

THE SOCIOECONOMIC ADAPTATION OF AFRICAN REFUGEES TO CANADA

by

Rose Kabahenda Nyakabwa

A thesis
presented to the University of Manitoba
in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Master of Science
in
Department of Family Studies

Winnipeg, Manitoba

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Canada

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ROSE KABAHENDA NYAKABWA

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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MASTER OF SCIENCE

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated Socioeconomic Adaptation to resettlement by African refugees in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Interviews and questionnaires were obtained from a sample of 31 subjects, mainly males from Ethiopia between the ages of 20 and 39 during the summer of 1988. A socioeconomic profile of the sample showed most to be highly educated but underemployed with low incomes.

Problems experienced by African refugees included: (a) finding a satisfactory job, (b) language problems, (c) financial worries, (d) feelings of not belonging, (e) loneliness, (f) discrimination and a negative attitude towards blacks, (g) non-recognition of qualifications, (h) unequal opportunity in the job market, and (i) difficulty making friends with mainstream Canadians. Respondents appreciated security, peace, and freedom in Canada.

The Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index (Ramcharan,1976) and the Alienation Scale (Nicassio,1983) were used to measure socioeconomic adaptation. Independent predictors used which showed a positive association with socioeconomic adaptation were (a) age, (b) language facility, (c) length of residence, (d) presence of kin in Canada, (e) presence of an ethnic community, and (f) number

and importance of friends from the home country. Not associated with socioeconomic adaptation were (a) occupational status, (b) individual perception, (c) marital status, (d) acquisition of durable goods, and (e) participation in winter activities.

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"bagenzi bange nenganjani zange, enyingi abangiramu obwesige, nyina nyowe habwekisémbó ekyokugumisiriza n'okweyesiga, nomugenzi isenyowe habwa sente ezansomeseze."

TO YOU ALL I OWE THIS THESIS!

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii

	<u>page</u>
Introduction	1
Canada and African Refugees	2
Statement of the Problem	4
Objectives	6
Hypotheses	7
Operational Definitions	8
"African refugee"	8
"Socioeconomic adaptation"	8
"Alienation"	9
"Occupational deflection"	9
"Resettlement problems"	9
"Individual perception"	10
"Presence of an established ethnic community"	10
Summary	10
 Literature Review	 11
Adaptation	11
Variables Affecting Socioeconomic Adaptation	17
Age	17
Language	18
Occupational deflection	20
Employment	21
Individual perception	22
Length of residence	22
Theoretical Perspectives	23
Overview	24
The Double ABC-X Model	25
Rationale	28
 Methodology	 31
Sample Selection	31
Sample Description	35
Instruments and Variables	35
Variables	36
Socioeconomic Adaptation	36

The Satisfaction with Life in Canada	
Index	36
Sociocultural and Sociopsychological	
Dimensions of Adaptation	39
The Alienation Scale	39
Social and Interpersonal Interaction	42
Pre-testing	43
Procedure for Data Collection	43
Methods of Data Analysis	44
Results	46
Adequacy of Income	46
Years of Education	48
Language	49
Countries of First Asylum	49
Additional Training	49
Socioeconomic Adaptation Patterns	50
Employment in Canada	50
Satisfaction with Life in Canada	50
Purchase of Assets and Durable Goods	51
Job Qualifications and Intent to Change	
Occupation	51
Sociocultural Dimensions of Adaptation	53
Social Interaction	53
Presence of an Established Ethnic	
Community	54
Participation in Winter Activities	54
Psychosocial Dimensions of Adaptation	54
Negative feelings about self and Canada	54
Resettlement Problems	55
Current Problems	57
Responses to Open-ended Questions	57
Tests of Hypotheses	58
Discussion	71
Socioeconomic Profile of the Sample	71
Resettlement Problems	72
Factors Affecting the Socioeconomic	
Adaptation of African Refugees	73
Positive Factors	73
The Importance of An Established Ethnic	
Community	80
Peace and Security	81
Negative Factors	82
The Culture	82
Loss Of An Extended Family	84
Loneliness	84
Discrimination and Negative Attitudes	
towards African Refugees	85
Attachment to the homeland	86
Strengths and Limitations of the Study	87
Strengths	87
Limitations	87

Recommendations and Suggestions for Social	
Policy and Future Research	91
Social Policy	91
Further Research	94

Summary and Conclusion	96
Summary	96
Conclusion	97

REFERENCES	100
-----------------------------	------------

<u>Appendix</u>	<u>page</u>
A. LETTER OF CONTACT	111
B. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	113
C. QUESTIONNAIRE	137

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. African Refugees to the Province of Manitoba by Country of Birth by Sex and Year of Entry	33
2. Description of the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index: Winnipeg Black African Refugee Sample ...	38
3. Description of the Alienation Scale: Winnipeg Black African Refugee Sample	41
4. Sample Description: Winnipeg Black African Refugee Sample	47-48
5. Responses by African Refugees to the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index	52
6. Responses by African Refugees to the Alienation Scale	56
7. Crosstabulation of Age and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index	60
8. Crosstabulation of English Language Ability on Arrival in Canada and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index	61
9. Crosstabulation of Occupation in the Country of Origin and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index	63
10. Relationship Between Employment Variables And Socioeconomic Adaptation: Winnipeg Black African Refugee Sample	64
11. Crosstabulation of Years in Canada and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index	66
12. Crosstabulation of Years in Canada by the Alienation Scale	67
13. Relationship Between Consumer Item Ownership, Participation in Winter Activities and Socioeconomic Adaptation	70
14. African Refugees Admitted to Canada by Country of Birth by Sex and Year of Entry	89

Introduction

Immigration represents a major disruption in the life pattern of an individual's life, and all immigrants experience change. The experience of refugees (as opposed to other immigrants) may be more traumatic as a result of the involuntary nature of their migration. Refugees are impelled to emigrate from their homelands, but their movements are not anticipatory (Borrie,1959; Kunz, 1973). Furthermore, some have suffered loss: social, economic and human. In the process of becoming refugees, they have lost a homeland as well as their cherished relations and community (Baker,1983). The sense of loss is further exacerbated by a sudden and involuntary migration to an environment that is often alien to them in terms of climate, culture, values, and norms.

On arrival in a new country, the refugee/immigrant is in some way desocialized by withdrawal from the social sphere in which he or she was a part. Thus image of self, as well as former roles and status, and system of values are thrown into confusion (Borrie,p.82).

Many refugees have to learn a new language. They also have to be resocialized into a new set of group norms as well as a new and unfamiliar social and political structure (David,1970; Stein,1981). Adaptation and changes are necessary in the face of altered resources, because the support system previously provided by the old society and culture have been lost. Cultural shock and isolation from a familiar environment may impede the normal feedback process and thus serve to enhance the refugee's alienation thereby interfering with his/her social adjustment (Brown,1982; Nicassio,1983).

Canada and African Refugees

Prior to the 1980 Refugee Act in the United States, resettlement of African refugees outside of the African continent was not considered an appropriate solution. At the time, the majority of African refugees were peasants or pastoralists from rural areas lacking "educational and vocational skills necessary for their resettlement in the industrialized nations that have traditionally received immigrants". (Rogge,1983,p.24). From the mid-1970s, the character of African refugees changed and currently African refugees are both rural and urban, the latter "with the necessary levels of education, language, and occupational skills that assist their social and economic integration" (Rogge,1983, p.24).

To date African refugees have been resettled in Australia, United States and Canada. "The focus of Canada's resettlement program will continue to be on refugees in the South and Horn of Africa. These groups have limited possibilities of being integrated locally and are often denied employment" (Employment & Immigration Canada, 1986, p.12).

In 1981 and 1982 Canada set a target of 500 African refugees. The Canadian level was doubled in 1983, and since then Canada has continued to receive refugees from Africa (Rogge, 1983). Although Ethiopia is the principal "generator" of African refugees in Canada, other refugees have come from Mozambique, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan and Uganda, to mention only a few. It is noteworthy however, that the level of 1000 African refugees has never been filled.

A limited pool of available refugees, coupled with considerable difficulty in processing refugee applications in several African countries has made it virtually impossible to reach annual refugee targets. In addition, it is difficult to obtain exit permits in some countries particularly Ethiopia and Sudan. (Employment & Immigration Canada, 1986, p.50)

Statement of the Problem

Refugees from Africa form part of the new immigrants to Canada. African refugees are racially, culturally and ethnically different from Canadians. By Canadian standards, most African refugees have come from small cities and rural areas, and they may have had limited or no previous exposure to Western life. Apart from the usual problems faced by all immigrants such as finding a new job, learning a new language and finding a house, they have to cope with the stresses of a fast-paced urban life-style without the support systems of kin, neighbourhood, and community. Immigrants from European countries and the United States have similar traditions and cultural values to those of Canadians, but the traditions and cultural norms of African immigrants have little in common with those of Canadians.¹

The economic context is also different and the skills of African refugees may have no precise equivalent in Canada. Consequently, they may experience occupational deflection. "It is not uncommon to see highly trained refugees working in factories and restaurants and at manual labour" (Buchignani, 1980, p.195). There has been no research about factors enhancing or impeding the socioeconomic adaptation of African refugees in Winnipeg, Manitoba,

¹ Although having black people in Canada is not a recent phenomenon, it is important to remember that African presence is novel and that Africans are not a homogenous group. Black people share a common heritage but Canadian blacks, Caribbean blacks, and African blacks are different in terms of culture and language.

Canada. What are the problems encountered or being encountered by this group? How are the problems of African refugees different or similar to those of other groups? The present study was an effort to expand our knowledge of refugee adaptation in three ways : (a) by providing information on a refugee group about which little is known in terms of their cultural backgrounds and the impact that previous experiences have had on their adaptation processes, (b) by comparing the experiences of this group with those of others to see whether there are difference and/or similarities, and (c) by testing a theoretical model that should be relevant to the study of refugees' adaptation to resettlement.

The migration of African refugees to Canada is a phenomenon worth studying because there is need to understand their characteristics and experiences, their resettlement needs and problems, and their adaptation processes. Refugees share the experience of being refugees, but they are not a homogenous group nor has the experience of being a refugee traumatised each in the same way. Generalization of the refugee experience can lead individuals "to develop stereotypes which can result in policies and programs and practices which do not meet the needs of differing people" (Baker, 1983, p.71). It is important to clarify the nature and extent of the problems experienced by African refugees in Canada. Such knowledge

can be of use to policy makers and Immigration personnel who deal with African refugees in order that programs can be tailored to meet the specific needs of this group.

The purpose of the study was to explore socioeconomic adaptation and resettlement problems of African refugees in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. The main focus of this study was on the socioeconomic component of adaptation because satisfaction with the job, the community, realization of economic aspirations, number of and contact with friends from Canada and from the country of origin, are salient variables. In order to document the socioeconomic adaptation patterns of African refugees to Canada, primary data were collected by means of an interview schedule and a short self-administered questionnaire during the summer of 1988.

Objectives

Using a sample of African refugees in Winnipeg, Manitoba, the objectives of the study were to study the following:

1. To establish a socioeconomic profile of the sample.
2. To describe resettlement problems experienced by this group of refugees.
3. To understand factors affecting the adjustment of African refugees to resettlement in Canada.

Hypotheses. To achieve these objectives, the following hypotheses were developed and tested:-

1. Refugees who come to Canada at a young age will show higher levels of socioeconomic adaptation than older refugees.
2. Refugees who were fluent in the English language prior to migration will show higher levels of socioeconomic adaptation than those refugees who were not fluent in the English language prior to migration.
3. Refugees who were professionals in their countries of origin will show lower levels of socioeconomic adaptation than those who were non-professionals in their countries of origin.
4. Employment and socioeconomic adaptation will be positively related.
5. There will be an inverse relationship between negative feelings about self and Canada and socioeconomic adaptation.
6. Length of residence and socioeconomic adaptation will be positively related.
7. Married refugees will be more adapted than single refugees.
8. There will be a positive relationship between presence of kin and socioeconomic adaptation.
9. There will be a positive relationship between presence of an established ethnic community and socioeconomic adaptation.

10. The number of friends from the refugee's country of origin and frequency of contact with these friends will be positively related to socioeconomic adaptation
11. There will be a positive relationship between purchase of durable goods, participation in winter activities and socioeconomic adaptation.

Operational Definitions

"African refugee". African refugee was used to refer to a black person of African origin who owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination, or events seriously disturbing public order in either or part or whole of his country or nationality was compelled to leave his country of origin or nationality (Weis, 1970, pp. 454-455).

"Socioeconomic adaptation". Socioeconomic Adaptation was operationalized through measures of:

- (a) satisfaction with income, housing and furniture, job prospects, daily work, the community as a place to live in, the physical environment (e.g. climate),
- (b) frequency of contact and satisfaction with social interactions with white Canadians,
- (c) household income, accommodation and acquisition of durable goods and assets, and

(d) participation in winter activities.

"Alienation". Alienation was operationalized through measures of:

- (a) feelings of loneliness, rejection, and difficulty making friends with mainstream Canadians,
- (b) cultural estrangement, measured through feeling awkward about being in Canada, not being able to apply the values given in the culture of origin, difficulties understanding the Canadian way of life, and
- (c) powerlessness, measured by the subjects' perception of their situation in terms of improving their lives in Canada, and making a contribution to Canadian society.

"Occupational deflection". Occupational was used to refer to substantial discrepancies between intended and actual occupation by refugees when they first arrived in Canada (Montero, 1979; Neuwirth, 1987; Richmond, 1984; Samuel, 1984; 1987; Stein, 1979). For example, a person who was an administrator in his home country but who now works as a sales clerk will have experienced occupational deflection.

"Resettlement problems". Resettlement problems were operationalized through difficulty with: language, finding a job, feelings of isolation, loneliness, insecurity, and difficulty making friends with white Canadians.

"Individual perception". Individual was operationalized through negative or positive feelings about self and Canada. Resettlement problems and individual perception formed the sociocultural and sociopsychological dimensions of adaptation.

"Presence of an established ethnic community". Presence of established ethnic association was used to refer to an association or club of the subject's ethnic origin such as the African Association. Additionally, presence of kin and friends from the refugee's country of origin formed part of established ethnic community.

