

PATTERNS AND PREDICTORS OF REFUGEE ADJUSTMENT: ETHIOPIANS,  
LAOTIANS, VIETNAMESE, SALVADOREANS AND CHILEANS IN WINNIPEG

by

DAVID G. HUTTON

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## Abstract

This study was designed to examine the impact of involuntary displacement and resettlement upon the psychological adjustment of resettled Ethiopians, Laotians, Vietnamese, Salvadoreans and Chileans. It was found that psychological adjustment, assessed via a revised version of the Symptom Rating Test-7 Scale Version (Kellner, 1986), was related primarily to the level of adaptation (linguistic, socio-cultural, and occupational) attained during resettlement. The patterns of resettlement adaptation exhibited by the five groups were in turn found to be related to three principal demographic attributes (length of residence, level of language proficiency, and level of education). No relationship was observed between psychological adjustment and conditions encountered prior to or during flight. All groups exhibited comparable levels of psychological adjustment.

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## CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Research addressing refugee populations resettled within Western nations has traditionally emphasized the role of cultural background; as an individual determinant of adjustment to the experience of involuntary displacement and resettlement as well as a likely explanation for variations observed in refugee behavior. More recent studies, however, have indicated that it is elements of the refugee experience itself - the losses, changes, and adversity associated with upheaval and exile and common to all refugees - which are the principal determinants of adjustment.

The present study was designed to examine the relationship between conditions of involuntary displacement (and resettlement) and the psychological adjustment of resettled Ethiopians, Laotians, Vietnamese, Salvadoreans and Chileans. The specific objectives were: (a) to assess and compare the psychological adjustment of the fore-mentioned groups; (b) to identify those conditions of the refugee experience which impact upon the psychological adjustment of these groups; (c) to identify those demographic and individual factors which might influence adaptation; (d) to identify the needs and problems common to resettled refugees; and (e) to relate the findings to the presented cross-cultural model of refugee adaptation.

The conditions of the refugee experience which were examined,

via the Refugee Event and Adjustment Questionnaire (Hutton, 1991) included: (a) demographics and individual background; (b) conditions of displacement and flight; (c) conditions of interim asylum; (d) conditions of resettlement; and (e) the overall impact of displacement and resettlement upon the refugees' perceptions of life. The psychological impact of these variables were assessed through a revised edition of the Symptom Rating Test-7 Scale Version (Kellner, 1986).

The need to address resettled refugees, through research or programs of assistance, has in recent years become increasingly urgent. Indeed, however reluctant Western nations may be to resettle these persons within their borders (fewer than 2 million were resettled between 1975 and 1986, according to a 1987 World Refugee Survey report), it is no longer possible to turn a blind eye to the world's destitute and homeless. In past ninety years, over 100 million persons have been uprooted by wars, revolutions, border alterations and annexations (Beyer, 1981). During the 1980's alone, an estimated 2.7 million civilians lost their lives to violence (Sivard, 1989) while the number seeking international protection jumped from 8.2 million in 1980 to 15 million in 1989 (World Refugee Survey, 1989). In 1990, as a new world order emerged, this figure had exceeded 16 million (Refugees, April, 1990).

The Canadian government, since the Second World War, has accepted just over half a million refugees (approximately 12% of all landings

during this period). Though these persons were almost exclusively of European origin until the early 1970's (Neuwirth & Rogge, 1986), the government has in the past two decades responded increasingly to resettlement needs of such diverse groups as Afgans, Ugandan Asians, Ethiopians, Chileans and Salvadoreans, and the Indochinese. Between the years of 1985 to 1989, the number of refugees receiving asylum on humanitarian grounds in Canada increased from 17,000 to 36,700 (Employment and Immigration Canada, September, 1990). In 1989, 26,000 refugees (approximately 22% of all landings) were admitted into Canada (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1989).

Despite this pattern of diversified immigration, little effort has been made to understand and address the problems which refugees may encounter during their resettlement. Mental health professionals, for example, have remained largely unaware of this population's unique experiences and needs, perhaps more interested in television images of fleeing masses than with the refugees within their nation's gates. Health care and assistance, rather than adapting and expanding so to facilitate the adjustment of the refugee client, has remained a predominantly white, middle class activity (Gravitz & Woods, 1976).

Many people dealing with refugees don't even know who or what they are studying. They can't define refugee or immigrant and have no idea how profoundly different the background and behavior of refugees is from underprivileged minorities ... Many researchers are simply unaware of refugee research already done or of the possibilities of using a general approach. When they embark on a refugee study it seems, to judge from footnotes and bibliographies, that they never visit their library catalog and check for

references marked 'refugee' (Stein, 1981, p. 7).

The failure to address adequately the needs and problems of the refugee often reflects this schismatic approach toward (and perception of) refugees.

Superficially, when viewing refugees one is struck by diversity, a large number of refugee groups from distinct cultures forced to flee due to a wide variety of historical circumstances ... There is [therefore] a tendency to see all refugees from a given country or region as a homogeneous group, to label them Cubans or Indochinese, and not look beyond this label (Williams & Westermeyer, 1986, p.p. 5-6).

The result, expectedly, has been the development of programs which perceive and deal with refugees as atypical, nonrecurring, and culturally distinct groups. Both research and assistance has been cursory and sporadic, frequently neglecting prior studies and interventions, and often run as "one-shot" efforts.

During each refugee emergency there is a quick start-up with almost no preplanning; programs are temporary and designed to respond to the specific needs of individual refugees [on an ad hoc emergency basis]. Coordinated efforts with built-in research components are rare (Stein, 1981, p. 7).

This approach, not unexpectedly, has contributed to a body of refugee literature which lacks not only theoretical framework, but a structured and comparative perspective which has as its core a body of systematic data. What does exist is an array of studies that either emphasize the impact of culture upon adjustment or which concentrate upon a particular phase or aspect of the refugee experience with little consideration of prior conditions (most have focused upon the socio-economic and mental health problems observed during resettlement).

