchy, privileged position of the children always under supervision, among others). It has to be noted that family structure in Spain still remains more cohesive than in any other western Europe country, North America and even Latin America (Muñoz, 1972).

Unlike the findings by several scholars concerning the increasing participation of immigrant men in child care and general domestic tasks (Brettell and Da Rosa, 1984; Munoz, 1972), in our sample very few of the Spanish men performed domestic tasks. Only in three (3) households did the husband share some responsibilities in the house; in the rest of them, the reasons for not participating were: lack of time, and simply that Spanish men are not accustomed to do domestic labour. The relations between sexes among this group are still non-egalitarian. There is a strong patriarchal marital relationship. In general a husband/dominant, wife/subordinate pattern was observed in Spanish families, that maybe has been a product of dominant Catholic church values.

Those respondents who had previous immigration experiences before coming to Canada are males whose adaptation to the host country appears to have been easier, especially in terms of acculturation; they tend to have a high or medium level of

acculturation, and they declared that the "cultural shock" occurred most frequently in their first country of immigration.

Discrimination was not an aspect mentioned spontaneously when talking about satisfaction with life in Canada. Some of the respondents mentioned the existence of some kind of - discrimination, although this is not "open". Our results contradict Sacco's findings in Quebec (1958) when almost half of the sample referred to the discrimination they had felt. Maybe after 27 years of increasing immigration to Canada, Canadians have become more accustomed to the presence of immigrants although there is still a "hidden" prejudice or racism against "foreigners". Also it could be said that maybe in Quebec, and also Toronto, or western European countries such as France and Germany, there is more discrimination than in Ottawa as some of the respondents have stated (3). It has to be pointed out that Canada's population has grown as a consequence of natural increase and substantial net migration in the 19th and 20th century; immigration policies have been primarily "manpower" policies, therefore immigrants have played an important role in the labour force, facilitating economic growth (Richmond, 1979). Nevertheless, there has been some opposition to immigration in general, especially in times of economic crisis. Canadians do not consider themselves "racists", but the non-existence of real structural assimilation, especially in the case of e.g. south European, Asian and black ethnic groups proves that there is still somewhat of a "discrimination" against minority ethnic

groups which makes their occupational or social mobility difficult, as well as their general adaptation to the host society. (Porter, 1965; Kalbach, 1970; Richmond, 1967, 1972; Turritin, 1979).

Only six individuals claim to have experienced discrimination in Canada, specifically Ottawa. It is interesting to note that the majority of males in the sample (76%) do not think there is discrimination of differential treatment towards immigrants in Canada. Women point out that there is no discrimination but rather "jealousy" from Canadian people because immigrants may have achieved more economically than many Canadians.

In two cases, the existence of discrimination towards Spaniards, or immigrants in general, at some universities was mentioned.

Another possible indicator of acculturation is the immigrant's willingness to adopt the host society's food habits. It was found that twelve of the Spanish households do not generally eat Spanish dishes, or cook Spanish-style meals, and they are more adapted to Canadian food habits (70% or more of their weekly meals are not Spanish). Eleven respondents declared their preference for mostly Spanish dishes in their meals. Approximately eight of the households try to maintain an intermediate elaboration of Spanish-Canadian meals. There is a

tendency to maintain typical Spanish food primarily because the males (husband) in the household prefer it. Women are more elastic and consider Canadian meals more practical, easier to prepare, also their children like them, but they generally have to make Spanish dishes because of the men's demands.

There does not seem to be a higher adoption rate of the diet and foods of the host society with increase in the length of residence.

TABLE 4.13

Food Habits of the Sample by Length of Residence

Food Habits	Total		Less than 15 years	More than 15 years
	No.	%		
Mainly Spanish Food Habits	11	35	4	7
Mixed Spanish-Canadian	8	26	4	4
Low Spanish Food Habits	10	32	8	2
Very Low Spanish Food Habits (mainly Canadian)	2	6	-	2
TOTAL	31	100	16	15

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

TABLE 4.14

Distribution of the Sample by Food Habits and Exogamy

Food Habits	Total		Households		Mixed	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Mainly Spanish Food Habits	11	35	9	41	2	22
Mixed (50%-50%)	8	26	6	27	2	22
Low Spanish Food Habits	10	32	6	27	4	44
Very Low Spanish Food Habits	2	6	1	5	1	11
T O T A L	31	100	22	100	9	100

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

There appears to be a difference when taking into account if the respondents were married or not within their ethnic group. There is a tendency to abandon Spanish diet and food habits with exogamy and in this case even more so because there are more males (6) than females (3) married to non-Spanish, and generally the non-Spanish women are those who cook or decide in this respect.

Data about legal status or citizenship of Spanish immigrants was collected in our study, not because we think it is a sign of acculturation but to find out their opinions about this issue. Two-thirds of the respondents are Canadian citizens. This represents a high proportion when compared to other south European groups such as Portuguese and Greeks (Chimbos, 1980; Alpalhao and Da Rosa, 1980). The reasons why they became citizens were mainly of a practical type, that is, for the possibilities that citizenship opened up for jobs in the public service in addition to the general advantages such as social security, having more rights, and related to travelling abroad, especially to the United States. There are few differences in this respect between males and females.

The ones who have not decided to apply for their Canadian citizenship claimed that they did not need it and it did not represent any advantage to them. It has to be pointed out that Spanish citizenship is not lost with the acquisition of Canadian citizenship (as in earlier years), but there are still a few individuals who believe this and emphasize: "I will always be Spanish until I die...". Of those who have only Spanish citizenship, more than half are thinking about becoming Canadian in the future, if they have to, in order to work in the public service and also because of their children. Some of the respondents in the sample were not qualified to make applications, primarily due to limitations of language ability. For others life in Canada has been very acceptable without having taken out Canadian citizenship.

IV. ETHNIC ATTACHMENT

Another factor deemed to be important in the study of the adaptation of any immigrant group are their ethnic ties and involvement in organizations of their "communities" (Breton, 1964; Porter, 1965; Rogg, 1974; Weinfield, 1981). The social structure of the Spanish community was described in Chapter Three, and in general how ethnic ties are maintained. In this study we have considered various aspects of ethnic attachment such as primary groups, affiliations, participation in ethnic institutions, image of homeland and use of ethnic services and media.

The preference for friends from their own and other closely-related groups, as the interviewees declared, is the feeling of being comfortable with people who have the same customs, traditions and languages; there is a better understanding and more sharing than with members of the host society. The very few individuals who admitted having a majority of Canadian friends, claimed that Canadians were more sincere, less hypocritical and more educated than the majority of Spaniards here in Ottawa. It is important to point out that these individuals (two males and one female) are either married outside of their ethnic group or have a high level of education.

There were a few cases when it was difficult to obtain the three best friends; they claimed to have more acquaintances than friends because they preferred to relate primarily with their relatives (extended kin). Of 18 individuals who have relatives

in Canada, six (33%) have at least three relatives in Ottawa whom they see very frequently, weekly or every two weeks. The contact with best friends in half of the cases was bi-weekly or less frequent, mainly because they are busy during the week. In the case of women they expressed the need to see their best friends at least once a week. Contacts by telephone were more often (daily or at least two or three times a week), particularly among females.

In 26 of the 31 cases of the sample, the personal relations of Spanish immigrants are within their own ethnic group (all three best friends, or at least one); the other five persons have a majority of their social ties outside ethnic group social networks (Canadians or other ethnic groups).

Although more than four out of five replied that at least one of their best friends was of their own ethnic group, only one in five said that all of their three closest friends were Spanish. It is interesting to note the high informal interaction with Hispanic American people, especially from Argentina, Mexico, Venezuela, Chile, and to a lesser extent, with Italians and Portuguese. As we have observed before, Latin Americans also participate in some of the Spanish associations. It is the males who seem to associate more frequently with Canadians than females, mainly because they are more acculturated and generally have a higher level of education and "openly" admitted that they do not want any relationship with their own group members; or else they are married to non-Spanish wives.

TABLE 4.12

Spanish Respondents Classified by Sex
and Ethnic Origin of their Best Friends

Best Friends		Total No. %	Males	Females
- All three Spanish	7	23	3	4
- Two Spanish and one Latin American	10	32	6	4
- Two Spanish and one English Canadian	5	16	4	1
- One Spanish and two Latin American or south European	2	6	-	2
- One Spanish and two French Canadians	2	6	1	1
- Two other ethnics and one English Canadian	2	6	1	1
- One other ethnic and two English Canadian	1	3	-	1
- All three English or French Canadian	2	6	2	-
TOTAL	31	100	17	14

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

Three in five of the sample may be considered an intermediate group which interacts with both members and nonmembers of this ethnic group. This "discrepant" position is held by what Reitz has called "peripheral members" (1980:113).

At a secondary level it was observed that those who did not mention Canadian or members of non-south European or non-Spanish-speaking ethnic groups as best friends, did mention those groups as acquaintances: e.g. neighbours, workmates, mainly non-affective or intimate relationships. This may be a consequence of a slightly different interpretation of the word "friends".

Analysing interpersonal relations by length of residence in Canada we may say that in this study ties with native people do not necessarily increase, contrary to what Breton found in his study about institutional completeness and the personal relations of immigrants. He argued that it "is after six years in the host country that the ties with the native community show a substantial increase" (1964:197). Maybe other aspects, e.g. English-French language skills, size of group, have more influence in having or not having relations outside the ethnic group, than years of residence.

The minority who declared having very few or no Spanish friends argued that Spaniards here in Ottawa are "gossipers, envious, pretentious, and always criticizing each other". It should not be forgotten that Spanish immigrants as is the case with other ethnic groups are not necessarily homogeneous groups and that a person can identify with some subgroups and not with others. Social class is an important factor to be taken into account.

