

IMMIGRATION, FAMILISM, AND IN-GROUP COMPETITION:

A STUDY OF THE PORTUGUESE IN VICTORIA

by

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#### ABSTRACT

Previous literature has shown that the Portuguese are traditionally very familistic and that first generation Portuguese actively seek to reunite their extended family in Canada. This would suggest that familism among the Portuguese in Canada should also be high.

In order to examine familism and the reasons for Portuguese immigration to Canada, the Portuguese community of 346 families living in the city of Victoria were surveyed. A random sample of 100 families was selected and the husband or wife in each family was interviewed using a structured Portuguese language questionnaire.

The present study found that the Canadian Portuguese community acted as the facilitators and not the instigators of extended family immigration to Canada. Most Portuguese chose to emigrate from Portugal for economic reasons and not to rejoin their extended family. The study also showed that the level of familism among the Portuguese in this sample was not as strong as that found by Aldrich, Lipman, and Goldman (1973) in Portugal even though the present sample emigrated from the most familistic regions of Portugal. It was determined that economic competition, status rivalry, and jealousy were the reasons for decreased familism. These findings replicated the results found by

Munzer (1979) in her sample of Canadian Portuguese in the southern Okanagan area of British Columbia. The Victoria sample was slightly more familistic than the Okanagan sample. The Okanagan and Victoria samples were similar in that both communities were established during the same period, the immigrants in both samples are mainly undereducated working class Portuguese, and they emigrated mainly from the Azores and Northeastern Portugal. The main difference in the two samples is that the Victoria sample live in an urban environment and the Okanagan sample live in a rural environment.

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In Canada today there are Portuguese settlements located from coast to coast. The first phase of large scale migration of Portuguese to Canada took place from 1952 to 1957. During this period a labor shortage prompted the Canadian government to sponsor a program in which unskilled Portuguese workers were recruited to work in preassigned jobs on farms or as railway section hands. By 1957-58, the usefulness of the program was questioned and the program was cancelled. By that time over 8000 Portuguese immigrants had already entered Canada. These immigrants formed the basis for future Portuguese immigration to Canada.

Sponsorship and nomination of relatives --as allowed under the 1952 Immigration Act-- have been largely responsible for the second phase of Portuguese immigration. This is demonstrated by statistics from the 1974 Green Paper on Immigration which stated that fully 75% of the 64,699 Portuguese immigrants to Canada during the period from 1968 to 1973 entered under the sponsored and nominated categories. Sponsored immigrants include immediate family (fiancé; spouse; unmarried children under 21; parents or grandparents over 60; and orphaned brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces, or grandchildren under 18). Nominated immigrants include more distant kin (sons and daughters over 21; brothers and sisters; grandchildren; uncles and aunts; and nephews and nieces).

The point system of selecting immigrants introduced in 1967 stressed education and work-related experience. Since Portuguese immigrants typically were unskilled and had under

four years of education, this system made it particularly difficult for Portuguese to qualify as independent immigrants. Nomination and sponsorship of relatives allowed Portuguese immigrants into Canada who would not normally be able to gain enough points based on their education, job skills, and knowledge of one of the official languages. While some Portuguese took advantage of relaxed immigration laws between 1967 and 1972 which permitted visitors to apply for landed immigrant status, it is evident from the large percentage of sponsored and nominated Portuguese that a kinship based migration process has produced the Portuguese communities in Canada.

The traditional family structure in Portugal is termed parentes and includes; grandparents, grandchildren, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, nieces and nephews, and cousins. In this paper the term extended family will be used to refer to the Portuguese definition of parentes. The Portuguese have traditionally had very close extended families (Aldich, Lipman, and Goldman, 1973; Ziegler, 1974; Anderson and Higgs, 1976; Cutileiro, 1971; Brettell and Callier-Boisvert, 1977, Alpalhão and Da Rosa, 1979). The extended family consists of a series of nuclear families joined together on an egalitarian basis for mutual aid. Strong Affective ties should exist among its members, and members would be expected to perform various services for one another (Choldin, 1973; Cutileiro, 1971).

The term familism is typically used to describe strong

global characteristics of the extended family. According to Bardis (1959) these characteristics include strong in-group feelings, emphasis on the family goals, mutual support, and the desire to pursue the perpetuation of the family. Aldrich, Lipman, and Goldman (1973) wrote that, in Portugal, familism is still a significant element of life at all occupational and educational levels, and within all major age segments. Bradford (1973, page 142) described familism in Portugal by saying,

All Portuguese exist within a network of family relationships--brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, in-laws, reaching to the most distant degrees of cousinship. When a couple marries, they adopt the two family legions--the husband will speak of his wife's uncle as 'my uncle', of her cousins as his, and vice versa. Members of a family stick together, help each other, see each other regularly, and family events--birthdays, anniversaries, first communions, weddings, funerals--take precedence over all other social activities.

Research on Portuguese immigrants in various countries (Brettell and Callier-Boisvert, 1977; Anderson and Higgs, 1976; Alpalhão and Da Rosa, 1979) has shown that non-kin relations are weak and relations outside the nuclear family usually follow extended family lines.

Assuming that the members of the extended family are motivated to help kin, the extended family is well suited to help its members in migration before, during, and after the move (Litwack, 1960; Brown and Tilly, 1968). The extended family has the advantage of superior communication channels allowing established Portuguese immigrants in the new country to provide information on jobs, housing, local social custom,

and language to extended family members remaining in Portugal. These networks of communication and contact are essential in both the migration process and in determining immigrants' adaptation to and maximization of the new setting (Smith, 1974, 1976; Anderson, 1974, 1978).

The current immigration laws providing for the sponsorship and nomination of kin, and a sense of obligation to members of the extended family ensures that immigrants in Canada will help those relatives who wish to emigrate from Portugal, but who would not otherwise qualify as independent immigrants. Brettell and Callier-Boisvert (1977) stated that for the one who arrives first, to answer a call is to fulfill a duty imposed by tradition, to help members of his family and in so doing to obtain a guarantee of eventual support. This same sense of obligation will ensure that the new immigrants are aided in finding initial accommodation and employment by those kin who preceded them.

Immigration to Canada has become increasingly familial in character. The nuclear family either arrives intact or the male arrives first and quickly sends for his family. Researchers have shown (Anderson and Higgs, 1976; Brettell and Callier-Boisvert, 1977; Alpalhão and Da Rosa, 1979) that once the Portuguese immigrants arrive both the men and women work long hours, but their free time is spent as a large extended family unit. They also suggest that extensive communication with the homeland and frequent trips to the

homeland are used to keep the entire extended family united.

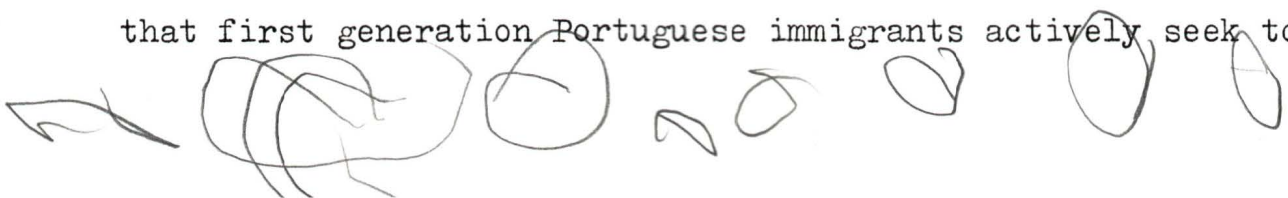
It has been argued by some authors that the Portuguese are immigrating to Canada because their family and compatriots are settled here. Alpalhão and Da Rosa (1979) suggested that the Portuguese immigrants have a common objective of reuniting the extended family in Canada. They point out cases in which the entire extended family has been reconstituted in Quebec. Anderson and Higgs (1976) proposed that the first generation Portuguese are a centripetal force in trying to draw the scattered extended family together again in Canada. Anderson (1974) found that having relatives in Canada was by far the most important reason for desiring to come to Canada.

Munzer (1979) found that the Portuguese in her sample were not actively seeking to reunite their extended family in the Okanagan, but rather they were fulfilling traditional familial obligations by helping extended family members who requested aid in migrating to Canada. Since 90 percent of the Munzer sample still had parents or siblings living in Portugal, this would indicate strong family ties to Portugal rather than Canada. According to a Canadian Immigration and Population study (Ziegler, 1974) only 16 percent of all sponsored immigrants named family reasons as the reasons for emigrating from Portugal. None of the Portuguese in the Munzer (1979) study indicated that they emigrated to join their family in Canada. This evidence would suggest that the extended family is acting as a facilitator of migration

rather than as the motivator for migration.

It may also be argued that the Portuguese are immigrating to Canada for economic reasons. The major push factors for emigration from Portugal are a low standard of living, a lack of jobs in Portugal, and an unstable political situation (Anderson, 1974; Brettell and Callier-Boisvert, 1977; Alpalhão and Da Rosa, 1979). The major pull factors drawing Portuguese immigrants to Canada are the superior Canadian economy, higher salaries, the advantages of social insurance, the presence of relatives, and more generally the possibility of a better life for their children. Since the majority of these 'push-pull' factors have an economic basis, many authors have cited economic reasons as a major motive for Portuguese migration (Norris, 1971; Ziegler, 1974; Anderson, 1974; Anderson and Higgs, 1976; Brettell and Callier-Boisvert, 1979; Munzer, 1979). Although Anderson and Higgs (1976) spoke of the Portuguese as trying to unite the extended family in Canada, they also wrote that, "Many of the immigrants themselves have described their single, overriding incentive as 'dollar fever'."