Both have frequently been faulted; the former tend not to consider the influence of both individual variables and the process of displacement and resettlement itself. The latter, in negating prior history, may lack interpretative validity.

There is, however, a number of researchers who have chosen to examine the refugee experience in its totality (David, 1969; Kunz, 1973, 1981; Stein, 1979, 1981; Williams & Westermeyer, 1986). Essential to this approach is the premise that

there is a refugee experience and that this refugee experience produces what we can call refugee behavior. Refugees should be seen as a social psychological type whose behavior is socially patterned. Refugee problems should be analyzed from a general, historical, and comparative perspective that views them as recurring phenomena with identifiable and often identical patterns of behavior and sets of problems (Williams & Westermeyer, 1986, p. 5).

According to this perspective, there are variables other than the country and culture of origin which influence and determine refugee behavior, and given that such may be identified, may be related to the population's level of adjustment. The more apparent of these factors are the stages of the refugee experience itself. Among others, Keller (1975) and Williams and Westermeyer (1986) have identified the following as both fundamental to the refugee experience as well as the principal sources of distress: (a) the decision to flee; (b) the period of extreme danger and flight; (c) the refugee camp; (d) settlement, resettlement, or repatriation; (e) adjustment and acculturation; and (f) residual stages and changes in behavior caused by the experience.

Though the above process will obviously differ among individual refugees, particularly in terms of events and conditions experienced during any one or all of the forementioned stages, there will remain a number of more prevalent commonalities. Of utmost significance is the fact that the refugee experience is essentially one of involuntary migration, representing "an interruption and frustration of natural life expectations, with all the related anxieties and potential damage to the self-concept" (David, 1969, p. 17). Refugees are by definition stateless and homeless (Tyhurst, 1980), deprived of not only nation, personal property, loved ones, of economic, social, and cultural roles and status, but of an invaluable sense of belonging - of being accepted and valued within a familiar and supportive environment (Solomon, 1976; Glassman & Skolnick, 1982).

The refugee experience, then, is one of change and loss which tends to supercede cultural differences. Regardless of national or cultural background, the process of involuntary displacement is apt to result in a degree of grief, social isolation, disorientation and uncertainty. Mathers (1974), for instance, has pointed out that even the 'fortunate' - those who depart and resettle as a nuclear family - still must grieve for the invaluable loss of extended family and friendship ties. For those who experience the trauma of starvation, imprisonment, or the deaths of significant others, such feelings may be compounded by survivors guilt, suspicion of others, social withdrawal, or depression (Lifton, 1979; Kinzie & Fleck, 1987). Such may not only interfere with

the process of grieving, coping, and adjustment to life changes, but may also significantly inhibit the reestablishment of interpersonal relationships which are so essential to psychological adaptation and health (Stein, 1979).

Of equal concern is the sustained loss of environmental control and mastery. The refugee not only flees out of necessity rather than choice, frequently enduring inhumane conditions beyond his or her control, but is placed within a position of dependency and uncertainty. Such is apparent not only within the country of interim asylum which the refugee relies upon for protection, subsistence, and eventual resettlement (Chan & Loveridge, 1987), but within the process of resettlement itself.

The experience of living and making a living in a country of resettlement is not without considerable strain. The refugee, having lost so much of value, having had his or her fate shaped by forces well beyond control, arrives to the "strange and frightening society ... uncertain about how to mobilize his or her resources to succeed in his or her new home" (Williams & Westermeyer, 1986, p. 16). Commonly lacking language proficiency, economic and financial security, to say nothing of an awareness of the socio-cultural differences and expectations, the refugee must cope with not only daily demands, frequently compounded by the rapid pace inherent to modern, industrialized nations (Rumbaut & Rumbaut, 1976), but with minority status and "negative valuations based on membership to a stigmatized group" (Solomon, 1976). Most refugees,

as Taylor and Nathan (1980, in Williams and Westermeyer, 1986) have observed, are thrust into a bewildering world of confusion and uncertainty.

[The individual] is often placed in ambiguous situations of behavioral expectations ... tries to redefine his life situation and to adopt strategies for dealing with the crisis: he begins to discover that prior life experiences have not adequately prepared him for a life in this different culture (Taylor & Nathan, 1980, in Williams & Westermeyer, 1986, p. 16).

In analyzing and interpreting the refugee experience in terms of change and loss, it is argued that such are universal and have a greater impact upon the refugee's ability to adjust to the experience of displacement and flight than does his or her cultural or national background. This does not, however, preclude cultural influence; indeed, "within their culture of origin, most people can be expected to have developed a variety of coping strategies that allow them to function adequately" (Wong-Reiger, 1984, p. 153) and will therefore be utilized to adapt to the changes of resettlement. What is more essential to note, however, is that all cultural populations can also be expected to respond to the experience of involuntary migration, of being uprooted and placed within a strange society, with a sense of loss and grief, uncertainty and apprehension, isolation and alienation (Cohon, 1981; Paige, 1986; Adelman, 1988). It may be expected, in addition, that the extent to which a refugee is able to cope and adjust to this experience may well be reflective of the degree of stress associated with losses and changes endured, many of which may be traumatic in effect (e.g.,

loss of loved ones, physical assault, attack by hostile forces prior to or during flight) (Lifton, 1979; Kinzie & Fleck, 1987). Finally, it might be expected that individual differences and background, including age, gender, education, English language proficiency, and occupational status, may either enhance or impede adjustment, notably in either narrowing or broadening the differences between the culture-of-origin and the culture-of-migration (Murphy, 1955; Wintrob, 1967; Finnan, 1981; Stepick & Portes, 1986). It is thus asserted that a refugee's pattern of adjustment is primarily a function of those conditions encountered throughout the displacement and resettlement process which tend to be either accentuated or diminished in impact and effect by individual characteristics.

## CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The following literature review examines more fully the universality of the refugee experience. So to ensure clarity, each component of the refugee experience shall be discussed as a unit and as follows: (a) displacement and flight; (b) interim asylum; and (c) resettlement and stages of adaptation.

Displacement and Flight

The displacement and flight of the refugee is the first of several experiences which are to shape this individual's pattern of adjustment. It is also the one element of the refugee experience which "lends a sense of uniqueness to each situation and clouds our vision to see the recurring elements in each situation" (Kunz, 1973, p. 132). Refugees, according to Kunz, may thus differ in terms of countries of origin, historical circumstances, and individual experiences, yet each and all share a number of identifiable commonalities which contribute to a distinct social and psychological disposition.

According to Kunz (1973, 1981), the uniqueness of the refugee is primarily a function of having been "pushed" or motivated to flee. "It is the reluctance to uproot oneself, and the absence of positive original motivations to settle elsewhere, which characterizes all refugee decisions and distinguishes the refugee from the voluntary migrants" (1973, p. 130). Of concern to this premise is the refugee's

self-perception of threat or danger, rather than the antecedent conditions themselves.

The validity of fear for one's safety which is the creator of all refugees can after all never be tested: it is the individual's interpretation of events and self-perceived danger or revulsion, or role, which motivates the refugee and justifies his stand (1981, p. 136).

Within this basic premise, Kunz has further proposed that the refugee experience may be generally delineated into three relatively distinct and recurrent types of flight (anticipatory, acute, and intermediate), each with predictive elements of displacement and resettlement. The anticipatory refugee, for example,

who arrives door-to-door to the country of migration, leaves his country before the deterioration of the military or political situation prevents orderly departure. He arrives in the country of resettlement prepared: he knows something of the language, usually has finance, and is informed about the ways by which he can reenter his trade or profession (Kunz, 1981, p.p. 131, 132).

These refugees, unlike later arrivals who tend to be of blue collar or labour class origin, are generally better educated, more aware of the demands resettlement, and of professional or white collar background (Montero, 1979; Stein, 1979; Kunz, 1981; Rumbaut, 1989).

The acute refugee, in contrast, is more likely to have been exposed to a clear and evident threat. Unlike the anticipatory refugee who foresees, and thus flees prior to the manifestation of the perceived threat, this refugee seeks flight only when the danger has become immediate and intolerable. Be it in the form of war, famine, political strife or persecution, "the refugees flee in mass or, if

their escape is obstructed, in bursts of individual or group escapes, and their primary purpose is to reach safety in a neighbouring or nearby country which will grant them asylum" (Kunz, 1983, p. 132). Departure and flight is frequently abrupt and on a moment's notice, with neither consideration of the future nor opportunity to assemble resources. Liu et al., (1979), for example, found that as many as 85% of these refugees who fled the 1975 collapse of South Vietnam made the decision to leave but two days to two hours prior to departure.

The intermediate refugee, on the other hand, is both "pushed" and "pulled" towards seeking asylum. The refugee, in this instance, is thus motivated by both adverse conditions within the country of origin as well as by the prospect of a better life within a country of resettlement. This type of refugee tends to include those who were either unable or chose not to escape within the anticipatory or acute flights, as well as those who were the least touched by the initial deterioration of the military, political, or economic situation and thus may leave months or even years later as the "changes seep down through the social system to affect profoundly the life of all people in the country" (Kunz, 1973, p. 137). A more prevalent example of this refugee type is the current Vietnamese refugee whose flight is frequently prompted as much by the prospect of economic betterment and family reunification as it is by conditions of limited freedom and political repression (Tollefson, 1989).

Of principal concern to the present discussion, then, is the

displacement and flight of the acute and intermediate refugee. Unlike the anticipatory refugee who flees prior to the deterioration of national conditions, with family and resources much as the voluntary immigrant does, the decision to delay flight may well place both the acute and intermediate refugee at risk of both physical and psychological harm. Indeed, statistics alone suggest that a great many of these refugees will have experienced considerable loss, adversity, and trauma even before leaving their country of origin. During the war in Laos, for example, bombings by the United States in the sixties and seventies displaced fully one-fourth of the country's population. On the Plain of Jars alone, some 9,400 villages were destroyed and no less than 141,000 persons displaced (Shawcross, 1979). In Vietnam, fighting had displaced approximately 5 million persons by 1971, hundreds of thousands of whom were settled in government camps in which "people lived in shelters that would normally be used for pigs and chickens ... Malnutrition was widespread, and the death rate among infants and young children skyrocketed" (Tollefson, 1989, p. 24). By the end of the war in 1975, over a million civilians had lost their lives (Lewy, 1978) and as many as 10 million, out of a total population of 17 million, had been displaced at one time or another (Emerson, 1976).

These figures, however horrific, are by no means exceptional. Between 1939 and 1945, nearly 40 million European civilians were displaced (Beyer, 1981) and over a million were killed each month during the last two years of the war; most countries, from Germany

eastward, lost about 10% of their population (only 140 out of 34,000 survived in the Russian city of Belgorod) (Dyer, 1985). Of the 10 million Jewish Europeans who were living in the region in 1939, approximately 6 million had been systematically murdered, outright or in concentration camps, by 1945 (Schoenberner, 1969). Of the 400,000 men, women and children who were deported to Chelmno (the first camp in Poland to use gas), only two came out alive (Lanzmann, 1985).