TABLE 4.10

membership in Spanish Cultural Center and Attendance
at Ethnic Church of Spanish Respondents by Sex

Participation in Institutions		Total		Males	Females
		No.	%	No.	No.
<hr/>					
Spanish Cultural Center membership	YES	10	32	5	5
	NO	21	68	12	9
	TOTAL	31	100	17	14
<hr/>					
Attendance at Ethnic Church	YES	4	13	-	4
	NO	27	87	17	10
	TOTAL	31	100	17	14
<hr/>					

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

Although the membership at the Spanish Cultural Center is low and only three males and two females participate actively, almost all respondents have attended some activities organized by this association in the past, parties and other celebrations, or do so at present because the activities also include nonmembers. Some interviewees have dropped their membership because of disillusionment for many reasons, e.g. disagreement with the organization, clashes among members, or not interested in the type of activities promoted.

According to Breton (1964), the higher the institutional completeness of a group the higher the degree of ethnic relationships at a primary level. But in our case it appears that despite the low institutional completeness of the Spanish immigrant group ("community"), the majority of the relations at a primary level are within their own ethnic group. The Spanish ethnic group in Ottawa as in the case of the Quebec community in 1958 (Sacco, 1958) has a weak social organization (only one educational, one religious, and one sociocultural organization); therefore there is less frequency of contact, hence less opportunity to reinforce its ethnic identity and ancestral language. Nevertheless, the number of formal organizations per se may not be so important because this ethnic group is too small to warrant an elaborate organizational structure; even if the majority of their members participated in the existent organizations they would still be small, but may be stronger as a community, identifying more with their country of origin. Our findings suggest that there is a low proportion of Spanish immigrants in Ottawa who participate (specially as members) in institutions which would normally reinforce communal life and the group's culture or folklore. As we have observed earlier, membership in the Spanish Cultural Center (Centro Español) is not more than 40% of the total Spanish immigrants in Ottawa, and on the other hand the average number of them who regularly participate in the religious activities is also very low. This study seems to confirm the reported low participation rate (Table 4.16).

Church attendance as noted earlier, is generally poor and sporadic. Nevertheless, a small number (6) admitted their participation in the past. Those who have never gone to a religious celebration stated that the present location of the church is too far from their present homes or they preferred to attend English or French religious services. It should be noted that majority of the respondents were Roman Catholics although not all of them were practising.

The other institution, the Ethnic School, has been or presently is being attended by two-thirds of the total households in the sample who had children (21). These children come mostly from homes where the Spanish language is used regularly. When parents were asked about the reasons for sending or having their children sent to this Saturday school, they all agreed on the need for the young to learn their parents' language, especially to write it, because when the majority of them started attending that school, they already spoke the language at home. Also mentioned was the importance of parochial education for the perpetuation of the Spanish culture in Ottawa.

On the other hand, one in five of the families with children appear to have a negative opinion about the school. They claimed that they only sent their children there for a short time because "they did not learn anything there"; others mentioned the difficulties in sending children on Saturdays because the children were too tired, too old, not interested, or the school

was too far from home. A few females claimed that the school was "not very well organized".

Although it goes beyond the scope of this thesis to determine how strong religious values are for Spanish immigrants, it has to be pointed out that there is not an apparent preference for Separate (Catholic schools) in the households with children. Almost half of these households have selected the Public schools (non-Catholic). The other half preferred the Catholic Board of Education schools and only one family sent their children to a private school. Sometimes they send children to Catholic schools because they are near their homes.

To complete these observations about participation in the various Spanish institutions, the contact of the Spanish immigrants with the Embassy in Ottawa mainly refers to only one celebration that is organized annually in June (the King's Saint Day). Even the more isolated individuals (from the ethnic community), that is, those who definitely reject associations with other Spaniards, attend this activity.

Only a small proportion of respondents attended other Spanish language cultural activities (theatre, films, dances, conferences, etc.) that the Embassy, the Spanish Cultural Center, and Spanish Departments at the universities organize on certain occasions.

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In the same manner that participation in ethnic institutions is low, because of the "instinctive animosity of Spaniards to participate in associations" (Diaz Plaja, 1974:57), the utilization of the few ethnic services existing in Ottawa for the Spanish ethnic group, is also low with the exception of medical services. This is considered a major service that most of the immigrants eventually require, and not because of loyalties or cultural preference but the language problem forces approximately two out of every five of them to seek out Spanish-speaking doctors, especially a Spanish doctor, and a French Canadian who speaks Spanish. Very few people mentioned the use of other ethnic services: hairdressers (2), travel agency (2), garages (2), home repairs (2), bookstores (3), Montreal bookstore (4).

Most of the respondents shop at non-Spanish stores (groceries, etc.) because there are no Spanish establishments here in Ottawa. When they need Spanish specialties they shop at other South European stores, namely Portuguese and Italian, or in Montreal, where there is a large establishment (Libreria Española) with a wide supply of Spanish (and also Latin American) foodstuffs, books, and records, among other things.

With respect to Spanish newspapers or magazines (from Spain or edited in Toronto or Montreal), there are very few individuals who frequently buy and read them (three females and one male), or have subscriptions to "El Pais", "Cambio 16" and "ABC". The rest of the respondents read ethnic media very sporadically when

someone lends it to them. Men tend to be more interested in reading Spanish media than women; a higher educational level seems to be another factor that motivates the need for information from the homeland. The reasons given for not buying or reading ethnic media are mainly lack of time, difficulty in obtaining them, or simply lack of interest. It has to be said here that only half (50%) of the females in our sample read the Canadian, English or French, press, compared to a higher percentage of males (71%). Those who tend to have more access to the ethnic media (frequency of lecture and number of newspapers and magazines) also tend to be better informed through the mass media of the wider society, and sometimes international. With respect to Spanish television programmes (multiculturalism), very few people in our sample watch them; they do not seem very interested in this ethnic activity.

Most of the Spanish immigrants, similar to other foreign ethnic groups, miss their country of origin, although they very often prefer the relative comfort and standard of life that they have acquired here in Canada. Therefore, they continuously delay their final departure or return, establishing new goals and supplementary acquisitions to their original plans when they left Spain. This aspect or pattern has also been confirmed in the Spanish immigration to Western Europe (Muñoz, 1972; Diaz-Plaza, 1974). According to Muñoz, "the hope of returning home and the anxiety created by a new start, leads to psychological instability which could retard assimilation, for some time, to the host society" (1972:167).

Almost one half of the individuals in the sample do not expect to return to Spain to live; they intend to stay in Canada, specifically in Ottawa. Only six respondents expressed their intentions of returning to their homeland in the near future. In addition, slightly less than a third are uncertain about this decision; they would like to live annually six months here in Canada and six months in Spain. In a few cases they intend to move to another country in the future, e.g. United States, or Portugal.

In spite of this tendency to stay in Canada, which could be considered positively related to acculturation and adaptation in general (Bottomley, 1981:29), there are strong "nostalgic" sentiments about Spain. Almost all the respondents who stated that they would stay in Canada because of the family (husband and children) also manifested their desire to go back to Spain if they could.

Females are especially concerned about their children, who were either born in Canada or came here when very young. Therefore, they consider their return to Spain very unrealistic because there are more opportunities for their children in Canada than in Spain. It was also mentioned that they would lose their old age pensions, insurances and other benefits they have built up if they leave Canada.

The ideal solution apparently is to live between the countries so that they would have the best of Canada and Spain at the same time. Further research is need on the return to homeland data for Spanish immigrants in Canada and how their readaptation occurs. This aspect has been already studied by some authors interested in the Spanish immigration to Western Europe (Diaz Plaja, 1974; Pascal, 1969).

There is a relationship between the idea to return to the country of origin and occupational status. For Marziale (cited in Muñoz, 1972) and Krahe (1974) the most highly skilled, better or more efficient workers are usually the ones who have the least intention of returning to Spain. With the data available we could not confirm this assumption, although we presume that no matter how low their occupational position is (e.g. service occupations), they tend to stay in Canada because of their better standard of living and better opportunities for the children.

When asked about their readaptation to Spain in case they return one day, men (59%) tended to be more optimistic with respect to the idea of eventually returning home: for them it would be very easy to adapt to Spain again. Women are more dubious about the readaptation, only four think that there would be no problems. Most of the females in the sample refer to how difficult and different the way of life is in Spain compared to the way of life and standard of living they have in Canada. The only factor that would make things easier to live again in Spain

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would be having money, and even then, they will miss how they lived here in Canada, especially with respect to material comfort.

When discussing the possible readaptation to life in Spain if they returned in the future, the interviewees indicated a sizeable number of negative aspects of life in Spain (Table 4.17). It appears that there are more disadvantages or negative aspects (e.g. low standard of living, insecurity, etc.) that the individuals in our sample mentioned, compared to what they miss or considered positive aspects in their country of origin.

While this may be so, of particular interest here is the extensive communication and frequent travelling of Spanish immigrants in Ottawa to their homeland. This coincides with the pattern of ties with the country of origin of other southern European groups, specially Portuguese (Alpalhao and Da Rosa, 1980; Anderson and Higgs, 1976; Moskos, 1980; Chimbos, 1980).

The perceptions of an ethnic group are influenced by the ties with the homeland, Spain is more readily accessible from Western European countries (France, Switzerland, Germany, England) than from Canada for example. Nevertheless Spanish immigrants in Canada tend to travel to Spain at least once every two or three years. Considering the length of residence in Canada it can be said that the average number of years in Canada for this sample was 15, and the proportion of those travelling tend to increase slightly with the number of years in Canada.

TABLE 4.17

Negative Aspects of Spain for a Sample of
Spanish Immigrants in Ottawa, 1985

Negative Aspects	Total	
	No.	%
Disorganization, chaos, anarchy	8	15
Informality, impunctuality, irresponsibility	7	13
Low standard of living, poverty, backwardness, fewer jobs	7	13
Gossip, "que dirán"	6	12
Influences, politics	6	12
Insecurity, drugs, delinquency	5	10
Dirtiness, garbage, bad services in general	6	12
Individualism, hypocrisy, vanity	5	10
Noise and loudness	2	4
	52*	100

* more than one answer

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

This may be due to the better socio-economic status acquired through time which makes it easier to afford the expense of such a trip; but this assumption can only be cautiously accepted, no firm conclusions can be made because of the small size of the sample. The visits to Spain are mainly planned for the summer because of school holidays or occasionally in the winter to avoid the long Canadian winter. From informal commentaries and

conversations with parents and even with children, it was observed that children enjoy visiting Spain (because of the weather, family and friends), and sometimes they are sent there during the summer to practise and study their Spanish.