Given the kin networks of the Portuguese and the Canadian immigration laws which tend to force sponsorship and nomination of kin, one would expect the kin networks found in Portugal to be duplicated in Canada. If Anderson and Higgs (1976) and Alpalhão and Da Rosa (1979) were correct in saying that first generation Portuguese immigrants actively seek to




draw the extended family together again in Canada, then we should find as strong a sense of familism among the Portuguese in Canada as there was in Portugal. This would keep Portuguese values and norms intact.

If the overriding incentive of the Portuguese is really 'dollar fever' then it is possible that this preoccupation with economics could adversely affect the traditional sense of familism found among the Portuguese.

Brettell and Callier-Boisvert (1977) and Ramão (1972) proposed that with immigration came a diminishing intensity of family life and contacts with the extended family because earning a living absorbed so much time and energy. But, Brettell and Callier-Boisvert also found that although families spent most of their time in pursuit of their economic objectives, leisure time was spent resting or with kinsmen. They also stressed that there did not appear to be any close knit social networks outside the kinship system.

An alternative explanation is that economic competition, rather than the amount of time and energy devoted to work, is the cause of decreased familism. Munzer (1979) and Callier-Boisvert (1977) found that the Portuguese immigrants look to succeed individually or at the level of the nuclear family. Since most Portuguese immigrants arrive in the new country with few possessions, little money, and similar occupational skills their success or failure is easily measured and compared to others. Thus, even though the members of an extended



family would have all been relatively equal in status in Portugal, immigration would impose a status hierarchy based on economic advancement and length of residence in Canada. Brettell and Callier-Boisvert (1977) suggested that those receiving help in the migration process felt themselves placed in a situation of dependence, and try to disengage themselves as soon as possible. This is seen as the origin of certain frictions and misunderstandings between members of extended families. Brettell and Callier-Boisvert (1977, page 182) described their French sample as an "unstructured minority, divided by internal rivalry and jealousy where the susceptibility of all is exacerbated by the desire of some to affirm themselves at the expense of others". Munzer (1979) found that economic competition, jealousy, and rivalry were affecting familism. If competition was really a major factor, then we would expect not only an adverse affect on familism, but also that familism would decrease as the size of the extended family in an area increased.

There are four main problems of interest here. First, are the first generation Portuguese immigrants in Canada acting simply as facilitators and points of contact in the migration process, or are they actively encouraging migration in order to reunite the scattered extended family in Canada? Secondly, are the Portuguese seeking to immigrate to Canada primarily because they have family in Canada or because of economic reasons? Thirdly, is the sense of familism in

extended families as strong in Canada as in Portugal? Finally, if familism has diminished among the Portuguese in Canada is this due to the increase in time spent earning a living or is competition causing the decrease in familism.

The present study will attempt to replicate the results found by Munzer (1979) in her sample of Portuguese living in the Oliver-Osoyoos region of the Okanagan in British Columbia. The Portuguese community in the Okanagan consists of approximately 220 families. They live in two small communities, Oliver and Osoyoos, which have a combined population of under 10,000 persons. The Portuguese started to immigrate into the area in 1955 and almost all are employed in the fruit growing industry. The Munzer study found that the Canadian Portuguese acted as the facilitators and not the instigators of extended family migration to Canada. The study also showed that the level of familism among the Portuguese in the Okanagan was not as strong as that found by Aldrich, Lipman, and Goldman (1973) in Portugal. It was determined that economic competition, status rivalry, and jealousy were the reasons for decreased familism.

The Portuguese population of the Greater Victoria region were the subjects of the present study. Victoria is the capital city of the province of British Columbia and it has a population of 249,500.

Unlike cities such as Toronto, in which there is an identifiable Portuguese district, there is no nucleus of

Portuguese concentration in Victoria. Although most live in four areas of town--Burnside, Fernwood, Town and Country, and Gordon Head--they are spread out rather than clustering on certain streets. A couple's income seems to be the prime determinant in the choice of their home's location.

Most of the men are employed in the construction and landscaping industries. Most of the women are employed as housekeepers and janitors. The jobs open to the Portuguese are limited by their lack of education and job skills.

Some Portuguese entrepreneurs serve the community including a Portuguese specialty food store, a restaurant, an auto-body repair shop, two barbers, and a shoemaker. Although these establishments are run by Portuguese, some entrepreneurs suggested that the Portuguese do not patronize their establishments. There are also some Portuguese speaking Canadians, including a doctor and a Roman Catholic priest, servicing the community.

There are several Portuguese clubs and voluntary associations. The Victoria Portuguese Cultural and Athletic Association sponsors a folk dancing group and a soccer team. The folk dancing group or rancho is made up of 8 to 19 year olds and it performs at many cultural events. An attempt is being made to organize a folk singing group. The Catholic Church provides a focus for the Portuguese since the majority are Catholics. The parish is located at Sacred Heart Church where Sunday mass is offered in Portuguese. A Catholic

organization called the Associação da Nossa Senhora de Fatima organizes dances and festivals throughout the year. The Festival of Our Lady of Fatima which is held at Sacred Heart Church every May and October, produces the greatest gathering of Portuguese. There is a small group of Jehovah's Witnesses and some Protestants who tend to hold their own functions. A Portuguese social club used to meet the first Saturday of each month but it was marked by a lack of interest and low turnout. There are special Portuguese language classes offered after school for children who wish to maintain their native language. The Portuguese classes have an enrollment of approximately 60 students and are taught by a Portuguese woman who was a school teacher in Portugal.

#### Method

##### Subjects

A population of 346 Portuguese families living in Greater Victoria was obtained using information from three sources: 1) a list of Portuguese families living on Vancouver Island provided by the Catholic priest, 2) the Victoria telephone directory, and 3) the city directory.

A final sample of 100 families was desired. Only those families in which both the husband and wife were first generation Canadians and in which at least one member of the couple had immigrated to Canada of their own initiative were included in the sample. This eliminated couples in which both members had emigrated to Canada with their parents at

an early age who would technically be first generation Portuguese immigrants, but to whom many questions would not apply. The husband or wife was interviewed. In cases where both were present it was requested that one person answer the questions.

An initial sample of 100 families was randomly chosen from the original sampling frame of 346. Of the 100 families, 6 refused to grant an interview, 3 could not be traced, 2 were not Portuguese couples, and 2 did not meet the operational definition of being first generation Portuguese who had emigrated of their own initiative and were excluded.

Eight new Portuguese families were discovered during the interview process when respondents were asked to list their relatives in Victoria and any Portuguese families who had recently moved to the area. These 8 newly discovered families were added to the sampling frame.

Since a total sample of 100 families was desired, 13 new families were selected. Two of these families were first selected from the list of 8 new families so that these families had the same chance of being selected as those in the original sampling frame. The remaining 11 families were randomly chosen from the revised sampling frame.

### Questionnaire

The structured questionnaire was written and administered in Portuguese. It consisted of 3 main parts: 1) a series of 34 personal information questions, 2) 20 Likert scale

questions, and 3) sociometric questions about the interviewee's extended family in Portugal and in Victoria. Additional comments made by the interviewee were also recorded if they served to clarify an answer. (See Appendix I for an English version of the questionnaire).

The personal information questions adapted from Weinstock's interview schedule (1969) served three main purposes. They gathered basic background information about the subjects and their nuclear families, the extended family, and the use of networks of communication and contact in the migration process.

The Likert scale items were divided into two parts. Fifteen of the Likert items formed a familism scale borrowed from Bardis's original 16 item scale (1959). The scale was used by Aldrich, Lipman, and Goldman (1973) in their study of familism in Portugal and by Munzer (1979) in her study of the Portuguese in the Okanagan. Aldrich et al. (1973) found an overall high rate of familism within both the rural and urban segments of the Portuguese population to such an extent that the response "strongly agree" was taken as the major indicator of familism on each item. One item from the Bardis familism scale was found not to be a significant measure of familism in the Aldrich et al. study (1973) and therefore was not included in the Munzer (1979) study or the present study. The total score on the Bardis familism scale was taken as the operational measure of the extent of familism

among the Portuguese in Canada. The score on the individual scale items as well as the total scores were then compared to those obtained by Aldrich et al. (1973) in their study of familism in Portugal and to the Munzer (1979) results. The differences, if any, between Aldrich's findings and the present study were interpreted as the extent to which familism among the Portuguese in Canada differs from familism in Portugal. It was assumed that familism in Portugal has not changed significantly since the Aldrich et al. (1973) study. Aldrich et al. (1973) predicted that familism was a significant element of rural life which could remain highly resistant to change. Economic and social conditions have remained static in rural areas of Portugal during this period. Education, a major factor affecting familism, is still largely unavailable beyond the elementary level for the average person in Portugal. Trindade (1977) and Alpalhão and Da Rosa (1979) have stressed the importance of the extended family in rural Portugal and the resistance to change in those areas. Rural-urban disparities in economic opportunities may have drawn more people to the cities and therefore decreased the proportion of the most familistic rural population. It was assumed that although the proportion of urban and rural dwellers may have changed, rural-urban differences in familism in Portugal have not changed significantly since the Aldrich et al. (1973) study. The remaining 5 Likert items comprised the competition scale. The items were designed to establish

whether economic competition, jealousy, and rivalry were perceived by the respondents as being present in the Portuguese community, and whether these factors were affecting the extended family. The results of the competition scale will be compared to the findings in the Munzer (1979) study. All of the Likert items were randomly ordered and the poles on some Likert items were randomized in order to avoid response set.

The sociometric section of the questionnaire was designed to obtain information about the interviewee's extended family. The interviewee was first asked about their relatives remaining in Portugal. Next they were asked for sociometric data about all their relatives in the Victoria area under the pretense of deriving more complete information about the area's Portuguese population. Questions were also asked to determine if contact was maintained with the extended family in Portugal and in Canada.

### Procedure

All of the interviews were conducted by this author between June and September of 1980. A structured Portuguese language questionnaire was used (see Appendix A for an English language version). The interviews lasted between 20 and 40 minutes.

