

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

**SALVADORANS IN CALGARY,
THE PROCESS OF CONFIGURATION OF A NEW ETHNIC GROUP**

BY

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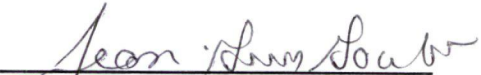
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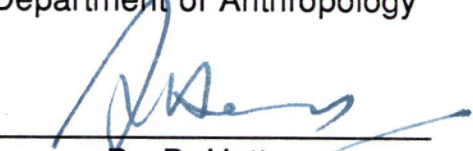
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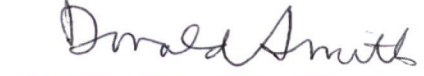
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The undersigned certify that they have read and recomend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled, "Salvadorans in Calgary, The Process of Configuration of a New Ethnic Group", submitted by Carlos Benjamin Lara Martinez in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts.


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ABSTRACT

This research is focused on the process of configuration of a new ethnic group, the Salvadoran-Calgarians, in Alberta. This group has emerged as a result of a process of immigration beginning in the mid 1980s. The study is concerned with aspects of social and cultural change experienced by Salvadorans in a North American urban context.

The study takes into account the two main dimensions in the constitution of a new ethnic group: the organization of a structure of social relationships as a result of the interaction with other groups of the same order, and the configuration within the group of a system of social norms and values as a symbolic system, which constitutes the essential aspect of its ethnic identity.

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INTRODUCTION

This study of the process of configuration of a new ethnic group, the Salvadoran-Calgarians, in Alberta is the result of four months of field research, extending from the second half of May to the first half of September 1991. In the course of fieldwork I shared in many events with the Salvadoran community established in Calgary. I not only discussed their points of view about their living conditions in Calgary and their experiences as immigrants, but also shared many aspects of their private life, their moments of happiness and sadness, of hopes and fears. I observed their behavior and listened to their opinions in a number of places, in the Catholic and Protestant churches, on the soccer field and in the feasts held in their houses, as well as in the discotheque or simply at The Bay. The identity of Salvadorans is being constructed in all of these places and the anthropologist must relate with them in these different contexts, otherwise, he or she would not be able to grasp the complexity of the identity of Salvadorans living in their new urban context.

To comprehend the identity of a people and its constitution as a particular social group, it is necessary to share in the life style of the people being studied. The social scientist should of course maintain a certain distance from the social actors, for one of the main risks faced by the social researcher is over-identification with the group being studied. However, a complete separation from the "object of study", as a strict positivist approach would demand,

would not allow one to understand in its total complexity the social and cultural identity of a people. In other words, far from developing as an interaction between a subject and an object of study, this thesis is the result of interactions between two subjects, the researcher and the members of the group being studied. This approach offered me the possibility to understand the identity of Salvadoran-Calgarians.

Throughout the research, I have attempted to maintain the holistic perspective that characterizes the anthropological approach, because it is only when one understands how the different social and cultural institutions are related to each other that one can reach a better comprehension of social or cultural phenomena. As Marcel Mauss stated in his classic essay The Gift (1954), every social fact is a total social fact, in the sense that every social fact integrates all the institutions of society (economy, politic, social and symbolic structures). In the presentation of the results of this research I had to separate the different aspects that compose the Salvadoran ethnicity in Calgary as a total social fact. Nevertheless, to better understand the phenomenon I analyzed them as a unity, as a totality composed of integrated parts. As Marshall Sahlins (1976) has remarked, the different aspects of social phenomena must be studied as parts of a unique totality, without them being separated from each other. To this end, different theoretical perspectives, namely the analysis of Fredrik Barth, the theoretical contributions of

Abner Cohen, Roger Bastide, Michel Moerman, and those of other anthropologists who have studied ethnicity in urban contexts, were drawn upon.

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ETHNICITY:

From Barth's point of view, ethnic groups always involve processes of "ascription and identification by the actors themselves" (1969: 10). Ethnic groups always exist within sets of contrasting relationships within which others "become strangers, ones different from us". Within and between these groups ethnic identities are constituted in daily contacts and interactions. From this perspective, the cultures and social structures of ethnic groups are both products and the producers of dichotomized relationships.

Members of an ethnic group identify with a system of social norms and values that shapes their daily behavior, both within the group and in interaction with other groups with which they maintain regular contacts. Ethnic identity can thus be seen as a kind of social identity based mainly on a people's system of social values, norms and rules. This system of social norms and values, more than the cultural traits people use to show their identity, is the focus of this research on Salvadoran's identity in Calgary. Therefore, the set of prescriptions and proscriptions governing interaction within the group as well as contacts between Salvadorans and other ethnic groups and categories will first be identified. Second, we will need

to examine the norms and values that Fredrik Barth considers as a means whereby ethnic groups protect themselves from confrontation.

This Barthian perspective opens the way towards a more flexible and dynamic conception of ethnicity because, in the final analysis, ethnic identity is an ever changing phenomenon susceptible to manipulation by social actors (Watson, G: 1981) . From this point of view, Cohen's conception of the degree of ethnicity is relevant (1974: ix). Empirically one finds that members of a given ethnic group differ in the degree of conformity to the norms and values that constitute their ethnic identity. This conception allows us to maintain a dynamic viewpoint of ethnic phenomena as something relatively unstable and heterogeneous.

On this point, I nevertheless want to emphasize the social aspect of ethnicity. If it is true that an individual may manipulate his identity to obtain certain advantages, he or she can do so only as a member of a group. This membership imposes definite constraints on every member of the group. Ethnic identity has a normative character, because, in the final analysis, the group is not the sum of individuals but their integration in a whole, always greater than the simple aggregation of its parts. And this integration includes norms, values and symbolic practices that shape the daily behavior of the individuals who compose the group. It is true that these norms and values arise from the interaction of the members of the group with each other, and with individuals from other ethnic

groups. Nevertheless, the ethnic norms and values integrated in a system constrain individuals, shaping their social behavior.

Individuals have to pay "the price of membership", writes Cohen, "by participating in the group's symbolic activities and by a measure of adherence to the group's aims" (Cohen, 1974: xiii).

For this reason I cannot take the whole Fredrik Barth's conceptualization of ethnicity, since he reduces social phenomena to the study of interpersonal relationships, including ethnic groups as the aggregate outcome of individual choices and decisions within multiple processes of interaction, thus forgetting the structural character of social processes. Likewise, although I have taken the Barthian idea that the norms and values of a group are the result of the interaction between individuals, I do not want to neglect the systemic dimension of the values and norms of behavior of a group. These systemic and sociological perspectives are fundamental in the understanding of ethnic groups in modern societies.

It is useful to distinguish between ethnic groups and ethnic categories. An ethnic group is an ethnic collectivity in which members interact with each other maintaining common interests and constituting a system of social norms and values. However, ethnic collectivities may include individuals who identify themselves and each other with the same ethnic label and/or have one or two characteristics in common recognized by the analyst, without maintaining a structure of social relationships nor share a common system of social norms and values. My hypothesis is that

Salvadorans are in process of constitution into a new ethnic group within Calgarian society.

In Cohen's view ethnic groups are collectivities that "form a part of a larger population, interacting with people from other collectivities within the framework of a social system" (Cohen, 1974: ix). It follows that the study of social structure, not only within the Salvadoran community but also within the larger society in which that group is integrated, is necessary. In this study priority is given to the analysis of the structure of inter-ethnic relationships rather than to other aspects of the social structure of Calgarian society.

Theoretically, migrant communities may go in either of two directions: communities may advance through a process of integration into the larger society and lose their particular cultures and identities, or communities may vindicate their cultural values or develop new values under their own cultures, reinforcing their ethnic identities (Cohen, 1974). The majority of Salvadoran people, I hypothesize, are positioned between the two extremes, that of assimilation to North American culture and that of reviving their own distinct culture.

I assume that Salvadoran people cannot reproduce in Calgary many of the social relations that dominated their social life in El Salvador, such as their religious rituals, their family structure, their system of authority, and others. In Calgary, Salvadorans must create new

social relationships and, with them, new values, norms and rules to direct their everyday lives. These new social relationships and new system of social norms and values are created under the combined constraints of their own structure and of their new social context. My hypothesis in this research is that this new system of social norms and values and the new social organization that will characterize Salvadoran-Calgarians as a distinctive ethnic group, are constituted in a negotiation process between their own culture and their new social and natural environment. The result of this negotiation process is the emergence of a new ethnic identity.

When I emphasize the interaction between ethnic groups and cartegories, I assume that ethnic groups are, above all, interest groups, in the sense that they are groups that compete for a share of power into the wider society. In this sense, Salvadorans can be seen manipulating "values, myths and ceremonial from their cultural tradition to solve their basic organizational problems"; from this perspective "ethnicity is shown to be essentially a political phenomenon" (Cohen, A.: 1976: 15).

The examination of the network or networks of solidarity within the Salvadoran community in Calgary is important. These are often developed on informal basis. Salvadoran norms and values are sometimes incompatible with one or more principles of the wider society of which they are now a part. This incompatibility in normative principles is particularly visible in the work system and in the family structure, but is related to the organization of the

Salvadoran-Calgarian ethnic collectivity as a whole, a collectivity that is not organizing on contractual relations rationally planned.

The informal organization of the Salvadoran-Calgarian community, as shall be demonstrated, is related to their class position. The majority of Salvadorans occupy the lower strata of Calgarian society. This uniformity in their class position increases the degree of solidarity between Salvadorans, reinforcing their ethnic identity. Their own political and religious differences, as we shall see, nevertheless remain as important source of internal divisions.

METHODOLOGY:

In my study, I have integrated the deductive and the inductive methodological approaches. I started from a theoretical conception of ethnicity, as a useful guide in my field research. Without a clear definition of what he or she is going to study, a researcher is without a conceptual framework, and as a result he or she cannot observe the phenomenon under investigation in its total complexity. In the final analysis, our conceptions, scientific or not, are like our eyes, the means through which we see reality. Once in the field it may be necessary to modify or to strengthen theoretical conceptions, according to the reality encountered. One then enters a process that moves from theory to the field, and from the field to theory, until a model is reached that allows one to understand

adequately the phenomenon that one is studying. In this sense, I am following the central thesis of Hammersly and Atkinson (1983) according to whom theory is generated through the field research process, which supposes a close relationship between the process of data collection and the process of construction of a theoretical framework adequate to the interpretation or explanation of the data.

In the collection of data and the testing of my hypothesis different techniques were combined. These techniques range from procedures that allowed the relative free expression of informants to the constitution of a sample that permitted me to codify the answers to key questions, and therefore to show quantitatively the recurrence of certain aspects of the social structure.

I collected primarily qualitative data in search of a deeper understanding of ethnic phenomenon among Salvadorans in Calgary. Participant observation was therefore the principal technique in the collection of data. Throughout the four months that I spent with the Salvadoran-Calgarians (approximately five hours daily, seven days a week), I observed their behavior in their own environment, in the majority of places where they frequently interact, in the Catholic and Protestant churches, in the field where they play soccer, in their houses, in the discotheques, in the malls and in the streets of Calgary. Within these places I was principally what Hartman and Hedblom (1979) have called "the participant as observer". This category supposes that the researcher, after he or she has disclosed his or her identity as a researcher, leads his research as an

extension of the life's style of the researched population, avoiding anything that makes individuals in the researched milieu uncomfortable. My idea was to compare what the people actually do with what they think they do. In the final analysis the ethnic identity of a people rests in a set of relationships between three elements: the ideal norm, what people think they do, and the real behavior of the individuals.

Clearly, my presence introduced a factor that conditioned the behavior of the people I was investigating. When people know that they are being researched, they normally emphasize one of the several selves that they feel is most appropriate given the observer's presence. I have to consider this factor in my analysis. Moreover, certain aspects of my own identity have conditioned my fieldwork. I am Salvadoran and I speak Spanish fluently. I knew the daily expressions that Salvadorans use because I was socialized in the same culture. This allowed me to introduce myself with greater ease into the community and enabled me to gather data with little difficulty. In fact, communication with informants was always in Spanish. Throughout the thesis I either offer my own translation of statements made by informants or I present an actual transcription of a statement in Spanish, preceded or followed by my paraphrase of that statement.

The fact that I am a Salvadoran conditioned my relation with informants in other ways: Salvadorans thought that I should take part in their conflicts because they considered me one of them. This

was a delicate position to find myself in, one that I had to constantly manage in the field. As far as possible, I tried to keep relatively neutral during the investigation, and I attempted to develop relations with all the factions that exist within the community as a whole. This approach gave me access to the different interpretations that co-exist among Salvadorans about Salvadoran identity.

Field notes, a tape recorder and a camera were used to collect data. With these means I was able to conduct different sorts of interviews and record my observations in the field. The visual record of the life's style of a people, constitutes an important complement to the written record, which I referred to in writing up the description of many events.

Unstructured and semi-structured interviews were the main kinds of interviews that I conducted. Semi-structured interviews allow informants to elaborate their points of view and develop their conceptions about their own behavior and the wider society in which they live. Thus 35 semi-structured interviews were recorded. As the interviewer, I led the conversation with key questions, guiding the informants when they got off the subject, but allowing informants to explain their opinions at length. The information that I collected in this context is very valuable, because informants were then able to give a systematic explanation of their points of view. These semi-structured interviews were made with Salvadorans that belonged to different groups inside the community. The following

table summarizes the number and proportion of these interviews in relation to gender, age-groups, religious affiliations, social organizations, and length of residency in Calgary.

Table 1

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number and % of interviews</u>	
<u>Gender:</u>		
Men:	21	60.00%
Women:	<u>14</u>	<u>40.00%</u>
	35	100.00%
<u>Age-Groups:</u>		
10-20:	2	5.71%
20-30:	10	28.57%
30-40:	9	25.71%
40-50:	9	25.71%
+50:	<u>5</u>	<u>14.28%</u>
	35	99.98%
<u>Religious affiliation:</u>		
Affiliation:	15	42.85%
Non-Affiliation:	<u>20</u>	<u>57.14%</u>
	35	99.99%
<u>Denomination of affiliated:</u>		
Catholics:	7	46.66%
Non-Catholics:	<u>8</u>	<u>53.33%</u>
	15	99.99%
<u>Social Organizations*:</u>		
Members		
of Soc. Org.:	4	11.42%
Non Members	.	
of Soc. Org.:	<u>31</u>	<u>88.57%</u>
	35	99.99%

* Those organizations that Salvadorans have created in Calgary. See the analysis on page 59.

Table 1 continued

<u>Years that they have lived in Calgary:</u>		
-1 year:	7	20.00%
From 1 to 5 years:	20	57.14%
+5 years:	<u>8</u>	<u>22.85%</u>
	35	99.99%

When compared with the data pertaining to the composition of the Salvadoran community in Calgary presented in the Second Chapter of this thesis, one realizes that, in the semi-structured interviews, I have tried to maintain as much as was possible the proportion that characterizes the internal composition of the Salvadoran-Calgarians.

It was not possible to administer questionnaires, because of a lack of resources. However, with the help of the Calgary Mennonite Centre for Newcomers I was able to organize a group of Salvadorans through which to carry out a telephone survey. We were not able to find the telephone numbers of Salvadorans in the telephone book, for they still feel threatened by the political situation of their country of origin, I therefore decided to constitute a nonprobability sample following the "snowball" technique. Although this kind of sampling reduces the external validity of data collected, the snowball technique allowed to develop greater trust within the Salvadoran community. Selecting a few key informants a social network was constructed through which to carry out the survey.

This survey asked individuals to answer nine questions (cf. appendix). The resulting data gave some insights into the proportion of men and women in the Salvadoran community, its composition by age group, social class and religious affiliation, as well as identified Salvadorans according to their length of residence in Calgary, and their origin from rural or urban areas. Officially the Salvadoran population in Calgary totals 1407 persons (information of the Public Affairs Office of Alberta). According to Bernard Russell (1988: 105), given the total population, a sample of 278 to 306 interviewees would be valid. In my sample, the number of answers that I obtained differs from question to question, because respondents did not want to answer all the questions. Although in the majority of cases I was not able to reach the number established by Russell Bernard, the answers do approximate to this number.

Finally, I collected 35 life histories among the Salvadoran community. These individual life histories combined with other data, enable us to grasp the process of configuration of the Salvadoran group in Calgary and to view its system of social norms and values in a diachronic perspective. These life histories enabled me to determine either the critical moment at which an individual assumes values and conceptions of the host society, or the critical moments at which systems of social norms and values conflict in an individual or a family. Life histories also help to determine solidarity networks and forms of mutual aid between Salvadorans, as well as reveal the character of their relations with other ethnic

groups and categories. The analysis of these life histories is presented in Chapter Three.

The presentation of the thesis falls into two major parts. The first part is concerned with the analysis of the internal social structure of Salvadoran-Calgarians and the wider society of which they are a part. The second part focuses on the system of social norms and values created by Salvadorans in Calgary. The concern is then with the analysis of the symbolic dimension of the Salvadoran-Calgarian identity. Both levels of the analysis constitute a unity and their separation merely reflects the requirements of the presentation in the form of a thesis.

Chapter one deals with the reconstruction of the historical context in which the immigration of Salvadorans will later be placed. The historical analysis leads to a general characterization of Calgarian and Canadian society, without which we cannot understand the present day constitution of the Salvadoran-Calgarians. Chapter Two focuses on the internal organization of the new ethnic group and analyses both the disarticulation of the former social structure of the Salvadoran migrants and the construction of a new structure of social relationships that is better adjusted to Calgarian society.

