

CHILEAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT IN
CANADA: THE CASE OF REGINA

A Thesis

Presented to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies
University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

Nancy Jane Cunningham

August 1987



Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-37373-3

CHILEAN REGUGEE SETTLEMENT IN CANADA:

THE CASE OF REGINA

BY

NANCY JANE CUNNINGHAM

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

© 1987

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVER-
SITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this thesis, to
the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this
thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY
MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this thesis.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the
thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or other-
wise reproduced without the author's written permission.

ABSTRACT

There remain many unanswered questions regarding the adjustment of Chilean refugees in Canada.

The focus of this research was to conduct a comprehensive study of a Chilean community in Canada and to document their resettlement and adjustment to Canadian society.

The Chilean community in Regina, Saskatchewan was chosen for the study. Primary data were collected by a questionnaire survey of a sample of Chilean households in Regina during the summer of 1982. An analysis of the data generated by the survey provided an overview of the major characteristics of Chileans in Regina, and an evaluation of the extent to which Chileans have assimilated into Canadian society.

The findings showed that even though Chileans appear to be satisfied with life in Canada, the majority continue to experience problems of adjustment and maintain strong attachments to Chile. Furthermore, Chilean refugees did not always follow expected trends based upon the experiences of previous refugee groups. Therefore, it can be assumed that such factors as their length of residence or their occupational status will not ease their adjustment into Canadian society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my supervisor, Professor John Rogge of the Department of Geography, for his contribution as a teacher and as supervisor of this thesis. I also wish to extend special thanks to the Regina Chilean community for its participation in this study. The patience of my typist, Betty Lou Cunningham, was deeply appreciated. My sincere gratitude goes to my family for their constant understanding and support throughout.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS iv
LIST OF TABLES vi
LIST OF FIGURES vii

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION 1
 Objective of the Study 2
 Significance of the Study 6
 Organization of the Study 7
II. LITERATURE REVIEW 8
 The Concept of Assimilation 8
 Refugees versus Immigrants 11
 Refugee Movements to Canada 14
 Approaches to Studying Assimilation 16
 Chilean Refugees in Canada 28
III. THE CHILEAN COMMUNITY 31
 Background to the Migration 31
 Worldwide Resettlement 33
 Resettlement to Canada 36
 The Chilean Community 41
 Assistance to Refugees on Arrival 44
 Summary 49

IV. METHODOLOGY	50
The Secondary Data	50
The Primary Data	52
The Sample	56
The Response	58
Statistical Analysis	60
V. CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILEAN REFUGEES	62
Description of Chilean Refugees	62
Personal Characteristics	63
Education	64
Length of Residence	67
Occupation and Economic Status	75
Language	83
Satisfaction with Life in Canada	87
Sense of Permanence	102
Summary	109
VI. THE ADJUSTMENT OF CHILEAN REFUGEES	110
Length of Residence	110
Present Occupation	133
Summary	158
VII. CONCLUSION	160
Findings	160
Implications	165
Further Research	166
APPENDIX	168
BIBLIOGRAPHY	185

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
3.1	Countries Offering Resettlement	35
3.2	Destination of Chilean Refugees	39

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
5.1	Age of Head of Household	65
5.2	Family Size	65
5.3	Education	66
5.4	Education: Chile versus Chilean Refugees . .	68
5.5	Length of Residence in Canada	68
5.6	Departure versus Arrival	70
5.7	In-between Country	70
5.8	Arrival in Canada versus Regina	71
5.9	Number of Canadian Cities Lived In	71
5.10	Number of Moves in Regina	73
5.11	Regina: City Districts	74
5.12	Settlement Pattern	76
5.13	Occupation: Previous versus Present	76
5.14	Assessment: First Job versus Present Job . .	79
5.15	Number of Jobs Held Since Arriving in Canada	79
5.16	Ease of Finding First Job	81
5.17	Length of Time Finding First Job	81
5.18	Length of Time Spent in First Job versus Present Job	82
5.19	Income Levels	84
5.20	Standard of Living in Canada versus Chile .	84
5.21	Cost of Living	85
5.22	Type of Dwelling	85
5.23	Rating of English: Respondent versus Spouse	88
5.24	Language of Response to the Questionnaire .	88
5.25	Reaction to Canadian Summers	90

FIGURE		PAGE
5.26	Assessment of Sporting Facilities	90
5.27	Assessment of Educational Facilities	92
5.28	Assessment of Health Services	92
5.29	Assessment of Housing	94
5.30	Reaction to Canadian Climate	94
5.31	Reaction to Landscape	95
5.32	Reaction to Canadian Culture	95
5.33	Reaction to Canadian Winters	97
5.34	Assessment of Entertainment	97
5.35	Assessment of Raising Children in Canada . .	99
5.36	Opportunities to Upgrade Skills	101
5.37	Immigration Regulations	101
5.38	Perception of Canada	104
5.39	Canadian Response	104
5.40	Probability of Staying in Regina	106
5.41	Reason for Leaving Chile	106
5.42	Probability of Becoming a Canadian Citizen .	108
6.1	Length of Residence versus Previous Occupation	112
6.2	Length of Residence versus Present Occupation	112
6.3	Length of Residence versus Assessment of Present Job	114
6.4	Length of Residence versus Number of Jobs Held since Arriving in Canada	114
6.5	Length of Residence versus Assessment of First Job	116
6.6	Length of Residence versus Income Levels . .	116

FIGURE		PAGE
6.7	Length of Residence versus Type of Dwelling	118
6.8	Length of Residence versus Probability of Staying in Regina	118
6.9	Length of Residence versus Probability of Becoming a Canadian Citizen	121
6.10	Length of Residence versus Close Canadian Friendships	121
6.11	Length of Residence versus Canadian Response	123
6.12	Length of Residence versus Rating of English	123
6.13	Length of Residence versus Reaction to Climate	125
6.14	Length of Residence versus Previous Perception of Canada	127
6.15	Length of Residence versus Present Perception of Canada	127
6.16	Length of Residence versus Reaction to Canadian Culture	130
6.17	Length of Residence versus Opportunities to Upgrade Skills	130
6.18	Length of Residence versus Immigration Regulations	132
6.19	Present Occupation versus Previous Occupation	134
6.20	Present Occupation versus Assessment of Present Job	137
6.21	Present Occupation versus Number of Jobs Held Since Arriving in Canada	138
6.22	Present Occupation versus Working Spouse . .	140
6.23	Present Occupation versus Standard of Living in Canada	142
6.24	Present Occupation versus Type of Dwelling .	144
6.25	Present Occupation versus Probability of Staying in Regina	146

FIGURE		PAGE
6.26	Present Occupation versus Probability of Becoming a Canadian Citizen	147
6.27	Present Occupation versus Close Canadian Friendships	149
6.28	Present Occupation versus Canadian Response	151
6.29	Present Occupation versus Rating of English	152
6.30	Present Occupation versus Perception of Canada	154
6.31	Present Occupation versus Opportunities to Upgrade Skills	156
6.32	Present Occupation versus Immigration Regulations	157

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Refugees from Latin America now form a major contingent of the incoming migration to Canada. It is necessary therefore that researchers attain a better understanding of this new source of refugees and whether their adjustment into Canadian society differs from that experienced by previous groups of refugees who resettled in Canada. Included in this influx of refugees from Latin America are refugees from Chile. Even though their resettlement to Canada began in December 1973, the continuing unrest in Chile results in Chileans still seeking asylum in Canada. Over the past three years (1984 - 1986), some 1,819 Chileans have entered Canada as refugees or as family class immigrants (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1984-1986).

Since most refugee research has neglected the Chilean refugee situation, there still remain many unanswered questions regarding Chileans' adjustment into Canadian society. Even though social scientists agree that refugees usually experience problems in adjusting to a new society, it remains unclear whether the problems experienced by the Chileans are similar to or different from those experienced by other refugee groups. Hence, it is important to clarify the nature and extent of the problems that they have experienced in

Canada. Furthermore, it is important to determine if Chileans are adjusting to Canadian society.

Both the media and churches have expressed concern about conflicts within the Chilean community. It is not known however, whether these conflicts have affected the homogeneity of the Chilean community. Therefore, a comprehensive study of a specific Chilean community may resolve some of this uncertainty.

In order to document the resettlement and adjustment of Chilean refugees in Canada, the Chilean community in Regina was studied. Primary data were collected by means of a questionnaire survey of a sample of Chilean households in that city during the summer of 1982.

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The major objectives of this study are (a) to provide a general description of Chilean refugees in Regina, and (b) to evaluate the extent to which they have assimilated into Canadian society. To achieve this, a number of techniques are used.

First, an analysis of the data generated by the survey gives a complete overview of the major characteristics of Chileans in Regina. For this purpose, the data are discussed under the following categories:

- personal characteristics
- education
- length of residence

- occupation and economic status
- language
- satisfaction with life in Canada
- sense of permanence

It is anticipated that such a comprehensive description of Chilean refugees will not only depict major problems and difficulties they encountered since arriving in Canada, but will also reveal the extent to which they remain distinct from other Canadians. Together, these two findings will indicate the extent to which Chileans in Regina are adjusting to Canada and to Canadian society.

Second, by identifying differences within the sample population it will be shown that some Chileans are adjusting to Canada more easily than others. For this purpose, two variables ('length of residence' and 'present occupation'), commonly considered by social scientists to affect assimilation of refugees, are related to other characteristics of the sample in order to demonstrate the varying levels of adjustment achieved by Chilean refugees. Further, it is anticipated that these variables will indicate the degree to which the Chileans have assimilated into Canadian society.

It is assumed that the length of time refugees live in their host country ('length of residence') relates positively to their ease of adjustment and to their level of satisfaction. Therefore, as time passes, so should refugees' ease of adjustment and levels of satisfaction with the host society. To verify this assumption, various indicators of

assimilation are measured against the variable of 'time' (refugees' length of residence). Therefore, the following sub-hypotheses are tested:

- 1 Length of residence relates positively to their occupational status
- 2 Length of residence relates positively to their level of satisfaction with present occupation
- 3 Length of residence relates positively to number of jobs held since arriving in Canada
- 4 Length of residence relates positively to their income
- 5 Length of residence relates positively to their probability of remaining in Regina
- 6 Length of residence relates positively to their probability of becoming a Canadian citizen
- 7 Length of residence relates positively to their formation of close friendships with Canadians
- 8 Length of residence relates to their perception of Canadians' response to them
- 9 Length of residence relates positively to their ability to speak English
- 10 Length of residence relates positively to their level of satisfaction with Canadian climate
- 11 Length of residence relates positively to their level of satisfaction with Canadian culture
- 12 Length of residence relates positively to their overall perception of Canada

It is further assumed that occupational status attain-

ed by refugees in their host country relates positively to their ease of adjustment and to their level of satisfaction. In addition, refugees who experience downward occupation mobility are more likely to experience problems of adjustment than refugees who retain similar occupational status. However, the higher the previous occupational status of the refugees, the greater is the probability that they will experience downward occupation mobility and thus more problems of adjustment than will refugees who had lower previous occupational status and who experienced less downward occupation mobility. To verify these assumptions, various indicators of assimilation are measured against the variable 'present occupation.' Therefore, the following sub-hypotheses are tested:

- 1 Present occupation relates positively to their level of satisfaction with present occupation
- 2 Present occupation relates negatively to the probability that their spouse will be working
- 3 Present occupation relates positively to their level of satisfaction with standard of living in Canada
- 4 Present occupation relates to the type of dwelling they occupy
- 5 Present occupation relates positively to their probability of remaining in Regina
- 6 Present occupation relates positively to their probability of becoming a Canadian citizen
- 7 Present occupation relates positively to their formation of close friendships with Canadians

- 8 Present occupation relates to their perception of Canadians' response to them
- 9 Present occupation relates positively to their ability to speak English
- 10 Present occupation relates positively to their overall perception of Canada
- 11 Present occupation relates positively to their opportunities to upgrade skills

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Having become a major destination for many of the world's refugees, the refugee situation in Canada is now demanding more attention. By documenting here a case study of a particular refugee resettlement, this thesis adds to the literature on the assimilation of refugees. Also, because refugees from Latin America now form a significant portion of Canada's refugee intake, this study of a specific Latin American refugee community will contribute to a better understanding of refugee resettlement in Canada. Even though Canada's acceptance of refugees is not new, its admittance of refugees from Latin America is. Therefore, it is important to understand the Chileans' situation in Canada, and to determine whether their adjustment differs significantly from that of other refugee groups. Consequently, it is anticipated that this research will prove to be useful to the Chilean community, and to provincial and federal agencies involved with immigration policy and programs.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This thesis is organized in the following manner. It commences in Chapter II with a literature review of the concept of assimilation; of the differentiation between refugees and other immigrants; of previous refugee movements to Canada; of various approaches that have heretofore been adapted in studying assimilation; and of the Chilean refugees' exodus to Canada.

This is followed in Chapter III by a discussion of the background to the migration; by an overview of the resettlement of Chileans worldwide and to Canada; by an examination of the Chilean community within Canada; and by a review of the assistance given to the refugees after their arrival in Canada.

The methodology is described in Chapter IV and includes a presentation of primary and secondary data used in the study; a description of the survey sample and response rates; and an overview of the statistical analysis applied in the study.

The analysis is presented in Chapter V and VI in which the former provides a general description of the sample while the latter identifies significant differences within the sample.

The thesis concludes with an assessment of the extent to which Chileans have adjusted to Canada and to Canadian society; suggestions of implications; and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to selectively review the literature on assimilation of refugees in Canada. First, a section discusses the concept of assimilation; second, a discussion of refugees versus other immigrants is presented; third, an examination of the refugee movements to Canada; fourth, the various approaches to studying assimilation are reviewed; and finally, literature on Chilean refugees in Canada is discussed.

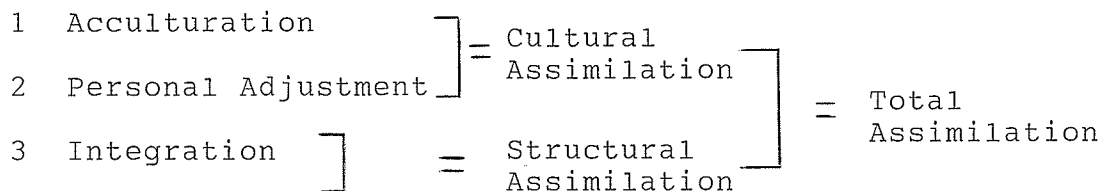
THE CONCEPT OF ASSIMILATION

Most researchers agree that there is both confusion and inconsistency in the use of the term 'assimilation'. As pointed out by Gordon (1964), sociologists and anthropologists describe "ethnic meetings" as assimilation and acculturation, even though these terms usually mean the same thing: sociologists prefer to use the term assimilation, anthropologists prefer to use the term acculturation. While most researchers agree that assimilation is a process that occurs in stages. the order and type of stages forming the continuum varies considerably.

As stated by Padilla (1980:1):

The phenomenon of acculturation continues to command wide interest among behavioral scientists. The literature on acculturation has accumulated since the turn of the century and today the serious scholar of acculturation has thousands of books and articles which must be studied for a complete understanding of the work in the area. Yet it is evident that there continues to be a gap between the accumulation of empirical materials on acculturation and the development of theoretical models to order and codify the central concepts involved in the process of change resulting from cultural contact.

One of the leading researchers responsible for developing a theoretical framework for studying immigration was Eisenstadt. By studying the Jewish immigrants into the state of Israel in 1950, Eisenstadt was able to develop a model that has since been recognized as one of the basic theories on immigrant assimilation. Subsequently, many researchers such as Rogg (1974), Kovacs and Cropley (1975), and Gordon (1978), believe assimilation to be a process that consists of three major sub-processes, viz:



According to Eisenstadt and Rogg, acculturation is the first stage in the process of assimilation and it "... measures the extent to which an immigrant has learned the norms, roles, and customs of the absorbing society, as well as how effectively he has internalized them" (Rogg, 1974:3). Weinstock (1964:325) agrees with this definition when he defines acculturation as the "... process of becoming

more American-like, ... which is measured in terms of changing attitudes, behaviour, values, and personality."

Personal adjustment, which is the second stage in the process of assimilation, is quite distinct, and Eisenstadt (1955:9) defines it as "... refugee's viewpoint as to ways in which the new country affects his personality, his satisfaction, his ability to cope with the various problems arising out of his new situation." This definition is endorsed by Rogg (1974:3) who states that personal adjustment "... measures the individual's contentment with the new country, his ability to handle the many new difficulties and frustrations he faces in daily living in a new physical and social environment."

Together, these two stages (acculturation and personal adjustment) are used to measure 'cultural assimilation' or the absorption of immigrants. Thus cultural assimilation is when immigrants undergo a change in their cultural patterns to those of the host society (Rogg, 1974), or "... the internalization of the overt or covert patterns of behaviour characteristics of the larger society by members of the ethnic group" (Isajiw, 1977:129).

The final stage in the process of assimilation is 'integration' which Eisenstadt (1955:9) describes as the point "... when the migrant group ceases to have a separate identity within the new social structure" and Rogg (1974:2) describes as "... a large scale entrance of immigrants into primary life of the absorbing society." Weinberg (1961:85)

has a similar description of integration "... when adjustment is successful and an immigrant is accepted and feels belongingness to the receiving society." This final stage is also known as 'structural assimilation.'

Therefore, total assimilation will only occur when an immigrant has experienced all three of the above stages. However, it must be noted that while it is generally agreed that assimilation is a process involving several stages, some researchers, such as Elliott (1971) and Lai (1971), believe that each stage can occur simultaneously so an immigrant can become partially assimilated in each area without becoming totally assimilated.

When studying a newly arrived immigrant group, it is usually only the first two stages (acculturation and personal adjustment) in the process of assimilation that are relevant, and are examined in order to determine whether or not the group is adjusting to the host society.

REFUGEES VERSUS IMMIGRANTS

An immigrant is a "person who seeks landing" outside his country of residence (Canada Immigration Act, 1976). The refugee definition established by the 1951 United Nations Convention reads as follows:

any person who, by reason of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion,

(a) is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, by reason of such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or

- (b) not having a country of nationality, is outside the country of his former habitual residence and is unable or, by reason of such fear, is unwilling to return to that country.

(Canada Immigration Act, 1976:1)

However, this definition does not include a definition of 'persecution.' While the concept of the 'fear of persecution' is subjective in the mind of refugees, for the purpose of admitting refugees to Canada, criteria have to be established in order to objectively evaluate refugees' 'fear of persecution' to determine if there is a valid basis for granting refugee status. Because of this, many refugees do not fall readily into the United Nations definition of convention refugee. Thus, Canada, under section 6(2) of the Canada Immigration Act, permits the Minister to designate specific groups of refugees as 'refugees' for the purpose of resettlement in Canada. For example, Indochinese and Latin American "oppressed minorities" and East European self-exiled persons. Canada therefore, recognizes that such groups merit equivalent treatment to convention refugees for humanitarian reasons (Marrocco and Goslett, 1985).

Evan though refugees (who are involuntary migrants) and immigrants (who are primarily voluntary migrants) undergo a process of assimilation in a new environment, it is often hypothesized that the length of time it takes for assimilation to occur, and the actual process, will vary considerably between the two groups of migrants

Because immigrants are normally voluntary migrants, and are thus positively motivated in migrating, they accept

the social costs that are incurred by their migration before they actually migrate (Stein, 1979). In contrast, because refugees are involuntary migrants who generally have little knowledge of the country they flee to, they are not positively motivated in migrating (Rogg, 1974).

All refugees are forced to flee their homeland out of necessity and fear. Refugees come from all age groups and prior to their exodus, are usually satisfied with conditions in their homeland and thus would probably not have been motivated to move (Stein, 1979). This situation is quite different for immigrants who tend to come from a younger age group, and often do not hold prominent and/or satisfactory positions in their homeland. Most immigrants hope to gain a higher standard of living or better way of life by migrating.

Therefore, it can be concluded that for refugees, the process of assimilation is complicated before it even begins. It must be noted, however, that the process of assimilation will most definitely be affected by the degree of difference between the sociological structure of the refugee's homeland and the country of asylum (Zwingmann, 1973).

Not only does the situation and characteristics of refugees and immigrants differ prior to flight, but a difference emerges after flight. In the country of destination, refugees tend to exhibit the following characteristics:

(i) They continue to experience fear: Refugees often relive the past and are unwilling to look to the future. Therefore, they continue to experience stress and do not act with confidence.

(ii) They cling to their homeland: Most refugees retain strong commitment to the old society and are unwilling to cut ties with the social system that nurtured their development. Consequently, they find it very difficult to accept changes to their customary ways.

(iii) They anticipate a return to their homeland: Most refugees believe and hope that the situation that forced them to flee their homeland will change in the near future, and when it does, that they will return. Many refugees therefore do not feel a need to adjust to the host society.

(iv) They hold a lower occupational status: Most refugees have no choice but to enter the labour force at lower occupational levels than they previously held in their homeland.

Therefore, considering refugees' characteristics both before and after their flight, it can be concluded that their process of assimilation will be extremely complicated.

REFUGEE MOVEMENTS TO CANADA

Prior to World War II, Western European migrants made up the majority of incoming migrants to Canada. However, after World War II, this pattern began to change. During the decade following World War II, Canada experienced a massive resettlement of displaced persons (refugees) from Eastern Europe. In 1956 the number of refugees entering Canada even exceeded the number of immigrants. During 1956 and 1957, Canada accepted approximately 37,000 Hungarian refugees (Lamphier, 1981). Prior to this, no movement had been as

large, or as well received by the Canadian people. Between 1959 and 1967, refugee resettlement subsided markedly: Yugoslavian refugees formed the single largest contingent of refugees entering Canada. In September 1968, Canada admitted approximately 12,000 Czechoslovakian refugees within four months (Cobus, 1977).

Refugee resettlement subsided again during 1970 and 1971: Canada did, however, experience a significant shift in the country of origin of refugees in this period with its first intake of Asian (Tibetan) refugees. This was the beginning of refugee intake of Third World countries. It was followed in September 1972 by an intake of 4,420 Ugandan refugees (Cobus, 1977). Overall, a total of around 7,000 Ugandans were eventually admitted to Canada.

In December 1973, Canada experienced a further shift in refugees' country of origin when refugees from Latin America (Chile) were first granted asylum in Canada. However, during 1974 the intake was minimal: the 1,884 Chilean refugees admitted in that year accounted for 0.8 percent of the total incoming migrants (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1974).

During 1975, refugee intake increased once again after Canada accepted refugees from Chile, Cambodia, Vietnam, Lebanon and Mozambique. Between May and July 1975, approximately 4,600 South Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees arrived (Cobus, 1977). However, the major influx of Southeast Asians (including ethnic Vietnamese, Sino-Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians) began in late 1978 following the 'boat people'

exodus. During 1979 and 1980, approximately 60,000 Southeast Asians entered Canada (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1980) and in 1980 refugee intake peaked at approximately 40,000 or 28.2 percent of the total incoming migration in Canada.

Since 1981, the refugee movement from Southeast Asia has continued, but on a much smaller scale. Instead, Canada is experiencing an increase in the number of refugees from Central American countries as well as from Africa (Rogge' 1983). Thus, there has been another major shift in refugees' country of origin.

APPROACHES TO STUDYING ASSIMILATION

For social scientists, the process of assimilation continues to be a complex and controversial phenomenon. As a result, over the years, researchers have proposed and developed numerous approaches to studying the process of assimilation. However, when examined closely, most of the studies appear to have a common denominator, for basically each hypothesizes that one or several factors are responsible, or play a prominent role in determining the process of assimilation. For this study, it is those factors that most researchers generally agree to be the most significant that are examined here in order to determine the effect they have on refugees' assimilation. These factors are as follows:

- 1 Pre-migration Characteristics
- 2 Social Class

- 3 Ties to Homeland
- 4 Strong Ethnic Community
- 5 Education
- 6 Language
- 7 Occupation
- 8 Length of Residence

1 Pre-migration Characteristics

Most groups of refugees hold values that reflect their country of origin and social class (Rogg, 1974). Therefore, background characteristics and circumstances of refugees are pertinent factors which have a major influence on refugees' assimilation (Ex, 1966; Richmond, 1974; Persaud, 1980; Kunz, 1981; Hirschman, 1982). The background characteristics of refugees that are being referred to are:

- family (kinship) organization
- cultural values (attitudes toward life)
- living conditions (standard of living)
- physical condition
- individual personality (extrovert, sociable, ambitious, fulfilled)
- general description (inferiority complex)
- political orientation
- job experience and training
- age
- education
- language (Zwingmann, 1973; Persaud, 1980)

Examining these characteristics is essential in order

to understand refugee adjustment (social behaviour and cultural values) within a host society. The cultural compatibility between refugees' background and a host society will definitely influence the degree and ease of adjustment. Ex (1966:x) has suggested that "... the living conditions left behind them and the new conditions that await the migrant may vary from very little to very much." Therefore, assimilation is accelerated when refugees find a host society with similar characteristics (Soskis, 1967; Kunz, 1981). Unfortunately, this seldom occurs in reality, for more often than not, refugees find asylum in societies with clashing cultural values which hinder their assimilation.

A researcher who disagrees with this hypothesis is Lamphier (1981:115) who states "... ethnic origin has little or no direct effect on speed or degree of refugees' adaptation in Canada." However, Lamphier does not give any firm evidence to substantiate his argument. Therefore, overall it can be concluded that pre-migration characteristics of refugees can either promote or hinder their process of assimilation.

2 Social Class

While some researchers tend to study social class as only one of numerous characteristics contained within the framework of refugees' background characteristics, other researchers regard social class as playing a very significant role within the process of assimilation, and therefore examine it alone.

Rogg (1974) believes social class is the most important variable introduced into the study of assimilation. Contemporary theory suggests that middle class backgrounds should find adjustment and assimilation easier and more rapid than poorer class immigrants. While refugees tend to come from all class levels, they still hold values distinctive of their social class. Therefore, Rogg hypothesizes that refugees with high former social status will acculturate easier and faster than those with low former social status. By studying Cuban refugees in the United States, she found the theory to be valid because Cubans with a high social class background recognized the need to learn English in order to acculturate (Rogg, 1974:91). Gordon (1964), Weinstock (1978), and Persaud (1980) all endorse this theory.

3 Ties to Homeland

In asylum, the extent to which refugees remain tied to their homeland is believed by many researchers to have a profound effect on assimilation (Weinstock, 1964; Zwingmann, 1973; Kovacs and Cropley, 1975; Migus, 1975; Dirks, 1977; Stein, 1979; Reitz, 1980; Kunz, 1981). Even though refugees and immigrants both tend to sustain a tie to their country of origin, for refugees, the strength of this relationship is much stronger than it is for immigrants. There are four reasons for this.

First, since most refugees were satisfied with their home country before circumstances forced them to flee, they therefore hold no ill-feelings toward their old country, and

instead remain committed to it. However, by remaining committed to their home society, they are more reluctant to blend into their asylum country.

Second, refugees generally believe that their flight is temporary, and they cling to the illusion of returning. They continue to maintain a relationship with the country to which they wish to return (Stein, 1979). For example, Rogg's (1974) study of Cuban refugees found that when Cubans realized that they could not return to Cuba as soon as they had anticipated, they experienced problems in adjustment. In Weinstock's (1964) study of Hungarian refugees, he also found those who wished to return to Hungary were adjusting very slowly.

Third, when refugees settle in countries where cultural values clash with their own, they usually find it easier and less frustrating to identify themselves with their home country (Kunz, 1981). By remaining overly dependent on the past, they often relive their past and as a result, they are unwilling to look to the future. Since groups of refugees are usually dispersed among several countries, they sometimes maintain ties with other communities of similar ethnic background (Migus, 1975).

Lastly, refugees often retain interest in conditions that prevail in their homeland. For reasons of guilt because they left friends and/or relatives, or because they exiled themselves for the sole purpose of pursuing their political goals, refugees remain dedicated to resolving problems in

their home country. The consequence of this behaviour is that their assimilation is hindered.

4 Strong Ethnic Community

Today there is general acceptance of the hypothesis that a strong concentrated community in which immigrants can have native cultural contact is favourable to adjustment, but slows down their acculturation in the short run, and facilitates their acculturation in the long run (Gordon, 1964; Ex, 1966; Rogg, 1974). There are numerous ways in which a strong ethnic community can ease the shock of adjustment: for example, through the community, refugees are given a self-identity and sense of self-worth. The community usually assists refugees in need of economic help. It also has an enormous influence on occupational adjustment (refugees' job choice and satisfaction) because it sets its own standards for judging the acceptability of occupations. The community has the ability to act as a prism of its own cultural heritage and to reflect new values of the host society (Gordon, 1964; Rogg, 1974; Palmer, 1975; Finnan, 1981).

While there are not as many drawbacks (negative influences) to a strong ethnic community, this does not necessarily mean that it does not play a significant role in hindering the adjustment of refugees. Ethnic communities tend to isolate their members from the dominant society which is necessary for assimilation to occur. The extent to which a community will isolate its members depends on the internal structure of the group (degree of ethnic solidarity).

When members of an ethnic community do stray outside of it, the community becomes vulnerable and may be weakened (Reitz, 1980).

5 Education

Education is considered as a variable that has an important impact on the process of assimilation, and it is thus studied in detail. Researchers generally agree that refugees' education levels are directly related to their rates of assimilation. While most believe there to be a positive relationship between education level and rate of adjustment (Weinstock, 1964; Soskis, 1967; Rogg, 1974; Montero, 1979; Stein, 1979), a few researchers such as Taft (1966) believe there to be a negative relationship. His study on immigrants to Australia suggested that immigrants with only a primary education were the ones most satisfied and adjusted.

Frequently, the people who are forced to flee a country are highly (better) educated, so according to what most researchers hypothesize, the high educational level of refugees should enhance their adjustment. However, in reality this seldom occurs, for refugees often seek asylum in countries that do not recognize their skills or level of education (primarily because of the language barrier). Re-attaining a similar educational level in the new country is extremely difficult and many refugees become frustrated and dissatisfied (Richmond, 1967; Rogg, 1974). Consequently, this situation (problem) acts as a major impediment to refugees' assimilation.

6 Language

There is a general consensus among social scientists that language plays a definite role in the adjustment of refugees (Ex, 1966; Taft, 1966; Richmond, 1967; Soskis, 1967; Rogg, 1974; Palmer, 1975; Stein, 1979; Padilla, 1980). However, even though it is agreed that a positive relationship exists between language and ease of adjustment, the strength of the positive relationship is subject to debate among researchers. While Elliott (1971) hypothesizes that language is only one of numerous background characteristics that play a role in refugees' adjustment to a new society, Hirschman (1982) hypothesizes that language has a major impact on refugees' adjustment.

For refugees, as well as other immigrants, not being able to effectively communicate in the language of the host society can lead to the following problems:

- lack of interaction with the host society
- non-acceptance by the host society
- lack of friends
- general problems in day to day living
- loss of former occupational status
- non-recognition of educational level
- ethnic cohesion, which will lead to further isolation from the host society

(Richmond, 1967; Palmer, 1975; Reitz, 1980)

In Taft's (1966) study on adjustment of immigrants in Australia, he found that the degree to which immigrants iden-

tified themselves with Australia was directly related to their ability to speak English. While immigrants who had adjusted and were satisfied with life in Australia were fluent in English, immigrants who had not adjusted and were still experiencing problems were not proficient in English. Neuwirth and Clark (1981) found similar results in their study on the adjustment of Indochinese refugees in Canada. The refugees who had completed a language training course were more satisfied and adjusted to life in Canada than refugees who had not taken any language courses.

Therefore, language can be seen as the root cause of many sociological and economic adjustment problems experienced by refugees. It becomes quite clear that as long as a language barrier exists between refugees and host society, it will be extremely difficult for refugees to become assimilated into the host society.

7 Occupation

Even though occupational status is considered by most researchers (Weinstock, 1964; Ex, 1966; Rogg, 1971, 1974; Stein, 1979; Finnan, 1981; Neuwirth and Clark, 1981; Hirschman, 1982) as one of the most influential variables affecting refugees' assimilation into a new society, it is also a complex variable. Basically, there are three major ways in which refugees' occupational status can affect their process of assimilation, namely:

(i) Previous Occupational Status: The refugees' previous occupational status refers to the level of occupational status

attained by refugees in their country of origin prior to their flight. It is at this point that the controversy arises, for researchers disagree about the manner in which the variable affects the process of assimilation.

Researchers such as Stein (1979) and Neuwirth and Clark (1981) hypothesize that the higher the refugees' former occupational status, the more difficult and slower will be their adjustment. In Neuwirth and Clark's (1981) study of Vietnamese refugees in Canada, they found that upgrading of skills was achieved more easily by refugees who had been blue collar workers in Vietnam. Without any technical skills, white collar workers were forced to accept unskilled work.

In contrast, researchers such as Weinstock (1964), Rogg (1974), and Finnan (1981) hypothesize and conclude that the higher the refugees' former occupational status, the more successful and quicker will be their adjustment. Weinstock even takes it a step further by stating that refugees will experience a quicker assimilation if their parents had non-manual occupations. Refugees who had high occupational backgrounds, recognize the importance of the need to get on with their new way of life and leave the old one behind.

(ii) Present Occupational Status: The refugees' present occupational status refers to the current level of occupational status attained by refugees in their host country. Here researchers are in concordance as to how it affects assimilation. For example, Ex(1966), Taft (1966), Rogg (1974), Stein (1979), and Finnan (1981), all hypothesize that the

higher the refugees' current occupational status, the easier and quicker will be their resettlement into the new society.

After fleeing to a new country, the first priority of most refugees is to attain employment (income) so they can end their dependency on sponsors, friends, or relatives. Working and self-sufficient refugees have fewer adjustment problems than those who remain at home and accept public assistance (Ex, 1966; Stein, 1979; Finnan, 1981). It is suggested that the higher the occupational position of refugees, the more contact they will have with the host society, and that such contact with the dominant society assists refugees to integrate socially.

(iii) Downward Occupation Mobility: This refers to the disparity between refugees' previous occupation in their country of origin and the occupation they currently hold. It has been shown that following resettlement almost all refugees experience a drop in their occupational status (Rogg, 1974; Stein, 1979; Neuwirth and Clark, 1981). Since the first priority of refugees is to become financially secure, they are forced to accept any type of job, irrespective of their skills, rather than wait until they find employment that matches their skills. Such underemployment of refugees leads to dissatisfaction and difficulty adjusting to their new life (Stein, 1979). Furthermore, the greater the level of downward occupation mobility, the slower and more difficult will be the process of assimilation. Therefore, refugees who had high occupational status (unskilled workers or profes-

sionals) in their homeland are more likely to experience a more severe drop in their occupational status and thus have more problems adjusting to the new society (Rogg, 1974; Neuwirth and Clark, 1981).

However, it must be noted that while researchers such as Finnan (1981) agree that refugees experience downward occupation mobility, they do not agree with the general consensus that downward occupation mobility hinders refugees' assimilation. In Finnan's (1981) study on Vietnamese refugees in the United States, he found that the Vietnamese community did not consider the low occupational status of its members to be undesirable, nor did it hinder their adjustment into the dominant society.

8 Length of Residence

The length of time refugees have lived in a new country will affect their degree of adjustment to the host society. Not only is there a general agreement among social scientists (Ex, 1966; Zwingmann, 1973; Richmond, 1974; Isajiw, 1977; Stein, 1979; Masuda, 1979; Hirschman, 1982) concerning this hypothesis, but all believe there is a positive relationship between the two variables. Therefore, as length of residence increases, so does refugees' ease of adjustment and satisfaction with the host society. Time is often regarded as one of the most important factors associated with refugees' commitment to, and identification with Canada.

The reason for length of residence having such a

major influence on refugees' assimilation is that it affects a number of other variables which in turn determine refugees' ease of adjustment. The variables being referred to are the following:

- interaction with dominant society (close friends)
- occupational status
- income level
- perception of the new society
- ability to speak the language of the dominant society

However, it is most probable that at some point in time, refugees' length of residence ceases to affect their assimilation into the new society. Stein (1979) hypothesizes that the first three or four years of refugees' stay are necessary to determine their success. After four years, little change occurs for at this point in time most refugees are approximately 75 percent assimilated.

CHILEAN REFUGEES IN CANADA

Since World War II, numerous studies have been conducted on refugee movements to Canada. A large portion of this literature are general studies on no particular refugee group, and most conclude that refugees are adjusting, but experiencing problems (Eisenstadt, 1955; Gordon, 1964; Richmond, 1967; Taft, 1966; Hughes, 1974; Reitz, 1980; Kunz, 1981; Lamphier, 1981; Hirschman, 1982). There is also much literature dealing with the resettlement of specific groups

of refugees, and the group chosen depended on what each researcher believed to be the most relevant and predominant refugee movement at that point of time. Today, theories on refugee assimilation have developed because refugee movements such as Eastern Europeans, Hungarians, Czechoslovakians, Ugandans, and South-east Asians have been extensively analyzed and well documented. Nonetheless, there still remain many unanswered questions concerning the assimilation of refugees.

As discussed earlier, during the last decade, Canada experienced another major shift in its source area of refugees, for Latin America now makes up a significant portion of Canada's refugee intake. However, there have been few studies on refugees from Latin America. Yet their numbers seem to warrant greater study, especially since the flow is expected to continue in the future. Hence, it is very important that the assimilation process of these refugees is better understood.

In most literature, Chilean refugees are mentioned only briefly when researchers, such as Anderson and Friederes (1981), examine the number that have entered Canada. Chileans are given minor reference by such authors as Cobus (1977), who describes their actual flight; Dirks (1977), who discusses how the Canadian government reacted to the Chilean refugees movement; and Anderson (1979), who gives a brief account of what happened after the 'coup'. The UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) also published a detailed report on

the resettlement and adjustment problems of Chilean refugees, but it had a worldwide prospective and referred only briefly to Canada.

In terms of in-depth studies on Chilean refugees, the literature is relatively scarce. While a study by Johnson (1982) describes the Chilean community in Winnipeg, it does not analyze the refugees' assimilation into Canadian society. Marsden (1976) undertook a longitudinal study (1973-75) on Chilean refugees in Canada for the Federal Government. The purpose of her study was to determine refugees' level of satisfaction with life in Canada by examining their social, family, and work characteristics between September, 1973 and April, 1975. However, at the time of this study, Chilean refugees had only lived in Canada for a short period, and many were still arriving, and thus her study was too premature to make accurate evaluations of Chilean refugees' adjustment. Given therefore, this paucity of literature on Chilean refugees in Canada, the objective of this study is to provide a detailed account of one Chilean refugee community in Canada, and to evaluate their level of assimilation into Canadian society.

CHAPTER III

THE CHILEAN COMMUNITY

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed account of the initial resettlement process of the Chilean refugees. First, a section discusses the background of the migration; second, a discussion of the worldwide resettlement is presented; third, resettlement in Canada is reviewed; fourth, the Chilean community in Canada is examined; and finally, the assistance given to refugees is discussed.

BACKGROUND OF THE MIGRATION

It is often suggested (Kunz, 1981; Richmond, 1974; Rogg, 1974 and Zwingmann, 1973) that a refugee's background characteristics are an important influence on the ease of adjustment among the host society. These background characteristics include all variables related to the refugee's origin. Since the particular group of people under study here fled for political reasons, it is that common bondage which must first be examined in order to attain a better understanding of their personal characteristics and adjustment to Canada and Canadian society.

In October 1970, Salvador Allende became the world's first democratically elected Marxist Head of State. By capturing 36.3 percent of the popular vote, Allende achieved

his primary objective of bringing a socialist government to Chile by democratic means. When Allende refused to modify his goals of redistributing the national wealth and thereby creating a socialist society, both left-wing and right-wing extremists remained dissatisfied. The armed forces were also unhappy with Allende's performance. Consequently, on September 11th, 1973, the constitutional government was overthrown in a violent military coup which was led by General Augusto Pinochet. This was the first time in 46 years that the traditionally non-political Chilean armed forces overturned a civilian government.

When Pinochet took control of the government, he declared a state of seige and imposed censorship and a curfew. While Allende's supporters resisted the new military, the imposed austerity was largely at the expense of Allende's most fervent supporters, the poor. Leftists and others associated with the Allende government were arrested, tortured and imprisoned. It was unofficially estimated by the United Nations that 100,000 people were arrested and imprisoned, and 40,000 people were killed (Globe and Mail, 1973), exhibiting a severe violation of human rights. The result of these events was that thousands of Chileans from all social classes fled their homeland. While this migration included both political and economic refugees, the military takeover was the underlying cause of flight of almost all Chileans departing in the years following the 1973 'coup'.

WORLDWIDE RESETTLEMENT

Following the coup, thousands of Chileans believing themselves to be in danger, turned to the churches and foreign embassies in Santiago for protection, and a massive resettlement program was begun. The agencies involved in this program ranged from international agencies such as the UNHCR and ICEM (International Committee for European Migration) to governments of host countries and to churches and voluntary agencies such as the International Red Cross, Amnesty International and the World Council of Churches.

UNHCR immediately organized and financed an emergency program and when the 'junta' finally permitted UNHCR to enter Chile, it formed a National Committee for Aid to Refugees. Lodging and assistance centres, known as 'safe havens', were set up and offices were opened to handle the growing number of refugees.

It was soon realized that the majority of Chilean refugees would have to be resettled in countries outside of Latin America. From the beginning, Peru agreed to accept an unlimited number of refugees, but only as a place of temporary asylum (approximately 2,500 by April, 1975). Argentina initially agreed to accept Chilean refugees on a permanent basis, but changed its agreement to accept refugees on a temporary basis only when the number became too large for them to handle (by June, 1975, unofficial estimates of refugees in Argentina was approximately 15,000) (UNHCR, 1974).

Refugees from Chile also arrived in other countries of Latin America, notably Costa Rica, Cuba, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela. Thus, third countries offering permanent settlement were needed to absorb the growing refugee communities in countries neighbouring Chile.

Sweden was the first country outside of Latin America to respond to the resettlement program and other countries quickly followed. By December 1973, offers for permanent resettlement came from 19 countries including Canada. The emergency phase was considered as one of the most complex and delicate settlement operations in the history of the UNHCR. This was mainly due to the time element, for the UNHCR was faced with finding durable solutions for thousands of people in the shortest possible time. After 6 months of resettlement, the number of countries responding to the crisis had grown to over 40 (Table 3.1).