Summary

The purpose of the study was to explore the socioeconomic adaptation of African refugees. Data were gathered using variables such as sex, age, country of origin, marital status, language ability, employment, occupational deflection, presence of kin, presence of an established ethnic community, length of residence, and individual perception. Previous research had identified these as salient variables in the socioeconomic adaptation of refugees (Chan & Lam, 1983; Copeland, 1984; David, 1970; Haines, Rutherford, & Thomas, 1981a; Nicassio, 1985; Stein, 1979).

Literature Review

This section is a review of literature pertinent to refugee adaptation and an overview of the theoretical perspectives that have been used in previous studies. A theoretical model used in this survey is presented.

Adaptation

Resettlement of refugees is a gradual process that is achieved through the process of adaptation. The problems associated with refugees' adaptation to their new environments are many and complex, and adjustment becomes an arduous task, especially if the sociocultural distance between the immigrant and the host community is great (David, 1970). Inability to understand the language as well as differences in behaviour, attitudes, and values can complicate or impede the process.

The adaptation of recent immigrants and refugees to Canadian life has been studied by social scientists and the Department of Employment and Immigration during the last few years. There has been extensive research on recent immigrants. For example, the various Southeast Asian groups:

the Indochinese (Adelman,1980; Indra,1987; Kim & Nicassio, 1980), and the Vietnamese (Chan & Lam,1983; Haines et al. 1981b). Other groups including Greeks (Chimbos,1980;), Ugandan Asians (Pereira,1981), and East Indians (Johnston,1984) have been studied, to mention only a few. These studies have all examined the adaptation of refugees from a sociocultural or sociopsychological point of view. Socioeconomic adaptation, which plays a major role in initiating refugees in the mainstream society, has been studied little, although it is related to sociocultural and sociopsychological adaptation.

Successful occupational and economic adjustment promotes the refugees' willingness to acculturate and overcome obstacles to social adjustment.
(Stein,1979, pp.27-28)

Studies that have focused on immigrants' adaptation have used various terms such as adjustment, assimilation, integration, resettlement, and adaptation to describe the process whereby uprooted persons accept the new environment in which they find themselves (Bernard,1977; Borrie,1959; Charron & Ness, 1981; David,1970; Ex,1966; Keller,1975; Lanphier,1986). Charon and Ness (1981) distinguished between adaptation that is cognitive and adjustment that is affective.

Adaptation is used to mean behavioral changes undertaken in order to cope with changing

environmental circumstances, and adjustment refers to the cognitive and emotional status individuals develop as they attempt to live within their environment. (p.11)

Brody (1970) defined adaptation as a process of establishing a relatively stable and reciprocal relationship with the environment and having meaningful, social and interpersonal relationships with the community in which an immigrant finds himself/herself. Lanphier (1986) defined adjustment as "the acquisition of knowledge about the local community, use of some community services and development of acquaintanceship with Canadians." (p.5)

Bernard (1977) called the process of cultural change and acceptance of the new environment integration.

Integration is achieved when migrants become a working part of their adopted society, take on many of its attitudes and behaviour patterns, and participate freely in its activities but at the same time retain a measure of their original cultural identity and ethnicity. (p.277)

Hurh, Kim, and Kim (1980) defined adaptation as the process by which,

immigrants modify their attitudinal and behavioral patterns to maintain and improve their life conditions compatible with the new environment. (p.295)

Kim and Nicassio (1980) defined adjustment as a multidimensional process in which psychological, social, and economic patterns are interrelated and concurrent. Interpersonal relationships, language competence, organizational participation as well as affective dimensions all combine to foster adjustment. Haines et al. (1981a) described adjustment as a reciprocal process between the individual and his/her environment. Social groups act as mediators in the process. The refugee "is inextricably embedded in a complex social network which is, itself, to be considered a resource in the resettlement process" (p.97).

McCubbin and Patterson (1983) defined adaptation as a dynamic, ongoing process which is achieved through reciprocal relationships between the system and the environment. The system could be individuals, family units, communities or societies. The resources that the system and the environment require to bring about bon or mal adaptation are psychological, social, interpersonal, and material in nature. Stein (1981) and Taft, North and Ford (1979) defined adjustment as the complete merging of the refugee into the host community. The process is complex and can only be achieved in phases. Adaptation is achieved when an individual is accepted in the new society on the basis of individual merits without reference to racial or cultural heritage.

Neuwirth (1987) defined adaptation as a multidimensional concept that includes economic, social and cultural adjustment. The concept of economic adaptation can be perceived in two different senses:

In the wider sense it refers to the refugee's ability to find employment and become self-sufficient and in the narrower sense it is equivalent to occupational adjustment, which, ... can be defined as the ability to transfer occupational skills acquired in the home country to the new society or to obtain a job equivalent or similar to the one previously held: refugees who have been able to transfer their former occupational skills, or to assume an occupational status commensurate with their previous one, have more quickly adapted culturally than those whose occupational adjustment was poor. (p. 325)

It is important to note that occupational adjustment or the ability to transfer the refugee's occupational skills and status from the country of origin is a difficult and lengthy process that may take from three to four years to accomplish.

Owing to discrepancies between occupational titles, actual skill levels and Canadian licence requirements most refugees will need at least some up-grading of their skills if they are to resume

their previous or similar occupations" (Neuwirth, Grenier, Devries, and Watkins, 1985 p.79).

The refugee's willingness or ability to socialize with members of the host community and include them among his/her friends and acquaintances is important for social adjustment (Neuwirth, 1987; Nicassio, 1983).

Richmond (1974), like Neuwirth, divided the process of adaptation into two aspects, the objective and the subjective:

Objective adaptation includes economic achievement, acculturation, and integration at the secondary level in formal organisations and voluntary associations. (p.17)

Subjective adaptation

Includes satisfaction with life in Canada, a feeling of identification with Canada, and commitment to it with regard to permanent residence and citizenship as well as social integration at the primary level of family and community relationship (p.17).

The objective/cognitive and subjective/affective components are the basis for socioeconomic adaptation. Indicators of economic adaptation were identified by Pereira (1981) as satisfaction with the job as well as realization of economic aspirations. Samuel (1987) reported that

"refugee success in obtaining a job is one of the first indications of economic adaptation" (p.66). Deschamps (1987) supported this view: "Their [the immigrants'] experience in establishing themselves economically largely determines the patterns of other forms of adaptation, and usually precedes their social and cultural integration" (p.97). Social adaptation indicators, on the other hand, include coming to terms with and/or satisfaction with and acceptance of the non-work environment, the country, the neighbourhood, and the people. It is basically interaction that affects the primary personal level of individual hopes and expectations (Pereira,1981).

Variables Affecting Socioeconomic Adaptation

Based on a variety of studies, it is apparent that language proficiency, employment, and occupational deflection have major roles to play in the socioeconomic adaptation of refugees. In addition, age, sex, language, the presence of an established ethnic community, individual perception, and length of residence have also been identified as crucial variables (Bach,1979; Cirtautas,1957; Haines, et al.1981a; Richmond,1984; Rogg,1971; Stein,1979).

Age. Age is a significant variable in that the young people tend to learn a foreign language more rapidly than the old, and the young and educated can overcome the initial

cultural incompatibility with greater ease than the old (Borrie, 1959; Copeland, 1984; Jones, 1976). Young people tend to adopt the manners of the host community, while chances of interaction with the host community for the old are practically nil (Cham & Lam, 1983). Nguyen (1982) noted that old Vietnamese have the most confused position in Canada relative to young Vietnamese and have become more of a burden to the government than young ones. Whitmore (1983) noted that elderly refugees have great problems adapting to Western culture. In terms of socioeconomic adaptation, age is more of a handicap for elderly refugees than it is for young ones because starting at the bottom of the occupational ladder is more of an obstacle for older people. Withdrawal from active involvement in the adaptation process places strain on the families of aged members and increases intrafamily stress. The gap between the elderly grandparent and the young child only helps to increase the isolation and loneliness of aged members.

Language. Adaptation to a new environment requires a means of communication, and lack of language skills may be a hindrance to successful adjustment. For example, citizenship may be denied to those immigrants who fail to learn official languages of Canada (Moldofsky, 1975). Fluency in English or French may also be a significant factor in the socioeconomic adaptation of refugees. Samuel (1984) found that lack of ability to speak at least one of

Canada's official languages prevented the Chilean refugees from access to their intended occupations; by comparison, Ugandan Asians who were fluent in English, and who were motivated to grow roots in Canada, found their adjustment facilitated by these skills.

Richmond (1984) suggested that those who speak the official languages have an advantage over those who do not, because language facility gives them the possibility of interacting with the mainstream society and thereby increases their identification with the larger society. Lack of English and/or French fluency greatly affects the type of job for which an employer will hire a refugee (Weiermair, 1971). Stein (1979) attributed adjusting poorly, having menial jobs, and living in ethnic communities to having little contact with the dominant culture and lacking facility in English language. Starr and Roberts (1982) reported that Vietnamese refugees with insufficient knowledge of the official languages of Canada had lower occupational statuses, were financially worse off than those with a knowledge of English, had the most traditional Vietnamese outlook and reported less successful personal adjustment. Stein, Yi Yi and Ismael (1983) reported that the process of adaptation was slow and limited and created frustration and emotional problems for elderly Asians who were non-English speaking and completely unfamiliar with the American way of life.

In the case of African refugees, those with good English skills would also be highly educated. The general consensus is that those refugees who were professionals in their home countries and by implication well educated often resettle in countries that do not recognise their skills (Neuwirth,1983; Richmond,1984; Rogg,1971; Taft,1966). This would suggest that while education and facility with the English language may accelerate a refugee's social adaptation, it does not necessarily enhance economic adaptation.

Occupational deflection. Researchers agree that refugees who were professionals in their countries of origin suffer higher rates of unemployment and underemployment than non-professionals. They experience a sharp drop in occupational status, termed deflection (Cunningham,1987; Montero,1979; Neuwirth,1987; Richmond,1984; Samuel,1984,1987; Stein,1981). This has been attributed to non-recognition of degrees and skills, licensing restrictions by trades and professions, the extensive retraining needed to adjust national professional differences, the greater language demands of professional, managerial, and sales work, and the non-transferability of certain skills. (Stein,1979, p.39)

The discrepancy between previous and intended occupations is acute for ex-professionals, administrators, and managers (Neuwirth,1987; Stein,1981). Ability to find work in the occupation for which refugees have been trained is a key to economic success. "It is a traumatic experience to have to work in unskilled service occupations after being a professional in one's own former country" (Samuel,1987, p.68). However, Neuwirth et al.(1985) caution that it is the years of education rather than previous occupational status that should be taken into consideration in order to judge whether a refugee has suffered occupational deflection or not.

Employment.

Immigrant entry into the work force...is often the best index of success or failure in adaptation. It is a key indicator of the entire integration process from the points of view of both the host society and immigrants themselves (Deschamps,1987,p.97)

Securing a job is a traditional predictor of economic adaptation (Pereira,1981; Richmond,1984). Employment initiates the refugee into the dominant culture and enables him or her "to participate in almost every aspect of society,as consumers,investors,and taxpayers (Samuel,1987). In addition, it offers the refugee a chance to learn and

practice the language (Borrie,1959; Lanphier,1986; Stein,1979,1981). Employment also enables the refugee to: discover and conform to group norms, and develop social involvement and acceptance and provide in addition, the income needed to participate in social and cultural activities. (Stein,1979, p.27)

Individual perception. A refugee's perception of his or her situation in the new country is important to adaptation. A refugee who knows that he/she can return to the country of origin and who considers the situation a temporary one may lack the motivation to change and to form meaningful and permanent relationships in the new country. Individuals who migrate against their will may sabotage themselves by refusing to succeed in a country to which they have come unwillingly (Cirtautas,1957; David,1970; Pereira,1981; Stein,1981). In addition to their education, it was their strong motivation to grow roots in Canada that facilitated the adjustment of Ugandan Asians (Samuel,1984).

Length of residence. The amount of time a refugee spends in the country of resettlement is a significant variable in the socioeconomic adaptation of refugees. The first three to four years are said to be of crucial importance (Ex,1966; Neuwirth,1987; Stein,1979; Weiermair,1971). As refugees gain time in their countries of resettlement, some of the factors that caused their

initial occupational deflection such as lack of facility in English and lack of Canadian experience are ameliorated as refugees retrain and work hard to improve their situation (Bach,1979; Cirtautas,1957). However, adjustment on the part of the host community is also necessary (Borrie,1959; Taft,1966; Tyhurst,1979). Some members of the host community such as friends become foci of hope while others may make refugees anxious. Copeland (1984) reported that parents of the Southeast Asian adolescents she studied preferred to socialize with members of their own community, because they perceived rejection on the part of the host community. Richmond (1984) maintained that length of residence is an important determinant of the degree and pattern of sociocultural adaptation exhibited by an immigrant.

Theoretical Perspectives

Forced migration or the phenomenon that produces refugees is complex in that political, economic, social, ethnic, and religious issues are interdependent.

The problems associated with the experience of uprooting, cultural change, and subsequent adaptation to resettlement have been studied from various perspectives such as: (a) the psychological (Minde & Minde,1976), (b) the economic (Weiermair,1971), (b) the psychiatric (Lin, Masuda & Tazuma,1979; Nguyen,1982), (c) the ecosystem (Copeland,1984),

(d) the sociological (Pereira,1981), and (f) role theory (Brody,1970; Chan & Lam,1983). Consequently no single theoretical framework exists to explain all aspects of this phenomenon (Harrell-Bond,1988; Mazur,1988; Neuwirth,1988; Richmond,1988).

Overview. Studies that used psychological and psychiatric perspectives tended to focus on the mental health of refugees. These studies have enhanced our understanding of the refugee experience. However, their use of clinical subjects and emphasis on seriously troubled persons makes it difficult to generalize these findings to other refugee groups. Generalization of such findings might promote the erroneous assumption that all refugees are potential candidates for mental health disorders.