A letter was prepared explaining that little was known about the Portuguese in Victoria and saying that the family was one of those selected to be interviewed. The letter

stated that the interview would last approximately 30 minutes and it would be concerned with immigration and life in Canada (refer to Appendix B for a Portuguese language copy of the letter). It further explained that those with a telephone would be telephoned and a convenient time arranged and those without a telephone would be personally contacted.

Some of the letters were sent out to prospective interviewees every two weeks to avoid a long delay between receipt of the letter and the telephone call. Those without telephones were personally approached at their homes within two weeks of the letter being mailed.

## Results

### Background of Subjects

Out of the 100 families whose data were used, the husband alone responded in 20 families, both the husband and wife were present but the husband answered most of the questions in 28 families, the wife responded alone in 39 families, and both were present but the wife answered most of the questions in 13 families. In those cases where both the husband and wife were present, responses were categorized according to the respondent who answered most of the questions so that there were 48 male respondents and 52 female respondents. Although one member of a couple answered the questions, demographic data was collected on both. The following section provides an overall profile of the sample. Appendix C provides tables showing detailed breakdowns of demographic

data on the respondents.

The men in the sample ranged in age from 23 to 73 years (mean age of 43.8 years) while the women ranged in age from 21 to 70 years (mean age of 39.5 years). The amount of formal education for all men in the sample ranged from 0 to 15 years (mean 4.3) while for the women it ranged from 0 to 13 years (mean 4.3). The immigrants with the highest education were those who had immigrated to Canada at an early age with their parents or those who had immigrated to Canada for political reasons or to avoid the draft. None of those with a higher education from Portugal (including a nurse, teacher, and geographer) were working in the area they were trained in.

Seventy-six men and 75 women were from the Azores (most were from the island of São Miquel), 15 men and 15 women were from northeastern Portugal, 4 men and 4 women were from the coastal region of continental Portugal, 4 men and 5 women were from southern Portugal, and the remaining woman was from Maderia.

Seventy-three of the men and 72 of the women came from small towns with a population of under 10,000 persons, 20 men and 21 women came from towns with between 10,000 and 50,000 persons, and 7 men and 7 women came from cities with over 50,000 persons.

Most of the Portuguese men and women are concentrated in certain occupations. Forty-eight of the men work in construction, 26 in landscaping, 10 are janitors, 5 are self

employed, 9 are retired, and 2 are disabled as a result of their jobs in Canada. Many of the men in construction and landscaping are putting to use skills learned in Portugal such as bricklaying and rock work. Some of the men hold more than one job in order to increase their income and pay off their homes. Of the 89 men who had ever worked in Portugal, 43 worked in agriculture, 13 were general labourers, 17 were skilled labourers, 9 were chauffeurs, 3 were technicians, and the remaining 4 held other jobs. Forty-one of the women are housewives in Canada, 30 are full-time janitors or house-cleaners, 8 do part-time house-cleaning, 10 are general labourers, 6 are skilled labourers, and the remainder work in other areas. Some of the "housewives" also admit to doing part-time cleaning work to supplement the family income. Fifty of the women had been housewives and 18 had never worked in Portugal because they were minors. Of those who had worked in Portugal, 11 were seamstresses, 8 worked in agriculture, 7 were maids, 4 were general labourers, and 2 were professionals.

### Immigration Process

Examining the migration process is essential to understanding how the Portuguese community in Victoria was formed and in answering the two previously stated research problems. Were the Portuguese in Canada acting as facilitators and points of contact in the migration process or were they instigating the migration in order to reunite their extended

family? Secondly, are the Portuguese immigrating mainly for economic reasons or to rejoin their extended family?

The Victoria Portuguese community was established in 1956 with the arrival of 3 immigrants. These immigrants were joined in the next two years by other Portuguese immigrants who had been recruited by the Canadian government as agricultural workers. Most of these men began to send for their nuclear families within their first few years in Canada. By the early 1960's the immigration patterns were more familial in character with the entire nuclear family immigrating as a unit. The community quickly grew as the early immigrants were joined by members of their extended family and by other Portuguese who left the CNR and other positions in the north for a more comfortable climate.

All of the immigrants in the present sample arrived in Canada between 1955 and 1977. Twenty-seven of the males and 11 females arrived during the 1950's, 38 males and 51 females arrived during the 1960's, and the remainder arrived during the 1970's. Only 13 males and 4 females emigrated from Portugal to another country before immigrating to Canada.

Of the 100 males in the sample, only 5 entered the country under the independent category, 17 were recruited by the Canadian government during the 1950's, 7 immigrated with their nuclear family, 11 were sponsored by their wives or children, and the remaining 60 were nominated by family members. Of the 100 females, 81 entered Canada with or were

sponsored by their husbands, 13 entered Canada with their parents and the remainder were nominated. Most of the immigrants were nominated by lineal relatives. Of the 60 males who were nominated, 54 were nominated by a sibling, 2 by a son or daughter, 3 by their parents, and 1 was nominated by a cousin. Of the 6 females who were nominated, 3 were nominated by siblings, 1 by her parents, and 2 by an uncle. The fact that all the females and 78 males were sponsored or nominated into Canada by their relatives demonstrates the importance of the role played by the extended family in the migration process.

The data were examined to determine whether the immigrant couples were nominated by relatives on the wife's or husband's side. Of the 78 couples who were nominated, 38 were nominated by someone on the husband's side, 25 were nominated by someone on the wife's side, 7 were nominated by someone related to both, and 8 were nominated separately by their own relatives before their marriage. It appears that the male's relatives are more likely to undertake the responsibility for nominating kin.

When the respondents were asked who they had received the most help from on arrival in Canada, most named a relative. Fifty-three claimed to receive the most help from siblings, 15 from parents, 4 from their children, 3 from an uncle, and 1 from a cousin. The remaining 24 respondents claimed to receive the most help from the government, a

friend, or no help at all.

Relatives typically helped both the male and female immigrants acquire their first job. Of the 100 males, 49 were found their first job by a sibling, and 12 by some other relative. Of the remaining 39 males, 20 found employment with government aid, 12 with help from a friend, and 7 found work without any help. Of the 84 females who ever worked in Canada, 27 were found work by a sibling, 7 by their husbands, 13 by some other relative, 16 by a friend, and 21 found work on their own or through the help of a government agency. Of the 100 respondents, 30 also claimed to live in a relatives home upon arrival, and 32 were aided by a relative in finding their first home.

It appears evident that kinship networks are important before the migration as well as in establishing the immigrants upon their arrival in Canada. Although relatives were instrumental in finding the first job, only 24 of the respondents indicated that either they or their spouse currently worked with a relative. There were only 8 cases in which extended kin currently shared one house, and most of those were elderly parents.

Fifty-nine of the respondents had nominated kin to Canada. In some cases only one individual was nominated, but it was usually an entire nuclear family. Twenty-nine of these respondents had nominated only one individual or family unit, but 15 respondents had nominated 2, 6 respondents

nominated 3, 4 respondents nominated 4, 3 respondents nominated 5, 1 respondent nominated 8, and 1 respondent nominated 9. All of the respondents who had nominated 4 or more kin were among the earliest arrivals in Canada with 6 arriving between 1955 and 1957, and the remainder arriving before 1961. This is consistent with Anderson and Higgs (1976) finding that the early pioneers encouraged all their own relatives and those of their spouse to come to Canada. What is unexpected is that most of the early pioneers do not have many kin in Victoria. In fact the respondent who nominated 9 kin does not have any relatives living in Victoria.

The 59 respondents who had nominated someone were asked their reasons for nominating those persons. Forty-two respondents indicated they nominated their kin because the kin had asked to come to Canada, 8 stated that it was because they were obligated to help kin, and 9 stated that it was because they wished their kin to have a better life. This is consistent with the Munzer (1979) findings which showed that 63 percent of the respondents had nominated their relatives because the relatives had requested aid in coming to Canada and 20 percent of the respondents stated that it was because they were obligated to help their kin.

When the 100 respondents were asked whether they desired to nominate anyone else, 68 indicated that they did not wish to nominate anyone, 28 said they did wish to nominate others, and 4 were undecided. Most of those who would nominate

others indicated they would do so only if approached by the relative who wished to migrate. Since only 3 respondents did not have any extended family remaining in Portugal but only 28 respondents stated that they wished to sponsor more relatives, this would seem to question Anderson and Higgs (1976) and Alpalhão and Da Rosa (1979) suggestion that the Portuguese in Canada are actively seeking to reunite their extended family in this country.

To understand the migration process it is essential to know why the Portuguese chose to emigrate from Portugal, and why they chose to immigrate to Canada even though they could have gone to Portuguese speaking areas such as Brazil and Africa.

When the 100 respondents were asked for their reasons for emigrating from Portugal, 83 stated that they emigrated for economic reasons. Many firmly stated that it was Por ou dinherio (for the money) or put it more abstractly as Por uma melhor vida (for a better life). Of the remaining 17 respondents, 9 stated that they emigrated to join their family in Canada, 5 to avoid the draft, 2 for political reasons, and 1 was in search of adventure. This supports the Munzer (1979) study which found that 88.5 percent of the respondents emigrated for economic reasons and the remainder wished to avoid the draft or emigrated with their parents.

The reasons for choosing to immigrate to Canada differ

somewhat from those for leaving Portugal. Sixty-three respondents chose Canada for economic reasons, 33 because they had family here, and the remainder stated that the Canadian government's recruiting program made it easier for them to come to Canada than any other country. Fifty-seven percent of those who stated that they chose Canada because they had family here specifically mentioned that the extended families role was in facilitating the move rather than any desire to rejoin their kin. The Munzer (1979) study found that 65.4 percent of the respondents immigrated to Canada for economic reasons and the remainder because they had family here.