When the initial emergency phase of resettlement was almost complete, a new phase was begun which involved even more applicants for resettlement than the first phase. These applicants were comprised of dependents wanting to join refugees in exile. Hence, pressure on the resettlement program continued as it attempted to keep up with the influx of applicants. The UNHCR had four major functions at this stage, namely:

- to continue resettling refugees
- to reunite families
- to temporarily care for and maintain Chilean refugees

TABLE 3.1

COUNTRIES OFFERING RESETTLEMENT

Countries offering largest intake of Chilean refugees:

- Argentina
- Austria
- Canada
- Cuba
- France
- Federal Republic of Germany
- Netherlands
- Peru
- Sweden
- Switzerland

Countries offering smaller intake of Chilean refugees:

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| - Algeria | - Mexico |
| - Australia | - New Zealand |
| - Belgium | - Norway |
| - Brazil | - Panama |
| - Columbia | - Paraguay |
| - Costa Rica | - Poland |
| - Czechoslovakia | - Romania |
| - Denmark | - Spain |
| - Ecuador | - United Kingdom |
| - Finland | - United States |
| - German Democratic Republic | - USSR |
| - Honduras | - Venezuela |
| - Italy | - Yugoslavia |

in Argentina, Peru, and other Latin American countries

- to search for permanent solutions for individual cases

By 1977, the number of departures from South America for resettlement outside the region had begun to decline. By the early 1980's it was estimated that approximately 1½ million Chileans out of the original total population of 12 million were living in exile (Malolos, 1973).

RESETTLEMENT TO CANADA

The attitude of the Canadian government towards the Chilean refugee situation was extremely important because this determined the speed of accepting applicants and the actual number of intake. Prior to the Chilean refugee dilemma, the Canadian government had generally responded to refugee crises with little hesitation. For example, it had reacted speedily to the need to resettle refugees from Hungary in 1956 and from Czechoslovakia in 1968. However, with respect to the Chileans, Canada's reaction was less humanitarian in that "...the efficient apparatus set up by the Canadian government to handle thousands of refugees expeditiously in other crises, slowed to a snail's pace" (Cobus, 1978). Canada's greater reluctance to react to the Chilean crisis to the same degree as it had to earlier crises in Europe, was primarily due to the fact that Canada had never encouraged immigration from Latin America and the Chilean

refugees held political beliefs contrary to that being practiced in Canada. "Many critics of Canada's refugee policies maintain that Canada's response to Latin American refugees' resettlement needs reflects a failure to accept that the need to flee repression of right wing military regimes is as great as the need of refugees who flee repression of communism" (Inter-Church Committee, 1981). By October 1973, the Canadian government still had no policy regarding Chilean refugees. When it finally adopted a policy, it did so with reluctance and caution.

It has been suggested (Dirks, 1977) that the Canadian government delayed its decision to assist Chilean refugees until enough pressure (public concern) had been mounted within Canada over the problem. The organization primarily responsible for pressuring the Canadian government into responding was the Canadian Council of Churches (CCC), which stated "... (the admission of refugees) is based on humanitarian and not political considerations. Since these refugees are in danger of their lives, under a repressive military regime, we have only one option: to do what we can to save these lives. Canada opened her doors to refugees from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Uganda. If we refuse to open our doors to people who are in danger under another type of political regime, this would mean that we acted from political rather than humanitarian motives (Dirks, 1977). As more Canadians became aware of the situation in Chile, other organizations joined the CCC to force the government to clarify its

Chilean refugee policy.

Immediately following the coup in September, applications for resettlement began pouring into the immigration offices. By late November 1973, immigration officials arrived in Chile from Ottawa to begin screening and processing applicants. However, because procedures were protracted, security screening intensive, and translators were limited, the number of applicants accepted was minimal. It appeared as if Canadian immigration officials were more concerned with maintaining good relations with the Chilean military government than with assisting the Chileans who sought to leave the country (Dirks, 1977). Nevertheless, throughout the fall and winter of 1973, the Minister of External Affairs assured Parliament that Canada's attitude toward Chilean refugees was and continued to be a humanitarian one (Cobus, 1978). It maintained that few Chileans were interested in coming to Canada. It was suggested that the reluctance was due to Canada's bad winter, but this was clearly a ludicrous statement when viewed in terms of conditions being faced in Chile. By December 1973, only 184 applicants had been accepted out of a total of 1,400 (Dirks, 1977).

In 1974, the speed and intake of Chilean refugees began to increase, with the largest intake occurring in 1975 (Table 3.2). Since 1975 when the emergency phase concluded, the number of entries declined, but not to such an extent as to indicate that the number of applicants wishing to leave Chile had subsided. Refugee producing situations, such as the con-

TABLE 3.2

DESTINATION OF CHILEAN REFUGEES

DESTINATION	Year of Arrival							TOTAL	Percent
	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980		
Newfoundland	-	1	3	3	-	-	-	7	0.1
Prince Edward Island	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Nova Scotia	2	7	1	5	1	1	-	17	0.2
New Brunswick	-	4	2	2	4	-	-	12	0.1
Quebec	619	630	520	358	442	350	353	3,272	27.9
Ontario	853	901	598	334	413	324	390	3,813	32.5
Manitoba	27	161	291	174	171	113	78	1,015	8.6
Saskatchewan	-	49	63	124	109	94	64	503	4.3
Alberta	167	386	471	447	357	185	245	2,258	19.3
British Columbia	215	158	133	95	81	84	46	812	6.9
N.W.T. and Yukon	1	-	-	4	1	4	-	10	0.1
CANADA	1,884	2,297	2,082	1,546	1,579	1,155	1,176	11,719	100.0

NOTE: The 1973 immigration (493 Chileans) is excluded because the number arriving after September 1973 is not known.

SOURCE: Employment and Immigration Canada, 1972-1980

tinuing serious human rights violations, remain daily facts of life for many in Chile (Inter-Church Committee, 1981). Arrests and repressive activities by the military junta continue to be widespread. Reports of torture and people disappearing are still common. Repressive decree laws are embodied in the constitution which prohibits the return of many Chileans in exile. Furthermore, Pinochet's economic policy has caused the standard of living to decrease while inflation continues to increase. Thus, in a desperate search for a better way of life, people are forced to leave and Chilean "immigration" continues.

Although many Chileans officially entered Canada as 'convention' refugees under the special program established for Chileans, an equal number entered through normal immigration procedures (Anderson and Frideres, 1981). Also, many Chileans came into Canada as visitors or tourists and subsequently proceeded to ask for Canada's protection. However, this method of entry was stopped in 1979, when the Canadian government removed Chile from the visa exempt list, and all Chileans were required to procure visas prior to entry. This imposition of Canadian visa requirements on Chileans made it increasingly difficult for them to seek refuge in Canada (Inter-Church Committee, 1981). The decline in the number of Chilean refugees entering Canada after the implementation of this policy is reflected in Figure 3.2. More recently, many refugees have been able to rejoin their families in Canada under sponsored or family reunion immi-

gration provisions.

The distribution of the Chilean refugees after entering Canada is shown in Table 3.2. The Government set quotas for all provinces except Quebec. "Quebec has a Ministry of Immigration which sets policies and quotas for reception of refugees. In the case of other provinces, the policy is pronounced by the federal government after formal consultations with the provinces" (Lamphier, 1981). In accordance with the Canadian labour market, the largest number were sent to Ontario, Quebec, and Alberta. While the present distribution probably has not changed dramatically from that shown in Table 3.2, it must be noted that many Chileans migrated interprovincially and particularly to Alberta and British Columbia. A major attraction of the west is its resemblance to the landscape of Chile. Secondly, the thriving economy in Alberta also attracted many.

Even though the Canadian government was often criticized for its response to the resettlement of Chilean refugees compared to other refugee movements, it must be noted that internationally, other western countries also reacted with hesitation and were even slower than Canada in admitting refugees. In terms of the total numbers accepted, Canada ranks among the top recipients (Table 3.1).

THE CHILEAN COMMUNITY

When the Chilean refugees arrived in Canada, the government dispersed them across the country, resulting in the

formation of small Chilean communities in almost all the major urban centres. The disposition of these communities tends to be very similar throughout Canada.

While to outsiders it might at first appear that Chileans have formed a homogeneous community, under close examination it is found that both the individual refugees and the Chilean community as an entity are more complex than they appear on the surface. As one influential member of the Regina community stated, there are three types of refugees living within the Chilean community in Regina, namely:

- (i) those who have put the past behind them; are not involved with Chilean organizations; will stay in Canada; and are very satisfied with life in Canada
- (ii) those who live in the past; are continually comparing present to past; would like to be back in Chile; are outspoken about it; and are dissatisfied with life in Canada
- (iii) those who do not openly talk of the past, but think of it; would like to return to Chile; are trying to adjust, but cannot; and are dissatisfied with life in Canada

From this one might conclude that Chileans belonging to the latter two categories, especially group (ii), have characteristics that lead them to detach and isolate themselves from Canadians and hinder their adjustment into Canadian society. On the other hand, Chileans falling into the first

category have characteristics facilitating their integration and adjustment into Canadian society.

As seen in most societies, when the Chilean community grew in size, it became impossible for all its members to remain homogeneous. Consequently, internal conflicts relating to varying political and ideological beliefs developed which eventually caused the Regina Chilean community to split into 5 major factions. Each group wanted to maintain its own identity and this resulted in the formation of the following organizations:

- Regina Chilean Association
- Chile-Canada Working Centre
- Chile Committee
- El Club Deportivo Colo-Colo
- El Equipo Lantero

Although the Chilean community maintains and promotes Chilean cultural values through these organizations, the community itself is not actively involved in the process of social and economic adjustment in Canada, but rather is a political forum in which all members can be involved. To strive for human rights in Latin America is of major concern to the Chilean community. The refugees choosing not to belong to any of these organizations, generally tend to disassociate themselves from other Chileans, and instead integrate with Canadians. Apart from the primary political role of the organizations, they also help to maintain Chilean cultural values.

The organizations sponsor both social and cultural

functions. They participate in cultural events such as 'Mosaic', an annual cultural festival held in Regina, where the Chilean community has its own pavilion and presents its culture through music, dance, food and crafts. Not only does this make the Chilean community more cohesive, but it also allows Canadians to learn about them and to become more aware of the Chilean refugees in Regina. Most of the music and dance groups perform throughout the year at various functions in Regina and elsewhere. For example, 'Electronic Sound', a popular music group among the young people, has become active in fund raising for the Chilean community. The Chilean community has also set up a school for the children of refugees ('La Escuela de Salvador Allende'), which runs every Saturday afternoon throughout the school year. The parents believe that it is very important for their children to know their cultural heritage and the school fulfills this by teaching the children about Chile. Spanish is taught also. In addition, the formation of a successful soccer league has attracted the participation of many members of the Chilean community. However, these community organizations are strictly comprised of Chileans with little or no Canadian involvement or participation.

ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES ON ARRIVAL

It can be assumed that the amount and type of assistance a refugee receives upon his arrival to a new country and the method in which the assistance is given, will affect

the refugee's ease of adjustment to the host society. Three major levels of assistance have been available to Chileans since their arrival, namely:

- 1 Federal and Provincial Governments
- 2 Voluntary Organizations
- 3 Relatives and Friends

1 Federal and Provincial Governments

With very few Chileans residing in Canada at the time of the coup, there was no Chilean community; so it initially became the Canadian government's responsibility to aid and resettle the refugees in Canada. The Federal and Provincial Governments were involved in supporting the Chilean refugees by undertaking four major roles, as follows;

(i) Financial maintenance: Since many of the Chilean refugees were forced to flee Chile in a hurry, they had to leave most of their personal belongings behind and therefore brought practically nothing with them to Canada. Consequently, upon their arrival, most were totally dependent on financial support. The Canadian government did this by lending the airfare for 'convention' refugees and meeting them at the airport upon arrival. They also provided a temporary allowance for shelter (hotel), food and rent deposit, and a general living allowance until employment was found. However, it must be noted that not all the refugees were eligible for this assistance and those (only the 'convention' refugees) who did receive it were required to pay back the airfare and rent deposit after a given period of time.

(ii) Teaching English as a secondary language: As the Chilean refugees' ability to speak English was such an important factor in the process of assimilation, the Canadian government responded by offering a twenty week English course. However, many were unable to take advantage of this because the numbers allowed to enroll for English training were restricted by the Department of Manpower and Immigration which decided which refugees were eligible. This selection of refugees for English language training caused problems within the Chilean community which felt that they were being discriminated against vis-à-vis other immigrants. Even though there is not the same restriction today, many refugees still do not have equal opportunity of being accepted into the course because some are required to pay fees and others receive training free. The English training course proved to be successful in that it improved the refugees' knowledge of English. Nevertheless, it was realized that the provision of language training alone was insufficient in aiding the assimilation of the refugees. As stated by one English language training officer, "...for those people for whom life in Canada is hampered by a lack of information and coping skills, as well as basic social, economic, and emotional problems which remain unsolved, not only is learning ability severely impaired, but adjustment to Canadian society is often rendered almost impossible".. Hence, a new English language course was created in 1982 that encompassed many of these problems. Issues included in this course are:

- housing
- work, laws, and regulations
- health care
- consumerism/shopping, consumer law
- transportation
- Canadian values and the family, family law
- social services
- customs and courtesies
- the Post Office
- banking
- use of a library
- geographical/historical overview of Canada

However, few Chileans have benefited from this course because the government has given priority to other refugees (i.e. Indo-chinese) over the Chileans.

(iii) Employment assistance: When the refugees arrived in Canada, all were in need of jobs. Consequently, the Canadian government's major concern was finding employment for them so they would become self-sufficient. Although the jobs found for the refugees were often not related to their past occupations in Chile, it must be noted that the government was successful in helping the majority of Chileans locate work shortly after their arrival.

(iv) Industrial training: To help refugees adjust to the labour force, the Canadian government offered an industrial training course. While this would have been the ideal solution for refugees because of problems experienced in adjust-

ing to their new jobs, the number of Chilean refugees allowed to take this course was very limited.

2 Voluntary Organizations

The Canadian government was not the only group involved in resettlement as voluntary organizations also played a major role in assisting the Chilean refugees. The voluntary organizations ranged in size from individual sponsors to church groups. In Regina, two non-profit groups actively involved in helping resettle the refugees were 'The Marion Centre', sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church, and 'The Regina Open Door Society', a secular group. Both offered a variety of services such as counselling, interpreting, and providing goods necessary for survival, and their intent was to help the refugees become self-sufficient. As was previously mentioned, the voluntary organizations formed by the refugees themselves within the Chilean community did not actively become involved in the resettlement process.

3 Relatives and Friends

The first Chilean refugees entering Canada found no compatriots to assist them and thus had to rely on the Canadian government or voluntary organizations for support. However, this changed as more Chileans resettled in Canada. In more recent times, newly arriving Chileans can depend on friends or relatives already present. Thus, the governments and the voluntary agencies role in the resettlement process is gradually being replaced by the refugees' friends and relatives.

SUMMARY

As previously stated, the major purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed account of the resettlement process undergone by Chilean refugees. After examining the background to their migration and their resettlement, both worldwide and throughout Canada, the resettlement process and its participating factors have become better understood. In addition, by examining the Chilean community in Canada, it is hoped that this has provided further insight into the Chilean refugees' resettlement in Canada.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with the methodology employed in this study. There is a brief discussion of the procedures used to acquire secondary data, followed by a more detailed examination of the collection of primary data by means of a questionnaire. Accordingly, the population sampled, the response rate, and the problems encountered during the survey are reviewed. Finally, the statistical techniques applied in the analysis are examined.

THE SECONDARY DATA

In order to provide as complete a picture as possible of the Chilean refugee community in Regina, information was accumulated from a variety of sources:

1 Conference Data

A two day conference on "Women in Latin America" was attended with the intent of gaining a better understanding of the Chilean society and this objective was achieved. The conference also focused on Latin American women (specifically Chilean) in exile and the problems they have experienced. Consequently the information gathered was useful in the analysis since it ultimately dealt with similar issues that are employed in this study.

2 Public Events and Social Visiting

By attending public events such as Mosaic 83 (cultural festival), films and slide shows presented by the Chilean community, and social visiting with various Chilean families, further insight was attained as to the organization and ideology of the Chilean refugee community in Regina.

3 Private Interviews

Interviews were held with the leaders and active participants of the different Chilean organizations in Regina. The information obtained from these interviews contributed to the overall description, problems and needs of the Chilean community as a whole, and to the progression of the questionnaire distribution.

4 Provincial and Federal Governments

For the analysis and description of the Chilean community, it was essential to incorporate statistics provided by Provincial and Federal Governments with respect to the number of Chilean refugees residing in Canada (at provincial and national levels), and the dates of their entry into Canada. Government contacts also provided information concerning the extent of aid the Chilean refugees received upon arriving in Canada and the major problems the government encountered in dealing with the Chilean community.

5 United Nations' Publications

Material published by the UNHCR gave a detailed account of the September 1973 'coup' in Chile, the worldwide resettlement of Chilean refugees, the aid provided by the inter-

national community to the Chilean refugees, and the problems experienced by the Chilean refugees during resettlement.

General literature concerning refugees was also accumulated and continually employed as the basis for this study.

THE PRIMARY DATA

It is important to note that the information drawn from the primary data (a questionnaire which surveyed the Regina Chilean community) received the greatest attention in this study. The discussion of the questionnaire shall be divided into three sections as follows:

- 1 Pre-Test of the questionnaire
- 2 Organization of the questionnaire
- 3 Weakness of the questionnaire

1 Pre-Test of the Questionnaire

During July and August of 1981, a preliminary questionnaire was designed and distributed to eight Chilean households in Winnipeg, Manitoba. On the basis of time, convenience, and limited resources, Winnipeg was chosen as the study area in which to conduct the pre-test. Since the questionnaire was in English only, the respondents chosen had to understand English. The distribution of the questionnaire involved setting up of informal appointments with heads of households. From opinions and responses to the preliminary questionnaire expressed during the interviews, the questionnaire was modified.

2 Organization of the Questionnaire

The questions were designed to obtain specific facts about the Chilean population and their opinions and attitudes regarding Canada and Canadian society. This was achieved by dividing the questionnaire into five sections, with the questions in each section relating to a series of specific issues (Appendix). These sections were:

(i) Personal characteristics: The first section of the questionnaire is concerned with personal background characteristics of the entire family. These questions refer to the age, sex, place of birth, and education of the household members.

(ii) Mobility: The balance of the questionnaire is addressed specifically to the head of household. This section deals with respondents' past migratory experiences in both Chile and since coming to Canada, as well as any anticipated future movement. This includes questions on when, where, why, and how many times they have moved.

(iii) Economic situation: The purpose of this section is to provide information on the economic situation of respondents since arriving in Canada. Questions focus upon ease of finding a job, number of jobs held, earnings, and job satisfaction.

(iv) Social situation: The intent of this section is to acquire an understanding of respondents' perception of their social situation in Canada. Questions are asked about language capability and interaction with Canadians.

(v) Satisfaction with life: The final section of the questionnaire attempts to generate some measure of respondents' level of satisfaction with life in Canada. Questions are posed concerning respondents' attitudes toward various aspects of Canada and Canadian society.

A closed-ended format is adopted throughout the questionnaire except for the final two questions. Since the questionnaire was to be self-administrated by the head of household, it was felt that the closed-ended format would be quicker to complete, easier to understand, and more objectively analyzed. Consequently, it was anticipated that there would be a higher response rate with a closed-ended format. However, the most significant reason for using this format is that it provides quantitative dimensions essential for statistical analysis. The two open-ended questions at the end of the questionnaire are included to solicit respondents' personal concerns and thereby provide additional qualitative perspectives to the data base.

Formating most of the questions was on five point Likert Scales. Such response format permits respondents to choose one of five possible selections, ranging from one extreme to another (Appendix). Therefore, respondents do not just agree or disagree with an item, but by choosing between several categories, they indicate various strengths of agreement and disagreement. While three and seven point scales are sometimes used, five point scales are normally employed (Moser and Kalton, 1971). The five point scales

have the advantage of being more flexible than three point scales, but not as complicated as seven point scales.

Due to the fact that many respondents have a poor knowledge of English, the questionnaire was prepared in both English and Spanish. Hence, respondents could reply in the language of their choice. Furthermore, it was assumed that this would reveal which language respondents preferred and with which they felt most comfortable.

3 Weakness of the Questionnaire

In spite of the pre-test questionnaire, it became apparent during the actual survey that there were still some questions in which the meaning was ambiguous. Even though none of the respondents had difficulty in answering these particular questions, their interpretation of the meaning of the question is unknown.

The ambiguous questions referred to are those involving respondents' occupations. The questions concerned with rating their past and present jobs (question 17 and 22) are confusing. In both areas, one does not know if the respondents' degree of satisfaction are due to monetary reasons or the actual enjoyment of the job itself. Secondly, the question concerned with income (question 22) is also confusing. It remains unknown whether the salaries indicated by the respondents are that of the total family income (when more than one member of the family works) or the respondents' income alone.

Even with these inconsistencies, the responses to the

questions under discussion are still very pertinent to this study. While the reasons for the respondents' choices of responses might vary, the actual responses are precise and hence are useful in the analysis.

THE SAMPLE

The survey was undertaken in Regina during the summer of 1982. At first it was intended that the population to be sampled would be strictly Chilean refugees (involuntary migrants) who presently resided in Regina. However, it was realized that it would be extremely difficult to know which ones were refugees as opposed to immigrants (voluntary migrants) before the respondents completed the questionnaire. In addition, for many Chileans, it was a combination of political (involuntary) and economic (voluntary) reasons that prompted their flight to Canada. Therefore, to solve this problem, it was decided that any Chilean migrants having arrived in Canada after the September 1973 'coup' (whether their flight was forced or not), were included in the survey.

After speaking with government officials and various members of the Chilean community, it was resolved that there were approximately 400 Chileans (or 100 families) in Regina. Hence, the objective of the survey was to include 60 of the estimated 100 families in the sample, with one questionnaire per household, regardless of the number of people living in the household.

To achieve this objective, the ideal method of admin-

istering the questionnaire would have been through the utilization of an official listing of all Chilean people in Regina. Access to such a list would have allowed a pure random sample to be conducted. However, since no such list was available, it was necessary to employ a combination of other sampling methods.

It was recognized that five different social organizations existed within the Regina Chilean community (see Chapter III), and it was intended that the sample include a proportion of members from each of these organizations based on their membership size. In addition, it was realized that some members of the community did not belong to any organization, and that some belonged to more than one. Therefore, it was essential to include some of these non-members in the sample, if the sample were to be truly representative of the entire Regina Chilean community. Consequently, throughout the survey, the three major methods used to distribute the questionnaire were as follows:

(i) The leaders or influential members of the different organizations: Leaders were first contacted by telephone and a meeting was arranged so that the survey could be explained in more detail and they could examine the questionnaire. A specific number of questionnaires were left with each leader to distribute to the members of his organization. This method had several advantages. The leaders could explain the survey to their co-members and reassure them of its confidentiality. In addition, since the leaders

were personally distributing and collecting the questionnaires, the respondents' identities remained anonymous to the survey. Both of these factors reduced the respondents' fears and suspicions of participating in the survey.

During the time period when the questionnaires were left with the different leaders, contact by telephone and in person was maintained in order to observe the proceedings and discuss any problems that might have arisen. The questionnaires were collected after they had been completed and returned to the leaders.

(ii) Individuals whose names were obtained prior to the survey: These individuals were contacted by telephone and meeting times were arranged. While some respondents completed the questionnaires during the first meeting, others preferred that the questionnaire be collected at a later pre-arranged date.

(iii) Friends of the above individuals: Most friends were contacted by the individuals themselves. Thus, extra questionnaires were left with the individuals so they could have their friends complete them.

THE RESPONSE

As was previously stated, the size of the sample was intended to be 60 of the estimated 100 Chilean families. However, when all the questionnaires had been collected, the net sample size was 56 households.

Although everyone personally approached agreed to par-

ticipate in the survey, the number of refusals is uncertain because it is not known how many Chilean households refused to participate when they were contacted by their friends or by the leaders of the organizations. For instance, a leader of one organization was given ten questionnaires and eventually all of them were completed and returned, but how many members refused to respond remains unknown. It must also be recognized that many who refused to participate in the survey are likely to be persons most dissatisfied with life in Canada and thus least assimilated into Canadian society. It is also highly probable that many households were never approached, so it can be assumed that the response rate is definitely higher than 56 percent. All things considered, a reasonable estimate of a response rate would be between two-thirds and three-quarters, which represents a relatively high rate for such a micro-survey.

While two of the five organizations had a relatively poor response, it was recognized that several of their members had already completed questionnaires given to them by friends belonging to other organizations. Overall, the Chilean community's response to the survey was very favorable. Of those contacted, all were very amiable and helpful. Many even went out of their way to complete the questionnaire and to get co-members and/or friends to complete the questionnaire.

Nonetheless, the administration of the survey was not without problems. Throughout the study, many members of the

Chilean community showed signs of fear and apprehension towards participating in the survey. Even though confidentiality and anonymity of the respondent was continually stressed, it did not resolve many of their fears that the data might be given to the Canadian government, or results could be identified with a particular individual. Others were afraid that somehow it might endanger their relatives in Chile. There were also several people who were hesitant to participate in the survey unless it would directly benefit them or Regina's Chilean community. Furthermore, there were a few people who could not see the purpose of participating in such a survey because they planned to return to Chile in the future. The only other obstacle encountered at the commencement of the survey was finding the initial contacts, especially the leaders of the different organizations, which proved to be very time consuming.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

To provide a complete overview of the characteristics concerning the sample population, descriptive statistics, such as frequency distribution, mean, standard deviation, and minimum and maximum values were calculated for all variables. Frequency data were converted to percentages; thereby indicating the number of respondents who marked a particular category in relationship to the total number of respondents. Histograms were then constructed to illustrate the findings.

To determine whether there were any discrepancies with-

in the sample population, contingency tables were created. These show the interrelationship among two or more variables.

While descriptive statistics do not necessarily confirm 'significant differences', they do indicate 'apparent discrepancies'. Therefore, they ultimately aid in identifying trends, likenesses, and dissimilarities which might otherwise not be observed if data were simply tabulated for the entire group by grand totals.

Considering the small sample size on which the study was based, more sophisticated techniques such as 'regression analysis' would not hold much value, and it would be difficult to draw any firm conclusions or generalizations.

CHAPTER V

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILEAN REFUGEES

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and analyze the data generated by the questionnaire survey, which will ultimately provide a general description of Chilean refugees in Regina. It is anticipated that this will reveal the degree to which Chilean refugees are distinct from Canadians, and the major problems they have encountered since arriving in Canada. Together, these will indicate whether or not Chilean refugees in Regina have adjusted to Canadian society.

To accomplish this, there will be a depiction of the major characteristics respondents displayed throughout the questionnaire and during personal interviews.

DESCRIPTION OF CHILEAN REFUGEES

The quantity of information contained in the questionnaires is extensive. To simplify the analysis, it was decided that the data should be combined into groups. Thus, the major characteristics of the Chilean refugees are discussed under the following headings:

- 1 Personal Characteristics
- 2 Education
- 3 Length of Residence
- 4 Occupation and Economic Status

- 5 Language
- 6 Satisfaction with Life in Canada
- 7 Sense of Permanence

1 Personal Characteristics

Of the 56 respondents who participated in the survey, all but two were male. The major reason for this being that in a Chilean family, the male is almost always considered to be the head of household, and the questionnaire specifically stated that the head of household be the one to participate in the survey. Of the two females who took part in the survey, one was divorced, which automatically placed her in the position of the head of household.

The distribution of the respondents' ages is shown in Figure 5.1 ('Age of Head of Household'). With 80.3 percent of them in the 25 - 44 year age group and none over the age of 64 years, the majority can be classified as being eligible for the 'work force'. Even allowing for the fact that an average of five years had passed since they arrived in Canada, the rigorous screening procedures undertaken by the Canadian Immigration officials in accordance to the labour demand in Canada is quite obvious. However, it must also be understood that there were few elderly Chileans wishing to migrate because they preferred to remain in Chile under the new regime rather than upset their lives, and most were not considered by the new government to be as great a threat as the opposing younger generation.

Approximately three-quarters of the respondents (76.8

percent) are presently married. The relatively large number of single respondents (23.2 percent) is primarily due to the recent divorces and separations among couples since arriving in Canada. When examining the extent of intermarriages (if the head of household is married to a Canadian), it was found that only one of the married respondents has a Canadian spouse. This finding, however, was not unpredicted since most of the respondents were married in Chile before coming to Canada.

Figure 5.2 ('Family Size') shows family size of the Chilean households, which averages 3.4 persons. For the married couples, there is an average of 1.9 children per family. This figure appears to have more resemblance to the present Canadian average of 1.8 children per family than it does to the current Chilean average of 2.4 children per family. When asked where these children were born, it was revealed that 76.5 percent were born in Chile and elsewhere, and the remaining 23.5 percent were born in Canada. This means that approximately one-quarter of the children are Canadian by birth. While the extended family is very common in Chile, it was found that only 7.1 percent of respondents have their parents living with them in Canada. The major reason for this is that most of the respondents' parents remained in Chile.

2 Education

In Figure 5.3 ('Education') the education levels achieved by respondents are shown. The years of education

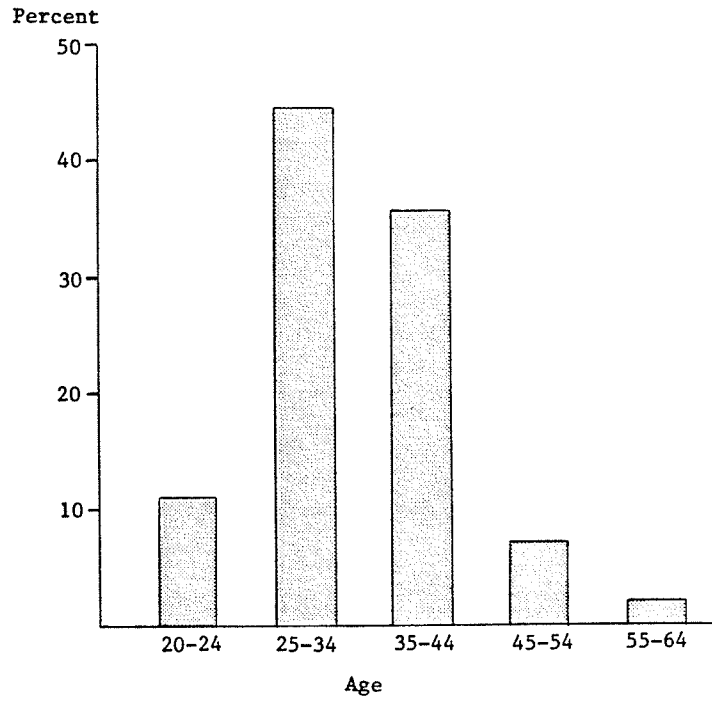


Figure 5.1 Age of head of household

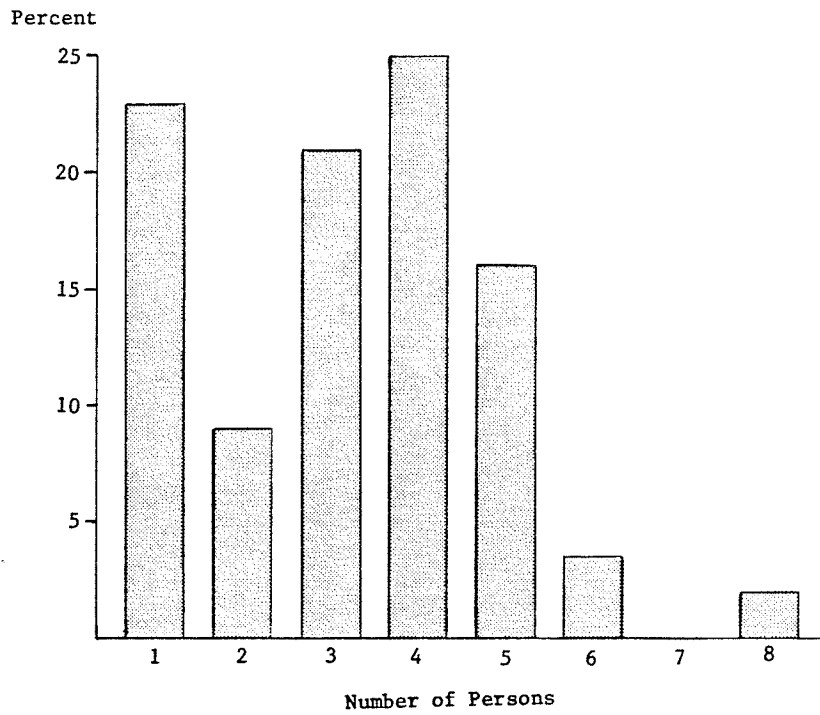


Figure 5.2 Family size

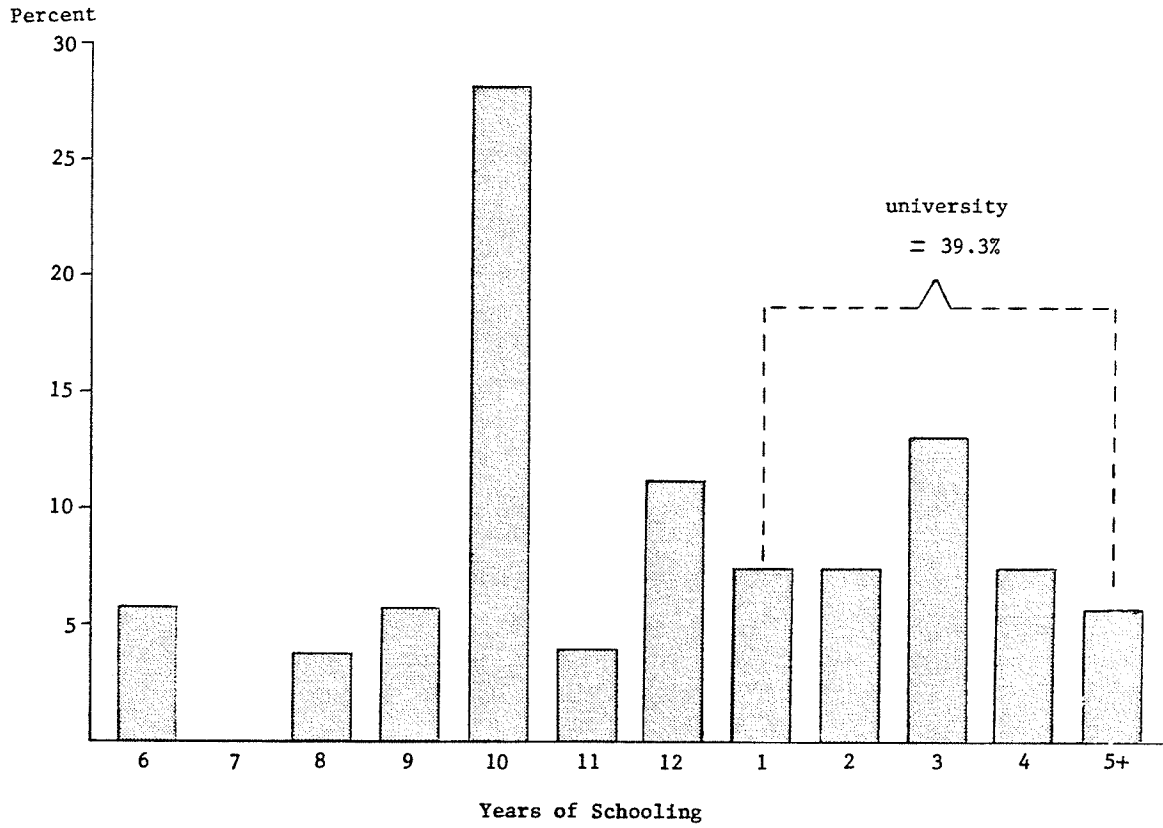


Figure 5.3 Education

range from 6 to 19. It is not surprising to find that 43.4 percent have attended secondary school and 39.3 percent have attended university. This reflects Canadian immigration policy, since careful screening of applicants led to those with higher educational levels being accepted. The concept of the Chilean refugees being well educated is even more evident when examining Figure 5.4 ('Education: Chile versus Chilean Refugees') in which the education level achieved by the total Chilean population is compared to that of Chilean refugees in the survey. In Chile, 26.6 percent of the population attend secondary school and only 3.8 percent attend university (United Nations, 1982). While 12.4 percent of the population in Chile has no schooling, all of the respondents in the survey have achieved some level of schooling. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Chilean refugees who came to Canada are generally more educated than the average population in Chile.

3 Length of Residence

Figure 5.5 ('Length of Residence in Canada') shows that 85.7 percent of respondents have lived in Canada for 4 to 7 years, with an average of 5.1 years, which corresponds to the original intake into Saskatchewan. Therefore, the Chilean refugees have passed the critical stage (the first 3 or 4 years) which Stein (1979) suggests is necessary to determine their success. In 1979 the Canadian government implemented a policy that imposed a visa requirement on Chileans. This made it very difficult for them to seek asylum in Canada

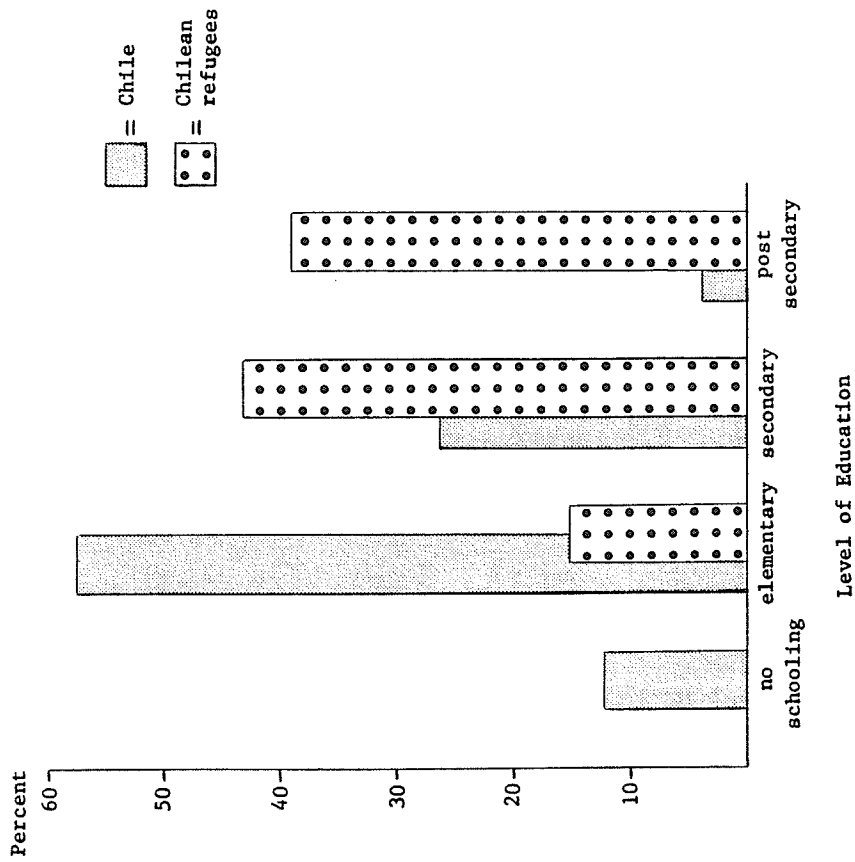


Figure 5.4 Education: Chile versus Chilean refugees

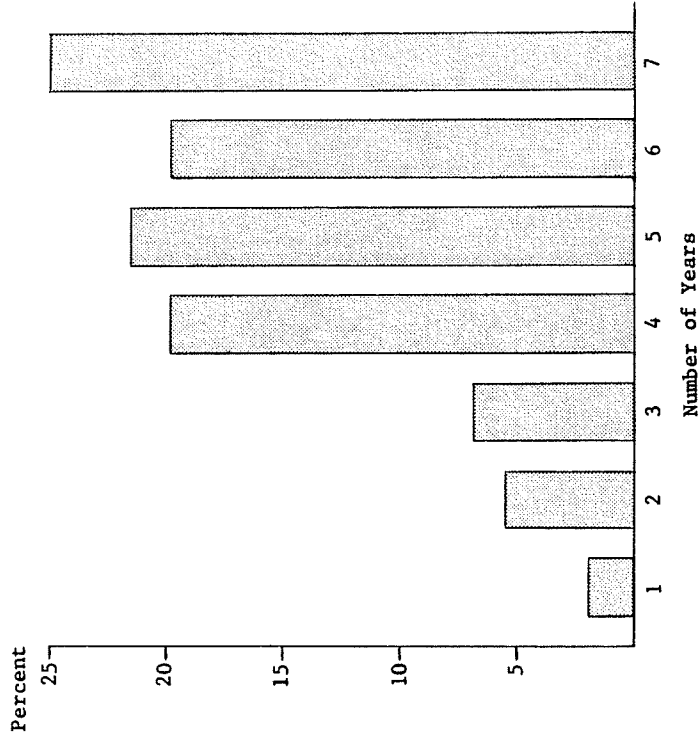


Figure 5.5 Length of residence in Canada

(Inter-Church Committee, 1981) and the introduction of this policy is reflected by the decline in Chilean refugees in 1979.

Figure 5.6 ('Departure versus Arrival') makes a comparison between the dates the refugees left Chile and the dates they arrived in Canada. Even though 21 percent of the respondents left Chile during 1974, none had arrived in Canada by the end of that year. The average date of the respondents' departure from Chile was January 1976, which is definitely earlier than the average date of their arrival in Canada which was November 1976. The approximate one year time lag between the departure dates from Chile and arrival dates in Canada can be explained by Figure 5.7 ('In-between Country'). Here it is shown that 35.7 percent sought temporary asylum in another country - primarily Argentina - before coming to Canada.