The economic perspective tends to treat adaptation as a function of employment, the assumption being that a satisfactory job is fundamental to the overall well-being of an individual refugee. This perspective is narrow in the sense that it negates the fact that adaptation is a multi-dimensional concept which includes not only economic but also social and cultural adjustment. Furthermore, whether a job contributes to the adaptation of a refugee is dependent on other factors, for example, the remuneration, the satisfaction he or she draws from it, the benefits attached to it, and whether it fits in with the occupant's aspirations.

Researchers who use role theory report that changes in roles, attitudes, and values occur as a result of migration. This perspective tends to treat these changes as a function of the age of the immigrant. The demands that an environment make on the individual are not taken into consideration. The ecosystem perspective (Copeland, 1984) is comprehensive. It is "an holistic view of individuals and groups in association with the physical, biological and social conditions and events around them" (Bubolz, Licher, and Sontag, 1979, p.28). However, it is so broad that it is difficult to test in a single study.

Pereira (1981) used a sociological perspective to investigate multivariate relationships such as: attachment of individuals to items of their ethnic culture such as food, festivals, languages spoken at home and dress; membership in voluntary organisations; and non-ethnic variables such as attachment to Uganda, pre-migration trauma, post-migration trauma, occupational achievement, age, sex, and level of education. Although this was a comprehensive study, Pereira (1981) did not consider the reciprocal relationship between the system and the environment and the fact that this relationship is not static. The above perspectives are limited to partial understanding of the total process of adaptation.

The Double ABC-X Model. A systems perspective was used in this study because a family is viewed as an open

system, one whose viability requires transactions with the environment. Families receive inputs from the environment around them, and in turn, have outputs to their social environment. In case of refugees, refugee experiences and immigration are major negative inputs into the family system (i.e. losses of home, property, family members, or familiar community). The negative inputs of refugee experience and immigration may be seen as a set of demands placed on the family, or system stress. One way that immigrant families deal with the stressful demands of resettlement is to seek resource inputs from other units in their social environment. They attempt to establish social networks with the environment from which to receive help in coping with stress.

The theoretical perspective used as a base for this study of refugee family adaptation was the one advanced by McCubbin and Patterson (1983) to explain adaptation to family stress. By using the model originally developed by Hill (1949), McCubbin and Patterson (1983) extended Hill's ABCX model of stress. In Hill's work X is the level of stress that could be predicted from interactions among A, the stressor event, B, the family's resources, and C, the family's perception of the relationship between A and B.

McCubbin and Patterson (1983) extended the model to show effects over time and to include another set of interacting factors in an effort to describe (a) the

additional life stressors and changes which may influence the family's ability to achieve adaptation; (b) the critical psychological and social factors families call upon and use in managing crisis situations; (c) the processes families engage in to achieve satisfactory resolution; and (d) the outcomes of these family efforts (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983).

Adaptation is achieved through reciprocal relationships among (a) the individual, (b) the family unit and (c) the environment of which family individual members and the family unit are a part. At the first level, a balance is sought between the individual refugee family members and the family system, and, at the second level, a balance is sought between the refugee family system and the community. Normal adaptation (xX) is a function of the interaction among pile-up events (aA), the family adaptive resources (bB), and the family definition and meaning (cC). Pile-up events (aA) include (a) the initial stressor event and hardships (e.g. refugee experience and loss); (b) normative transitions (e.g. the birth of a new child); (c) prior strain; (d) the consequences of family efforts to cope; and (e) intrafamily and social ambiguity (e.g. uncertainty about the future) (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983).

Family adaptive resources (bB) include (a) family members' personal resources (e.g. age, language facility, transferable skills), and (b) the family system's internal resources (e.g., presence of kin) and social support (e.g. availability of friends, and established ethnic community). Family definition and meaning (cC) or how the family perceives the situation are salient variables in the process of adaptation. In order to adapt, families have to restructure and consolidate existing resources. This calls for changes in their existing structure, which include modifications in established roles, rules, and or patterns of interaction.

Rationale. This model was considered pertinent to the present study for the following reasons: First, the relevance of stress as an explanatory construct for the problems of adaptation of refugees to resettlement has been highlighted. "The entire migration process creates enormous demands and obstacles and is fraught with negative experience of severe magnitude and requires massive adaptive and coping resources" (Baker, 1983).

Second, the adjustment of an immigrant to his or her new society is largely a function of his or her resources (B factor) and expectations (C factor) together with the capacity of the environment to satisfy his or her needs (Nguyen, 1987, p.50). This agrees with McCubbin and Patterson's (1983) definition that adaptation is achieved

through reciprocal relationships among (a) the individual, (b) the family unit, and (c) the environment. Pereira (1981) suggested that the variables that affect resettlement may be found in three areas: (a) the internal situation of the individuals entering the country, (b) the internal situation of the country of reception, and (c) the interaction between the two. Past research has also called attention to the mediating role of refugees' personal resources (e.g. language ability), the family system's internal resources (presence of kin), and social support networks in reducing the impact of immigration and resettlement (Cirtautas, 1957; Pereira, 1981; Samuel, 1984).

Third, McCubbin and Patterson (1983) recognised that demands or needs of individual families are not static but change over time. This concurs with the definition by David (1970) that adaptation is a "fluid exchange between the immigrant and the society" (p.87).

Fourth, Hill's ABC-X model has produced one of the classic theoretical statements on families in crisis and has been used to study war-induced separations (Lieberman, 1971, McCubbin and Patterson, 1983). Last, the double ABC-X model is relevant to the study of refugee adaptation because it has potential in yielding "valuable information that may shape the focus of services for refugees because sources of adjustment difficulty in personal resources, and social resources may be identified

and targeted for intervention" (Nicassio, 1985, p.169).
Lastly, Harrell-Bond argued (1988) that the study of human
behaviour under conditions of stress promises to contribute
to and enrich general theoretical knowledge.

Methodology

This chapter deals with the methodology employed in this study. Sample selection, sample description, instruments and variables, pre-testing, procedure for data collection, and methods of data analyses are described.

Sample Selection

During the month of May 1988, the researcher contacted the Department of Employment Services and Economic Security, Immigration and Settlement Branch, Winnipeg, in an effort to get a list of names and addresses of African refugees resident in the province of Manitoba between 1981 and 1987. Access to this data was refused on grounds of "confidentiality". Additionally, these statistics would have been inaccurate since international migration to Manitoba is listed either in terms of areas of last permanent residence or "top five source countries". Numbers from Africa are combined with those of the Middle East and "top five source countries": Poland, Vietnam, El Salvador, Kampuchea and Ethiopia. "Top five source countries" includes Ethiopia but excludes refugees from other African countries (D.Etchevery, personal communication, May 3rd, 1988).

As an alternative means of obtaining a sample, the researcher contacted the International Centre, Red River Community College and the African Association of Manitoba. Again these data were also inaccessible "for reasons of confidentiality."

The other option was to contact Canada and Employment and Immigration headquarters in Ottawa. The author travelled to Ottawa in May, 1988. Access to a list of names and addresses of African refugees to Canada was refused on grounds of "confidentiality". Statistics of African refugees to Canada were provided and the population for Manitoba between 1981 and 1987 was 492 refugees (see Table 1). Background information in terms of refugees' ages, marital status, language ability and intended occupations in Canada was not available. Eritreans² were combined with Ethiopians. Data on secondary migration, common among refugees, were not available. For example, government statistics list 29 Ugandans as resident in Manitoba, but by the time of the survey only 12 still resided in the province.

As a final resort, the author obtained a list of names and addresses of African refugees resident in Manitoba from the presidents of the following national associations:

² Although Eritrea is a province of Ethiopia and Eritreans come to Canada under the cover of 'Ethiopia', they prefer to be treated as a distinct group. For example, they have a separate ethnic community and they insist that they are "not Ethiopian". Eritreans will therefore be treated as a separate group in this paper.

Table 1

African Refugees to the Province of Manitoba by Country of Birth by Sex and Year of Entry

Country of Origin	Year of Entry														Total
	1981		1982		1983		1984		1985		1986		1987		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Ethiopia	6	-	14	3	53	15	55	18	44	16	59	31	65	35	414
Somalia	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	5
Mozambique	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Sudan	-	-	1	1	1	6	-	1	-	4	2	4	2	-	22
Uganda	-	-	2	-	2	-	8	9	3	1	1	1	2	-	29
South Africa	1	-	-	1	2	2	1	-	1	1	9	1	3	-	20
TOTAL	7	-	19	4	59	22	64	29	48	22	73	33	75	37	492

Source: Canada Employment and Immigration, Ottawa

The Eritrean Community of Winnipeg, the Ethiopian Association, and the Ugandan Union. In the case of Africans from Mozambique, Somalia and South Africa, who do not have their own national associations, the author approached the following agencies that work with refugees: All Saints and St. Luke's Churches' Joint Refugee Committee, Interfaith Immigration Council, and the Winnipeg School Division Number 1. Together, names from all sources provided a list of 157 African refugees. The list was biased in favour of those who joined associations and who were able to speak the English language. One hundred and twenty four (79%) were men, and 33 (21%) were women. Forty percent (40%) were single men from Ethiopia, twenty six (21%) were from Eritrea, and sixteen (13%) were from Mozambique, Somalia, South Africa and Uganda combined. Married men from all countries constituted five percent (5%) of the males on the list.

From the list, 65 people were selected to participate in the study. Selection was designed to vary in terms of country of origin, sex and marital status. Respondents were randomly selected from the list using a table of random numbers from Loether and Mctavish (1974).

Sample Description

A non-probability sample of 31 Africans who came to Canada as refugees was used for this study. Sampling was done without replacement. According to Loether and McTavish (1974) this method is appropriate when the size of the sample is small. Additionally, sampling without replacement was considered appropriate because of the nature of the problem being investigated and because of the quality and quantity of the data available (Loether & McTavish, 1974). Note on Table 4 on pages 47 and 48 that the sample is highly educated, male, mainly Eritrean, and single.

Instruments and Variables

Data were obtained by means of interviews using an interview schedule and a short self-administered questionnaire. "Adaptation to a new culture is a complex multi-dimensional process in which social, cultural and psychological patterns are closely interrelated" (Kim & Nicassio, 1980, p.3). Based on this concept, the interview schedule contained eighty-three questions with several parts which covered various aspects of the refugees' adaptation to Canadian culture ranging from basic background information, dimensions of socioeconomic adaptation (see Appendix B), sociocultural and sociopsychological adaptation (see Appendix C). Background information included: country of origin, country of first asylum, refugee camp experience,

year of entry into Canada, language ability, occupation in the country of birth, age, and sex (see Appendix B).

Variables

Several variables investigated in this study. The independent variables included: Age, sex, marital status, years of schooling, country of origin, occupation at home, refugee camp experience, year of entry into Canada, presence of an ethnic community, (see Appendix B). Dependent variables were the Satisfaction with Life Index (see Appendix B, items 61-67) and the Alienation Scale (see Appendix C, items 1-10). Associations between the independent and dependent variables were examined.

Socioeconomic Adaptation

Information was gathered regarding job experiences on arrival in Canada and at the time the interview was conducted. Questions were also asked about whether the refugees had changed occupations, whether they intended to change occupations, reasons for their decision, and whether they had obtained any form of training in Canada. In order to test satisfaction, the main dependent variable, a self-report index developed by Ramcharan (1976), was used.

The Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index. The Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index is comprised of seven

items: income, housing and furniture, job prospects, the community, daily work, life in general and the physical environment or climate. Each item is measured on a 5-point scale of satisfaction ranging from "very dissatisfied" (1) to "very satisfied" (5) (see Appendix B, Items 61-67). Upon analyzing the data, the "Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index" was found to be reliable in measuring the refugees' satisfaction with life in Canada (Cronbach's alpha = .635). This was lower compared to the original internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's Alpha = .88). The Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index has good face validity. Holsti (1969,p.143) argued that for descriptive studies, face validity is generally sufficient. Holsti (1969,p.142) further argued that there is no single, simple solution for deciding the proper level of reliability. Differences in sample size could have contributed to differences in the internal consistency of the scale. Ramcharan (1976) in his survey of West Indians economic adaptation to Canada used a sample of two hundred and ninety six. The size of this sample was thirty one. The Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index is presented on Table 2.

Additional information was gathered regarding income levels and purchase of assets and durable goods (see Appendix B).

Table 2

Description of the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index: Winnipeg
Black African Refugee Sample (N=31)

Questions	Mean	S.D	Item Total Correlation
How satisfied are you with your income?	2.871	1.118	.4664
How satisfied are you with your housing and furniture?	3.548	.961	.1668
How satisfied are you with your job prospects?	2.724	1.192	.2721
How satisfied are you with the community as a place to live in?	3.645	.950	.4214
How satisfied are you with your daily work?	3.129	.957	.4702
How satisfied are you with your life in general?	3.258	.930	.4202

Note: Response alternatives were Likert Scale

1 = Strongly Disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Neutral

4 = Agree

5 = Strongly Agree

Sociocultural and Sociopsychological Dimensions of Adaptation

In order to evaluate dimensions of the subjects' sociocultural and sociopsychological dimensions of adaptation, a self-report questionnaire was used. The questionnaire contained thirty-eight questions. Ten of the questions constituted the Alienation Scale developed by Nicassio (1983). Twenty-eight of the remaining questions gathered information regarding the problems the refugees encountered on arrival in Canada and problems they continue to face as they adapt to Canadian culture (see Appendix C).