Chapters Three and Four develop the symbolic analysis that allows us to identify the main processes through which the system of social norms and values that governs the daily life of Salvadorans in Calgary is creating. The analysis is divided into two parts. In

Chapter Three the process of immigration is analyzed using the model of the ritual pilgrimage, focusing on the representation that Salvadorans have of their own society and of the new society to which they migrate, on the one hand, and the main contradictions that develop in the process of migration at the level of the system of social norms and values, on the other hand. In Chapter Four I examine the contradictions identified in the preceding Chapter within the framework of Calgarian society.

The conclusion reconstructs the whole process of configuration of the Salvadoran-Calgarian ethnic group and its particular identity. This reconstruction is made on the basis of the preceding analysis, maintaining the conception that the ethnicity is above all a total social fact, that is, a phenomenon that is concerned with both the organization of the ethnic group as a structure of social relationships and the development of the ethnic identity as a system of symbols.

SUMMARY:

In brief, in the following pages I analyze the Salvadoran community in Calgary as a distinctive ethnic group that is in process of configuration. This process of configuration may be drawn in two principal directions: either the constitution of a particular social structure that will integrate Salvadorans to the mainstream of Calgarian society, or the construction of a particular system of

social norms and values which will be able to coexist with the dominant system found in Calgary. It follows that two different but complementary lines of analysis are necessary: first, the analysis of the structure of social relationships constituting the Salvadoran-Calgarian ethnic group, developed in the first part of the thesis (Chapters I and II); and second, the symbolic analysis of the configuration of the new system of social norms and values that governs the daily life of Salvadorans in Calgary, presented in the second part of the thesis (Chapters III and IV). This is a young community that is not completely established in Calgary. The study is therefore not concerned with stable structures, but rather with structures that are in process of constitution, which need to be understood in their dynamic process.

PART I: THE SALVADORAN COMMUNITY IN CALGARY

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

In this Chapter I would like to describe the historical context in terms of which I will later frame the migration of Salvadorans to Calgary. This historical context is a central aspect in my analysis, since the social identity of a people is something dynamic which responds to social and cultural factors. In the final analysis, these socio-cultural factors are historical products found at a particular time and place. It is this time and this place that I propose to describe to better understand the Salvadoran immigration to Calgary.

My reconstruction of the historical framework of Salvadoran immigration will be focused on the province of Alberta. As Howard and Tamara Palmer (1985) have argued, a particular history distinguishes the Albertans from the other Canadian provinces. There is therefore an identity to Alberta's population.

Canada is a country with a great geographical and climatic variety, and its settlement has not been uniform. Normally, Canadians distinguish six different regions: the Atlantic provinces, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairie provinces, British Columbia and the North. Alberta is part of the Prairie provinces, but within this great region its history is not completely similar to that of either Saskatchewan

or Manitoba. Indeed, the fact that Alberta has constituted a distinctive political unit and that its people share a common historical experience, allows us to take it as a unit to reconstruct the historical context that will give us a better understanding of the society in which Salvadoran-Calgarians are now immersed.

This does not mean that I will ignore the regional and national contexts to the province of Alberta. On the contrary, in my historical reconstruction I will consider both the constant movement of population that has migrated to Alberta from different places of Canada, principally from Ontario and Quebec, and the Federal policies which over time has regulated immigration to Canada and its regions. This dimension of the analysis is very important, because we cannot understand the internal dynamics of ethnic groups in Calgary (or in Alberta) and their process of constitution, nor the behavior of the provincial government toward these groups, unless we examine the relations of the province to the nation as a whole.

The historical analysis, in this sense, has to take into account both the internal processes that has constituted the province of Alberta as a part of the Prairie Provinces, emphasizing the processes through which its ethnic variety has been established, and the relations that this province has maintained with the other provinces that form the Canadian nation. In this respect we have to consider not only the influence that the federal government has had over the

province of Alberta, but also the population movements and their cultural influence over life styles in Alberta.

In my description, I will consider the four principal periods distinguished by Howard Palmer in his two articles on patterns of immigration and ethnic settlement in Alberta (1985a, 1985b). The first period, running from 1880 to 1920, are the years of the constitution of the province of Alberta; the second period corresponds to the immigration in the interwar years; the third period relates to the changes that the process of immigration experienced after World War II; the last period, from 1967 to the 80s, is the one in which the immigration of Salvadorans to Calgary begins to take place. This last period is influenced by the policy of multiculturalism developed by the Canadian federal government, a policy that reflects changes in the ethnic composition of the country and of Alberta.

Before I begin my analysis of each period, I would like to distinguish three general categories in the constitution of Alberta as a province: the native peoples, the colonizers and, to paraphrase the Royal Commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism, "the other ethnic groups", who came to Alberta as immigrants to an already constituted society. None of these three categories is homogeneous.

Native peoples in Alberta may be divided into nine different tribes that belong to three main linguistic families: Dene (or Athapaskan), Algonkian and Siouan (Smith: 1985a). As explorers, fur traders and

canoemen arrived in Alberta in the eighteenth century, some of them took Indian wives and founded the Metis, half-French-half-Indians or half-Scot-half-Indians. The Metis constitute another Native category. The colonizers are divided in two main categories: the French and the British. They have built the social system that has dominated Canadian society up till now. But neither the French nor the British are homogeneous. The former are divided, at the national level, into two categories: the Acadians and the Canadiens. In Alberta, the French represent the first white people to settle in what is now the province. The British are divided into four main categories: the English, the Scottish, the Irish and the Welsh. And within these ethnic divisions there are subdivisions, as in the case of Scottish the distinction between Highlanders and Lowlanders is strong.

Finally, the so-called "other ethnic groups" consists of many categories and groups that have come to Canada from many different places throughout the world. This general category, which is not really a group, does not represent a political force itself, since it is divided into many different interest groups and categories that have diverse agendas. Jean Burnet (1988) suggests that these ethnic groups (as she called them) could constitute a third political force that mediate between British and French. However, their ethnic diversity and the diverse interests they represent, constitute a serious obstacle to the constitution of this third force.

Nevertheless all these ethnic groups and categories have something in common: all have had to adjust to a social system with an

established system of social norms and values. All have had to develop their identities in a natural, social and cultural environment foreign and alien to them.

It is within this ethnic framework that I will describe the historical process that has led to the current ethnic configuration. A society is constructed as a network of social relations which constitute power relations between social groups and categories, and the individuals that compose them. My analysis will therefore examine the relations of power between the different ethnic groups and categories that have constructed and are constructing Alberta.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF ALBERTA'S SOCIETY

When the white man arrived to the region that is now constituted as Alberta, there were two principal ways of life practiced by Alberta's Native peoples: that of the Plains and that of the Woodlands. The former organized their life around the hunt of the buffalo, using practically all of its parts for their subsistence. The northern Woodland Indians, on the other hand, subsisted by hunting small animals, deer and moose, and fishing. Plains Indians and Woodland Indians maintained their own life styles until the mid XIX century.

The decade of 1870-1880 was a very critical one for Indian peoples and for the history of what was to become the province of Alberta. It was the decade when the treaties that eliminated the independence of Indians were signed. After this, they became a minority in their own land. The policy of the Canadian government was clear: to place the Indians on reserves and then begin the process of their assimilation to the dominant Canadian society.

As Donald Smith (1985a) has pointed out, the Indians signed the treaties because of the unfavorable situation in which they found themselves: the epidemics had strongly diminished the Plain Indians; the Indians were divided and fighting between themselves (the Cree against the Blackfoot, the Assiniboine against the Sioux); even within a linguistic family there were divisions (for example: the Plains Cree felt superior to the Wood Cree); the United States army had subdued its Plains Indians, and the Plains Indians of Alberta were weakened because the mainstay of their way of life (the buffalo) was disappearing.

But it was not until 1885, after the suppression of the Metis and Indian rebellion, that the native resistance was suppressed. With the defeat of the Riel rebellion the federal government could impose its own settlement plan. Decisively, Alberta, as part of the Northwest Territories in general, had become a "white" province.

The immigration of people from Ontario was very important for the area's configuration. Although the French arrived before the

Ontarians in the Northwest Territories, establishing some missions in the Red River settlement in 1818 and in Fort Edmonton in 1842, the Ontarians' immigration in the 1880s and 1890s determined the cultural configuration of the province. According to Douglas Francis, the Ontarians' immigration of the 1880s represented a "dramatic boom" (1985:127) that expanded the white population from 1000 in 1881 to over 17000 in 1891. Of course, not all these immigrants came from Ontario, but the majority of them were born in that province.

The Ontarians came from practically all areas of their province and they concentrated in the areas around Calgary and central Alberta. The region around Calgary became a British area, which was settled mainly by United States citizens, Britons and Ontarians.

At the turn of the century, many other Ontarians came to the urban areas of Alberta. Douglas Francis points out that from 1901 to 1911 the population of Edmonton increased from 2600 to 30500 (including Strathcona), that is, eleven times its population of 1901; Calgary grew from 4850 to 43700, a tenfold increase, while Lethbridge rose from 2325 to 8050, and Medicine Hat from 1975 to 5600. Ontarians participated greatly in this urban development. They also constituted the largest percentage of the dominant class in Alberta. In Calgary more than half of the wealthiest and most influential Calgarians at the turn of the century were Canadian born, most of them having come from Ontario. In 1898, two-thirds of Edmonton's dominant class were Canadian born, and nearly half were born in

Ontario. "For 1913 and 1921, Ontarians dominated Edmonton's social and commercial life" (Francis:1985: 133), although the immigration of Ontarians to Alberta slowly decreased while British and United States immigration increased.

In this context, it is easy to understand why the Ontarians determined, to a great extent, the economic, political and social institutions of Alberta, principally in its formative period. Ontarians also developed small businesses and dominated the teaching, legal and medical professions. Their influence in the political arena is illustrated by the fact that most of the politicians of this period in the province of Alberta were Ontarians (cf. Francis: 1985: 135-136-137).

This political and social ascendancy was strengthened by their religious influence. Indeed, Ontarians participated as ministers in the Methodist church, although most of the Protestant missionaries, principally the Anglicans and Presbyterians, came from England. However, the Methodist church was more independent and nationalistic than Anglican and Presbyterian churches.

By the late 1870s English-speaking people from Ontario had outnumbered the French-speaking in the Northwest territories, which were supported by the Catholic church. Ontarians imposed their culture and their language, making the province an Anglo-Canadian area. In fact, one of the principal factors that motivated Ontarian people to migrate to the Northwest Territories was their

imperial sentiment. Ontarians thought that they had to bring their "superior" cultural norms and values to those areas that they considered less fortunate (Francis: 1985). They wanted to see the Northwest Territories as another Ontario, perhaps as an improved Ontario.

According to Howard Palmer (1985a) , 1892 was the year in which the Anglo-Canadian culture was imposed definitely into the area. In this year the territorial assembly, which was dominated by English speaking people, legally eliminated the French-speaking population's rights. English became the sole language that would be used in the legislative assembly, and the use of French in the Roman Catholic School system was to be considerably reduced: French could be utilized solely for the first two or three years of school and only for those children who couldn't speak English. Undoubtedly, for Ontarians the first task in creating a new Canadian community was to impose their language. The public school was considered the central institution through which the new Anglo-Canadian values would be transmitted. The new society would be governed by Ontarians and modelled on Ontario's institutions.

Consistent with this attitude, the federal government oriented its settlement policy to maintain the British character of the country. This, of course, as Palmer (1985a: 7) has pointed out, was linked to the race theories that predominated this age. These theories were based on social Darwinism which postulated the superiority of the white race over black, yellow and the other races. Even within

European nationalities, Teutonic northern Europeans were considered superior to Slavs, Jews and Southern Europeans.

Following this framework, Canada's immigration policy considered the British as the best settlers. United States citizens were also ideal settlers, because of their predominant Anglo-Saxon origin. Then, Northern and Western Europeans were the most desirable settlers. Slavs, Jews and Southern Europeans were considered questionable. Black and Asians undesirable. These racial conceptions were related to religious prejudices, which predisposed Anglo-Canadians to have strong reservations about non-Protestant immigrants.

But the settlement policy in Alberta during this period faced many problems. There was a general belief that the land was too dry for farming. Moreover, the agricultural depression, the Riel rebellion, the absence of railway lines, the lack of techniques and favorable markets and prices, the general conditions of pioneers, as well as the extensive land owned by colonization companies, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Pacific Railway, slowed down settlement in the province. Many farmers went to the United States seeking better conditions.

One social category that established several settlements in Alberta during this period was the German-speaking, who were generally organized on a religious basis. These settlements became the nuclei for the large-scale immigration of German speaking peoples after

the turn of the century. Likewise, in this period we find immigration of other ethnic categories and groups, such as Scandinavians, Chinese, Icelanders, Swedes, Norwegians, and others.

It was after 1896 that the immigration to Alberta increased markedly, principally because of two factors: the end of the agricultural depression and Sifton's immigration promotion campaign. The liberal politician Clifford Sifton altered the land grant system that had allowed the speculators and colonization companies to tie up the best land. He simplified the process of securing homesteads and modernized the organization to administer his policy. His policy gave priority to the industrious and self-sufficient farmers.

The immediate motives were clear: immigration to western Canada was necessary "to establish a market to eastern goods, to provide freight and traffic for the railways, and to secure the west for Canada" (Palmer, H.:1985a: 6). One element that I should point out here is that in this immigration boom over half of the population were people of British origin. They came mainly from Ontario, the United States and Britain itself, and these immigrants gained the most political, economic and cultural influence in the province.

INTERWAR IMMIGRATION

During the 1920s the immigration was predominantly of rural character. In this period, there was considerable immigration from rural areas to the small cities and towns. Many immigrants who began their lives in Canada in rural areas went to the cities, because of the financial difficulties associated with beginning a farm enterprise. Danes, Lithuanians, Croats, Hungarians, and others, established their communities in an urban context. Among the immigrants, however, we find not only farmers, but also workers, artisans, tradesmen and merchants.

Although the war was to cut off the process of immigration to Canada from foreign countries, the business interests, particularly the railway, pressed to open the borders again. Immigrants were needed to increase business for the railways, to develop agriculture and to increase the population.

The Canadian government began to permit immigration in the early period after the war. At first, they opened the doors only to British immigrants, domestic workers or farmers. The Canadian government was still interested in reinforcing the British character of Canadian society. Then, Canada's and England's governments established the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 through which Britain's government committed itself to subsidize half the cost of emigration. For the British government this act resolved some of its social and economic problems of the postwar era. Many Britons came to Canada

through special plans to help war veterans or farm families. However, they often did not adjust to rural life in Canada, and consequently left for the cities.

During the 1930s many newcomers had to face the economic crisis of the great depression. Ethnic conflicts developed, since the British majority and government officials saw non-British immigrants - such as Hungarians, Russians and Lithuanians - as the major cause of unemployment. World War II worsened the conflict. Anti-Semitic wings appeared within the Social Credit movement. Japanese and Hutterites suffered diverse modalities of discrimination - including the deportation of many Japanese. However, at the same time, the war allowed for the acceptance of some ethnic collectivities as Canadian citizens, such as Chinese, Ukrainians and Poles, because of their support for the war. In the case of Native peoples, as Donald Smith points out, the war allowed white Canadians to become more aware of Indian issues, because of their contact with Natives in the army.

POSTWAR IMMIGRATION: 1946-67

This period is characterized by the wave of European immigrants fleeing devastated Europe. Responding to the economic development needs of Canada Mackenzie King's government favored large-scale European immigrants. In 1947 he announced his immigration policy "to foster growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement

of immigration without altering the fundamental character of the Canadian nation" (Palmer, H.:1985b: 37). The preferences were established for immigrants from Britain, France, United States and Europe, excluding Asians, Africans and West Indians. The new immigrants did not attempt to establish themselves in rural areas, but rather went to the cities that were expanding in the province.

When the war ended, there was a farm labour shortage in the province, principally in the sugar beet industry. Polish war veterans and displaced persons could relieve this shortage. These displaced people came to Canada either under the sponsorship of their relatives or as part of special programs that selected persons into displaced camps on the basis of Canada's economic necessities. In general, these immigrants were skilled and professional people, who could not adjust to the conditions of the sugar beet industry. However, Canadian authorities did not recognize their previously acquired qualifications. Some of them sought the ethnic organizations and churches established in the cities, as a way to protect the immigrants from the wider society.

After the 1947 discovery of oil in Alberta, new opportunities were created. Calgary and Edmonton grew rapidly, which developed new possibilities for newcomers. Britons, northern Europeans and United States citizens represented one-quarter of all the immigrants that came to the province in the postwar period. They came seeking better economic opportunities. United States citizens became

involved with the oil industry and "they undoubtedly contribute to Calgary's image as a materialistic city" (Palmer, H.:1985b: 41).

German and Dutch constitute the second and third largest collectivities that came to the province in this period. They came to both rural and urban areas. In the urban context, they represented an important sector of the skilled labour force in the construction industry. During the 1950s and 1960s political refugees from Europe arrived in Alberta: Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, diversified the ethnic composition of the province.

IMMIGRATION FROM 1967

The last immigrant wave to Canada has been the most varied in Canada's history. People from many countries around the world have come to Canada either for economic or political reasons.

Characteristic of this period has been the increase in number of people from non-Western countries: Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Palmers point out that although Great Britain and the United States continue as the two leading countries in the immigration to Alberta throughout the late 1970s, those coming from the United States or Europe also include many people from non-Western societies.

This ethnic variety in the last immigrant wave is related to the change in the immigration regulations that the federal government introduced in 1967. The first change is the conception that the same

regulations would be applied to all immigrants, regardless, at least in theory, of ethnic or racial origins. The regulations consider two different categories: sponsored and nominated immigrants (those who have relatives in Canada) and independent immigrants. The last ones have to qualify under a "points system", which is concerned with the educational background and skills of the immigrants and the occupational demands of Canada. The first ones are admitted to Canada on the basis of the political and economic situation of their countries and, of course, on the basis of the economic necessities of Canada, mainly in regard to the labour force.