To determine if the length of residence in Canada differed significantly from length of residence in Regina, questions were asked concerning both, with the results being shown in Figure 5.8 ('Arrival in Canada versus Regina'). It was found that the extent to which the two differ was insignificant, suggesting that with respect to movement between cities, the majority of the Chilean refugees have remained fairly stationary since their arrival in Canada. This concept was further tested by asking respondents how many Canadian cities they have lived in. The results are shown in Figure 5.9 ('Number of Canadian Cities Lived In'); 85.7

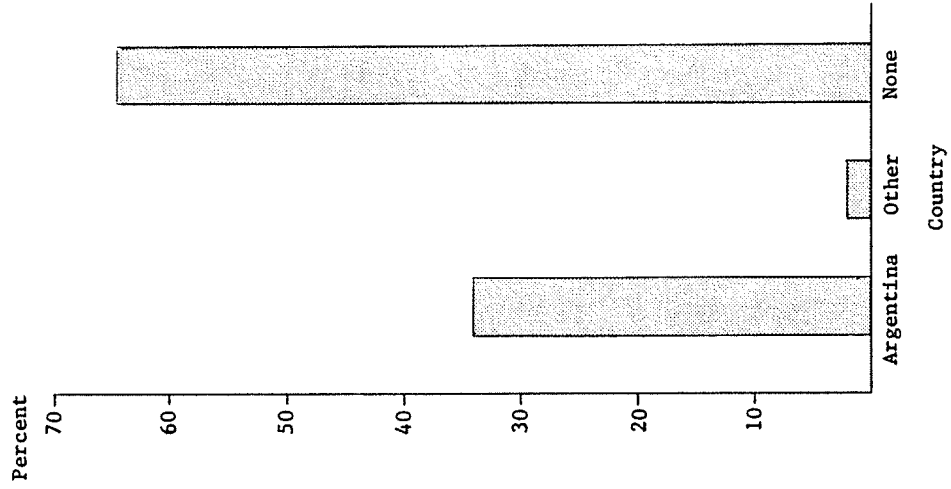


Figure 5.7 In-between country

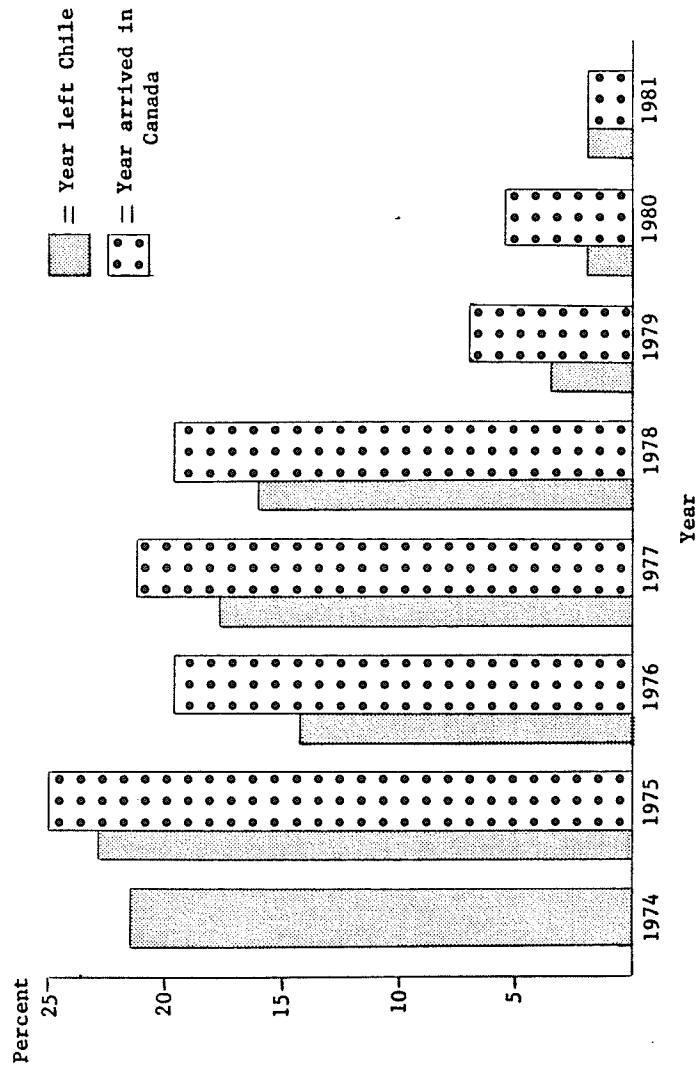


Figure 5.6 Departure versus arrival

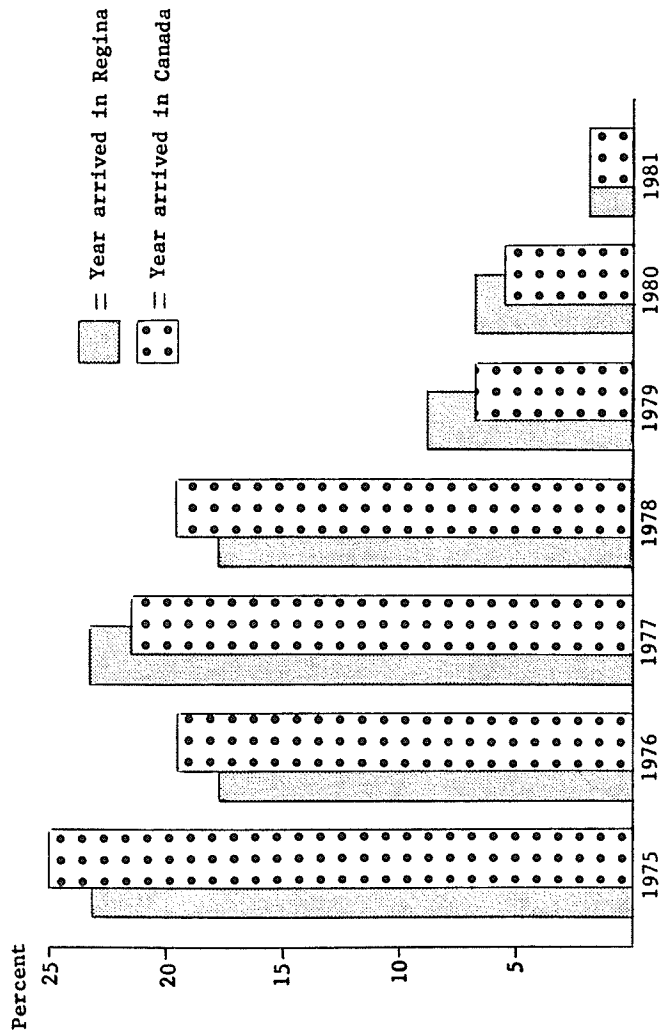


Figure 5.8 Arrival in Canada versus Regina

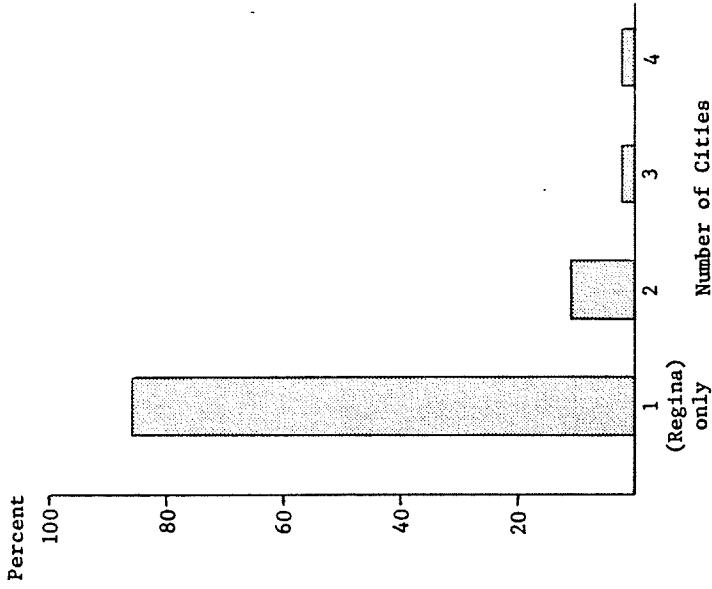


Figure 5.9 Number of Canadian cities lived in

percent having only lived in one city. It is clear that movement of Chilean refugees between cities is limited. However, it is recognized that some Chilean refugees who originally lived in Regina have since moved to other Canadian cities, but their number is not known.

While the above findings suggest that the majority of Chilean refugees have remained in Regina, they have been less static in terms of their intracity movement. Figure 5.10 ('Number of Moves in Regina') shows that respondents have been considerably more mobile. Only 5.5 percent have never moved whereas 52.7 percent have moved two or more times. This degree of movement is relatively high considering that their average length of residence in Regina is only 5.0 years.

It was expected that when refugees arrive in a new country, they tend to live close to the city centre and near other immigrants of the same origin; thereby forming a cluster in the city core. Then, as time progresses and they become more adjusted to the host society, they tend to disperse; moving out of the city centre and into the suburban areas surrounding the city.

To determine the actual direction of intracity movement of the Chilean refugees in Regina, their settlement pattern was investigated. Respondents were given a map of Regina showing a total of 45 city districts (Figure 5.11 - 'Regina: City Districts') and were asked to indicate all places they had lived since arriving in Regina. For anal-

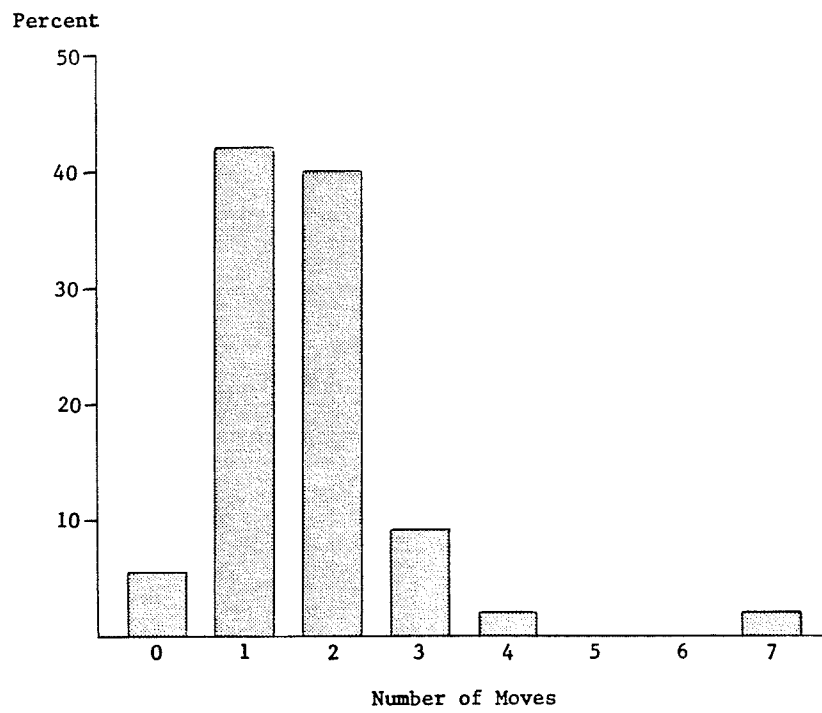


Figure 5.10 Number of moves in Regina

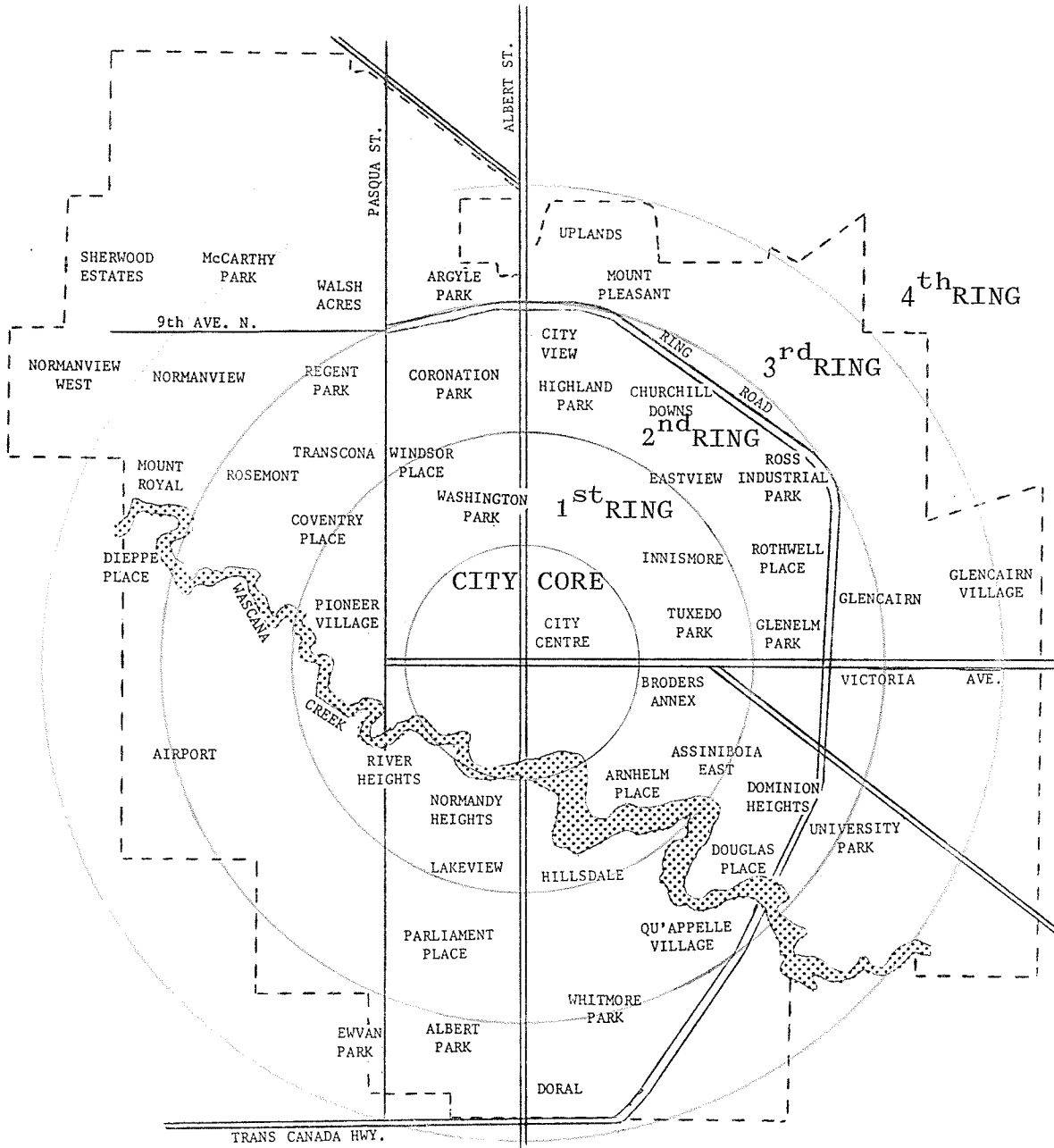


Figure 5.11 Regina: City districts

ysis, the city map was divided into concentric circles, 1.3 kilometers apart. Responses were then categorized according to the concentric zones. To establish whether there was any particular trend to their movement, the districts where they lived upon arrival in Regina were compared to where they presently reside. The results are shown in Figure 5.12 ('Settlement Pattern'). While the plurality (47.2 percent) originally lived in the city core, they are now distributed throughout three major areas of the city (Walsh Acres - Argyle Park, Glencairn - Glencairn Village, and Parliament Place - Qu'Appelle Village). Together, the two outer concentric zones now account for 50.9 percent of respondents compared to 15.1 percent originally. Figure 5.12 therefore demonstrates that since the Chilean refugees' arrival in Regina, there has been a movement away from the core areas towards the suburban areas surrounding the city.

4 Occupation and Economic Status

In Figure 5.13 ('Occupation: Previous versus Present') a comparison is made between the respondents' occupations in Chile and the occupations they presently hold. As expected, there exists a severe downward occupation mobility. The respondents who experience the greatest downward mobility are those who had the highest occupational status in Chile. While 41.1 percent of respondents were 'professional/managerial' or 'skilled' workers in Chile, only 9.1 percent have attained similar occupational status in Canada. Therefore, the higher their former occupation, the more problematic has been their

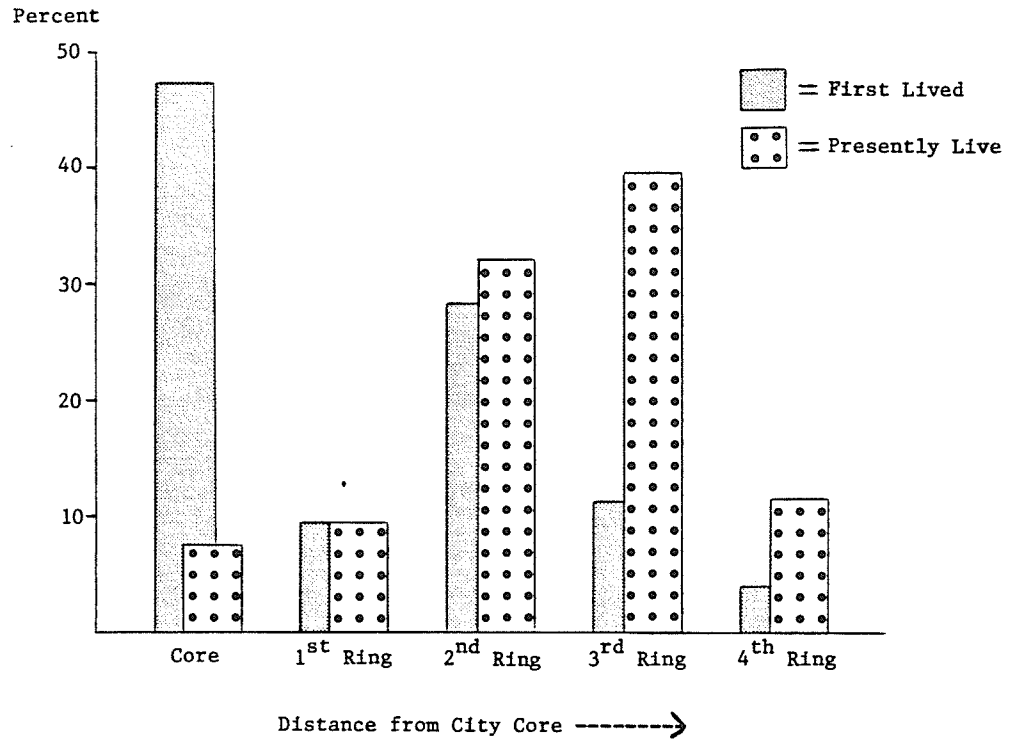


Figure 5.12 Settlement pattern

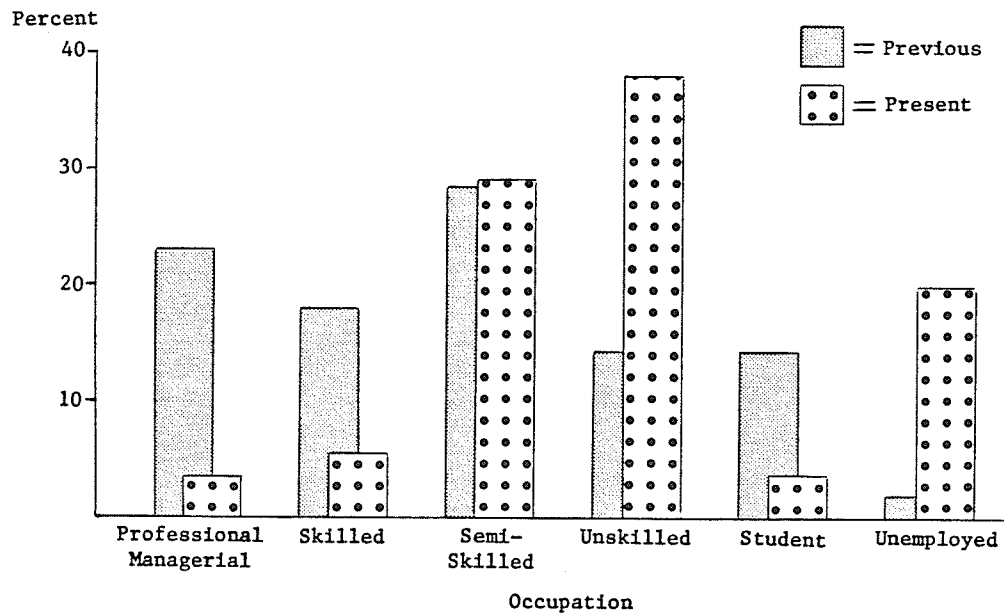


Figure 5.13 Occupation: previous versus present

adjustment. Having to work in jobs that are greatly inferior to the levels of skills or qualifications that they hold is often cited by respondents as one of their major problems in Canada. In the 'unskilled' occupational category, where presently 38.0 percent of respondents are classified compared to 14.3 percent in Chile, the majority hold jobs in janitorial services, as this does not require any specialization nor extensive use of English.

With regard to the number of survey participants enumerated in the 'student' category, there has been a substantial drop in the number in Canada vis-à-vis Chile. There are several explanations for this. When many of the refugees who were students came to Canada, their education was halted because they immediately entered the 'work force' in order to support themselves. Due to the language problem, and because Canadian universities do not recognize many of their degrees or diplomas, most had little choice but to take what work they could find. For most, retaking a university degree or repeating a few years of university courses was an option that was too expensive. In addition, with the passage of time the Chilean population here in Canada has aged, and it is therefore less likely that as many would still be students.

It is important to note the large number of respondents that were unemployed (20.0 percent) at the time of the study. Their unemployment rate is definitely higher than it is for the total Canadian population. This tends to indicate

that during times of an unstable economy, Chilean refugees with non-transferable skills are more susceptible to becoming unemployed than the average Canadian. It is also highly probable that respondents who are currently unemployed are dissatisfied with life in Canada and are having difficulty adjusting to Canadian society.

Considering the above situation, it is not surprising that when asked to rate their levels of satisfaction with their present jobs, only 20.0 percent of respondents are satisfied. The majority (68.9 percent) indicate neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction, and 13.3 percent were dissatisfied (Figure 5.14 - 'Assessment: First Job versus Present Job'). In contrast, a much greater proportion indicated dissatisfaction with their first job (57.1 percent) suggesting that as time progressed, more are moving into employment with which they are more satisfied. One reason for this situation is that upon their arrival, many refugees were immediately assigned jobs by EIC officials and in most cases these jobs were both unfamiliar and unrelated to their previous occupations in Chile. In addition, most of these jobs also involved severe downward occupation mobility.

Dissatisfaction with employment is also illustrated by Figure 5.15 ('Number of Jobs Held since Arriving in Canada') which shows that only 11.3 percent have kept the same job since arrival, whereas 60.4 percent have held three or more jobs. This latter figure is very high when one considers that their average length of residence in Canada has only

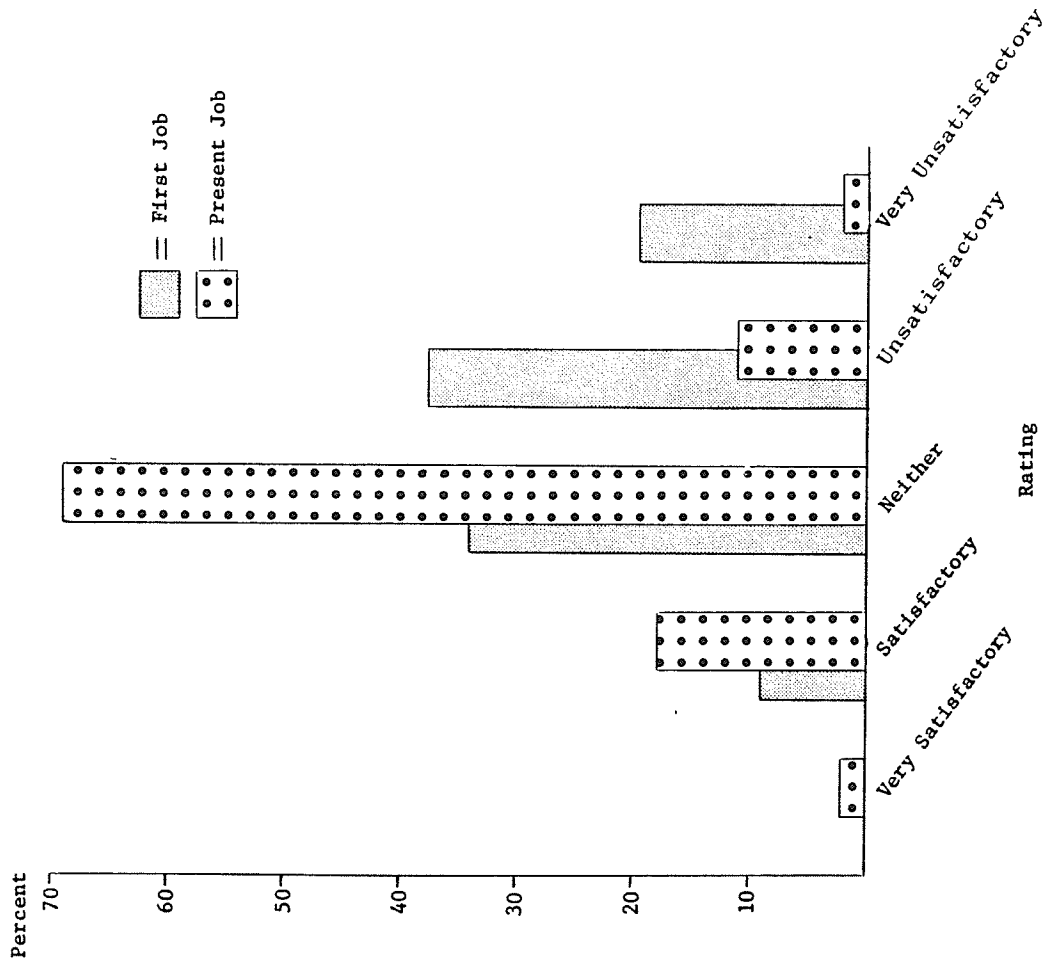


Figure 5.14 Assessment: first job versus present job

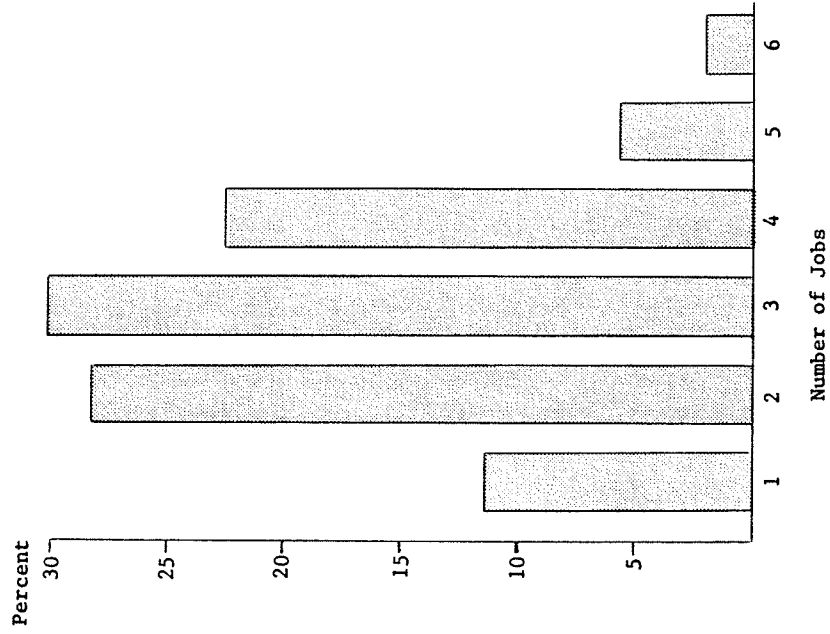


Figure 5.15 Number of jobs held since arriving in Canada

been 5.1 years.

The ease of finding their first job is shown in Figure 5.16 ('Ease of Finding First Job'). Responses are evenly distributed, with approximately one-third indicating that obtaining their first job was easy, another third found it difficult, and the balance had neutral feelings about this issue. Here again the role of voluntary organizations is significant, in that they found work for many of the Chilean refugees upon or shortly after their arrival. Those who were government sponsored refugees, however, were the ones who had the greatest difficulty in finding work. Their degree of difficulty in finding their first job is summarized in Figure 5.17 ('Length of Time Finding First Job'). While about a third were successful in securing a job within one month after arriving in Canada, another third took two to four months, and the remainder experienced considerable difficulty, requiring five to nine months to finally secure employment.

A further measure of the degree of job satisfaction is shown in Figure 5.18 ('Length of Time Spent in First Job versus Present Job'), where a comparison is made between the length of time respondents spent in their first job vis à vis their present job. In the case of their first job, the majority (73.2 percent) changed employment within less than one year. This contrasts with their present jobs, where the majority (64.5 percent) have been employed for one year or more. About a quarter have been in their present jobs for

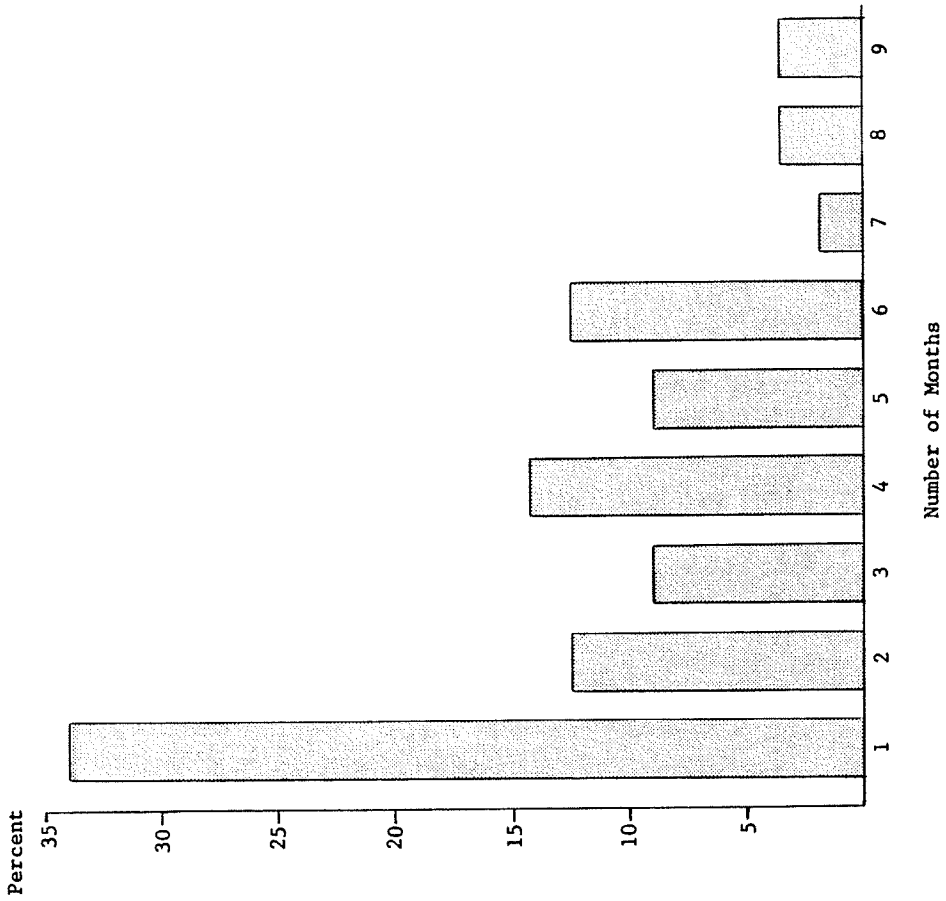


Figure 5.17 Length of time finding first job

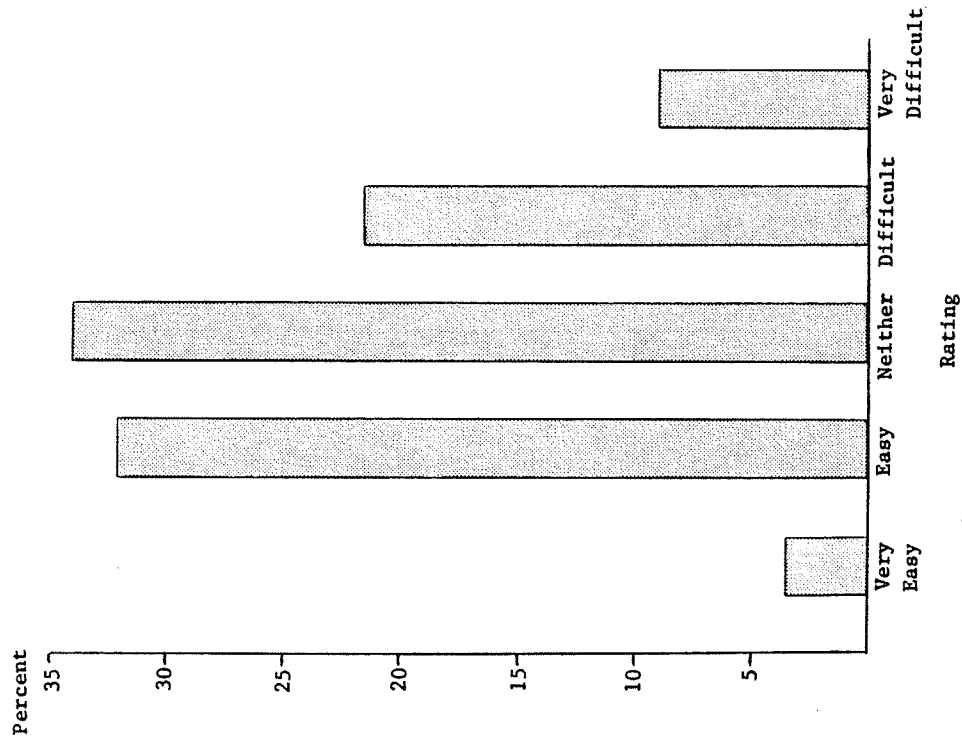


Figure 5.16 Ease of finding first job

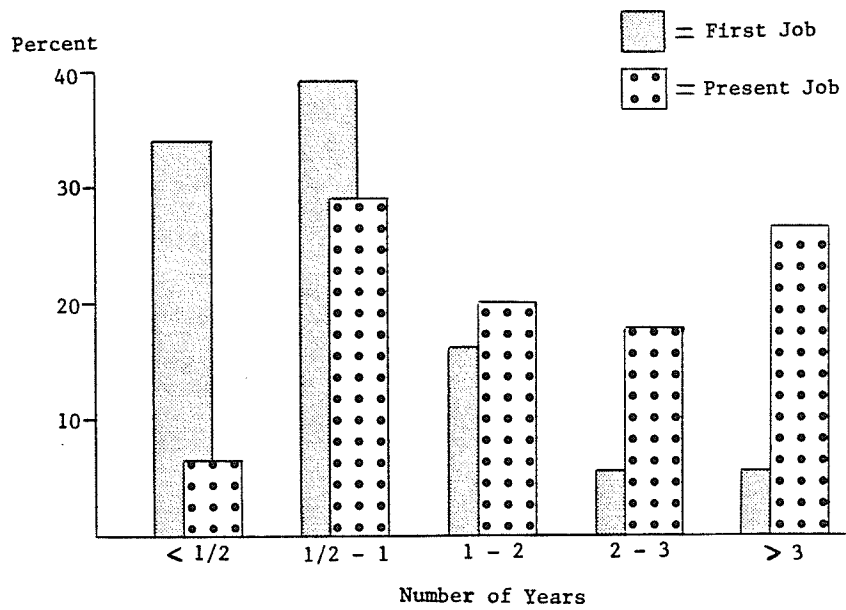


Figure 5.18 Length of time spent in first job versus present job

three years or more.

In examining income (Figure 5.19 - 'Income Levels'), 78.6 percent of the survey participants earned between \$10,000 and \$20,000 per year, with the remainder earning less than \$10,000. Those in the latter category however, are all single. These relatively low incomes further demonstrate the downward occupational mobility of the sample.

It is interesting to note that when respondents were asked to compare their standard of living in Canada with that in Chile, 74.1 percent of them stated that their standard of living was better in Canada and only 5.6 percent considered it worse (Figure 5.20 - 'Standard of Living in Canada versus Chile'). Even though most respondents have experienced a downward occupational mobility, this has been offset by the relatively higher standard of living that most Chilean refugees are able to enjoy in Canada. Notwithstanding this general satisfaction with their standard of living, many (48.2 percent) indicated a dissatisfaction with the cost of living in Canada (Figure 5.21 - 'Cost of Living'). Better standard of living is also illustrated by the type of dwelling in which the respondents presently reside (Figure 5.22 - 'Type of Dwelling'). Almost half are now living in single family dwellings and as many as 25.5 percent of respondents own their own homes. The reasons for this shall be discussed later.

5 Language

As earlier hypothesized, refugees' ability to speak

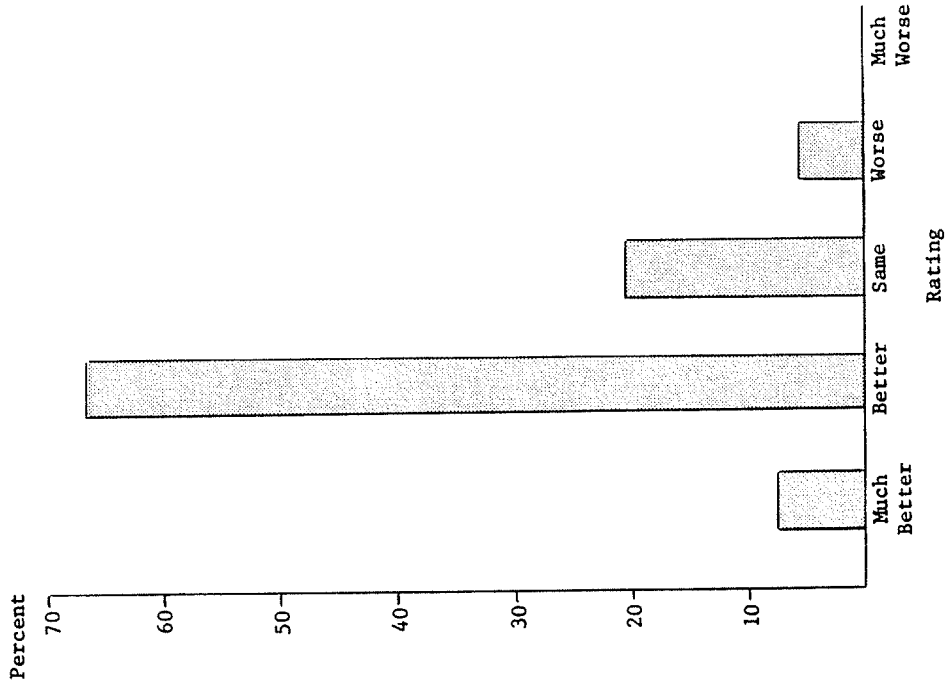


Figure 5.20 Standard of living in Canada versus Chile

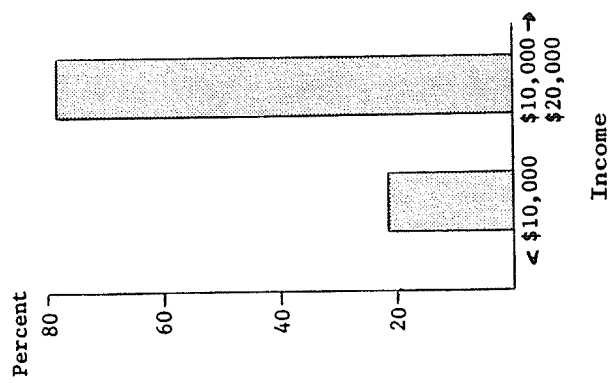


Figure 5.19 Income levels

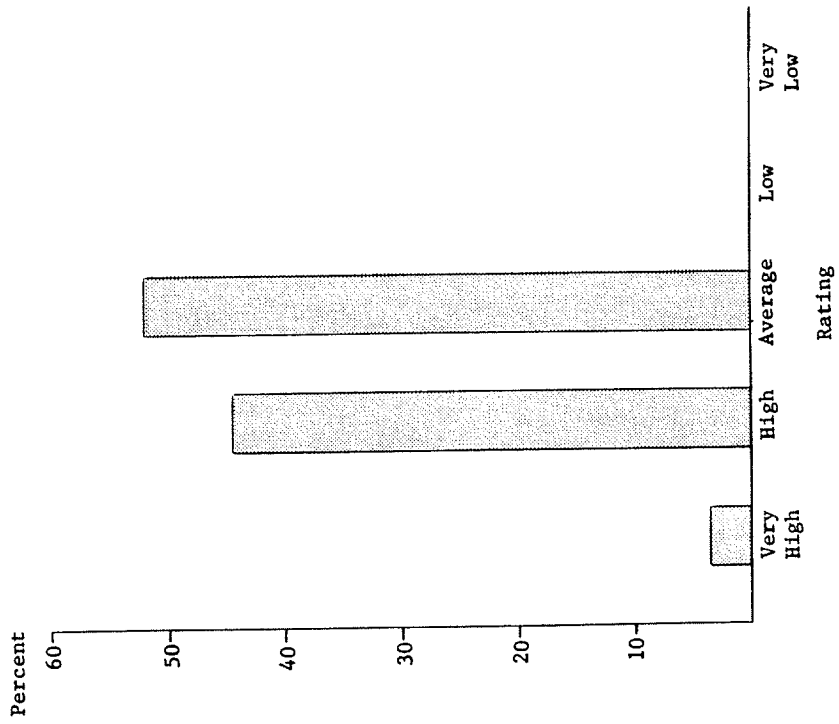


Figure 5.21 Cost of living

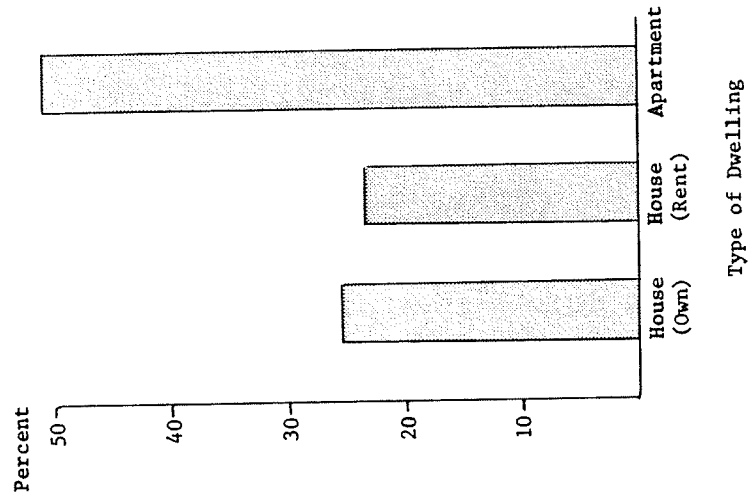


Figure 5.22 Type of dwelling

the language of the host country can ultimately determine their ease of adjustment into the new society.

In Figure 5.23 ('Rating of English: Respondent versus Spouse') it is evident that there are more respondents who feel their level of English is good (32.2 percent) than poor (19.7 percent), while the plurality (48.2 percent) rate their English as sufficient. However, in spite of nearly half considering their English as sufficient, lack of fluency is still regarded by the majority (70.6 percent) as a major problem. Even though respondents' ability to speak English might be sufficient for the type of job (unskilled) they presently hold, their lack of fluency is preventing them from attaining a higher occupational status.

When respondents rated their spouses' English-speaking ability, it became clear that they consider their spouses' English to be worse than their own (Figure 5.23). This is primarily a reflection of the fact that spouses have less opportunity to communicate in English outside the home than do the heads of household. However, even though the heads of household have more opportunity to speak English, the amount of English spoken varies substantially among them. Those in skilled occupations tend to have Canadian co-workers and therefore must speak English regularly, while those in unskilled occupations often have jobs that do not require them to speak much English. Indeed, many work with other Chileans and thus speak only Spanish at work.

At home, respondents and their families all prefer to speak Spanish. The respondents' language preference was also shown by their language of response to the questionnaires which were provided in both English and Spanish. As Figure 5.24 ('Language of Response to the Questionnaire') shows, the proportion completing the questionnaire in Spanish was 76.8 percent. It must be noted, however, that this did not always correspond with their ability to speak English since several respondents who spoke excellent English chose to complete the questionnaire in Spanish.