The Alienation Scale. The Alienation Scale is a ten-item scale developed by Nicassio (1983, see Appendix C). Alienation was conceived of as a psychological concept composed of isolation, cultural estrangement and powerlessness (Kim & Nicassio, 1980). Social isolation was assessed by feelings of loneliness, rejection as well as difficulties in making Canadian friends (Items, 2,7,9,10). Cultural estrangement consisted of items measuring feelings of awkwardness about being in Canada, not being able to apply the values given in the culture of origin, and difficulties understanding the Canadian way of life (Items 1, 4 & 6). Powerlessness was measured by the perception of the subjects in terms of improving their lives in Canada and making a contribution to Canadian society (Items 3, 5 & 8). Each item is measured on a 5-point scale ranging from

"strongly disagree (1) to "strongly agree" (5). Five questions are negatively worded and five questions are positively worded. A high score on the negatively worded items indicates low feelings about self and Canada and is indicative of mal adaptation. A low score on the positively worded statements indicates positive feelings about self and Canada and is indicative of bon adaptation (see Appendix C). The internal consistency for this data was moderate (Cronbach's Alpha = .62). The scale had been used by Kim and Nicassio (1980) in a study of Indochinese refugees and was found to be highly reliable (Cronbach's Alpha = .75). Nicassio (1983) re-tested the scale and it showed high reliability (Cronbach's Apha = .75). Although no validity statistics are available, Nicassio, (personal communication, November 10, 1988) claimed that the criterion validity of his instrument is good. He further noted that "as many as 15 researchers" have requested permission to use the scale. The lower reliability with this sample compared to Nicassio's could be due to differences in sample size. The Alienation scale is presented on Table 3.

Table 3

Description of Alienation Scale: Winnipeg BlackAfrican Refugee Sample (N=31)

Item	Mean	S.D.	Item Total Correlation
*I feel awkward and out of place in Canada	2.900	1.555	.4612
It is easy for me to make Canadian friends	3.032	1.378	.4395
The future looks bright for me in this country	2.710	1.189	.1874
*Many things my parents taught me are not useful in Canada	2.581	1.336	.2069
As an individual I can contribute something to Canadian Society	1.774	1.203	.1744
*It is difficult for me to understand the Canadian way of life	2.548	1.207	.3836
I feel like I belong to Canadian society	2.935	1.124	-.1686
*There is little I can do to improve myself in this country	2.613	1.407	.2167
I feel like the Canadians I know like me	2.161	1.241	.2849
*I feel lonely in Canada	2.806	1.327	.2698

Note: Response alternatives were Likert format:

- 1 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly Agree

* The coding of these items was reversed for computer analysis.

Social and Interpersonal Interaction. Data pertaining to social and interpersonal interaction with mainstream Canadians, members of the refugee's community, and the degree of importance the refugee attached to these social interactions were obtained (see Appendix B). Additional data were also gathered regarding the existence of ethnic communities and affiliation to an ethnic association, the extent to which the refugee identified with his or her ethnic community, and the degree of importance he or she attached to the ethnic community (see Appendix B).

Additionally, subjects were asked about resettlement problems experienced on arrival in Canada and which of these were still problems for African refugees. Resettlement problems were considered as components of social, cultural, and psychological adaptation. Questions covered areas such as language, finding a job, family disagreements, money worries, making friends with mainstream Canadians, loneliness, feelings of not belonging, and feelings of insecurity. Twenty six questions were used by Copeland (1984) and two questions were added by the researcher to measure the degree to which these problems affect the lives of African refugees in Canada (see Appendix C).

Pre-testing

The interview schedule and the questionnaire were pre-tested for clarity, understanding and validity on four refugees from the African countries of Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda. The purpose of the study was explained to the subjects prior to the pre-test. Each pre-test was followed by a brief discussion of difficulties, ambiguities and recommended changes. The four pre-tests were not included in the final data analysis.

Procedure for Data Collection

Data were collected between July and August of 1988. Letters of contact to potential respondents were sent in two waves (see Appendix A). Forty people were contacted at the end of June, and twenty-five people were contacted at the end of July. Of the sixty-five letters that were mailed five (8%) were returned by the post office. The remaining fifty-five (92%) were subsequently telephoned by the researcher. Additional information was given as to the purpose of the study, the procedure for collection of data, and the assurance of anonymity. The researcher requested an interview with the understanding that respondents would have the option to decide not to participate in the study and that the interview would be conducted at a time and place convenient to them. The researcher was unable to contact fifteen potential respondents (25%) for their telephone

numbers were "not in service". The actual number of contacts made was forty-five. Of these, thirteen people (29%) refused to participate in the study. Thirty-two people agreed to participate in the survey and were interviewed. The response rate was seventy-one percent. Interviews were conducted in various places: in homes (56%), in a public library (25%), in respondents' offices (13%), and at a community centre (6%).

Methods of Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics in the form of frequencies, means, modes, percentages and contingency tables were used to describe, summarize and present the data. Data were drawn from a non-probability sample of limited size with measurement at the nominal, ordinal, and interval level. Measures of association such as lambda and gamma which indicate the strength of the relationship between variables are appropriate for data analysis (Chadwick, Bahr & Albrecht, 1984). The t-test was used to test and compare group means.

Gamma and lambda do not account for pairs that tied on the dependent and independent variables (Mueller, Schuessler & Costner, 1977). Hence a rank order test, eta, was used. Eta indicates how dissimilar the means on the dependent variable are within the categories of the independent variable (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner & Bent, 1975).

Lambda is used to test the strength of the relationship of data with nominal properties. It is an asymmetric measure of association which expresses the Proportionate Reduction in Errors (PRE) made in predicting modal values of the dependent variable when prior knowledge of the independent variable is available (Loether & Mctavish, 1974). Lambda varies in magnitude from 0.00 to 1.00. The higher the value of lambda the stronger the association between the variables. Zero lambda indicates no association and 1.00 indicates 100 percent proportionate reduction in error.

Gamma (G) is a symmetrical measure of association suited to ordinal data. It is a PRE measure based on pair concordance and pair discordance. Gamma of 1.00 indicates perfect concordance, 0.00 indicates independence, and -1.00 indicates pair discordance. The Statistical package used to analyse the data was the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

Results

This study investigated factors associated with the socioeconomic adaptation of African refugees in Winnipeg. A demographic profile of the subjects, socioeconomic, sociocultural, sociopsychological patterns of adaptation, and problems perceived by subjects are presented. Relationships between demographic characteristics and socioeconomic indicators of adaptation are discussed. The demographic profile is presented in Table 4. Note in Table 4 that very few of the respondents had work experiences in their home countries.

Adequacy of Income. The majority of the respondents (42%) reported that it was with difficulty that their incomes met their needs; 19% indicated that their incomes were adequate to meet their needs; 16% reported that their incomes met their needs well, 10% reported; "not very well at all"; 3% indicated; "very well"; and 10% did not express an opinion. Note in Table 4 that (24%) had yearly incomes below \$10,000.

Table 4

Sample Description: Winnipeg Black African Refugees (N= 31)

Characteristics

<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Ethiopia	9	29
Eritrea	15	48
Uganda	4	13
South Africa	3	10
Total	31	100
<u>Sex</u>		
Female	9	21
Male	21	79
Total	31	100
<u>Age</u>		
20-29	16	53
30-39	14	47
Total	30	100
<u>Years of Education</u>		
1-12	11	35
13-16	13	42
Above 16	7	23
Total	31	100
<u>Occupation in the</u>		
<u>Home Country</u>		
White Collar	8	26

Blue Collar	3	10
Student	19	61
Housewife	1	3
Total	31	100

Marital Status

Married *	14	45
Single	17	55
Total	31	100

Income

Under \$10,000	7	24
\$15,000 - \$19,000	8	26
\$20,000 - \$24,000	4	13
\$25,000 - \$29,000	3	11
\$30,000 - \$34,000	3	11
\$35,000 - \$39,000	3	11
Over 40,000	1	3
Total	29	100

* Includes 1 living with boyfriend

Years of Education. The modal number of years of education was 13 and 16. This finding was in accord with Neuwirth (1988)'s report that immigration statistics show refugees from Ethiopia to have 'high' or 'fairly high' education levels. Naidoo (1987) reported that "refugees from the secessionist Red Sea province of Eritrea tend to be well-educated and skilled" (p.8). Frequency distributions of the respondents' level of education are presented in Table 4.

Language. An overall ability to communicate in the English language was indicated by the respondents. Ninety-three percent stated that they spoke the English language prior to coming to Canada, and 7% reported that they had no knowledge of the English language upon arrival in Canada. This finding supported Naidoo's (1987) contention that "all Africans have a good working knowledge of either English or French depending on country of origin and history of colonization" (p.6). Forty-two percent rated their English language ability on arrival in Canada as "good", 29% as "fluent", 22% as poor or little", whereas 7% rated their language ability as "fair".

Countries of First Asylum. Countries of first asylum ranged from Italy (32%), Sudan (19%), Kenya (16%), and 33% from other countries (U.S.A., Switzerland, Turkey and Tanzania). Prior to migration, sixteen percent of the respondents had spent time in refugee camps. The amount of time spent in refugee camps ranged from six months to three years. The rest (84%) indicated that they did not spend time in refugee camps but had lived under "surveillance" in Italy, Sudan, Kenya, and Egypt.

Additional Training. In Canada, twenty respondents received additional training. Thirteen percent had received language training, 16% had received university education, 10% had attended a community college, 6% had received high school training, and 20% had received training for course

upgrading, professional licencing exams and job apprenticeship.

Socioeconomic Adaptation Patterns

Socioeconomic adaptation was measured in terms of employment; income; occupation deflection; intention to change occupations; satisfaction with income, housing and furniture; job prospects; community; daily work; life in Canada; the physical environment or climate; and purchase of durable goods and assets.

Employment in Canada. Nineteen percent reported that their first occupation in Canada was a white collar job, 75% reported working at blue collar occupations and 6% reported difficulty finding work. Thirty-four percent reported finding work within one to four months, 28% found work within five to eight months, 31% found work within nine and twelve months, and 7% took more than one year to find work. The majority of the respondents (80%) found work in blue collar occupations (ordelies, parking lot-attendants, sales, restaurants, construction), whereas 20% found employment in white collar occupations. At the time of survey, 87% of the refugees were employed, 10% were receiving unemployment insurance benefits, and 3% were on social welfare.

Satisfaction with Life in Canada. Respondents expressed satisfaction with the following aspects of their

lives: housing and furniture, the community as a place to live, daily work, and life in general. Respondents stated that they were dissatisfied with these aspects of their lives: income, job prospects, and the climate. Frequency responses to the "Satisfaction with Life In Canada Index" are presented on Table 5.

Purchase of Assets and Durable Goods. Additional indicators of socioeconomic adaptation investigated in this study included purchase of a home, car, video-equipment, and stereo-system. The majority of the respondents (90%) lived in rented accommodation, while 10% had purchased homes. In regard to other purchases, 52% owned a car, 52% a stereo-system, and 36% had purchased video-equipment.

Job Qualifications and Intent to Change Occupation. Fifty-nine percent assessed themselves as "overqualified" for the jobs they were doing, 26% as "adequately qualified", and 4% as "moderately qualified". Eleven percent stated that academic qualifications were not a requirement for the occupations they held. Overall, the refugees intended to change their occupations. Seventy-one percent had already changed occupations, and 75% stated that they wanted to do so again.

Table 5

Responses by African Refugees to the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index (N=31)

Statement	Very Dissatisfied		Dissatisfied		Neutral		Satisfied		Very Satisfied	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
How satisfied are you with your income?	2	7	13	41	5	16	9	29	2	7
How satisfied are you with your housing and furniture?			7	22	3	10	18	58	3	10
How satisfied are you with your job prospects?	3	11	14	50	2	7	8	25	2	7
How satisfied are you with this community as a place to live in?			5	16	6	19	15	49	5	16
How satisfied are you with your daily work?			11	36	6	19	13	42	1	3
How satisfied are you with your life in general?			9	29	6	19	15	49	1	3
How satisfied are you with the physical environment (e.g. climate)?	1	3	16	52	8	26	6	19		

Range = 7.00-35.00; \bar{X} = 19.00

Sociocultural Dimensions of Adaptation

Social Interaction. The results provided evidence that the African refugees tended to identify with members of their own ethnic group compared to mainstream Canadians. Thirty-two percent indicated that they did not have white Canadian friends compared to 13% who indicated that they did not have friends among their own ethnic community. Fifty-two percent stated that they had more than six African friends compared to 22% who indicated that they had more than six white Canadian friends. Forty-five percent indicated that it was very important to have African friends compared to 16% who reported that it was very important to have white Canadian friends. Forty-two percent stated that they never invited Canadian friends to their homes, 32% indicated that they never went to white Canadian homes, and 29% stated that they never talked to white Canadian friends on the phone.

With regard to social interaction within their own ethnic community, 48% received visits about once a week, 38% visited about once a week, and 74% talked to their African friends more than once a week. Thirty-two percent indicated that their confidant was a friend "from home" compared to 3% who stated that their confidant was from the mainstream society.

Presence of an Established Ethnic Community.

Eighty-seven percent of the respondents indicated that they were affiliated with an ethnic community. Fifty-two percent rated the presence of an ethnic community as "very important". Twenty-six percent stated that they frequented the ethnic community "more than once a week". Reasons for the degree of importance attached to the ethnic community ranged from "to meet countrymen and exchange ideas" (52%), to "it is like home" (25%) and "other" (18%, for instance, "to teach our children our language and culture", "it is social therapy").

Participation in Winter Activities.

The majority of the sample (83%) stated that they did not participate in winter activities. Reasons given were: "not interested" (33%), lack of training (19%), "I hate winter" (19%), "I feel unsafe" (7%), and "I have no time" (22%).

Psychosocial Dimensions of Adaptation

Negative feelings about self and Canada.

The Alienation Scale (Nicassio, 1983) was used to measure negative feelings about self and about Canada. Responses to the Alienation Scale suggested ambivalence in regard to feelings of isolation, loneliness, rejection and difficulties making Canadian friends. In terms of improving their lives in Canada and making a contribution to Canadian society, respondents expressed a strong sense of

powerlessness by scoring high on the Alienation Scale. Attachment to the original culture was suggested in the respondents' disagreement with the statement that asked whether the values given in the culture of origin were applicable to Canada. Frequency responses to the Alienation Scale are presented in Table 6.

Resettlement Problems. In response to the question "Which of the following: (a) language, (b) finding a job, (c) locating friends from your country, (d) disagreements with spouse, (e) feelings of not belonging, (f) feelings of not belonging, (g) loneliness, (h) being away from family members, (i) money worries, (j) learning how to get along with mainstream Canadians, (k) and not feeling self were "never", "seldom", "occasionally", "very often", and "always" a problem when you first arrived in Canada?" Respondents stated that they had always experienced these problems (a) being away from family members (41%), (b) finding a job (29%), and money worries (23%). When asked to rate which of the problems was the most important, finding a job was ranked as the most important (42%) followed by language (16%).