The principle reasons given for migration appear to be economic ones in both the present study and the Munzer (1979) study. A low standard of living and poor job prospects in Portugal drove people to Canada which was seen as the land of opportunity. Although a majority of respondents in both studies migrated with help from their extended family very few migrated specifically to join their family. Those who did migrate to join their family were usually aged parents and single people joining their fiancés. The lack of emphasis placed on the family as a reason for migration most likely reflects the role that the extended family plays in facilitating the migration process by supplying initial information, nominating the immigrant, and finding initial accomodation and employment. Since 78 of the

respondents still had lineal kin (parents, siblings, and children) in Portugal and 19 others still had other extended family in Portugal, it would seem unreasonable to believe that the majority of Portuguese would be immigrating to Canada to rejoin their extended family. Since 54 of the respondents have more kin outside than inside Canada but only 28 wish to nominate more kin, this would further question Anderson and Higgs (1976) and Alpalhão and Da Rosa (1979) suggestion that the Portuguese in Canada are actively seeking to reunite the scattered extended family in this country.

In summary, the findings demonstrate the importance of kinship networks in the migration process before, during, and after the move. Most of the immigrants were sponsored or nominated, and over half have themselves nominated kin. But we also find that it was typically the relative in Portugal who initiated the move by asking a relative in Canada to nominate them. This would seem to suggest that the Portuguese in Canada are the facilitators in the migration process rather than the instigators of migration. Since the nature of the Canadian Immigration laws force potential immigrants to rely on support from their extended family, the Portuguese merely fulfill a moral duty imposed by tradition to help their relatives in Portugal when they request aid. Finally, it was found that the majority of the respondents migrated for economic reasons rather than

to rejoin their extended family in Canada. These findings are consistent with the Munzer (1979) findings in her study of Portuguese in the Okanagan.

### Familism

Familism involves total networks of kinship obligations including frequency of family interaction, family control, and family residence patterns. The number of extended kin related to a respondent and the amount of contact a respondent maintains with relatives in Victoria and Portugal were examined. The Items of Bardis's familism scale were used as principle indicators of familism among the Portuguese in this sample. The present results were compared to Aldrich, Lipman, and Goldman (1973) findings in Portugal and to Munzer's (1979) findings in the Southern Okanagan of British Columbia, Canada. Since variables such as age, education, rural or urban residence, and occupation were found by Aldrich et al. (1973) to affect familism these were also examined.

All but 8 respondents in the present study had some of their extended family living in Victoria. To determine the size of a respondent's extended family each unmarried adult who lived on their own or each nuclear family unit which is related to the respondent was counted as one unit. If only lineal kin are examined, then 21 respondents had 1 or 2 kin, 37 had 3 or 4 kin, 31 had 5 or more kin, and the remaining 11 did not have any lineal kin living in Victoria.

The fact that most respondents had lineal kin in the area would make family contact easy to maintain and it should serve to keep the extended family united. But, it was very common for a respondent to mention during the sociometric section of the questionnaire that they were not on speaking terms with some or all of their kin. If the respondents were not on speaking terms with someone, it was usually the person who had nominated them or a sibling. The Munzer (1979) study also found that many of the respondents were not on speaking terms with their extended family. This would indicate tension within extended families and a reduced emphasis on familism.

Some researchers stress the importance of extensive communication with the homeland and frequent trips to the homeland in keeping the extended family united. Eighty-nine of the respondents corresponded with their family in Portugal. Twenty-four respondents wrote 1 to 5 letters or cards annually, 39 wrote 6 to 12, and only 26 wrote more than 12. Most of those writing less than 12 letters or cards stated that they usually wrote just on holidays such as Christmas and Easter. Twenty-eight of the respondents had never visited Portugal since they emigrated, 28 had visited Portugal once, and 30 had made 2 to 4 trips. Since 78 respondents still had lineal kin in Portugal, 19 others had other extended family, and only 3 did not have any family in Portugal, the amount of communication and trips

to the homeland do not seem extensive.

Aldrich, Lipman, and Goldman (1973) observed an overall high rate of familism within both the rural and urban segments of the Portuguese sample to such an extent that the response "strongly agree" was taken as the major indicator of familism on each Bardis familism scale item. Aldrich et al. (1973) found four main factors which affected familism: 1) rural residence is positively associated with strong familism, 2) occupational status (high) is negatively associated with strong familism, 3) educational attainment (high) is negatively associated with strong familism, and 4) age and strong familism are positively related. Three of the findings were supported by the Munzer (1979) study and the present results, but the finding that occupational status is negatively associated with familism could not be tested because of the limited range of occupations represented in both samples.

The hypothesis that age and strong familism are positively related was supported. A Pearson's correlation ( $r$ ) demonstrated that familism and male respondents' ages were positively correlated ( $r = .50$ ,  $p. < .0001$ ), while for females the correlation was  $r = .46$ ,  $p. < .0001$ .

The hypothesis that high educational attainment and strong familism were negatively correlated was also supported. For the 48 male respondents the correlation was  $r = -.54$ ,  $p. < .0001$ , while for the 52 females the correlation was  $r = -.51$ ,  $p. < .0001$ .

The hypothesis that rural residence is positively associated with strong familism could not be directly tested in the present sample because the population currently all live in the same urban environment. The size of the respondents' homes in Portugal did seem to be negatively correlated with familism ( $r = -.31$ ,  $p. < .0001$ ). The respondents from small home towns tended to be higher in familism than those from more urban areas.

The present findings will be compared to Aldrich et al. (1973) familism levels for rural and urban Portuguese and to Munzer (1979) familism levels for Canadian Portuguese in the Okanagan. The present findings should be compared to the Aldrich et al. (1973) rural sample since 73 percent of the males and 72 percent of the females in the present sample originated from small towns in Portugal with a population of under 10,000 persons. Further, 91 percent of the males and 90 percent of the females originated in northern Portugal and the Azores which Alpalhão and Da Rosa (1979) point out are the areas in which the extended family structure is most predominant. Eighty percent of the present sample also have the same low levels of education which characterize rural areas of Portugal. These factors would suggest that the present sample is most comparable to the Aldrich et al. (1973) rural sample. The findings should also be compared to the Aldrich et al. (1973) urban sample since the respondents in the present sample all live in an urban area with a population

of 249,500 persons. Thus eventhough they may have originated in small towns, the very act of moving to and living in an urban environment could affect familism.

Since the Aldrich et al. (1973) study, the Munzer (1979) study, and the present study all found the overall rate of familism on the familism scale items to be quite high overall, the percentage of respondents in a given category who indicated "strongly agree" was used as the primary index of rate of familism. The four categories are: 1) urban Portuguese, Aldrich et al. (1973), 2) rural Portuguese, Aldrich et al. (1973), 3) Okanagan Portuguese, Munzer (1979), and 4) Victoria Portuguese, the present sample. Table I shows the percentage of respondents indicating "strongly agree" on each item for each category. When comparisons are made of differences in rates of familism for the population segments in the four categories, they involve assessing differences in rates of strong agreement on specific items. Each test of significant differences employed two-tailed probabilities. The .05 level of significance was employed as the ultimate level of statistical significance to be assigned to an observed relationship, but it will be indicated whether a relationship reached significance at higher levels, such as .01 and .001 (refer to Table II).

The Victoria population scored significantly lower across 14 familism scale items than the Aldrich et al. (1973) rural sample. On the remaining item, 70 percent of

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS INDICATING STRONG AGREEMENT  
WITH THE FAMILISM SCALE ITEMS, BY RESIDENCE, AND SCALE ITEM

Familism Scale Item	Victoria (N = 100)	Okanagan <sup>1</sup> (N = 52)	Urban <sup>2</sup> Portugal (N = 183)	Rural <sup>2</sup> Portugal (N = 317)
Item	%	%	%	%
1	7.0	17.3	24.0	62.7
2	18.0	9.6	39.3	62.7
3	3.0	0	15.8	48.6
4	32.0	11.5	33.9	69.4
5	12.0	0	25.7	38.2
6	1.0	0	45.4	65.9
7	3.0	3.8	12.0	42.0
8	59.0	34.6	41.5	71.3
9	3.0	0	16.4	39.7
10	15.0	13.5	18.6	53.0
11	31.0	23.1	47.5	80.0
12	10.0	1.9	14.2	38.5
13	72.0	26.9	57.7	86.1
14	56.0	36.5	71.0	85.5
15	70.0	44.2	37.7	70.0

<sup>1</sup> The data from the Okanagan is taken from: R. P. Munzer, "Immigration, Familism and In-group Competition: A Study of the Portuguese in the Southern Okanagan," B.A. Thesis, University of Victoria, 1979.

<sup>2</sup> The samples from rural and urban Portugal are taken from: B. W. Aldrich, A. Lipman, and F. P. Goldman, "Kinship and Obligations in a Developing Nation: An Inquiry into the Socioeconomic and Communal Sources of Familism in Portugal," International Journal of Sociology of the Family, 1973, 3, 145-161.

both the Victoria and rural Portuguese samples felt that they would "support their inlaws if they were in need (item 15). On the average 35.13 percent (range 0 to 62.9 percent) fewer respondents strongly agreed with each familism item in the present study (refer to Table II).

A comparison of the Victoria sample and the Aldrich et al. (1973) urban sample produced mixed results. The Victoria population scored significantly lower in familism than the urban population in Portugal on 8 items, there was no significant difference on 4 items, and the Victoria population scored significantly higher than the urban population on 3 items (refer to Table II). The 3 items on which Victorians scored highest in familism all refer to the closest members of the extended family: obeying parents, sharing the home with parents, and supporting inlaws if they are in need. The 4 items on which there were no significant differences included more general concepts such as obeying older siblings, sharing the home with relatives in need (uncles, aunts, cousins), and loyalty to the family. In general, the respondents were most familistic on items which refer to lineal extended family members (parents, children, and siblings).