These new government regulations have diminished the racist content of the Canadian migration policy. This change is related to the recovery of the Western European economies after World War Two. As a consequence, the European sources of immigration decreased in importance. Canada had to change its policy and had to look for new immigrants from other parts of the world.

In October 8, 1971, responding to the Book IV of the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the federal government proclaimed the multiculturalism policy:

"In implementing a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework the government will provide support in four ways:

First, resources permitting, the government will seek to assist all Canadian cultural

groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, and a clear need for assistance, the small and weak groups no less than the strong and highly organized.

Second, the government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society.

Third, the government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity.

Fourth, the government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society" (Canada, House of Commons debates, 1971, in Burnet: 1988: 225).

In 1977 the Citizenship Act came into effect, abolishing the preferential treatment of British subjects. In the same year, the Canada Human Rights Act made illegal discrimination on the basis of race, nationality, ethnic origin or color. The Immigration Act of 1978 reinforced the principles of universality and non-discrimination. These principles were established in the Constitution Act of 1982.

In Alberta, it was in 1988 that the provincial government created the Alberta Multiculturalism Commission. In 1990 it approved the

new Alberta Multiculturalism Act, which "outlined the government's objectives. They are:

- to encourage respect for the multicultural heritage of Alberta;
- to promote an awareness and understanding of the multicultural heritage of Alberta;
- to foster an environment in which all Albertans can participate in and contribute to the cultural, social, economic and political life of Alberta;
- to encourage all sectors of Alberta society to provide access to services and equality of opportunity" (Alberta Multiculturalism Action Plan: One Heart, Many Colours, Alberta Multiculturalism Commission, page 9).

From Raymond Breton's point of view (1986), this policy of multiculturalism responds to multiple changes in the sociopolitical context of Canada, among others the clear dissatisfaction of the ethnocultural groups (as he called them) with the public institutions of Canadian society, the independence movement in Quebec and its consequences for the other ethnic categories and groups, the large immigration of peoples from different places of the world, the increased urbanization of Canadian society, and the decline of the British Empire.

Breton (1986: 50) insists that an important objective of this policy is the incorporation of the different ethnic categories and groups

into Canadian society, modifying the public institutions in order to reflect the multicultural character of Canada. According to Breton, this change implies two different but related phenomena: the creation of new values, meanings and identity which embrace and generate identification for the different ethnic categories and groups that are living together in Canada; and the reallocation of status among some of the ethnic categories and groups. In this reallocation it is very important to take into account the intervention of the authorities on many different fronts: language, ethnocultures, and aboriginal rights.

It is clear that this policy represents a serious recognition of the multiethnic and multicultural character of Canadian society. However, the official interpretation of this phenomenon is, in Breton's view, solely concerned with the manifest symbols of ethnic identity (food, clothes, feasts) or the institutional system, but not with the several systems of social norms and values that in fact coexist within Canada. The existence of different ethnic groups implies the existence of different systems of social norms and values that govern the daily lives of these groups. This constitutes the multicultural character of Canadian society. Its multiculturalism rests in the multiple consuetudinary systems of social norms and values that coexist within Canada and its different regions and cities.

In this context, we should not forget the British nature of Canadian society, except in the case of French-speaking Quebec. It follows

that the Anglo-Canadian system of social norms and values dominates the others. Thus, in Alberta the different ethnic groups and categories have to adjust to the patterns of this dominant culture and to the capitalist system; they must learn the dominant language (English) and assume the dominant norms and values of the Anglo-Canadians. In this sense, I am in agreement with Breton when he says that the last objective of the multicultural policy is to incorporate, and I would add to assimilate, the different ethnic groups and categories into Canadian society, that is, into the Anglo-Canadian capitalist system.

This cultural supremacy is connected with the composition of the dominant class in Canada generally, and in Alberta specifically. Jean Burnet (1988) discusses this point in her book Coming Canadians. She takes as a starting point John Porter's work: The Vertical Mosaic (1965), according to which the elites (as he called them) in Canadian society were in 1965 almost exclusively British in origin. He found representation of French Canadians in the political, bureaucratic and media elite, while in the corporate elite the domination of people of British origin was almost complete.

Burnet argues that Porter did not consider the Jews, who built a parallel elite with their exclusive clubs and communal institutions. Moreover, individual members of European ethnic groups and categories have entered the dominant class because they have reached wealth and status either before or after they came to Canada. Also Asians have recently entered the dominant class.

However, Porter's work is still valid, in the sense that although the dominant class in Canada is more complex than what Porter thought, people of British origin constitute the majority of members of this social class. In our case, as we have seen in this Chapter, in Alberta the dominant class (or elite in Porter's terms) has been constituted principally (although not solely) by people of British origin - Ontarians, United States citizens and Britons themselves, who represent the dominant sector in the different institutions of society (economic, political, social and symbolic systems).

SUMMARY:

Alberta may be considered as a multi-ethnic society in which the people of British origin have imposed their cultural and social domination. The different ethnic groups and categories that coexist in the cities of Alberta province have to adjust to the patterns of the Anglo-Canadian capitalist system. The multicultural policy of the federal government is, above all, a policy which attempts to integrate the different ethnic groups and categories into the dominant system.

It is in this context that Salvadorans arrive in Calgary, in the second half of the 1980s. Salvadorans have to organise as an ethnic group and to do so they have to develop a new structure of social relationships that allows them to adjust to the dominant social structure in Calgary. This new structure of social relationships is

being created both in relation to the Salvadoran structure of social relationships and to the social structure that dominates Calgarian society. This process of formation of a new ethnic group within the Canadian context is the topic of the following Chapter.

CHAPTER II

THE STRUCTURATION OF A NEW ETHNIC GROUP:

INTRODUCTION:

The Salvadorans' migration to Calgary occurred mainly in the second half of the 1980s, when the years of economic boom in the province of Alberta had come to a sudden end. Howard Palmer (1990) points out that these years led to an economic depression, as abrupt decline in the price of oil joined to serious difficulties in the agricultural sector brought about a significant increase in urban unemployment and labor conflict. The migration of Salvadoreans to Calgary must be framed in this economic context.

This migration was politically motivated up to January 1992, when a peace agreement was signed between the government of El Salvador and the National Front of Liberation (FMLN). According to the Public Affairs Office of Alberta (1991), there are 1407 Salvadoran residents in Calgary. Based on my own data collected in 1991, only 27.38% of these Salvadorans have been living in Calgary for more than five years. 52.28% have lived here between one and five years; and the remaining (20.33%) have lived less than one year in this city.

These data are very important for my analysis, because they show how young the Salvadoran community that I am studying

is. If this sample is valid, 72.61% of Salvadorans living in Calgary have lived in this city for five years or less. Naturally, some of them have lived before in other cities of Canada and, therefore, Calgary is not their first contact with Canadian society. However, many Salvadorans have come directly to Calgary.

The length of time that Salvadorans have resided in the city is a very important factor, since this determines their capacity to organize or reorganize their social relationships, either between themselves or in relation to the other ethnic groups and categories that coexist in the same space. The fact that the majority of Salvadorans have solely five years or less of residence in Calgary, suggests that they have not been able to organize completely the social relationships that could characterize them as a distinctive ethnic group. Actually, we are facing a group that is not totally structured but is rather in a process of organization. This feature affects the perspective of my analysis, with its focus on the dynamic process of constitution of a new ethnic group, rather than on a supposedly stable structure of social relationships.

In other words, Salvadorans do not find themselves completely settled in this city. Moreover, some of my informants in the summer of 1991 have moved to British Columbia or to other places of Canada where they have friends or relatives. This constant movement of Salvadorans all across Canada, suggests

that Salvadoran community in Calgary is not isolated from other Salvadoran communities in Canada, and even from those that are established in the United States (California, Texas, New York) and in other parts of the world.

However, although some Salvadorans are moving from one city to another, it is clear that there is a stable population that is not leaving Calgary. This population is what we could consider as the nucleus of the future Salvadoran-Calgarian ethnic group. This does not mean that the population that is moving within Canada (or within North America) cannot belong to the Salvadoran-Calgarian community. In a certain sense, they belong to this community because they are contributing to maintain the connections with other communities all over North America. Nevertheless, the nucleus of the Salvadoran-Calgarian community is composed by those living permanently in Calgary; they are the ones who are developing both the internal social relationships of the community and the external relationships with other ethnic groups and categories in Calgary. They are also the ones who are creating the Calgarian version of the Salvadoran-North American culture. My analysis will try to embrace the Salvadoran community in Calgary as a whole, but will focus on the nucleus of this community.

THE SALVADORAN POPULATION IN CALGARY:

Before I describe the structure of social relationships that characterizes the constitution of the Salvadoran-Calgarians as a particular ethnic group, I would like to point out some general features that must be taken into account if we want to understand the behavior of Salvadorans in Calgarian society.

First of all, it is interesting to see that the majority of Salvadorans (86.48%) that have come to Calgary are between 0-40 years old (cf. Table I, below). Of these, 63.63% are between 0-30 years old. This young population is a population receptive to local influences. Its relatively low age allow it to better assimilate the new system of social norms and values encountered in Calgary, and allows it to fit to the new social conditions. This disposes it favorably to create a new structure of social relationships.

Table 2

Salvadorans living in Calgary by age-groups

0-10	86	28.95%
10-20	55	18.51%
20-30	48	16.16%
30-40	68	22.86%
40-50	28	9.42%
+50	<u>12</u>	<u>4.04%</u>
	297	99.94%

Within this population, 52.18% of individuals are men and 47.81% are women. This proportion is very important for my analysis, because as we will see the construction of the new structure of social relationships and, therefore, of the new system of social norms and values, is related to the conflict between men and women that develops inside Salvadoran families in Calgary.

It is also important to note that 50.21% of the Salvadoran immigrants come from San Salvador, the capital of El Salvador, and that they represent an urban population. Only 28.08% come from rural areas in the true sense of the word, while 21.70% declared to have come from other Salvadoran cities. This large proportion of urban population directly reflects its capacity of adaptation to an urban capitalist society.

Now, in a strict sense, Salvadorans do not have a district or area of their own in the city of Calgary. They are dispersed across the city, occupying principally areas of the North East, the South West and Downtown. In these three areas, they share the territory with people of many ethnic groups and categories, which makes it difficult to develop the neighborhood relationships that are so important to Salvadoran people.

The extension of the city and the weather constitute serious obstacles for Salvadorans to develop their own social relationships. Calgary is a city of 708593 inhabitants (in 1991) living in an area of 671.75 km². Salvadoran immigrants represent only a 0.19% of Calgary's population. Taking into account that Salvadorans are dispersed throughout the city, the physical distance constitutes an impediment to frequent meeting. Moreover, the seven or eight months of winter, with extreme temperatures of minus twenty or minus thirty degrees, constitute an additional obstacle for Salvadorans to meet as community. "We are like bears", an informant said, "we are waiting for the summer to leave our houses".

THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF SALVADORAN COMMUNITY:

In general, Salvadorans immigrants are in the lower strata of Calgarian society. The majority of them are service workers (53.57%), with a great proportion of them working in the cleaning sector. Because the majority have come from the lower and middle lower classes of El Salvador, Salvadoran immigrants have nevertheless improved their living conditions (cf. Table 3).

Table 3

Economic activities of Salvadoran immigrants in El Salvador and in Calgary.

	El Salvador		Calgary	
Service Worker:	7	4.04%	59	53.57%
industrial Workers:	24	13.87%	15	13.39%
Office Workers:	17	9.82%	1	0.89%
Workshops:	3	1.73%	3	2.67%
Peasant:	12	6.93%		
Tradesmen	1	0.57%		
Professionals:	15	8.67%		
Schoolteachers:	7	4.04%		
Housewives:	32	18.49%	5	4.46%
Students	55	31.79%	15	13.39%
Unemployed:			11	9.82%
Retired:			2	1.78%
	173	99.95%	112*	99.97%

* The differences between the number of answers collected for the economic occupations in El Salvador and in Calgary, is due to the fact that some Salvadorans are now engaged in certain economic activities they consider as humiliating, such as cleaning, and they therefore declined to answer the question asking for their economic occupations.

Although some Salvadorans now find themselves in a lower social position and economic condition of life, the majority of them have improved their material condition. Many Salvadorans now have a car, T.V., video, sound system. They enjoy all the basic services that the city offers them (drinking water, heating system). The Salvadorans sponsored by the federal government have had an apartment the very day they arrived in Calgary. Normally, this apartment is furnished with the basic furniture for a family or for a single person: beds,

bedside tables, a centre table, chairs, a sofa, lamps, a broom, a mob, soaps, pots and pans, sheets and blankets, iron, and so on.

Many Salvadorans live in the basements of houses or of apartment buildings. However these basements are well equipped and spacious. Normally, they have two bedrooms, one bathroom, a living room and a kitchen. Others live in apartments or even in houses. But, in general, they are paying a rent. "The problem here, an informant asserted, is that we have nothing, the things are not our things. This house, for example, is not our house, we are only paying a rent". Then, if it is true that they have improved their material conditions of life, they feel that they possess nothing, they do not possess the things that they are using. In other words, they have to assume, at the economic level, a life style that is not really their own.

This is also related to working conditions. Many Salvadorans, principally the peasant people, but also the retailers, mechanics and professionals, feel that here they cannot work in their own business, but have to work in the businesses of others. "There we were poor", many Salvadorans told me, "but we didn't have to work for others". This phrase shows that informants feel that in Calgary they have become free manual labor, since here they only have their physical labor power to survive and, therefore, they have to sell it in the labor market as a commodity.

This does not mean that in El Salvador there are no free manual workers. In fact, 17.91% of the Salvadorans who have come to Calgary were service and industrial workers in El Salvador. Moreover, according to the data offered by the Salvadoran sociologist Segundo Montes (1988) in his book: El Salvador, 1988: Estructura de Clases y Comportamiento de las Fuerzas Sociales, the free manual labor in El Salvador represents a 39.97% of the work force of the country. This sector is composed of proletarians (9.22%), unemployed (21.75%) and displaced (9%). If we compare these data with those offered in the table 3 of this thesis (page 26), we will see that the proportion of free manual workers among Salvadorans has increased in Calgary, transforming not only the peasants and retailers, but also the professionals and office workers.

Indeed, in Calgary free manual workers represent 66.96% of Salvadorans, among them we have both proletarians strictly speaking and underemployed who do not have a fixed labor contract and, therefore, become a reserve labor. If we set aside the students, the unemployed and the retired, 88.09% of the Salvadoran-Calgarians may be considered as free manual workers, occupying the lower strata within the economic scale of society. Although it is plain that the economic depression has led to a greater number of underemployed and unemployed among Salvadoran-Calgarians, the condition of free manual

workers is more a structural condition than the result of the fluctuations of the economy.

This datum may be related to another: 18.49% of the Salvadoran women were housewives in El Salvador, while in Calgary this ratio decreases to 4.46%. Indeed, in Calgary Salvadoran women have to work along with their husbands. This is a condition that the work structure in Calgary has imposed upon Salvadoran immigrants, a condition that is characteristic of the modern capitalist society.

From this analysis, we may conclude that the socio-economic condition of free manual workers determines to a great extent the formation of the Salvadoran-Calgarians as an ethnic group, since almost all its members belong to this social class. It is interesting to observe that two Salvadorans who did not belong to this social class, manifested that they did not identify with the Salvadoran community in Calgary. One of them identified with Canadians, the other with Chileans, two ethnic collectivities that enjoy a better social position within Calgarian society.

This does not mean that if a Salvadoran in Calgary belongs to another social class he or she is automatically excluded of his or her ethnic group. However, we can see that there is a tendency for Salvadoran-Calgarians to be predominantly free manual workers. It follows that their identity is associated

with this socio-economic position. "Why don't you apply to stay here?", a Salvadoran asked me when the mass had finished in the Saint Mary's Cathedral. "And you would start to work as us, as refugees do it", he added. Indeed, to become a member of his group is, for this Salvadoran, to work as they do, as an underemployed or as a proletarian.

THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS:

THE CONTRASTING RELATIONSHIPS:

Fredrik Barth (1969) remarked that the internal organization of an ethnic group is a result of its interaction and contrasting relationships with other collectivities of the same nature.

This interaction, from my point of view, is established by Salvadoran-Calgarians firstly with what they call "the Canadians", a vague notion that refers to the general category of the descendants of white-Europeans who have immigrated to Canada, and which is composed mainly, but not solely, according to the Salvadorans' point of view, by people of British origin.

I would like to propose that this interaction is first experienced by Salvadorans through their process of integration into the Calgarian capitalist society. Because "the Canadians" (mainly the Anglo-Canadians) compose the stronger

element within the dominant class in Calgary, Salvadorans live their relationship with this collectivity as a class relation, that is, as a relation between dominant and dominated. In this power relationship, Salvadorans occupy the place of the subordinate, both in the socioeconomic structure and in a cultural sense.

As we have seen earlier, Salvadoran-Calgarians are above all a collectivity of free manual workers, principally involved in the industrial and service sectors of the economy. In their jobs, their bosses or superiors normally are Canadians, which reinforces the dominant/subordinated relationship between Canadians and Salvadorans. Although Salvadorans have improved materially, they feel the discrimination in the work place. According to my informants, Whites (the descendants of Europeans, mainly those that have come from the North of Europe) are always preferred to Salvadorans for a job. Moreover, many Salvadorans mention that they always have to do the harder work. The easiest work is for the Canadians. This is true, for example, for those Salvadorans who work in the factories, but it is true also for those who clean offices and buildings. In general, Salvadorans see this last job as a humiliating work. "This is the kind of work that Canadians don't like to do", a Salvadoran commented.