Table 6

Responses by African Refugees to the Alienation Scale (N=31)

Statement	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Neutral		Agree		Strongly Agree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I feel awkward and out of place in Canada	4	13	6	20	12	40	5	17	3	10
It is easy for me to make white friends	6	19	4	13	10	32	5	17	6	19
The future looks bright for me in Canada	5	16	10	32	7	23	7	23	2	6
Many things my parents taught me are not useful in Canada	7	23	12	38	3	6	7	23	3	10
As an individual I can contribute something to Canadian society	6	19	5	16	4	13	1	3	2	6
It is difficult for me to understand the Canadian way of life	6	19	12	39	5	17	6	19	2	6
I feel like I belong to Canadian society	6	19	8	26	11	35	3	10	3	10
There is little I can do to improve myself in this country	8	26	10	32	3	10	6	19	4	13
I feel like the Canadians I know like me	5	17	5	20	12	40	6	20	1	3
I feel lonely in Canada	6	19	8	26	7	23	6	19	4	13

Range = 10.00-50.00; \bar{x} = 23.25

The second most important problem identified by refugees was, in order of importance, finding a job (23%), money worries (23%), and being away from family members (13%). The third most important problem, in descending order of importance was: being away from family members (23%), and learning how to get along with mainstream Canadians (19%).

Current Problems. In response to the question "Which of the problems encountered on arrival are still problems?" respondents identified the following: (a) being away from family members (36%), (b) finding a job (26%), (c) financial worries (23%), (d) feelings of not belonging (19%), (e) loneliness (16%), and (f) difficulty understanding the Canadian way of life (13%).

Responses to Open-ended Questions. In response to the open ended question, "What are the most important problems facing African refugees" respondents indicated the following: (a) loneliness (29%), (b) discrimination and negative attitude towards African refugees (19%), (c) difficulty finding a job (16%), (d) language problems (16%), (e) unacceptability and non-recognition of qualifications (13%), and (f) unequal opportunity in the job market (10%).

Additionally respondents were asked to assess what they liked most and least about Canada. They reported that they liked the following most: (a) peace and freedom (55%), (b) opportunity to attain goals (16%), (c) security 13%, and (d)

various responses ranging from democracy to lifestyle (16%). African refugees stated that they liked the following things least: (a) "the attitude of white Canadians towards African refugees and racial discrimination" (36%), (b) the weather (32%), and (c) the culture (32%).

Asked to comment on what should be done in order to help understand the problems of African refugees, respondents gave various answers: "a need for pre and post migration counselling" and "Africans have to work hard to improve their image in Canada" (48%), "a need for a strong African organisation" (16%), and the rest did not express an opinion.

Tests of Hypotheses

A main objective of the study was to study the factors affecting the socioeconomic adaptation of African refugees to resettlement to Canada. To test this objective, the following hypotheses were developed and tested:

Hypothesis 1:

Refugees who come to Canada at a young age will show higher levels of socioeconomic adaptation than older refugees.

The relationship between age and socioeconomic adaptation was measured by Cross-tabulation between Age and

the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index. A rank order test yielded an eta of .47 (corrected for ties, see Table 7). This suggested that a moderate association existed between age and socioeconomic adaptation and partially supported Hypothesis 1. Age is therefore a variable that had a positive impact on the socioeconomic adaptation of refugees with younger refugees showing better adaptation than older ones.

Hypothesis 2:

Refugees who were more fluent in the English language prior to migration will show higher levels of socioeconomic adaptation than refugees who were not fluent in the English language prior to migration.

Hypothesis 2 was tested by means of cross-tabulation between English language ability on arrival in Canada and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index. A rank order test yielded an eta of .51 (see Table 8).

This finding supported Hypothesis 2 and agreed with the existing literature that has linked language fluency to adaptation. This suggested that refugees who had a language facility found it easier to adapt to Canadian society than those whose language facility was minimal.

Table 7

Cross-tabulation of Age and the Satisfaction with Life
in Canada Index (N=31)

Age	Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index		
	Low N	High N	Row Total %
21-24	3	1	4 (13.3)
25-29	4	8	12 (40.0)
30-34	7	2	9 (29.0)
35-39	1	4	5 (16.7)
Column	15	15	30
Total	50	50	(100.0)

Eta = .47

Table 8

Cross-tabulation of English Language Ability on Arrival in Canada
and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index (N=31)

English Language Ability on Arrival (self-reported)	Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index		Row Total N (%)
	Low N	High N	
Poor	-	1	1 (3.2)
Little	1	5	6 (19.4)
Fair	2	-	2 (6.5)
Good	7	6	13 (41.9)
Fluent	6	3	9 (29.0)
Column	16	15	31
Total	(51.6)	(48.4)	(100.0)

Eta = .51

Hypothesis 3:

Refugees who were professionals in their countries of origin will experience lower levels of socioeconomic adaptation than non-professionals.

Results of cross-tabulation between occupation in the home country and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index showed a weak association ($\lambda = 0.23$, see Table 9). Hypothesis 3 was not supported. This suggested that occupational deflection was not associated with socioeconomic adaptation.

Hypothesis 4:

Employment and socioeconomic adaptation will be positively related.

Employment was predicted to be a salient factor in the adaptation process of refugees. Based on the results of t-tests between employment variables and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index, Hypothesis 4 was not supported. Results are presented in Table 10.

Hypothesis 5:

There will be an inverse relationship between negative feelings about self and Canada and socioeconomic adaptation.

Table 9

Crosstabulation of Occupation in the Country of Origin
by the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index (N=31)

Occupations in Country of origin	Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index		Row Total
	Low	High	
	N	N	N (%)
White Collar	4	4	8 (25.8)
Blue Collar	1	2	3 (9.7)
Student	11	8	19 (61.3)
Housewife	-	1	1 (3.2)
Column	16	15	31
Total	(51.6)	(48.4)	(100.0)

lambda = 0.23

Table 10

Relationship between Employment Variables and Socioeconomic Adaptation: Winnipeg Black African Refugee Sample (N=31)

Employment Variable	Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index		The Alienation Scale	
	Group Mean Score	t-result	Mean Score	t-result
Have you changed Occupation?				
Yes	21.8	0.69	22.9	1.05
No	20.7		20.7	
For the job you are doing are you:				
Overqualified?	24.0	1.49	18.8	-1.13
Underqualified?	21.2		22.0	
Do you intend to change occupations?				
Yes	21.0	-1.56	23.1	2.19
No	23.7		18.2	

n.s.

To test the association between negative feelings about self and Canada, the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index was correlated with the Alienation Scale. The Pearson product moment correlation showed a weak negative relationship ($r=-.12$, $p=.225$) which suggested that no correlation existed between socioeconomic adaptation and alienation.

Hypothesis 6:

Length of residence and socioeconomic adaptation will be positively related.

Results indicated a moderate positive association between length of residence and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index (see Table 11). There was a moderate negative association between length of residence and the Alienation Scale (see Table 12). The results partially supported Hypothesis 6. This implied that the longer a refugee remained in Canada the higher the level of socioeconomic adaptation.

Hypothesis 7:

Married people will be more adapted than single people.

Marital status was predicted to be positively associated with the adaptation process. Results of crosstabulation between marital status and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada revealed a very weak association ($\lambda=.07$). Hypothesis 7 was not supported.

Table 11

Crosstabulation of Years in Canada and the Satisfaction
with Life in Canada Index (N=31)

Years in Canada	Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index		
	Low	High	Total
	N	N	N (%)
1 - 3.5	9	5	14 (45.2)
4 - 5.5	5	7	12 (38.7)
Above 6	2	3	5 (16.1)
Column	16	15	31
Total	(51.6)	(48.4)	(100.0)

Gamma = 0.36

Table 12

Crosstabulation of Years in Canada by the Alienation
Scale (N=31)

Years in Canada	The Alienation Scale		
	Low	High	Total
	N	N	N (%)
1 - 3.5	8	6	14 (45.2)
4 - 5.5	4	8	12 (38.7)
Above 6	3	2	5 (16.1)
Column	15	16	31
Total	(48.4)	(51.6)	(100.0)

Gamma = -0.40

Hypothesis 8:

There will be a positive relationship between presence of kin and socioeconomic adaptation.

It was hypothesized that a positive relationship exists between presence of kin and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index. Results of cross-tabulation between presence of kin and socioeconomic adaptation showed that moderate ties existed between these two variables ($\eta = .40$). The result partially supported Hypothesis 8 that those with kin in the country of resettlement experienced higher levels of socioeconomic adaptation.

Hypothesis 9:

There will be a positive relationship between the presence of an established ethnic community and socioeconomic adaptation.

The result of cross-tabulation between the presence of an established ethnic community and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index showed a moderate association ($\gamma = .42$). The result partially supported Hypothesis 9 and suggested that an established ethnic community was a positive factor in the socioeconomic adaptation of refugees.

Hypothesis 10:

The number of friends from the refugees' country of origin and the number of friends from Canada and frequency of contact with these friends will be positively associated with socioeconomic adaptation.

Cross-tabulation between number of friends from Africa and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index revealed a moderate association ($\gamma=0.30$). Talking to friends from Africa and socioeconomic adaptation was strongly associated ($\gamma=.54$). Importance of African friends and socioeconomic adaptation was also associated ($\gamma=.50$).

Further analyses were done using the Alienation Scale. Cross-tabulations between several variables and the Alienation Scale showed the following results: frequency of inviting Canadian friends to subjects' homes ($\gamma=-.47$), importance of white Canadian friends ($\gamma=-.48$), frequency of going to Canadian friends' homes ($\gamma=-.51$). These findings indicated that having Canadian and African friends and having frequent contact with them was positively associated with socioeconomic adaptation. Therefore Hypothesis 10 was supported.

Hypothesis 11:

There will be a positive relationship between purchase of durable goods, participation in winter activities, and socioeconomic adaptation.

Group mean comparisons between purchase of durable goods, participation in winter activities and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index showed that there was no significant relationship between these variables and socioeconomic adaptation (see Table 13).

Table 13

Relationship Between Consumer Item Ownership, Participation in Winter Activities and Socioeconomic Adaptation: Winnipeg Black African Refugee Sample (N-31)

Consumer Items Purchased	Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index		The Alienation Scale	
	Group Mean Score	t-result	Mean Score	t-result
Car				
Purchased	22.6	1.69	21.7	-0.33
Not Purchased	20.1		22.4	
Stereo System				
Purchased	21.9	0.25	21.0	-1.08
Not Purchased	21.6		23.0	
Video Equipment				
Purchased	22.0	0.29	21.8	-0.06
Not Purchased	21.6		22.0	
Winter Activities				
Participated	24.0	1.26	19.6	-0.77
Not Participated	21.7		21.5	

n. s.

Discussion

The major objectives of this study were: (a) to establish a socioeconomic profile of the sample, (b) to explore and document resettlement problems experienced by this group of refugees in relation to findings of other studies, and (c) to examine factors affecting the socioeconomic adaptation of African refugees to resettlement in Canada. This section includes a discussion of the findings in relation to other studies in the area of refugees' adaptation to resettlement, implications of the study, suggestions for further research, and recommendations for social policy.

Socioeconomic Profile of the Sample

The majority of African refugees in Winnipeg, Manitoba were single males, between the ages of 20-39, from the country of Ethiopia. Their country of first asylum was likely to have been Italy. A few refugees in the sample were young married couples with one or two children. Most of them had been students in their home countries, had good communication skills, and had completed at least 12 years of formal school. Their work experiences were limited. By

comparison to the Indochinese refugees, there were differences in terms of their flight and demographic composition. For example, the emigration of the Indochinese refugees to Canada was a mass exodus. Refugees had various age ranges, educational backgrounds, and very limited language skills (Neuwirth & Rogge, 1988), whereas African refugees in this sample tended to be a homogeneous group in terms of (a) age, (b) sex, (c) education, and (d) language ability. This leads to the conclusion that selection criteria for African refugees appear to be based on the point system whereby age, sex, education, and language competence seem to be among the criteria for admission.

Resettlement Problems. Problems experienced by African refugees included (a) finding a job, (b) language problems, (c) financial worries, (d) feelings of not belonging, (e) loneliness, (f) discrimination and negative attitude towards blacks, (g) unacceptability and nonrecognition of qualifications, and (h) unequal opportunity on the job market. They had limited social contacts with mainstream Canadians, interacted mainly with members of their own ethnic communities, and had a strong attachment to their homelands. Their jobs were mainly in the blue collar sector of the economy. The experiences of African refugees were not unique. Studies of other refugee and immigrant groups have reported similar findings (Cichon, Godziak, & Gover, 1986; Copeland, 1984; Cunningham, 1987; Montero, 1979; Neuwirth, 1987; Richmond, 1984; Stein, 1979).

Factors Affecting the Socioeconomic Adaptation of African Refugees

Positive Factors. The eleven hypotheses of the study were designed to help explain the factors affecting the socioeconomic adaptation of African refugees. Each hypothesis will be discussed separately:

Hypothesis 1:

Refugees who come to Canada at a young age will show higher levels of Socioeconomic Adaptation than older refugees.

Hypothesis 1 was partially supported and was consistent with findings of other studies (Borrie,1959; Copeland,1984; Jones,1976). Unlike older refugees, starting at the bottom of the occupational ladder is not an obstacle for younger refugees as it is for older ones (Whitmore,1983). The fact that 61% were students in their countries of origin means that they may not have experienced the same degree of trauma and frustration that is experienced by those refugees who have to work in unskilled service occupations after having been professionals in their countries of origin (Samuel, 1987, p.68). Being young, it is likely that they would be motivated to achieve economic self-sufficiency and would thus not be a burden to the government. Lack of total support for this hypothesis may have been a result of the small sample size.

Hypothesis 2:

Refugees who were fluent in the English language prior to migration will show higher levels of socio-economic adaptation than refugees who were not fluent in the English language prior to migration.