In two cases respondents travelled to Spain more than once a year for work-related reasons; that is, their work made it necessary to go to Spain because of business interests, a professional small entrepreneur and a University professor.

With very few exceptions it would appear that the reasons for visiting Spain are related to the desire to keep ties with the extended family, although this may not be their exclusive motive. They try to combine it with holidays and recreational purposes as well. There are five respondents who declared that they did not have any relatives left in Spain, therefore they just go to visit friends, and visit as tourist to places in Spain they do not know, or else they go to other parts of Europe and stay for a very short time in Spain.

For about one-half of the sample the way of life in Spain is more "humane, entertaining, slower, joyful" than here in Canada. They mentioned that despite the better standard of living and their economic advancement in Canada, there is no "joie de vivre" (alegria de vivir) compared to Spain. They appear to have an idealized image of their country of origin: family life, peace, holidays, rest, nice weather, etc. This image tends to continue

in their minds, even after many years of emigration; therefore, they dream of returning, although they often have to postpone these plans for one reason or another. This same pattern is also reported of Spanish immigrants in Western Europe (Garmendia, 1970; Munoz, 1972) as well as of other south European groups (Chiebos, 1980; Nagata, 1970; Anderson and Higgs, 1976).

We have already noted the paucity of their own institutions in the Spanish community in Ottawa, as well as their low rate of participation in activities of those which do exist. Nevertheless, most of their closest friends are within their own group. This may be explained by the tendency of Spanish people for non-collective actions, and may be a reflection of their over-emphasized individualism. For about half of the sample, the Spanish community of Ottawa is not a "real community" where members collaborate with each other and unite for the defence of their interests. These respondents mentioned the rivalries and clashes existing between individuals or families. For others (19%), there is a community, but it is divided into small groups who share common interests, and characteristics such as age, time of arrival and sometimes regions of origin in Spain, etc.

Only seven respondents think there is a "real" Spanish community in Ottawa where consensus exists and commonality of interests are shared; to give examples of this unity they referred to help offered to new arrivals with respect to housing, jobs and also moral support and friendship.

For the majority of people in the sample, the first contact with the Spanish ethnic group in Ottawa was the Spanish Cultural Center, but also some of them claimed that they did not like the Center, therefore they participated neither in the recreational club nor in the church activities. It appears that, in general, the Spanish community in Ottawa does not always provide psychological and sociological shelter or milieu for the newcomer, and his or her needs. Sacco (1958) has referred to the rivalries, jealousy and clashes because of individual differences at institutions or organizations of this type. Rivalries also have been observed in almost all Spanish communities, not only in Cnaada (Anderson, 1977; Fernández, 1972), but also in Western Europe (Diaz Plaja, 1974; Muñoz, 1972). This divisiveness is also typical of other south European groups in Canada such as Greeks and Italians (Chimbos, 1980; Hughes and Kallen, 1974).

Although regionalism (i.e. region of origin) has been mentioned as a reason for cleavages in other studies about various ethnic groups and also the few existing about Spaniards (Anderson, 1977; Fernández, 1972; Sacco, 1958; Anderson and Higgs, 1976; Chimbos, 1980), in this specific research it did not seem to be a cause for clashes, at least it was not "openly" expressed by the respondents. Nevertheless small groups do tend to associate with other immigrants from the same region, especially in the case of Gallegos, Asturians and Andaluces.

Anderson (1974) believes that the larger the community, the more rivalries, the greater the independence and the more organizations that are formed. According to this assumption, the Spanish community in Ottawa should be united, but as argued earlier even in this small group there are differences, especially in terms of social class, as reflected by their heterogeneous occupational and educational levels. It appears that those Spanish immigrants who seem to have adjusted most easily to the new society in terms of occupation and other adaptations seemed not to have used the communal base of the Spanish in Ottawa for their initial adjustment and further adaptation to the wider society, and they do not participate in ethnic institutions nor use the existent services.

The reputation for individualism and rebelliousness of Spaniards may be due to the great difficulties encountered in earlier times in developing a sense of unity and cooperation among the various groups and regions into which the Spanish society of Spain has long been divided (Payne, 1967).

V SUMMARY: LEVELS OF OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT, ACCULTURATION AND ETHNIC ATTACHMENT

Before entering the field we established indicators of occupational adjustment, acculturation and ethnic attachment in our research proposal. For occupational adjustment it was considered that five items already used by Reynolds (1935), Roggs (1974), Chimbos (1980) and Richmond and Verma (1977) would measure economic adaptation. But after the collection of the

data, it was realized that some of these items, such as periods of time unemployed, change of jobs, and use of skills were not very relevant in the case of this ethnic group. To a certain extent this problem arose because of the sample size. Hence, we have attempted to provide a descriptive analysis of the data gathered and have summarized the information that we, on conceptual grounds, thought was relevant to an understanding of the three areas treated in the thesis: occupational adjustment, acculturation and ethnic attachment.

For the purposes of this study the basic, but not the only, aspects of occupational adjustment were: satisfaction with present job, occupational status in terms of the Blishen and McRoberts scale, and the existence of elements described in Gordon's definition:

The immigrant's successful relation to the secondary groups and instrumental institutional areas of American life which would permit him "to obtain and keep a job commensurate with his potential and training, to receive the appropriate training and education where necessary". (1964:243)

TABLE 4.18

Level of Occupational Adjustment of a Sample
of Spanish Immigrants in Ottawa, by Sex**

Level	Total No.	%	Males	Females
High	11	38	8	3
Medium	10	34	6	4
Low	8	28	3	5
T O T A L	29*	100	17	12

* Two females are not working.

** As measured mainly by "Satisfaction with job and present occupational status".

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa (1985)

Acculturation

At the beginning of the research it was planned to measure the degree of acculturation* by three aspects; these measures were borrowed from others, Hurh and Kim (1984); Rogg (1974) and Gordon (1964). The items to be used were: 1) host country language facility (in this case English and/or French); 2) access and use of host country media; and 3) satisfaction with life in Ottawa and/or in Canada.

Similar to what happened in the establishment of the other indexes, some changes were made: we eliminated the access to Canadian Mass Media and substituted it by the use of Canadian dietary habits, although there has been some doubt about the importance of this indicator in the process of acculturation. Reitz (1980a:103) has argued that cultural assimilation is different for ethnic groups and difficult to compare. "One reason is that specific cultural items may appear more or less important to different observers. For example food as a cultural pattern could be regarded by some scholars as minor and unimportant, but others might not agree. In the case of Italians, and all European groups, traditional foods and cooking methods are retained long after other aspects of the immigrant culture are given up (Gans, in Reitz, 1980a). But maybe Spaniards differ from Italians and other European groups, and traditional food is less often retained.

3 OF/DE 3

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

Another item introduced here was the intention to stay in Canada:

TABLE 4.19

Level of Acculturation of Sample of Spanish Immigrants in Ottawa, by sex*

Level	Total		Males	Females
	No.	%		
High	9	29	6	3
Medium	15	48	8	7
Low	7	13	3	4
TOTAL	31	100	17	14

* As measured by adoption of host country foods and cooking and lack of retention of traditional foods, satisfaction with Canada, English or French language facility, and intention to stay in Canada.

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

Ethnic Attachment

At the initial stage of this research ethnic attachment was operationalized by the adoption of several aspects used by other researchers. These were selected from previous studies such as those by Sengstok (1978), Hurh and Kim (1984), Rogg (1974), Weinfield (1981) and Reitz (1974). Those items previously selected to determine the degree of ethnic attachment of Spanish immigrants in Ottawa were: 1) level and/or continued use of ethnic language (especially at home), 2) level of personal relations within their ethnic group, 3) intention to return to homeland, 4) frequency of contacts with the homeland (travelling, mass media, etc.), 5) participation in ethnic institutions, and 6) use of ethnic media. Again, it has to be pointed out the difficulty to develop a single ethnic "community ties" index in our case without an elaborate and sophisticated analysis to determine what aspects of ethnicity are more important than others, and our sample size precludes this type of analysis. To cite Reitz, "Ethnicity is a many-sided phenomenon; no one aspect captures all, or even most, of its reality. Each aspect has a different relation to the other aspects... and for this reason it is difficult to combine all of them in a single measure" (1980:117). Thus, our findings (Table 4.20) have to be taken carefully always bearing in mind that perhaps there are other aspects of ethnicity that are more relevant in the ethnic attachment of Spanish immigrants than those selected in this study.

From the original items proposed to measure ethnic ties, intention to return to the homeland and contact with ethnic media

were discarded, because in our opinion the contact with ethnic media reflected more the level of education or easy access to it than an indication of ethnic attachment. Intention to return to homeland was used as an acculturation indicator rather than of ethnic attachment, because no matter how strong ethnic ties are for some individuals, they sometimes have to stay in Canada for the reasons (financial, children, and others) already explained earlier in this chapter.

Instead of membership in ethnic associations per se, level of participation in the activities of the associations was used as a measure of ethnic attachment (Table 4.20).

TABLE 4.20

Level of Ethnic Attachment of a Sample
of Spanish Immigrants in Ottawa, by sex*

Level of Ethnic Attachment	Total		Males	Females
	No.	%		
High	9	29	4	5
Medium	16	52	8	8
Low	6	19	5	1
T O T A L	31	100	17	14

* As measured by use of ethnic language, personal relations, frequency of travelling and level of participation in ethnic associations

Sources: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

Although after combining the different indexes we are unable to derive any definitive conclusions because of the small size of the sample, it is possible to observe some tendencies: for example, the highly occupationally adjusted individuals have a higher level of acculturation; those with a low level of occupational adjustment tend to have a low or medium level of acculturation (Table 4.21).