In brief, Salvadorans establish an antagonistic relationship with Canadians. This antagonistic character which is not

completely manifest at the level of the interpersonal relationships, is clear if we analyze it at the level of the socio-cultural system. The process of constitution into free manual workers that Salvadorans suffer when they arrive in Calgary constitutes, indeed, a violent process that places them in a position of inferiority within the social structure. This process which is also a process of integration into the Canadian capitalist system, is accompanied by a process of sociocultural change inside the Salvadoran community. This sociocultural change is what I have referred to as the configuration of a new ethnic group. This configuration is related to the organization of the Salvadoran community in Calgary and the construction of a new system of social norms and values, which I will analyze in chapters III and IV.

But, Salvadorans do not establish antagonistic relationships solely with Canadian people, they also maintain an enduring conflict with the Chilean community. The character of both conflictive relationships is, however, different. While Salvadorans carry on a conflictive relationship with Canadians because they represent the new social system that is oppressing them, the conflictive relationships that they sustain with Chilean people is related to the power structure of the Latin American community and it therefore takes on a more interpersonal dimension. Here, it is not the struggle against the system but the competition for power that prevails. As Abner Cohen has remarked "ethnicity is shown to

be essentially a political phenomenon" (1976:15). This view expresses his conception that ethnic groups are above all interest groups.

In the following pages we shall see how Chileans and Salvadorans oppose each other, sometimes violently, in different contexts: in the soccer championships, in the Latin American fiestas, in the discotheques, in the Catholic church and in their social organizations. According to the Salvadorans, Chileans consider themselves superior because they are more European or because their culture is more European. Chileans are whiter than Salvadorans and this element marks a symbolic superiority inside the Latin American community. This symbolic superiority is reinforced by the fact that Chileans hold a higher status within Calgarian society. They are more experienced with Canadians institutions and they have achieved better positions within Calgarian society.

In the work place, Salvadorans and Chileans compete against each other because they want to insure the better positions for their members. "When a Chilean is the manager of a building, a young Salvadoran told me, you can be sure that the majority of persons that will be cleaning will be from Chile". This kind of competition is constant between Salvadorans and Chileans.

From my point of view, these two kinds of antagonistic relationships are essential to the understanding of the constitution of the Salvadoran-Calgarian ethnic group. In this case, the ethnic group and its particular identity are the result of its conflicts with other comparable groups or categories and with the society (or societies) they represent. It is through these conflicts that the Salvadoran-Calgarians develops its own organization and its own system of social norms and values. In the following pages I will discuss the internal social organization of Salvadoran-Calgarians.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE SALVADORAN-CALGARIANS:

KINS AND FRIENDS:

As I have pointed out above, Abner Cohen (1974, 1976) distinguishes between two principal kinds of social groups: that organized on objectives clearly defined within a bureaucratic organization, which the author considers as a formal group, and that constituted by interest groups who cannot organize on formal lines either because they have not been able to accommodate to the formal structure of society, or because they are incompatible with this formal structure in some principle. The Salvadoran-Calgarians are becoming a group that is organized mainly on an informal basis, for they

have not accommodated completely to the dominant social structure of Calgarian society. Their organization which is not governed by the logic of contract, nor rationally planned, is partially based on principles that are opposed to those that govern the wider society. The examination of these principles will follow in greater detail in chapters three and four, where the system of social norms and values is considered more closely.

We must first consider the family if we are to understand the internal organization of the Salvadoran community in Calgary. The unity of the family is an essential principle that governs the everyday life of Salvadorans. For Salvadorans, however, families are extended beyond the nuclear families, to include many relatives on both the mother's and the father's side. Normally, a Salvadoran family is composed of three generations upward and three generations downward, by the sibling's alliance, including their wives and husbands, and, to a lesser extent, by the parallel cousin alliance. This structure of solidarity does not necessarily imply that all members of the extended family live in the same place, although in many circumstances, principally in the rural areas, some of them share a common house - especially the grandparents, the parents, the siblings, their wives and husbands, and their children. If they do not share the same house they tend to live in the same district or area. Between the members of the extended family, we can find a high degree of solidarity: they

help each other in their jobs and in the obstacles faced in daily life.

According to my interviews, only 40% of my informants have come to Calgary because there was a relative living in this city. This datum is very significative because it shows us that Salvadoran extended families are broken down within the context of Calgary. The more privileged Salvadoran have been able to rebuild their nuclear families in Calgary, but even these Salvadorans have not been able to reconstruct their extended families. I know only one family that have reconstructed an extended family in Calgary, but only for the mother's side. The remainder of Salvadoran families are incomplete. Most Salvadorans have come to Calgary alone or accompanied by one or two members of their nuclear families. In general, the members of their extended families, and even of their nuclear families, are dispersed all over the world and it is not possible to reproduce here the solidarity that existed between them in the past.

It is true that Salvadorans keep up the communication with their relatives by telephone, by letter or by visits as they constantly travel to different parts of North America or to El Salvador, or as their relatives come to Calgary to visit them. Even if they can maintain the communication with their relatives and promote a certain degree of solidarity, as they can send money or different kinds of goods to help their

relatives, they cannot develop here the day to day solidarity that they carried out in El Salvador. In a certain sense, the family relationships in the Salvadoran context imply the physical contact between the relatives, which is lost here. They cannot, for example, leave their children with their grandparents or gather their brothers in the weekends to talk and drink. The physical distance, in this sense, constitutes a serious obstacle for Salvadorans to develop their family relationships.

On the other hand, Salvadoran parents also emphasize that Canada destroys their nuclear families. They argue that here they cannot reproduce their authority system within their families and that as a result the unity of their members is lost. The police protection against male violence that Salvadoran women enjoy in Calgary has already caused many Salvadoran marriages to break up. Many Salvadoran men argue that in Canada everything is conceived as male violence, and that the evangelical churches have contributed to destroy their marriages, with its idea to defend the Salvadoran women above all.

The children are also a strong concern of Salvadoran parents. Because of the protection of society over their children they cannot educate them as they did in El Salvador. In the following Spanish transcription the informant expresses the view that Salvadoran parents see their authority undermined in

Calgarian society. Moreover, the children and young Salvadorans experience the influence of the Calgarian system of social norms and values and know that their parents cannot control them. This is a source of anxiety within the Salvadoran community.

Inf: "Lo que menos me gusta, pues, mm, que podría decirle?... hay algo, la influencia de los jóvenes en las escuelas es lo que menos me gusta".

CL: "Porqué?"

Inf: "Porque tienen una influencia muy libre, no tienen un control de los... quizás de los superiores y son muy libres, si a... no se como le podría explicar esto".

CL: "Si, si"

Inf: "Pero creo que Ud. me entiende".

CL: "Claro. Y Ud. mantiene la unidad de su grupo familiar?"

Inf: "Oh, si, estoy por todos los medios, este, eh, buscándola, porque mi hijo el mayor, este, el está tratando de desafiarme. Mi hija estaba un poco así pero ella siempre viene conmigo al grupo de oración. Pero el varón mayor, ese si ha estado bastante rebelde, este, él porque se deja tararear por los amigos que se ha

hecho hace poco, ellos lo han estado insinuando mal..."

This Salvadoran is worried because of the influence of the school over his son. He says that in Calgary's schools the principal has no control over the students who thus have too much freedom. Moreover, many informants told me that they do not like the fact that their children leave their homes when they are only 15 or 18 years old. To my question, what do you think should be maintained of Salvadoran culture here in Calgary? an informant answered: "I think that the family nucleus, the family nucleus, above all... we have a great task, to maintain family unity".

This conflict within Salvadoran families in Calgary, is best understood in the light of the theoretical reflections developed by Mary Douglas in her book: Natural Symbols. Explorations in Cosmology (1970). Following Douglas we can characterize the Salvadoran families as positional families, since they constitute social entities in which the roles and the authority system are clearly defined. Within Salvadoran families parental authority must be respected, as the parents impose the norms and rules of behavior upon their children. Individuals are controlled directly by other members of the group under the age group system: the parents control their children, the eldest brother control the younger, while the grandparents are respected as source of knowledge. The father

constitutes the main authority within the family group, although the mother enjoys a certain degree of decision-making. Of course, this decision-making capacity is related to the class position of the individuals: as individuals ascend in class position, the decision-making power of women increases.

Salvadorans experience serious obstacles in maintaining this family system in Canada, as the judicial system favors what Mary Douglas called the personal family, a kind of family in which the individuals are more important than the group. Within personal family system social roles are not rigidly defined and the individuals are controlled through the manipulation of language and feelings, establishing a direct connection between the acts of an individual and their consequences. In this context, the conflicts that develop within Salvadoran families represent an antagonism between two models of families: the positional and the personal. Salvadoran families have broken down not only because they are not able to reconstruct their extended families, but also because they are incorporating the personal family system favored by the Canadian legal system.

The destruction and recomposition of Salvadoran families and the process of constitution in free manual workers pointed out above, constitute the two central elements that mark the integration of Salvadorans into Calgarian society at the level

of the social structure. This, as I have pointed out earlier, implies the construction of a new system of social norms and values, a system that will have to be related to the new conditions of Salvadoran families in Calgary.

One social relationship that is essential in the Salvadoran social structure is that of coparenthood or *compadrazgo*, defined by Julian Pitt Rivers (1968) as a kind of pseudo-kinship. *Compadrazgo* is a ritual kinship typical among Salvadoran Catholics (58.77% of the Salvadoran-Calgarians, according to my sample). The relationship is established when an adult accepts to become the godfather or godmother of a child. However, the central relationship is not that established between the godparents and the godchild, but rather that established between the godparents and the parents of the child. Between them *compadrazgo* establishes a dyadic relation of solidarity as strong as the sibling bond: the *compadres* help each other in the different moments of the everyday life. In Calgary there are different types of *compadrazgo*: baptism, confirmation, first communion, fifteen years old anniversary, and others. While Salvadorans normally have one or two *compadres* in Calgary, in El Salvador a Catholic adult man normally enjoys between five and ten *compadres*. As Pitt Rivers asserted, through ritual kinship "the participants recognize a bond which is likened to, though it is not confused with, kinship" (1968: 409). *Compadrazgo* constitutes a complementary relationship of solidarity that

allows Salvadorans to protect themselves from the wider society. Nevertheless, among Salvadoran-Calgarians this sort of social relation is very limited and does not by itself reconstruct the unity of the community.

Relationships of friendship are therefore more important than *compadrazgo* for the creation of solidarity among Salvadoran-Calgarians. When the family ties are to a great extent broken down, friendship may constitute a kind of tie that develops the solidarity inside the group. This kind of relationship is determined by the age groups, since friendship groups are composed by persons of the same generation.

There are many kinds of friendship relations, but among the Salvadoran-Calgarians the more important ones are the friend's groups (*los cheros*) and the soccer teams. The former may be divided into two categories: those composed by young people - between 15 and 30 years old - and those established by adults.

Among young people, *los cheros* constitute groups of five or ten males. They are together all the time and help each other in different circumstances. At times they go to the same high school, but this is not always the case. *Los cheros* go together to the discotheque and organize fiestas. For example, the friend's group that has arisen in the Saint Mary's high school and which attends Saint Mary's Cathedral, goes to those discotheques where the Salvadoran group "Sabor Tropical"

plays, a musical group whose members are relatives. They also go to those fiestas organized by different organizations, such as the Latin American Fiesta or the fiestas organized by the Salvadoran associations. Many times, around a male friendship group one finds a group of females, which may include one of the male's sister and her friends. However, they cannot participate in all the activities of males. Moreover, among the females friendship relations have rather a dyadic character.

Among adults, the friendship groups also have an important role in the social life of Salvadoran families. These groups constitute associations between families that go beyond the simple meeting of friends. Sometimes, when the friendship is very strong, this relation is reinforced by *compadrazgo's* ties, which give the relationship a more ceremonial character. Friendship and compadrazgo clearly play a central role in the recomposition of the Salvadoran group in Calgary.

These two kinds of social relationship are based mainly on the logic of the gift, a sort of social exchange that represents an unconditional offer "in which explicit recognition of instrumental goals is excluded from performance" (Smart, A.: Mimeograph, 24). Because the rights and duties are not rigidly defined, principally in the case of friendship relations, the reciprocal character of the gift is emphasized. However, this reciprocal character is realized in an altruistic atmosphere.

At this level of the analysis, it is important to consider the Central American dimension of the Salvadoran community. Indeed, Salvadorans establish strong friendship relations with people from other countries of Central America, mainly from Guatemala but also from Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica. The cultural affinities allow them to develop this kind of social relationships. Moreover, Central Americans share the same social condition: all them have left their countries because of the political situation and all have suffered more or less the same process of integration to Calgarian society. Salvadorans, then, establish strong ties of solidarity with people from Central America.

Friendship, on the other hand, is more open than kinship ties, since Salvadorans, both young and adult, can establish friendship ties with Canadians, who may form part of their friendship groups. In this sense, this institution is allowing the integration of Salvadorans into Calgarian social life.

However, it is important to remark here that if it is true that Salvadorans sometimes integrate their Canadian friends into their friendship groups, Salvadorans always distinguish clearly their friendship relations with other Salvadorans and Central Americans, on the one hand, and their friendship relations with Canadians, on the other hand. Actually, Canadian friends constitute a complement more than a substitute for their Salvadoran and Central American friends.

The second kind of friendship relations in the Salvadoran community in Calgary is found in the organization of soccer teams. The Salvadoran community participates in the Latin American soccer championship the Latin Americans organize each summer. Some Salvadorans told me that this event began around 8 years ago. According to them, the event was organized originally by the Chilean community and later, perhaps five years ago, the Salvadorans began to participate. However, a Salvadoran football player who has been five years in Calgary, told me that the championship was originally organized by Salvadorans, perhaps five or four years ago, and that they called it Liga Hispana (Hispanic League), because they wanted to embrace other peoples from Latin America. According to this informant, Salvadorans at first organized only one Salvadoran team, Club Deportivo Cuscatlán, but later organized more teams because there were more Salvadorans in Calgary and one team was not enough.

In the 1991 championship, there were five Salvadoran teams: Atonal, El Salvador, Pipiles, Centro Americanos and Alianza Latina. Not all the members of these teams were from El Salvador. Some were from other countries of Central America, but the majority of the players were Salvadorans. Alianza Latina was in part organized by the Catholic priest of Saint Mary's Cathedral, and some of their players were members of the El Salvador's team, but they left this team because of internal contradictions.

In these championships, the competition between Salvadorans and Chileans is classic. Many Salvadorans told me how they fought against Chileans, mainly when the final match of the Championship was between a Salvadoran team and a Chilean one. This was the reason why some Chilean teams did not want to play this last summer. Only one Chilean team, Bolivar, played in the 1991 championship. The Great Final was then played by two Salvadoran teams, Atonal and El Salvador. The former won the Championship. The winners ran around the middle ground, as is the custom in the soccer championships. "Because this last match is being played between Central Americans, some fans commented, they are not fighting".

What I would like to stress here is that Salvadorans establish solidarity relationships through the soccer teams. Members of a soccer team become friends and develop relations based on the principle of mutual aid. As I asserted earlier, these social relationships constitute the basis on which the new ethnic group is being created. If we take into account that Salvadorans cannot develop their neighborhood relationships in Calgary, because in general they do not have Salvadoran neighbors, these friendship relations represent an important basis for the development of Salvadoran solidarity. Finally, I should consider in this section the social relationships that have grown inside the institutions and work places. Although *los cheros* help when one of them needs work, in general I have not been able to see relations of

solidarity between Salvadorans inside the work place. Except for the case of the High River factory, where many Salvadorans work, Salvadorans are dispersed in many factories, in many buildings (to clean them) and in the work place in general. They cannot develop a sense of solidarity in these places. Their work companions are people from different nationalities and ethnic groups and categories with whom they do not establish relations of solidarity.

There are, nevertheless, some social institutions in which Salvadorans develop solidarity ties between themselves and with Central Americans. The Calgary Mennonite Centre for Newcomers is a case in point. This social centre has helped many Salvadorans to establish themselves in Calgary and in its office some Salvadorans develop their own social relationships. Actually, this social centre maintain relations with the whole Salvadoran community, even if it focuses its activities on those Salvadorans who have not been sponsored by the federal government. There are three Salvadorans working in this office and they are the ones who have been directly assisting the Salvadoran immigrants. They settle the legal status of Salvadorans with the immigration office of the federal government; they help Salvadorans to find a place to live; they put them in contact with a counsellor who helps them to establish themselves in the city and to resolve their migratory situation. This office also gives out clothes and

food for newcomers in general, Salvadoran and Central American communities seize the opportunity.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS:

Up to this point, we have seen that friendship relations represent the central element constituting the new Salvadoran-Calgarian ethnic group. These friendship relations are reinforced by the institution of *compadrazgo*. There is also another kind of social relationship that is important in the formation the Salvadoran community in Calgary, namely the social relations that grow inside the religious communities and the Salvadoran social organizations.

In Calgary, there are four major religious Hispanic communities: the Catholic community that assembles mainly in Saint Mary's Cathedral; the Historical Protestant communities; the Evangelical and Pentecostal churches; and the semi-Christian churches (those churches that combine the Bible with other sources of revelation). The Salvadoran membership in these four religious groups is summarized below in Table 4.