The present familism findings were compared to Munzer's (1979) findings in the Southern Okanagan region of British Columbia, Canada. The two populations migrated to Canada during the same period, the majority of both were nominated and sponsored immigrants, they work at manual jobs, and the

the majority of both populations come from northern Portugal and the Azores which are the most familistic regions of Portugal. The major difference is that the Okanagan population live in a rural area and the Victoria population live in an urban area.

There was no significant difference in familism scale item responses on 8 of the 15 items. The Okanagan sample only scored more familistic (10.3 percent higher in familism,  $p. < .05$ ) on the item which suggested that the home should be shared with uncles, aunts, and cousins if they are in need. The Victoria sample scored significantly higher than the Okanagan sample on 6 items. Three of these items which dealt with the lineal extended family (item 8, supporting inlaws; item 15, sharing the home with inlaws; and item 13, children should obey their parents) were also the items on which the Victoria responses most resembled those found by Aldrich et al. (1973) in rural Portugal suggesting that the present sample is holding on to some of their traditional views. On the other hand, the Okanagan sample's responses on item 8 and 15 were similar to the urban sample in Portugal, and on item 13 the Okanagan sample scored significantly lower (32.8 percent,  $p. < .001$ ) than the urban sample. On the remaining 3 items (4, 5, and 14) the Victoria sample's responses most resembled those of the Aldrich et al. (1973) urban sample: no significant difference on item 4, a difference of 13.7 percent ( $p. < .01$ ) on item 5, and a difference of

15.0 percent ( $p. < .01$ ) on item 14. The Okanagan sample scored significantly lower ( $p. < .001$ ) than the Aldrich et al. (1973) urban sample on all 3 items.

According to the Aldrich et al. (1973) hypothesis that rural residence and familism are positively correlated, it would have been expected that the rural Okanagan sample would have been more familistic than the urban Victoria sample. But, in fact the Victoria sample was more familistic, particularly on the most specific questions which dealt with the lineal extended family. Respondents' age and education are variables which affect familism, but they do not explain the differences found in familism for the Victoria and Okanagan samples because age and educational attainment are not significantly different in the two samples. In the Victoria sample the male respondents had a mean age of 45.2 years and a mean education of 4.0 years, while the females had a mean age of 37.6 years and a mean education of 5.2 years. In the Okanagan sample the male respondents had a mean age of 39.1 years and a mean education of 4.2 years, while the females had a mean age of 39.2 years and a mean education of 3.2 years. The fact that 78 percent of the Victoria sample was from the Azores with most of the remainder coming from northern Portugal, whereas 75 percent of the Okanagan sample was from northern Portugal with most of the remainder coming from the Azores, could have been a reason for the difference in familism found in the two samples. But previous research

(Alpalhão and Da Rosa, 1979; Trindade, 1973) have suggested that these are the most traditional and familistic regions of Portugal so that it would be expected that both samples would be high in familism. Another factor is that Victoria is a much smaller urban center than Lisbon where Aldrich et al. (1973) collected their urban data. Perhaps if Victoria was a larger urban center there would have been a greater impact on familism.

In summary, Tables I and II show that both the Victoria and Okanagan samples appear significantly lower in familism than the Aldrich et al. (1973) rural sample in Portugal. The Munzer (1979) Okanagan sample was also significantly lower in familism, on all but 5 familism scale items, than the Aldrich et al. (1973) urban sample in Portugal. The Victoria sample was significantly lower than the Aldrich et al. (1973) urban sample on 7 familism scale items, but higher on 3 items. It was also found that the Victoria sample was higher in familism than the Okanagan sample on 6 items and lower on one item. Thus the Victoria sample is more familistic -- particularly on items dealing with the lineal extended family -- than the Okanagan sample even though the Okanagan sample live in a rural area whereas the Victoria sample live in an urban area.

Problems arise in comparing cross-sectional studies using different populations and conducted in different years. Although the data for the Victoria and Okanagan

studies was gathered within one year (1980 and 1979 respectively), the Aldrich, Lipman, and Goldman study was done in 1973. It is possible that the differences in the findings are simply a product of change over time and the Aldrich et al. (1973) findings would have been different if they had conducted the study more recently. It could also have been that the propensity towards reduced familism was already inherent in the selective element of the Portuguese population which chose to emigrate. If these people did emigrate for economic reasons, then this would demonstrate that the desire to improve their economic condition was already being placed above their sense of familism. It seems reasonable to suggest that if the desire to improve their economic condition was not one of these immigrants' values, they would not have left the security of their family and homeland.

Another major problem which could have occurred is that the responses to the Bardis familism scale (1959) items may have been an idealized notion of familism. The respondents may have answered questions as they believed all familism should be, even though extraneous factors may actually prevent such a level of familism in most extended families. For example, a respondent could feel that the extended family should be consulted about important matters, but this may never be done in practice.

Different social conditions in Canada could also affect

familism. Welfare, unemployment insurance, medicare, and other government services fill many of the needs traditionally filled by the extended family in Portugal. Thus, the obligation for respondents to help their kin may not be as strong in Canada.

### Competition

The competition scale items demonstrated that economic competition, rivalry, and jealousy are perceived as real problems affecting the extended family among the Portuguese in Victoria. This supports the findings of Munzer (1979) in the Okanagan.

The first Likert scale item stated, "members of the extended family are spending too much time competing with each other". Forty-two respondents strongly agreed with the statement, 46 agreed, 1 was neutral, and 11 disagreed. The fact that 88 of the respondents were in agreement with the statement would suggest that competition is a problem affecting the extended family.

The second statement was, "the wealthier members of the extended family are, the more jealous they are of each other". Seventy-eight of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement, 15 agreed, 1 was neutral and 6 disagreed. This question received the strongest reaction of any question and it also prompted the most comments. Responses were punctuated by comments such as "todos querem e fazir ver" (everyone wants to show off) or "Ca todos querem ser mais

uns que os outros" (here everyone wants to be more than everyone else). Some respondents related stories of jealousy leading to broken relations with their extended family and in a few cases even threatened violence.

The third statement was, "Children should be taught that you can not always count on a relative". Nineteen respondents strongly agreed, 74 agreed, 1 was neutral and 6 disagreed. Since the Portuguese have traditionally been raised to count on their relatives for assistance, this would indicate decreased familism. A correlation of this item with the familism scale produced an  $r = -.322$ ,  $p. < 0006$ . This suggests that the most familistic respondents are also the most likely to disagree with the statement.

The fourth statement was, "I like to hear my relatives talk about their prosperity". A close extended family should like to hear about other members prosperity if the extended families have close relations. Thirty-five respondents strongly disagreed, 57 disagreed, 1 was neutral, 4 agreed, and 3 strongly agreed. The correlation between this item and the respondents' familism scale score was  $r = .20$ ,  $p. < .02$ . The fact that the majority of respondents preferred not to hear about their relatives' prosperity suggests that there might be some rivalry among the extended family.

The final Likert item stated, "In general, when members of the extended family are all wealthy everyone gets along better than when everyone is poor". Since the Portuguese

are generally wealthier in Canada than they were in Portugal agreement with this item would suggest that the respondents get along as well or better with their relatives in Canada than when they were all in Portugal. Thirty-six respondents strongly disagreed, 44 disagreed, 2 were neutral, 14 agreed, and 4 strongly agreed. A correlation of this item with the familism scale showed that those who felt that wealth had a positive affect were also the most familistic ( $r = .35$ ,  $p < .002$ ). Since 80 respondents disagreed with the statement this would suggest that the majority felt that the extended family got along better when everyone was poor in Portugal. A common remark was, "Os que la eram mais pobres são os que ça querem ser superiores" (Those who were the poorest in Portugal are the ones who want to be superior to others here). The earlier Portuguese arrivals often complained that the newer arrivals were jealous of them and were not willing to work as hard for their money. Some respondents related stories of jealousy leading to broken relations with their extended family: usually with the relatives they had sponsored.

For the first three competition items strong agreement would indicate high competition, but for the last two items strong agreement would indicate low competition. The last two items were negatively worded in order to avoid response set and they had to be recoded so that a competition scale could be created using the five items.

The results of the competition scale suggest that economic competition, jealousy, and rivalry are perceived by the respondents as being present among the Portuguese community in Victoria. A correlation of the familism scale results with the competition scale revealed that the more a respondent felt that competition, jealousy, and rivalry were present, the lower in familism the respondent scored ( $r = -.343$ ,  $p. < .0002$ ). Eventhough the competition scale items were randomly intermixed with the other Likert items, these items produced the strongest emotional responses and often triggered lengthy explanations and personal stories. These responses would lend support to the hypothesis that the issues probed by the competition scale are major concerns of the Portuguese community.

An examination of the number of extended family members a respondent has in Victoria with his or her familism scale score revealed a curvilinear relationship (see Table III). Those respondents with no relatives in Victoria were the least familistic. Those with one to three relatives were the most familistic and as the number of relatives increased familism decreases. This supports the Munzer (1979) finding that the number of extended family members living in the Okanagan was negatively correlated with a respondent's familism score ( $r = -.51$ ,  $p. < .0001$ ). In the Munzer (1979) study all the respondents had extended family living in the area so comparisons can not be made with the respondents in

Table III

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF A RESPONDENT'S FAMILISM SCORE  
BY THE SIZE OF A RESPONDENT'S EXTENDED FAMILY IN VICTORIA

Familism Score <sup>1</sup>	Size of the Extended Family <sup>2</sup>				
	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12
Lowest 1	5	3	6	3	1
2	1	6	8	8	0
3	0	10	6	2	2
4	2	7	11	1	0
Highest 5	0	6	7	5	0
Frequency Total	8	32	38	19	3
Mean familism Score	1.9	3.3	2.9	2.8	2.3

1 The familism Scale scores were categorized into 5 equal groups with 20 percent of the respondents in each category.  
2 The term extended family refers to an unmarried adult living on their own or to a nuclear family which is related to a respondent.