This pattern of genocide has continued in the postwar years. Between 1975 and 1978, history seemingly repeated itself in Cambodia where 1 to 3 million persons, out of a total population of 7 million, died of starvation, disease, torture, and execution at the hands of the the Khmer Rouge (Loescher & Scanlan, 1986). In Latin America, over 22,000 Guatemalans became the victims of death squads between 1966 and 1977 (Kinzer, 1977); one in every 500 Urugayans in 1976 was a 'political prisoner' in a jail or a concentration camp (Fellowship, September, 1977, in Chomsky & Herman, 1979); and over 15,000 Argentinians disappeared in 1976 alone - the 8,000 to 10,000 detained in official prisons did not include those in "secret detention camps where torture, terrible conditions and eventual execution are rampant" (Amnesty International 1977, in Chomsky and Herman, 1979 p. 267). Today, as 600,000 lie dead in Mozambique and 60,000 in Monrovia because of civil war, tribal violence, and starvation (U.S. Committee For Refugees, 1989; Winnipeg Free Press, November 3, 1992), a the war in the Balkans, and a Serbian campaign of "ethnic cleansing" that has

involved the systematic use of concentration camps, executions, torture and rape, has claimed at least 17,000 lives in Europe (Time Magazine, January, 1993).

Unfortunately, a refugee may well escape such horrors only to endure similar conditions during flight. Kim (1989), for example, reported that fully 88% of some 1,777 resettled Cambodian households had lost at least one family member during flight through either death or separation. Dunning (1989), in a study of 555 Vietnamese refugees who resettled in the United States between 1975 and 1979, found that nearly 41% of these refugees' former households had not fled with them; of those left behind, only 3 out of 10 had fled by 1979. Rumbaut (1989) surveyed Indochinese refugees who fled the region in 1975 and found that fully 82.1% had experienced familial separation, 25.6% fled without family members, and 18.4% had feared that they would be killed during the escape. Between 1976 and 1979, when the horrors of war were replaced by those of starvation, persecution, and reeducation camps, the refugees were somewhat less likely to flee without family members (19.8%); still nearly 77% reported of family separations and 86.6% had feared that they would be killed during flight. Among the Cambodian refugees, 75% reported of not knowing the fate or whereabouts of those family members left behind.

The refugee, in addition to enduring familial separation and abandonment, may also be subjected to any number of flight-related traumas. Among Laotian and Cambodian refugees, who fled predominantly

overland, Rumbaut (1989) found that nearly 25.7% and 25.2% had been assaulted during escape and no less than 87.2% and 68.1% had gone without food. Vietnamese refugees, who were overwhelmingly "boat people", similarly suffered high rates of assault (32.7%) and deprivation of food (56.7%). St. Cartmail (1983) reported that fully 77% of the boats arriving to two refugee camps in Thailand in 1981 had been attacked by pirates on average of 3.3 times each; 590 females had been raped and 355 persons killed. Lam (1983), in a survey of 64 Vietnamese Chinese "boat people", found that 85.9% and 53.1% had lacked either drinking water or food, 54.7% had been attacked by pirates, 34.4% and 21.9% reported losses of either other passengers or family members, and fully 76.6% had attempted or witnessed suicide. There have been reports of "boat people" surviving on the flesh of dead companions and of boats being refused loading, towed back to sea, and purposely sunk in the South China Sea (Lam, 1983; Refugees, 1985).

In considering the horrors of displacement and flight, one might well reason that these may have an enduring impact upon the refugee's psychological well-being. Indeed, even when displacement is without visible trauma, it may nevertheless undermine the individual's sense of personal power, control, and self-regard (Fry, 1985). Hansen (1981), for instance, has noted that despite the fact that

refugees are people who choose to leave and are successful in doing so . . . the decision to flee obviously reflects the individual's belief that his or her self-control and power over others are now inadequate to protect the self from insult, injury, imprisonment, or death at the hands of others. Thus, flight

represents perceived inadequacy (a subjective judgement about relative strength) and an attempt to utilize whatever power, control, and mobility the person still possesses to escape from a threatening situation to safety (p. 31).

This sense of inadequacy and insecurity may yet be compounded by the dynamics of displacement and flight itself. Among others, Baker (1983) and Higginbotham (1976) have noted that effective coping and adaptation is essentially dependent upon the ability to understand, anticipate, and to act upon perceived relationships between the environment (physical and social) and one's own behavior. In the case of the refugee, who is thrust into a strange and frequently violent terrain, there is likely to be at least a misreading of environmental cues as well as of the expected consequences of any action taken. The refugee, in addition, may also be incapable of effecting change in a number of circumstances (e.g., during attacks). Thus unable to effectively respond to the environment, the refugee may also experience varying degrees of powerlessness, distress, and anxiety (Davidson, 1983). In more severe cases, this sense of impotence and helplessness may well contribute to resignation, apathy, and depression (Matussek, 1975; Chan & Loveridge, 1987).

Unfortunately, the refugee's capacity to cope with the dangers and uncertainties of flight may be further diminished by the losses inherent to displacement. Hansen (1981), for example, has observed that however threatening a country of origin may be, its abandonment nevertheless may heighten the refugee's vulnerability and powerlessness.

Political sponsorship is abandoned ... [and] the refugee rejects

the protection of the only government under which he or she has the rights of a citizen as resident. Material wealth is lost or abandoned, and the refugee is also stripped of an important means to generate more wealth, the access to resources that is an aspect of the political and social relationships that are abandoned or destroyed (p. 191).

In thus being deprived of the very resources which might have otherwise been utilized to attain more secure flight and in fact ease resettlement, the refugee is in effect placed at the 'mercy' of the environment. Such might not only increase the refugee's sense of vulnerability and impotence, but may well accentuate the perceived risks and damages of flight in that the options of action to deal with such are greatly reduced.