Table 4

Religious Affiliation of Salvadorans

Catholics	134	58.77%
Historical Protestants (Lutherans, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and others)	17	7.45%
Evangelicals and Pentecostals	25	10.96%
Semi-Christians (Mormons, Witness of Jehovah, Gnostics, and others)	24	10.52%
No church	<u>28</u>	<u>12.28%</u>
	228	99.98%

As we can see, the Catholic community constitutes the largest religious group. This is also the most unified community. Many Salvadorans, even those who hold a marxist ideology, associate their culture and identity with the Catholic religion. Generally, the other religions are considered a foreign penetration into the Salvadoran community, or as an imperialist infiltration, in the view of those who maintain a marxist line of thought.

In El Salvador the protestant churches represent only around 16.4% of the total population (cf. Lara, C.:1990). If we take into account that a sector of the Salvadoran society does not belong to any church, the Catholic population may be estimated at 70%. In Calgary this proportion has diminished, since only a 58.77% of the Salvadorans maintain a Catholic affiliation.

Nevertheless, Catholics still represent the majority of the population among Salvadoran-Calgarians.

The Salvadoran Catholic community that has grown around Saint Mary's Cathedral is part of the Latin American Catholic community. Within this wider community Salvadorans can be seen to maintain their own social relations, as well as with the Central American community, while they keep a certain distance from the Chilean community. This distance is kept even when they participate in the Sunday mass. In these rituals, Chileans normally occupy the first pews of the church. Chileans also stand out because they always dress well. Salvadorans are the ones who form the musical group of the church - one bass, two guitars, the maracas and percussions, and the choir consisting of two men and two women -. Salvadorans are the ones who normally read the first and the second biblical lectures, who collect the alms, and who provide the children who assist the priest at the altar. Chileans normally do not involve themselves in these activities.

Within the Catholic community, Salvadorans develop their own friendship and solidarity relationships. Among the Salvadorans attending Sunday mass assiduously, there are many smaller groups who share their social life and develop a sense of mutual aid. This is specially obvious when the Sunday mass ends and the parishioners gather in the church basement

to socialize and drink coffee. Usually, Salvadorans are in the majority. It is interesting to see how they then divide into different friendship groups within which they share bread and coffee and talk about many things.

The Catholic priest, who is from Venezuela, promotes the Latin American unity. He told me that the Anglo Saxon priests do not like Latin American parishioners feeling that the Latin Americans have invaded their church. This opposition between Anglo-Catholics and Latin American parishioners unifies the Latin American community, even though strong contradictions exist within the Latin American community itself. The priest remarked that he promoted the organization of the Alianza Latina team because this team represents the unity of Latin Americans. However, most of the team players were from El Salvador while the others were from the other countries of Central America. No Chilean played in this team. The priest also focuses his work on the unity of Latin American families. In his view the family is the cell of the group: "If the family is destroyed, the group is destroyed also". On September 15, 1991, the Latin American Catholic community chose its name: Our Lady of Guadalupe, the patron Saint of Latin Americans.

On July 28, 1991, the Latin American Catholic community organized a mass in a park outside the city. The mass was celebrated at 1 o'clock in a certain atmosphere of *communitas*, temporarily abolishing distinctions between Chileans and

Central Americans. The open air mass turned into a picnic. When the mass ended the participants chose their tables. Again relatives and friendship groups sat at the same table. The group of children who had assisted the priest joined to grill the meat. They and their families shared a table and they spent the day enjoying themselves together.

In general, Salvadorans conduct many ceremonies through the Catholic church: baptisms, first communions, 15 year old anniversaries, and so on. It is a place where they can develop their own social relations. In a society in which they have satisfied their basic material needs, the principal value of mutual aid between Salvadorans is not economical, but rather social. Salvadorans are looking for better social relations through which to develop and reinforce their own system of social norms and values.

Salvadorans are creating their new system of social norms and values through the Catholic church (and of course the other churches). In this sense the Catholic church (and the religious organizations in general) is not a conservative institution but rather a progressive one. "We transmit you the better of the Canadian society", the Catholic priest remarked. When some followers protested because of their children's behavior and their refusal to submit to fatherly discipline, the priest said: "We are in Canada and you cannot behave as you were in El Salvador".

In this context, we should also consider the development of the prayer group among Central American Catholics. The prayer group is composed of a nucleus of seven persons: two from Nicaragua (a woman and a man) and four from El Salvador (two men and two women) and a sister from Quebec who coordinates the group. This nucleus meets each Wednesday in the presbytery of Saint Mary's Cathedral. Its main objective is to praise God, but also to discuss and try to solve members' problems. This group has developed a high degree of solidarity. Its members are the ones who orient the wider prayer group. This group meets every Saturday in the basement of Saint Mary's Cathedral. Normally, it assembles between 20 and 30 persons, but one day I counted 43 adults, not including the children. The participants, elders, adults and young people, are principally from Central America. No member of the prayer group is from Chile. When the prayer ends, the Catholic church offers coffee and bread to the participants, and gives them food (bread, honey, butter, yoghurt).

It is interesting to see that in this group believers sing more or less the songs sung by Pentecostals and Evangelicals, with the only difference that the Catholics make reference to Rome, the Pope and the Virgin Mary. Moreover, the Catholic prayer group develops a similar social structure to that of those churches, a structure of solidarity within which members sustain direct social relationships with one another, although membership in the Catholic church also incorporates them into

a more hierarchical structure. In fact, the principal leaders of the Catholic prayer group promote what they called the renewed church, a fruit of the Pentecostal movement within the Catholic church. From my point of view, this movement has its origin in the same causes that brought about the development of the Pentecostal and Evangelical churches, namely: the disorganization of the social relationships that govern the daily lives of the individuals involved in the movement.

In this sense, these religious movements may be interpreted as attempts by social actors to create a new structure of social relationships and a new system of social norms and values. In this case, the process of constitution in free manual workers and the disarticulation of the Salvadoran families, on the one hand, and the integration into a new society with a new system of social norms and values, on the other, motivates people to look for a new religious organization that will give them a different and stronger sense of identity and solidarity.

This is very clear if we analyze the Pentecostal and Evangelical churches among Salvadoran-Calgarians. As an example, I will take the Pentecostal church of Assemblies of God that has grown in the Bowness area. This church has approximately 20 members, almost all of them relatives. The majority live in the Bowness area in two buildings that face each other. The area that is in between the two buildings is

used by their children to play. Other relatives of theirs who are also members of the church live across the street from these buildings. These Pentecostal Salvadorans develop a high degree of solidarity between them: they share not only their religious life but also their social life. Although they live in different houses, their children go in and out of each other's house. They organize picnics as an activity of the church and in the summer "the brothers", as they call themselves, play soccer every Saturday. In brief, this community has developed a strong sense of mutual aid on the basis of its spiritual communion.

A woman who assists in the Apostolic church in downtown Calgary, told me that the brothers help each other, not because they are Salvadorans, but because they are brothers, because they are member of the same church. She is 51 years old and she is alone in Calgary. However, she has her brothers and in fact she is living with a Salvadoran family that belongs to her church:

CL: "Cree Ud. que los Salvadoreños deben de ayudarse unos a otros?"

Inf: "Saber, no sé. Bueno, yo le puedo yo decir que entre hermanos sí, pero eso de que sean Salvadoreños, de los mismos lugares, no creo yo. Pero entre hermanos sí".

Another small but strong community also developed in the Presbyterian church. In this case we find approximately ten members, the majority of them from El Salvador. These believers meet every Sunday and their religious service has a high content of social criticism. They also share many social activities and develop a sense of mutual aid. The Costa Rican Presbyterian minister constantly talks about the Central American situation, developing a strong social consciousness about the living conditions of Central American peoples.

Finally, we have to consider the Salvadoran social organizations that have arisen in Calgary. These organizations are four: the Community of Central American Refugees Mons. Romero, the Community Mons. Romero, the House of El Salvador, and the Salvadoran-Canadian Cultural Association. These are small groups whose members are not only Salvadorans but also Canadians. These organization seek to develop a solidarity atmosphere with the Salvadoran revolution. Although these organizations were once divided and known to compete against each other because of their different political views, they nowadays maintain harmonious relations and develop many joint activities, as feasts and discussions about the situation of El Salvador. Their members also maintain strong social relations among themselves, and weaker relations with the religious organizations described above.

In general, all the organizations described in this section - both religious and social - develop their own internal network of solidarity. However, they maintain very weak relations between organizations. The Catholic community, because it is the widest community, is the one that maintains the most relationships with the other groups, principally with the Presbyterian group and the social organizations. The Catholic Salvadorans normally have relatives and friends in these communities and keep solidarity ties with them. However, it is clear that the Catholic community also constitutes its own network of solidarity. The Presbyterian community and the social organizations constitute groups that maintain their own network of solidarity while developing relationships of mutual aid with members of the other communities, mainly through friendship. They represent networks of solidarity that are less open than the Catholic networks but less closed than those that characterize the Pentecostal and Evangelical churches. The Pentecostal and Evangelical churches represent the more restricted networks of solidarity, since to a great extent they cut off ties with members of the other organizations.

SUMMARY:

In this chapter the central elements that characterize the process of integration of Salvadoran community into Calgarian society were described and analyzed. This process of integration is characterized, in the first place, by a process of disarticulation of the older social structure. This disarticulation of the Salvadoran social structure leads to a process of homogenization as Salvadorans become free manual workers, as well as their families adjust to new norms and values. In second place, this process of integration implies the reconstitution of the Salvadoran community within the new social system. This reconstitution is determined by the creation of a more open structure of solidarity, as the friendship relations that develop in the friendship groups and in the soccer teams, which are reinforced between Catholics by the institution of compadrazgo. This structure of solidarity becomes even more complex with the networks of solidarity that grow inside religious and social organizations.

This process of integration is to a great extent determined by the conflictual relationships that Salvadorans maintain with Canadians and Chileans. While the opposition to Chileans conditions the organization of the Salvadoran community and fosters its fusion with Central Americans, the conflict between Salvadorans and Canadians constitutes a class antagonism that determines both the disarticulation of the

older social structure and the organization of the new Salvadoran-Calgarian community.

Although Salvadorans in Calgary participate in a number of networks of solidarity, they are in the process of constituting a particular social group, since they are constituting "an entity that consists of interacting people who are aware of being psychologically bound together in terms of mutually linked interests" (Deutsch, M.: 1968, 265). In this case the common interest is, above all, the reconstruction of the Salvadoran community in Calgary to achieve better positions of power within their new social context. Of course, given the relatively short time Salvadorans have had to reconstitute their own community, this process of reconstruction is only beginning. In the years to come we may be able to see a more complex structure of social relations among the Salvadoran-Calgarians.

PART II: THE SYSTEM OF SOCIAL NORMS AND VALUES
AS A SYMBOLIC SYSTEM

CHAPTER III

THE PROCESS OF IMMIGRATION

INTRODUCTION:

The process of immigration that Salvadorans have experienced in the last decade, may be analyzed in many different ways. One could take the ecological model, for example, and interpret the migration process as a movement from one ecological niche to another. One could also emphasize the social, economical and political variables, as was done in the previous chapters, and analyzed the structure of social relationships that allows Salvadorans to migrate and settle in Calgary. In reality, different approaches are complementary as each studies distinct dimensions of the same phenomenon. Their conclusions may complement each other, leading to a more complete knowledge of the migration phenomena. However given my objective to understand the process of configuration of the new system of social norms and values that determines the constitution of Salvadoran-Calgarians as a new ethnic group, the analysis of the symbolic dimension is necessary.

I will focus my analysis on the symbolic dimension of immigration, and try to present a model in terms of which we can interpret the experience of immigration lived by Salvadorans. This perspective will give a better understanding of the new system of social norms and values that Salvadorans are creating in Canada, a system that began to configure within the process of migration itself. My

analysis of the immigration process will be based principally on the thirty five life's histories that I have recorded as part of my research. In other words, semi-structured and informal interviews constitute the empirical basis for my analysis.

Because of the multiplicity of significations and referents normally associated with a symbol or a set of symbols, what Victor Turner (1967) has called the multivocal quality of dominant or focal symbols, we can propose different interpretations of the representations that social actors give us about a given phenomenon. According to Grimes (1976: 45) we move beyond the representations of our informants "not by psychoanalysing our informants or appealing to unconscious meanings, but by systematically imagining and thinking through implications until implied systemic lines either meet or fail to meet". In other words, I should imagine a system of interpretation that fits both the life's histories of my key informants and my field observations. My interpretation will be valid if it is consistent with this empirical material.

Taking into account that Salvadoran culture is above all a syncretic Catholic culture⁽¹⁾, in which pilgrimages to different sanctuaries

(1) By "syncretic Catholic culture" I understand a culture in which Catholic religious conceptions are mixed with older religious beliefs, which existed before the Spanish conquest of El Salvador. Someone could object that approximately 16% of Salvadorans today belong to Protestant churches. However, the majority of these churches have been introduced to the country in the last 14 years and the basis of the culture has not changed in the aspect that concerns us.

constitute a central aspect of this religious system, we can interpret the Salvadoran immigration to Calgary according to the pilgrimage model, following not so much the Biblical pattern (the Exodus and the Abraham pilgrimage) as the model that can be derived from the ritual pilgrimages that year after year Middle American peoples practice. We should not forget that Salvadoran culture is above all a ritual culture, more than a written one, a culture which transmits its contents, its values and norms of behavior, mainly through ritual practice, understanding it as a "prescribed formal behavior for occasions not given over to technological routine, having reference to beliefs in mystical beings or powers" (Turner, V.: 1967: 19).

THE CONCEPT OF LIMINALITY:

Victor Turner (1978) derives the model he applies to the analysis of ritual pilgrimages from Arnold Van Gennep's study (1908) of the rites of passage in tribal societies. According to Van Gennep, the rites of passage embrace those rites which imply a "change of place, state, social position and age" (Turner, V.: 1967: 94) - such as puberty rites, marriage, changes of political and religious authorities.-. The key concept in this study is "liminality", a concept that is concerned with that phase which is the in between two different states. Liminality is betwixt, between the one and the other, which constitutes a transitional phase or state.

Van Gennep distinguished into these rites three different phases: separation, transition and incorporation. The first one, establishes a sacred time and space, which demarcates a separation from secular space and time. It changes the quality of time and space and develops symbols of reversal or inversion of social relationships and secular processes. In the second phase, the phase of transition, the individuals enter an area of ambiguity which Van Gennep called "margin" or "limen". In this phase individuals share both characteristics of the preceding and subsequent cultural states or profane social statuses. Finally, the stage of "reaggregation" or "incorporation" includes a set of symbolic actions which expresses the return of the subjects to their new and well-defined position in the society. It is expected that the subjects will behave in accordance with the norms and values that characterize their new status. Many of these rites are irreversible if we see them from the point of view of individuals. They are, however, cyclical in the sense that every year are repeated by everyone. This cyclical character determines the conservative nature of these rites, as we will see shortly.

Turner (1978: 2) writes that " by identifying liminality Van Gennep discovered a major innovative, transformative dimension of the society". In tribal societies, the liminal phase includes reflection upon the cosmological system, which is presented by the elders through the rites, myths, songs, instruction in a secret language, and many non-verbal symbolic genres, such as dancing, painting, and so on. Liminality, in this sense, implies reflection about the culture,

and includes a number of activities through which people "play" with their culture and the elements that compose it. Liminality is, in Turner's view, the source of new cultural innovations.

Turner takes the term "anti-structure" to refer not a mere structural reversal, but to point to "the liberation of human capacities of cognition, affect, volition, creativity, etc., from the normative constraints..." (1982: 44). The anti-structure is, above all, concerned with "the latent system of potential alternatives from which novelty will arise when contingencies in the normative system require it" (1982: 28). The innovations consist not only of the addition of new elements (for example, ideas or values) but also of new combination rules.

In relation to the anti-structural character of the liminal phase, Turner introduces the concept of "communitas", by which he understands the process through which people establish unmediated relationships with one another. The state of communitas does not mean that the subjects erase from their consciousness structural norms, but rather represents a particular way used by the group to symbolize the negation or inversion of the normative structure that governs the daily life of its members.

According to Turner, in agrarian and tribal societies rites of passage and their liminal phases are directed to strengthen the dominant system of social norms and values rather than change the established cultural patterns, for their symbols, although subject to new cultural constructions, are involved within relatively cyclical,

repetitive, stable systems. Turner argues that while the term liminality was first introduced in the analysis of this kind of systems, need not be restricted solely to tribal and agrarian rites. Nor should the term liminality be reduced to a transitional phase between two well-defined statuses or states.

In Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture Turner states that "liminality is now seen to apply to all phases of decisive cultural change, in which previous orderings of thought and behavior are subject to revision and criticism, when hitherto unprecedented modes of ordering relations between ideas and people become possible and desirable" (1978: 2). From my point of view, migration constitutes one of these multiple phases that produce decisive cultural changes.

According to Turner, pilgrimage constitutes the typical massive event of liminality in the Christian tradition. Modern pilgrimage journeys may be understood as liminoid phenomena, in the sense that they represent a contemporary metaphor of liminality. As Turner remarks in From Ritual To Theatre: "liminoid resembles without being identical to liminal" (1982: 32). Indeed, Turner argues that liminality acquires new features in the context of the social structures that have sprung from the industrial revolution. "Liminoid" is a good term to refer to the liminal phenomena in these societies, reflecting the following differences with the liminal phase of pre-industrial societies.