Table 4.21

Distribution of the Sample by Acculturation and Occupational Adjustment Levels, by Sex

Level of Acculturation	Occupational Adjustment							
	Total	Males			Total	Females		
		High	Med	Low		High	Med	Low
High	6	4	1	1	3	1	2	-
Medium	8	4	3	1	5	2	1	2
Low	3	-	2	1	4	-	1	3
TOTAL	17	8	6	3	12*	3	4	5

* Two females are not working.

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

It was observed that males tend, in general, to have higher levels of occupational adjustment and acculturation. They also have a high level of schooling, a different marital status (majority are singles), and a better command of English or French. Length of residence does not appear to have much influence on the level of occupational adjustment and acculturation of the respondents (Table 4.22).

TABLE 4.22

Level of Acculturation of the Sample
by Sex and Length of Residence

Level of Acculturation	Less than 15 yrs.			More than 15 yrs.		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
High	4	2	2	5	4	1
Medium	8	4	4	7	4	3
Low	4	3	1	3	-	3
TOTAL	16	9	7	15	8	7

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985

On the other hand, occupational adjustment seems to be inversely related to ethnic attachment, especially in the case of males. Females with a low level of occupational adjustment tend to have a strong ethnic attachment (Table 4.23).

TABLE 4.23

Occupational Adjustment and Ethnic Attachment of a Sample
of Spanish Immigrants in Ottawa, 1985, by Sex

Ethnic Attachment	Occupational Adjustment							
	Total	Males			Total	Females		
		High	Medium	Low		High	Medium	Low
High	4	1	2	1	4	1	-	3
Medium	8	4	3	1	7	2	3	2
Low	5	3	1	1	1	-	1	-
TOTAL	17	8	6	3	12*	3	4	5

* Two females do not work.

Source: Guada, Sample Survey, Spanish Community, Ottawa 1985.

After an analysis of the data and participant observation of the Spanish community we can suggest that although ethnic attachment tends to decrease with the length of residence, there are other variables which seem to have more influence on the level of ethnic ties: for example, level of education, endogamy, occupational status. It would need further research as we pointed out earlier to establish if the relationship between these factors and ethnic attachment is significant. In the case of in-group friends it seems to have an intermediate influence on the level of ethnic attachment; we have observed that although many individuals are highly acculturated and highly occupationally adjusted, they still tend to have the majority of their friends within their ethnic group, contrary to expectations.

Finally, despite the fact that self-identification was not an aspect under investigation in this study, it was observed that spontaneously, the subjects in the sample, either first or second generation, would identify themselves as "Spanish", and not as "Canadians", independent of their citizenship.

The majority of individuals in this study are Canadian citizens, but their reasons seem to be completely instrumental. On the contrary, they generally think about their children (native or foreign born) as being "Canadians", although in the home they try to maintain some of the aspects of the Spanish culture, especially the language and other uses, customs and values.

We can conclude from the analysis of the three processes in the adaptation of Spanish immigrants in Canada, specifically Ottawa, that is, Occupational Adjustment, Acculturation and Ethnic Attachment, that:

1) Men are more occupationally adjusted than women, mainly because they have, in general, a higher level of schooling and a higher occupational status (on the Blisshen scale). Satisfaction with the job appears to be of less importance as the majority seem to be generally satisfied, independent of occupational status, number of years, etc.

2) Males appear to be better acculturated than females. This can also be attributed to better education, the tendency to

exogamy and single marital status (a high proportion). A very important factor influencing acculturation as proved in other studies is knowledge of the language. Married women with children tend to speak less English or French at home or at work because of their low status occupations which demand only a rudimentary knowledge of English or French and their desire to make their children relatively fluent in Spanish. In general the level of acculturation is not so much influenced by length of residence or age of arrival as by level of education, occupational status, exogamy and previous migration.

3) The difference in ethnic attachment between sexes does not differ as much as the other measures. In general, the level of ethnic attachment tends to be medium; the use of Spanish at home was predominant as were personal relations within the ethnic group, but there was low participation in ethnic institutions.

Contacts with homeland or frequency of travelling may not be a fundamental aspect of ethnic identity, and may depend more on the socio-economics status or type of work (there were individuals who had to travel very often because of business). The average number of trips was every two to three years; males showed a slight tendency to travel more frequently although they are more acculturated than women, but still they have an idealized image of the homeland and sometimes go to their country of origin, just as a place to "visit".

4) When comparing the levels of acculturation and ethnic attachment we can observe that the adaptation of the individuals in this sample is "adhesive", that is, situational; depending on the circumstances the Spaniards are more "Spanish" or more "Canadian". Cultural assimilation as Gordon argued occurs even when ethnic group ties remain (1964).

NOTES:

1. The reasons for not interviewing selected individuals were:

- refused to be interviewed 4
- impossible to locate 4
- did not meet requirements 1

Due to limitations of time and money these subjects were not substituted to complete the forty (40) interviews initially intended.

2. The Embassy provided just the names on their registration list, not their addresses or telephone numbers, to guarantee confidentiality. They promised the researcher that an interview would be arranged for them in the event that one of the individuals on the Embassy list were selected; but, this agreement could not be carried out for various reasons that the Spanish institution gave to the researcher (lack of time, change of the Ambassador, among others).
3. At least three of the female sample mentioned having worked in a home for elderly people (Hillel Lodge), on arrival in Ottawa.
4. The Blishen scale is based in an objective scale developed by relating income and occupation statistics derived from the Canadian census. Estimates for the status of occupations were based on the average levels of education and income of persons holding each occupation, taking into account the known relationship between education, income and job status for the 85 related jobs (Blishen and McRoberts, 1976).
5. The difficulty of Spaniards to adapt themselves to the cold temperatures was also pointed out by Sacco (1958:20) in his study carried out in Quebec.
6. Spaniards do not live indoors as much as do people who live in colder climates. Usually "bares y tapas" refers to the custom of drinking wine and eating an immense variety of tidbits, mainly in the form of seafood, before meals, outside of the home (Martin, 1955:63).
7. There was a majority who preferred Spanish wines at any time. Only seven respondents referred to the consumption of other wines: two of them who made the wine themselves.

found during the years 1966, 1967 and 1968. The smallest number entering Canada during the 26-year period considered here is found in 1979 when only 271 entered. There has been a steady decline of Spanish immigration to Canada that might be explained by restrictions and changes in Canadian immigration policies (e.g. -point system), the end of Franco's dictatorship in Spain, better economic and working conditions in Spain, and perhaps the facilities made available for the migration of Spaniards to European Economic Community countries.

There have been very few studies about Spanish immigrants in Canada, and none in Ottawa. The existing ones have mainly concentrated on the Spanish immigrants living in Montreal, Quebec and Vancouver. Very often they are mixed with other Spanish-speaking groups, or grouped with other south-European ethnic groups; therefore specific information about them is lacking. This is especially true in the case of the Census and other surveys.

Our sample included Spanish adult immigrants who arrived at 14 years of age or over, who were living in Ottawa. According to the 1981 Census there were 570 such individuals older than fifteen years of age whose country of birth was Spain. We have estimated that at the present time (1985) there are approximately 500 households of Spanish origin in Ottawa. Limited financial resources and time constraints made it difficult to interview more than 31 individuals for our study.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present study is an analysis of the Spanish community in Ottawa, focussing on the adaptation of Spanish immigrants to life in Ottawa.

Since very little is known about Spanish immigrants in Canada in general, and in Ontario and in Ottawa in particular, this study may be viewed as an exploratory one and a starting point for future research on this group in Canada.

The data upon which this study is based were drawn primarily from: (i) interviews with a sample of Spanish respondents; (ii) participant observation; (iii) secondary data existing on Spanish immigration to Canada; and (iv) content analysis of the few documents that we were able to locate. This chapter will outline the major findings and will conclude with a brief section of recommendations for further research.

In general the research in this study was guided by the writings of many scholars: from a theoretical point of view, the works of Gordon (1964), Porter (1965), Reitz (1974; 1980; 1981; 1982), Breton (1964), Richmond (1967; 1977), Nagata (1970), and Isajiw (1975; 1983) were very useful for our analysis. The writings of Anderson (1974; 1976; 1977), Alpalhao and Da Rosa (1980), Chimbo (1980), Reynolds (1935), Huynh and Kim (1979),

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among others, were used primarily to provide a comparative basis for our empirical evidence.

It must be borne in mind that the sample size is small and because of the relatively small size of this community, there was considerable difficulty locating many of the immigrants. Hence, while the findings may be interesting, they may not always be generalizable to other settings in Canada where Spanish immigrants have taken up residence. Nevertheless, as will be noted below, in some instances characteristics of the sample correspond closely to characteristics of the general Spanish population in Canada.

Some of the central questions formulated before entering the field were answered through the gathering and analysis of the data. In some cases the information obtained via the interviews was inadequate and other sources of data were used.

As noted in Chapter One, structural pluralism is in our opinion the model of adaptation most appropriate, for the study of ethnic groups in Canada. In this model, ethnic groups maintain their primary relations within their own group, but participate in secondary relations with the wider society (Gordon, 1964). It was assumed that the mode of adaptation of Spanish immigrants would mainly be "adhesive", that is, on one hand they would be acculturated to a certain extent, but on the other hand they would retain some aspects of their ethnic

culture. Depending on the situation they would be more "Spanish" or more "Canadian" (Hurh and Kim, 1979; Herman, 1978; Richmond, 1974).

In this study, both the socio-economic and political situation of the wider society (contextual approach) and the cultural and structural characteristics of the ethnic group, e.g. "primordial" attributes such as kinship, language, area of origin, among others (primordialist approach), were considered of crucial importance in understanding the process of adaptation of the Spanish ethnic group and their maintenance of ethnic ties.