Furthermore, most indicated that they want their children to speak Spanish and several reasons are given, viz:

- (i) they will need Spanish if ever they return to Chile
- (ii) the need to communicate with their children, especially where respondents themselves speak little or no English
- (iii) their children are learning English at school and from friends

6 Satisfaction with Life in Canada

As suggested by Richmond (1967) and Finnan (1981), it is hypothesized that refugees' level of satisfaction with the host country is closely associated to their degree of adjustment to the host society. If refugees' needs are not satisfied, they not only fail to arrive at a point where further adjustment may occur, but by not satisfying their need, they may retreat to a condition of dissatisfaction

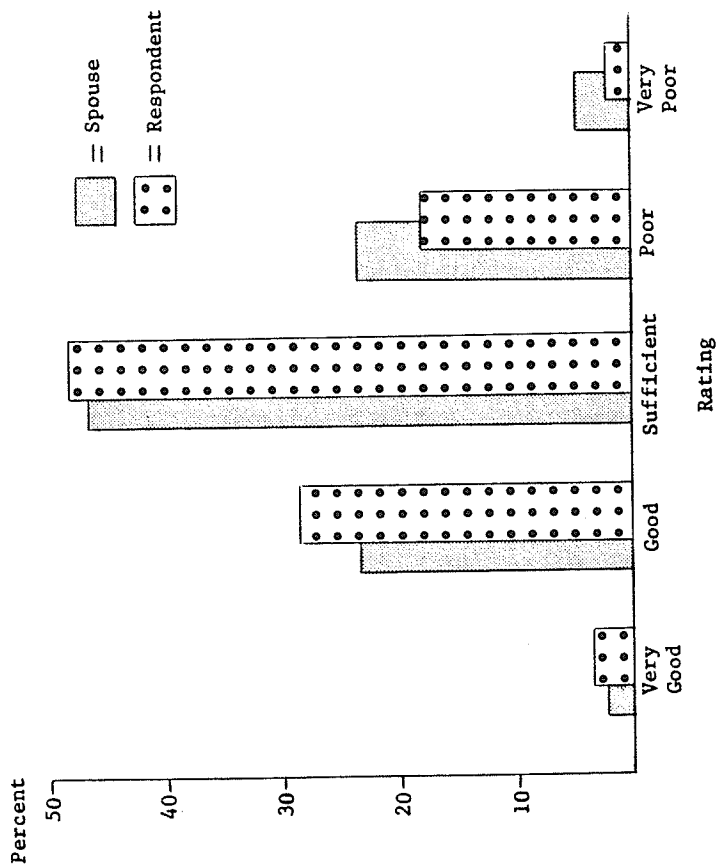


Figure 5.23 Rating of English: respondent versus spouse

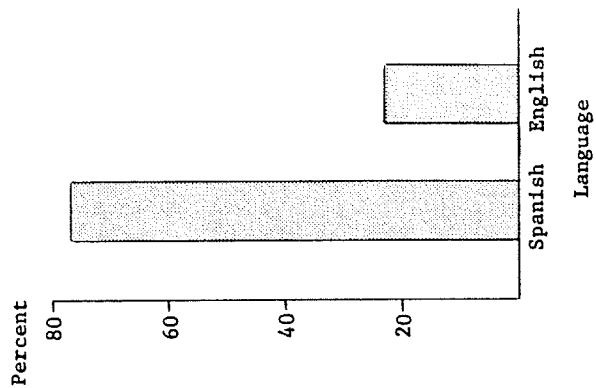


Figure 5.24 Language of response to the questionnaire

with their new life.

To evaluate the respondents' level of satisfaction with life in Canada, several questions were asked concerning their attitudes towards Canada and Canadian society. Their responses to these questions shall be examined under the following categories:

- (i) Satisfied variables
- (ii) No preference / Neutral variables
- (iii) Dissatisfied variables

By examining particular variables according to Chilean refugees' level of satisfaction (satisfied, dissatisfied, and no preference/neutral), a conclusion will be drawn as to whether or not their perceived satisfaction of needs is related to their degree of adjustment to Canadian society.

(i) Satisfied variables: The findings indicate that the respondents are generally satisfied with such factors as summers, sporting and educational facilities, health services and housing. The vast majority of respondents (91.1 percent) rated the Canadian summers satisfactory and not one person chose the unsatisfactory category (Figure 5.25 - 'Assessment of Canadian Summers'). A few even stated that Canadian summers are much more pleasant than those in Chile. With regard to the respondents' assessment of sporting facilities in Regina (Figure 5.26 - 'Assessment of Sporting Facilities'), there is also a high level of satisfaction, with 78.6 percent being satisfied, and only 5.4 percent being dissatisfied. Since soccer is a major sport in Chile,

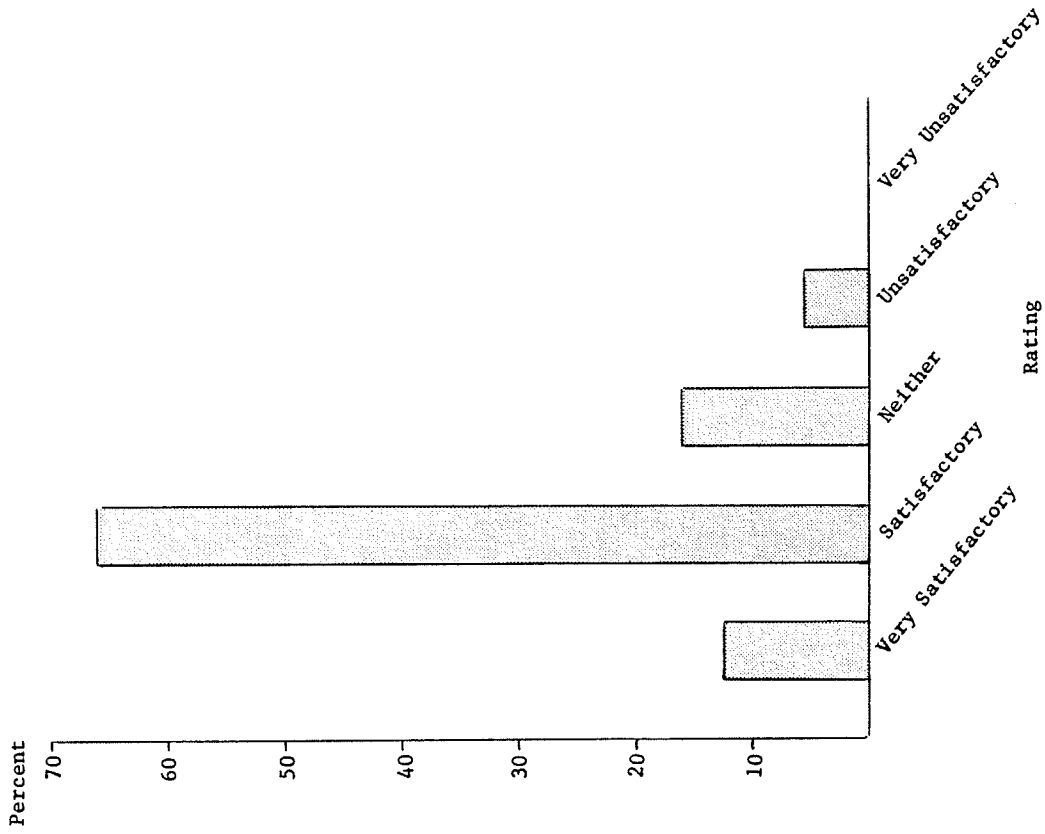


Figure 5.26 Assessment of sporting facilities

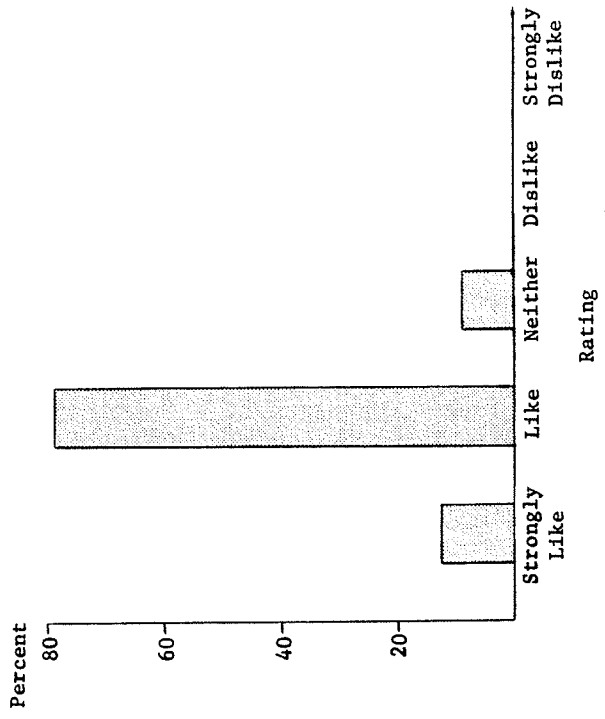


Figure 5.25 Reaction to Canadian summers

the Regina Chilean community is continuing this tradition by forming their own clubs who play amongst themselves and against other Chilean soccer clubs elsewhere.

The majority of respondents also gave a positive rating to educational facilities in Regina (Figure 5.27 - 'Assessment of Educational Facilities'). However, even though they are satisfied with educational facilities, this does not mean that they are necessarily satisfied with access to these facilities. Most respondents who obtained diplomas or degrees from universities in Chile have found that they are not recognized by the Canadian educational system. Hence, their past education in Chile is practically worthless in Canada. This is one of the major concerns expressed by many respondents.

The provision of health services (Figure 5.28 - 'Assessment of Health Services') is rated extremely high by the vast majority (96.4 percent) of survey participants. After coming from a country in which health care is a major problem (it benefits the rich at the expense of the poor), the health service system in Canada is repeatedly praised by all respondents.

Lastly, the respondents' assessment of housing in Regina (Figure 5.29 - 'Assessment of Housing') is satisfactory (73.2 percent), but this response was not surprising since approximately half of the survey participants live in single family dwellings.

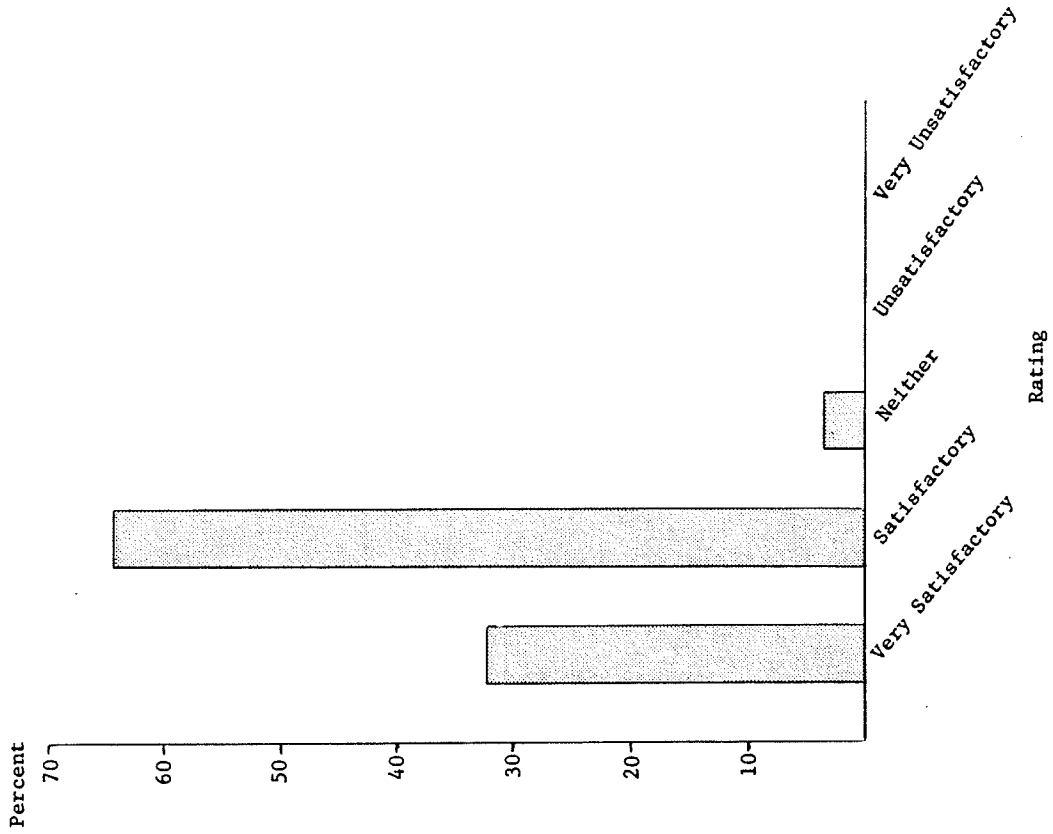


Figure 5.28 Assessment of health services

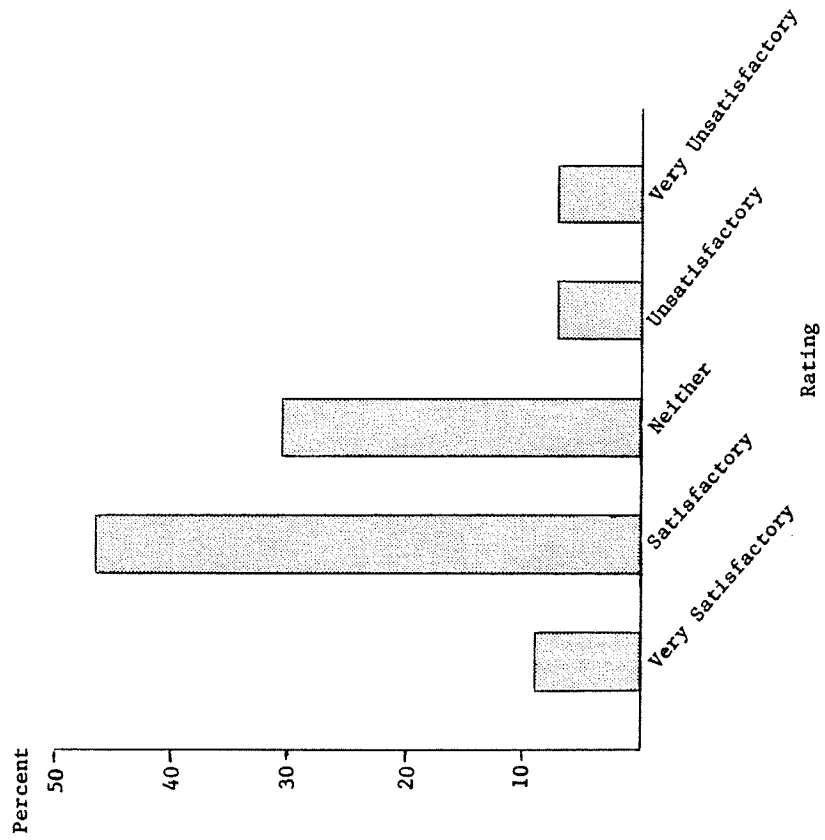


Figure 5.27 Assessment of educational facilities

(ii) No Preference/Neutral variables: The overall findings indicate that respondents have no particular preference regarding such matters as overall climate, landscape and Canadian culture.

In Figure 5.30 ('Reaction to Canadian Climate') where respondents rate the overall climate in Canada, it is quite clear that the positive (25.5 percent) and negative (27.3 percent) responses are evenly divided, with the plurality (41.8 percent) falling in the neutral category. While the response to Regina summers is positive, responses to overall climate is partly prejudiced by negative reaction to winters.

Respondents' reaction to Saskatchewan's landscape (Figure 5.31 - 'Reaction to Landscape') also suggests indifference. This result was not expected since many Chileans had indicated during personal interviews that they had problems in dealing with the difference in landscape. They were accustomed to mountains and oceans in Chile and much preferred such landscape to that of the flat Prairies.

Figure 5.32 ('Reaction to Canadian Culture') shows how Canadian culture is rated by respondents. Once again, the positive (31.5 percent) and negative (24.1 percent) responses do not differ to any significant degree and the no preference category makes up the plurality (44.4 percent). This result was expected because of the mixture of comments given by respondents during interviews. Nevertheless, for all it was a matter of being placed in a country with an entirely different culture from that of their homeland, and having to

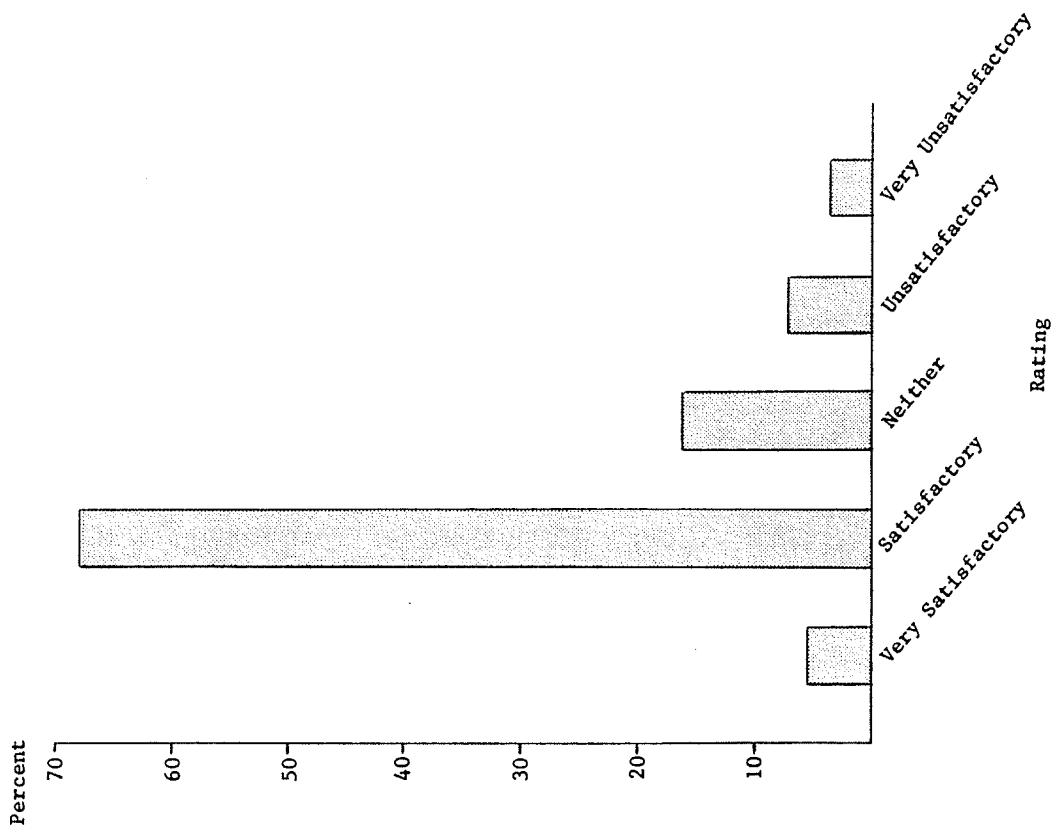


Figure 5.29 Assessment of housing

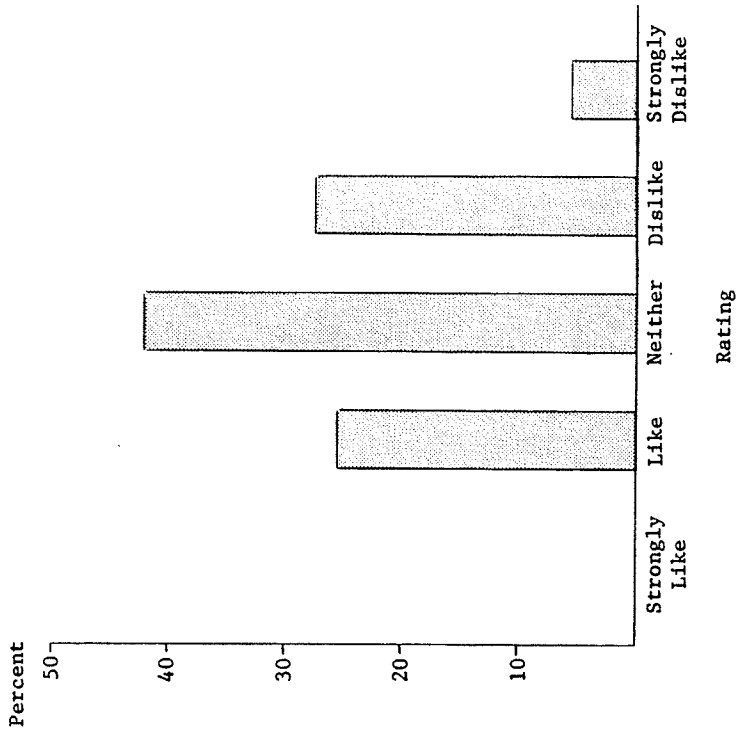


Figure 5.30 Reaction to Canadian climate

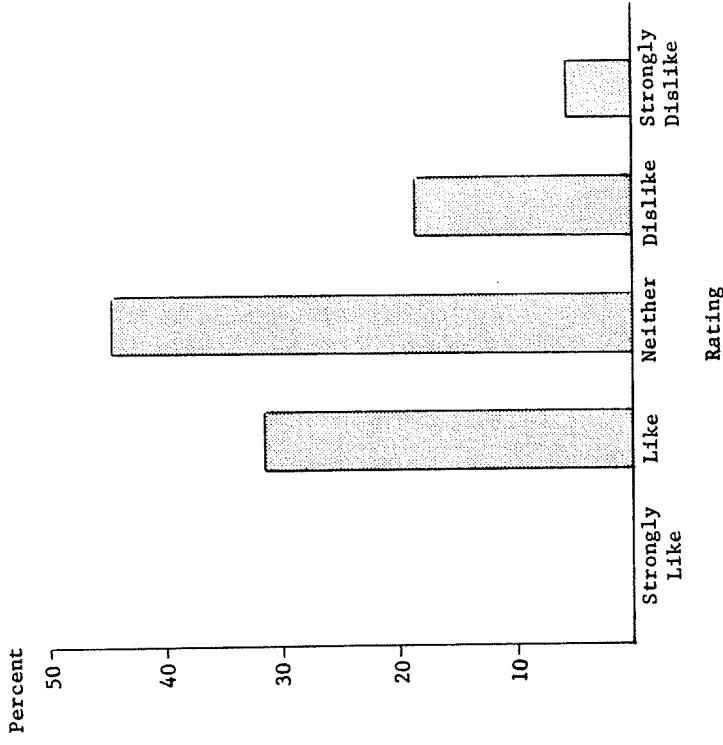


Figure 5.32 Reaction to Canadian culture

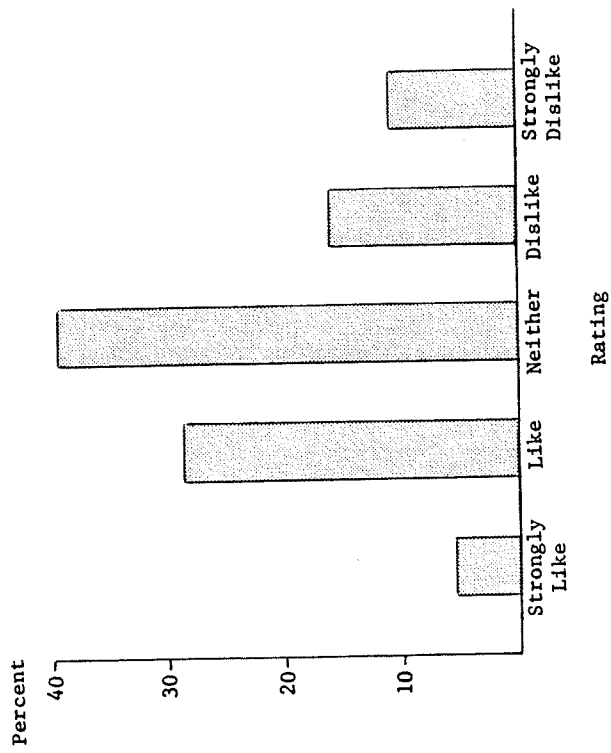


Figure 5.31 Reaction to landscape

learn to adapt to this new culture. With Canada being a multicultural country, Chilean refugees have been able to maintain many of their own values and traditions. This has definitely enhanced their emotional attachment to Chile. While many might not care for Canadian culture in general, they find some of its aspects appealing. As one respondent stated, "... (Canada is)... a country without prejudices, where the formal does not have any importance; where behind a cold appearance you can really find some interesting people. A country with a lack of culture that needs to be fulfilled".

(iii) Dissatisfied variables: The survey indicates that respondents are generally dissatisfied with such things as winters, entertainment, raising children, opportunities to upgrade skills, immigration regulations, and perception of Canada.

Figure 5.33 ('Reaction to Canadian Winters') summarizes respondents' feelings about winters in Regina. As was expected, the majority (71.5 percent) of respondents are dissatisfied with the harsh winter weather conditions and only 12.5 percent found winters to their liking. The dissatisfaction with winter was also expressed several times during interviews, when respondents contrasted Regina's winter to Chile's more moderate climate.

With regard to Regina's entertainment scene (Figure 5.34 - 'Assessment of Entertainment'), it was found that the largest proportion (43.6 percent) of respondents are dis-

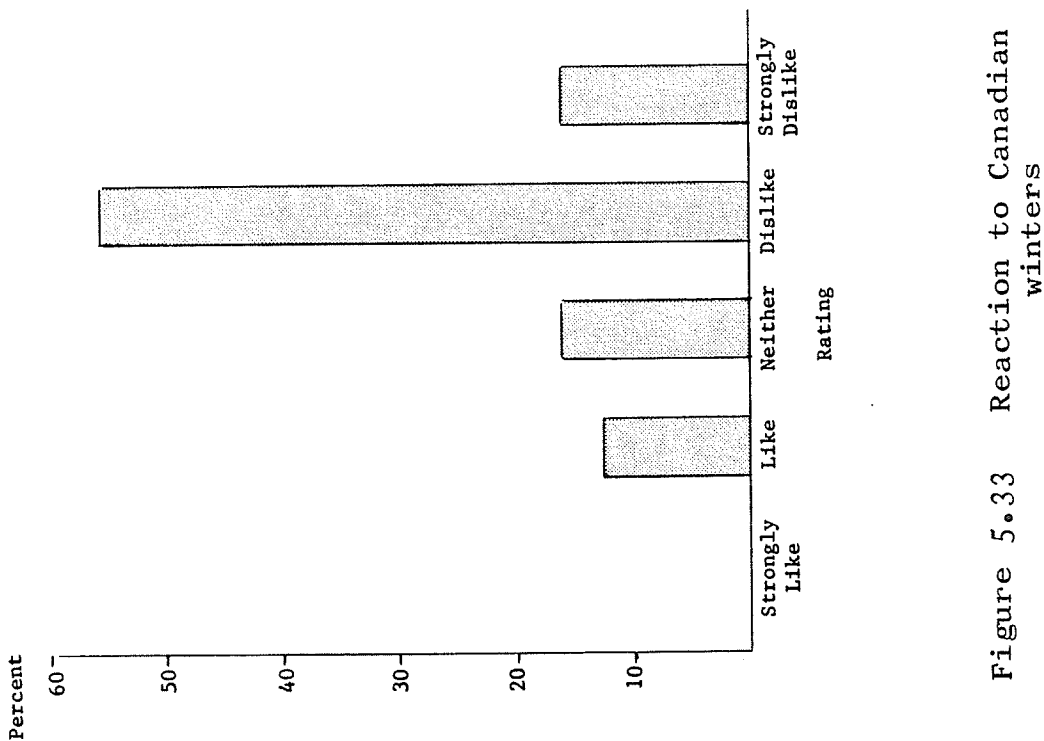


Figure 5.33 Reaction to Canadian winters

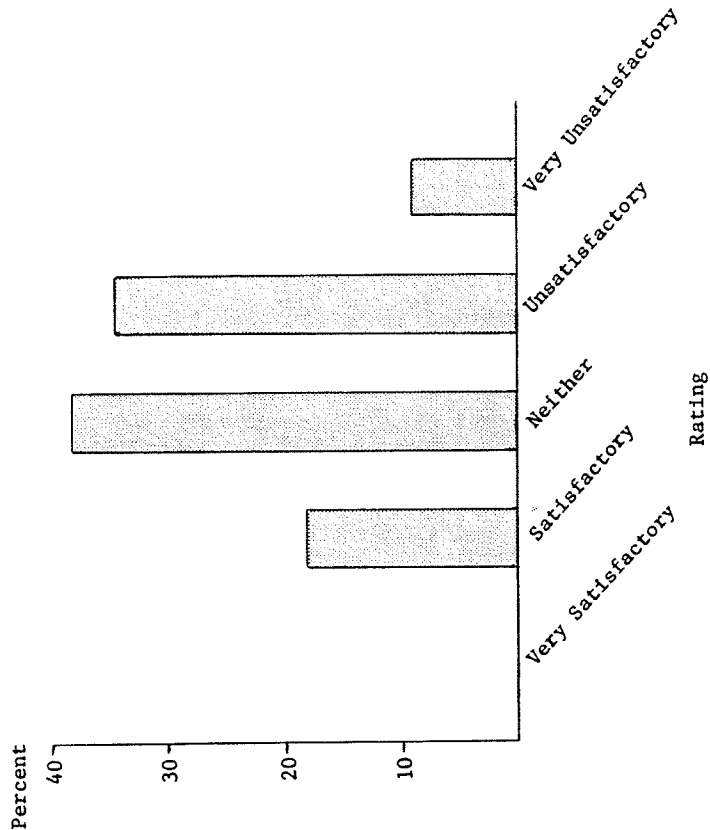


Figure 5.34 Assessment of entertainment

satisfied, while 38.2 percent are neutral, and only 18.2 percent are satisfied. This seems understandable when one considers the relatively small size of Regina (population of approximately 162,000) and what such a population is capable of providing in the way of entertainment; the majority of refugees had come from the large city of Santiago (population of approximately 4.4 million). Thus, much of their present entertainment is created within the Chilean community, such as the formation of several traditional Chilean musical and dance groups.

Figure 5.35 ('Assessment of Raising Children in Canada') suggests that respondents are dissatisfied with raising their children in Canada. While a plurality (44.4 percent) expressed dissatisfaction, the extent of dissatisfaction was high as is shown by the fact that 20.0 percent were very dissatisfied. The reasons for this are very similar among all respondents; most would prefer to have their children raised in Chile rather than in Canada because they feel the social environment in Chile is preferable. Chilean parents are usually very protective of their children, as is illustrated by the fact that children remain with parents until they marry. Many feel that they have less control over their children in Canada. As one respondent stated, "...I want my children to know Chile, its culture, customs, etc". To achieve this he is attempting to teach his children some traditional Chilean values. However, this is a difficult task when each day the children are being exposed to the

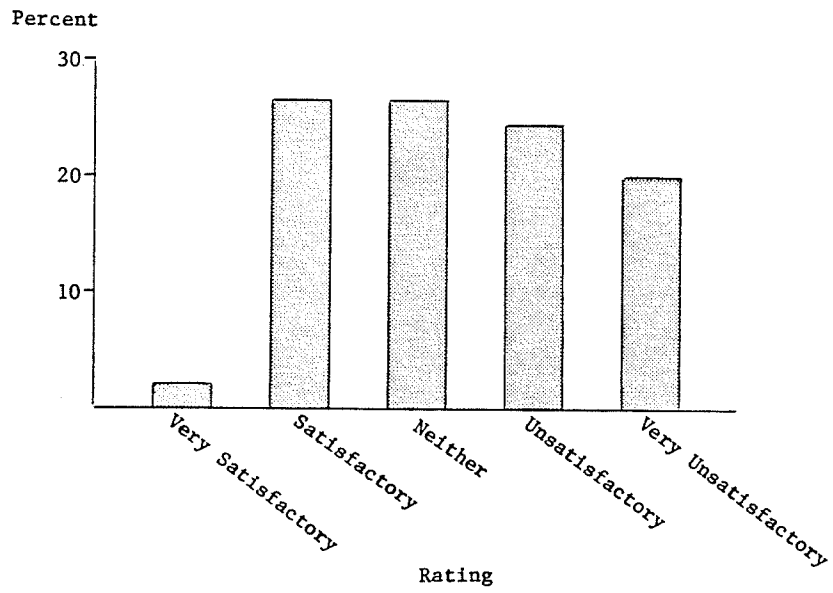


Figure 5.35 Assessment of raising children in Canada

values of Canadian society.

The respondents' reaction to opportunities for upgrading their skills is shown in Figure 5.36 ('Opportunities to Upgrade Skills'). Only 18.2 percent are satisfied and 67.3 percent are dissatisfied. This response is not unexpected since during interviews respondents continually expressed their concern about the lack of opportunities for upgrading skills. Since the majority of Chilean refugees have experienced downward occupation mobility, it is necessary for them to upgrade their skills in order that their past professions or occupations will be recognized by Canadian employers. Most have been unable to achieve this, hence they feel they have not been given due consideration for government training programs. One respondent stated, "...Now I have gone to Manpower and try [sic] to get a couple of training courses, and the general answer for me and everybody is and has been - 'no money'". Another respondent stated, "...There are not any facilities for intensive courses and this produces incommunication and isolation".

With the flight of Chilean refugees to Canada, their direct contact with Canadian immigration authorities was unavoidable. The outcome of this contact is shown in Figure 5.37 ('Immigration Regulations'), which shows their reactions to Canadian immigration regulations. The majority of the Chilean community expressed a high level of dissatisfaction with 76.8 percent being dissatisfied, and only 10.7 percent being satisfied. The underlying cause of this dissatisfact-

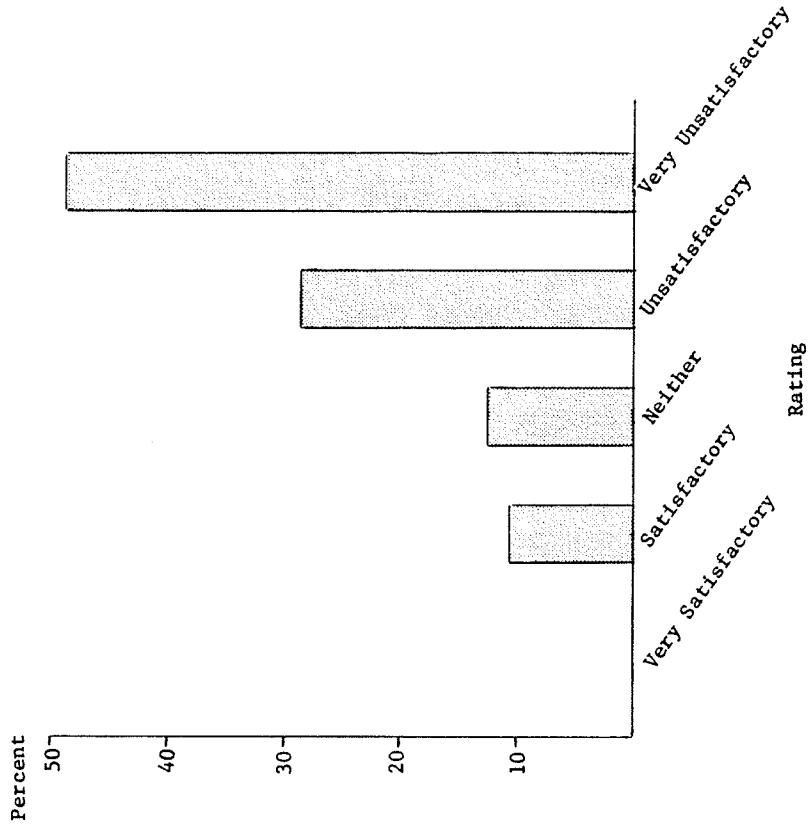


Figure 5.37 Immigration regulations

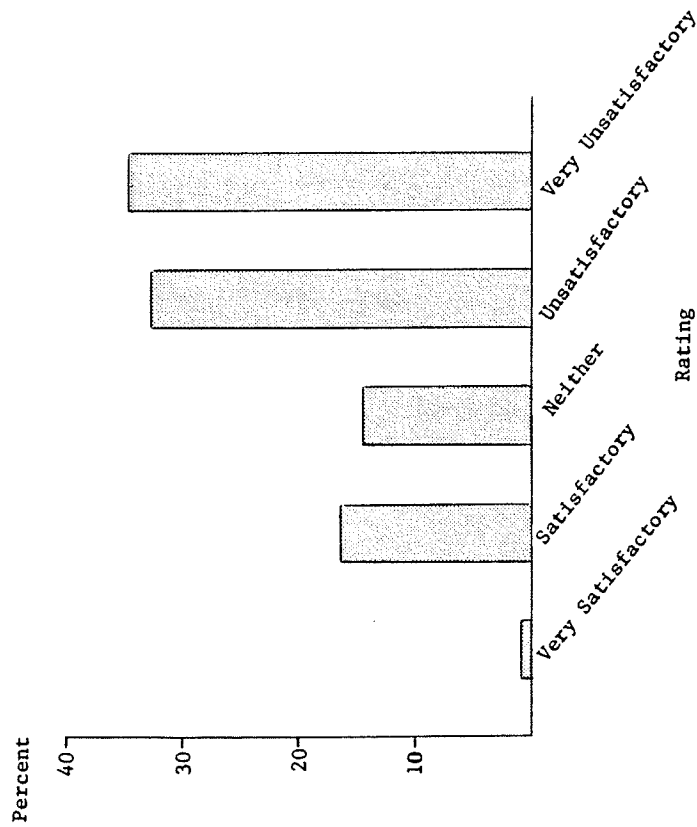


Figure 5.36 Opportunities to upgrade skills

ion is the perceived negative attitude toward Chilean refugees held by immigration officials. The survey findings were also confirmed by personal interviews.

A final question posed to respondents was to contrast their perception of Canada before arriving here vis-à-vis their perception after being here for awhile. It was hypothesized that the contrast between the two responses would indicate their present level of satisfaction with Canada. This comparison is shown in Figure 5.38 ('Perception of Canada'). A noticeable difference emerges; while those respondents who had a positive or indifferent perception of Canada before coming here have not changed drastically, there has been a significant change to those who have a negative perception. While none had a bad impression of Canada prior to arriving here, 22.2 percent now have a negative impression of Canada. These findings suggest a rise in the overall level of dissatisfaction. An explanation for this rise in levels of dissatisfaction may be that many respondents had inflated expectations prior to coming to Canada.

7 Sense of Permanence

To evaluate respondents' adjustment to Canadian society, it is also necessary to determine how closely they associate themselves with Canadian society. A host country's response to refugees will affect their ease of adjustment into that particular society. Therefore, to achieve this, respondents' attitudes to such matters as the receptiveness they have encountered from Canadians and their sense of

permanence in Canada must be analyzed.

Respondents were dissatisfied with treatment accorded them by government officials in general and by immigration regulations specifically. This was discussed earlier. However, this does not necessarily suggest that respondents were dissatisfied with treatment they received from Canadian people in general. In fact, when asked to rate the Canadian people's receptiveness to them, the results differed significantly from their assessment of the Canadian government's attitude to them. Figure 5.39 ('Canadian Response') illustrates that 51.8 percent of respondents felt satisfied with the Canadian response to them and only 5.4 percent were dissatisfied. From this it can be concluded that the Chilean community sees itself as having been well received by Canadian people. These findings are further substantiated by many respondents stating that they find Canadians friendly and understanding. They have encountered little discrimination in Canada, unlike that which some of their relatives endure in other countries. Also, they consider most employers as being understanding and helpful with their language problem. Nevertheless, several respondents were discouraged by the fact that most Canadian did not like to hear about the physical abuse and tortures that they experienced and which continue to take place in Chile.

Despite the fact that only 5.4 percent are dissatisfied with Canadians' response to them, the majority (62.5 percent) have remained relatively isolated from Canadians

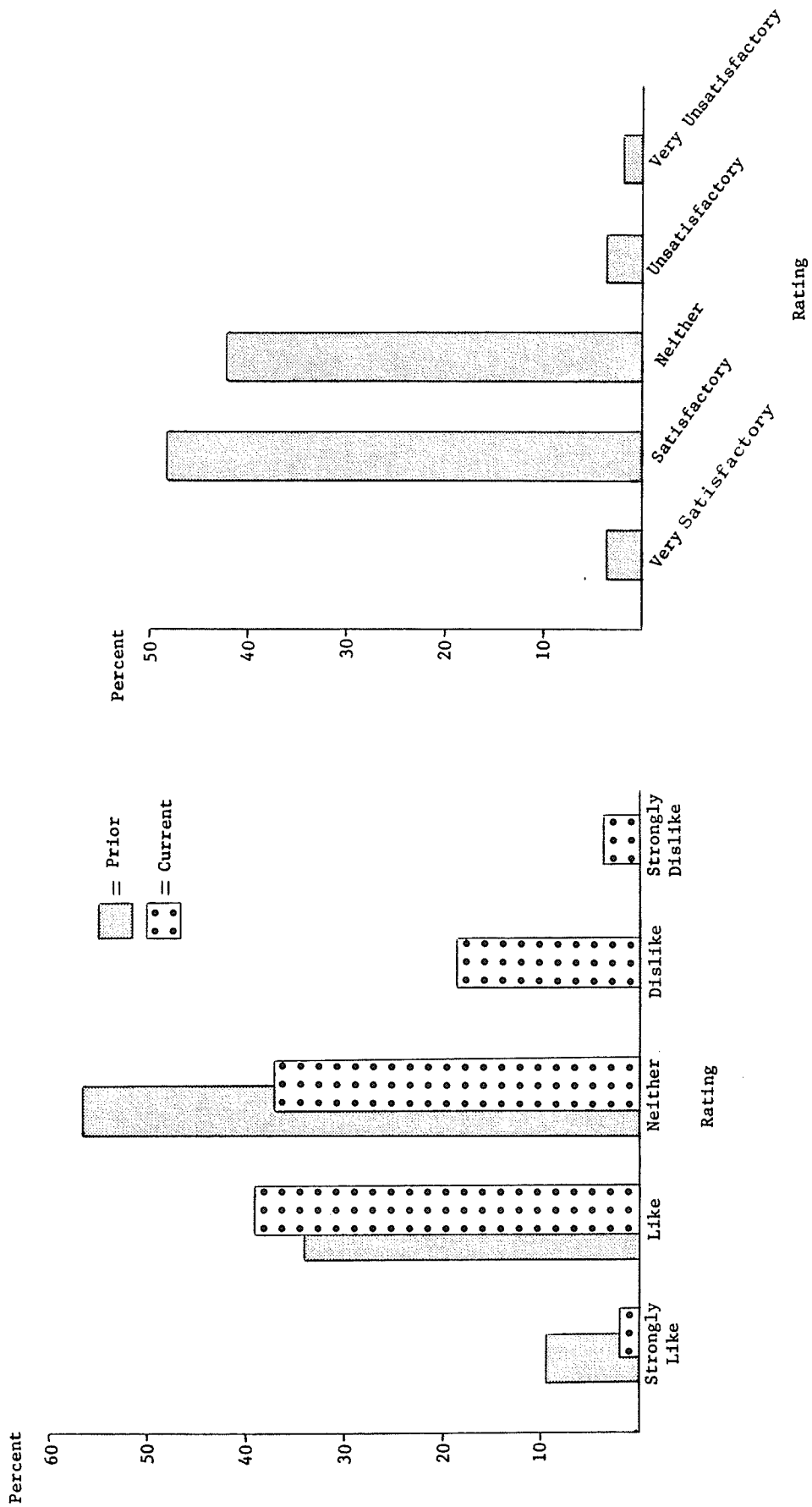


Figure 5.39 Canadian response

Figure 5.38 Perception of Canada

and have not formed any close friendships with Canadians. Several respondents stated that they felt more comfortable with Chilean friends than with Canadian friends. Therefore, the positive response on the part of Canadians toward the Chilean community has not necessarily led to the formation of friendships. However, it should be noted that a few respondents stated that the friendship offered by Canadians is a major positive impression of Canada.