Flight, in addition, deprives the refugee of both community structure and association (Hansen, 1981). In this instance, the refugee, anticipatory and acute alike, is not only torn from his/her socio-cultural origins, but suffers the invaluable loss of any number of emotional attachments. Chan and Lam (1987), for example, have observed that

central to the refugee experience is the sense of loss and grief similar to that suffered by persons bereaved of a spouse and an immediate family member ... For numerous Indochinese refugees, a chronic feeling of anxiety about the loss or a lack of knowledge of the whereabouts of close family members seems to constitute the essence of the refugee experience. Further compounding this feeling of loss and bereavement is a sense of uprootedness from a socio-cultural milieu within which one was born and reared, an awareness of forced dislocation from a social network comprising kin, neighbours, friends and acquaintances. Like a bereaved widow, the refugee is mourning over beloved lost objects. The management of grief is undertaken by mourning, by crying and pining, by 'finding' and 'searching for' objects and experiences that once provided pleasure and gratification (p. 27).

Central also to the refugee experience is the issue of guilt. Particularly so among acute and intermediate refugees whose decision to delay flight may have placed loved ones at risk, these individuals may not only suffer the anguish and despair of having failed to have protected significant others from attack (Keller, 1975), but may be "painfully aware of the contradiction between the fact of their survival and the thought that 'the others are dead'" (Matussek, 1975, p. 23).

Many refugees wonder why they survived while others died. They may feel responsible for the deaths of others, as if their survival were made possible by those deaths, and so they may come to believe that they, too, should have perished (Tollefson, 1989, p. 32).

Lyon (1988), has no less noted

that much of their [the refugees'] guilt centers around feelings of having abandoned family back home in order to selfishly pursue their own individual happiness ... A refugee who is outwardly very successful materially and states with a smile that he is happy, may be having intensely painful dreams of trying to explain to a father back in Cambodia why he had to leave ... On the other hand, those who are 'unsuccessful' in adjusting ... feel useless for not having 'made it' and this in turn makes them feel that abandoning home was not worth it. So, it can be a no-win situation (p. 213)

However painful this sense of guilt may be, it may also contribute to a number of coping and adjustment difficulties. Forced separation, as Davidson (1983) observed, commonly leaves the refugee with a sense of 'unfinished business', of being intrinsically tied to lost loved ones and yet utterly helpless to alter their fates. Indeed, despite having involuntarily fled under extreme duress, the refugee's guilt and shame for having failed to ensure the safety of significant others may

prevent a seemingly straight forward acceptance of their loss and thus too block the process of bereavement and mourning (Baskauskas, 1981). The refugee, unable to 'move on', may therefore suffer a prolonged and acute phase of yearning and despair. Forms of depression involving emotional outbursts of anger, crying, confusion and restlessness are common (Garza-Guerrero, 1974), as are nostalgic reactions involving homesickness, glorification of the homeland, and criticisms of the country of asylum (Zwingmann, 1978). The refugee, in addition, may also voluntarily withdraw into a state of apathy and masked irritability, frequently hostile towards others who are not similarly suffering.

Family loss and separation is, however, but one of many traumas which the refugee may endure. Indeed, and as it has been noted, this individual may well endure any number of life threatening events which may have a profound and debilitating impact upon his or her socio-emotional status. Davidson (1983), for example, has observed that victims of dehumanizing violence and brutalization, the horrors of the experience imprinted upon memory, not uncommonly come to perceive the world in psychologically primitive terms tainted by the past. "Other people frequently continue to be what they were during the period of persecution, namely potential or actual enemies and annihilators who have to be treated with utmost caution" (Matussek, 1975, p. 124). Matussek, in this analysis of former Nazi concentration camp inmates, further observes that these individuals are not only highly mistrustful and suspicious, but lack the initiative to bridge the gap between

themselves and others - and thus too remain isolated and alienated. One former prisoner recounted:

Since the days I was persecuted I have found it more difficult to establish relationships with other people. I don't trust any German until I am absolutely certain that he was not a Nazi. At large gatherings I often feel that the people are hiding behind masks and I ask myself whether perhaps this person or that was one of the murderers (p. 124).

Refugees too may feel permanently scarred by violence endured. Many, particularly victims of physical assault, may feel as if they have been forever tainted by the humiliation and degradation imposed upon them, vitiated by the evil of the oppressor (Lifton, 1967; Brende & Parsons, 1985). In having been so ruthlessly assaulted, they remain acutely aware of not only their own vulnerability and helplessness, but of the dangers of authority. Indeed, "with sufficient evidence to back up his claims ... he [the refugee] will be deeply suspicious and mistrustful of anyone perceived in authority over him ... [and] may be extremely, even violently anti-authority" (Chan & Loveridge, 1987, p. 755). Aggression, rage and hostility, derivatives of the experience of having been violated (Davidson, 1983), may be problematic. In the absence of the persecutor, the refugee's sense of outrage may be displaced upon loved ones and strangers alike, on occasion culminating in marital violence and crime (Lin, 1986).

In addition to this profound sense of outrage and mistrust towards others, the refugee may also exhibit any number of stress-related symptoms. Among concentration camp victims, for example,

Davidson (1983) observed that many experienced "flashbacks" and nightmares, depressive and paranoid states, and tended to avoid activities which aroused recollection of this period. In studies of Vietnamese refugees who were exposed to acute stress prior to flight, it has been observed that significant numbers experience severe depression, general anxiety and global helplessness, somatic symptoms, low self-esteem and self-criticism, social withdrawal and isolation, loss of appetite, nightmares and intrusive memories (Fry, 1985; August & Gianola, 1987). Among the survivors of the 1970 earthquake-avalanche in Peru, Oliver-Smith (1982) too reported of high rates of depression, anxiety and nervousness, somatic complaints, sleep disturbance and nightmares.