To better understand Spanish immigration, a brief historical background of the socio-economic situation and prevalent values in Spain, the homeland, were provided. The situation in Spain following the Spanish Civil War was considered important because of the political and economic changes which initiated the mass migration of Spaniards to South America, Western Europe and North America during the 1950's and 1960's. The major push factors for emigration from Spain were economic, mainly the low standard of living and lack of jobs, as well as the unstable political situation, a consequence of Franco's dictatorship.

The system of values dominant in post-war Spanish society was briefly considered because there is a predisposition to attitudes, values and behaviours that the immigrants bring to the receiving country. The suddenness of modernization in Spain

meant that the older values of a pre-industrial society persisted in the era of rapid capitalist growth. A mix of secularization and traditionalism developed in Spain, especially regarding family roles, religious values, and education, among others. In this study special attention was given to the general high value placed on individualism in Spain which may help to explain some of the aspects considered in the adaptation of Spanish immigrants such as lack of participation in both ethnic and Canadian associations, lack of cooperation with each other, personalism and rivalries within the Spanish community in Ottawa. This strong sense of individualism together with strong family ties was reflected in the process of adaptation of this ethnic group as we noted in earlier chapters.

Spaniards have emigrated to Canada and the United States in small numbers compared to other south Europeans, perhaps because of the relative isolation and absence of formal relations between the Spanish and Canadian governments throughout various historical periods. The only agreements related to the immigration of Spaniards to Canada, as far as we were able to determine, were the "Operación Bisoite" in 1957 and the "Operación Alce" in 1960. These Spanish immigrants were destined mainly for Quebec to perform farm and domestic service occupations.

Before 1956 the number of Spanish immigrants resident in Canada was insignificant and the largest proportions are to be

found during the years 1966, 1967 and 1968. The smallest number entering Canada during the 26-year period considered here is found in 1979 when only 271 entered. There has been a steady decline of Spanish immigration to Canada that might be explained by restrictions and changes in Canadian immigration policies (e.g. -point system), the end of Franco's dictatorship in Spain, better economic and working conditions in Spain, and perhaps the facilities made available for the migration of Spaniards to European Economic Community countries.

There have been very few studies about Spanish immigrants in Canada, and none in Ottawa. The existing ones have mainly concentrated on the Spanish immigrants living in Montreal, Quebec and Vancouver. Very often they are mixed with other Spanish-speaking groups, or grouped with other south-European ethnic groups; therefore specific information about them is lacking. This is especially true in the case of the Census and other surveys.

Our sample included Spanish adult immigrants who arrived at 14 years of age or over, who were living in Ottawa. According to the 1981 Census there were 570 such individuals older than fifteen years of age whose country of birth was Spain. We have estimated that at the present time (1985) there are approximately 500 households of Spanish origin in Ottawa. Limited financial resources and time constraints made it difficult to interview more than 31 individuals for our study.

Our sample consisted of 17 males and 14 females, mainly between the ages of 35 and 44, who had been living in Ottawa for an average time of 15 years. The majority of them were married, although a higher proportion of males than one would expect were still single. Most of the individuals in the sample were married to Spaniards and a high proportion were Canadian citizens. The average age at time of immigration was 26 years.

Very few of the respondents came directly to Ottawa; often their first destination was Montreal, Toronto or other Canadian cities. During the 1950's and 1960's Spanish immigrants tended to be concentrated in Quebec, but by the 1970's and 1980's there was a tendency to settle in Ontario. In the 1981 census, 70% of the Spaniards live in Toronto.

Most of the interviewees came to Canada directly from rural areas in Spain, specifically the northern regions and Andalusia. They tended to come with their nuclear families, unlike most of the other south European immigrants (Chimbos, 1980; Alpalhao and Da Rosa, 1980). This is also the pattern found in the total Spanish immigrant population in Canada (Immigration Statistics, 1957-1983).

There is a large representation of non-sponsored immigrants. This can be explained by the fact that there is a large proportion of single males in this sample who came to Canada independently. Another reason is to be found in the males'

higher level of education compared to the females in the sample. The motives behind the decision to migrate were often expressed in economic terms: higher wages, better housing, more material comfort and other general advantages.

It was learned in this research that Spanish immigrants do not tend to be residentially concentrated, although there are one or two very small pockets near Vanier and south-east areas of Ottawa.

According to immigration statistics, the intended occupation of Spanish immigrants on their arrival in Canada has been mainly located in the manufacturing, construction and professional and technical sectors, especially during the period 1957-1961, whereas for the subsequent years they have been located in machining and related service and professional, especially science and engineering sectors. These main trends are reflected in our sample, where most of the respondents were concentrated in the professional and service occupations. Not many of them are working in the machining or construction sectors; people with those skills would be more likely found in industrial cities such as Toronto or Montreal.

Friends and relatives were found to be very important in this study, not only as job hunting channels, especially for the first job, but also as the Spanish immigrants' main help on their arrival in Canada.

We were not able to establish the existence of an economic specialty for Spaniards, due perhaps to sample size. They seem to share south European occupational niches such as janitors, domestic service, waiters, etc. It is unlikely that there are many ethnic enclaves because there are not many entrepreneurs or self-employed Spanish immigrants in Ottawa. Evidence of this is the large proportion of the sample who work for a Canadian or non-south European employer.

The women are mostly concentrated in jobs considered menial and with low prestige, mainly in the service sector: maids, cooks, "live-out" domestics, etc. Analysing the occupational concentration of males it was observed that they are distributed either in low status or high status occupations. In general, unlike Richmond's (1967) immigrants study, the respondents with very few exceptions (an engineer, a machinist, a pharmacist), have not experienced occupational dislocation. In general, comparing their present situation with their former situation in Spain, they have experienced some upward mobility, even though they have accepted and still do low status jobs in Canada.

In the case of females it was shown that the first occupation held in Canada has been a determinant of their low occupational adjustment and maintenance of their "entrance status". With very few exceptions, these females have tended to enter low status occupations and have not been able to move from

them, basically because of lack of skills, few opportunities for training, and lack of knowledge of one of the official languages in Canada. In general, Spanish immigrants in Canada tend to be satisfied with their present jobs and almost half of them would not like to change them. This is especially true of the women.

As noted earlier, lack of fluency in one of the official languages of Canada is one of the major barriers to integration into the wider society and it is very closely related to other aspects of the adaptation of immigrants, especially occupational adjustment. The majority of respondents in our sample speak English at work although sometimes this is very limited, only a few technical words or common expressions. As is the case with many other ethnic groups in Canada, they are primarily oriented to Anglophone society because of economic opportunity. As Reitz argued, this is reflected in their patterns of settlement, Ontario and Quebec, especially Montreal where there is an "influential Anglophone minority" (1980a:346).

Spanish immigrants, like other ethnic groups seem to be satisfied with their lives in Canada, specifically in Ottawa. This has been considered an important factor in the acculturation of immigrants. They mentioned the great economic opportunities in general as well as the existence in Canada of better organization, more order, freedom, equality, etc. compared to Spain and other countries.

The majority of respondents in our sample intend to stay in Canada, although there are "nostalgic" feelings towards their country of origin. In terms of adaptation to the host society, the importance of education has to be pointed out. It was found that the better educated individuals were more adapted to the new context,² especially if they knew the language before coming to Canada. As Reitz has argued, education affects not only the occupational or economic adaptation of immigrants but also "helps to speed up the rate of adaptation to Canadian culture and society" (1980:191). Immigrants with a low level of education have stronger ethnic ties and tend to learn the new language, values, customs, etc. more slowly, especially if they come from rural areas, have not had previous migration experience, and are married within their own ethnic group.

Before 1964, the Spanish community in Ottawa consisted only of a network of personal relations. Friendship groups and cliques were formed, but there were no formal organizations. At present the Spanish community has developed a more formal structure and basically has three organizations: religious, recreational and educational. There are very few other ethnic services. Compared to other south European groups such as Italians in Ottawa, their organization is weak and members of this ethnic group have to use host institutions for the satisfaction of most of their needs, such as work, food and clothing, education, social assistance among others. The Spanish community in Ottawa is low in terms of "institutional completeness", using a concept developed by Breton (1964).

As we saw in earlier chapters, the Spanish community survives in Ottawa without the support structures found in communities with large foreign ethnic populations. Minority ethnic communities in Canada tend to be composed of people with low status occupations. It is not very frequent that people with high status jobs keep their ethnic ties, as Reitz has argued (1980a). Although evidence of this was found in our study, middle class respondents were still socially distinct from the host society, having most of their personal relations still within the Spanish ethnic group. The people interviewed for this study can be described as primarily working or low middle class in origin (composed of unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workers), and a minority of upper middle class, mainly represented by professionals, entrepreneurs, etc. The usual criteria to define social class are social prestige and economic and political power. Common indicators of economic status are occupation and income. Due to difficulties in obtaining the annual total income, occupational status has been the criterion used here to determine the individual's social class.

~~There was a tendency in the professional upper middle class~~
group to be dissociated from their working class compatriots and as a consequence they do not generally participate in the Spanish associations. At the same time we found in this study that most of the acculturated individuals - who were also well educated and generally occupationally adjusted - identify themselves as members of the Spanish ethnic group even though they are not very interested in returning to Spain and may consider their homeland

as a place to visit occasionally. They travel very frequently to their country of origin, maintain some aspects of the Spanish culture at home (values, language, food, etc.), although they are usually isolated from working class Spaniards in the city.

Even those with fifteen years or more of living in Canada and the most acculturated individuals in the sample in terms of adoption of some cultural patterns of the host society, are still self-conscious of their ethnic group at least on some occasions and in some relations.