To establish respondents' sense of permanence in Canada, it was hypothesized that the type of dwelling they occupied is indicative of whether they see their stay as permanent. It is found (Figure 5.22 - 'Type of Dwelling') that 25.5 percent live in houses which they own which suggests a degree of adjustment and some sense of permanence in Canada.

Respondents were also questioned about their intentions of staying in Regina and over one-half (54.7 percent) indicated they will likely remain in Regina (Figure 5.40 - 'Probability of Staying in Regina'), while less than one-third (30.2 percent) indicated that it is unlikely they will remain in Regina. On the other hand, 82.1 percent of respondents indicated that they would like to return to Chile if political conditions changed. It is not surprising since the vast majority of respondents left Chile involuntarily. Figure 5.41 ('Reason for Leaving Chile') shows that 89.3 percent of respondents left Chile because of political or economic-political pressures.

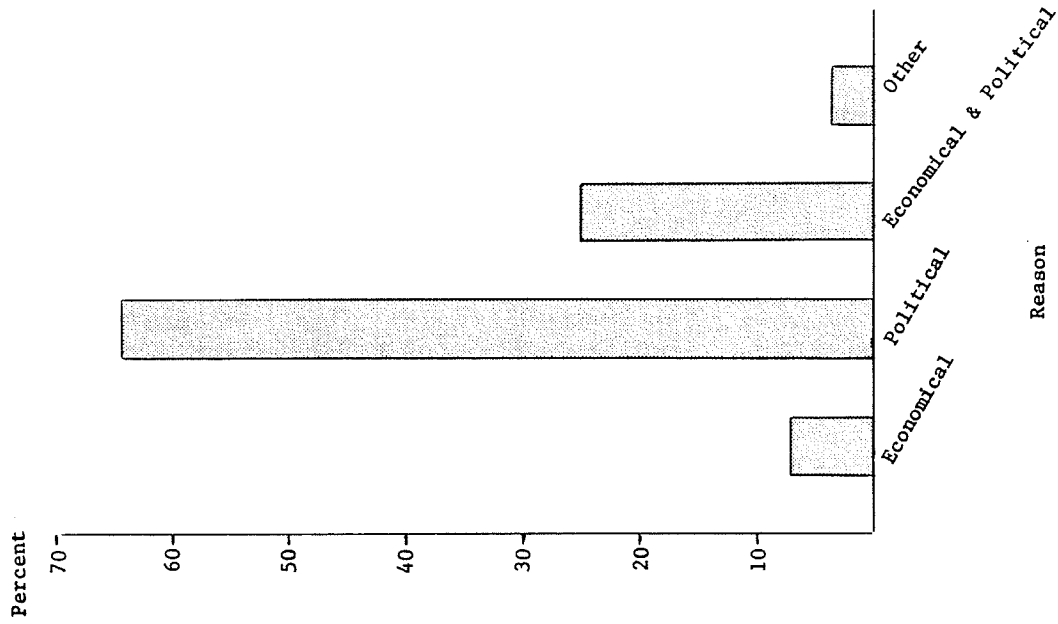


Figure 5.41 Reason for leaving Chile

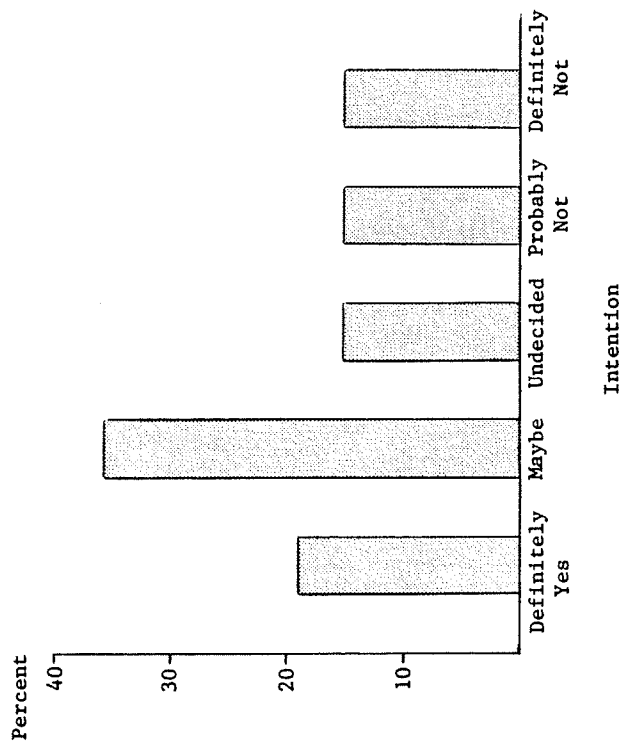


Figure 5.40 Probability of staying in Regina

In addition, as is shown in Figure 5.42 ('Probability of Becoming a Canadian Citizen'), more than one-half (53.6 percent) are not planning on becoming Canadian citizens, while only a few (12.5 percent) plan to or have already become Canadian citizens. One-third (33.9 percent) of respondents remain undecided. The major reasons many remain reluctant to become Canadian citizens are:

- some cannot see how they would benefit by becoming Canadian citizens
- the older Chileans do not see the need for it at this stage of their lives
- they wish to retain their native citizenship because they still hope they will be able to return to Chile some day

The few that have become Canadian citizens have done so because they do not intend to return to Chile and expect to remain permanently in Canada.

However, whether any of the Chileans would actually return to Chile if given the opportunity seems unlikely since:

- high unemployment rates exist in Chile
- the standard of living in Canada is considerably higher than in Chile
- there are more opportunities in Canada for both themselves and their children
- many now own houses with mortgages
- many have car and other consumer loans
- their children are rapidly becoming more Canadian than Chilean

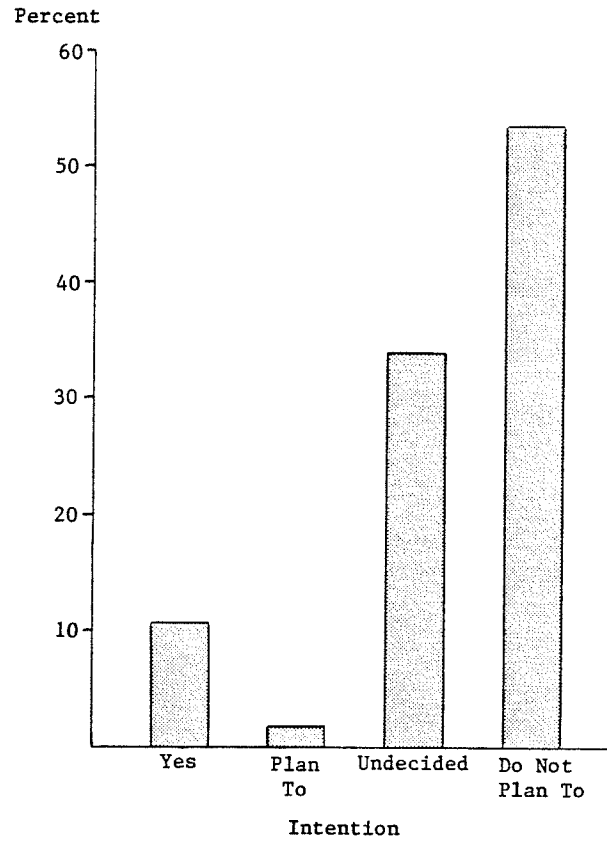


Figure 5.42 Probability of becoming a Canadian citizen

This would appear to indicate satisfaction and some degree of permanence in Canada.

SUMMARY

The principal intention of this first part of the analysis is to provide a general description of the Chilean refugee community in Regina, and to determine whether they exhibit any major characteristics that could affect their ease of adjustment into Canadian society.

It is believed that Chilean refugees in Regina appear to be generally satisfied with life in Canada. In spite of this satisfaction, however, they are still experiencing major adjustment problems identified as language, occupational dissatisfaction and non-recognition of past education in Chile. They continue to exhibit a strong attachment to Chilean culture and society and have only limited interaction with Canadian society. The majority express a desire to return to Chile if the political situation were to change.

CHAPTER VI

THE ADJUSTMENT OF CHILEAN REFUGEES

The primary objective of the second part of this analysis is to evaluate the extent to which the Chilean refugees have adjusted to Canadian society. To achieve this, contingency tables were generated to identify significant differences within the sample population. It is hypothesized that the two variables which have the greatest bearing on the degree of assimilation of refugees are length of residence in Canada and present occupation. These variables will be related to a number of other characteristics to establish which factors, in combination, are most likely to explain the levels of adjustment achieved by the Chilean refugees.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

As was discussed in Chapter II, the length of time refugees have lived in the host country affects their degree of adjustment to the host society. Therefore, time is positively related to adjustment, and as time increases so should refugees' ease of adjustment and satisfaction with the host society. By relating the length of time the Chilean refugees have lived in Canada to various other characteristics, it will be established whether this relationship pertains to Chilean refugees in Canada.

Stein (1979) suggests that the first three or four years of refugees' stay are necessary to determine their success; after four years little change occurs. For the purpose of this study, it was decided that the length of residence would also be examined under the following two categories:

- (i) Four or less years residency in Canada
- (ii) Five or more years residency in Canada

Within the sample population it was found that one-third of respondents fall into the first category and two-thirds into the latter category.

In Figure 6.1 ('Length of Residence versus Previous Occupation') the respondents' length of residence in Canada is related to their previous occupations in Chile. Because of intensive screening procedures by Canadian immigration officers at the time of their admission, it is not surprising that a large number of professional/skilled refugees arrived in Canada. It also becomes clear that there have not been any major changes over time with respect to the Chilean refugees' previous occupations. This suggests that Canadian immigration selection procedures have remained fairly consistent through time.

Since many Chilean refugees occupied moderately high job status in Chile, one would expect that as their length of residence in Canada increases, their level of job status would also increase. In Figure 6.2 ('Length of Residence versus Present Occupation') respondents' length of residence in Canada is related to present occupation in Canada. The number

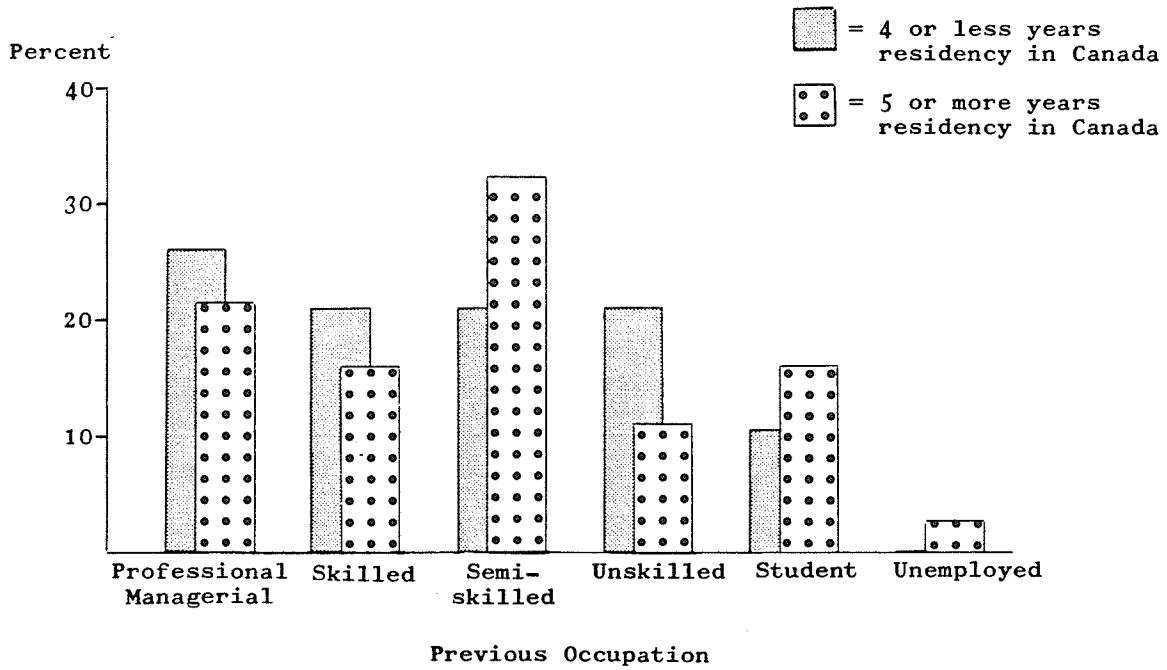


Figure 6.1 Length of residence versus previous occupation

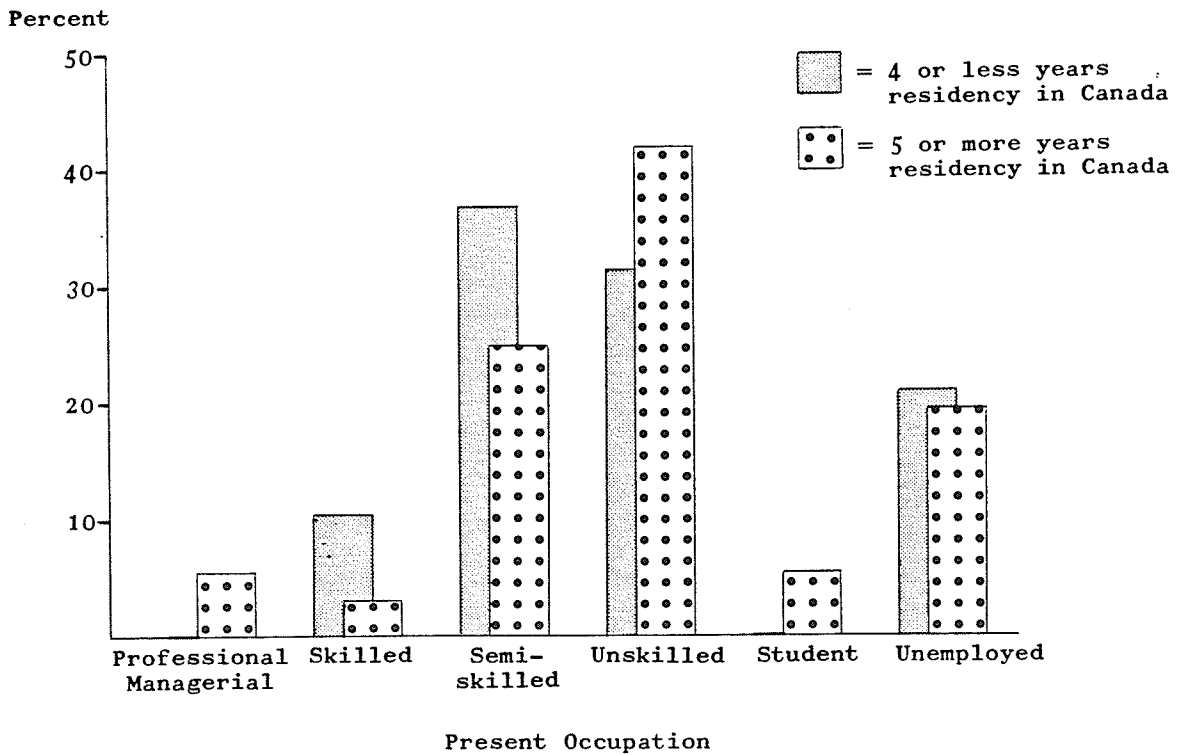


Figure 6.2 Length of residence versus present occupation

of Chileans in the unemployed and unskilled categories has remained fairly consistent over time and does not show any major change after four years of residence. However, even though the number of Chileans in the professional category has increased over time, the number of Chileans in the skilled and semi-skilled categories has definitely shown a decline (20 percent) after four years of residence in Canada. Thus, most of these results are contrary to what was expected and therefore indicate that overall the variable of time has not had any profound effect on Chilean refugees' occupational readjustment in Canada.

Figure 6.3 ('Length of Residence versus Assessment of Present Job') demonstrates how job satisfaction relates to respondents' length of residence in Canada. It was hypothesized that refugees' level of job satisfaction increases with length of residence in Canada. However, upon examination of data shown in Figure 6.3, this assumption does not appear to apply to the Chilean refugees as their rating of present jobs remains consistent over time. Therefore, these findings suggest that as length of residence increases, the Chileans do not become more satisfied with their present jobs.

In Figure 6.4 ('Length of Residence versus Number of Jobs Held Since Arriving in Canada') the number of jobs held by respondents since arrival in Canada is related to length of residence in Canada. As expected, the longer the respondents' period of residence, the greater the number of jobs they have held. In addition, the frequent changing of jobs suggests

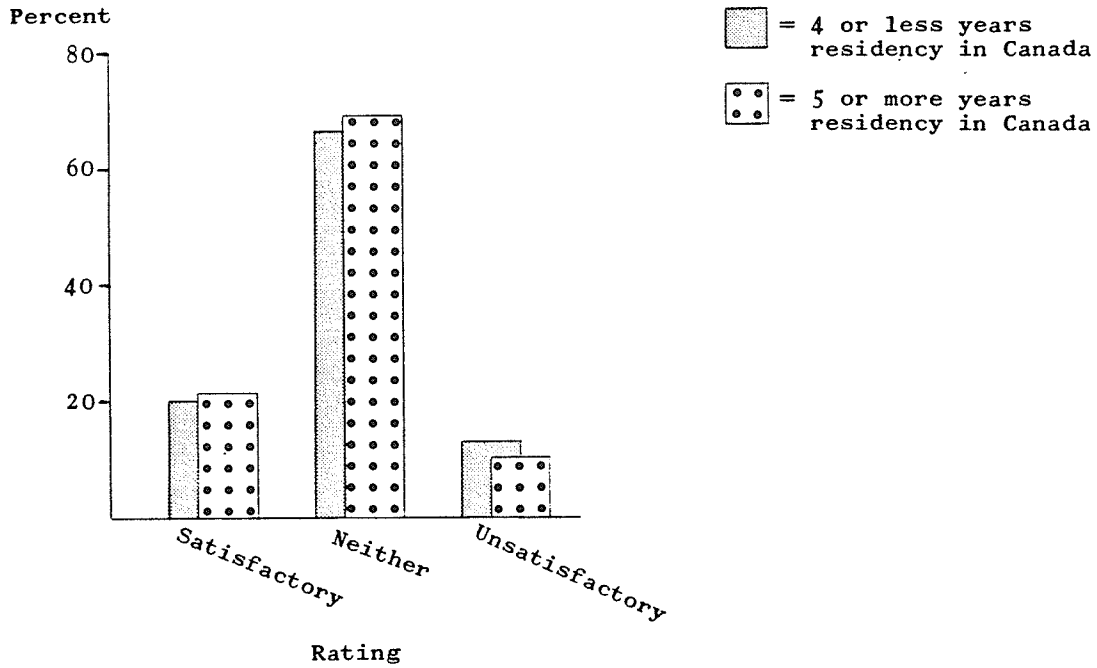


Figure 6.3 Length of residence versus assessment of present job

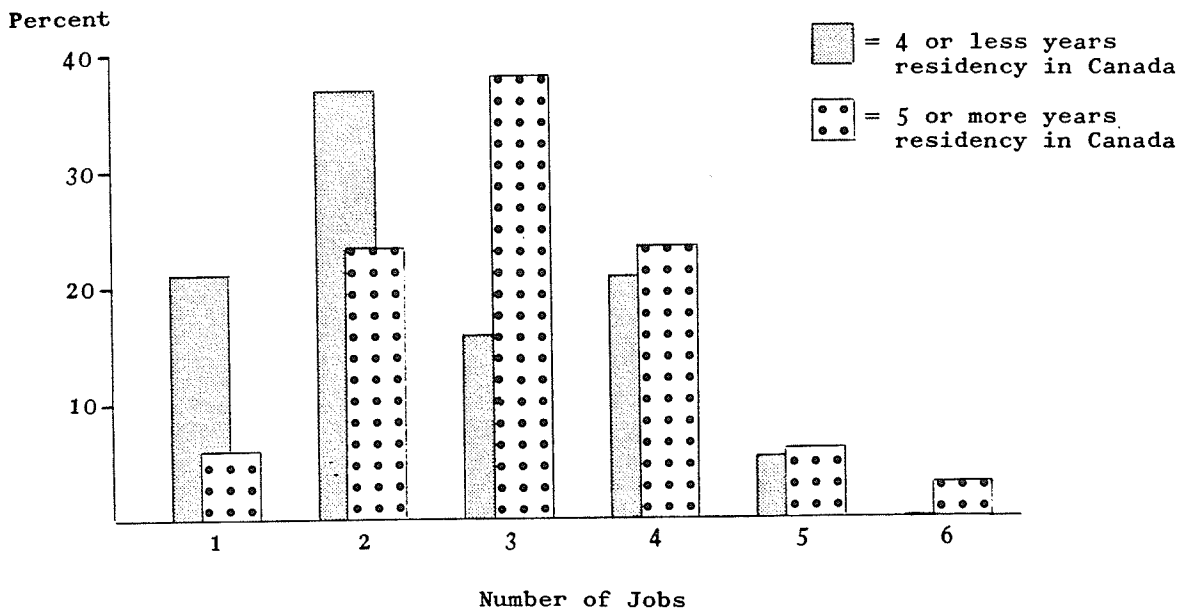


Figure 6.4 Length of residence versus number of jobs held since arriving in Canada

that Chileans have remained dissatisfied with their jobs in Canada.

Figure 6.5 ('Length of Residence versus Assessment of First Job') relates how respondents rated their first job in Canada by length of residence. Since most Chilean refugees experienced a downward occupational mobility upon arrival in Canada, it was assumed that there was a low level of satisfaction with first jobs, and that this dissatisfaction would be the same for all irrespective of year of arrival. However, this assumption was not proven correct since respondents' level of job dissatisfaction was definitely greater among earlier arrivals. While 64.9 percent of respondents living in Canada for five or more years were dissatisfied with their first jobs, only 42.1 percent of respondents living in Canada for four or less years were dissatisfied.

It is hypothesized that as time progresses so do refugees' earnings. Figure 6.6 ('Length of Residence versus Income Levels') relates respondents' present incomes to length of residence in Canada. It is evident that incomes are generally higher among those who have lived in Canada for a longer period. While as many as 31.6 percent of respondents living in Canada for four or less years earn less than \$10,000 per year, only 16.2 percent of respondents living in Canada for five or more years earn less than \$10,000 per year. Thus, the variable of time definitely enhances Chileans' prospects of earning higher incomes.

Figure 6.7 ('Length of Residence versus Type of Dwell-

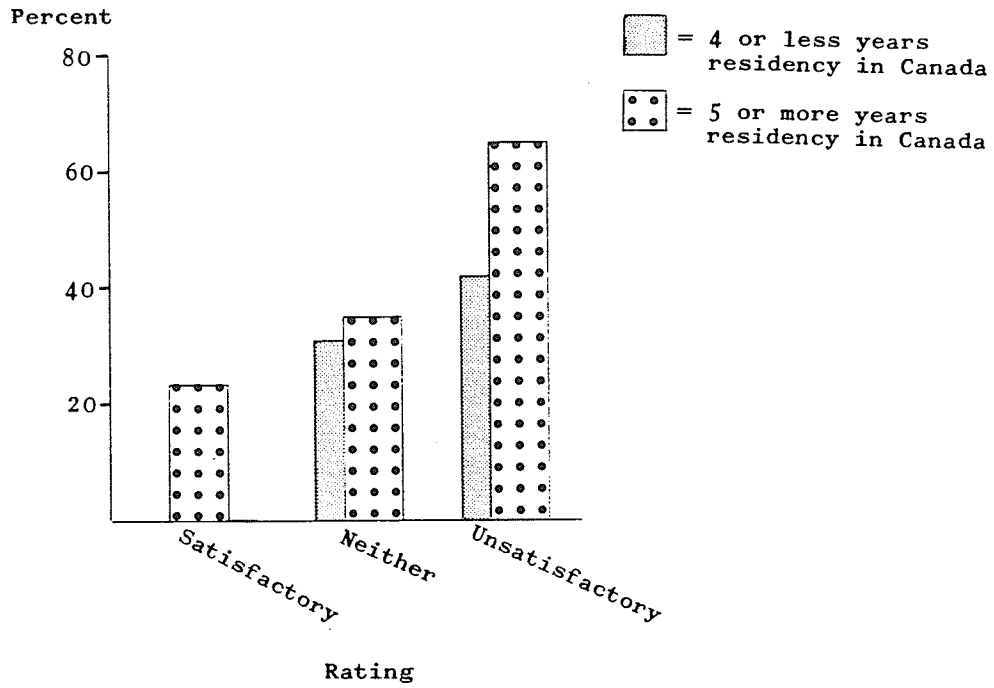


Figure 6.5 Length of residence versus assessment of first job

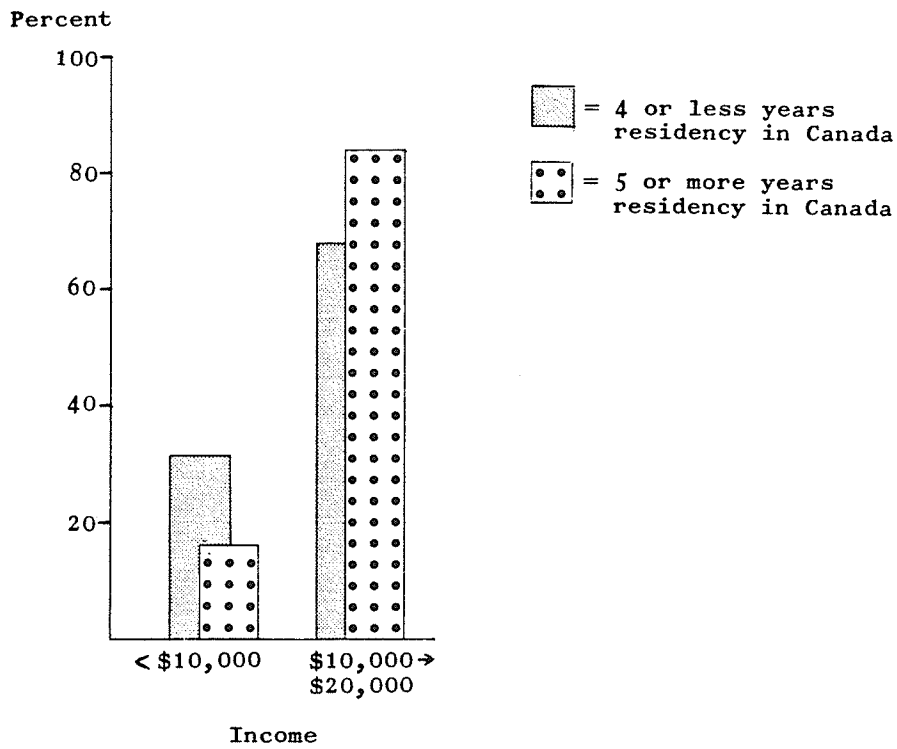


Figure 6.6 Length of residence versus income levels

ing') relates type of dwelling respondents reside in to length of residence in Canada. The findings indicate that there does not appear to be any significant relationship between the two variables. This suggests that the variable of time does not necessarily enhance the Chileans' opportunity to own a home.

In Figure 6.8 ('Length of Residence versus Probability of Staying in Regina') respondents' decision to stay in Regina is related to length of residence in Canada. It was hypothesized that over time, Chileans become more adjusted to Canadian society and thus are more likely to want to remain in Regina. Therefore, it was expected that a relationship exists between length of residence and refugees' decision to remain in Regina. However, the findings suggest a relationship that is contrary to what was expected. Approximately two-thirds (64.7 percent) of respondents living in Canada for four or less years indicate a desire to stay in Regina, but only one-half (50.0 percent) of respondents living in Canada for five or more years indicate a desire to stay. Furthermore, 17.6 percent of respondents living in Canada for four or less years indicate a desire not to remain in Regina, compared to 36.1 percent of respondents living in Canada for five or more years. This suggests that within the first few years of refugees' arrival in Canada, they plan to remain stationary, but as time passes some become dissatisfied and decide not to remain. However, it must be noted that this does not appear to apply to respondents who had lived in Canada for seven years: ten of the thirteen respondents with seven years' residence in Regina plan to remain there. Thus

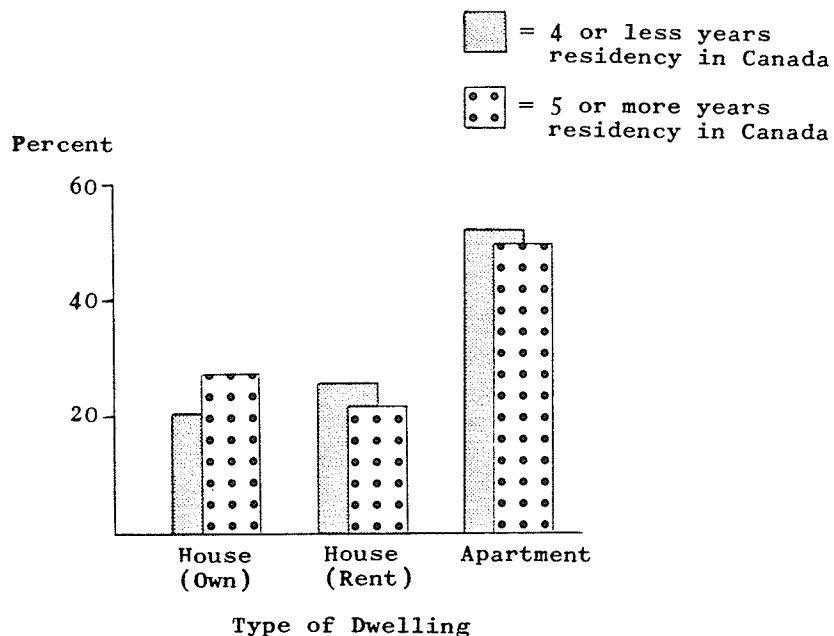


Figure 6.7 Length of residence versus type of dwelling

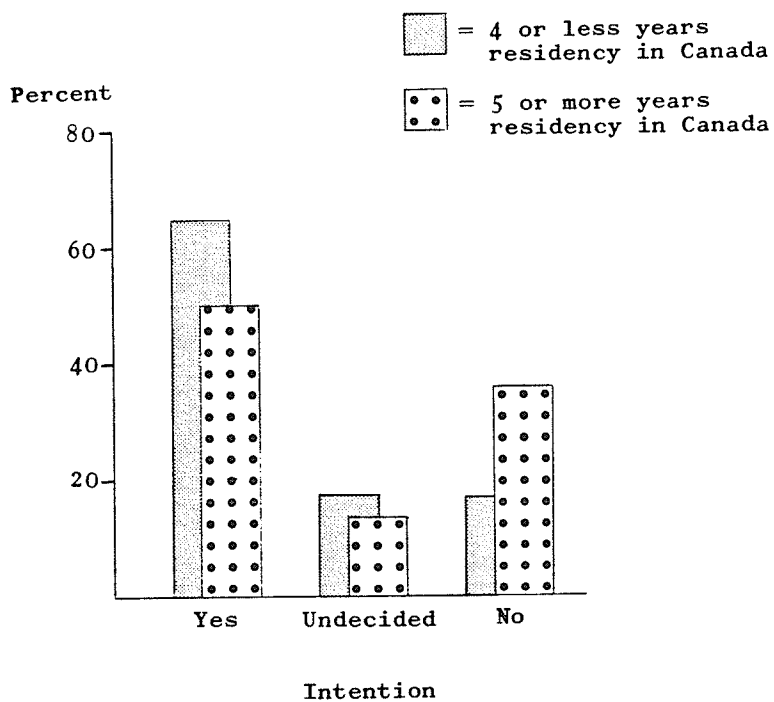


Figure 6.8 Length of residence versus probability of staying in Regina

the expected relationship does manifest itself to a certain extent. Even though the overall findings are not as expected, they are nevertheless significant for they suggest that one cannot assume that when Chileans' length of residence in Canada increases, so does their desire to remain in Regina.

It was previously shown that the majority of respondents do not plan on becoming Canadian citizens. However, it is important to establish if their attitudes change over time. This, in turn, would suggest that assimilation is occurring.

Figure 6.9 ('Length of Residence versus Probability of Becoming a Canadian Citizen') shows the relation between respondents' desire to become Canadians and length of residence in Canada. It was expected that a positive relationship (desire to become a Canadian citizen increases as time increases) should exist. However, it appears that no such relationship exists. Of respondents who have lived in Canada for four or less years, the plurality (47.4 percent) are undecided, and a large portion (42.1 percent) do not plan to become Canadian citizens. On the other hand, of respondents living in Canada for five or more years, only 27 percent remain undecided, and the majority (59.9 percent) do not plan to become Canadians. These findings suggest that over time respondents become less indecisive about whether they plan to become Canadian.

When the survey was conducted, a minimum of five years' residence in Canada was required before Chilean refugees were eligible to apply for Canadian citizenship. Therefore, it is

not surprising that a large number of respondents living in Canada for four or less years remain indecisive about whether they plan to become Canadian. Nevertheless, it was unexpected that the majority of respondents living in Canada for five or more years do not plan to become Canadian.

These findings are significant since it cannot be assumed that once Chileans have lived in Canada for a longer period of time, the probability of them becoming Canadian citizens will increase. It also suggests a lingering attachment (or preference) to Chile.

It is presumed that as length of residence increases, so does the formation of close Canadian friendships by Chilean refugees. While the Chilean community might be very cohesive in the beginning, as time passes its members assume that they are expected to branch out and interact with Canadians. In Figure 6.10 ('Length of Residence versus Close Canadian Friendships') a relation is established between respondents' length of residence and whether they have any close Canadian friends. To some degree the findings verify this expected positive relationship. Of respondents living in Canada for four or less years, only 26.3 percent have made close Canadian friends, while 43.2 percent of those living in Canada for five or more years have made close Canadian friends. However, respondents who have not formed close Canadian friendships outweigh those who have made close Canadian friends, and it can be surmised that even though Chileans are apt to make more Canadian friends as length of residence increases, the number not doing so

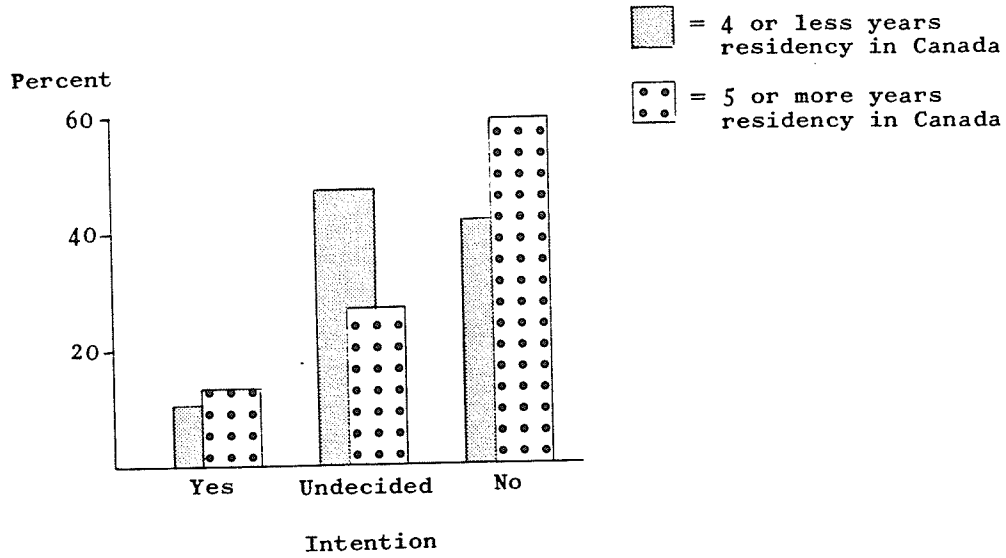


Figure 6.9 Length of residence versus probability of becoming a Canadian citizen

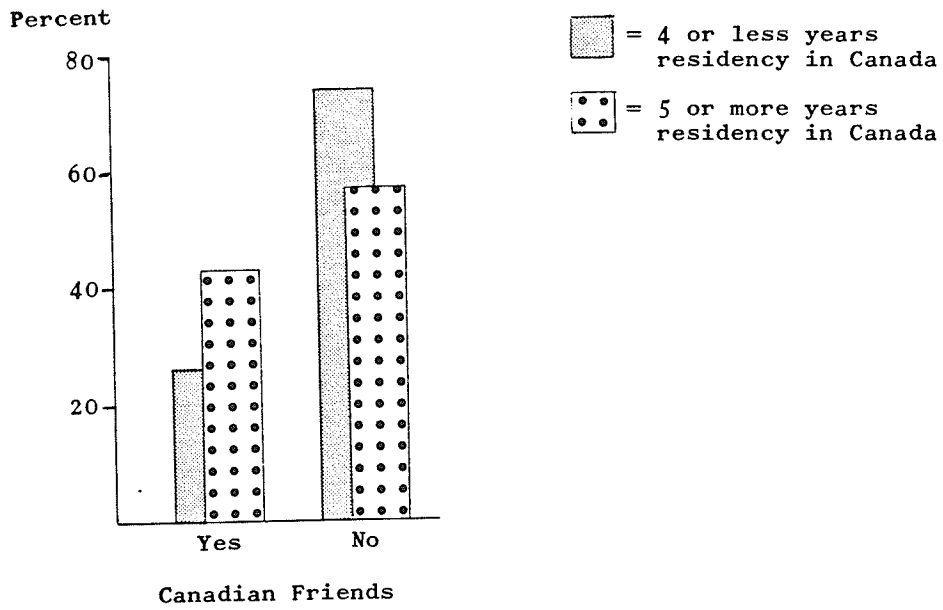


Figure 6.10 Length of residence versus close Canadian friendships

continues to be great.

The primary objective of Figure 6.11 ('Length of Residence versus Canadian Response') is to determine whether the variable of time affects the reception respondents receive in the host country. It is assumed that over time Canadians feel more comfortable with the immigration of Chilean refugees and therefore become more receptive towards them. Nevertheless, as the data reveal, Canadian response as perceived by the refugees has remained fairly constant over time, suggesting that response towards Chileans does not change. However, the undecided category does vary with time. While approximately one-half of respondents living in Canada for five or more years are ambiguous as to the response they encountered from Canadians, only one-third of respondents living in Canada for four or less years are ambiguous. Overall, it can be concluded that Chileans' length of residence in Canada does not affect the type of response they have encountered from Canadians.

As was discussed in Chapter II, it is commonly assumed that refugees' ability to speak the language of their host is directly related to their length of residence in the host country. To determine the validity of this assumption, the respondents' knowledge of English is related to length of time they have lived in Canada (Figure 6.12 - 'Length of Residence versus Rating of English'). While the findings indicate a positive relationship (respondents' ability to speak English improves with time), it was rather weak and not to the degree expected. Of respondents living in Canada for four or less

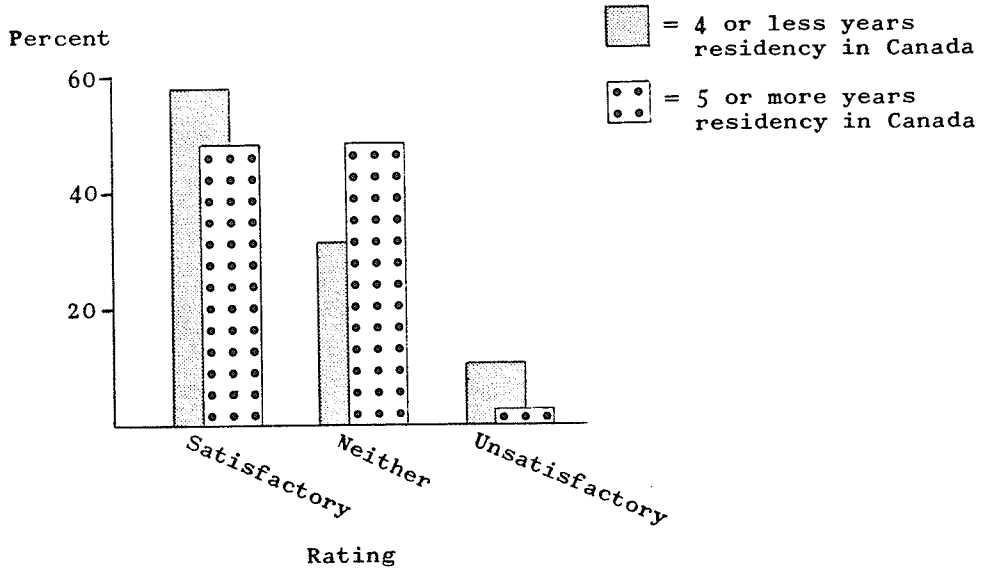


Figure 6.11 Length of residence versus Canadian response

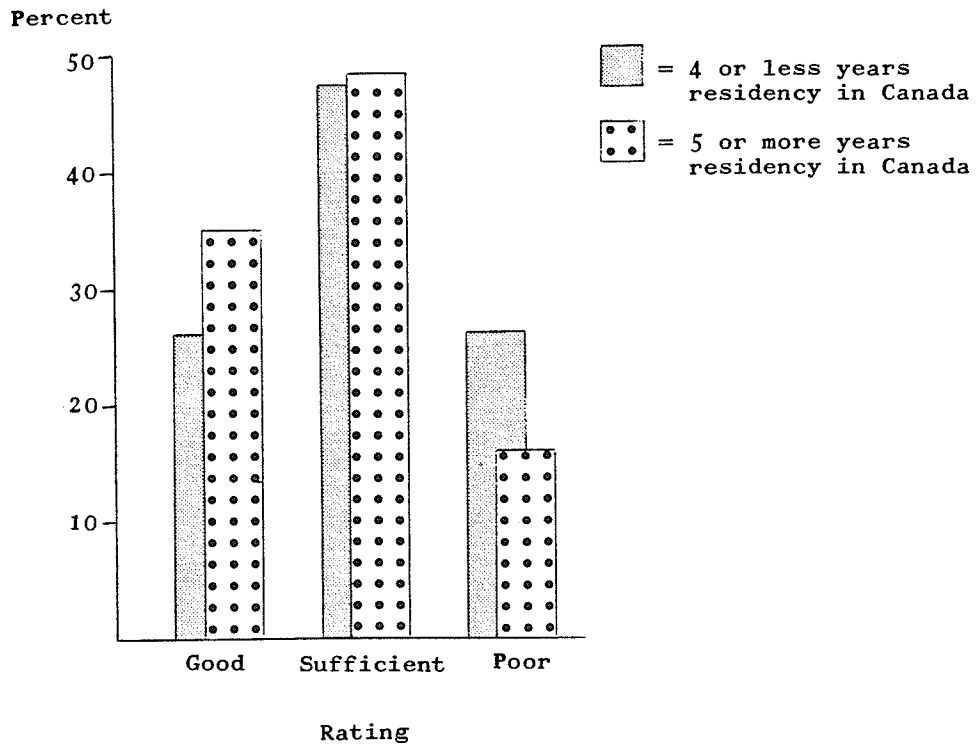


Figure 6.12 Length of residence versus rating of English

years, 26.3 percent consider themselves to have a good knowledge of English and 26.8 percent consider themselves to have a poor knowledge of English. However, of respondents living in Canada for five or more years, these figures improve only modestly: 35.1 percent consider themselves to have a good knowledge of English, and 16.2 percent consider themselves to have a poor knowledge of English. A likely explanation for this is the maintenance of a tight knit Chilean community that permits them to communicate in Spanish at the expense of getting experience in English.