Victoria who did not have any extended family here.

The fact that those respondents who have no relatives in Victoria were the least familistic could have several explanations. They may have been low in familism in Portugal and chose to emigrate away from their relatives. If they were low in familism they might not have felt obligated to help their relatives immigrate to Canada. Some chose to move away from relatives in other Canadian cities for personal reasons, and these people may have already been low in familism in Portugal or something may have happened in Canada to affect familism.

The respondents with only one to three relatives in Victoria were the most familistic. If respondents had wanted to reunite their extended family in Canada, then it would be expected that the respondents with the most relatives in Victoria and in the Okanagan would be most familistic but in fact the reverse was found to be true. It could be that the more extended family members there are living in an area the more people there are to compete with, and the more jealousy and infighting arises; as a result familism is lowered. For those respondents with only a few relatives in the area there are not only fewer to compete with, but usually those relatives are those closest to the respondent such as parents, married children, and siblings.

The present findings support Munzer's (1979) findings in the Okanagan which showed that competition, jealousy, and

status rivalry were major concerns. Both studies found that familism and competition were negatively correlated. Both studies found that if a respondent had extended family in the area, the number of relatives was negatively correlated with familism. Since the Portuguese population in the Okanagan were almost all self-employed fruit farmers, differences in status and economic success could be easily compared by the quantity and quality of property owned. The Victoria population tended to be salaried employees with only a few self-employed persons, therefore there do not seem to be the same opportunities for vast economic differences among the population. The differences between the self-made man in the Okanagan and the salaried blue collar workers in Victoria could be a reason for familism being generally lower in the Okanagan sample eventhough they live in a more rural location than the Victoria sample. The explanation that the Okanagan sample may not have as much time to maintain family contact is unlikely since several winter months are free for maintaining family contacts. The two studies seem to show that competition, jealousy, and status rivalry are reducing familism among Portuguese immigrants to Canada.

#### Summary and Conclusions

First, it was found that kinship networks play an essential role in the migration process before, during, and after the move. It was typically the relative in Portugal who approached an established relative in Canada and asked to be

nominated or sponsored. Siblings played the most important role in the migration process. This supports the Munzer (1979) finding that the Portuguese in Canada are acting as the facilitators of migration. They are fulfilling a traditional obligation to help relatives who request aid. This would seem to question the Anderson and Higgs (1976) and Alpalhão and Da Rosa (1979) suggestion that Portuguese in Canada actively seek to reunite their extended family in this country.

Secondly, it was found that the vast majority of Portuguese immigrated to Canada for economic reasons. The immigrants were typically working class Portuguese and peasants who could not economically survive in Portugal. The earliest arrivals chose to migrate to Canada because the Canadian government's recruitment program made it easier to come to Canada than any other country. For those who came later, immigration laws made it essential to rely on relatives for help. Most of those who mentioned migrating to Canada because their extended family was here stressed the families role in facilitating the move rather than any desire to rejoin their kin. The majority of respondents still have lineal kin in Portugal and only a few wished to nominate more kin. The present findings support the Munzer (1979) findings that the majority of Portuguese immigrated to Canada for economic reasons.

Thirdly, it was found that the levels of familism found

in the present sample were significantly lower than those found by Aldrich, Lipman, and Goldman (1973) in their sample of rural Portuguese. The present sample was significantly lower in familism on all but five familism scale items than the Aldrich et al. (1973) urban Portuguese sample. The Okanagan sample in the Munzer (1979) study was significantly lower in familism than the present sample on the 6 familism scale items dealing with the lineal family and higher on only one item. Aldrich et al. (1973) predicted that an urban environment led to reduced familism but the Munzer (1979) rural Okanagan sample was generally less familistic than the more urban Victoria sample. Three other hypotheses were supported in the Aldrich, Lipman, and Goldman (1973) study, the Munzer (1979) study and the present study: 1) a respondent's age and familism were positively correlated, 2) a respondent's education and familism were negatively correlated, and 3) the size of a respondent's hometown in Portugal and familism were negatively correlated.

The fact that the Aldrich et al. (1973) study was done six years earlier than the Munzer (1979) study and seven years earlier than the present study introduces possible problems in comparing the findings. The majority of the respondents in both the Okanagan sample and the present sample are undereducated working class people from small towns in rural northeastern Portugal and the Azores which are considered the most traditional and familistic regions

of Portugal. Since previous research (Aldrich et al., 1973; Alpalhão and Da Rosa, 1979) has predicted that the high familism found in these regions of Portugal was unlikely to change, it would be expected that if the subjects in the present study had not emigrated they would be as familistic as their cohorts in the Aldrich et al. (1973) study. This seems to suggest that factors in Canada have produced the decreased familism found in the Munzer (1979) study and the present study.

Fourthly, it was found that the more strongly a respondent felt that status rivalry, economic competition, and jealousy were present, the lower in familism the respondent scored. Items dealing with these issues prompted strong emotional comments and explanations of how these factors were affecting relations with the extended family. Those respondents with no relatives living in Victoria were the least familistic. For those respondents who did have relatives living in Victoria, as the number of relatives increased familism decreased. The present findings support the Munzer (1979) findings in the Okanagan. It is difficult to infer causality from a cross-sectional study without controls, but the respondents' reactions and comments support the hypothesis that status rivalry, economic competition and jealousy were responsible for the drop in familism in Canada.

The present study has essentially replicated the findings in the Munzer (1979) study. The two communities were

similar in that the settlements were established in the same period during the 1950's by a few arrivals, most of the subjects were nominated or sponsored, the subjects in both studies were almost exclusively from the Azores and north-eastern Portugal, and they were essentially all from poor working class backgrounds. The communities differ in that the Okanagan sample live in a rural area and the Victoria sample in an urban area, the Victoria population was approximately a third larger, and the Okanagan sample work in agriculture whereas the Victoria sample work primarily in construction and landscaping. The Victoria sample was slightly more familistic than the Munzer (1979) Okanagan sample. Perhaps this was because the Portuguese in the Okanagan were self-employed farmers whose economic success was more easily measured and compared according to the quantity and quality of property owned, than was that of the Victoria sample who tended to be salaried workers without the same opportunities for self made success. Both studies seem to show that competition, jealousy, and status rivalry are having a negative affect on familism.

A longitudinal study using samples in several countries is required to fully understand the changing attitudes which were probed by the Munzer (1979) study and the present study. These two studies were limited to the selective element of largely uneducated rural Portuguese who had chosen to immigrate to Canada. Future research should

examine random samples of rural and urban Portuguese populations in Portugal and other countries. The populations should have a wider range of occupations and educational attainment than were found in the two Canadian samples. Intergenerational differences in attitude and differences between immigrants who chose to stay in the new country and those who return to Portugal would also pose interesting research problems.

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## Appendix A

## ENGLISH VERSION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE\*

Personal Information Section

1. Respondent's name \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_
2. Spouse's name \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_
3. Respondents's education (grade completed) \_\_\_\_\_
4. Spouse's education (grade completed) \_\_\_\_\_
5. Number of children \_\_\_\_\_
6. Husband's job in Portugal? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Husband's job in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Wife's job in Portugal? \_\_\_\_\_
9. Wife's job in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Do you rent or own your home? Rent [ ] Own [ ]
  - 10a. (Okanagan Only)
    - Do you own an orchard? Yes [ ] No [ ]
    - If yes. i. How many acres? \_\_\_\_\_
    - ii. Do you own a fruitstand? Yes [ ]  
No [ ]
11. Do you speak English? Yes [ ] No [ ]
  - If Yes. 11a. Little [ ] Some [ ] Very Well [ ]
12. Does your spouse speak English? Yes [ ] No [ ]
  - If Yes. 12a. Little [ ] Some [ ] Very Well [ ]

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\* The items have not been ordered in exactly the same manner as in the Portuguese version of the questionnaire which was actually administered. The Likert items for each of the scales have been grouped together for the benefit of the reader. The sociometric data about the extended kin in the sample was asked last in the actual interview.

13. If you needed assistance (ie. translation, job), who would you most likely ask for help? \_\_\_\_\_
14. In what year did you emigrate from Portugal? \_\_\_\_\_
15. Did you immigrate to a different country before coming to Canada? Yes [ ] No [ ]
- If Yes. 15a. What countries? \_\_\_\_\_
- 15b. Year immigrated to Canada? \_\_\_\_\_
16. What year did your spouse emigrate from Portugal? \_\_\_\_\_
17. Did your spouse immigrate to a different country before coming to Canada? Yes [ ] No [ ]
- If Yes. 17a. What countries? \_\_\_\_\_
- 17b. Year immigrated to Canada? \_\_\_\_\_
18. What was your reason for emigrating from Portugal? \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
19. What was your reason for immigrating to Canada? \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
20. Did you consider immigrating to another country?  
Yes [ ] No [ ]
- If Yes. 20a. Which countries? \_\_\_\_\_
21. Do you regret your decision to immigrate to Canada? Why?  
Yes [ ] No [ ] Reason \_\_\_\_\_
22. What was your impression of Canada when you first arrived?  
\_\_\_\_\_
23. Whom did you receive the most help from on your arrival?  
\_\_\_\_\_
24. What kind of help did you receive? \_\_\_\_\_

25. How did you get your first job? \_\_\_\_\_
26. How did your spouse get their first job? \_\_\_\_\_
27. Do you plan to return permanently to Portugal?  
 Yes [ ] No [ ] Unsure [ ] Why? \_\_\_\_\_
28. Respondent's hometown. Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Population \_\_\_\_\_
29. Spouse's hometown. Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Population \_\_\_\_\_
30. Could you list the major towns and countries in which  
 you have lived at least one year. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

#### Immigration Process Questions

1. How did you get your Canadian visa? \_\_\_\_\_  
 1a. If sponsored or nominated, by whom (relation to you)?  
 \_\_\_\_\_
2. How did your spouse get the visa? \_\_\_\_\_  
 2a. If sponsored or nominated, by whom (relation to them)?  
 \_\_\_\_\_
3. Have you or your spouse sponsored anyone? Yes [ ] No [ ]  
 3a. If yes: Who (relation to them)? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
4. Do you or your spouse desire to sponsor anyone else?  
 Yes [ ] No [ ] Unsure [ ] Reason \_\_\_\_\_  
 4a. If Yes: Who and Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Family in Portugal

1. Do you or your spouse still have relatives in Portugal?  
Yes [ ] No [ ]
  - 1a. If Yes, who. Parents [ ] Siblings [ ]  
Children [ ] Grandparents [ ] Uncles or aunts [ ]  
Cousins [ ]
2. How often do you write to relatives in Portugal? (Code as number per year). \_\_\_\_\_
3. How often do you telephone Portugal? \_\_\_\_\_
4. How many trips have you made back to Portugal since you emigrated? \_\_\_\_\_ Number of trips by spouse? \_\_\_\_\_

Family in Canada

I do not have complete information about the Portuguese in (name of community) and I would appreciate your providing me with some information about your relatives and your spouses relatives living in the area.