Lowly educated Spanish immigrants showed an intermediate level of acculturation and economic adaptation, but a higher level of ethnic attachment compared to the well educated. These individuals tend to participate more in ethnic associations and have friends within their ethnic group to a greater extent. Breton (1964) argued that participation in at least one of the ethnic institutions increases the in-group friends. It does not appear in this study that friendship has been inherited from the same area of origin in Spain, except for a few cases. Spanish relate to other Spaniards whose area of origin is not necessarily the same as their own. This may be due to the relatively small size of the community.

This research indicates that social integration rarely occurs in first generation Spanish immigrants (and very probably second). Although Canadians were defined by some Spanish

immigrants in Ottawa as being "cold, selfish and not very friendly"; they are willing, apparently, to establish primary relations with them; however some of the Spanish immigrants perceive difficulties in being accepted by the natives and they are also aware of the existence of communication barriers because of their general low skill in speaking either one of the two official languages. At this point, in this stage of adaptation, Canadians are mainly acquaintances, not intimate friends.

On the other hand, the low degree of social integration can not be explained by the existence of a very strong identification of Spaniards with their ethnic culture, because in our opinion the preservation of some ethnic values and customs is constrained to the home exclusively. Their ethnic attachment is "adhesive" or "situational" as noted above, mainly maintained at home (family relation patterns, language use, diet and food habits, among others); they also relate to small different groups of Spanish or Latin American friends, in an individualistic manner. The only ethnic collective activities that they appear to join occasionally are of a recreational type (i.e. weekend ethnic celebrations), and sometimes religious activities. Fernandez in his study of Spaniards in Montreal (1972) has observed that people may have parallel loyalties, e.g. Canadian and Spanish, each of which becomes significant or are utilized in different contexts" (1972:23). Also Nagata (1970), when studying the adaptation of Greek immigrants in Toronto, has argued that ethnic identity or attachment is usually restricted to a private domain (home, church, etc.) while Canadian values tend to be more

consistent in the public domain, especially in employment situations". Spaniards in Ottawa tend to participate directly in Canadian economic institutions; they are involved with the wider society through the medium of employment, with some exceptions of individuals who work in the few Spanish or south European enclaves (Italian, Portuguese) existing in Ottawa.

Although there have been partial changes in habits, and values in the emigration process, Spaniards seem to preserve certain aspects of the Spanish culture such as extended family, ethnic language at home, parental authority at home, respect for the aged, among others. They have adapted to new ways, without renouncing their traditional patterns. In general, we could say that they are not typically Spanish nor typically Canadian: they are in a transitional stage.

Further Research

On the basis of the present evidence it would be of particular interest to study the process of adaptation and maintenance of ethnic culture among second generation Spanish-Canadians. It seems likely that future generations will tend to a lesser degree (compared to adult immigrants) to preserve their ethnic ties, and on the other hand, they will slightly increase their integration - economic, cultural and maybe social - into Canadian society. It is difficult to forecast how fast their social integration will be, especially because this depends on the willingness or unwillingness of the majority groups to allow large scale penetration of its social institutions by members of

ethnic minorities. It would need further research to determine if the ethnic identity of Spanish immigrants in Ottawa is going to be strengthened or if on the contrary individuals will dissociate and therefore the community will disappear. Breton (1964) has indicated that:

"If the rate of migration is low, the ethnic public will progressively decrease because even a high degree of institutional completeness will not prevent some integration into the native community... Ethnic communities are formed, grow and disappear; they grow through a life cycle..." (1964:205)

Hansen's hypothesis of the "third generation return" contradicts the thesis about the disappearance of ethnicity when the second or third generation becomes fully integrated. The prevalent pattern among the first generation seems to be preserving the culture of the ancestral group; generally, for second generation there is a conflict between the ethnic values at home and the values of the host society. But then, the third generation mainly acculturated and integrated, "may rediscover his/her ethnic origin, not in the sense of returning to the old culture but in finding aspects of it meaningful to his/her present pattern of life" (in Breton, 1975:85).

Whether this pattern is going to be developed by the Spanish second or third generation Spanish in Ottawa has yet to be seen. But, most of the second generation Spaniards in general, have not yet reached maturity, and although there are very few Spanish immigrants coming to Canada including Ottawa, due to present Canadian immigration restrictions, and better conditions in Spain

(democracy, economic development, Common Market, etc.), there is no reason in our opinion to think that the Spanish community will disappear in Ottawa in the near future, despite its low institutional completeness, in Breton's terms. Socialization at home will perhaps continue transmitting Spanish values, uses, traditions, and especially the Spanish language. They will not want their culture to be lost in Canada; this was clearly observed in second generation subjects (who migrated as teenagers) whose positive and strong ethnic attachment was shown during the interviews. Again, it has to be seen how the ethnic culture will be maintained without the influx of new immigrants who, in Reitz's opinion, create conditions "to reactivate the ethnic ties of older immigrants and of those of second and third generation" (1980a:234).

Perhaps second generation ethnic ties may weaken in the future, especially if they marry outside their ethnic group, and if they achieve a higher education level than their parents. Further research should also confirm if second and third generations of Spanish-Canadians will achieve higher level occupations. These new generations will not have language problems as most of their parents did, especially immigrant women who were segregated to occupational niches such as maids, cooks, cleaning ladies, etc. because those were the only jobs they could perform without knowledge of the official languages, and with very low education level and few skills.

Another aspect that should be investigated is the return to the homeland of Spanish immigrants, after they retire in Canada (or maybe before). This, in our opinion, would be important not only to see how the adaptation process occurs, but also because this returning or not to Spain would have a very important influence in their children's descendants in terms of maintenance of the Spanish culture. As noted earlier, the Spanish style of life is centred on the home for the most part, and extending from home to immediate relatives and close friends. On the other hand, the elderly, as stated before, are a central pillar in the Spanish extended families, as well as in other souther European groups, such as Portuguese (Anderson and Higgs, 1976) and Greeks (Nagata, 1970; Chimbos, 1980). They are usually child-carers, and therefore if they remain in Canada (first generation adult immigrants in our study), ethnic values and culture in general would more likely be transmitted at home as part of the socialization process. The importance of the family unit is pivotal in the maintenance of ethnic uses and values (Borrie et al, 1956; Ishwaran, 1980).

It is also considered important that more research on entrepreneurial success of Spanish immigrants and also existence of ethnic enclaves be carried out. In a larger stratified sample, it would be possible to establish the proportion of entrepreneurial Spanish immigrants, and how many of their enterprises can be considered ethnic enclaves which provide jobs for Spaniards or other minority ethnic groups in Ottawa. The main

focus should be to find the existence of ethnic enclaves where education of the immigrant does not seem to have a significant role in terms of economic achievement, as Anderson (1976), Herman (1978) and Reitz (1980) have shown.

Of particular interest will be the study of inter-ethnic relations between the Spanish immigrant group and other minority groups in Canada, especially Italians, Portuguese, Greeks, and Latin Americans, among others.

Throughout this study, the existence of an "elite" among the Spanish immigrants in Ottawa was clearly revealed; they are highly educated, to a certain extent acculturated and generally dissociated from their working class compatriots. These intellectuals constitute a "community" of their own that requires special attention and research using a comparative analysis for example, between this intellectual elite in Ottawa and the one existing in Montreal or Toronto. Information given on the perception that members of the Spanish community have about the existence of this elite would also be of interest.

Conclusions

The present study, as pointed out earlier, should be replicated in a different Spanish immigrant population, to determine if our findings are unique to this selected population or whether they apply to Spaniards in Canada as a whole.

The findings presented in Chapter Four might be speculative, but they provide some insights into the complex process of the integration of immigrants to the receiving countries.

The data obtained from the thirty-one interviews, limited as they are, give a preliminary assessment of the degree of occupational adjustment, acculturation and ethnic attachment of Spanish immigrants in Ottawa. In general, it appears that Spaniards residing in Ottawa have an intermediate level of occupational achievement, acculturation and maintenance of ethnic ties. Similar to most of the other south European immigrants in Canada, they are not yet integrated into Canadian society at the primary group level.

We could say that the majority of Spanish immigrants in Ottawa are in a transitional stage of economic and cultural incorporation. They have not reached the integration stage because of their uneven distribution in the Canadian occupational structure, and high concentration in low status occupations.

It is hoped that the material presented in this thesis will contribute to some extent to an understanding of the process of adaptation of immigrants in a pluralistic society, specifically the Spanish ethnic group in Ottawa. A major aim of this work is to start with the study of Spaniards in Ottawa as a base for further research on the Spanish immigration in Canada. More extensive data are needed for comparisons of Spanish immigrants in other Canadian cities, and with other ethnic groups.

Generalizations from this study are limited not only because it refers to a small group of Spanish immigrants in Ottawa, but because immigrant groups are not homogenous, they have specific characteristics that may vary from one setting to another.

NOTES:

1. Some positive results have been achieved in Spain during recent years, especially with respect to an improvement in industrial activity, in the balance on current account and the inflation rate. Nevertheless, there are still negative aspects such as the increase in unemployment and the current deficit (Oficina de Informacion Diplomatica, Reportage, No. 367). According to Krane, one of the first steps in the democratization of Spain in order to resolve the economic and social problems creating enough jobs, has been joining the Common Market as a full member, "which will give the Spanish labour force the freedom to move throughout the Common Market and thereby remove many of the existing problems" (1974:163). However, it has to be seen how Spain's full participation in the Common Market helps to solve the unemployment and inflation problems. According to an opinion poll carried out in nine industrialized European countries, Spain occupies the first place among countries regarding unemployment and the general economic situation as their "main concern" (Spain_84, Vol. 13, No. 126).
2. Education itself is a component of socio-economic status and also can be considered an indicator of predisposition to modernity and potential integration into a modern industrial society (Porter, 1979).
3. There has been an increasing exogamy in minority ethnic groups which is important because of the role that the mother plays in the socialization of the children and learning of the language (Porter, 1979:279).
4. Spanish immigrants in general do reinforce educational aspirations and achievement of their children at home. This support and motivation for achievement was found in our sample; in general second generation Spanish-Canadians tend to complete high school and some of them continue on to university.