For my study, one central difference is the place of liminality within both kind of society. While in tribal societies liminal phenomena are integrated to the whole social process, forming part of the structure of production and reproduction, in complex societies the liminoid practices tend to belong to times and places that are completely separated from the process of production and reproduction. In these societies the work through which one earns his or her living is situated apart from the other activities. This circumstance changes the character of liminoid practices. First of all, while liminoid activities are optional in complex societies, in tribal societies liminal practices are included into obligatory rites of passage. This feature is related to the individualist emphasis of complex societies governed by what Durkheim called organic solidarity. Liminoid practices are, above all, the result of an individual choice. They are not cyclical, as liminal phenomena are, but continuously generated. Although they may be collective, normally liminoid products are individual (as scientific and artistic works, games, sports) but with a collective effect.

Finally, according to Victor Turner, while liminal phenomena are eufunctional even when they appear as an inversion of the social norms and values, liminoid phenomena have a revolutionary character and constitute the elements of social critique. This subversive character of liminoid phenomena is generated and reinforced by the fact that liminoid activities are realized apart from the ordinary economic and political processes, in places that

constitute the margins of society, "the interfaces and the interstices of central and servicing institutions" (1982: 54).

Even if in complex societies both types of liminality coexist, the liminal has a more reduced dimension. Pilgrimages in complex societies are examples of liminoid phenomena, although we can find in them many characteristics of liminal practices. In the final analysis, liminal and liminoid constitute ideal types constructed by Victor Turner to analyze the concrete phenomena that he is studying. In the real phenomena observed by the anthropologist, liminal and liminoid features are intermingled in such a way that we cannot draw rigid distinctions between the two.

PILGRIMAGE AND IMMIGRATION:

My hypothesis is not so much that immigration is a pilgrimage, but rather that it can be thought metaphorically as a pilgrimage. Indeed, if we look carefully at both phenomena, we will discover many analogies that make this metaphor possible.

First, a pilgrimage, as an immigration, is a movement that goes "from here to there, from near to far" (Grimes, R.: 1976: 70). Both movements are goal-oriented: the pilgrims are looking for a Holy place, the migrants are searching for a land where they can live in peace and where they can meet all their needs. To my question: What

do you like most about living in Calgary?, informants (91% of them) answered that they like this city because it is a peaceful and calm city where they have all that they need. An informant added that "if my grandmother would have been a millionaire, she would not have given me as much as Canada gave me". According to this informant, a mechanic from a province of El Salvador, Canada gave him house, food, clothes and all that he and his family needed. Another informant said that "his wife understood that coming to Canada implied an improvement for them". In other words, Canada represents for Salvadoran migrants, principally for the approximately 80% who come from the lower and middle-lower classes, a peaceful land of "milk and honey", to use a metaphor taken from the Latin American Bible. But, for the remaining Salvadorans (approximately 20%), who feel the deterioration of their former social position, Canada also represents a peaceful land, a land where they have saved their lives and the lives of their families, a land where their children can grow healthy.

What is the ultimate meaning of the Holy land? The Holy land is a purified land where people go to cleanse their social and individual sins, it is a place where pilgrims are released temporarily from the structures that govern their daily life. From this perspective, the Holy land represents, above all, a place where pilgrims find what they cannot acquire in their own land. The Holy Land represents a liminal space which ignores the social structures and the structure of authority that normally dominate their lives. In the same way, Salvadoran migrants construct an ideal model of Canada according to

which they find in this country what they cannot see in their own. Canada, and in particular Calgary, represents for Salvadorans the negation of the everyday life in El Salvador and, therefore, the negation of the social structure and the violent situation that dominate their country. In this sense, behind the process of migration, as in pilgrimages, we find the idea of liberation.

This idea is related to the fact that Salvadoran people come to Calgary because they flee from a situation of extreme oppression. In general, my informants mentioned the political situation as the principal reason for which they left El Salvador: "For security reasons", an informant told me. Political conflict, war and violence, constitute the principal reason for which Salvadorans leave their country. In the majority of cases, they have suffered the loss of a close kin. This last element is very important, if we take into account that Salvadoran society is ruled by the institution of extended family, in which the relationships between brothers and cousins have great significance for the functioning of the whole society.

In this context, I would like to suggest the following model of what I consider up to here the dominant symbols of the process of immigration of the Salvadoran community:

EL SALVADOR → LAND OF OPPRESSION → LAND OF VIOLENCE AND
SHORTAGES
CANADA → HOLY LAND → LAND OF PEACE, MILK
AND HONEY

As Victor Turner remarked in The Forest of Symbols, "a symbol is a thing regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something by possession of analogous qualities or by association in fact or thought" (1967: 19). Following Turner, these dominant symbols are, above all, symbols that we cannot consider as mere means for the performance of a specific ritual, for they represent ends in themselves, that is, they represent axiomatic values for the people who engage in the symbolic activity. Those symbols maintain a considerable autonomy in relation to the ends of the symbolic activities in which they appear. They therefore constitute relatively fixed points either in the cultural or social structures, and even serve as points of junction between both structures. Since symbols normally produce a determined action, dominant symbols, Turner adds, become the foci of interaction, mobilizing groups around them, as they perform other symbolic activities near the dominant symbols and add other symbols to them.

Canada and El Salvador constitute dominant symbols that produce a specific action, the immigration of Salvadorans to Canada. Around these two dominant symbols we have other symbols that, following Turner, I call "instrumental symbols". These symbols are subordinated to the ends or purposes of a specific symbolic activity.

These symbols should be regarded in relation to the syntagmatic chain that compose the symbolic activity, since each symbolic activity has its own way of combining symbols. These instrumental symbols will be examined in the analysis of the immigration process.

TRAVELING TO CALGARY:

If the pilgrimage model is valid, the migration of Salvadorans to Calgary can be analyzed as a pilgrimage and, therefore, should be composed of the three stages characteristics of the rites of passage: separation, transition and incorporation. Here, I will review these three phases in the light of the empirical data that I have collected in the field.

The first phase is identified by the departure of Salvadorans from "the land of oppression". The majority of my informants talked about the abuses of the Salvadoran army against people. Fifty percent of them told me that a brother, cousin or another close kin was assassinated by the Salvadoran army or a related special military force. Others told me that their lives or the life of a close kin they are responsible for (a son or a daughter) were in danger. Only one informant mentioned abuses by the National Front of Liberation (FMLN).

Informants remarked that to be young in El Salvador was to live in danger of death, since the Salvadoran army associated (and still associate) young people with the rebels. Likewise, to be related to a trade union or to whatever organization that defended workers was considered a form of opposition to the government and, therefore, endangered one's life. As one of my informants told me, "Salvadorans are fleeing from organized terrorism". This fact marks the first phase of the immigration journey. For peasants the migration begins within El Salvador. Many first traveled to San Salvador or to another places in El Salvador fleeing from the violence in their towns or "cantones". Some of them lived in three or four different places before leaving their country.

This first phase is definitely engaged when migrants separate themselves from their communities and begin their pilgrimage. For the majority of Salvadorans, to leave their country was not easy. Some of them had to wait from six months to one year for their legal papers and for the Canadian government decision to accept them as refugees. Others were forced to leave El Salvador illegally. In general, migrants left without their families. 58% of my informants stress that they had to leave alone, without anyone knowing.

It is important to point out that normally it is Salvadoran men who first leave El Salvador, preceding their women and children. The path to freedom is dangerous and they open the way. Only one of my informants stated that his wife left before him, and she was the one who took the decision. However, in this case the woman said that

after she and her husband joined in the United States, he became the head of the journey. If Salvadoran men generally lead their family groups along the journey, women have a great say in the decision to leave El Salvador and to come to Canada: "and I left because my mother told me that she preferred to see me far but alive than near but death", an informant said. Another informant pointed out: "I was still doubtful, and I told her (to his wife), I told her that it if was necessary to come, because I was not completely sure, but, however, we took the decision quickly...".

On the other hand, individuals who take the decision to leave their country or their towns, determine by themselves the day and the hour to undertake the journey, although this decision is constrained by the political circumstances (danger, threats) of the country. Unlike the rites of passage of tribal societies, where the novices are taken in charge by their communities and wherein the degree of individual choice is practically null, we find a high degree of individual choice in the case of Salvadoran migrants. Then, as in pilgrimages, the migration of Salvadorans to Calgary may be considered as a liminoid phenomenon.

When the journey to Calgary begins, the liminoid phase strictly speaking is entered into. This liminoid stage begins when individuals set off from El Salvador and finishes when individuals arrive and establish themselves in Calgary, notwithstanding the fact that some people move on to other places within Canada. The main idea here is that this journey may be interpreted, principally

for those Salvadorans that come from the lower and middle lower classes of El Salvador, as a "Via Crucis". Jesus Christ constitutes the paradigm of this interpretation. The focus is not the Jesus Christ that triumphs over death, which is represented in the Ascension icon, but the Jesus Christ that suffers for his people, the Jesus Christ of Holy Friday, who lives a Via Crucis, is betrayed and finally murdered.

Why this symbol? Why not take the symbol of Virgin Mary, since Middle American pilgrimages are principally Marian? There are two answers to this question. The first one, is that in Middle America we can find many pilgrimages to shrines where Jesus Christ is the dominant symbol, as, for instance, Our Lord of Chalma in Mexico and the Black Christ of Esquipulas in Guatemala. This last Deity is specially outstanding for Salvadorans, since year after year they peregrinate to this sanctuary. Second, and perhaps the most important argument, the Marian symbols cannot be thought as completely dissociated from the symbol of Jesus Christ. As I have argued in other work (cf. Lara, C: 1988), the Middle American Saints are dominated by a dialectic between metaphor and metonymy, that is, a dialectic between arbitrary association and contiguity, which according to Edmund Leach (1976) constitutes a general characteristic of religious thought. This dialectic determines that Middle American people cannot think of the Virgin Mary as an autonomous symbol. The Virgin Mary is the spiritual mother of Middle Americans because she is the mother of Jesus Christ. If Jesus Christ is the symbol of the "martyr-hero" among Middle

American peoples, Virgin Mary represents the resignation before the suffering. Then, the model behind the second phase of the migration is, above all, the Via Crucis of the Holy Friday.

The journey to Calgary may last from one day to many years. This depends in the first place on the social class of the individuals concerned. "How did you come?, I asked a peasant woman, "by airplane?". "What?", she replied, "who comes by airplane is because he (or she) has money". In other words, the route travelled from El Salvador to Canada varies according to the social class of the migrants. Of course, this route is not determined solely by social class, but also by the relationships established with representatives of the Canadian government or with the churches and international organizations that help political refugees. Thus, Salvadorans have used many different routes to come to Calgary. Nevertheless, the principal route that Salvadorans use is as follows:

EL SALVADOR → MEXICO → SOUTHERN PART → CANADA*
(Guatemala) OF THE U.S.A.

*Another variants are: El Salvador → Costa Rica → USA → Canada, or El Salvador → Honduras → Nicaragua → El Salvador → USA → Canada. However, in essence the symbolic analysis is the same. The general conclusions may be applied to the different routes.

The first characteristic of this second phase is that Salvadorans as a rule travel individually. They move out from El Salvador leaving their family groups in their homes. Some of them travel with a

relative to protect themselves from the dangers of the world. "I arrived only with my son, then arrived my wife and my daughters", an informant commented. However, many Salvadorans have to travel without their families. In the bus (or in the airplane), other Salvadorans travel with the same objectives. All of them are fleeing from what an informant called "organized terrorism". During the journey, when migrants meet they identify with each other because they are in the same situation, not only those that come from El Salvador, but also those that come from different countries of Central America and even South America.

The first place where Salvadorans arrive is Mexico. Some Salvadorans stay in the state of Chiapas, others go to Mexico city or other places. An informant told of the difficulties he had to establish relations with other Salvadorans in Mexico city. He worked in the subway construction where he met many Salvadorans who were illegally in Mexico and were working in the same job. They organized a soccer team but it was very difficult to maintain the communication between them, because Mexico is a very large city and to move from one point to other may involve two hours or more:

"Bueno, primero en el trabajo en que yo estaba, yo trabajaba en las obras del metro y es un trabajo donde llegaba gente de todas partes. Y lo interesante fué de que allí conocí muchos Salvadoreños ilegales. Yo no estaba

ilegal pero, pero, este, muchas, muchas personas ilegales de allá de El Salvador. Y comencé yo a ayudarlos, no?, en el aspecto, en lo que fuera posible y, este, este, nos relacionábamos, o sea en el trabajo. Luego, este, este, formamos un equipo, me acuerdo. O sea, tratamos de, de estar en comunicación pero, o sea era bien difícil porque México es una ciudad enorme, demasiado grande".

Another informant described the group of Salvadoran friends that he had in Cuernavaca, Mexico. They were five young Salvadorans who were together all the time. They helped each other in the work place. When one was in need the others told him: "try there, tell the boss that you come on my behalf". In Mexico it was not so difficult, this informant said, because in that country friendship relations are very efficacious to obtain a job. He knew his friends in the construction work. Soccer and the Catholic church offered a good introduction to Cuernavacan society.

These Salvadorans left Mexico because they wanted to improve their economic condition. The inflation in Mexico was very high and the income was not sufficient to meet one's needs. An informant commented, "and I didn't have a welfare as I do here". They were also looking for a more peaceful country, a "democratic country", one of them said. Again, this view expresses the notion that they have constructed about Canada.

Many Salvadorans merely pass through Mexico to go to the United States, where they have relatives and friends who may receive them. These migrants do not have relatives or friends in Mexico. Their journey through Mexico represents a Calvary they must suffer to reach the land of peace, milk and honey. Normally, they suffer abuses and ill-treatments at the hands of Mexican special police forces. The members of these forces steal the migrants' money who then have to survive without money in a country where they know nobody. It is tantamount to walking through the desert without food and water. The migrants have to eat chilli and tortillas to survive in what to them is a foreign country. They nevertheless find the solidarity of Mexican people who help them with tortillas and water.

Inf: "No, y en México, bueno, en México no, no, me quedé sin dinero allá, estuve obligadamente, estuve varios días.

CL: "Ah, que se lo quitaron".

Inf: Si, alli, en México practicamente me robaron todito mi dinero, sin nada..."

CL: "La Judicial"

Inf: "La Judicial. Yo todavía me acuerdo que esa vez le supliqué al tipo que me dejara por lo menos 10 dólares, le dije que por favor no tenía nada para comer. No!, me dijo, si Usted ay los lleva escondidos. No, le dije, no tengo nada, y realmente no tenía nada. Nos quedamos con otro grupo de Salvadoreños que venían para alla".

CL: "A dónde se quedaron?"

Inf: Allí en, en, en Navojoa. Nosotros que veníamos en el tren, allí en Navojoa nos quedó de llevar, Navojoa es antes de llegar a Hermosillo".

CL: "Ajá, si, en Sonora".

Inf: "Sonora, alla en el Estado de Sonora. Allí nos quedamos, allí a comer tortillas con chile. Me acuerdo que reunimos un puño de monedas, se hicieron quizás como 3000, 3000 pesos Mexicanos. Y el kilo de tortillas valía 700, 700 pesos, y una botella de salsa picante no se cuánto valía, 300, algo así. Lo que hicimos es que le echábamos chile a la tortilla y sólo eso, eso comíamos, tortilla con chile. Después, no teníamos dinero para las tortillas. Me acuerdo que una vez me fuí para el mercado y me le quedé viendo a la señora, que una gran bolsada de tortillas... y le dije que no teníamos tortillas, que no teníamos, que no teníamos comida, le dije yo, vea, le expliqué así a la señora un rato, entonces y, y la señora me regaló un montón de tortillas".

CL: "Se las regaló?"

Inf: "Siii, las tortillas; bien, bien feo se siente, hombre, porque no sé, me daba verguenza, pero al mismo tiempo..."

It is not only the migrants who travel by bus who suffer the abuses of these special police forces. Those who travel by airplane also have been stolen by "la judicial":

"... tuve problemas porque, por ejemplo cuando llegué, en el aeropuerto me robaron, pero los mismos de allí del aeropuerto, o sea los judiciales. Pero de ahí, con la gente particular no tuve ningún problema, siempre fuimos bien recibidos".

Mexico, in this context, represents a prolongation of the oppressive state. If in their own country Salvadorans suffered the abuses of the national army and the police forces, in Mexico this situation of arbitrariness continues although on a smaller scale. While Mexico may represent for Salvadoran migrants a diminution in the degree of oppression and suffering, the structure of oppression endures.

This condition fosters a high degree of solidarity between Salvadoran migrants, at least while they remain in this state of oppression and suffering. On this matter, an informant told me that relatives of one of the Salvadoran migrants came where they stayed, while my informant was waiting for his nephew who lived in California and would arrive at the U.S. border to help him. The newcomers helped the informant, along with other migrants who were traveling together:

"Eh, en ese entonces quizás estuve como 8 días, o sea que, que en ese lapso de tiempo me co... me, ya andaba el teléfono de ese sobrino allí en, en, en Estados Unidos, le hable y los demás hicieron lo mismo, inclusive unos familiares de los que venían con nosotros fueron hasta donde estábamos nosotros y ellos, ellos dieron, nos dieron, nos dieron

comida, pagaron hotel, pagaron todo, en lo que yo estaba esperando, este, y pues si seguía esperando, yo le supliqué a este sobrino que me ayudara. Ellos no tenían dinero, prestaron dinero para pagar a otro coyote, para pagar a otro coyote para nosotros llegar a la frontera a los Estados Unidos, a la frontera de Mexico-Estados Unidos, para que otro coyote nos pasara para acá, para Estados Unidos..."

Although, this is not strictly a state of *communitas*, it is clear that migrants intensify their ties of solidarity during the journey and, up to certain point, they breathe a *communitas* likeness.