Researchers, in addition, have observed that victims of severe stress or trauma may be "armour plated" (Davidson, 1983). Among concentration camp inmates, for example, Minkowski (1946, in Matussek, 1975) noted that "emotions were anesthetized and contact with one's neighbors was lost" (p. 119). Kogon (1954) too reported of a "mental primitization" of these individuals' behavioral and attitudinal characteristics, as did Frankl (1959) of a "cultural hibernation" and Bettelheim (1960) of a "regression to primitive-infantile instinctual urges." More recently, Tollefson (1989) noted a similar process of "psychic numbing" or a blunting of emotion, among Indochinese refugees arriving to camps of interim asylum.

It is not a numbing of the will to action, for that can lead to

death; instead, it is a focusing of resources for the struggle at hand ... The assault upon their psychic and physical survival requires a drastic sharpening of focus and directing of resources, as well as an ability to refuse to be overcome by the death and terror surrounding them ... Will, intelligence, and physical action and response are all directed toward survival (p. 31).

However adaptive this "psychic numbing" may appear, it may in fact be simply symptomatic of massive or prolonged trauma. The blunting or denial of emotion and affect, as with a number of the forementioned stress-related symptoms, is encompassed within the diagnostic definition of the posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Commonly associated with catastrophic disasters and combat veterans (Martin, 1981), this complex of incapacitating socio-psychological symptoms has also been observed among a number of refugee groups which endured grave physical and psychological assaults. Studies of such diverse populations as Danish and Jewish survivors of the Holocaust (Eitinger, 1961; Ostwald & Bittner, 1968; Davidson, 1980), Cambodian concentration camp survivors (Kinzie et al., 1984), Chilean victims of torture (Cienfuegos & Monelli, 1984), and Vietnamese refugees and American combat veterans (Lund et al., 1984; Pearce et al., 1985) have revealed a remarkably uniform symptom complex. The symptoms include: (a) a re-experiencing of the trauma; (b) recurrent thoughts or nightmares of the trauma; (c) hyperalertness or exaggerated startle reaction; (d) numbing of responsiveness, including reduced interest in activities and feelings of detachment as estrangement from others; (e) survivor's guilt; (f) sleep disturbance; (g) impaired memory or concentration; (h) avoidance of activities that arouse recollection of the traumatic

event; and (i) an intensification of the symptoms when exposed to stress (Cohon, 1981).

Though the posttraumatic stress disorder may be precipitated by any number of severe and atypical stressors (e.g., natural disaster, rape or torture, forced labour, or the witnessing of family deaths), a number of studies have revealed that the frequency and intensity of the presented symptoms may well be related to the degree of trauma experienced. Pearce et al., (1985), for example, observed that Vietnam war veterans who had endured a war-related traumatic event had significantly more PTSD symptoms than those who reported having experienced a non-war related trauma. In a similar study of veterans, Lund et al., (1984) reported that the stressfulness of a trauma experienced related to both a positive diagnosis of PTSD as well as to the intensity of the symptoms. Silver and Iacono (1984), in finding that Vietnam war veterans reported a greater intensity of symptoms than non-Vietnam veterans, concluded that involvement in, and the degree of the atrocity committed, related to the manifestation of PTSD symptoms.

Though such studies have yet to be undertaken within the parameters of the refugee experience, common sense suggests that it is the refugee who experiences the greatest stress who is also at the greatest risk of coping and adjustment difficulties. Indeed, studies have consistently confirmed that the pressures and strains of involuntary displacement heighten the refugee's vulnerability to socio-emotional disturbance and psychopathology. Westermeyer (1986), for

example, estimated that as many as 20% to 25% of all refugees may be at risk of suffering a disabling mental illness. Eitinger (1959), in a study of Russian, Polish, and Yugoslavian refugees resettled in Norway no less reported that this group had an incidence of psychosis which was five times higher than that of the native born population. Among a sample of 97 Hmong refugees, Westermeyer et al., (1983) found that fully 18% exhibited a psychiatric disorder, most commonly depression and somatic complaints. Lin et al., (1985) reported of a rate of depression among Vietnamese refugees exceeding 52%, with 98% of these individuals also complaining of somatic symptoms.

These findings are by no means uncommon. Research has in fact revealed that the incidence of mental health disturbance among refugees not only exceeds that of native born populations (Tyhurst, 1951; Mezey, 1960; Lin et al., 1979; Kendler, 1982), but the rate among voluntary migrants which too is disproportionately high (Koranyi et al., 1963; Murphy, 1972; Krupinski et al., 1973; Garza-Guerrero, 1974). Of equal interest, however, is the observation that refugees, despite apparent background differences, respond similarly to the dynamics and stresses of displacement. Tyhurst (1951), for example, reported the following symptomatology to be common among refugees of ten predominantly Eastern European countries: (a) depression and anxiety; (b) suspiciousness and paranoid trends; and (c) somatic complaints. Eitinger (1960), in a subsequent study of Russian, Polish, and Yugoslavian refugees resettled in Norway, observed similar symptoms:

(a) persecutory and paranoid reactions; (b) feelings of insecurity, inferiority, and helplessness; (c) conversion symptoms with a "somatic predominance"; and (d) disturbances in consciousness in the form of confusional states. Among Hungarian refugees, Mezey (1960) too noted a trend of somatization, paranoia, depression and anxiety, as well as 'abnormal behavior' ranging from aggressive, anti-social outbursts to wondering and suicide attempts. Meszaros (1961), also studying Hungarian refugees, reported of the following: (a) depression and anxiety; (b) complaints of fatigue, restlessness, sleep disturbance and nightmares; (c) suicidal preoccupations; and (d) feelings of insecurity, inadequacy, anger, resentment, and hostility.