Figure 6.13 ('Length of Residence versus Assessment of Climate') shows how respondents rate climate. Since the Canadian climate is harsh compared to that experienced by most refugees when they lived in Chile, it was anticipated that the majority would not be satisfied with climatic conditions in Canada. However, it was also assumed that levels of dissatisfaction decrease with time as refugees become more accustomed to the climate; respondents who have lived in Canada the longest would find the climate more agreeable than recent arrivals.

However, as shown in Figure 6.13, respondents' satisfaction does not differ significantly with time. While not one of the seven respondents who have been in Canada for three or less years liked the climate in Canada, the relationship between length of residence and climate rating becomes weak and inconsistent for those with four or more years of residence. For example, of respondents living in Canada for five or more

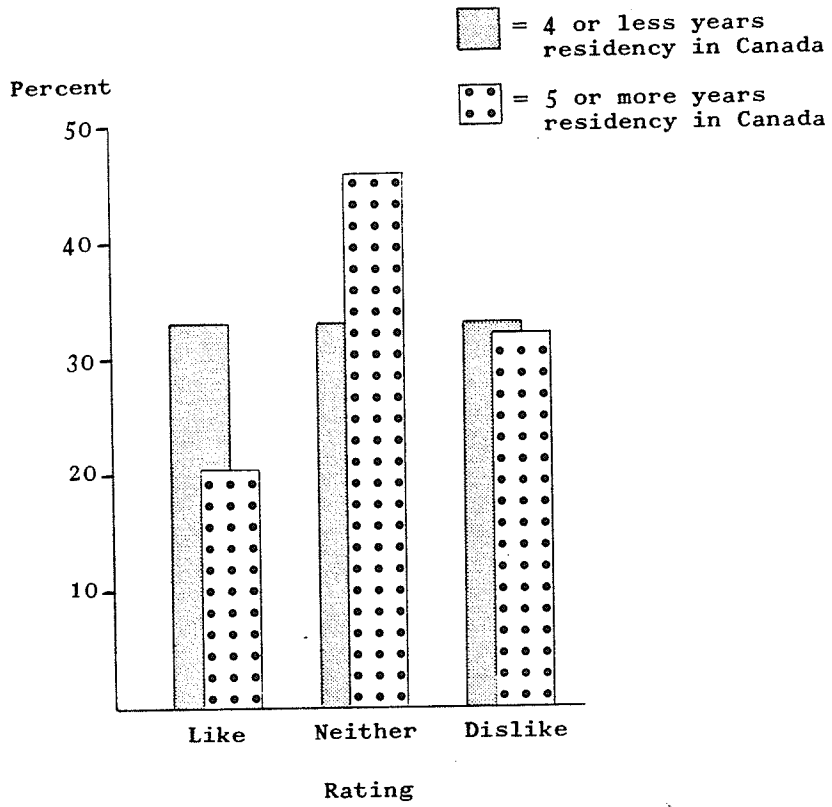


Figure 6.13 Length of residence versus reaction to climate

years, approximately one-third (32.4 percent) disliked the climate, a plurality (45.9 percent) was neutral, and the smallest proportion (21.6 percent) liked the climate. Thus, attitude to climate is not significantly affected by length of residence.

The purpose of Figure 6.14 ('Length of Residence versus Previous Perception of Canada') and Figure 6.15 ('Length of Residence versus Present Perception of Canada') is to determine whether or not Chilean refugees' perception of Canada, before and after arriving here, are related to the length of time they have lived in Canada. It is hypothesized that respondents who have recently arrived in Canada are more likely to have an opinion about Canada prior to arriving than respondents who have lived in Canada for a longer period had before they came. The major reason for this is that newer arrivals had the benefit of entering Canada after a Chilean community had been established, which enabled them to form a definite impression of Canada before leaving Chile.

Figure 6.14 shows this assumption appears to be true. While approximately two-thirds (68.6 percent) of respondents living in Canada for five or more years indicated they did not have any perception of Canada before they came, one-half as many (33.3 percent) respondents living in Canada for four or less years indicated they did not have any perception of Canada before they came. This suggests that newer arrivals also had a more positive perception of Canada than did refugees living here for a longer period of time. While approx-

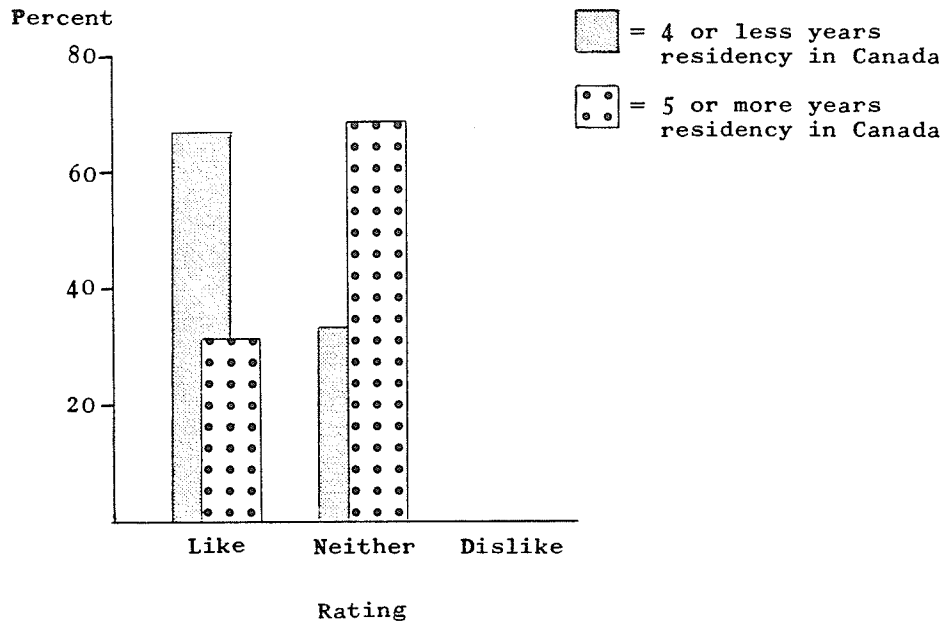


Figure 6.14 Length of residence versus previous perception of Canada

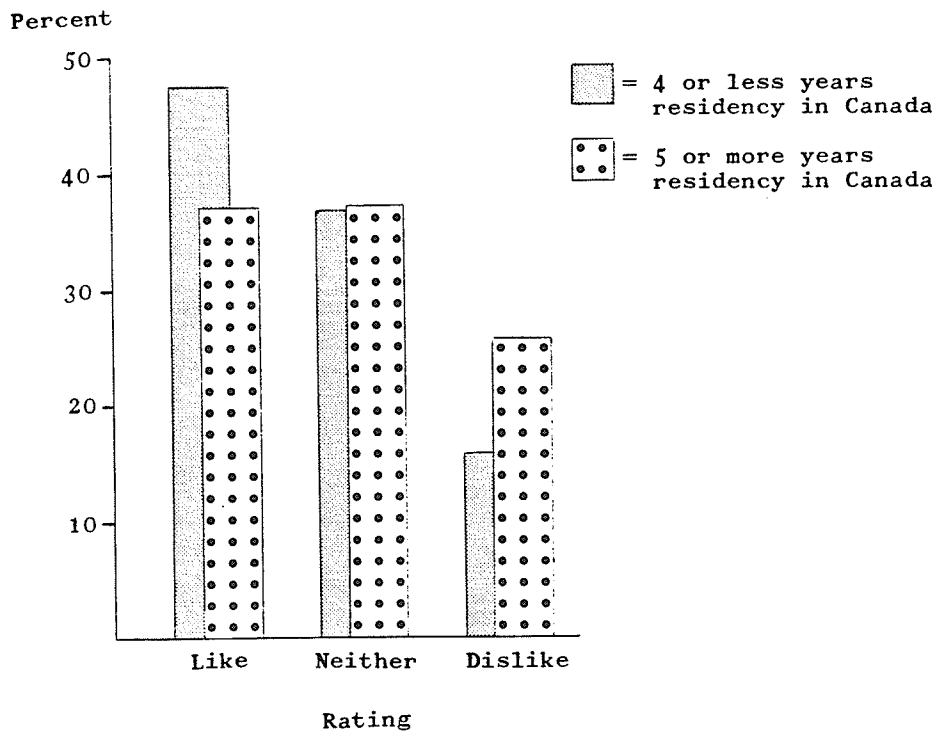


Figure 6.15 Length of residence versus present perception of Canada

imately one-third (31.4 percent) of respondents living in Canada for five or more years had a positive impression of Canada before they came, twice as many (66.7 percent) respondents living in Canada for four or less years had a positive impression of Canada before they came.

Regarding Chileans' present perceptions of Canada, one would expect these to be less optimistic than their previous perceptions. This proved true for the majority of respondents. Previously, none stated that they disliked Canada before they came. In contrast, 15.8 percent of respondents living in Canada for four or less years stated that they now dislike Canada, and slightly more (25.7 percent) respondents living in Canada for five or more years stated they now dislike Canada. These findings tend to suggest that overall, Chileans now have a more negative perception of Canada than they did before they came to Canada, and the probability of negative perceptions increases as their length of residence increases. This also becomes evident when a comparison is made between respondents who have positive perceptions. While 47.4 percent of those living in Canada for four or less years have a favorable perception, only 37.1 percent of those living in Canada for five or more years have a favorable perception of Canada. Therefore, even though the gap between the two is less than what it is for perception of Canada prior to arrival, it still tends to indicate that Chileans who are most likely to have positive impressions of Canada are the ones who have lived here for only a short while.

According to the process of assimilation, these findings are the opposite of what should be happening if Chilean refugees are to adjust to Canadian society. As refugees' length of residence in Canada increases, so should their positive perception of Canada. However, since the findings indicate that this does not occur, then it can be assumed that Chilean refugees are not adjusting.

A similar pattern is seen in Figure 6.16 ('Length of Residence versus Reaction to Canadian Culture') where respondents rate the Canadian culture. Once again, it was expected that over time the probability of Chileans liking Canadian culture would also increase. However, the findings definitely suggest the opposite. While as many as 50.0 percent of respondents living in Canada for four or less years expressed a liking for Canadian culture, only 22.0 percent of respondents living in Canada for five or more years stated they liked Canadian culture. This leads to the conclusion that as Chileans' length of residence increases, so does their dislike for Canadian culture.

Figure 6.17 ('Length of Residence versus Opportunities to Upgrade Skills') shows how respondents rate the possibility of upgrading their skills in Canada in relation to their length of residence. Even though the majority were dissatisfied, the degree of their dissatisfaction becomes more pronounced when examined according to their length of residence in Canada. While approximately one-half (52.6 percent) of respondents living in Canada for four or less years are dissatisfied with

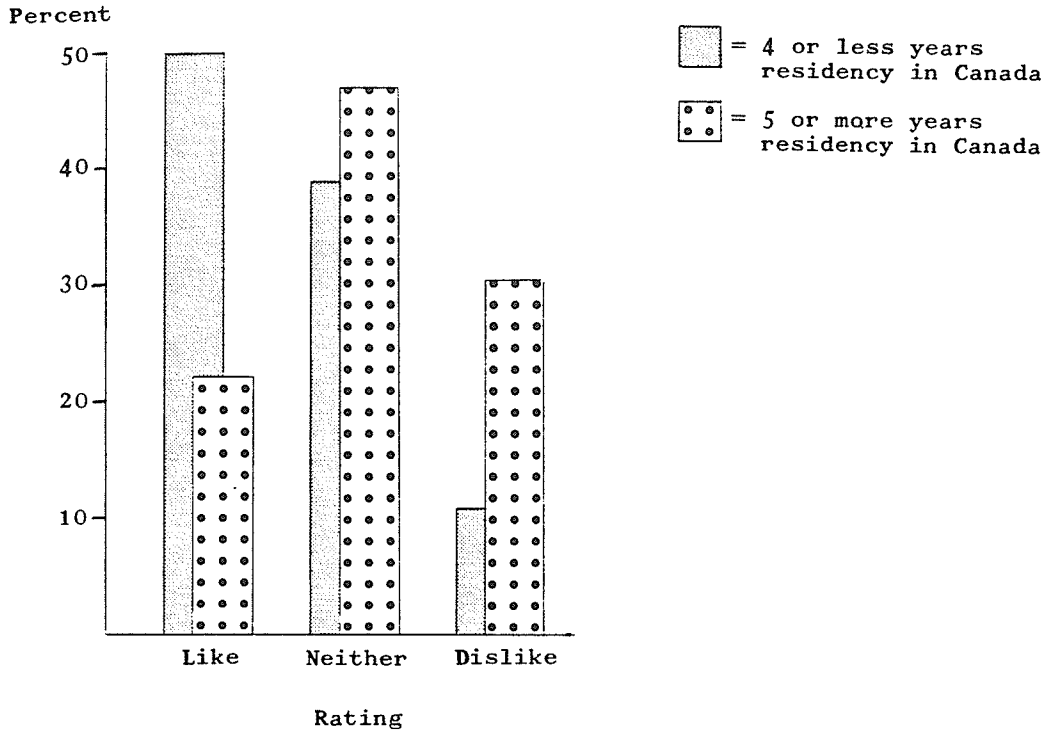


Figure 6.16 Length of residence versus reaction to Canadian culture

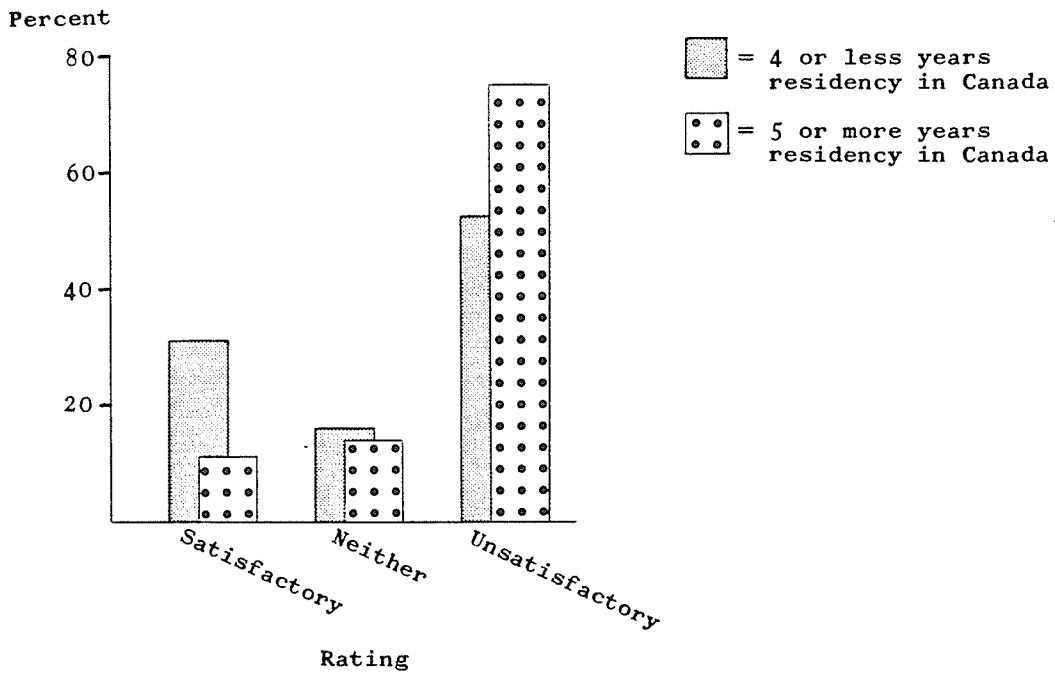


Figure 6.17 Length of residence versus opportunities to upgrade skills

the probability of upgrading their skills, three-quarters (75.0 percent) of respondents living in Canada for five or more years are dissatisfied. Therefore, this tends to indicate that over time Chilean refugees become more dissatisfied with the probability of upgrading their skills.

In Figure 6.18 ('Length of Residence versus Immigration Regulations') the respondents' rating of immigration regulations is related to the amount of time they have lived in Canada. Once again, the majority of respondents was dissatisfied with immigration regulations. The findings show that the degree of dissatisfaction varies according to refugees' length of residence. While 57.9 percent of respondents living in Canada for four or less years are dissatisfied with immigration regulations, as many as 86.5 percent of respondents living in Canada for five or more years are dissatisfied. Therefore, the level of dissatisfaction is directly related to length of residence. The major reason for this is that after the coup in 1973, the Department of Manpower and Immigration held strong negative attitudes toward Chilean refugees. As a result, respondents coming shortly after the coup were more likely subjected to harsher treatment by Canadian immigration officers (as previously discussed in Chapter III). Even though there are now stricter regulations concerning Chilean immigration to Canada, newer refugees are not subjected to as harsh treatment as their predecessors.

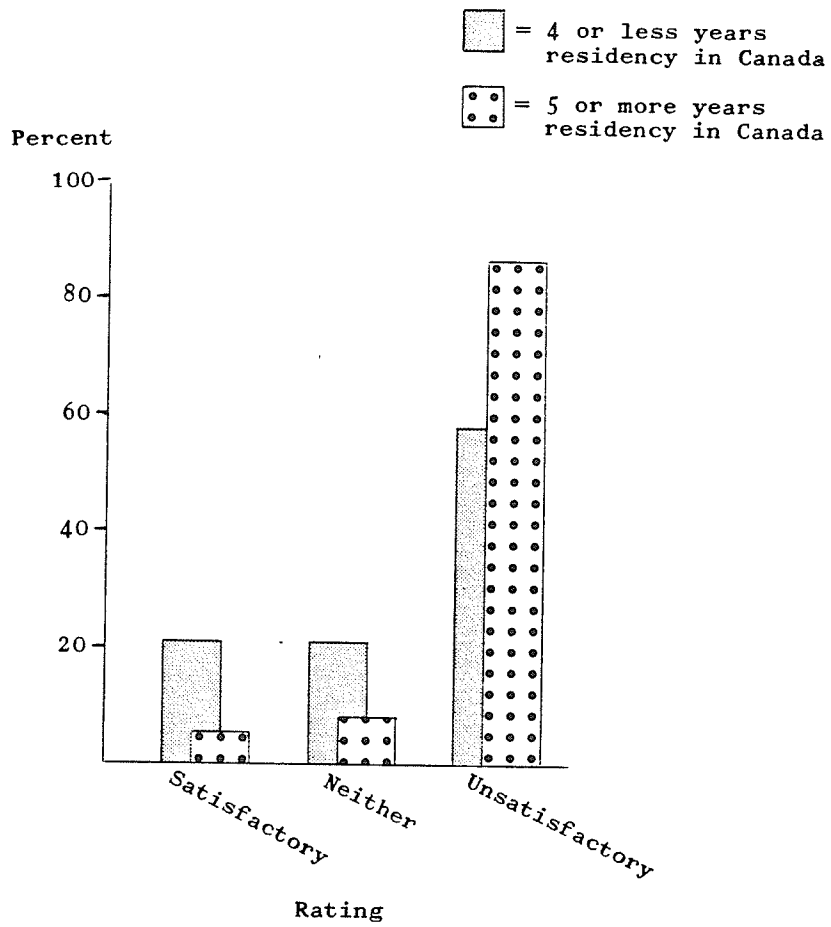


Figure 6.18 Length of residence versus immigration regulations

PRESENT OCCUPATION

As stated in Chapter II, a fluctuation in occupational status of refugees (especially a downward occupation mobility) may affect their adjustment to the host society. Hence, occupational status is positively related to refugees' adjustment and if they experience a downward occupation mobility, they will likely experience difficulty in adjusting to the host society.

It has already been shown that a large proportion of Chileans were highly skilled, as 41.1 percent of them had either skilled or professional/managerial occupations in Chile. Presently, however, the vast majority are less skilled as 87.0 percent are either unemployed or hold semi-skilled and unskilled occupations in Canada.

Therefore, by relating their present occupation with various other variables, it shall be determined whether the above relationship pertains to Chilean refugees in Canada. The findings should indicate that respondents holding lower skilled occupations have had more problems adjusting, and are therefore more dissatisfied with Canadian society than are those respondents who hold higher or equally skilled occupations.

In Figure 6.19 ('Present Occupation versus Previous Occupation') respondents' previous occupations in Chile are related to their present occupational status in Canada. Not only does this depict a severe downward mobility, but it also reveals specifically which respondents experienced the great-

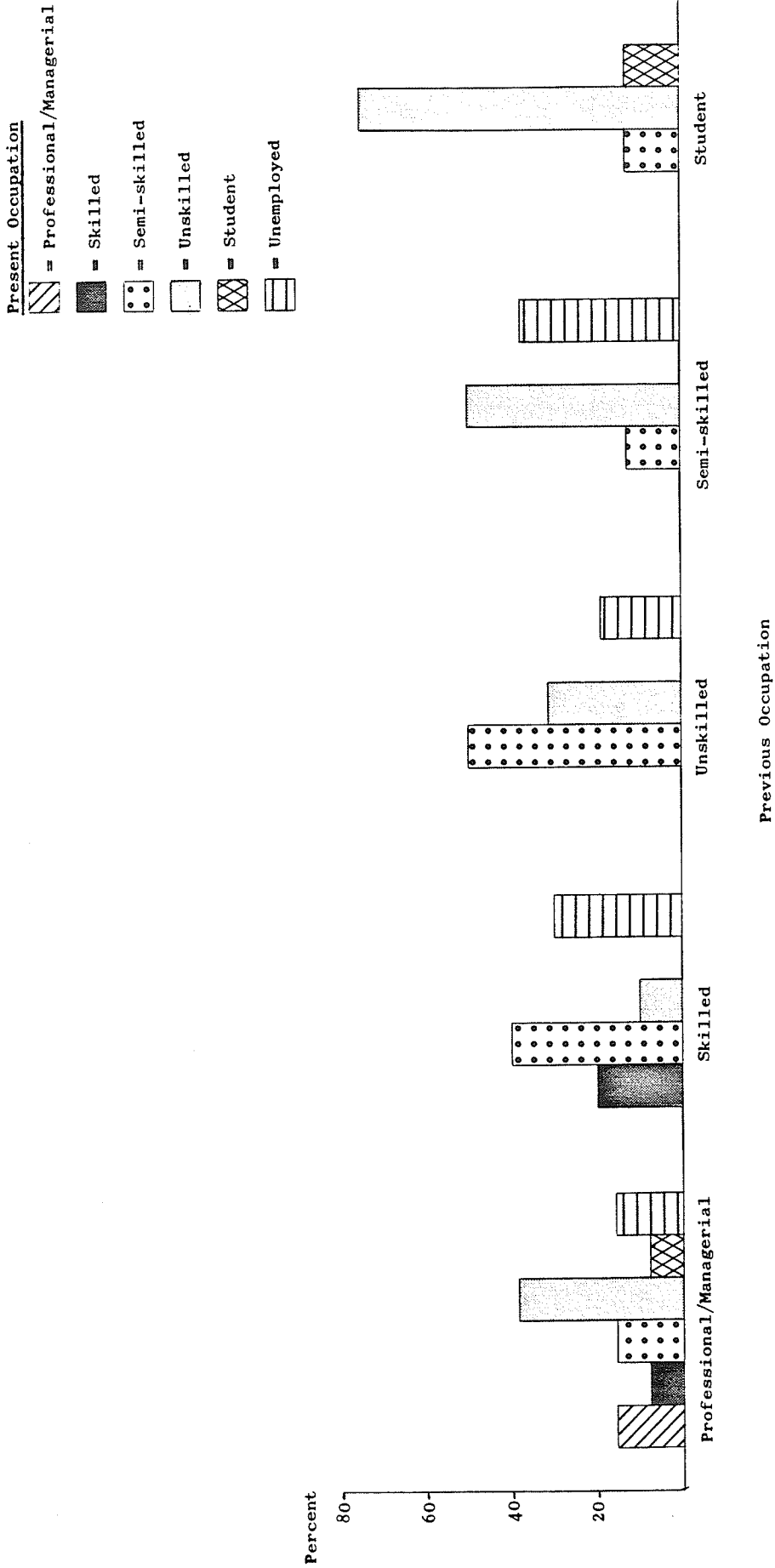


Figure 6.19 Present occupation versus previous occupation

est job dislocation.

Excluding the unemployed and student category, the majority (63.8 percent) of respondents hold lower occupational status in Canada than they did in Chile. Approximately one-third (34.0 percent) have maintained a similar occupational status, and only a few (2.1 percent) have managed to secure a higher occupational status.

While there are some respondents in all categories who were subjected to underemployment, those with higher skills (professional/managerial or skilled workers in Chile) encountered the greatest dislocation. Only 15.4 percent of professionals in Chile have been able to maintain similar occupational status, and 20.0 percent of skilled workers in Chile have been able to maintain similar occupational status. However, this severe downward occupation mobility has not occurred to the same extent among the semi-skilled: 50.0 percent of them have been able to maintain similar occupational status. Since the unskilled category is viewed as the lowest occupational level, it was impossible for respondents in this category to experience a downward occupation mobility.

All categories have experienced unemployment in Canada. While in Chile, only 1.8 percent of respondents were unemployed, in Canada the proportion has risen substantially to 19.6 percent. It is also important to note that 75.0 percent of those who were students in Chile are now presently classified as unskilled.

These findings suggest that the majority of respondents

experienced some degree of downward occupation mobility. The ones affected most, however, were those who had highly skilled occupations in Chile. Therefore, this might lead to the assumption that it is highly skilled refugees who have also had the greatest difficulty adjusting to Canadian society.

Figure 6.20 ('Present Occupation versus Assessment of Present Job') shows how respondents rate their present job according to their skill level. Since the majority of them experienced a downward occupation mobility, it is assumed the majority (excluding students and unemployed), especially the unskilled, would be dissatisfied with their present jobs. However, the findings do not support this assumption because approximately two-thirds (66.7 percent) of respondents remained ambivalent. While only 21.4 percent were satisfied, as few as 11.9 percent were dissatisfied with their current occupations. This tends to suggest that Chilean refugees' occupational status has not affected their degree of satisfaction with their present jobs.

Nevertheless, when examined by occupational status, it was found that 40.0 percent of professional and skilled respondents were satisfied; 25.0 percent of semi-skilled respondents were satisfied; and only 14.3 percent of unskilled respondents were satisfied with their current occupations in Canada. These findings support the assumption that occupational status of Chilean refugees in Canada is positively related to the satisfaction with their present jobs.

In Figure 6.21 ('Present Occupation versus Number of

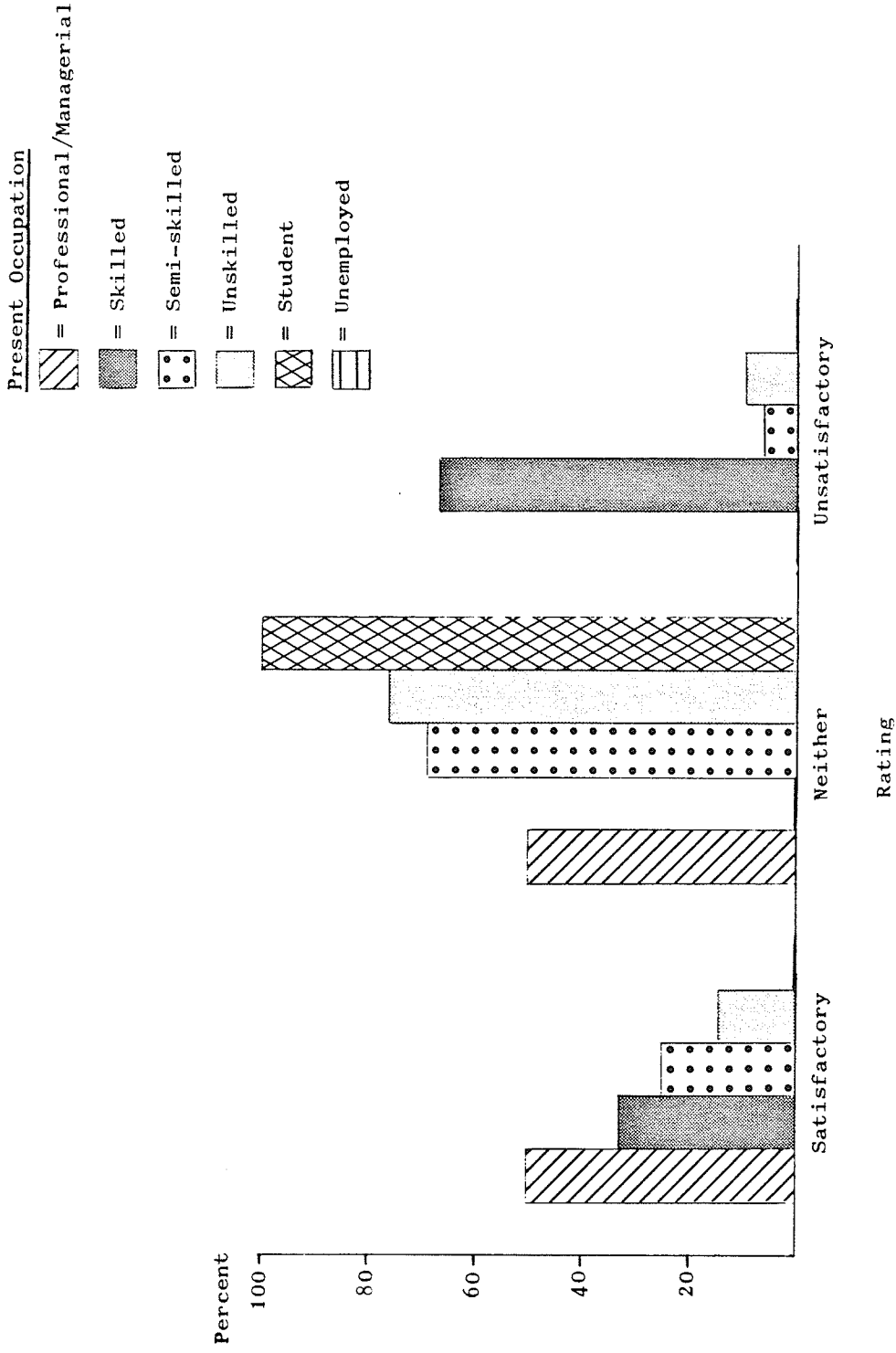


Figure 6.20 Present occupation versus assessment of present job

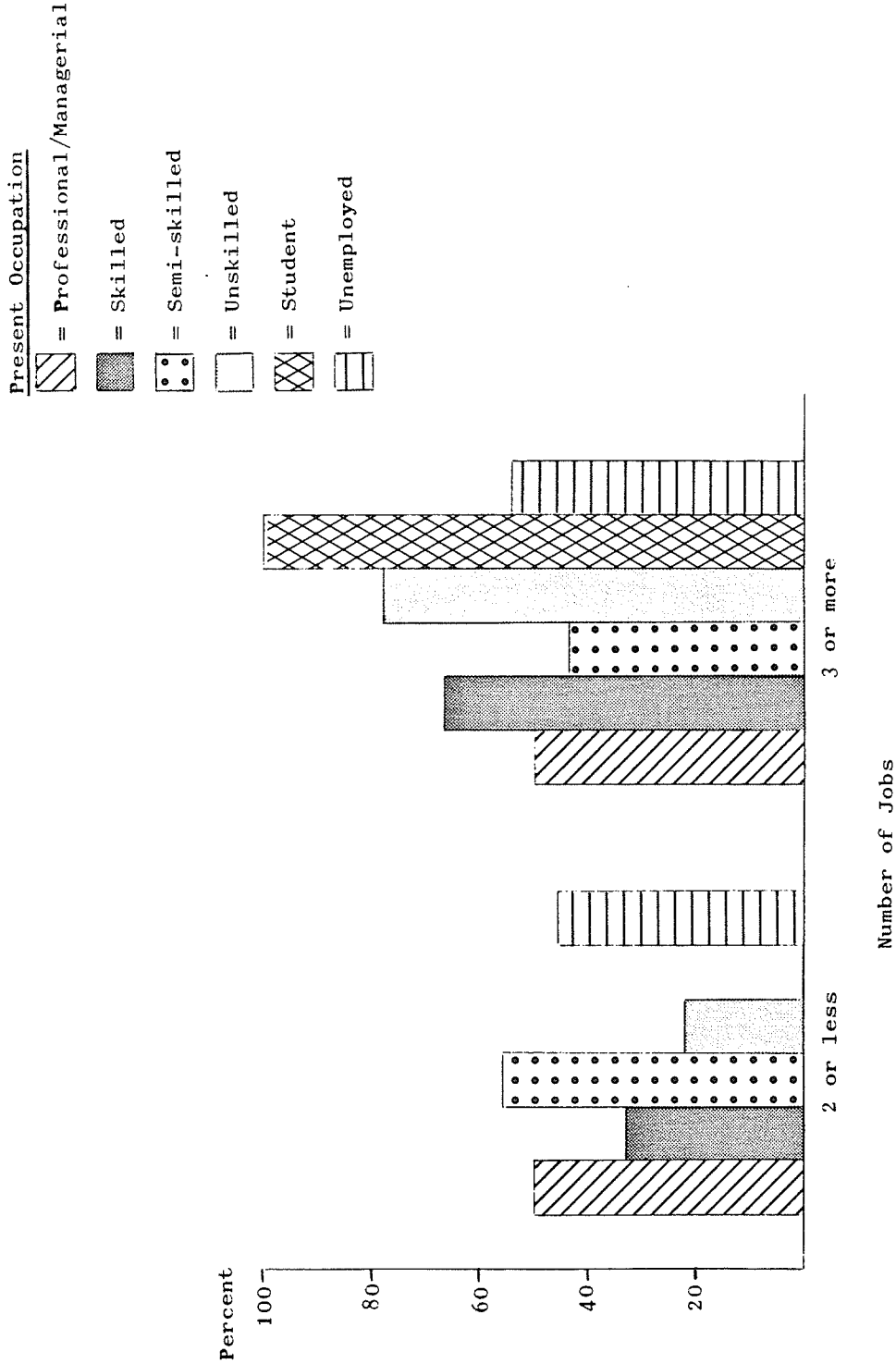


Figure 6.21 Present occupation versus number of jobs held since arriving in Canada

Jobs Held Since Arriving in Canada') the number of jobs respondents have had since arriving in Canada is related to the occupational status of their present occupation. Overall, 61.5 percent of respondents in all categories have had three or more jobs since arriving in Canada. Most Chileans had little input in obtaining their first job because it was usually chosen for them by government officials or private organizations. It is therefore not unexpected that they have changed jobs at least once. However, considering that the majority of respondents have only lived in Canada for 5.1 years, the fact that they have had three or more jobs tends to indicate employment instability and dissatisfaction.

When comparing the different skill levels, no pattern emerges. The only difference occurs between the unskilled, where a large proportion (77.8 percent) have had three or more jobs, and the semi-skilled, where less than one-half (43.8 percent) have had three or more jobs. This suggests that unskilled respondents have been more dissatisfied with their previous jobs in Canada.

Figure 6.22 ('Present Occupation versus Working Spouse') shows how occupational status of heads of households is related to whether or not spouses work. Since a large proportion (41.1 percent) of respondents had a high occupational status in Chile and were thus financially secure, it was not surprising to learn that the majority of their spouses did not have a job in Chile, but remained at home and took care of their children. Therefore, it was assumed that a similar arrange-

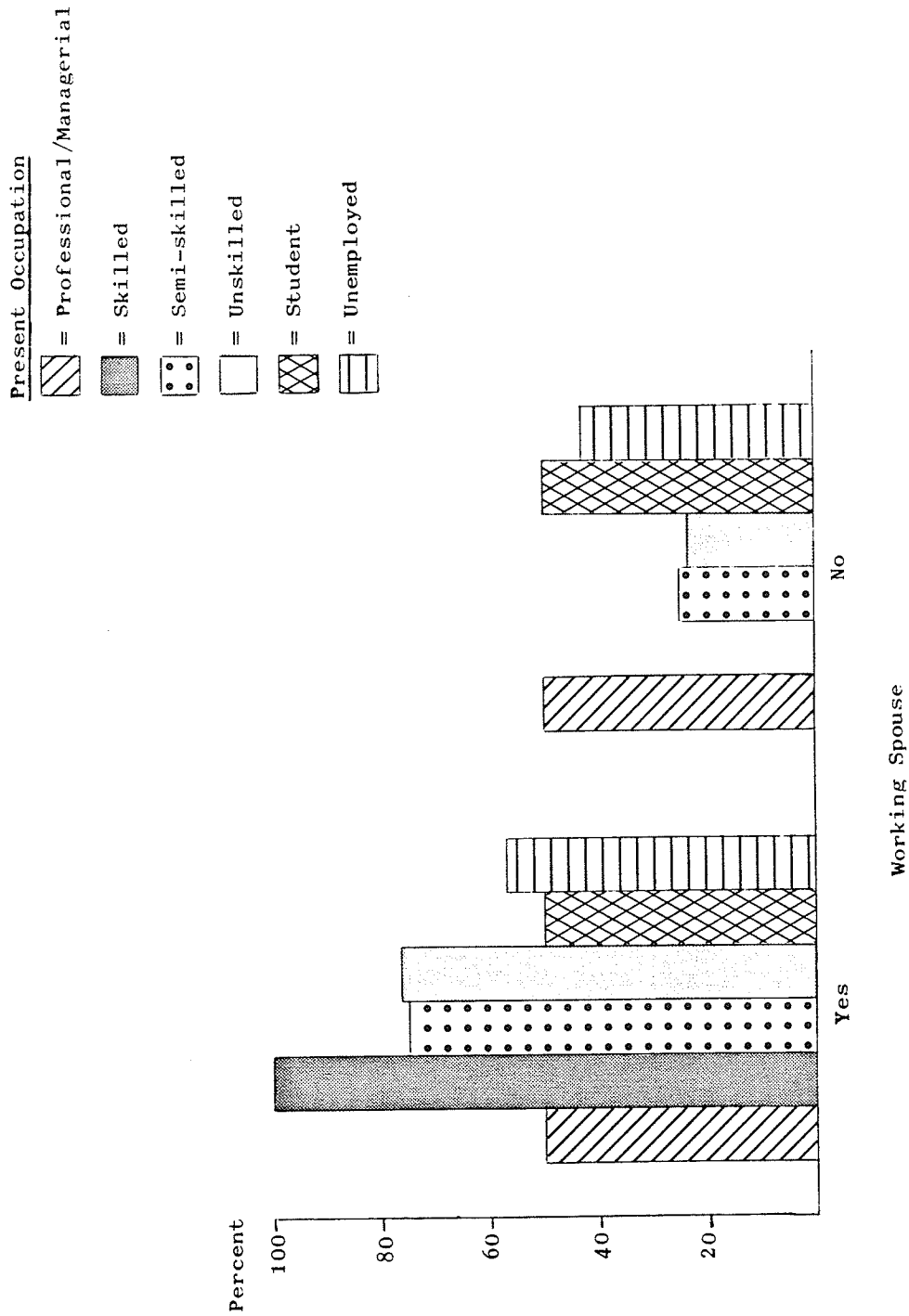


Figure 6.22 Present occupation versus working spouse

ment might exist in Canada, especially among those of higher levels of occupational status. However, the findings indicate an entirely different situation, for not only do the majority (73.8 percent) of spouses presently work outside the home, but all occupational categories are likely to have spouses working outside the home.

This occurrence was explained when Chilean refugees stated that due to their downward occupation mobility in Canada, it was necessary to obtain additional income from their spouses so they could provide for their children and be financially secure. Furthermore, since Canadian society is not as male dominated as is Latin American, it is more acceptable for female Chileans to work outside the home. This suggests that Chilean refugees are adjusting to Canadian society.

In Figure 6.23 ('Present Occupation versus Standard of Living in Canada') respondents' occupational status is related to their standard of living in Canada. It is assumed that a positive relationship exists between respondents' standard of living and occupational status. Chilean refugees who were able to maintain a high occupational status in Canada should have a higher standard of living than those who experienced a downward occupation mobility.

However, the findings suggest that the majority (73.6 percent) believe their standard of living in Canada is better than it was in Chile. Even within the unemployed category, the vast majority (90.9 percent) believe their standard of living in Canada is better than it had been in Chile. This

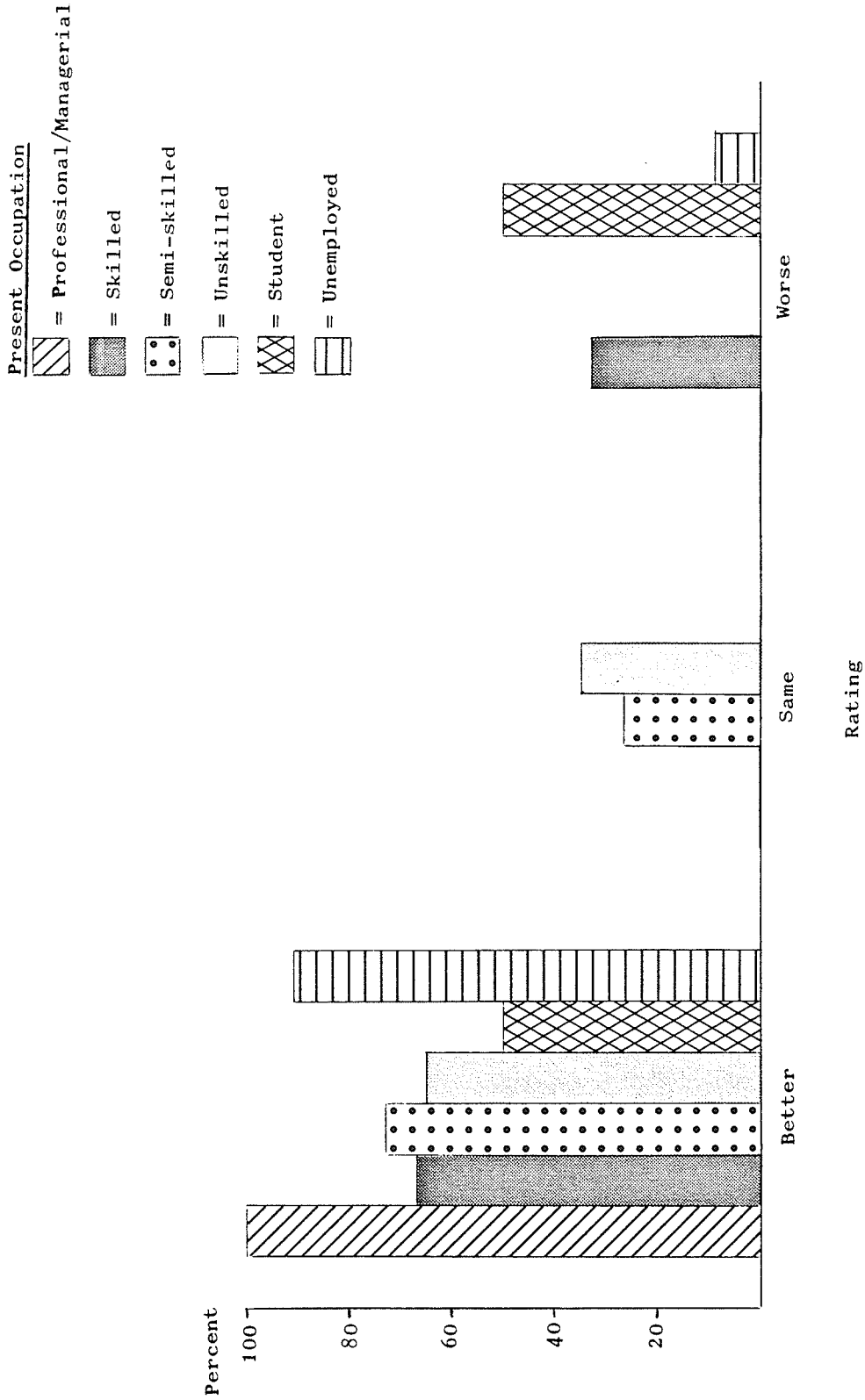


Figure 6.23 Present occupation versus standard of living in Canada

indicates that the standard of living for Chileans of lower occupational levels who reside in Canada, is better than it is for those of higher occupational levels who reside in Chile.