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APPENDIX

CEDULA DE ENTREVISTA

No. _____

Fecha _____

Sexo: M () F ()

Actualmente me encuentro cursando estudios de Sociología en Carleton University,, específicamente en el área de inmigración, grupos étnicos y Sociología del Trabajo. En vista de la poca información que existe en Canadá sobre la población española decidí escribir mi tesis acerca de la situación de este pequeño pero importante grupo en Ottawa con la idea de que quizás sirva de base para futuros estudios sobre la inmigración española en otras ciudades canadienses. De antemano le agradezco su colaboración; toda la información que me sea suministrada será completamente confidencial..

I) ANTECEDENTES PERSONALES Y PROCESO DE MIGRACION

1.- Podría Ud. por favor decirme en que año nació? _____

EDAD: menos 30	1	45-54	4
31-34	2	55-59	5
35-44	3	60 y más ..	6

2.- Donde nació Ud.? (País, región, ciudad o pueblo)

3.- Cual es su Estado Civil?

Casado () Soltero () Divorciado () Separado ()

Viudo ()

4.- Actualmente cuál es su nacionalidad?

Española () Pasar a pregunta 5.

Canadiense () ... Pasar a pregunta 5a.

Otra, cuál? _____

5.- Ha pensado Ud. en hacerse ciudadano canadiense? (SONDEAR
RAZONES)

5a.- Qué lo llevó a Ud. a hacerse canadiense?

6.- Ahora vamos a hablar un poco acerca de su llegada a Canadá.

En qué año llegó Ud. a este país? Qué edad tenía Ud.?

ANO: _____ EDAD: _____ TOTAL AÑOS EN CANADA: _____

7.- Donde vivía Ud. antes de venir al Canadá? (ESPECIFICAR)

España 1

Europa Occidental 2

Latinoamérica 3

Otros, cuál? _____

8.- Podría Ud. por favor decirme por qué decidió emigrar al
Canadá y no a otro país? (SONDEAR RAZONES, OBJETIVOS, TIPO
DE INMIGRACION: INDEPENDIENTE, NOMINADA O SPONSORED)

9.- A qué sitio (región, ciudad) llegó Ud. en el Canadá? Ha vivido Ud. en otros lugares antes de residenciarse en Ottawa? (SONDEAR RAZONES DE CAMBIO EN EL PASADO Y PERIODOS DE TIEMPO).

10.- Cuánto tiempo ha vivido Ud. en Ottawa? (SONDEAR AREAS DE RESIDENCIA PREVIAS, RAZONES DE CAMBIO, INTENCIONES DE MUDANZA).

11.- Le gusta a Ud. el área en donde vive actualmente? (SONDEAR MOTIVOS, PROPIEDAD DE LA VIVIENDA, IMPORTANCIA O NO DE LOS VECINOS).

12.- Vino Ud. al Canadá solo, o en compañía de otros familiares? (SONDEAR EN EL CASO ESPECIFICO DE OTTAWA, RAZONES, CUANDO OCURRIÓ REUNION FAMILIAR EN CASO POSITIVO).

13. Aproximadamente cuántos familiares tiene Ud. en Canadá? Y en Ottawa? Podría Ud. decirme con qué frecuencia los ve o tiene contacto con ellos? (SONDEAR NEXOS, OCASIONES, RAZONES)

Diaria	1	Mensual	4
Semanal	2	Menos	5
Quincenal	3	No tiene	6

14.- Recién llegado a Canada, quien(es) le ayudaron en cuanto a conseguir vivienda, trabajo, escuela, aprendizaje del idioma, etc.? (SONDEAR AYUDA INFORMAL V.I. FAMILIA, AMIGOS ESPAÑOLES U OTRO ORIGIN; AYUDA FORMAL V.I. AGENCIAS DE GOBIERNO, IGLESIA, ETC.)

15.- Cuántos años de estudio ha tenido Ud.? (SONDEAR: DONDE,

TÍTULO OBTENIDO)

Primaria inc.	1	Técnica compl.....	6
Primaria compl....	2	Univ. incompl.....	7
Secundaria inc....	3	Univ. compl.....	8
Secundaria compl..	4	Post-grado	9
Técnica (artes y oficios) inc.	5		

16.- Qué tipo de trabajo hacía Ud. en España (o sitio anterior de residencia) antes de venirse a Canada? (SONDEAR SATISFACCION, INGRESO, NUMERO DE AÑOS, ANTECEDENTES OCUPACIONALES, EDAD COMENZO, TRABAJO EN OTROS PAISES SI EMIGRO DIRECTAMENTE DE ESPAÑA)

II) SITUACION OCUPACIONAL EN CANADA

17.- Nos gustaria ahora hablar un poco sobre sus experiencias en cuanto a trabajo. Cuando Ud. decidió venirse al Canada, qué tipo de trabajo esperaba o queria encontrar? Cual era su idea con respecto a las posibilidades de trabajo? (ESPECIFICAR CUAL, INGRESOS, CONDICIONES DE TRABAJO EXPECTATIVAS, RAZONES)

18.- Recuerda Ud. cuál fue su primer trabajo en Canadá y cómo lo consiguió (ESPECIFICAR LUGAR, OCUPACION ETNICA O NO, DIFICULTADES ENCONTRADAS, CUANTO TIEMPO TARDO EN ENCONTRARLO, FRICCIONES OTROS GRUPOS ETNICOS)

19.- Aproximadamente cuánto tiempo estuvo Ud. en ese primer trabajo? (SONDEAR RAZONES DE CAMBIO, DIFICULTADES EN GENERAL, CONDICIONES, DISCRIMINACION, ETC.)

20.- Haciendo un poco de memoria, dígame por favor cuántos empleos ha tenido Ud. en Canada (no contando el primero y el actual)? Para cada uno de ellos podría Ud. describir el tipo de trabajo, cómo lo consiguió y las razones para dejarlo o cambiarse, además del tiempo que pasó desempeñándolo?

OCUPACION	OBTENCION amigo media org. filiar	RAZONES PARA CAMBIO	NO.DE AÑOS O MESES
2/			
3/			
4/			
5/			
6/			

21.- Ha estado Ud. alguna vez desempleado en Canada? (SONDEAR CUANDO, RAZONES, PERIODO DE TIEMPO, SEGURO DE DESEMPLEO, ETC.)

22.- Está Ud. actualmente empleado a tiempo completo, medio tiempo, o trabaja Ud. por cuenta propia? Qué tipo de trabajo desempeña Ud.? (ESPECIFICAR OCUPACION, POSICION, LUGAR, TIPO DE NEGOCIO O EMPRESA, DESCRIPCION COMPLETA. EN CASO DE AMA DE CASA PASAR A PREG. 32. DESEMPLEADOS PASAR A PREG. 41)

Status Ocupacional (Blíshen) _____

23.- Actualmente, tiene Ud. más de un trabajo? (SONDEAR RAZONES, TIPO DE EMPLEO)

24.- Aproximadamente cuántas horas trabaja Ud.? (SONDEAR SOBRETIEPO, SATISFACCION, DIFICULTADES, ETC.)

25.- Cómo consiguió Ud. su principal ocupación o trabajo, es decir, la que ocupa la mayor parte de su tiempo? (SONDEAR AYUDA DE AMIGOS, FAMILIA O CANALES FORMALES, DIFICULTADES ENCONTRADAS, ETC.)

26.- Por cuánto tiempo ha estado Ud. desempeñando su actual ocupación?

27.- Podría Ud. decirme si su patrón o empleador es canadiense, español o de otra nacionalidad? y su supervisor inmediato? y sus compañeros de trabajo en su mayoría?

ESPAÑOL CANADIENSE OTROS

EMPLEADOR

SUPERVISOR

COMPAÑEROS

28.- (SI POR CUENTA PROPIA)

Trabaja Ud. en su propio negocio 1

Le pertenece parcialmente 2

Es propiedad de un familiar 3.

Otros, cuál -----

29.- Diría Ud. que la mayoría de los clientes son canadienses, españoles o de otro origen étnico? (SONDEAR PORCENTAJE APROXIMADO, RAZONES)

30.- Le voy a mostrar una tarjeta y Ud. por favor va a decirme cuál letra se aproxima más al ingreso total familiar durante el último año, sin deducir impuestos (MOSTRAR TARJETA) (INCLUIR TODOS LOS INGRESOS).

31.- Es Ud. la única persona en el hogar que contribuye en el presupuesto familiar? (SONDEAR QUIÉNES TRABAJAN, APORTE PRINCIPAL, INGRESOS ADICIONALES, ESPECIFICAR DONDE TRABAJAN OTROS, ETC.)

32.- Le paga a Ud. en su trabajo un salario, por hora, por pieza, por comisión u otra forma de pago? (PUEDEN SER VARIOS A LA VEZ, ESPECIFICAR RAZONES)

33.- En general diría Ud. que está contento con su actual trabajo aquí en Canada? (MOSTRAR TARJETA) (SONDEAR RAZONES)

34.-Cuál sería para Ud. la ocupación ideal, la que realmente le gustaría a Ud. desempeñar? (ESPECIFICAR AREA, TIPO DE EMPRESA O NEGOCIO, CONDICIONES DE TRABAJO, INGRESO, ETC.)

35.- Ha pensado Ud. en alguna oportunidad cambiar su ocupación actual digamos en los próximos cinco años? (SONDEAR RAZONES, TIPO DE TRABAJO, ETC.)

36.- Suponiendo que un familiar o amigo suyo acabase de llegar al Canadá, qué le aconsejaría Ud. en cuanto a obtención de empleo y en general en cuanto a su adaptación al Canadá. Qué sería lo más importante a considerar en su opinión? (SONDEAR FACTORES PARA OBTENCION, MOBILIDAD, EXITO, ETC.)