Similar findings have also been derived from a number of more diverse refugee populations. Young et al., (1987), for example, found severe depression, major fears and anxiety, and periods of extreme restlessness to be common among Iraqi refugees. Ethiopian refugees too have been reported to experience depression and anxiety (McSpadden, 1987), as well as feelings of anger and aggression, inadequacy and low self-esteem, confusion and loss of identity (Zipstein et al., 1986). Munoz (1980) similarly observed that depression as well as anger and hostility were common among Chilean exiles, in addition to somatic disturbance, poor sleep and nightmares, impaired concentration, and suicide attempts. Among Cuban refugees, severe anxiety, depression, and mild paranoia have been reported (Rumbaut & Rumbaut, 1976), as have delusions, inappropriate affect, suicidal ideation and attempts

(Szapocznik & Cohen, 1986).

Researchers have also observed similar symptoms among Indochinese refugees. Depression, commonly masked by somatic complaints (Rahe et al., 1979), has been widely reported and accounts for the majority of diagnoses within this population (Cohon, 1979; Lin et al., 1980; Westermeyer et al., 1983; Lin et al., 1985). Anxiety disorders and fearfulness have also been noted (Kinzie et al., 1980), as has suspicion and paranoia (Lin et al., 1979). Aggression and hostility, on occasion exhibited through "sociopathic" behaviors and conduct disorders, have been observed by both Westermeyer (1986) and Pham (1986), while Kinzie (1986) has reported of marital and familial violence. Suicide and suicidal ideation were also noted by Pham (1986) and substance abuse, once thought to be uncommon among Indochinese refugees, has been observed by Morales (1983) as well as Kinzie (1986).

A number of researchers, in addition, have observed that relatively uniform complexes of symptoms may be applied to all refugees regardless of cultural origin. Tyhurst (1977), reviewing 27 years of clinical experience and field work among Hungarian, Czechoslovakian, and Ugandan Asian refugees, formulated a "social displacement syndrome" which consisted of the following symptom cluster: (a) paranoid behavior ranging from suspiciousness to acute paranoid psychotic episodes; (b) generalized hypochondrias with pain the central complaint and fatigue the most frequent presenting symptom; and (c) a combination of depression and anxiety with somatic predominance. Engelhardt (1974)

no less advocated the abandonment of discrete disease diagnoses in favor of a cluster of symptoms which characterize all refugees. These include: (a) somatic complaints ranging from fatigue, weakness, muscle or joint pain to disturbance in sleep and appetite, general hypochondrias, respiratory and dermatological complaints; (b) affective disturbance including inappropriate euphoria, hostility and aggression, anxiety, irritability and restlessness, inadequacy and insecurity, grief, mourning, depression, despair and nostalgia; (c) heightened suspiciousness with persecutory feelings or severe paranoid ideation; (d) abnormal behavior including wandering, suicide attempts and ideation, confusional states, delusions and hallucinations; and (e) impaired interpersonal and social skills which extend from such family issues as marital and intergenerational conflict to relationships with individuals, groups, and institutions of society. Williams (1986), in reviewing studies of refugee psychopathology concluded that "a certain complex of symptoms tends to mark the refugee psychiatric patient regardless of cultural origin: suspiciousness, paranoia, depression, nightmares and dreams, feelings of insecurity, poor self-esteem, psychosomatic complaints, anti-authoritarian feelings and behaviors, and sometimes self-centeredness" (p. 44).

In reviewing the socio-emotional and psychological disturbances common to refugees, there may be little questioning of the adverse impact of displacement and flight. Indeed, researchers have observed that a number of the forementioned symptoms might be expected of any

individual who experiences the pressures and stressors of involuntary migration. Lin (1986), for example, observed that the uncertainties and dangers common to displacement may well contribute to symptoms of anxiety, "while grieving over losses, social isolation, and reduction in role and status will often lead to varying degrees of depressions" (p. 64). Disturbances in consciousness, disorientation and confusional states may also be expected of persons who are thrust into a woefully unfamiliar environment under extreme duress (Eitinger, 1960), as is anger, aggression and hostility common to victims of repression and persecution (Davidson, 1983). Eitinger, in addition to Edwards (1956) and Kino (1961), has further observed that suspicion and mistrust (also derivatives of having been maltreated) may evolve into varying states of paranoia, accentuated by the unfamiliar environment, miscommunication, and feelings of isolation and insecurity which foster anticipatory anxiety and thus paranoid thinking. Somatic complaints, though frequently associated with refugees of South East Asian origin (Nguyen, 1980; Lin & Masuda, 1981), are in fact a common symptom of distress among all refugees and may just as well reflect an unwillingness or linguistic disability to identify distress in a more abstract and painful psychological fashion as it does a cultural predisposition towards somatization (Lin, 1986). Refugees, particularly those who have endured forced labour, physical assault, malnutrition or serious illness at the hands of others, may also be both acutely 'body conscious'. They may also be disbelieving of others' concern for their

subsequent well-being (Eitinger, 1960; Krumperman, 1983). As one refugee commented to Eitinger, "Do you really believe, Doctor, that anyone would be even interested in my personal worries, let alone report me ill on account of these? On the other hand, when I tell them about my headache and all my other pains, everyone can understand me" (p. 963).

It would be incorrect, however, to assume that all refugees suffer severe adjustment difficulties and that such, when evident, may be consistently traced to the traumas of displacement and flight. As shall be discussed, there are a number of additional stressors common to the refugee experience, as well as numerous demographic and individual variables which have considerable impact upon coping and adaptation. What remains to be noted, however, is that the initial losses and stressors of involuntary migration, if not precursory to socio-emotional and psychological disturbance, may well increase vulnerability and susceptibility.

#### Interim Asylum

The initial country of asylum, or that nation in which the refugee awaits permanent resettlement following flight, represents an integral phase of the refugee experience. Though commonly overlooked by researchers and clinicians alike, and bypassed by a number of refugees who flee directly to a country of resettlement, the experience of being "in transit", "midway-to-nowhere" between the lost and a new

homeland, may greatly impact upon psychological health and adjustment.