However, the findings also reveal that 80.0 percent of professional/managerial and skilled respondents find their standard of living to be better in Canada than it was in Chile, and this is reduced to 68.5 percent for the semi-skilled and unskilled respondents. Therefore, this supports the above assumption.

Figure 6.24 ('Present Occupation versus Type of Dwelling') shows the relationship between present occupational status and the type of dwelling currently occupied. It is expected that Chileans of higher occupational status will have access to more capital and are therefore most likely to own a home, while Chileans of lower occupational status will most likely rent an apartment.

Contrary to what was expected, the findings do not reveal any definite pattern. Within the professional/managerial occupational category, 50.0 percent of respondents own their houses. However, this is significantly reduced within the skilled occupational category, where not one respondent owns a house and all live in rented apartments. Among semi-skilled, the proportion increases to 50.0 percent owning houses. While only 9.5 percent of unskilled own houses, 33.0 percent rent houses. Therefore, Chileans' present occupational status does not necessarily determine their type of dwelling.

In Figure 6.25 ('Present Occupation versus Probability

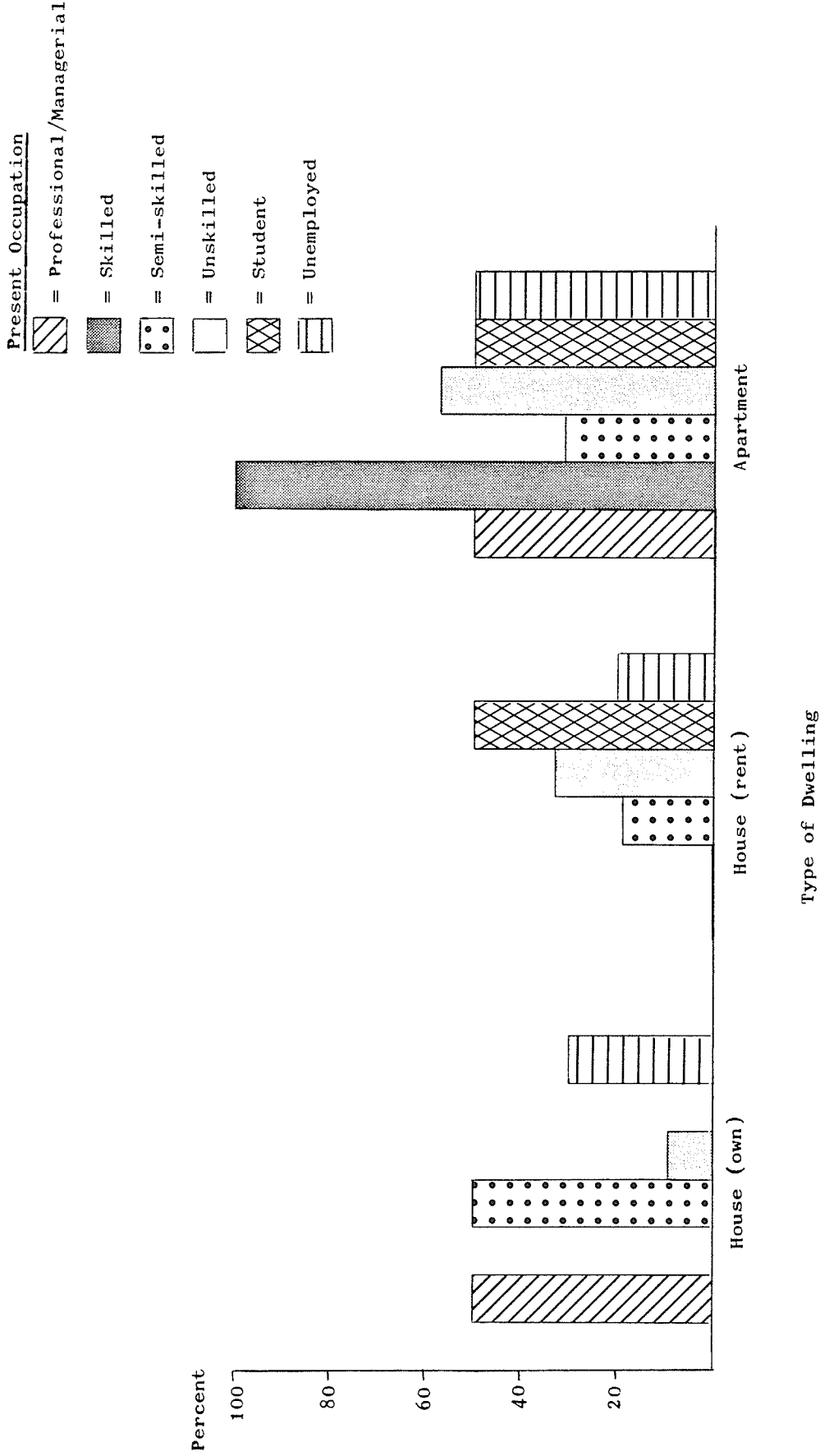


Figure 6.24 Present occupation versus type of dwelling

of Staying in Regina') survey participants' present occupational status is related to whether or not they intend to remain in Regina. It is assumed that Chilean refugees who have attained a high occupational status in Canada will be more satisfied and therefore more likely to remain in Canada rather than return to Chile. Hence, respondents' occupational status should be positively related to their intention of remaining in Regina.

The findings indicate that overall, approximately one-half (55.8 percent) of respondents plan to stay in Regina. The proportion, however, varies with occupational status. Among the professional/managerial and skilled, the vast majority (80.0 percent) of respondents plan to remain in Regina. This proportion is drastically reduced to less than one-half (45.7 percent) among the semi-skilled and unskilled. Therefore, this definitely tends to support the above assumption.

The purpose of Figure 6.26 ('Present Occupation versus Probability of Becoming a Canadian Citizen') is to determine whether respondents' occupational status is related to their intention of becoming Canadian citizens. It was hypothesized that if Chileans were able to maintain a high occupational status, they would be more satisfied with life in Canada, and this would enhance the probability of them becoming Canadian citizens.

Nevertheless, the findings reveal that no such relationship exists between respondents' occupational status and their intention of becoming Canadian citizens. The response rate

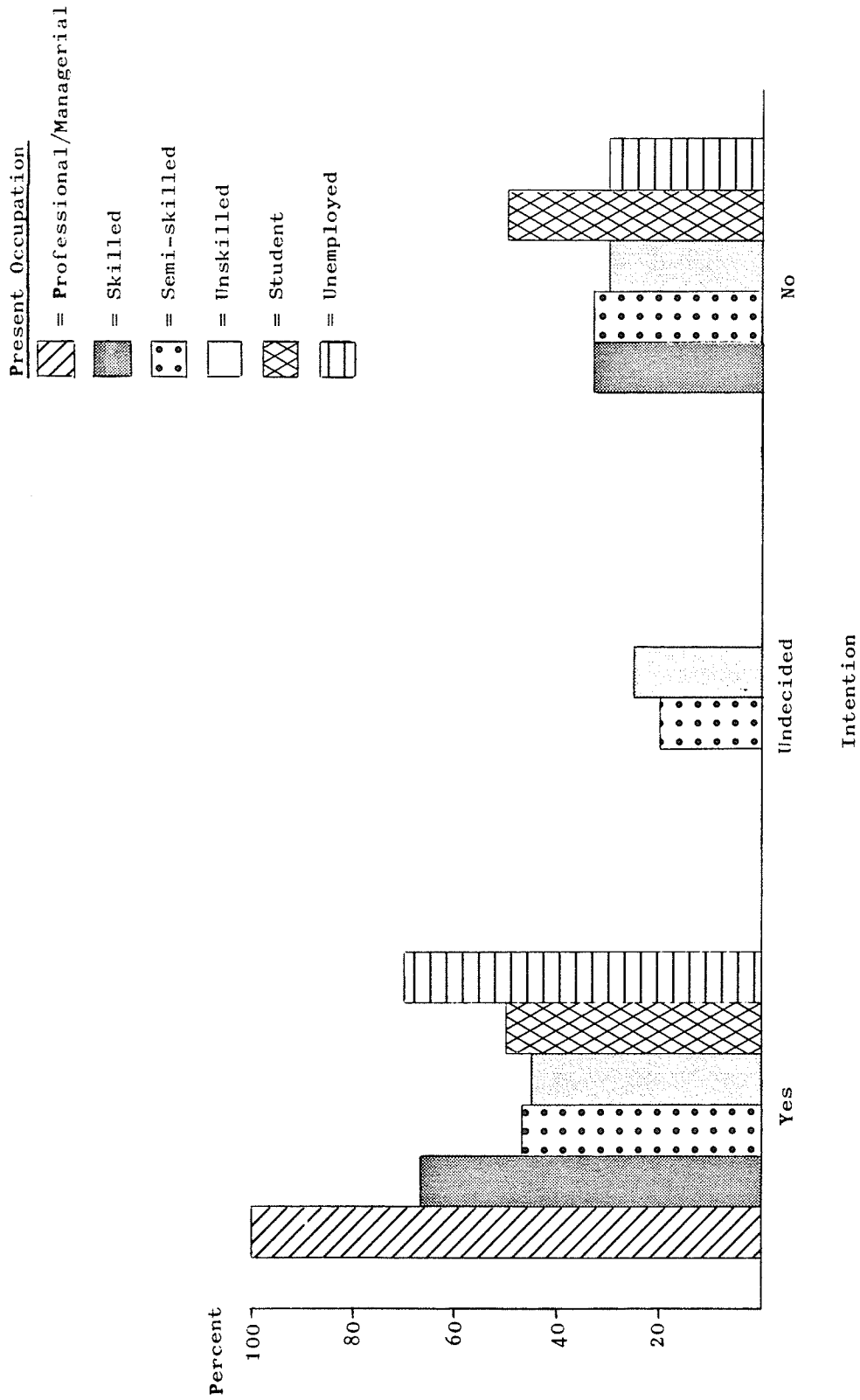


Figure 6.25 Present occupation versus probability of staying in Regina

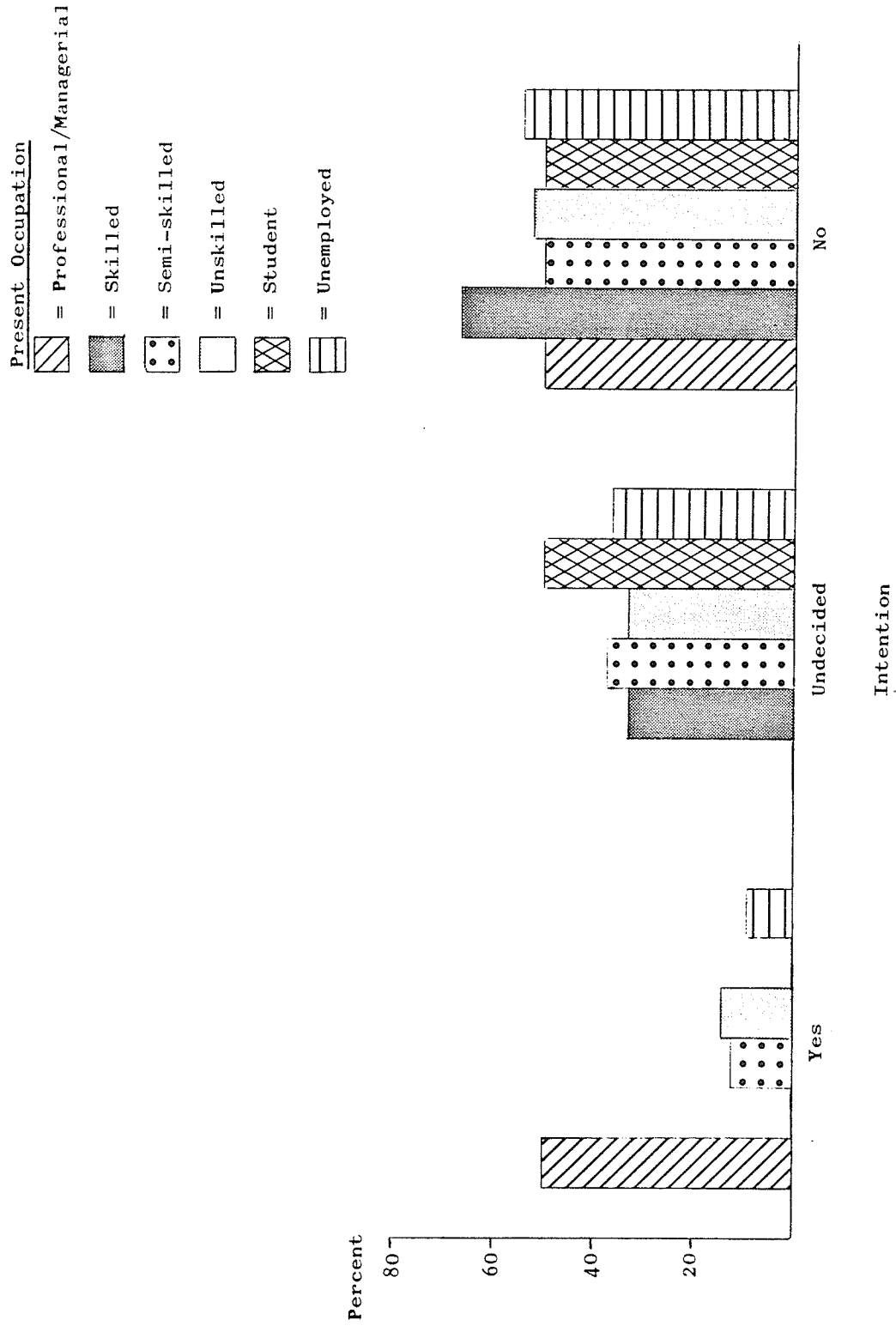


Figure 6.26 Present occupation versus probability of becoming a Canadian citizen

remains consistent, no matter what the level of occupational status. The majority of respondents in all occupational categories have no intention of becoming citizens. Therefore, contrary to what was expected, it can be concluded that Chilean refugees' intentions of becoming Canadian citizens have not been affected by their occupational status.

Figure 6.27 ('Present Occupation versus Close Canadian Friendships') shows the relation between respondents' occupational status and whether or not they have formulated any close Canadian friendships. As discussed earlier, the higher the occupational position of refugees, the greater is the probability of them making contacts with the dominant society, which in turn is likely to accelerate their acculturation into the host society. Consequently, it was assumed that Chilean refugees who have managed to attain a high occupational status in Canada, should have made more Canadian friends than their compatriots who are in lower occupational categories.

However, upon examining Figure 6.27, it is shown that this assumption is not valid. The majority (61.8 percent) of respondents do not have any close Canadian friends, and this pattern remains consistent among each occupational category. While the proportion does vary between occupational categories, it is contrary to what was expected. Within the professional/managerial and skilled category, the vast majority (80.0 percent) of respondents stated that they did not have any close Canadian friends. Among the semi-skilled and unskilled categories, the proportion declines to 64.9 percent, and among

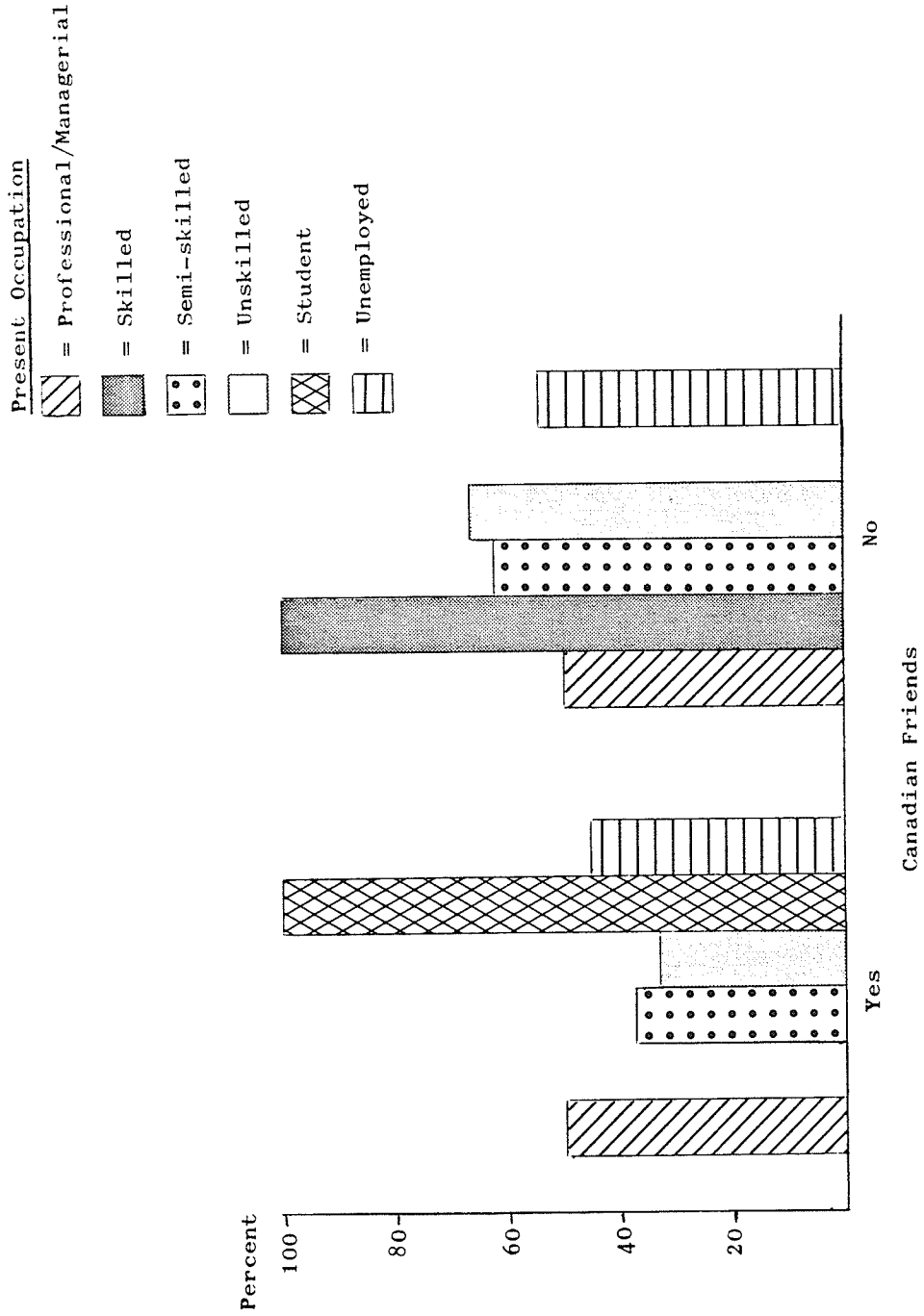


Figure 6.27 Present occupation versus close Canadian friendships

the unemployed category which was expected to be the highest, the proportion is further reduced to 54.5 percent of respondents stating they did not have any close Canadian friends. Therefore, these findings suggest that occupational status has not affected the degree to which Chilean refugees have formed close Canadian friendships.

In Figure 6.28 ('Present Occupation versus Canadian Response') respondents' occupational status is related to their perception of the response they have received from Canadians. In theory, refugees' occupational status should not determine the type of reception they receive from the host society. In reality, however, it is an important factor. This is supported by the findings, which definitely show Canadian response varies according to Chileans' occupational status. Among the professional/managerial and skilled categories, the majority (80.0 percent) stated they have received a positive (satisfactory) response from Canadians. Within the semi-skilled category, the proportion having received a positive response is reduced to 62.5 percent, and among the unskilled, the proportion is reduced further to 33.3 percent. This leads to the conclusion that the higher the occupational status of Chilean refugees, the more positive their perception of the response they receive from Canadians.

Figure 6.29 ('Present Occupation versus Rating of English') shows the relationship between respondents' occupational status and how they rate their English. A refugees' ability to speak the language of the dominant society is a major vari-

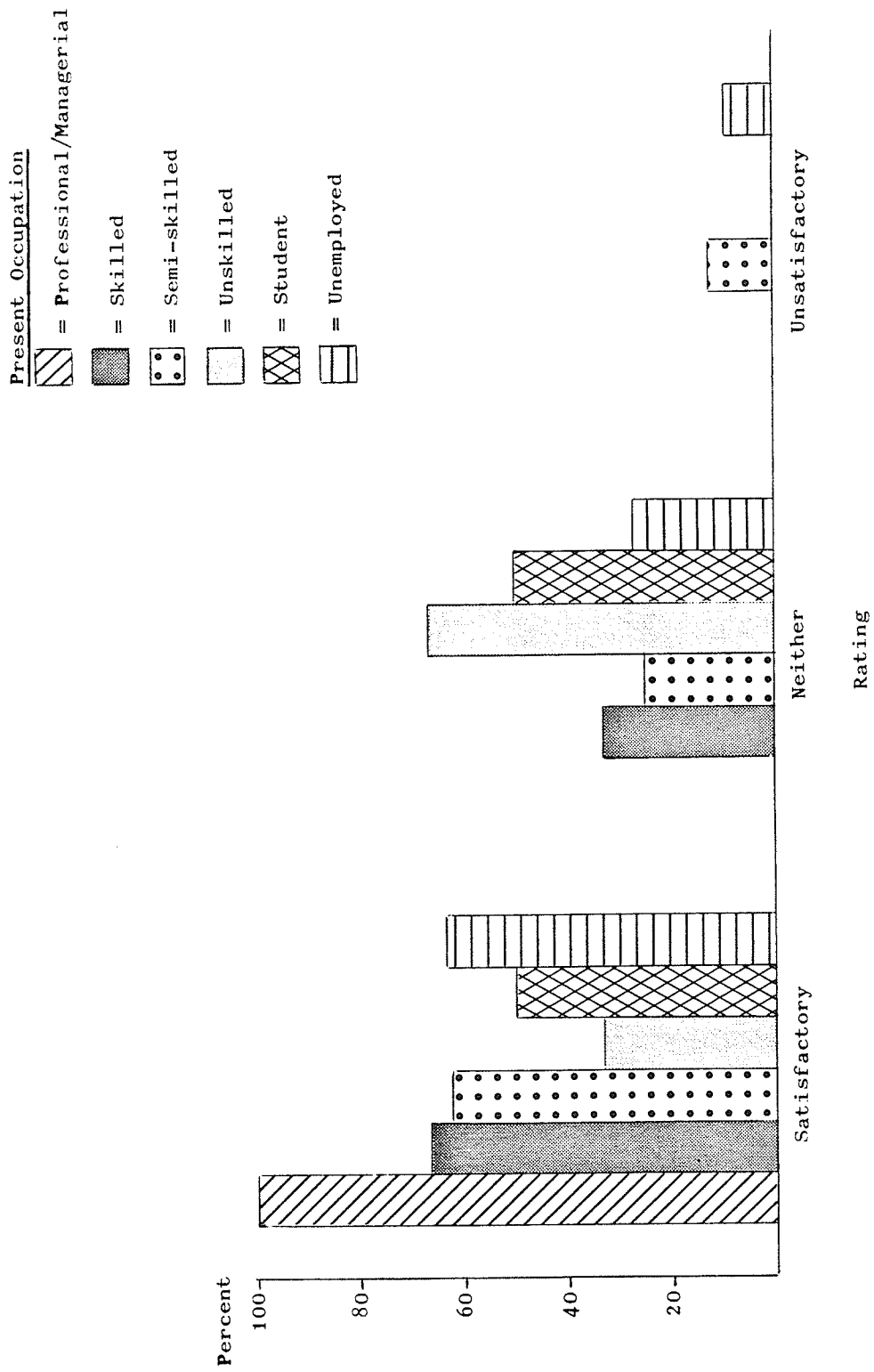


Figure 6.28 Present occupation versus Canadian response

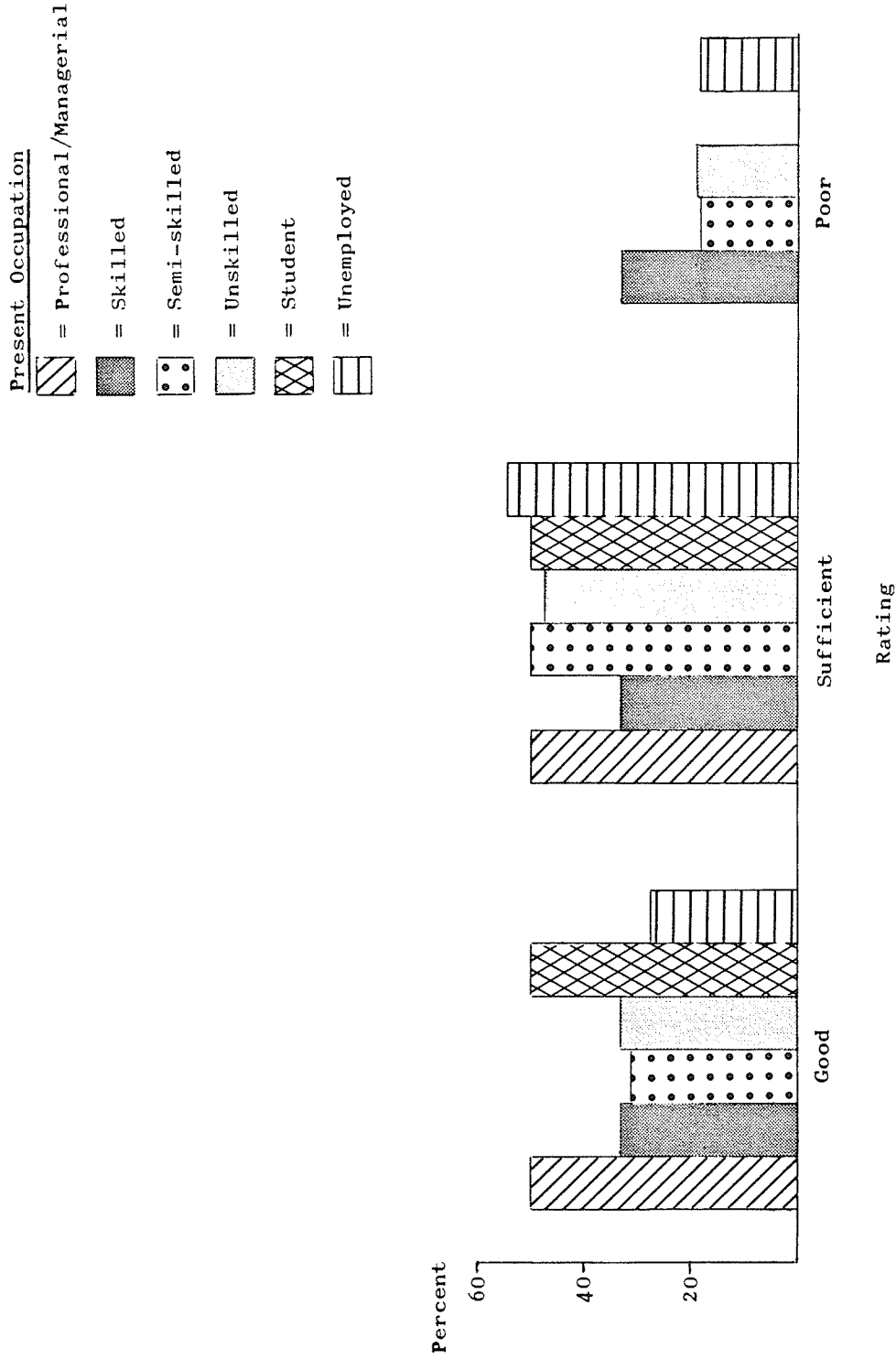


Figure 6.29 Present occupation versus rating of English

able affecting ease of adjustment into the host society. Furthermore, it is assumed that refugees who were able to attain a high occupational status will ultimately enhance their ability to speak the dominant society's language. It was therefore hypothesized that the higher the occupational status of Chilean refugees, the greater their ability to speak English.

The findings do not endorse this assumption. Overall, approximately one-third (32.7 percent) rate their English as good; the plurality (49.1 percent) rate their English as sufficient; and a minority (18.2 percent) rate their English as poor. Contrary to what was expected, this pattern remains consistent among each occupational category. Therefore, the largest portion of Chileans rate their English speaking ability as only sufficient, irrespective of their present occupational status. This is highly suggestive that Chilean refugees' English speaking ability has not been affected by the occupational status they have attained in Canada.

The purpose of Figure 6.30 ('Present Occupation versus Perception of Canada') is to show the relationship between respondents' occupational status and their present perception of Canada. As discussed in Chapter II, refugees who experience downward occupation mobility will most likely have difficulty in adjusting to the host society. Consequently, it is assumed that their perception of the host society will probably be more negative than had they undergone a smooth transition.

This assumption is verified by the findings. While all (100.0 percent) respondents in the professional/managerial

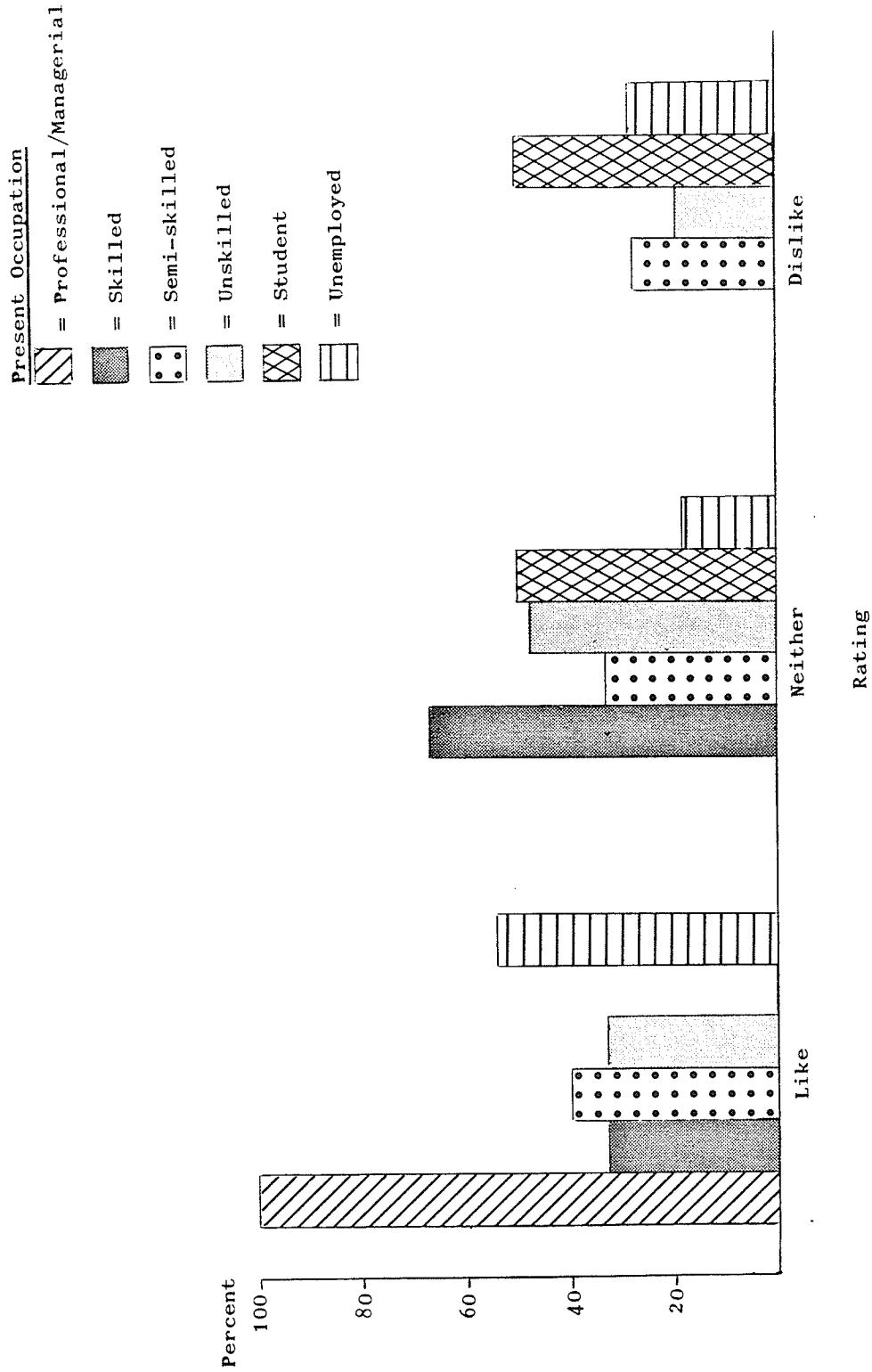


Figure 6.30 Present occupation versus perception of Canada

category have a positive perception of Canada, only 40.0 per cent in the semi-skilled category have positive perceptions. From this it is quite evident that the higher the occupational status of Chileans, the more favorable will be their perception of Canada. Thus, a positive relationship exists between Chilean refugees' current occupational status and the perception they have of Canada.

Figure 6.31 ('Present Occupation versus Opportunities to Upgrade Skills') shows the relation between respondents' occupational status and opportunities to upgrade their skills. It is believed that refugees who experienced downward occupation mobility and have not been able to maintain their occupational status in Canada, are more dissatisfied with opportunities to upgrade their skills than those who have maintained a high occupational status. Therefore, a positive relationship should exist between the two variables.

The findings, however, do not reveal this type of relationship. The majority (67.3 percent) of all respondents are dissatisfied with opportunities to upgrade skills, and this proportion remains fairly consistent among each occupational category. This suggests that Chileans' occupational status has not altered their intensity of dissatisfaction with opportunities in Canada to upgrade their skills. Therefore, Chileans in higher positions are equally dissatisfied as are their compatriots in lower positions.

In Figure 6.32 ('Present Occupation versus Immigration Regulations') the present occupational status of respondents

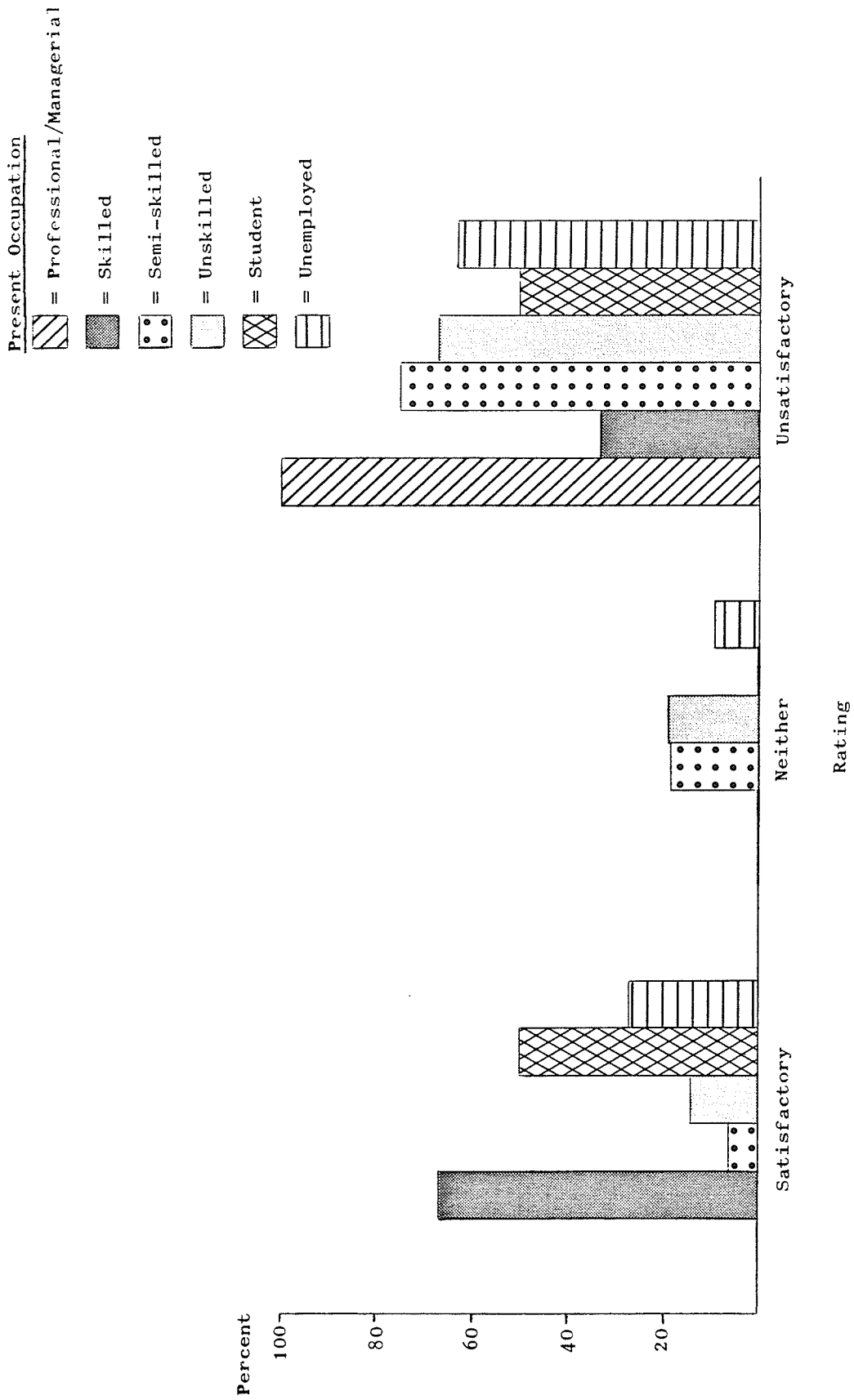


Figure 6.31 Present occupation versus opportunities to upgrade skills

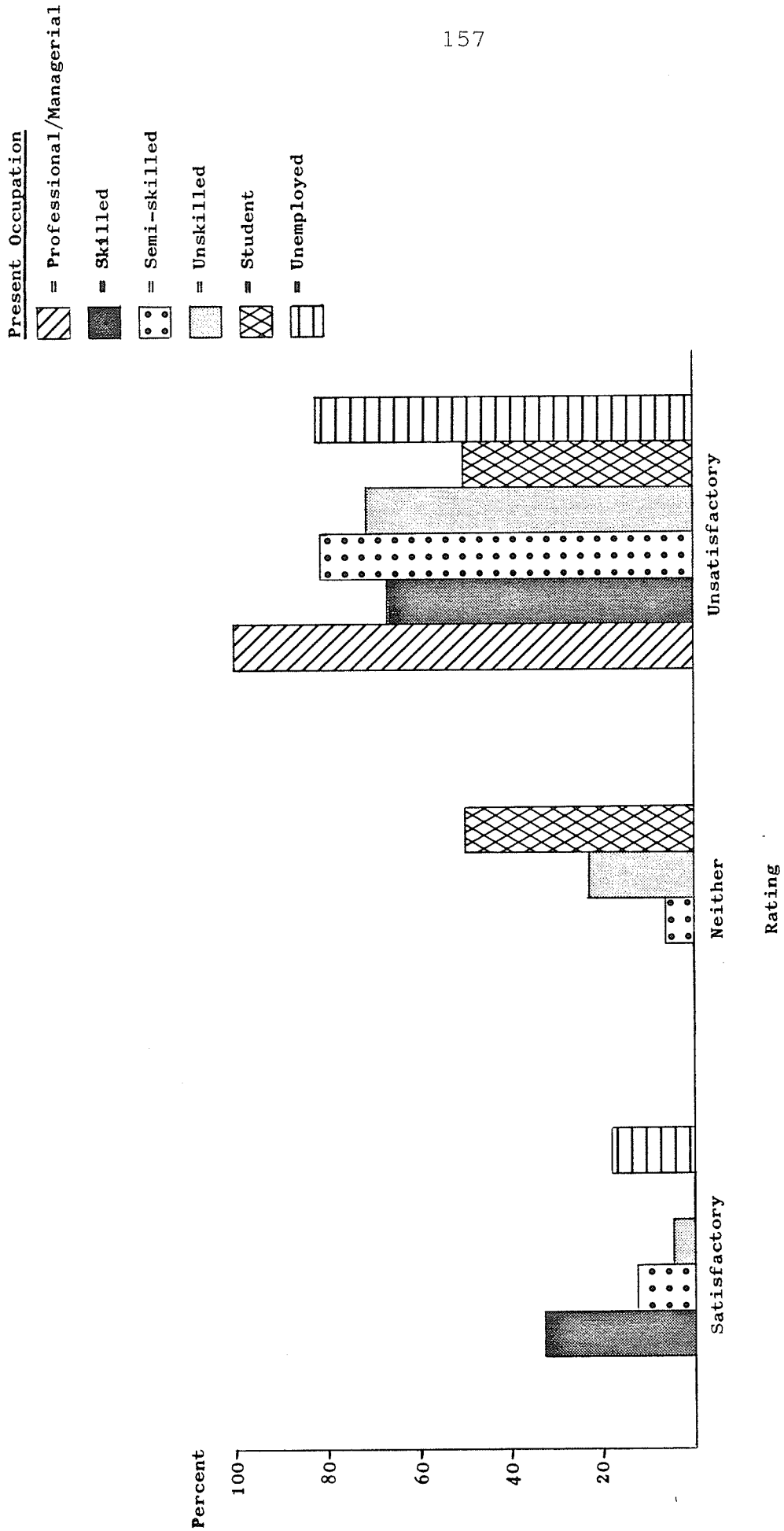


Figure 6.32 Present occupation versus immigration regulations

is related to Canadian immigration regulations. When Chileans arrived in Canada, it was the responsibility of the Canadian government to screen potential applicants and find jobs for most of them. Unfortunately, the majority of Chilean refugees had little choice but to accept jobs for which they were definitely over-qualified. Therefore, by relating these two variables, it will be established whether immigration regulations had any affect on refugees' present occupational status.

The data reveal that the majority (76.4 percent) of all respondents are dissatisfied with immigration regulations, and the degree to which they are dissatisfied does not vary among occupational categories. This suggests that refugees' satisfaction with immigration regulations has had little impact on the outcome of their present occupational status.