Some Salvadorans have come to Canada directly from Mexico, by airplane, while others have come through the United States. The majority of Salvadorans who have come through the United States did so because they had relatives or friends in the Southern part of that country. The Salvadoran community in the Southern States of the United States is very strong and many Salvadorans have acquaintances in the States of California and Texas. Thus, the South of the United States is an important point of reference for Salvadoran-Calgarians.

According to my informants, the South of the United States is too violent. There, they were not able to find security and stability, and the majority of them pointed out that they tried to obtain papers to stay legally in that country but it proved impossible. This

constitutes the main reason for which many Salvadorans continued on their way to a better land.

The Southern States of the United States, and principally the States of California and Texas, represent the place in which Salvadoran-Calgarians begin to experience the new social system in which they will have to live; it is, to a great extent, a place where Salvadorans see a social system that is in between the Latin American and the North American ones. In this sense, the southern U.S. represents a liminal space in their migration to Calgary. "I feel identified with California, an informant remarks, because I had my Latin American world and my American environment". This "in between state" constitutes the place where they begin to feel the conflict between the system of social norms and values that characterizes Salvadoran culture and the system that dominates North American society. This is the place where Salvadoran-Calgarians begin to create their new system of social norms and values.

A Salvadoran girl (26 years old), who lived three years in California, insisted that in the United States she felt free because she did not worry about what people would say. "I didn't have to take care of my parents' name" (as in El Salvador), this girl asserted. "I was able to be as I am", she added. In California, she did not relate with other Salvadorans because she always felt that Salvadorans are very conformists. They think all the time of the obstacles to realize something (the negative aspects) and, of course, they think of what people will say about them. According to her, the favorite

expression of Salvadorans is: "if we would have done...". In California she became involved in the business world, buying and selling cars, which in El Salvador, according to her, was frowned upon as a woman should not engage in such an activity. However, after a year she tired of her job because she had bought everything that she wanted. When she arrived in Calgary, she came to her parents' house. Within a month she took her own apartment. This decision created conflicts with her family, principally with her mother, who wanted her daughter to live with them. "In this context", my informant asserts, "if you are very attached to your family, you will have problems, because this is a materialist culture and you cannot put at the same level the material and the sentimental...".

In this case we can clearly see the conflict of social norms and values: individualism/collectivism, freedom/social control, success-driven/non success-driven, materialism/non materialism. These binary oppositions will constitute central elements in my analysis of the creation of the new system of social norms and values which will govern the daily life of Salvadorans in Calgary. But, this will be analyzed in the next chapter. For the moment, it is enough to point to the phenomenon itself.

Some Salvadorans have come to Calgary by airplane, but others have come by bus. Many of these have stayed illegally in the United States and they have had to take the necessary steps at the Canadian border to get in the country. In general, Salvadorans who live in

Calgary are here legally, the majority of them within the refugee category. At the Canada-United States border representatives of the Canadian government, or of social institutions, such as the Calgary Mennonite Centre for Newcomers, and the churches, mainly Evangelicals and Pentecostals, assist Salvadorans to arrange their documents. A Salvadoran told me that in Los Angeles he got into contact with a person who stayed at the Canadian border to help him to cross the border. The majority of Salvadorans have come to Calgary without knowing anyone there. As I have reported in the preceding chapter, only 40% of my informants have come here because they had a kin, a pseudo-kin, or a friend living here. This shows that for the majority of Salvadoran migrants Calgary is a foreign land, a land in which they will be strangers.

An informant described how he came to Calgary five years ago. He arrived in Vancouver and there he had to swear on the Bible and to the Queen that he will not do in Canada what he did in Mexico. "What I did in Mexico was not bad, because I had to survive, I did pass for Mexican, I had all my documents as a Mexican". When he arrived in Calgary, the government did pay him a room in a hotel, the York Hotel, for three days. "In the hotel, he said, I was as a dog, I was sad... I was alone in Canada, away from my people". Then, the government moved him to what in that time was called Padrini House, near Saint Mary's Senior High School. There, he stayed five days, to the end of the month. The house did not have a good heating system and the food was fast food (canned food and snacks). In the first days of the following month, the government gave him an

apartment on 17th avenue S.W. This apartment was furnished with the basic necessities for a single man. The day that he moved to this apartment, he met a young Salvadoran, with whom he established a long friendship and who introduced him the Salvadoran community. This new friend showed him the city, and taught him how to use the C-train and the buses and how to buy groceries in the stores. According to this informant, at that time there were not many Salvadorans in Calgary.

Another informant said how much he was impressed when the government took them (him and his family) to a hotel on the very day they arrived in Calgary. Two days later, the government moved them to their new apartment and the counsellor gave him a check to buy food and clothes and to pay the apartment's rent.

CL: "Cuál fué su primera impresión cuando vino aquí a Calgary?"

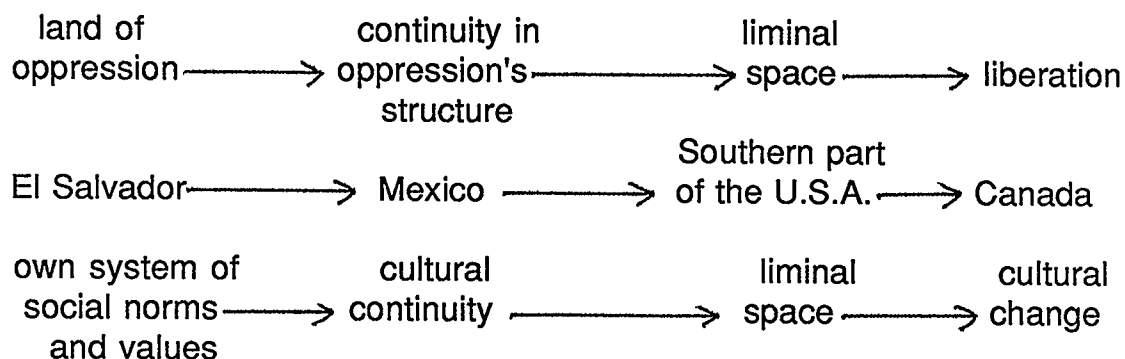
Inf: "Mi primera impresión fué cuando mi consejero me llevó a un hotel, nos llevó con toda y la familia al hotel. Entonces, yo esperaba que nos dejaran, nada, nada, ya están aquí, aquí hay un cuarto donde van a estar con otras familias o, valga la redundancia, en promiscuidad. Y ellos nos tuvieron en un hotel mientras nos buscaron la casa; a los, a los dos días ya estábamos viviendo en un apartamento. Entonces, estas son cosas que, que me impresionó, cuando me lleva, me llega, me lleva el consejero el pago y me dice, bueno, aquí tienes un cheque para comida, para la renta y para que compres ropa. Eso me impresionó, como le dije hace un

momento, mi abuela, mi abuela si hubiera sido millonaria no me hubiera dado todo eso".

Although Salvadorans feel like strangers when they arrive to this city, it is plain that they feel they have gotten to the land of peace, milk and honey. All my informants said that when they arrived to this city, their first impression was of a beautiful city, very ordered and peaceful.

Through their journey Salvadoran migrants therefore experience a progressive diminution in the degree of oppression; El Salvador represents the point of maximum oppression; Mexico represents a diminution in the degree of oppression, but in essence maintains the same structure of oppression. The Southern part of the United States, principally the States of California and Texas, corresponds to the liminal stage between Latin American (El Salvador, Mexico and other countries of Central America, as Costa Rica and Honduras, in this case) and North American systems. Here Salvadorans feel the violence of the cities and experience obstacles in gaining a stable position. However, the structure of oppression has changed and the degree of suffering has diminished. Finally, Canada (or Calgary) represents the Holy Land, the land where they finally reach their liberation. As an informant told me, "I like it here, in Calgary, because we have everything. People are very good, I never have had problems with anyone, nor with the authorities, the authorities are excellent...".

The following table presents a schema of the socio-cultural change experienced by Salvadorans:



Mexico represents continuity in the system of social norms and values. The Southern part of the United States constitutes a liminal space where people begin to feel the contradiction between their own system of social norms and values and the North American system. It is therefore the place where Salvadorans begin to change their life style. Canada (or Calgary), in the end, is the place where they have to change definitely their life style and their system of social norms and values, although they can preserve some elements of their original culture.

In this diagram, El Salvador and Canada constitute dominant symbols that cannot be substituted for other symbols. They represent fixed points in the Salvadorans' journey to Canada. At this level of symbolism, the dominant symbol is Canada more than Calgary. In fact informants talk about Canada, and include Calgary within this wider symbol. The Southern part of the United States may be

considered also as a dominant symbol, since it represents a place where a syncretic Latin-North American culture is developing and, therefore, a place that maintains a constant cultural influence over Salvadoran-Calgarians. This cultural influence may be observed not only in the goods that Salvadorans bring from California or Texas (food, videos, cassettes), but also in the fact that they travel constantly to these two States to visit their relatives or friends. Even Salvadorans who travel by airplane have to pass by the airports of Los Angeles or Houston to come to Calgary or to go to El Salvador.

Finally, in this chain of symbols Mexico is the only instrumental symbol in the true sense of the word, since its content depends completely on its relationships with the symbols previously mentioned. This is the only symbol in the chain of symbols that may be substituted by other symbols - other countries of Central America, for example -. However, its presence is important, because it reinforces the sense of oppression characteristic of Latin American system. The fact that some Salvadorans travel by airplane directly from El Salvador to Calgary does not change the analysis, since for these individuals the instrumental symbol is simply eliminated. Consequently, if it is true that the class position determines to a degree the way people interpret their experience of immigration, in its general lines this interpretation is the same for all Salvadoran migrants.

Apparently there are two liminal spaces in the migration chain of Salvadorans to Calgary. These two liminal spaces are liminal in a

different sense. The Southern part of the United States is a liminal space because its position between two great social systems. It is a liminal space not only for this migration but also for North American and Latin American cultures in general, as it constitutes a mixture of both systems. Canada, on the other hand, constitutes a liminal space in the sense that for Salvadoran migrants it represents the land of liberation, the land of peace, milk and honey. However, once in Canada Salvadorans have to face a new social system, a social system within which they are strangers and within which they occupy the lower social strata. This constitutes the last phase of the peregrination, the phase of incorporation or return to reality. Then, Canada is a liminal space solely for this migration and only while people are migrating.

Pilgrimage may be considered as a circular movement, more than a lineal one, since a pilgrimage always takes one back home. From my point of view, in this case, this coming back home is a return to everyday reality. Salvadoran immigrants have to survive in a social system that is strange to them. This is plain because the majority of my informants, as I have remarked before, state that they have felt discriminated against when they look for work. It is in the work place that they have felt above all favoritism towards white people.

CL: "Ha sentido Ud. discriminación?"

Inf: "Si existe, en los lugares de trabajo, si se aplica para un empleo hay preferencia al blanco..."

Another informant told me how she was not able to find a job in her area, because white people were always preferred.

"Recién cuando yo llegué y comencé a buscar trabajo, salía todos los días, ypués por lo mismo, por mi misma educación, no?, yo pensé que podía trabajar como secretaria o como keeping u oficinista, de lo que fuera, pero no lo logré, siempre habían otras, varias solicitudes, claro, eran de personas ya fueran Canadienses o Ingleses, siempre eran preferidos..."

On the other hand, Salvadorans feel the stress of living in a social system that in many aspects contradicts their own system of social norms and values. The work and discipline ethic, for example, constitutes a serious obstacle to the development their social relationships. "Yes, because here one doesn't work to live, one lives to work", a Salvadoran stated. The norms and values that govern the relationships inside the Canadian family constitute another example, since these norms destroy the unity of Salvadoran families, as we have seen in the previous chapter. But, here I only want to point out the main contradictions experienced by Salvadoran migrants: they have reached the land of peace, milk and honey, but they have to live in a strange land, one in which they occupy the lower strata of this

society, and whose dominant system of social norms and values is in contradiction with their own. The price that they have to pay for living in Calgary is to change their own life style. In other words, they will not be able to reproduce their own system of social norms and values. Then, their identity will have to change. They have to create a new conception of what it is to be a Salvadoran in Calgary (or a Salvadoran in Canada).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have analyzed the process of immigration of Salvadoran community to Calgary as a pilgrimage. We have seen how the Salvadorans' immigration may be conceived of a liminoid phenomenon that resembles the rites of passage, in the sense that it consists of symbolic actions that change the social and cultural composition of Salvadoran community. After migration, Salvadorans are opened to assimilate new values and norms of behavior to govern their everyday life in Calgary. They know that they have to create a new system of social norms and values adjusted to the new life conditions. As we saw in the last chapter, the process of constitution in free manual workers and the destruction of the Salvadoran extended and nuclear families, constitute the fundamental socio-structural forces obliging the Salvadorans to create a new system of social norms and values. My hypothesis is that Salvadorans proceed to do so in a process of negotiation between their own system of social norms and values and the

system that dominates Calgarian society. This process of negotiation is the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

TOWARDS A NEW SYSTEM OF SOCIAL NORMS AND VALUES

INTRODUCTION:

In his book Culture and Personality Anthony Wallace defined a system as "a set of variable entities (persons, objects, customs, atoms or whatever) so related that, first, some variations in any one is followed by a predictable (that is, nonrandom) variation in at least one other; second, that there is at least one sequence of variations which involves all of the entities" (1970, in Grimes:1976:44). As I have remarked throughout this work, the Salvadoran-Calgarian ethnic group is not a completely constituted group; it is rather in the process of constitution. This is true also of their system of social norms and values. Thus, I will not present here a constituted system of social norms and values that governs the everyday life of Salvadorans in Calgary, but rather delineate the contradictions that are developing at the level of this system. These contradictions are the ones which, to a great extent, lead to the formation of the new system of social norms and values.

Although many criticisms have been raised against the analyses based on the model of binary oppositions, this model is useful sometimes to study and understand the logic of a determined symbolical system. As Edmund Leach wrote:

"human brains are not digital computers and human thought cannot be analysed as if it were a computer program. Nevertheless, in some respects and in some circumstances, the products of expressive actions (eg. ritual sequences, mythological texts, poems, musical scores, art forms) show marked pattern similarity to the output of a digital computer, and when we attempt to decode such message-bearing systems we usually find that binary discriminations of the YES/NO type are very prominent" (1976: 57).

In this case, I will attempt to analyze the principal contradictions that are determining, at the level of the cultural notions, the change of the system of social norms and values of the Salvadoran-Calgarians and, therefore, lead to the creation of a new one better adjusted to the new conditions of their social life. For this purpose, I will take the model of binary oppositions. The cultural contradictions that I will analyze in this chapter are the typical ones that develop in the confrontation between the Salvadoran cultural system and the Canadian one; the presentation of these contradictions in the form of binary oppositions constitutes a useful way to analyze it.

From my point of view, taking into account the semi-structured interviews and my field observations, these cultural contradictions may be ordered into two overall oppositions: success-driven : non success-driven : : materialism : non-materialism; individualism :

collectivism² : : freedom : social control. These two general set of oppositions are related, at the level of the social structure, to the process of integration of Salvadorans to the Calgarian society and, in particular, to their integration to the lower socio-economic strata of society and the disarticulation of the Salvadoran families. The oppositions success-driven : non success-driven : : materialism : non materialism are related to the process of constitution in free manual workers, since these oppositions concern the work and the discipline ethic; the second set of oppositions is related to the norms and values that govern the behavior of the members of the family group and its authority system. Thus, the analysis of the contradictions at the level of the system of social norms and values will complete the examination of the structure of social relationships presented in the first part.

**SUCCESS-DRIVEN : NON SUCCESS-DRIVEN : : MATERIALISM :
NON MATERIALISM:**

One of the central elements that characterizes Calgarian society is its work and discipline ethic. This kind of ethic is a heritage of the Protestant ethic which is at the basis of capitalist society. It is general knowledge that with Calvinism and Historical Protestantism in general, work became the manner through which people

² The term collectivism is used here as an antonym to individualism, and not in its marxist sense of collective ownership or collective control of all means of production.

demonstrated to themselves and to others their own salvation. Work became sacred since it was considered that people had to serve God through their worldly enterprises. Against the Catholic view, according to which the notion of salvation is related mainly to religious life, emphasizing the vows of chastity, obedience and poverty, Calvinism emphasized the dedication to the work, which "implied self-discipline, self-examination, hard work, dedication to one's duty and calling, and an insistence that those under one's authority should do the same" (Turner, V: 1982: 38). The dedication to work, indeed, was focused to improve the moral condition of the worker, his family, and his employees. In other words, the society as a whole was to be regulated by this work ethic.

This ethic established a strong separation between the activities related to work, that is, the activities through which a person earns his or her living, and the other social and individual activities, which were classified as leisure or free time. According to Victor Turner (1982) this dichotomy between work and leisure is typical of industrial and post-industrial societies, and I would precise of capitalist societies, because it can develop only in those societies that are not governed "by means of common ritual obligations" (Turner, V.: 1982: 36), but allow individuals to choose, at least in theory, most of their activities. Among the activities that are classified as free time, are not only those that we may consider as entertainment, such as games and sports, but also those that other societies see as social obligations, as religious activities and those related to the maintenance of social relations:

"What they wanted was ascetic dedication to the mainline economic enterprise, the sacralization of what was formerly mostly profane, or at least, subordinated to, ancillary to the sacred cosmological paradigms. Weber argues that when the religious motivations of Calvinism were lost after a few generations of worldly success, the focus on self-examination, self-discipline, and hard work in one's calling even when secularized continued to promote the ascetic dedication to systematic profits, reinvestment of earnings, and thrift which were the hallmarks of nascent capitalism" (Turner, V.: 1982: 39).