Hypothesis 2 was partially supported. This lends credence to the findings of other studies (Moldofsky, 1975; Richmond, 1984; Samuel, 1987; Stein 1979; Weirmair, 1971). The importance of language facility in the socioeconomic adaptation of refugees cannot be over-emphasized. Language capability offers them the possibility of access to jobs, social services, and the possibility of interacting with the host community and thereby accelerating their identification with the mainstream society. However, African refugees have problems being understood when they speak because of their accents. Additionally they may have problems transferring their English skills to the job market due to differences in vocabulary and writing skills in Canada. Furthermore, intercultural misunderstandings may arise from different communication styles. It is important to note that for African refugees having good communication skills also implies having a good education. Nonetheless, social and interpersonal relationships between African refugees and mainstream Canadians seemed to be deficient, their jobs were in the blue collar sector of the economy. This leads to the conclusion that while language facility and years of

education have been documented as salient variables in social and economic adaptation of refugees (Samuel, 1984), it appeared that they did not seem to be accelerating the social adaptation of this group nor were they enhancing their economic adaptation in the narrow sense. We thus question the relevance of these variables with respect to African refugees.

Hypothesis 3:

Refugees who were professionals in their countries of origin will experience lower levels of socioeconomic adaptation.

Hypothesis 3 was not supported. The weak association between occupation in the home country and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index could have been a function of the small sample size. It is important to note that the majority of the sample (61%) had been students in their home countries and only (26%) were professionals. This makes it difficult to say whether this result is conclusive or not. However, Neuwirth et al. (1985) cautioned that it is the years of education that should be taken into consideration when assessing whether a refugee has suffered occupational deflection or not. Given the educational levels of this sample, and the kind of jobs they were doing, they had suffered occupational deflection. Fifty-nine percent assessed themselves as "overqualified" for the jobs they were doing. This suggested that they were underemployed, in

accord with previous research results that indicated that refugees who were professionals in their countries of origin suffer unemployment and or underemployment (Montero,1979; Neuwirth,1987; Richmond,1984; Samuel,1984,1987; Stein, 1981).

Hypothesis 4:

Employment and socioeconomic adaptation
will be positively related.

Hypothesis 4 was not supported. Contrary to the findings of previous research (Borrie,1959; Lanphier, 1986; Stein,1979), group mean comparisons between employment variables and the Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index revealed a non-significant relationship. The results could have been affected by the sample size, which resulted in smaller degrees of freedom and thus insignificant t-values. Pereira (1981), Richmond (1984), and Samuel (1987) argued that employment is a significant variable in the overall adaptation of a refugee because it enables him or her to participate in all aspects of the society as consumers, investors, and taxpayers. Crisp and Lamb (1988) argued that

For refugees themselves, the importance of working for a living cannot be overemphasized. It is often a factor which gives them back the dignity and self-respect which they have lost in leaving their own country. It enables refugees to avoid dependency and become active members of their new society. (p.5)

Finding a job is important for the survival of refugees particularly in the initial stages of resettlement. However, in the long run, it is the quality of the job that counts. The likelihood that employment per se will lead to adaptation is debatable. What seems to be a salient variable is the quality of the job the refugee holds and whether it has possibilities for upward mobility, whether it pays enough to take him or her out of the poverty line, and whether there are more employable adults in the household to raise income and enable them to make economies of scale are important aspects of their adjustment. The sample indicated that they were dissatisfied with their jobs, they worried about financial security, and the majority had intentions of changing their jobs. Furthermore, cross-tabulations between satisfaction with work and the Alienation Scale yielded a negative result ($\gamma = -.53$). This implied that finding a job that gives refugees financial security might serve a useful purpose and enhance their socioeconomic adaptation as there are rewards attached to finding satisfactory employment. For example, refugees might be able to sponsor family members left behind and thereby alleviate the problems that accrue from being alone without the support of kin and family.

Hypothesis 5:

There will be an inverse relationship between negative feelings about self and Canada and socioeconomic adaptation.

This hypothesis was not supported. It is possible that lack of support for this hypothesis was due to the small sample size, but other possible explanations exist. For example, respondents expressed ambivalence with regard to feelings of isolation, loneliness, rejection, and difficulties making Canadian friends. It is possible that respondents misinterpreted the questions either because questions were unclear or because educational, cultural or linguistic barriers impeded effective communication. For example, the word "awkward" has several connotations and could have confused respondents. On the surface it could mean "clumsy". A respondent who interpreted the word "awkward" as such might have answered either negatively or given a neutral response. On another level, it implies having problems adjusting to a new place or situation. Consequently, in response to the statement, "I feel awkward and out of place in this country", 39% were ambivalent. However, respondents admitted to negative feelings about self and Canada in terms of improving their lives and making a contribution to Canadian society. Such feelings would be expected given the fact that they perceived a negative attitude towards them from the host community, that their qualifications were not recognised, and that they were not given an equal opportunity in the job market.

Hypothesis 6:

Length of residence and socioeconomic adaptation will be positively related.

The results of this study supported Hypothesis 6. The relationship between length of residence and the socioeconomic adaptation of refugees has been noted (Bach,1979; Borrie,1959; Cirtautas,1957). However, it seems evident that there are other intervening variables. For example, a refugee who has been in the country of resettlement for a long period of time but who has not been able to find a satisfactory job, and who has not been able to form meaningful social relationships with the mainstream society will feel as marginal as one who has been in the country for a shorter period of time. One respondent who had been in the country for over seven years but who had not managed to find a job relevant to his qualifications and experience sounded resentful "Africans in Canada are treated as second class citizens...You can't find a job". This supported the notion that it is the first three years that are said to be crucial (Ex,1966; Neuwirth,1987; Stein,1979; Weirmair,1971). It is apparent that whether length of residence will be a salient variable in the adaptation of a refugee will depend on whether his or her experiences have been positive or not in the initial years of resettlement.

Hypothesis 7

Married refugees will show higher levels of socioeconomic adaptation than single refugees.

Hypothesis 7 was not supported. Reasons for lack of support for this hypothesis are obvious. The number of married people in the sample was small (see Table 4).

Hypothesis 8

There will be a positive relationship between the presence of kin and socioeconomic adaptation.

Hypothesis 9

There will be a positive relationship between the presence of an established ethnic community and socioeconomic adaptation.

Hypothesis 10

The number of friends from the refugees' own country of origin and the number of friends from Canada and frequency of contact with these friends will be positively associated with socioeconomic adaptation.

The Importance of An Established Ethnic Community.

Hypotheses 8, 9 and 10 were designed to test the significance of the ethnic community in the socioeconomic adaptation of refugees. The ethnic community was operationalized through the presence of an ethnic association, presence of kin, and presence of friends from the refugees' own ethnic community as well as frequency of contact with the ethnic community. These hypotheses were supported and will be considered together.

Lacking the social support of family and kin, the role of ethnic community becomes apparent. The ethnic community serves many purposes: emotional, psychological, social and

cultural. Through the ethnic community, refugees can recreate their lost world. Hence for many refugees the ethnic community may symbolize the country of origin. The community can offer members the opportunity to enjoy mutual support from people who share similar cultural values and experiences. This was indicated by one respondent who said that it was at the ethnic community that "I feel at home, meet friends...You are constantly being reminded of the society back home. You find some sort of consolation. Part of your country and part of your people are there. I feel I have something to go to, discuss some intimate issues with other people".

Peace and Security. This was another factor that seemed to have a favourable impact on the adaptation of African refugees. Over half the respondents reported that they liked Canada because of the peace and freedom that they enjoyed. "You do not have to worry about fighting, you feel relaxed", another respondent said that he felt "peaceful ...freedom of speech and individual security are the most important things I have achieved in Canada", a number of refugees stated that "some of us come from war-torn zones but in Canada, you live peacefully, nobody bothers you". Refugees are people who are compelled to leave their homelands for "fear of persecution". In this regard it is logical that the peace, freedom, and security that Canada offers them would be positive factors in their social

adaptation. However, material goods such as cars did not seem to have a significant relationship to their socioenomic adaptation. While these may be necessities of Canadian culture, they appeared not to compensate for social, emotional, human, and cultural losses experienced as a result of involuntary migration.

Negative Factors. I argued in the introduction that African refugees may have difficulty adjusting to Canadian society because the environment is totally alien to them in terms of climate, culture, values, and norms. The findings of this survey supported this contention. Factors that had a negative impact on the socioeconomic adaptation of African refugees included (a) the cold weather, (b) cultural differences, (c) lack of the extended family, (c) loneliness, (d) discrimination and negative attitude towards blacks, and (e) attachment to the homeland. With regard to climate, African refugees came from a tropical climate and for most of them, winter may have been a first and thus shocking experience. The finding that participation in winter activities was not associated with their socioeconomic adaptation was therefore in the expected direction.

The Culture. Respondents indicated that there were many aspects of Canadian culture that they found different and did not like. " Certain values are upside down, being

polite with elders, talking to people in a humble manner, being kind, are positive values we brought here, but here being aggressive is acceptable". Others stated that "in our culture we live with others, sharing everything, here everybody goes for himself. Here everything you do for yourself, most people do not have the time to meet with others". Additionally, respondents indicated that "it is hard to communicate with white people, to make friends. "We do not know the neighbours. In Africa, if you move to an area, you soon get to know each other and it is like a family but here it is not the same, we just say 'hi, hi'" and "here the most important form of communication is the phone. I come from a society where you walk out of the door and you talk. Here you have to travel miles to find someone from your home country. Here the only thing they talk about is the weather, it could be their culture but it is not mine".

It is curious to note that the feelings expressed by African refugees in this study are similar to those expressed by blacks in the United States (Treadwell, 1989, p.1). Treadwell (1989) further argued that the "cultural divide" still forms a barrier to racial harmony and togetherness. Furthermore he noted that

These cultural differences...go beyond such issues as styles of greeting. They include patterns and preferences in dress, idioms, communications, interpersonal relationships and social behaviour,

and they reach even to many basic values and attitudes that blacks and whites hold toward life, work and spiritual well-being (p.1).

This leads the author to question to what extent the feelings expressed in the sample are a result of involuntary migration to an alien and unfamiliar culture and to what extent can they be attributed to racial and/or cultural differences between blacks and whites in North America.

Loss Of An Extended Family. Mithun (1983) contended that the family of the culture of origin plays a dominant role in the adaptive potential of ethnic families. The role of the extended family in African society is one aspect of cultural differences between Canadians and Africans that emerged in this study. African refugees, single and married equally stated they missed family members. One respondent stated that "in our culture, we live with others, sharing everything, here everybody goes for himself". Loss of the extended family had a negative effect on the socioeconomic adaptation of this sample.

Loneliness. Peplau and Perlman (1982) defined loneliness as the unpleasant experience that occurs when a person's network of social relations is deficient in some important way either quantitatively or qualitatively. Respondents stated that loneliness was a special problem for

single people. " You can't be friends with everybody...they are far from their relatives, that is, they are always thinking about their relatives". However, married refugees in the present sample whose families in terms of the Canadian ideal of nuclear family (husband, wife and children) would appear complete, reported a similar kind of experience. "I miss my family (the extended family)". This leads to the conclusion that lack of the extended family partially accounted for the loneliness experienced by African refugees.

Discrimination and Negative Attitudes towards African Refugees. This theme recurred 36% of the time in other open-ended questions that asked respondents to identify their problems in Canada. Discrimination was perceived in the area of employment. "You feel the difference between black and white...If you fill out an application and if you are black, they (white Canadians) think you do not know anything", and "They give you an interview, they show you the office, introduce you to everybody and the next day you receive a letter that they don't have an opening", and "they do not tell you directly but there is hidden discrimination". Other refugees perceived a negative attitude towards them "they have pre-conceived ideas about what Africans are, they do not accept you at your face value, you have to prove yourself all the time, for the educated people, it is very frustrating, especially if you had a good social standing back home".

With regard to racial discrimination the experience of African refugees is not different from those of other refugee and immigrant groups of the visible minorities (Bannerji, Ng, Scone, Silvera and Khayatt, 1987). However, this problem might be accentuated for African refugees because of the history of blacks in Northern America.

Attachment to the homeland. Twenty five percent of the respondents indicated that they considered Canada their home. The rest stated that their homes were their respective countries of origin. Africans in this sample may have been cherishing the illusion of returning home someday and may thus have seen their stay in Canada as temporary.

Respondents in the study expressed a sense of "nostalgic loneliness" or a yearning for a particular environment or situation (Bahr & Harvey, 1979). One respondent stated that "I miss my country, the trees, the roads, everything". Identification with the home country usually persists when refugees resettle in countries where their own cultural values clash with those of the host society (Kunz, 1981). Since the value these subjects attached to the extended family was different from the dominant culture, this had a negative impact on their sociocultural adaptation.

Strengths and Limitations of the Study

Strengths. This was an exploratory study designed to provide insight into the factors enhancing or impeding the socioeconomic adaptation of a group of refugees about which little or no research has been done. As a result of the present study: (a) More is now known about African refugees in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, in terms of their demographic profile, difficulties encountered during resettlement, socioeconomic, sociocultural, and sociopsychological dimensions of their adaptation, their distinct cultural characteristics, and their perceptions. (b) The results of the present survey supported existing research that has been done on African refugees in North America (Cichon, et al. 1986), and those of other refugee groups (Copeland, 1984; Cunningham, 1987; Kim & Nicassio, 1980). (c) The findings of this study might serve as a frame of reference to policy makers, settlement agencies, counsellors and immigration personnel who deal with African refugees, as well as scholars who might be interested in this group of refugees. (d) Finally, data on African refugees in Canada now exist.

Limitations. A major limitation of the study was the small sample size. A sample size of 31 makes it difficult to statistically analyze the results. Another limitation was that the numbers of Ethiopians and Eritreans were greater than those of other African refugees, and this made it difficult to make comparisons among countries. Further

limitations regarding the sample were that it consisted of people who could only communicate in the English language and those who were affiliated to associations. This particular sample turned out to be quite homogeneous, predominantly male and highly educated.