1. The relative's name
2. The relative's relationship to you or your spouse.
3. The number of persons in that relative's nuclear family.
4. The occupation of your relative and their spouse.
5. The number of years the relative has been in Canada.
6. How the relative obtained his or her visa. (If sponsored, by whom?)
7. The number of times that you have visited the relative in the last two months.

Do you know of any Portuguese families who have recently moved into the (name of community) region whom I may not have on my list? Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, who? \_\_\_\_\_

Bardis Familism Scale

1. A person should always support his aunts and uncles if they are in need.
2. Children below 18 should give almost all their earnings to their parents.
3. The family should consult close relatives (uncles, aunts, first cousins) concerning its important decisions.
4. Children below 18 should almost always obey their older brothers and sisters.
5. A person should consider the needs of his family more important than his own.
6. A person should be expected always to defend his family against outsiders even at the expense of his own personal safety.
7. The family should have the right to control the behaviour of each of its members completely.
8. A person should always support his parents-in-law if they are in need.
9. A person should always avoid every action of which his family disapproves.
10. A person should share his home with his uncles, aunts, or first cousins if they are in need.
11. A person should always be completely loyal to his family.
12. The members of a family should be expected to hold the same political, ethical, and religious beliefs.
13. Children below 18 should always obey their parents.

14. A person should always help his parents with the support of his younger brothers and sisters if necessary.
15. A person should always share his home with his parents-in-law if they are in need.

Competition Scale

1. Members of the extended family are spending too much time competing with each other.
2. The wealthier members of the extended family are, the more jealous they are of each other.
3. Children should be taught that you can not always count on a relative.
4. I like to hear my relatives talk about their prosperity.
5. In general, when members of the extended family are all wealthy everyone gets along better than when everyone is poor.

Appendix B

Department of Sociology

TELEPHONE (604) 477-6911, TELEX 049.7222



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University of Victoria  
P.O. BOX 1700, VICTORIA  
BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA  
V8W 2Y2

Senhor ou Senhora:

Há uma grande quantidade de Portuguêses em Victoria e todos nós conhecemos pouco do ambiente deles. Para os Canadianos saberem mais da comunidade Portuguêsa vou entrevistar cem familias para saber mais acerca dos Portuguêses.

Eu escolhi a sua familia para ser uma das com quem eu vou falar. Eu gostava de falar com o homem da casa ou a mulher por 30 ou 40 minutos acerca de emigração e da vida em Canada.

Estas perguntas vão estar confiadas comigo e mais ninguém vai ver as informações que vocês me dão. Os meus interesses é para juntar em massa as respostas das cem famílias e examinar a típica resposta.

A todos a quem eu tiver o número de telefone vou-lhe telefonar para marcarmos uma hora conveniente para eu ir lá falar com você. E para as pessoas que eu não tiver o numero de telefone eu vou a passar pela casa deles para ver se é conveniente para eles falar comigo.

Estas informações são para o meu uso na universidade e eu seria-lhe muito agradecida pela sua ajuda. Se quiserem saber mais acerca disto, podem escrever à universidade ou telefonar a 477-5482.

Muito obrigado

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'Rosa Pereira Munzer'.

Rosa Pereira Munzer

## Appendix C

## DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON THE VICTORIA SAMPLE

Number of Male Respondents	48
Number of Males in the Total Sample	100
Number of Female Respondents	52
Number of Females in the Total Sample	100

Table I Male's Age

Male's Age	Number of Male Respondents	Percentage of Male Respondents	Total Sample
Under 30	4	8.3 %	8
30 - 39	12	25.0 %	31
40 - 49	16	33.3 %	34
50 - 59	11	22.9 %	18
Over 59	5	10.4 %	9
Total	48	100.0 %	100
Mean Age	45.2		43.8

Table II Male's Educational Attainment

Male Education	Number of Male Respondents	Percentage of Male Respondents	Total Sample
none	5	10.4 %	5
2 years	3	6.3 %	9
3 years	4	8.3 %	25
4 years	28	58.3 %	41
5 to 12 years	7	14.6 %	19
Post Secondary	1	2.8 %	1
Total	48	100. %	100
Mean education	4.0 years		4.2

Table III Male's Occupation in Portugal

Occupation	Number of Male Respondents	Percentage of Male Respondents	Total Sample
Agriculture	18	37.5 %	43
General Labourer	7	14.5 %	13
Skilled Labourer	12	25.0 %	17
Chauffeur	3	6.3 %	9
Technician	2	4.2 %	3
Did not work	3	6.3 %	11
Other	3	6.3 %	4
Total	48	100. %	100

Table IV Male's Occupation in Canada

Occupation	Number of Male Respondents	Percentage of Male Respondents	Total Sample
Construction Labourer	19	39.6 %	47
Landscaping	13	27.1 %	26
Maintenance	7	14.6 %	10
Self Employed	2	4.2 %	5
Retired and Disabled	7	14.6 %	11
Other	0		1
Total	48	100 %	100

Table V Year Male Emigrated from Portugal

Year Emigrated	Number of Male Respondents	Percentage of Male Respondents	Total Sample
1955-1959	14	29.2 %	30
1960-1964	9	18.8 %	18
1965-1969	5	10.4 %	17
1970-1975	17	35.4 %	26
1975-1979	3	6.3 %	9
Total	48	100. %	100

Table VI Method Male Used to Obtain Visa to Immigrate to Canada

Method Used to Obtain Visa	Number of Male Respondents	Percentage of Male Respondents	Total Sample
Government Sponsored	9	18.8 %	17
Independent Application	2	4.2 %	5
Came with Parents	3	6.3 %	7
Sponsored by Wife	3	6.3 %	9
Nominated by			
Siblings	26	54.2 %	54
Children	3	6.3 %	4
Parents	1	2.1 %	3
Cousin	1	2.1 %	1
Total	48	100. %	100

Table VII Location of Male's Home in Portugal

Home Location	Number of Male Respondents	Percentage of Male Respondents	Total Sample
São Miguel (Azores)	34	70.8 %	76
Northeastern Portugal	12	25.0 %	15
Mainland Coastal Area	1	2.8 %	4
Southern Portugal	1	2.8 %	5
Total	48	100. %	100

Table VIII Population of Male's Hometown in Portugal

Population of Hometown	Number of Male Respondents	Percentage Of Male Respondents	Total Sample
Under 5,000	16	33.3 %	39
5,000 to 9,999	20	41.7 %	34
10,000 to 49,999	10	29.8 %	20
50,000 to 199,999	1	2.1 %	5
200,000 and over	1	2.1 %	2
Total	48	100. %	100

Table IX Female's Age

Female's age	Number of Female Respondents	Percentage of Female Respondents	Total Sample
Under 30	10	19.2 %	19
30 - 39	20	38.5 %	31
40 - 49	15	28.9 %	40
50 - 59	6	11.5 %	14
Over 59	1	1.9 %	5
Total	52	100. %	100
Mean Age	37.6		39.5

Table X Female's Educational Attainment

Female Education	Number of Female Respondents	Percentage of Female Respondents	Total Sample
None	1	1.9 %	5
2 years	3	5.8 %	9
3 years	10	19.3 %	25
4 years	22	42.3 %	41
5 to 12 years	15	28.9 %	19
Post Secondary	1	1.9 %	1
Total	52	100. %	100
Mean Education	5.2 years		4.3

Table XI Female's Occupation in Portugal

Occupation	Number of Female Respondents	Percentage of Female Respondents	Total Sample
Housewife	20	38.5 %	50
Semstress	9	17.3 %	11
Maid	4	7.7 %	7
Agriculture	2	3.9 %	8
General Labourer	2	3.9 %	4
Professional	1	1.9 %	2
Never Worked	14	26.9 %	18
Total	52	100. %	100

Table XII Female's Occupation in Canada

Occupation	Number of Female Respondents	Percentage of Female Respondents	Total Sample
Housewife	23	44.2 %	41
Janitor	11	21.2 %	26
Part-time cleaning	5	9.6 %	8
General labourer	6	11.5 %	10
Skilled labourer	2	3.8 %	6
Semstress	3	5.8 %	5
Professional	0		1
Other	2	3.8 %	3
Total	52	100. %	100