This sacralization and commitment to the economic enterprises constitutes a set of values and norms of behavior that directly opposes those that govern the daily life of Salvadorans. In fact, many Salvadorans complain about the work system in Canada because they cannot develop their social relations: "you don't have time except to work and to attend your family", a Salvadoran asserted. "We don't have time to see our friends, as we did in El Salvador", he added. This kind of statement shows the frustration of Salvadorans as they have to live in a work system that is opposed to their own life style.

The North American work system operates on the value of economic success. This value, which is not completely foreign to Salvadoran culture, specially for the members of the Salvadoran oligarchy, does not constitute a strong component of that culture. Indeed, in a country whose culture is above all Catholic, the economic success

has had a negative connotation, more than a positive one. With the introduction of capitalism the value of economic success has acquired more strength. However, the Catholic culture, mainly in its popular and syncretic version, does not allow this value to become a dominant element of life. On the contrary, in Salvadoran popular culture poverty has a positive value, since the poor is the one who lives closer to God. Then, it is more important for Salvadorans to dedicate their efforts to develop their social relations than to attempt to make more and more money.

Indeed, among Salvadorans one finds a system of social norms and values that does not completely subordinate the social life to the economic interests. The social life, that is, the religious rituals and ceremonies, the meetings with relatives and friends, has a high value in itself, representing for Salvadorans a more important one than economic success. As Karl Polanyi (1957) has pointed out, capitalism is the first social system that subordinates the whole social life to economic interests. This is one of the principal contradictions that Salvadorans experience when living in Calgary.

Salvadorans need to adjust their social life to the conditions of the Canadian work system. In fact, they are making it. "Here, in Canada", the Catholic priest said, "people do not celebrate the Saints' feasts. I have tried to remind them (the Latin Americans) of the days of the Saints, but they don't want to celebrate them". The reduction of their religious feasts system is part of this adjustment. Except for some special celebrations, as baptism,

confirmation, first communion, and some others, which are generally celebrated on the weekend, Salvadorans have reduced their religious rituals to the Sunday mass. If we take into account that Salvadorans normally develop their main values and norms of behavior through these rituals, and other civil rituals, as the independence day, for instance, it is clear that the work and discipline ethic that characterizes Canadian society forces Salvadorans to change their whole cultural system.

This conclusion is also supported by the fact that Salvadorans experience great difficulties to develop social relationships with other Salvadorans, because here "one does not work to live, but rather one lives to work", which it concerns not only with the Catholic Salvadorans but rather with the Salvadoran community as a whole.

INDIVIDUALISM : COLLECTIVISM : : FREEDOM : SOCIAL CONTROL

The second set of oppositions develops within the set of norms and values that governs the behavior of individuals within their family groups. This set of oppositions is very important since, as we have seen, it is related to the disorganization and recomposition of the Salvadoran-Calgarian ethnic group.

The oppositions concern the models of family that develop within both societies. Those models may be characterized as the opposition between the positional and the personal family. Within Salvadoran society we find a preponderance of what Mary Douglas (1970) defined as the positional family, a kind of family that "develops on the assumption that roles should be defined clearly and the elaboration of the speech, in so far as it is used to sustain role patterns, reduces ambiguity" (1970: 31). The authority system inside the Salvadoran positional family is clearly established in favor of the parents and the men of the group, although women enjoy a certain capacity of decision-making. This family system may develop, on occasion, in an authoritarian system, mainly because of the control that members of the group exert over the individuals through the age-groups (the eldest tend to control the younger members).

At the other extreme, one finds the personal family, a kind of family that is being favored by the Canadian judicial system and which may be characterized as a group in which the autonomy and personal worth of the individuals are valued above a set of fixed roles. Social control over individuals is achieved through the verbal manipulation of the feelings and the establishment of a direct relation between the acts of an individual and their consequences, not through the direct control of the group, as in the positional family. Within these two types of families, following Basil Bernstein, Mary Douglas distinguishes two different kinds of linguistic codes, the restricted and the elaborated codes. According to Basil Bernstein, who based

his theory in the theoretical reflections of Sapir, the real world is unconsciously constructed on the linguistic habits. "We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation" (Sapir: 1933, in M. Douglas: 1970: 20-21).

From this point of view, Basil Bernstein develops his concepts of restricted and elaborated codes, which are related to the two kinds of family group identified above. According to Bernstein, the socially restricted code is a linguistic code that is directly determined by the social roles of society and, particularly, by the social roles inside the family. This sort of code develops in situations in which the speakers share the same basic assumptions about the social order. In the restricted code the syntactic possibilities are reduced and rigidly ordered. In this code speakers "convey information, yes, but they also express the social structure, embellish and reinforce it" (Douglas, M.: 1970: 23). It is typical among the peoples that manage this kind of code, that when a child ask, "Why do I have to do this?", parents answer in terms of social roles: because I tell you (hierarchy), because you are a boy and not a girl (sexual role), or because it is what the children do (age group). Thus, while the child is learning the language, he or she is also learning the social roles and the behaviors that are associated with each social position.

In contrast, the elaborated code is not overdetermined by the structure of social relationships and the authority system. This

code develops in social situations in which the speakers do not accept or do not know the fundamental assumptions that are behind the behavior of their fellows. In this context the speech should make explicit the individual perceptions and should constitute a medium through which these individual perceptions are harmonized. The elaborated code allows individuals to develop their linguistic skills, since speakers have to select between a wide spectrum of syntactic alternatives organized in a more flexible way. The elaborated code becomes progressively more and more free from the social function of reasserting social roles. As a result this code's primary function is "to organise thought processes, distinguish and combine ideas" (Douglas, M.: 1970: 23).

From my point of view, Salvadoran society is dominated by the positional family, in which the behavior of the individual is determined by his or her position in the family. On the whole, these positional families function under a socially restricted code, even though the development of the capitalism and its media of mass communication have extended the elaborated code within Salvadoran society, principally among the higher and middle classes.

In this context, it is easy to understand that the binary oppositions of individualism : collectivism : : freedom : social control, reflect the opposition between the positional family and the personal family, the latter type of family, in the eyes of Salvadoran-Calgarians, being characteristic of Canadian society, mainly because it is supported by the present day judicial system. As I have

remarked, the positional family supposes a culture in which the individuals are controlled directly by the other members of the group. The personal family, on the opposite, implies a high value for individual freedom. The individual is controlled not by the members of the group but by the manipulation of language and feelings.

The integration of Salvadorans into a society dominated legally by the personal family type forces them to change their system of social norms and values. Indeed when Salvadorans arrive in Calgary, they cannot develop their family groups according to a positional structure, since the judicial system does not allow the development of this kind of family structure. Then, Salvadorans have to adjust their family structure and the system of norms and values that governed them towards the dominant personal family in Canada. In other words, Salvadorans have to create, and in fact are creating, a new system of social norms and values that promotes individual freedom.

A good example of this phenomenon is found in the following quote of a Salvadoran mother, who has understood the necessity to incorporate and interpret positively the Canadian social values. In this case, she is discussing the fact that her children will leave her house when they reach 15 or 18 years old. Although she does not accept that children leave the house of their parents at such a young age, she considers that may be positive if this helps them to grow up, to be more responsible with their life.

"... como en lo familiar hay cosas a mi que no me gustan, que los hijos ya a los 15-18 años ellos ya tienen la libertad de poderse ir, ir a vivir ellos solos. Para mi es algo de que, de que no lo puedo aceptar porque, pués, en nuestro país el núcleo familiar es distinto, no?, pero vuelvo a repetir a lo... tiene también su punto de vista bueno, no?, de que ellos se independicen y se hagan, si ellos se hacen digo yo el propósito y se toman una meta de que sí van a hacer eso porque ellos quieren tomar una... ellos quieren empezar a, a saber como ellos pueden ser responsables de sus propios estudios, de su propia vida, o sea es algo bueno, lo veo yo bueno".

This example shows us the effort that many Salvadorans make to adjust their values and norms of behavior to the Canadian system. In the final analysis Salvadorans are creating a new family system, one that may coexist with the Canadian system of personal family.

This period in which Salvadoran-Calgarians are creating their new family system is indeed a conflictual period, since the social roles that characterized Salvadoran families and the norms and values that governed them are breaking down, while the new ones are not created yet. In the previous chapter I pointed out the contradictions that are growing between parents and children and husbands and wives. These family conflicts are typical of a period of creation of new social structures and values.

CONCLUSION:

These two broad sets of binary oppositions constitute the fundamental contradictions from which Salvadoran-Calgarians are proceeding to create their new system of social norms and values. The constitution of this new system is a long process that may embrace two or three generations. However, the process has begun and we can already determine the central contradictions that will give rise to the system of social norms and values of the new ethnic group.

CONCLUSION:

THE IDENTITY OF SALVADORAN-CALGARIANS

As we saw in the chapter I, Calgarian society is above all an Anglo-Canadian capitalist society. Traditionally immigration favored people of British origin and, in second place, people from the northern countries of Europe. Salvadorans arrived in Calgary in the second half of the 1980s, in a period in which the Canadian federal government opened its immigration policy to people from non-Western societies. Although Calgary may be considered a multi-ethnic society, people of British origin have imposed their social and cultural system on the province as a whole.

Once guaranteed the Anglo-Canadian supremacy, the federal government developed its multicultural policy as a response to changes in the ethnic composition of the society and the dissatisfaction of the ethno-cultural groups and categories with the public institutions of the nation. An important objective of this multicultural policy is to achieve a better integration of the different ethnic groups and categories to the Anglo-Canadian capitalist society, while developing institutions that better reflect the multi-ethnic character of Canada.

Within this society, Salvadorans have begun their process of configuration as a particular ethnic group. This process began with their immigration journey to Calgary. This journey may be understood metaphorically as a pilgrimage, since immigrants are also looking for a Holy Land, a land of peace, milk and honey, a land where they will enjoy what they were not able to enjoy in their own. In this symbolic interpretation, El Salvador represents the land of oppression, the land of violence and shortages. Salvadoran immigrants come from a situation of extreme oppression in which they have suffered the abuses of the Salvadoran national army and of the police forces. Canada, on the other hand, represents the Holy Land, in the sense that it symbolizes the negation of Salvadoran social reality, the negation of the economic and social oppression. This symbolic representation is completed by another dominant symbol: the Southern part of the United States. This last dominant symbol is of great importance for the analysis, since it represents a liminal space in between Latin American and North American societies, a space in which Salvadorans begin to feel the contradictions between the two social systems.

This symbolic schema fosters among Salvadorans a disposition to accept the new social system in which they will have to live, and it predisposes them to change their cultural norms and values in order to achieve a better adjustment to the new society. However, this new society forces them to almost

completely change their life style. This constitutes the main contradiction for Salvadoran-Calgarians: although they have reached the land of peace, milk and honey, in the sense that they have found a peaceful country in which they improve their material conditions of life, they must pay a high price: they have to integrate into a foreign society in which they have to change both their structure of social relationships and their system of social norms and values. The process of integration to the new society is only beginning, since the majority of the Salvadorans have lived five years or less in Calgary. However, we can identify the main tensions determining the integration of Salvadorans to the Calgarian society.

At the level of the social structure, this process of integration may be characterized as a process of disarticulation of the former structure of social relationships and of construction of a new structure of social relationships. According to the analysis presented in chapter II, this process is determined by the antagonistic relationships that Salvadorans maintain with Canadians and Chileans. The antagonistic relationship with the Canadian people (the descendants of the white-Europeans that migrated to Canada, mainly those of British origin) is above all a class antagonism that is related to the whole process of integration to the Canadian capitalist system. For this reason we can not understand this interaction as a set of interpersonal relationships, as Fredrik Barth stated, since this would ignore the structural dimension of class struggle. The

conflict with the Chilean community has to do with the distribution of power within the Latin American community. This conflict is related not to the whole process of integration but rather to the second phase, that of the organization of the Salvadoran community within the Calgarian society. In this phase one notes the fusion of Salvadorans with the Central American community. Thus through this study I have been able to verify that

"ethnicity in modern society is the outcome of intensive interaction between different culture groups, and not the result of a tendency to separatism. It is the result of intensive struggle between groups over new strategic positions of power within the structure of the new state: places of employment, taxation, funds for development, education, political positions and so on" (Cohen, A.: 1976: 96).

The first stage in the integration into the host society is characterized by a process that homogenizes the Salvadoran community into the same social class: in Calgary Salvadorans have been uniformed into free manual workers. This uniformity in the class position reinforces the ethnic identity and solidarity. The disarticulation of the former social structure also involves the break down of the extended positional families. As we saw in the chapter II, this phenomenon of disarticulation of family groups inside the Salvadoran community is related not only to the incapacity of

Salvadorans to reconstruct their extended families, but also to the shock that Salvadoran family groups experience when confronted with the dominant family system in Calgary, which I have characterized as a personal family system, protected by the present day judicial system in Canada.

The reorganization of the Salvadoran community within Calgarian society is established by the development of more opened structures of solidarity, such as friendship relationships and those that grow inside both the religious communities and the Salvadoran social organizations.

Finally, in the main, the new system of social norms and values is being constructed from the contradictions that develop inside the work place and within the family system. Here, the principal oppositions are success-driven : non success-driven : : materialism : non-materialism and individualism : collectivism : : freedom : social control. The manner in which these contradictions will be solved will determine the new system of social norms and values that will govern the daily life of Salvadorans in Calgary. This system constitutes the essential aspect of Salvadoran-Calgarian ethnic identity. As Abner Cohen has remarked: "an ethnic group is a collectivity of people who share some patterns of normative behavior, or culture, and who form a part of a larger population, interacting within the framework of a common social system like the state. The term ethnicity refers to the

degree of conformity to these collective norms in the course of social interaction" (1976: 92).

The binary oppositions pointed out above, however, will not be solved exactly in the same way by the different groups that compose the Salvadoran community. Nevertheless, insofar as these groups maintain relations between themselves through friendship, kinship and pseudo-kinship, Salvadorans will develop a more or less uniform system of social norms and values. Even though the Evangelical, Pentecostal and Semi-Christian groups tend to move away from the Salvadoran community, they also maintain certain relations of friendship and kinship with other Salvadorans. In my view the opposition with other ethnic collectivities (the Canadians and the Chileans) forces these groups to stay within the Salvadoran community and to maintain close ties with Central Americans. This last element, its opposition and conflict with other ethnic groups and categories, constitutes the essential factor that guarantees the configuration of a more or less uniform system of social norms and values inside Salvadoran-Calgarians.

Within this framework we can better understand the cultural traits that Salvadorans use to show their identity. I will call these cultural traits "manifest symbols", because they constitute the identity symbols that we can readily observe. The first manifest symbol is the language. All my informants

told me that they recognize a Salvadoran because of his or her particular way of speaking. "A Salvadoran is distinct from a Chilean, a Guatemalteco, a Nicaraguan, and whatever other place of Latin America, because the terms one uses, because we use some words that the others don't use, that distinguishes ourselves", an informant remarked. As we saw in the chapter IV, language is related to the system of social norms and values of a people, not only in the sense that the language expresses the norms and values of a collectivity but because it constitutes a central element in the construction of the system of social norms and values. This is the reason why language constitutes a privileged cultural trait in terms of which to show one's ethnic identity.

The second manifest symbol that I would like consider is the fact that Salvadorans share a common history. This common history is a history of pain, a history of suffering that unifies the group. "How do you recognize a Salvadoran?", I asked an informant. "In his or her pain, because all we have suffered, all we know what is to suffer". This history of suffering is that the Salvadoran philosopher Ignacio Ellacuría (1984) called the "incarnation of the crucified Christ" into the poor people and it embraces the personal history of each one of the Salvadorans. It is a history that begins in their own country with the development of militarism and the interventionist policy of the United States. The history continues in the immigration journey, analyzed in terms of the model of the pilgrimage and

the Via Crucis that Jesus Christ suffered. Finally their history leads to their integration to Calgarian society, where they suffer discrimination while they occupy the lower strata of the society.

It is clear that there exist more manifest symbols that indicates Salvadoran identity. Clothes, dances, food, and others, constitute codes, and a symbolic analysis could show how they are related to a particular system of social norms and values that is created through the social interaction. However, in this thesis I have tried to analyze the central processes that are constituting the Salvadoran ethnic identity in Calgary, leaving aside as secondary aspects the manifest symbols of its identity. Once we have a clear conception of the essential processes that determine the ethnic identity of a people, we can understand the profound meaning of those symbols that indicate ethnic identity.

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APPENDIX
GUIDE FOR TELEPHONE SURVEY

Disculpe, este es un estudio que estamos realizando por parte de la Universidad de Calgary para el programa de Maestría en Antropología Cultural. Podría responderme algunas preguntas?

(Excuse me, this is a study that we are realizing at the University of Calgary within the Master Program in Cultural Anthropology. Could you answer a few questions?)

1- Cuántos Salvadoreños viven en su casa?

(How many Salvadoreans are living in your house?)

2- Cuántos hombres?

(How many men?)

Cuántas mujeres?

(How many women?)

3- Podría decirme la edad de cada uno de Ustedes, por favor?

(Could you tell me the age of each one of the members of your family, please?)

4- Podría decirme donde vivieron los ultimos 10 años antes de salir de El Salvador?

(Could you tell me where you lived their last 10 years before you left El Salvador?)

5- Podría decirme la ocupación de cada uno de Ustedes en El Salvador?

(Could you tell me the occupations of each one of the members of your family in El Salvador?)

- 6- Podría decirme la ocupación de cada uno de Ustedes en Calgary?
(Could you tell me the occupations of each one of the members of your family in Calgary?)
- 7- Podría decirme a qué Iglesia asiste?
(Could you tell me which church do you attend?)
- 8- Podría decirme cuánto tiempo tienen de estar viviendo en Calgary?
(Could you tell me how long have you been living in Calgary?).