37.- (SI CASADO) Es su esposo/a también de origen español? De dónde es? (SONDEAR POSIBILIDAD DE EXOGAMIA, TIPO DE TRABAJO ACTUAL Y EN ESPAÑA)

(SOLAMENTE PARA AMAS DE CASA, SIN OCUPACION ACTUAL)

38.- Cuáles son las razones por las cuales no trabaja Ud. actualmente? (SONDEAR CAUSAS, DIFICULTADES, ETC)

39.- Qué experiencia de trabajo tuvo Ud. en España o en el país desde donde emigró al Canadá? (ESPECIFICAR TIPO DE TRABAJO, SATISFACCION, RAZONES PARA NO TRABAJAR, ETC.)

40.- Quisiera Ud. trabajar si tuviera la oportunidad? (SONDEAR AREA, LUGAR, TIPO DE EMPLEADOR O PATRON, CONDICIONES)

41.- (TODOS) Qué piensa Ud. acerca de la doble carga que significa para la mujer hacer el trabajo de la casa y tener que salir a trabajar al mismo tiempo? (SONDEAR DIFICULTADES, CUIDADO DE LOS NIÑOS, AYUDA DEL MARIDO)

42.- Cuántos niños tiene Ud.? A qué tipo de escuela asisten? (SONDEAR PUBLICA, PRIVADA, SEPARATE, INGLES O FRANCES, RAZONES, ESCUELA ETNICA, RAZONES)

M1) LENGUAJE

43.- Cual era su conocimiento de inglés, francés a su llegada al Canadá? Diría Ud. que era: (AUTOEVALUACION)

EXCELENTE BUENO REGULAR MALO NULO

INGLES

FRANCES

44.- Asistió Ud. en alguna oportunidad a clases de inglés o francés? (SONDEAR CUANDO, LUGAR, PROBLEMAS, OPINION GENERAL)

45.- Generalmente qué idioma se habla en la casa? (SONDEAR USO DE INGLES/FRANCES, ESPOSA/O, HIJOS, FRECUENCIA DE USO, RAZONES, ETC.)

46.- En su trabajo, con qué frecuencia habla Ud. inglés/francés con su patrón, supervisor, compañeros, clientes, etc.? (ESPECIFICAR PARA CADA UNO, RAZONES, ETC.).

47.- En qué ocasiones suele Ud. comunicarse en español? (SONDEAR TIENDAS, MERCADOS, ESCUELA, FIESTAS, MEDICO, PELUQUERO, BANCO, SEGUROS, GARAGE,, REPARACIONES DE LA CASA, IGLESIA, AGENCIA VIAJES, Y OTROS SERVICIOS)

48.- Considera Ud. que puede hablar inglés/francés con fluidez actualmente o no? (SONDEAR LECTURA Y ESCRITURA, EVALUAR, MOSTRAR TARJETA)

	Lectura				Escritura			
Inglés	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Francés	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4

Evaluación del entrevistador

1 2 3 4 5

IV) CULTURA ETNICA

49.- Mantiene Ud. algún contacto con otros españoles en Ottawa?
(RAZONES, PROCEDENCIA, OCASIONES, ETC.)

50.- Me gustaría ahora que Ud. pensara por un momento en sus tres mejores amigos/as. Para cada uno de ellos podría Ud. decirme de dónde son? (EXCLUIR FAMILIARES)

1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____

51.- Con qué frecuencia visita Ud. a estos amigos y en qué ocasiones (SONDEAR RAZONES, TIPO DE ACTIVIDADES, COMUNICACION TELEFONICA, ETC.)

52.- Tiene Ud. amigos o algún tipo de contacto con otros grupos étnicos? (ESPECIFICAR ORIGEN, OCASIONES, RAZONES, ETC.)

53.- Ahora me gustaría conversar un poco sobre los grupos o asociaciones españolas a las que Ud. o su familia pertenecen o conocen aunque sea de nombre. Para cada de ellas quisiera que me dijese durante cuanto tiempo ha participado, las razones de pertenencia, la frecuencia de participación, cuáles miembros de la familia asisten a las celebraciones y su opinión en general acerca de estas organizaciones (SONDEAR SI ES MIEMBRO ACTIVO, AREA DE PARTICIPACION, DIFICULTADES, ETC.)

a) IGLESIA (SONDEAR CORD, LITURGIA, VISITAS ENFERMOS, FIESTAS Y OTRAS ACTIVIDADES)

b) CENTRO ESPAÑOL:

c) ASOCIACIONES DEPORTIVAS:

d) OTRAS ASOCIACIONES:

e) EMBAJADA: (PARTICIPACION EN CELEBRACIONES, OTRAS OCASIONES, RAZONES, INSC., DEPTO LABORAL)

54.- Diría Ud. que la mayoría de sus comidas diarias son típicamente españolas, canadienses, o una combinación de ambas (SONDEAR CUALES COMIDAS ESPAÑOLAS SUELE CONSUMIR, FRECUENCIA, LUGAR, DIFERENCIAS ENTRE MIEMBROS DEL HOGAR, CAMBIOS COMPARANDO PRIMEROS AÑOS, BEBIDAS, ETC.)

55.- Generalmente dónde hace Ud. o su esposa la compra? (SONDEAR SERVICIO ETNICO) En dónde adquiere Ud. los ingredientes para hacer platos típicos españoles, vinos y otros productos españoles (especies, conservas, dulces, etc.)

56.- Acostumbra Ud. a leer periódicos o revistas españolas (SONDEAR PUBLICACIONES EN ESPAÑA, CANADA Y OTROS PAISES DE HABLA HISPANA, RAZONES, DONDE LAS OBTIENEN O LEEN, FRECUENCIA DE LECTURA, ETC.)

57.- Conoce Ud. o ha visto alguna vez programas españoles en la televisión canadiense? (SONDEAR OPINION, FRECUENCIA, SUGERENCIAS, ETC.)

58.- En su opinión cree Ud. que hay una verdadera colonia o comunidad española en Ottawa? (SONDEAR RAZONES, EJEMPLOS DE UNIDAD, AYUDA, COOPERACION, COMPARAR TORONTO Y MONTREAL SI CONOCEN)

59.- Piensa Ud. que exista algún tipo de trato diferencial con respecto a extranjeros en Canadá? (EN CASO POSITIVO HACIA QUIENES, EN QUE AREAS, OTTAWA ESPECIFICAMENTE, EXPERIENCIA PERSONAL, OPINION, ETC.)

60.- Vamos a hablar ahora un poco sobre España, su país de origen. Cuántas veces ha estado Ud. en España desde que se vino al Canadá? (SONDEAR ULTIMA VEZ, CON QUE FRECUENCIA VA, CUANTOS EN LA FAMILIA, ACTITUD NIÑOS)

61.- Cuáles son las razones por las que viaja Ud. a España? Qué es lo que a Ud. más le gusta y lo que menos? (SONDEAR IMPRESIONES GENERALES)

62.- Le gustaría a Ud. quedarse permanentemente en Ottawa/Canada en el futuro ó por lo contrario piensa en regresar a España? (SONDEAR CUANDO, RAZONES, REFERENCIA A LOS HIJOS, RETIRO, PENSION, ETC.)

63.- Aproximadamente a qué edad ha pensado Ud. en retirarse?

(RAZONES)

64.- Cuáles son sus planes para cuando esté retirado?

65.- En caso de regresarse a España, cómo cree Ud. que viviría allí comparado con su nivel y modo de vida en Canadá

(RAZONES)

66.- Considera Ud. que desde que llegó al Canadá han cambiado sus costumbres, hábitos, valores, en general su modo de ser y pensar? Cuáles específicamente? (SONDEAR CAMBIOS ESPECIFICOS EN COMPARACION A ESPAÑA, IMPRESIONES Y OPINION AL RESPECTO)

67.- Podría Ud. decirme ahora, qué es a lo que más le ha costado acostumbrarse durante los años que ha estado en Canadá, en cuanto a hábitos, costumbres, valores y modo de vida en general? (SONDEAR DIFICULTADES O NO DE ADAPTACION, SHOCK CULTURAL, COMPARACION Y OPINION EN GENERAL)

V) CANADA

68.- Volviendo un poco a su llegada al Canada, recuerda Ud. cómo
fue tratado por las autoridades canadienses y la población
en general? (SONDEAR SEGREGACION POR ACENTO, RAZA, DONDE,
COMO, ESPECIFICAR CUALES PROBLEMAS, ETC.)

69.- Podría Ud. por favor decirme a cuáles asociaciones
canadienses pertenece actualmente o perteneció en el pasado?
(SONDEAR RAZONES, QUIEN EN LA FAMILIA, DISCRIMINACION,
FRECUENCIA. EN CASO NEGATIVO, AYUDAR: PARTIDO POL.,
SINDICATOS, VOLUNTARIOS DE HOSPITALES, ETC. YMCA, OTRAS
DEPORTIVAS, ECONOMICS, PTA, CULTURALES, RELIGIOSAS, CIVICAS
(BLOCK PARENTS, CRIME), ETC.)

70.- Generalmente lee Ud. periódicos o revistas canadienses?
(SONDEAR AMERICANAS, EUROPEAS U OTRO PAIS EN INGLES O
FRANCES, FRECUENCIA, RAZONES, ETC.)

71.- Qué piensa Ud. acerca de Canadá? Cual es su opinión sobre
este país? (SONDEAR SATISFACCION EN GENERAL; AREAS
ESPECIFICAS: SALUD, EDUCACION, EMPLEO, ECONOMIA, IMPUESTOS,
SEGURIDAD, VIVIENDA, ETC.) Qué es lo que mas le gusta? Y lo
que menos le gusta?

72.- Cree Ud. que su situación personal y familiar ha mejorado,
ha empeorado, o ha sido igual en los últimos diez años?
(SONDEAR RAZONES)

OBSERVACIONES DEL ENTREVISTADOR:

DURACION DE LA ENTREVISTA:

SUSTITUYE AL NUMERO:

RAZONES DE RECHAZO O IMPOSIBILIDAD DE REALIZACION:

END / FIN

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