Table XIII Year Female Emigrated from Portugal

Year Emigrated	Number of Female Respondents	Percentage of Female Respondents	Total Sample
1955-1959	5	9.6 %	12
1960-1964	17	32.7 %	33
1965-1969	15	28.9 %	20
1970-1975	10	19.2 %	27
1975-1979	5	9.6 %	8
Total	52	100. %	100

Table XIV. Method Female Used to Obtain Visa to Immigrate to Canada

Method Used to Obtain Visa	Number of Female Respondents	Percentage of Female Respondents	Total Sample
Immigrated with Husband	41	78.9 %	81
Immigrated with Parents	8	15.4 %	13
Nominated by			
Siblings	1	1.9 %	3
Parents	1	1.9 %	1
Uncle	1	1.9 %	2
Total	52	100. %	100

Table XV. Location of Female's Home in Portugal

Home Location	Number of Female Respondents	Percentage of Female Respondents	Total Sample
São Miguel (Azores)	41	78.9 %	75
Northeastern Portugal	3	5.8 %	15
Mainland Coastal Area	3	5.8 %	4
Southern Portugal	4	7.7 %	5
Other	1	1.9 %	1
Total	52	100. %	100

Table XVI Population of Female's Hometown in Portugal

Population of Hometown	Number of Female Respondents	Percentage of Female Respondents	Total Sample
Under 5,000	23	44.2 %	39
5,000 to 9,999	13	25.0 %	33
10,000 to 49,999	11	21.2 %	21
50,000 to 199,999	3	5.8 %	4
200,000 and over	2	3.9 %	3
Total	52	100. %	100

## Appendix D

## DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON THE MUNZER (1979) OKANAGAN SAMPLE

Number of Male Respondents	31
Number of Males in the Total Sample	52
Number of Female Respondents	21
Number of Females in the Total Sample	52

Table I Age of Males and Females

Age	Male Respondents	Male Sample	Female Respondents	Female Sample
Under 30	22.6 %	15.4 %	4.8 %	23.1 %
30 - 39	32.3 %	36.5 %	47.6 %	34.6 %
40 - 49	25.4 %	30.8 %	28.6 %	26.9 %
50 - 59	19.4 %	17.3 %	19.1 %	15.4 %
Totals	100. %	100. %	100. %	100. %
Frequency total	(31)	(52)	(21)	(52)
Mean age	39.9	40.0	39.1	38.0

Table II Educational Attainment of Males and Females in the Okanagan

Education	Male Respondents	Male Sample	Female Respondents	Female Sample
none	12.9 %	9.6 %	23.8 %	23.1 %
1 year	3.2 %	1.9 %	0	0
2 years	0	0	0	1.9 %
3 years	12.9 %	13.5 %	19.1 %	19.2 %
4 years	51.6 %	57.7 %	47.6 %	40.4 %
5 to 12 years	13.1 %	15.4 %	9.5 %	15.4 %
Post-secondary	3.2 %	1.9 %	0	0
Percentage total	100. %	100. %	100. %	100. %
Frequency total	(31)	(52)	(21)	(52)
Mean Education	4.2	4.1	3.2	3.5

Table III Year Males and Females Emigrated from Portugal

Year Emigrated	Male Respondents	Male Sample	Female Respondents	Female Sample
1955 to 1959	35.5 %	26.9 %	14.3 %	25.0 %
1960 to 1964	29.0 %	28.9 %	23.8 %	25.0 %
1965 to 1969	16.1 %	21.2 %	38.1 %	32.7 %
1970 to 1974	9.7 %	17.3 %	23.8 %	15.4 %
1975 to 1980	9.7 %	5.8 %	0	1.9 %
Percentage total	100. %	100. %	100. %	100. %
Frequency total	(31)	(52)	(21)	(52)

Table IV Year Males and Females Immigrated to Canada

Year Immigrated	Male Respondents	Male Sample	Female Respondents	Female Sample
1955 to 1959	12.9 %	11.5 %	4.8 %	9.6 %
1960 to 1964	16.1 %	15.4 %	23.8 %	17.3 %
1965 to 1969	22.6 %	26.9 %	23.8 %	28.9 %
1970 to 1974	19.4 %	26.9 %	42.9 %	28.9 %
1975 to 1980	29.0 %	19.2 %	4.8 %	15.4 %
Percentage total	100. %	100. %	100. %	100. %
Frequency total	(31)	(52)	(21)	(52)

Table V Location of Males' and Females' Home in Portugal

Home Location	Male Respondents	Male Sample	Female Respondents	Female Sample
Northeastern	77.4 %	75.0 %	71.4 %	75.0 %
Southern	3.2 %	1.9 %	0	1.9 %
Lisbon	6.5 %	3.9 %	0	1.9 %
Azores	9.7 %	15.4 %	23.8 %	17.3 %
Maderia	3.2 %	3.9 %	4.8 %	3.9 %
Percentage total	100. %	100. %	100. %	100. %
Frequency total	(31)	(52)	(21)	(52)

Table VI Population of Males' and Females' Hometown in Portugal

Population of Hometown	Male Respondents	Male Sample	Female Respondents	Female Sample
Under 5,000	45.2 %	36.5 %	47.6 %	46.2 %
5,000 to 9,999	38.7 %	48.1 %	42.9 %	40.4 %
10,000 to 49,999	12.9 %	11.5 %	9.5 %	11.5 %
50,000 to 199,999	0	1.9 %	0	0
200,000 and over	3.2 %	1.9 %	0	1.9 %
Percentage total	100. %	100. %	100. %	100. %
Frequency total	(31)	(52)	(21)	(52)

Table VII Males' Occupation in Portugal

Occupation	Male Respondents	Male Sample
Agriculture	29.0 %	38.5 %
Skilled labourer	45.2 %	38.5 %
General labourer	19.4 %	17.3 %
Technition	3.2 %	3.8 %
Other	3.2 %	1.9 %
Percentage total	100. %	100. %
Frequency total	(31)	(52)

Table VIII Males' Occupation in Canada

Occupation	Male Respondents	Male Sample
Orchard Owner	77.4 %	78.8 %
Orchard labourer	9.7 %	11.5 %
General labourer	6.5 %	3.8 %
Skilled labourer	3.2 %	1.9 %
Other	3.2 %	3.8 %
Percentage total	100. %	100. %
Frequency total	(31)	(52)

Table IX Females' Occupation in Portugal

Occupation	Female Respondents	Female Sample
Housewife	42.9 %	40.4 %
Agriculture	38.1 %	26.9 %
General labourer	0	5.8 %
Skilled labourer	4.8 %	5.8 %
None	14.3 %	21.2 %
Percentage total	100. %	100. %
Frequency total	(21)	(52)

Table X Females' Occupation in Canada

Occupation	Female Respondents	Female Sample
Orchardist	71.4 %	69.2 %
Fruit-growers Co-operative	19.1 %	13.5 %
Orchard labourer	0	3.8 %
General labourer	4.8 %	5.8 %
Skilled labourer	0	1.9 %
Housewife	4.8 %	5.8 %
Percentage total	100. %	100. %
Frequency total	(21)	(52)

Table XI Method Male Used to Obtain Visa to Immigrate to Canada

Method Used to Obtain Visa	Male Respondents	Male Sample
Government Sponsored	6.5 %	3.9 %
Independent Application	9.7 %	7.7 %
Came with Parents	3.2 %	3.8 %
Tourist	3.2 %	3.8 %
Nominated		
Siblings	48.4 %	57.7 %
Parents	3.2 %	1.9 %
Uncle	25.8 %	15.4 %
Cousin	0	3.8 %
Children	0	1.9 %
Percentage total	100. %	100. %
Frequency total	(31)	(52)

Table XII Method Female Used to Obtain Visa to Immigrate to Canada

Method Used to Obtain Visa	Female Respondents	Female Sample
Immigrated with Husband	71.4 %	71.2 %
Immigrated with Parents	4.8 %	7.7 %
Sponsored by Husband	23.8 %	17.3 %
Nominated by		
Siblings	0	1.9 %
Cousin	0	1.9 %
Percentage total	100. %	100. %
Prequency total	(21)	(52)

## Appendix E

CODING PROCEDURE AND OVERALL RESULTS FOR THE FAMILISM AND  
COMPETITION SCALES FOR VICTORIA AND THE OKANAGANLikert Item Coding Procedure

Strongly Agree	0
Agree	1
Neutral	2
Disagree	3
Strongly Disagree	4

Familism Scale

Number of Scale Items = 15  
 Highest Possible Familism Scale Score = 0  
 Lowest Possible Familism Scale Score = 60

Competition Scale

Number of Scale Items = 5  
 Highest Possible Competition Scale Score = 0  
 Lowest Possible Competition Scale Score = 20

Results

	Osoyoos (N = 52)	Victoria (N = 100)
Familism Scale	Mean = 19.4 Range = 26(11 to 37)	Mean = 16.4 Range = 42 (4 to 46)
Competition Scale	Mean = 3.73 Range = 12(0 to 12)	Mean = 3.96 Range = 10 (0 to 10)

VITA

Surname: MUNZER Given Names: ROSA MARIA BATISTA

Place of Birth: SILVARES, PORTUGAL Date of Birth: MARCH 24, 1957

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and leaving:

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA 1975 to 1979

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\_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

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B.A. (Honors) 1979 U. of Victoria, Victoria

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Honors and Awards:

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Oliver Women's Institute Awards, 1975

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Publications:

Baker, P. M., Bogard, A., Carpenter, C., Munzer, E., & Munzer, R.  
"Interpersonal Attraction, Similarity, and Proximity: A  
Field Study," Replications in Social Psychology, 1981,  
1(2), 27-28.

Munzer, R. P. "Immigration, Familism, and In-Group Competition:  
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Title of Thesis

Immigration, Familism, and In-Group Competition: A Study

of the Portuguese in Victoria

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Author \_\_\_\_\_

Signature

Rosa M. B. P. Munzer

June 17, 1982  
Date