With regard to African refugees, it is important to note that future research will have to come to terms with these limitations for the following reasons:

- (a) The diversity of the African languages makes it difficult to conduct research in a language other than English.
- (b) The limitations encountered in the present study are inherent in the government selection criteria. Canada exhibits distinct ethnocultural biases to Africa in her resettlement levels. The numbers of Ethiopians and Eritreans who come under "Ethiopia" far exceed those of other African refugees admitted to Canada. For example, 81% of the refugees admitted to Canada between 1981 and 1987 were from Ethiopia (see Table 14).
- (c) Refugees from non Southeast Asian countries tend to be highly or fairly highly educated because government selection criteria "are guided by the belief that in view of their cultural differences, only educated refugees from these regions will be able to attain economic self-sufficiency" (Neuwirth, 1988, p.34).

Table 14

African Refugees Admitted to Canada by Country of Birth by Sex and Year of Entry

Year of Entry	1981		1982		1983		1984		1985		1986		1987		Total
	Sex														
Country of Origin	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
	Ethiopia	96	26	186	54	392	143	500	217	479	224	599	315	616	317
Somalia	4	-	7	2	10	5	8	8	13	4	27	11	48	13	160
Mozambique	-	-	1	-	3	0	9	3	1	-	4	2	2	0	25
Sudan	1	-	4	1	9	4	19	12	7	13	18	4	17	12	121
Uganda	5	-	15	10	49	33	59	53	54	48	33	14	48	32	453
South Africa	12	10	14	6	27	11	20	7	12	2	40	9	23	9	202
Total	118	36	227	73	490	196	615	300	566	291	721	355	754	383	5125

Source: Canada Employment and Immigration, Ottawa

Another limitation was the possible communication difficulties: Cultural differences might have affected interpretation of the scales used in the interviews. The Satisfaction with Life in Canada Index was used to measure adaptation, but satisfaction is a psychological experience and how one perceives satisfaction, the standard against which one judges it, aspiration levels, expectation levels, reference group, personal needs and values, and past experiences all play a major role in one's perception (Campbell, Converse & Rodgers, 1976).

Some questions could have been deliberately avoided or right responses concealed particularly if they appeared sensitive. For example, one respondent who reported the highest income (above \$40,000), lived in surroundings that were not congruent with the reported income (e.g. the family lived in rented accommodation in the core area and did not possess a car). Another example was in response to the question that asked whether problems experienced in resettlement affected their lives, to which 68% gave an affirmative response. When asked to explain what impact these problems had on their lives, 58% declined to give a response. This lack of a response was not surprising because among many African cultures it is uncommon to disclose family problems to people who are not confidants.

A third limitation was the refusal to participate by 13 people (29% of those contacted). Subjects may have

misunderstood the purposes of scientific research. In addition, the intentions of the researcher might have been mistrusted.

Recommendations and Suggestions for Social Policy and Future Research

Social Policy. The findings of the present survey call for the following recommendations:

First, the demographic profile of African refugees showed that most African refugees in Winnipeg were young, male, and single. This has negative implications for marriage and the family. In the long run, finding culturally similar mates will be impossible and finding mates from the Canadian mainstream may be difficult due to racial and cultural barriers. It is therefore important that immigration selection criteria take this into consideration.

Second, pre-migration counselling is necessary. A more realistic cultural orientation should be provided during the application processing. Professionals should be informed that "99% of professionals do not find work in their fields within two to five years, including doctors, lawyers, dentists, teachers, nurses and accountants" (Chudrick, 1987). The majority of respondents in this study (80%) found work in blue collar occupations (as orderlies, parking-lot attendants, sales, restaurants, and construction), whereas only 20% found employment in white collar occupations.

Furthermore, 42% had between 13-16 years of education, 23% had above 16 years of education, and 59% reported that they were overqualified for the jobs they were doing.

Third, cultural awareness and friendship networks for both old and new members of the society would help ameliorate strained or missing social relationships between refugees and mainstream Canadians. The negative attitude perceived by refugees in this sample implied that the host community might still be ill-prepared to accommodate newcomers, especially those from the Third World. Unlike the Indochinese refugees who arrived in a climate of goodwill and concern, refugees in the 1980s seem to be arriving in a climate of hostility and "compassion fatigue".

Fourth, citizens or permanent residents from the refugees' countries of origin should be used to hold workshops directed towards cultural orientation on Canadian lifestyles, values, and work ethics. Some of the refugees surveyed expressed this need. "There must be some government organisation enhancing orientation. For those coming from outside, there should be a short-cut medium to inform us about the system. It takes a long time to get to know how the system works" and "they just throw you in a hotel and they get an apartment but that was it. There is no orientation program. If refugees are oriented properly, it will be easier".

Fifth, Canada Employment and Immigration promotes early self-sufficiency rather than re-training, but it is important to note that job satisfaction and a feeling of usefulness are a necessary prerequisite to socioeconomic adaptation. The refugees in this sample expressed dissatisfaction with their jobs and a sense of powerlessness in terms of their contribution to Canadian society. It is therefore recommended that more re-training programs be made available.

Sixth, there is a tendency on the part of policy makers to give emphasis to language training and job placement, but those refugees who demonstrate a good ability of the English language and who hold "high qualifications" may not be eligible for job training. This is a contradiction inherent in the Canadian policy. While refugees with "high educational" backgrounds are not eligible for job training programs, their foreign qualifications are neither recognisable nor transferable. At the same time, the kinds of jobs they get in Canada do not give them financial security of equal standing with mainstream Canadians. It is therefore recommended that professions give competency examinations, making it possible for refugees to show competency. Those who pass the exams could go directly into the work force at an appropriate level, and those who do not pass could be re-trained (see point 5 above).

Further Research. With regard to the socioeconomic adaptation of African refugees in Canada, it is difficult to ascertain whether African refugees in Winnipeg are representative of all African refugees in Canada. It is likely that all African refugees may have experienced similar problems, but that should be investigated further. In order to determine the socioeconomic adaptation of African refugees throughout Canada, a national survey is needed. This would not only provide a larger sample but, climate and economic condition differences from province to province, could be considered. Refugees in Vancouver might enjoy good weather but experience more difficulty in terms of employment. Refugees in larger metropolitan areas like Toronto may not feel lonely, because there may be a larger African community with which to identify.

It takes a long time to adapt, and researchers acknowledge that adaptation can only be achieved in stages (Sluzki, 1979; Stein, 1981; Taft, et al.; 1979). Neuwirth and Rogge, (1988) concluded that

Due to a number of subjective and objective factors beyond their control, refugees social and cultural [and economic], integration will take longer and in some cases, may never be accomplished (p.263).

This sample was in Canada a relatively short time (mean = 4 years), a longitudinal survey is needed in order to

determine whether or not the subjects eventually become socially, culturally, and economically adapted.

Further development and application of a theoretical model based on the stress model as it may be applied to refugees should be included. Nicassio (1985) argued that the stress model has potential in yielding "valuable information that may shape the focus of services for refugees because sources of adjustment, difficulty in personal resources, and social resources may be identified and targeted for intervention" (p.169). Harrell-Bond (1988) further acknowledged that "the study of human behaviour under conditions of stress promises to contribute to and enrich general theoretical knowledge " (p.2).

Summary and Conclusion

This section presents a summary and conclusion of the findings of this study of the socioeconomic adaptation to resettlement by African refugees in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Summary

In summary Africans refugees in this sample tended to be young and well educated. Variables that enhanced their socioeconomic adaptation were: (a) age, (b) presence of an ethnic community, (c) length of residence, (d) having friends from their own ethnic community, and (e) peace and freedom. Contrary to the findings of previous research (Moldofsky,1975; Richmond,1984; Samuel,1984;1987; Starr & Roberts,1982; Stein,1979; Stein,Yi Yi & Ismael,1983; & Weirmair,1971), employment, language facility, and years of education did not seem to be accelerating the sociocultural adaptation of African refugees nor were they fostering their occupational adjustment or access to their intended occupations. The problems they have encountered in Canada included: (a) finding a satisfactory job, (b) language problems, (c) financial worries, (d) feelings of not

belonging, (e) loneliness, (f) discrimination and negative attitude towards blacks, (g) unacceptability and nonrecognition of qualifications, (h) unequal opportunity in the job market, and (i) difficulty making friends with mainstream Canadians. These problems together with some aspects of the physical environment particularly the cold weather, cultural differences, and attachment to the homeland, and loss of an extended family were factors that seemed to impede the socioeconomic adaptation of African refugees.

Conclusion

Adaptation is a complex construct that cannot be adequately explained by a single variable nor a single definition. Brody (1970) defined adaptation as a process of establishing a relatively stable and reciprocal relationship with the environment and having meaningful social and interpersonal relationships with the community in which an immigrant finds himself or herself. Neuwirth (1987) and Nicassio (1983) concurred that the refugee's willingness or ability to socialize with the host community and include them among his or her friends and acquaintances is important for social adjustment.

The findings of this study were theoretically supportive of the stress model. According to the ABC-X model of family stress (Hill, 1949), three classes of variables

were important to predict the level of stress or adaptation (X): (1) the stressor event A, (2) resources the individual or families possess to deal with the stressor (B), and (3) the perception that individuals or families develop about the meaning of the stressor event (C). When we combine the effects of the A factor, with the B and C factors, we can begin to predict X, the level of adaptation. McCubbin and Patterson (1983) modified the model to account for changes in the individual or family system over time by adding a new set of variables. "Bon" or "mal" adaptation is achieved through reciprocal relationships between (a) the individual, (b) the family unit, and (c) the environment of which individuals and families are a part. McCubbin and Patterson (1983) further argued that adaptation is achieved when an individual is accepted in the new society on the basis of individual merit without reference to racial or cultural heritage. The results of this study revealed that 36% of the refugees perceived discrimination and a negative attitude towards them on the part of mainstream Canadians, 32% indicated that they did not have white Canadian friends, 29% stated that they "never" talked to white Canadians on the phone, and a further 42% reported that they "never" invited white Canadians to their homes.

Furthermore, they were not given an equal opportunity in the job market. In the context of the theoretical framework used in this study, these were negative inputs

from the environment. Adaptation on the part of the host community is also necessary because some members of the community such as friends become foci of hope while others may make refugees anxious (Borrie,1959; Taft,1966; Tyhurst,1979). The findings of this study indicated that a stable reciprocal relationship and meaningful social relationships with the the host community were yet to be formed. While social interaction with refugees from their own ethnic communities play a part in their adaptation, they are not a substitute for what can be learned through experiences in dealing with mainstream Canadians.

The main objective of this study was to explore factors that are enhancing or impeding the socioeconomic adaptation of African refugees. In conclusion, (a) age,(b) presence of an ethnic community, (c) length of residence, (c) having friends from their own ethnic community, and (d) security, peace, and freedom that Canada offers African refugees all interacted to bring about bonadaptation with the sample. On the other hand, (a) dissatisfaction with work and incomes, (b) non-recognition of qualifications, (c) unequal opportunity in the job market, (d) feelings emotional isolation, (e) cultural differences, (f) loss of the extended family, and (g) lack of meaningful social relationships with mainstream Canadians, (g) attachment to the homeland, (h) lack of participation in winter activities, and (i) perception of discrimination were indicators of maladaptation.

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Appendix A
LETTER OF CONTACT



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27 June 1988

Dear

Hello! Living in Canada as a refugee is a challenge to all who go through this experience. We do not know how people like you feel about this issue and what problems, if any, you faced or are facing as you settle in Canada. We believe that the only way to find out is to ask you. We are therefore conducting a study to find out about the situation of African refugees in Canada. We also believe that the experiences of each person are unique and will make an important contribution to this study.

In the near future one of us will contact you by telephone to ask if you would talk to her. She will arrange a convenient time and place. The interview should take about an hour. Although your participation in the study is voluntary, it is our hope that you will cooperate. Results of studies such as this can help make things better for other African refugees coming to Canada.

Your name has been identified through one of the following:

The Eritrean Community of Winnipeg
The Ethiopian Association
The Ugandan Association
All Saints & St. Luke's Joint Refugee Committee
The Interfaith Immigration Council
Winnipeg School Division #1, Adult Education Centre
The Principal Investigator

Upon completion of the study, you will receive a summary of the information we have obtained. We assure you that all material we receive will be kept in strict confidence and no report or summary will identify an individual by name or position in the study.

The help of yourself and others like you is essential to the success of the study. We greatly appreciate it. Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have any questions about the study.

Thanking you for your time and kind cooperation, we look forward to meeting and talking to you.

Sincerely yours,

Rose Kabahenda Nyakabwa
Msc. Candidate & Principal
Investigator (474-8344 or 233-0305)

Carol D.H. Harvey, Ph.D.
Associate Professor &
Thesis Advisor (474-8060)

Appendix B
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The socioeconomic adaptation of African refugees in Canada

Rose Kabahenda NYAKABWA

Faculty of Human Ecology
Department of Family Studies

University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

1988

Date of Interview _____

ID # _____

Start Time _____

Stop Time _____

Introduction

The purpose of this survey is to understand more about what happens to you as an African refugee in Canada. It is important that an accurate picture be gathered from you. All answers will be kept confidential. We will begin the interview with questions about your life before

coming to Canada. In the middle of the interview I will give you a short questionnaire to fill out and return to me. Then I will ask a few more questions to terminate the interview. If you are uncomfortable about any question, please feel free not to answer it.

Q-1 What is your country of birth?

.....

Q-2 In what country(ies) other than your country of birth
did you live before coming to Canada?

.....

Q-3 Did you stay in any refugee camp(s)?

YES1

NO2

Q-4 In which country?

.....

Q-5 For how long did you stay in the refugee camp?

0-6 months.....1

7-12 months2

13-18 months3

19-24 months4

Over 25 months5

Q-6 How would you describe your life in the
country you stayed before coming to
Canada?

.....

.....

Q-7 Which country do you consider "home"?

.....

Q-8 What year did you come to Canada?

.....

Q-9 Did you speak English before you came to Canada?

YES1

NO2

Q-10 How would you rate your level of English on arrival in Canada? (CIRCLE the number that applies.)

POOR	LITTLE	FAIR	GOOD	FLUENT
1	2	3	4	5

Q-11 How would you rate your level of English NOW? (CIRCLE the number that applies .)