SUMMARY

As previously stated, the major purpose of the first part of the analysis was to determine whether or not the hypothesis that length of residence is positively related to refugees' adjustment pertains to Chilean refugees in Canada. Having related the amount of time Chileans have lived in Canada to numerous other variables, it can be concluded that even though there exists a relationship, it is not always found to be the type of relationship that was expected. It therefore appears, that over time, Chileans have not followed the expected trend and are still experiencing major problems in adjusting to Canada and Canadian society.

The major purpose of the final part of the analysis was to determine whether or not the hypothesis that present occupational status is positively related to refugees' adjustment is applicable to Chilean refugees in Canada. After having related the refugees' current occupational status in Canada to numerous other variables, it can be concluded that the relationship is rather weak. Therefore, Chilean refugees do not necessarily follow the expected trend, and it cannot be assumed that the occupational status they have attained in Canada will directly affect their ease of adjustment into Canadian society.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The primary aim of this research was to conduct a comprehensive study of a Chilean community in Canada and to document their resettlement and adjustment. To achieve this, two objectives were set. First, a general description of Chilean refugees in Regina is provided. The major findings of this are summarized as follows:

1 Personal Characteristics

The vast majority of respondents were young (between 25-44 years old), and even though approximately three-quarters were married, only one had a Canadian spouse. Average family size was 3.4 persons and approximately one-quarter of the respondents' children were Canadian born.

2 Education

It was shown that respondents were generally well educated, all having achieved at least some level of schooling. Almost half had attended secondary school, and more than one-third had attended university.

3 Length of Residence

It was found that respondents' average length of residence in Canada was 5.1 years, and that approximately one-third had sought temporary asylum elsewhere before being admitted to Canada. Since arriving in Regina, there has been a

movement away from their initial settlement in the core area towards the suburbs.

4 Occupation and Economic Status

The data strongly suggest that most respondents experienced a downward occupation mobility, and that those who had the highest occupational status in Chile have undergone the greatest dislocation. Respondents tend to be overqualified for the jobs held and consequently only one-fifth were satisfied with their jobs. In addition, a significant number (one-fifth) were unemployed at the time of the study. Although the majority had incomes between \$10,000 and \$20,000 per annum, most considered their standard of living in Canada as superior to that in Chile.

5 Language

Half the respondents believed their English to be sufficient, although the majority still regarded their lack of fluency to be a major problem. Almost all considered their spouses' English to be worse than theirs, and all preferred to speak Spanish at home.

6 Satisfaction with Life in Canada

Respondents tended to be generally satisfied with such factors as the Canadian summers, sporting and education facilities, health services and housing. No strong preferences were recorded regarding such matters as overall climate, landscape and Canadian culture. They were dissatisfied with Canadian winters, entertainment, raising their children, opportunities to upgrade their skills, immigration regula-

tions, and with their perception of Canada.

7 Sense of Permanence

Although most respondents indicated dissatisfaction with the treatment they received from Canadian immigration officials, approximately one-half were satisfied with that received from the Canadian public. Nevertheless, most remained isolated from Canadians and few have formed close friendships with them. While one-half indicated that they would like to remain in Regina, the vast majority said they would return to Chile if political conditions there changed. Half of the respondents indicated that they have no plans to become Canadian citizens, and only ten percent planned to take up citizenship when eligible.

In assessing these findings, it can be concluded that the Chileans in Regina appear to be basically satisfied with life in Canada, but they continue to experience major problems of adjustment such as language deficiency, occupational dissatisfaction, and non-recognition by Canadians of their past education attainment. They have limited interaction with Canadian society, but maintain strong attachments to Chilean culture and society, and retain a strong desire to return to Chile if the political situation were to change.

The second objective was to evaluate the extent to which Chileans have assimilated into Canadian society. By identifying differences within the sample, it was shown that the varying levels of adjustment are related to two major variables ('length of residence' and 'present occupation').

1 Length of Residence

The hypothesis that length of time in the host country (length of residence) is related positively to ease of adjustment and to their level of satisfaction, was generally shown not to be the case for the Chileans. Even though the expected relationship occurred in some instances, more often it did not. Therefore, Chileans in Regina have not followed the normal trend, and continue to experience problems of adjustment after lengthy periods of residence.

2 Present Occupation

The hypothesis that occupational status attained in the host country (present occupation) is related positively to ease of adjustment, and to their level of satisfaction, was not proven for Regina's Chilean community. Almost as many experienced a negative relationship as experienced a positive one. Consequently, Chileans in Regina have not always followed the expected trend, and it therefore cannot be assumed that the level of occupational status they have attained in Canada will relate positively to their ease of adjustment.

The extent to which these findings relate to hypotheses professed by other researchers, as stated in Chapter II, can be summarized as follows:

1 Background Characteristics

Most social scientists believe that pre-migration characteristics of refugees hinder their process of assimilation. Overall, the findings indicate that with respect to

Chilean refugees, this hypothesis is valid.

2 Social Class

The suggestion that refugees with high former social status will assimilate more easily and faster than refugees with low former social status is not supported by this study of the Chilean refugees, since little variation was found to exist.

3 Ties to Homeland

Social scientists hypothesize that refugees who maintain strong ties with their homeland will experience more problems of assimilation. This is certainly shown to be the case for Chilean refugees.

4 Strong Ethnic Community

While some researchers believe that a strong ethnic community will hinder assimilation, others believe that it will promote assimilation. With respect to Chileans, this ambivalence is supported, since it was found that the Chilean community in Regina has both hindered and promoted the adjustment of its members.

5 Education

Researchers hypothesize that the education level attained by refugees is related positively to their ease of assimilation. However, contrary to this hypothesis, the findings suggest that this does not apply for Chilean refugees.

6 Language

Social scientists agree that refugees' ability to

speak the language of their host society is related positively to their ease of adjustment. The findings definitely support this assumption.

7 Present Occupation

Researchers believe that refugees' present occupational status is related positively to their ease of adjustment. However, for the Chilean refugees, this relationship remains uncertain. Nevertheless, for refugees who experienced downward occupation mobility, the hypothesis is supported.

8 Length of Residence

Researchers agree that length of time in the host country is related positively to ease of assimilation. The findings, however, do not endorse this hypothesis, for passage of time did not significantly help the assimilation of Chilean refugees.

IMPLICATIONS

This study is shown to be representative of both the Regina Chilean community and the Chileans living in Saskatchewan, since the majority of them live in Regina. However, it is important to determine whether the findings and implications of the Regina study are typical of Chilean communities elsewhere in Canada.

With respect to refugees' background characteristics, the Regina Chilean community is representative of Chileans in Canada, for they all come from the same background and hold

similar background characteristics, such as cultural values, standard of living, family organization, language, and political orientation.

Concerning the resettlement and adjustment of refugees, it becomes difficult to state positively that the Regina Chilean community is representative of Chileans in Canada. While it is most likely that all Chileans in Canada have experienced similar problems in adjustment, it is not known whether they have experienced the problems to the same degree.

Overall, however, the Regina Chilean community can be used as an indicator of the type of problems experienced by Chilean refugees in Canada; but it is important not to presume that the degree to which all refugees experience these problems is equivalent.

FURTHER RESEARCH

Through the knowledge and experience gained in the design, implementation, and analysis of the results of this study, it is recognized that there are still questions concerning the assimilation of Chilean refugees. Therefore, it is recommended that further research relating to the following issues merit attention.

To assess the adjustment of Chileans throughout Canada, further research is needed in other areas of Canada. For example, Chileans presently living in metropolitan Canadian cities such as Toronto, Montreal or Vancouver, would not only enable a larger sample size for a research study,

but they experience climatic and economic conditions different from Regina. For instance, the climate and geographic setting on the west coast is very different from Regina's, but similar to Chile's. There is also a larger Spanish-speaking population in these larger cities. Support services, such as Spanish-speaking centres are prominent in cities such as Toronto and Montreal. Literature in Spanish, native foods, and music from Latin America are more easily accessible to Chileans in these parts of Canada. It was also found that upon their arrival in Canada, the provincial governments provided Chileans with a range of services, especially access to language and job training programs, depending on their location in Canada. All these factors have the capability of affecting Chilean refugees' ease of adjustment into Canadian society. Therefore, an examination of the resettlement and adjustment of Chileans in various Canadian metropolitan cities might demonstrate a more positive or negative experience in comparison to Chileans in Regina.

APPENDIX

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Universidad de Manitoba,
Departamento de Geografía,
Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Verano 1982.

Estimado Señor o Señora:

Soy una estudiante del Departamento de Geografía de la Universidad de Manitoba, estoy conduciendo un estudio sobre los Inmigrantes Chilenos en Regina.

De antemano estoy agradeciendo su participación completando el cuestionario que deberá ser llenado por el dueño o la dueña de casa en el plazo de una semana. Para entonces yo lo recogeré personalmente.

Las preguntas están hechas en dos idiomas inglés y español, entonces tendrá usted la ventaja de contestar en el idioma que prefiera. Todas sus respuestas serán guardadas en forma confidencial y conservadas en el Departamento de Geografía de la Universidad de Manitoba.

Muchas gracias por su cooperación.

Dear Sir / Madame:

I am a Geography student at the University of Manitoba and I am conducting a survey concerning Chilean immigrants in Regina.

I would appreciate your participation in this survey. The questionnaire should be completed by the head of the household, and in one week from now I will collect it from you.

The questions have been provided in both English and Spanish, so you may choose the language you like. Please note that your answers will be strictly confidential and they will remain within the Geography Department.

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Atentamente,

Nancy Cunningham.
Department of Geography.

SECCIÓN A

INCLUYA EN ESTA SECCION A TODAS LAS PERSONAS QUE GENERALMENTE VIVEN EN SU CASA.

(1) RELACION CON EL DUÑO O DUEÑA DE CASA (PERSONA #1) Marque con una "X" el cuadro que corresponda para describir la relación del resto de las personas que viven en esta casa. Si usted marca el cuadro "OTRO", diga su relación con el dueño o dueña de casa.	(2) SEJO M. F.	(3) ¿EN QUE PAÍS NACIO USTED? Si usted marca el cuadro "OTRO", entonces escriba el nombre de ese país.	(4) EDAD												(5) INDIQUE EL NUMERO DE AÑOS DE ESTUDIO QUE USTED COMPLETÓ.	(6) PRESENTE OCUPACION Marque con una "X" el cuadro que corresponda para describir su presente trabajo.								
			0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	PRESENZA PRIMARIA	UNIVERSIDAD		PROFESIONAL GERENCIAL	TÉCNICO ESPECIALIZADO	SUP- ESTRUCTURAL	SIN ESPECIALIZACIÓN	DESDELLADO PEAO NUNCA TRABAJO	ESTUDIANTE	CASA	JUBILADO	MUJERO
PERSONA #1 DUÑO(A) DE CASA	M. F.	CHILE OTRO <input type="checkbox"/> País: _____	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	PRESENZA PRIMARIA	UNIVERSIDAD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
PERSONA #2		País: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
PERSONA #3		País: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
PERSONA #4		País: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
PERSONA #5		País: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
PERSONA #6		País: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
PERSONA #7		País: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
PERSONA #8		País: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

NOTA: SI HAY MÁS DE 8 PERSONAS VIVIENDO EN SU CASA, ENTONCES POR FAVOR LLENE UN SEGUNDO CUESTIONARIO (COMENZANDO POR LA PERSONA #2) USANDO EL #2 PARA LA NOVENA PERSONA EN SU CASA.

SECTION B

IN THIS SECTION, ALL QUESTIONS REFER TO THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD (PERSON #1).

7. When did you first arrive in Regina?

(PRINT IN THE MONTH AND YEAR) _____
 month year

8. What other Canadian city(s) did you live in before coming to Regina, and how long did you live in each city?

- a) None How Long?
- b) 1st City _____ (PRINT IN THE NUMBER OF MONTHS)
- c) 2nd City _____
- d) 3rd City _____

9. Since you first arrived in Regina, how many times have you moved within Regina?
 (PRINT IN THE NUMBER OF TIMES)

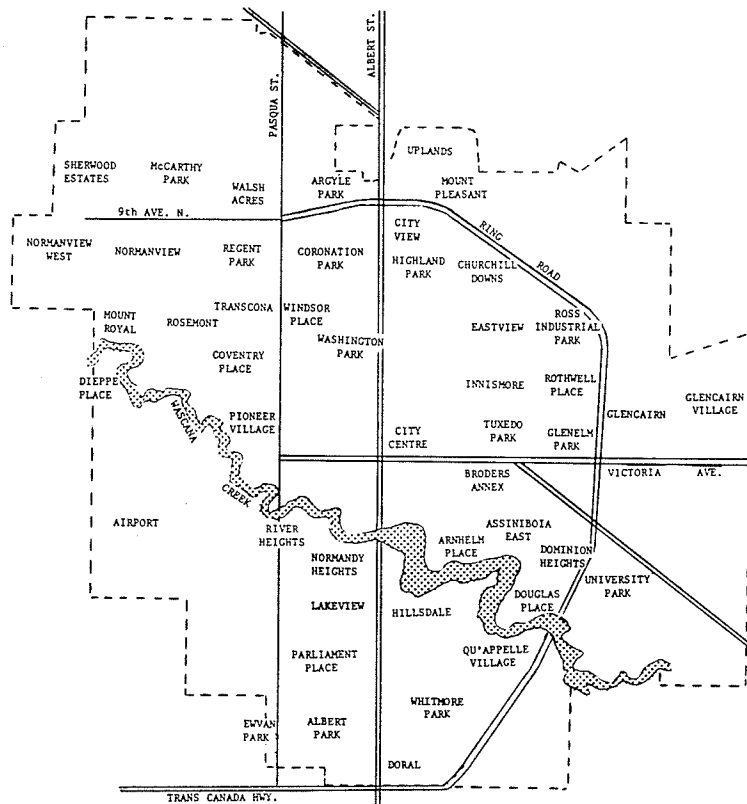
10. On the map below, show the approximate position of the city district(s) where you have lived since first arriving in Regina?

Place #1 in the district where you first lived in Regina.

Place #2 in the district where you lived next.

Place #3 in the district where you lived next, etc.

(For example, if you lived in Washington Park when you first moved to Regina, but since have moved to Transcona and to Mount Royal, then you would put a #1 in the Washington Park District, #2 in the Transcona District, and #3 in the Mount Royal District.)



SECCION B

EN ESTA SECCION TODAS LAS PREGUNTAS SE REFIEREN AL DUEÑO DE CASA (PERSONA #1).

7. ¿Cuándo usted arribo a Regina por vez primera?

(ESCRIBA EL MES Y EL AÑO) _____
 nes año

8. ¿En que otra(s) ciudad(es) de Canadá ha usted vivido antes de venir a Regina?
 ¿Y por cuanto tiempo vivió en cada ciudad?

- a) Ninguna Por cuanto tiempo?
- b) 1a. ciudad _____ (ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE MESES)
- c) 2a. ciudad _____
- d) 3a. ciudad _____

9. Desde su arribo a la ciudad de Regina, cuántas veces ha cambiado de domicilio?
 (ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE VECES)

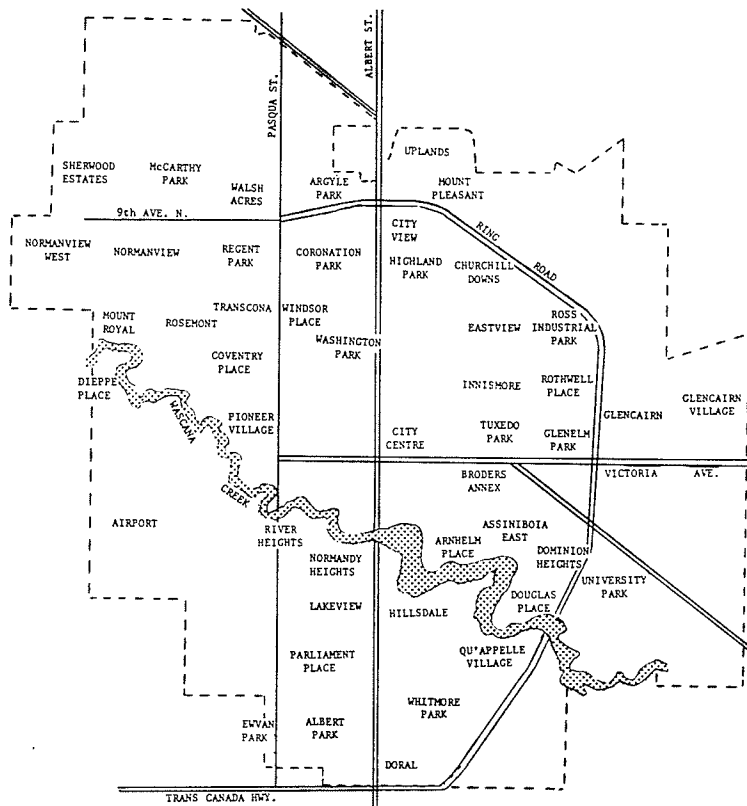
10. En el mapa de abajo, muestre aproximadamente los diferentes distritos en que ha vivido desde su arribo a Regina?

Coloque como #1 al distrito en que usted primeramente vivió en Regina.

Coloque como #2 al siguiente.

Coloque como #3 al siguiente de este, etc.

(Por ejemplo, si usted vivió en Washington Park cuando usted recién llegó a Regina, y de ahí se mudó a Transcona, y de ahí a Mount Royal, entonces usted marcará un #1 en Washington Park, un #2 en Transcona, y un #3 en Mount Royal.)



11. If you plan to stay in Canada, do you plan to remain in Regina.
- a) Definitely yes
 - b) Maybe
 - c) Undecided
 - d) Probably not
 - e) Definitely not

NOTE: IF YOU ANSWERED 11(a), THEN GO DIRECTLY TO QUESTION #14.

12. If you plan to stay in Canada, but not in Regina, where would you like to go?
- a) Alberta
 - b) Manitoba
 - c) British Columbia
 - d) Ontario
 - e) Elsewhere in Canada

13. If you think you may leave Canada, where would you go?
- a) U.S.A.
 - b) Chile
 - c) Other → Name: _____

14. Why did you come to Regina?
- a) Had relatives here
 - b) Had friends here
 - c) Got a job here
 - d) Was directed here by Manpower and Immigration
 - e) Was sponsored by a Regina group (agency)
 - f) Other → State: _____

15. Do you have relatives in other parts of Canada?
- a) Yes → Where? _____
 - b) No (name the province only)

NOTE: PLEASE INDICATE YOUR REACTION TO THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS BY PLACING AN "X" IN THE APPROPRIATE SPACE ON THE SCALE

16. Getting your first job in Canada was?
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| very
easy | easy | neither easy
nor difficult | difficult | very
difficult |

17. Was your first job?
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| very
satisfactory | satis-
factory | neither
satisfactory
nor
unsatisfactory | unsatis-
factory | very
unsatisfactory |

11. ¿Si usted tiene planeado quedarse en Canadá, piensa quedarse en Regina?

- a) Definitivamente si
 b) Quizás
 c) Indeciso
 d) Probablemente No
 e) Definitivamente No

NOTA: SI USTED CONTESTO 11(a), CONTINUE DIRECTAMENTE A LA PREGUNTA #14.

12. Si planea quedarse en Canadá, pero no en Regina, ¿adonde le gustaría ir?

- a) Alberta
 b) Manitoba
 c) British Columbia
 d) Ontario
 e) Otra lugar de Canadá

13. Si piensa usted irse de Canadá, ¿adonde iría?

- a) U.S.A.
 b) Chile
 c) Otro → NOMBRE PAÍS: _____

14. ¿Porque vino a Regina?

- a) Tenía parientes aquí
 b) Tenía amigos aquí
 c) Consiguió un trabajo aquí
 d) Fue enviado aquí por Manpower e Inmigración
 e) Fue auspiciado por algún grupo/agencia en Regina
 f) Otro → INDIQUE CUAL: _____

15. ¿Tiene usted parientes en otra parte de Canadá?

- a) Si → ADONDE? _____
 b) No (Nombre de la Provincia solamente)

NOTA: POR FAVOR INDIQUE SU REACCION A LAS SIGUIENTES PREGUNTAS CON UNA "X" EN EL ESPACIO APROPRIADO DE LA ESCALA.

16. ¿El conseguir su primer trabajo en Canadá fue?

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| muy
fácil | fácil | ni facil
ni dificil | dificil | muy
dificil |

17. ¿Su primer trabajo fue?

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| excellente | bueno | regular | malo | muy malo |

18. After arriving in Regina, how long did it take you to find your first job?
 (PRINT IN NUMBER OF MONTHS)

19. How many jobs have you had since you first came to Canada?
 (INCLUDE YOUR PRESENT JOB) (PRINT IN NUMBER OF JOBS)

20. How long were you in your first job? (PRINT IN NUMBER OF MONTHS)

NOTE: IF YOU HAVE ONLY HAD ONE JOB IN CANADA, THEN GO DIRECTLY TO QUESTION #23.

21. How long have you had your present job? (PRINT IN NUMBER OF MONTHS)

22. How would you rate your present job?

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
very satisfactory	satis- factory	neither satisfactory nor unsatisfactory	unsatis- factory	very unsatisfactory

23. What are approximately your present earnings?

- a) Less than \$10,000 per year
- b) \$10,000 - \$20,000 per year
- c) \$20,000 - \$30,000 per year
- d) \$30,000 - \$40,000 per year
- e) More than \$40,000 per year

24. Does your spouse work? a) Yes
 b) No
 c) Do not have a spouse

25. How would you rate your knowledge of English?

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
very good	good	sufficient	poor	very poor

26. How would you rate your spouse's knowledge of English?

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
very good	good	sufficient	poor	very poor

Do not have a spouse

27. Since you arrived in Regina, have you or your family made any close friendships with Canadian families?

- a) Yes
- b) No

18. Después de arriivar a Regina, ¿cuánto tiempo le tomó encontrar su primer trabajo? (ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE MESES)
19. ¿Cuántos trabajos ha usted tenido desde su arriivo a Canadá? (INCLUYA SU PRESENTE TRABAJO) (ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE TRABAJOS)
20. ¿Cuánto tiempo duro en su primer trabajo? (ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE MESES)

NOTA: SI USTED HA TENIDO UN SOLO TRABAJO DESDE SU ARRIVO A CANADÁ, CONTINUE HASTA LA PREGUNTA #23.

21. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha durado en su presente trabajo? (ESCRIBA EL NUMERO DE MESES)

22. ¿Cómo calificaría usted su presente trabajo?

muy bueno bueno regular malo muy malo

23. ¿Aproximadamente cuánto es lo que usted gana actualmente?

- a) Menos de \$10,000 al año
 b) \$10,000 - \$20,000 al año
 c) \$20,000 - \$30,000 al año
 d) \$30,000 - \$40,000 al año
 e) Más de \$40,000 al año

24. ¿Su esposa trabaja (Si es que trabaja fuera de casa)?

- a) Si
 b) No
 c) No tengo esposa

25. ¿Cómo calificaría su conocimiento del inglés?

muy bueno bueno regular malo muy malo

26. ¿Cómo calificaría usted el conocimiento de inglés de su esposa?

muy bueno bueno regular malo muy malo

No tengo esposa

27. ¿Desde su arriivo usted y su familia han hecho estrecha amistad con familias Canadienses?

- a) Si
 b) No

28. Have you become a Canadian Citizen?
- Yes I have
 - I plan to when I am eligible
 - I do not plan to
 - I am still undecided
29. When did you leave Chile?
(PRINT IN THE MONTH AND YEAR) _____ _____
 month year
30. When did you first arrive in Canada?
(PRINT IN THE MONTH AND YEAR) _____ _____
 month year
31. If you did not come directly from Chile to Canada, in which country(s) were you in between?

 NAME OF COUNTRY(S)
32. What type of place did you live in Chile?
- A city (more than 100,000 people)
 - A large town (20,000 - 100,000 people)
 - A small town (1,000 - 20,000 people)
 - A village (less than 1,000 people)
 - In the country (on an isolated farm)
33. How would you describe your reason for leaving Chile?
-
- economic political economic other
- and
 political
 State: _____
34. How would you best describe your occupation in Chile prior to leaving?
- Professional or Managerial
 - Skilled
 - Semi-skilled
 - Unskilled
 - Unemployed, but seeking work
 - Student
 - Housewife
 - Retired
 - None

28. ¿Se ha hecho usted Ciudadano Canadiense?

- a) Si -
- b) Planea hacerlo
- c) No tiene interes en hacerlo
- d) Aun no se ha decidido

29. ¿Cuándo salió usted de Chile?

(ESCRIBA EL MES Y EL AÑO) _____
mes año

30. ¿Diga la fecha cuando usted arribo a Canadá?

(ESCRIBA EL MES Y EL AÑO) _____
mes año

31. ¿Si usted no vino directamente de Chile, en que otro país(es) estuvo usted entretanto?

NOMBRE DEL PAÍS(ES)

32. ¿En que tipo de lugar vivía usted en Chile?

- a) Una ciudad (más de 100,000 habitantes)
- b) Una pequena ciudad (20,000 - 100,000 habitantes)
- c) Un pueblo (10,000 - 20,000 habitantes)
- d) Una villa (menos de 1,000 habitantes)
- e) En el campo

33. ¿Cómo describe usted la razon por la cual usted dejo de vivir en Chile?

- económica
- política
- económica y política
- otra → DESCRIBA: _____

34. ¿Cómo describiría su trabajo en Chile antes de viajar al Canadá?

- a) Profesional o Gerencial
- b) Técnico Especializado
- c) Sub-Técnico
- d) Sin Ninguna Especialización
- e) Desempleado pero buscando trabajo
- f) Estudiante
- g) Dueña de casa
- h) Jubilado
- i) Ninguno

SECTION C

IN THIS THIRD SECTION, PLEASE INDICATE YOUR REACTION TO THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS BY PLACING AN "X" IN THE APPROPRIATE SPACE ON THE SCALE.

	<u>-1-</u>	<u>-2-</u>	<u>-3-</u>	<u>-4-</u>	<u>-5-</u>
	Strongly Like	Like	Neither Like or Dislike	Dislike	Strongly Dislike
35. Winters in Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36. Summers in Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
37. Overall climate in Canada.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38. Saskatchewan landscape.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
39. Canadian culture.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
40. Perception of Canada before you arrived in Canada.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
41. Perception of Canada now.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<u>-1-</u>	<u>-2-</u>	<u>-3-</u>	<u>-4--</u>	<u>-5-</u>
	Very Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Neither Satisfactory nor Unsatisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Very Unsatisfactory
42. Entertainment in Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
43. Sporting facilities in Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
44. Educational facilities in Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
45. Opportunities to upgrade skills.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
46. Housing in Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
47. Health services.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
48. Rearing children in Canada.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
49. Canadian's response to Chileans.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
50. Immigration procedures to Canada.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Too Fast	Fast	Average	Slow	Too Slow
51. Pace of life in Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Too High	High	Average	Low	Too Low
52. Cost of living in Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

SECCION C

EN ESTA TERCERA PARTE, POR FAVOR INDIQUE SU REACCION A LAS SIGUIENTES PREGUNTAS,
COLOCANDO UNA "X" EN EL LUGAR QUE CORRESPONDA.

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
	Le Gusta Mucho	Le Gusta	Ni Le Gusta Ni Le Disgusta	Le Disgusta	Le Disgusta Mucho
35. Inviernos en Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36. Veranos en Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
37. En general el clima en Canadá.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38. El paisaje de Saskatchewan.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
39. Cultura Canadiense.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
40. Que opinión tenía usted de Canadá antes de su arribo.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
41. Que opinión tiene usted de Canadá ahora.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
42. Diversión en Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
43. Facilidades deportivas en Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
44. Facilidades educacionales en Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
45. Facilidades para superarse en su oficio.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
46. Sistema habitacional en Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
47. Servicios Médicos (Doctores, Hospitales, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
48. Crecimiento de sus hijos en Canadá.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
49. Cómo ha sido el comportamiento de los Canadienses hacia los Chilenos.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
50. Reglamentación para inmigrar a Canadá.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Demasiado Rápido	Rápido	Regular	Lento	Muy Lento
51. Ritmo de vida en Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Demasiado Alto	Alto	Regular	Bajo	Muy Bajo
52. Costo de vida en Regina.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

53. Do you live in a: a) House (Own)
 b) House (Rent)
 c) Apartment
 d) Other → State: _____

54. Does your household own any of these items?

- | | YES | NO | |
|----|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| a) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Car |
| b) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Television |
| c) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Stereo |
| d) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Freezer |
| e) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Dishwasher |
| f) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Washing machine |
| g) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Snowmobile |
| h) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Motor boat |
| i) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Summer Cottage |

55. How would you compare your standard of living now in Canada with that you had in Chile?

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
much better	better	same	worse	much worse

56. What are the major problems you have had since arriving in Canada?

57. What are your most favorable impressions of Canada since arriving here?

53. Vive usted en una casa: a) Casa propia
 b) Casa rentada
 c) Departamento
 d) Otro → DESCRIBA: _____

54. Su casa cuenta con los siguientes artefactos?

- | | SI | NO | |
|----|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Automóvil |
| b) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Televisión |
| c) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Stereo |
| d) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Congelador |
| e) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Lavadora de Platos |
| f) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Lavadora de Ropa |
| g) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Snowmobile |
| h) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Lancha de Motor |
| i) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Casa de Verano (Cottage) |

55. ¿Cómo compara su standard de vida ahora en Canadá con el que tenía antes en Chile?

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| mucho | mejor | igual | peor | mucho |
| mejor | | | | peor |

56. ¿Cuales han sido sus mayores problemas desde su arribo a Canadá?

57. ¿Cuales han sido sus mas favorables impresiones en Canadá desde su arribo a Canada?

Si usted tiene algún comentario que hacer a este cuestionario o alguna información adicional acerca de sus experiencias en Canadá por favor escríbala en el espacio que hay a continuación.

(If you have any comments pertaining to this questionnaire or any additional information about your experiences in Canada, then please comment in the space provided below.)

MUCHAS GRACIAS POR SU PARTICIPACIÓN EN ESTE CUESTIONARIO.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alberro, Ana Lisón, and Montero, Gloria. "The Land of Beginning Again." Canadian Forum 55, 1975, p. 23.
- Anderson, Alan B., and Frideres, James S. Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives. Toronto: Butterworth and Company Ltd., 1981.
- Anderson, Grace M. Networks of Contact: The Portuguese in Toronto. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University, 1974.
- _____. "Spanish and Portuguese Speaking Immigrants in Canada." in Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada, pp. 206-219. Edited by J.F. Elliott. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1979.
- Babbie, Earl R. Survey Research Methods. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company Inc., 1973.
- Baker, Reginald P., and North, David S. The 1975 Refugees: Their First Five Years in America. Washington, D.C.: New TransCentury Foundation, 1984.
- Bernard, William S. "Immigrants and Refugees: Their Similarities, Differences, and Needs." International Migration 14, 1976, pp. 267-281.
- Birns, Laurence, ed., The End of Chilean Democracy. New York: The Seabury Press, 1973.
- Borhek, J.T., "Ethnic Group Cohesion." American Journal of Sociology 76, 1970, pp. 33-46.
- Blalock, Hubert M., Jr. Social Statistics. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972.
- Breton, Raymond. "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants." American Journal of Sociology 70, 1964, pp. 193-205.
- Brown, Laurence Guy. Immigration: Cultural Conflicts and Social Adjustment. New York: Longman, Green and Co., 1933.
- Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1972-1986. Ottawa: Government Printing Office, 1972-1986.

- Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration. Immigration Act 1976. Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1983.
- Canada, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission Recruitment and Selection Branch, Immigration Levels: Basic Federal Considerations. March, 1982.
- Canada, Statistics Canada, 1982 Statistics Yearbook. Ottawa: Government Printing Office, 1982.
- Canadian Association for Adult Education, "Immigration 1975-2001." Report of the National Conference on Immigration Policy: May 22-24, 1975. Toronto: 1975.
- Cassidy, Sheila. Audacity to Believe. Toronto: Wm. Collins Sons and Co. Ltd., 1978.
- Caviedes, César. The Politics of Chile: A Sociogeographical Assessment. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1979.
- Cobus, Mona. "A Look Back at Chile: Canada's Attitude Towards Refugees and Immigrants." Rights and Freedoms. Ottawa: July-August, 1977.
- Darroch, A.G. "Another Look at Ethnicity, Stratification and Social Mobility in Canada." Canadian Journal of Sociology 4, 1979, pp. 1-25.
- Davis, Morris, and Krauter, Joseph. Minority Canadians: Ethnic Groups. Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1978.
- Davis, Morris, and Krauter, Joseph, ed., The Other Canadians: Profiles of Six Minorities. Toronto: 1971.
- DeVylder, Stefan. Allende's Chile: The Political Economy of the Rise and Fall of the Unidad Popular. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Dirks, Gerald E. Canada's Refugee Policy: Indifference or Opportunism?. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1977.
- Driedger, L. "Toward a Perspective on Canadian Pluralism: Ethnic Identity in Winnipeg." Canadian Journal of Sociology 2, 1977, pp. 77-95.
- _____. "In Search of Cultural Identity Factors: A Comparison of Ethnic Students." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 12, 1975, pp. 150-162.
- _____. "Ethnic Boundaries: A Comparison of Two Urban Neighborhoods." Sociology and Social Research 62, 1978a, pp. 193-211.

- Ehrman, Libert. Opportunities for Investment in Chile. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1966.
- Eisenstadt, S.N. The Absorption of Immigrants. New York: The Free Press, 1975.
- Elliott, Jean Leonard, ed., Immigrant Groups. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1971.
- English Language Training Officer. Regina: Interview, June 8, 1982.
- Ex, J. Adjustment after Migration. The Hague: Martimus Nihiff, 1966.
- Ferguson, Edith. Immigrants in Canada. Toronto: Faculty of Education, University of Toronto, 1977.
- _____. "People on the Move." The Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Migrants and Immigrants. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development, March, 1972.
- Finnan, Christine R. "Occupational Assimilation of Refugees." International Migration Review 15, 1981, pp. 292-309.
- Glaser, Daniel. "Dynamics of Ethnic Identification." American Sociological Review 23, 1958, pp. 31-40.
- Glazer, N. Beyond the Melting Pot. 2nd ed. Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1970.
- Globe and Mail (Toronto), September 12, 1973, p. 3.
- Goldlust, J. and Richmond, A. A Multivariate Analysis of the Economic Adaptation of Immigrants in Toronto. Toronto: Institute of Behavioural Research, York University, 1973.
- Gordon, Milton M. Assimilation in American Life. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- _____. Human Nature, Class, and Ethnicity. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Hawkins, Freda. "Destination Unknown: Difficult Decisions on Immigration Policy." Queens' Quarterly 82, 1975, pp. 589-599.
- Henry, David P. "Involuntary International Migration: Adaptation of Refugees." in New Environments: Adaptation of Migrant Populations, pp. 73-95. Edited by Eugene B. Brody. Beverly Hills, California: SAGE Publications, 1970.

- Hirschman, Charles. "Immigrant and Minorities: Old Questions for New Directions in Research." International Migration Review 16, 1982, pp. 474-490.
- Holborn, Louise W. "Refugees in Canada." Refugees: A Problem of Our Time 1, Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press Inc., 1975, pp. 589-608.
- Hughes, David R., and Kallen, Evelyn. "The Processes of Ethnic Integration." The Anatomy of Racism: Canadian Dimensions. Montreal: Harvest House Ltd., 1974, pp. 150-191.
- Hyman, Herbert. Survey Design and Analysis. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press Publishers, 1955.
- Inter-Church Committee for Refugees. Who is My Neighbour? Toronto: 1981.
- Isajiw, Wsevolod, ed., Identities: The Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1977.
- _____. "The Process of Maintenance of Ethnic Identity: The Canadian Context." in Sounds Canadian: Languages and Cultures in Multi-Ethnic Society, pp. 129-138. Edited by Paul Migus. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1975.
- Johnson, Stuart D., and Johnson, Cornelia B. "Institutional Origins in the Chilean Refugee Community in Winnipeg." Prairie Forum 7, 1982, pp. 227-235.
- Johnston, Ruth. The Assimilation Myth: A Study of Second Generation Polish Immigrants in Western Australia. Publications of the Research Group for European Migration Problems XIV, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969.
- King, H., and Locke, F. "Chinese in the U.S.: A Century of Occupational Transition." International Migration Review 14, 1980, pp. 15-42.
- Kovacs, M., and Cropley, A. Immigrants and Society: Alienation and Assimilation. Sydney: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975.
- Krauter, J., and Davis, M. Minority Canadians: Ethnic Groups. Agincourt, Ontario: Methuen Publishers, 1978.
- Kunz, Egon E. "Exile and Resettlement: Refugee Theory." International Migration Review 15, 1981, pp. 42-51.

- Lai, Vivien. "The New Chinese Immigrants in Toronto." Immigrant Groups, pp. 120-140. Edited by Jean L. Elliott. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1971.
- Lamphier, C. Michael. "Canada's Response to Refugees." International Migration Review 15, 1981, pp. 113-130.
- MacRury, Katherine A. "The Occupational Adjustment of Vietnamese Refugees in Edmonton, Canada." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1979.
- Malolos, Tess. "They May Never Go Home Again." Regina This Month, January, 1983, pp. 21-26.
- Marrocco, Frank N. and Goslett, Henry M. The Annotated Immigration Act of Canada 1985. Toronto: The Carswell Company Ltd., 1985.
- Marsden, Lorna R. Chilean Refugees in Canada: Report on Phase I. Ottawa: Canada Employment and Immigration, November, 1975.
- _____. Final Report: Chilean Refugee Households in Canada. Ottawa: Canada Employment and Immigration, November, 1976.
- Marston, W.G. "Social Class Segregation Within Ethnic Groups in Toronto." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 6, May, 1969, pp. 65-79.
- Masuda, M. "Adaptational Problems of Vietnamese Refugees: Part I, Health and Mental Health Status." Archives of General Psychiatry 36, 1979, pp. 955-961.
- _____. "Adaptational Problems of Vietnamese Refugees: Part II, Life Changes and Perception of Life Events." Archives of General Psychiatry 37, 1980, pp. 447-450.
- Melander, Göran. "Refugees and International Cooperation." International Migration Review 15, 1981, pp. 35-41.
- Migus, Paul M. ed., Sounds Canadian: Languages and Cultures in Multi-Ethnic Society. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1975.
- Montero, Darrell. "Vietnamese in America: Toward a Theory of Spontaneous International Migration." International Migration Review 13, 1979, pp. 624-648.
- Montero, Gloria. The Immigrants. Toronto: James Lorimer and Co. Publishers, 1977.

- Moser, C.A., and Kalton, G. Survey Methods in Social Investigation. 2nd ed. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1971.
- Mottershead, Catherine J.S. "An Explanatory Study of Adjustment of Migrants to Their New Environment: An Application of Role Theory Supplemented by Stress Theory." M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1978.
- Nagata, Judith A. "One Vine, Many Branches: Internal Differentiation in Canadian Ethnic Groups." Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada, pp. 173-181. Edited by J.F. Elliott. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1979.
- Neumann, B.; Mezoff, R.; and Richmond, A. Immigrant Integration and Urban Renewal in Toronto. Publications of the Research Group for European Migration Problems, XVIII, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973.
- Neuwirth, G., and Clark, L. "Indochinese Refugees in Canada: Sponsorship and Adjustment." International Migration Review 15, 1981, pp. 131-140.
- Orlich, Donald C. Designing Sensible Surveys. Pleasantville, New York: Redgrave Publishing Company, 1978.
- Padilla, Amado M. Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some New Findings. Colorado: Westview Press, 1980.
- Palmer, Howard. ed., Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism. Vancouver: Copp Clark Publishing, 1975.
- _____. "Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History in the 1970's and 1980's." International Migration Review 15, 1981, pp. 471-501.
- Persaud, Harry. "Migration and Socio-Cultural Change: The Case of Guyanese in Winnipeg, Manitoba." M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1980.
- Reitz, Jeffrey G. The Survival of Ethnic Groups. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1980.
- Richmond, Anthony H. Aspects of the Absorption and Adaptation of Immigrants. Ottawa: Canada Manpower and Immigration, 1974.
- _____. Post-War Immigrants in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.

- Richmond, A., and Verma R. "The Economic Adaption of Immigrants: A New Theoretical Perspective." International Migration Review 12, 1978, pp. 3-26.
- Rogg, Eleanor. The Assimilation of Cuban Exiles. New York: Aberdeen Press, 1974.
- _____. "The Influence of a Strong Refugee Community on the Economic Adjustment of its Members." International Migration Review 5, 1971, pp. 474-481.
- Rogge, J.R. "African Refugees and Canada." International Perspective. September/October, 1983, pp. 23-26.
- Scott, Franklin D. ed., World Migration in Modern Times. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1968.
- Shaw, F.J., and Ort, R.S. Personal Adjustment in the American Culture. New York: Harper and Bros. Publishers, 1953.
- Sideri, S. ed., Chile 1970-73: Economic Development and its International Setting. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979.
- Sobel, Lester A. ed., Chile and Allende. New York: Facts on File Inc., 1974.
- Soskis, Philip. "The Adjustment of Hungarian Refugees in New York." International Migration Review 2, 1967, pp. 40-46.
- Stein, Barry. "Occupational Adjustment of Refugees: The Vietnamese in the United States." International Migration Review 13, 1979, pp. 25-45.
- _____. Review of Vietnamese Americans: Patterns of Resettlement and Socioeconomic Adaptation in the United States, by Darrell Montero. International Migration Review 14, 1980, pp. 580-581.
- _____. "The Refugee Experience: Defining the Parameters of a Field of Study." International Migration Review 15, 1981, pp. 320-330.
- Taft, Ronald. From Stranger to Citizen: A Survey of Studies of Immigrant Assimilation in Western Australia. London: Tavistock Publications, 1966.
- Thomas, J.F. "Cuban Refugees in the United States." International Migration Review 1, 1967, pp. 46-57.

- Tryggvason, Gustav. "The Effect of Intergroup Conflict in an Ethnic Community." Canadian Ethnic Studies 3, 1971, pp. 85-115.
- United Nations. General Assembly, 29th Session, September, 1974. Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (Supplement No. 12). Geneva.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. UNHCR Report: El Refugio, Refugees from Chile. Geneva: UNHCR - Public Information Section. 1975.
- Warren, Roland L. The Community in America. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1963.
- Weinberg, A.A. Migration and Belonging; A Study of Mental Health and Personal Adjustment in Israel. The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1961.
- Weinstock, S. Alexander. "Some Factors That Retard or Accelerate the Rate of Acculturation." Human Relations 17, 1964, pp. 321-340.
- Weirmair, Klaus. "Economic Adjustment of Refugees in Canada: A Case Study." International Migration 9, 1971, pp. 5-35.
- White, Judy. ed., Chile's Days of Terror: Eyewitness Accounts of the Military Coup. New York: Pathfinder Press Inc., 1974.
- Zwingmann, Charles. Uprooting and After.... New York: Springer-Verlag New York Inc., 1973.