POOR	LITTLE	FAIR	GOOD	FLUENT
1	2	3	4	5

Q-12 What was the principal language of instruction in the school(s) you attended before coming to Canada?

.....

Q-13 How many years of schooling did you have before coming to Canada?

- 1-41
 5-82
 9-123
 13-164
 Above 165

Q-14 What was your major occupation in your home country?

.....

Q-15 What kind of training did you have for this occupation?

- University Degree1
 (SPECIFY e.g., B.A.,B.Sc.,etc)
 Professional School2
 Teachers'College3
 Technical School4
 Other (SPECIFY)5

Q-16 How long did it take you to find a job when you FIRST arrived in Canada?

Number of months

Q-17 Where did you work?

.....
.....

Q-18 What kind of job(s) was it/were they?

.....
.....
.....

Q-19 How many jobs have you had since coming to Canada?

of jobs

Q-20 What sort of employment do you have now?

.....

Q-21 For how long have you had this job?

.....# of years.

Q-22 Do you feel that for the job you are currently doing, you are:

- NOT QUALIFIED1
- UNDERQUALIFIED2
- MODERATELY QUALIFIED3
- ADEQUATELY QUALIFIED4
- OVERQUALIFIED5

Q-23 If OVERQUALIFIED why do you do this job?

.....
.....

.....
Q-24 (If unemployed,ask questions 23-26.) Would you
like to be working now?

YES1

NO2

Q-25 If NO, why is this?
.....
.....
.....

Q-26 For what kind of job(s) are you looking?
.....
.....

Q-27 Since coming to Canada, how long has it been
since you last held a job?
of months

Q-28 Have you changed occupations since coming to Canada?
YES1
NO2

Q-29 If YES, why is this?
.....
.....

Q-30 Do you intend to change occupations?
YES1
NO2

Q-31 If YES Why is this?
.....
.....

- Q-32 Have you taken any training courses since you came to this country?
- YES1
- NO2
- Q-33 If YES, what kind of training was it?
- Language Training1
- High School Certificate2
- Community College3
- University4
- Course for Qualification Upgrading5
- Professional Licencing Exams
(Specify What Kind)6
- Job Apprenticeship7

Next I would like to know something about your family life.

Q-34 What is your present marital status?

(CIRCLE number that applies.)

MARRIED1
 SINGLE2
 SEPARATED3
 DIVORCED4
 WIDOWED5
 LIVE WITH BOYFRIEND/GIRLFRIEND6

Q-35 Do you have children?

YES1
 NO2

Q-36 How many?

Number

Q-37 Do they live at home with you?

YES1
 NO2

Q-38 How old is each one?

Child #1YEARS.....
 Child #2YEARS.....
 Child #3YEARS.....
 Child #4YEARS.....
 Child #5YEARS.....
 Child #6YEARS.....

Q-39 Including yourself, how many members of
 your family are living in your household?

Number of people

Q-40 What is the relationship of each of them to you?

(CIRCLE all that apply)

- HUSBAND1
 WIFE2
 SISTER3
 BROTHER4
 CHILD5
 FATHER6
 MOTHER7
 AUNT8
 UNCLE9
 COUSIN10
 BOYFRIEND11
 GIRLFRIEND12
 SISTER-IN- LAW13
 BROTHER-IN-LAW14
 UNRELATED (e.g., lodger)15

Q-41 How long has it been since you last saw your relatives?

.....

The next questions concern your friendship patterns.

(EXCLUDE RELATIVES. CIRCLE the number that applies).

Q-42 In Canada how many friends from your country do you have?

NONE1

1-22

3-43

5-64

Over 65

Q-43 How many white Canadian friends do you have?

NONE1

1-22

3-43

5-64

Over 65

Q-44 How important is it for you to make friends with white Canadians?

NOT AT ALL	NOT IMPORTANT	FAIRLY	IMPORTANT	VERY
IMPORTANT		IMPORTANT		IMPORTANT
1	2	3	4	5

Q-45 How important is it for you to make friends with people from your country?

NOT AT ALL	NOT IMPORTANT	FAIRLY	IMPORTANT	VERY
IMPORTANT		IMPORTANT		IMPORTANT
1	2	3	4	5

Now I would like to know something about how often you and your friends in Winnipeg visit and talk to each other.

CODE FOR HOW OFTEN

NEVER1
 A FEW TIMES A YEAR2
 ABOUT ONCE A MONTH3
 ABOUT ONCE A WEEK4
 MORE THAN ONCE A WEEK5

- Q-46 How often do your friends from your country come into your home? 1 2 3 4 5
- Q-47 How often do you go to the homes of friends from your country? 1 2 3 4 5
- Q-48 How often do you invite your Canadian friends to your home? 1 2 3 4 5
- Q-49 How often do you get invited to your Canadian friends' homes? 1 2 3 4 5
- Q-50 How often do you and your friends from your country talk to each other on the phone? 1 2 3 4 5
- Q-51 How often do you and your Canadian friends talk on the phone? 1 2 3 4 5

Q-52 Given that we all have problems, do you discuss your problems with anybody here in Winnipeg?

YES1

NO2

Q-53 If YES, could you please tell me more about this person? [Permissible probes: how long have you known this person? How often do you see this person? What relationship is this person to you?]

.....
.....
.....

Q-54 Most immigrant communities in Canada have associations or clubs. Do you belong to an association like this?

YES1

NO2

Q-55 Name(s) of association(s) to which you belong.

.....
.....
.....

Q-56 Which of these associations was most helpful to you when you first arrived in Canada?

.....
.....

Q-57 In what way was the association helpful to you?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q-58 How important to you is this association/club?

NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	IMPORTANT	VERY IMPORTANT
-------------------------	---------------	---------------------	-----------	-------------------

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Q-59 if IMPORTANT Why is this?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q-60 How often do you go to the association(s)?

NEVER1

A FEW TIMES A YEAR2

ABOUT ONCE A MONTH3

ABOUT ONCE A WEEK4

MORE THAN ONCE A WEEK5

[HAND OUT QUESTIONNAIRE]

These statements concerns how satisfied you are with some aspects of your life in Canada. CIRCLE the number that best describes how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

CODE FOR HOW SATISFIED

VERY DISSATISFIED1

DISSATISFIED2

NEITHER SATISFIED

NOR DISSATISFIED3

SATISFIED4

VERY SATISFIED5

- | | | | | | | |
|------|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| Q-61 | How satisfied are you with your income? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Q-62 | How satisfied are you with your house and furniture? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Q-63 | How satisfied are you with your job prospects? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Q-64 | How satisfied are you with this community as a place in which to live? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Q-65 | How satisfied are you with your daily work ? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Q-66 | How satisfied are you with your life in general? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Q-67 | How satisfied are you with the physical environment (i.e. climate) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q-68 What do you think are the MOST important problems facing African refugees in Canada?

.....
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.....
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.....
.....
.....

Q-69 What do you like most about Canada?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Q-70 What do you like least about Canada?

.....
.....
.....

Now I want to find out a bit more about you.

Q-71 In what year were you born?

.....

Q-72 Now I would like to ask you about your income. (Hand card to respondent.) Looking at this card, please tell me the number of the following categories that best describes your annual GROSS HOUSEHOLD income in 1987.

- Under \$10,000.....1
- \$15,000 - \$19,0002
- \$20,000 - \$24,0003
- \$25,000 - \$29,0004
- \$30,000 - \$34,0005
- \$35,000 - \$39,0006
- Above \$40,0007

Q-73 How many other people contribute to the household income?

Number of people

Q-74 In addition to your regular income, are you presently receiving any of the following kinds of financial help?

	GAIN	NOT GAIN
FAMILY ALLOWANCE	1	2
SOCIAL ALLOWANCE	1	2
STUDENT AID LOAN	1	2
STUDENT AID BURSARY	1	2
SUBSIDIZED HOUSING	1	2
SUBSIDIZED DAYCARE	1	2
U.I.C.	1	2
INCOME TAX RETURN	1	2
NONE OF THE ABOVE	1	2
OTHER (SPECIFY)	1	2

Q-75 Household income and assets include money from all sources, including money contributions by family members and assets like a home, car, or furniture. How well do you think your household income and assets currently satisfy your needs?

NOT VERY WELL AT ALL	WITH SOME DIFFICULTY	ADEQUATELY	WELL	VERY WELL
-------------------------	-------------------------	------------	------	-----------

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Q-76 In regard to housing, do you

Rent a room?	1
Rent an apartment?	2
Own an apartment?	3
Rent a house?	4
Own a house?	5
Other (Specify)	6

Q-77 Which of the following commodities have you purchased since coming to Canada? (Circle all that apply)

	PURCHASED	NOT PURCHASED
CAR	1	2
STEREO SYSTEM	1	2
MICROWAVE OVEN	1	2
VIDEO EQUIPMENT	1	2
DISHWASHER	1	2
WASHING MACHINE	1	2
CLOTHES DRYER	1	2
NONE OF THE ABOVE	1	2

Q-78 Do you participate in any winter activities?

YES	1
NO	2

Q-79 (If the answer to Que.78 is YES.) Which winter activity (ies) do you participate in?

.....

Q-80 (If the answer to Que.78 is NO.) Why is this?

.....

Q-81 How would you compare your standard of living in Canada with your standard of living in your home country?

.....

Q-82 Is there anything else about being an African refugee in Canada that you would like to add here?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Q-83 Do you have comments you wish to make that you think may help in future efforts to understand the problems of African refugees?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

THANK YOU. I APPRECIATE YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO THIS RESEARCH. A SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF THIS SURVEY WILL BE SENT TO YOU.

Interviewer's Evaluation

(To be completed after the interview has ended)

Q-84 Gender 1 Female

 2 Male

Q-85 Interviewers evaluation of respondent's attitude.

Very Frank and Cooperative1

Average2

Compliant but Uncommunicative3

Resistant4

No Response5

Q-86 What is your evaluation of respondent's responsiveness
to the interview?

Very Responsive1

Somewhat Responsive2

Very Unresponsive3

Somewhat Unresponsive4

No Response5

Q-87 Were there any interruptions during the interview?

YES1 NO2

Q-88 (If yes) Did they seem to have an effect on the rest
of the interview?

YES1 NO2

Q-89 What is your evaluation of the respondent's physical state during the interview ?

- At Ease1
- Somewhat nervous2
- Mildly nervous3
- Highly emotional4
- No response5

Q-90 What is your evaluation of the respondent's physical appearance (dress, grooming)?

- Poor but well kempt1
- Average2
- Exceedingly proper3

Q-91 (if the interview was conducted in the respondent's home) Describe the home in terms of the following categories:

- Poorly furnished and equipped1
- Average2
- Somewhat well-furnished3
- Well-furnished & equipped4
- No response5

Q-92 Are there additional comments you wish to make concerning any aspect of the interviewing process?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Appendix C
QUESTIONNAIRE

These ten questions (1-10) concern how you feel about yourself and Canada. CIRCLE the number that best describes how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

CODE FOR HOW MUCH YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE	
STRONGLY DISAGREE	1
DISAGREE	2
NEUTRAL	3
AGREE	4
STRONGLY AGREE	5

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Q-1 I feel awkward and out of place in this country. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Q-2 It is easy for me to make white Canadian friends. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Q-3 The future looks very bright for me in Canada. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Q-4 Many things my parents taught me in my home country are not useful in Canada. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Q-5 As an individual I can contribute something to Canadian society. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Q-6 It is difficult for me to understand the Canadian way of life. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Q-7 I feel like I belong to Canadian society. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Q-8 There is little I can do to improve my life in this country. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Q-9 I feel that the Canadians I know like me. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Q-10 I feel lonely in Canada. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Next, here are some problems refugees face when they first arrive in a new country. How often were these problems for you when you FIRST arrived in Canada?

CODE FOR HOW OFTEN	
NEVER	1
SELDOM ..	2
OCCASIONALLY	3
VERY OFTEN	4
ALWAYS	5

- Q-11. Language 1 2 3 4 5
- Q-12. Finding a job1 2 3 4 5
- Q-13. Locating friends from my country1 2 3 4 5
- Q-14. Making friends with white Canadians ...1 2 3 4 5
- Q-15. Disagreements with spouse
(Husband or Wife)1 2 3 4 5
- Q-16. Feelings of not belonging1 2 3 4 5
- Q-17. Loneliness1 2 3 4 5
- Q-18. Being away from family members 1 2 3 4 5
- Q-19. Money worries1 2 3 4 5
- Q-20. Learning how to get along with
White Canadians1 2 3 4 5
- Q-21. Not feeling safe1 2 3 4 5
- Q-22. Other problems (SPECIFY).....
-

Q-23 Which of the problems from Ques.11-22 were most important for you when you FIRST came to Canada?

- FIRST MOST IMPORTANT
- SECOND MOST IMPORTANT
- THIRD MOST IMPORTANT

CODE FOR HOW OFTEN	
NEVER	1
SELDOM	2
OCCASIONALLY	3
VERY OFTEN	4
ALWAYS	5

Which of these problems do you consider problems NOW?

- Q-24. Language 1 2 3 4 5
- Q-25. Finding a job1 2 3 4 5
- Q-26. Locating friends from my country1 2 3 4 5
- Q-27. Making friends with white Canadians1 2 3 4 5
- Q-28. Disagreements with Spouse
(Husband or Wife)1 2 3 4 5
- Q-29. Feelings of not Belonging1 2 3 4 5
- Q-30. Loneliness1 2 3 4 5
- Q-31. Being away from family members1 2 3 4 5
- Q-32. Money worries1 2 3 4 5
- Q-33. Learning to get along with
White Canadians1 2 3 4 5
- Q_34. Not feeling safe1 2 3 4 5
- Q-35. Other Problems (SPECIFY).....
-

Q-36 Which of the problems from Que.24-35 are important for you NOW?

- FIRST MOST IMPORTANT
- SECOND MOST IMPORTANT
- THIRD MOST IMPORTANT

Q-37 Do you think these problems affect your life here in
Canada?

YES1

NO2

Q-38 In what way?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....