At this stage the refugee still does not look forward, but already knows that the doors are closed behind him. His main preoccupation is therefore the redefinition of his relation towards his country of birth, family and friends. He is taking the first step that will change him from a temporary refugee into an exile. He has arrived at the spiritual equidistant no man's land of midway-to-nowhere and the longer he remains there, the longer he becomes subject to its demoralizing effects (Kunz, 1973, p. 133).

Today approximately one-half of the world's 16 million refugees are living in camps or settlements - many with little prospect of resettlement (Refugees, April, 1990). In fact, apart from the emergency settlement of some 453,000 Indochinese refugees in 1979 and 1980, Western countries have been reluctant to resettle these persons within their borders; between 1975 and 1986 fewer than 2 million refugees were resettled in advanced industrial nations (World Refugee Survey, WRS, 1987). By 1986, however, one-third of the Vietnamese refugees in Southeast Asia had spent at least three years in a camp (Refugees, August, 1986). Of the estimated 656,000 Ethiopians who awaited repatriation/resettlement in Sudan that same year, (WRS, 1987), as many as 46,000 had crossed the border 20 years earlier (Refugees, February, 1990). In Pakistan, nearly 3 million Afgans had been living in refugee villages for a decade by 1987 (Refugees, May, 1987).

In the nineties, as economic and political considerations pressure Western nations to further reduce resettlement quotas, the number of refugees languishing in camps may be expected to rise. Many will find themselves living behind barbed wire, virtually prisoners to the

hunger, disease and violence which surrounds them. Some, after three, five or even ten years of this existence, lose all hope. Pierre Ceyrac, of the Catholic Office for Emergency Relief and Refugees, reported of the despair among refugees along the Thai-Cambodian border.

One day, a man escaped from the Khao-I-Dang camp and went up the mountain to hang himself. At the base the tree he left a note that read, "I cannot return to Cambodia and I have been rejected by all the countries of resettlement. So now my only hope is the 'other country', the after-life country, and the only way to get there is by death " (Refugees, November, 1990, p. 37).

The refugee camp, to many, is the embodiment of non-existence; a no-man's land between a shattered past and an uncertain future (Kunz, 1973). In 'closed camps' particularly, where daily life is often strictly controlled and regimented, all forms of personal reliance and management succumb to institutional structure and policy. In such an environment, where the refugee is involved "more as a spectator than an autonomous individual (Chan & Loveridge, 1986), there is quickly a learning of powerlessness:

Becoming a refugee implies relinquishing liberty of mind as well as body. One enters a liminal state which lies between the two cultures of the old and the new. Upon entering the camp, an individual undergoes a fundamental change in status which places him in an anomalous category. Inspected, numbered, and documented, his life is ordered along the lines of the institution in which he is placed. Decisions ... are no longer his own to make. He becomes aware of other figures of authority, usually Westerners, who will decide for him on the basis of information to which he has little access ... The refugee becomes not just physically helpless in terms of freedom of movement, but psychologically helpless when he learns that old skills and attitudes no longer apply and there seems no guarantee that acquiring new ones will help him out of his predicament. People spent their days waiting for events to happen rather than attempting to exert any influ-

ence upon them. Consequently, the refugee learns helplessness as the appropriate mode of behavior. The longer the situation is perpetuated the more this behavioral pattern is reinforced (Hitchcox, 1986, in Davis, 1986, p.p., 163-164).

The refugee camp has more than once been likened to a 'limbo state' (Knudsen, 1983; Refugees, April, 1986); a social and psychological vacuum in which the refugee encounters not only the loss of homeland, family and community, but a present and future which may lack any semblance of meaningfulness. Life often consists of little more than inconsequential waiting; days, months, or years of boredom, uncertainty, and helplessness (Liu et. al., 1979). Many refugees, trapped within the squalor and decay, come to feel undesired, betrayed, forgotten and abandoned by the world (Murphy, 1955; Oliver-Smith, 1982). Some lose all hope of a better life. Commented Mr. Kibria, the United Nations Secretary General's Special Representative for the Coordination of Kampuchean Humanitarian Assistance Programmes, "It is preoccupying, if not to say sad, that more and more of the displaced people currently live a life that due to its absence of projects has just stopped making sense" (Refugees, September, 1987, p. 34).

For some this existence is broken only by the death and terror which surrounds them. In the past decade, cross-border attacks on refugee settlements have taken place in southern Africa, the Middle East, Central and Latin America. Along the Thai-Cambodian border, where refugees throughout the eighties lived in constant fear of Khmer Rouge reprisal, hundreds were killed and maimed by bullets, shells, and land mines. At one camp, parents became so fearful of shellings

and possible evacuation that they hesitated to send their children to school (Refugees, November, 1989). Eventually most, as Pierre Ceyrac observed at Site 2, succumbed to the strain of living in such conditions.

The refugees manage to hold up for two, three, or even four years. But ultimately they reach a breaking point. It is all too much for them and many suffer from mental collapse. The camp is dark from 6.00 p.m. to 6.00 a.m., without electricity. If there is a storm during the night or a mine explodes, panic quickly spreads throughout this city of 170,000 unprotected people (Refugees, November, 1990, p.p., 37-38).

In other camps the terror has come from within. At Site 8 in Thailand, a 'showcase' camp run during the eighties by the Khmer Rouge, refugees were subjected to summary executions, torture, political extortion, and denial of emergency medical care (WRS, 1988). Even in camps administered by Thai authorities, under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there have been reports of beatings, rapes, and murders by undisciplined guards (Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 1989).

Even without these immediate threats to safety, camps may be so harsh that many refugees find themselves living "under conditions which defy basic standards of decency and humanity" (Refugees, July-August, 1990, p. 27). Indeed, countries of interim asylum are often as likely to intensify the sufferings of refugees as they are to provide protection and assistance. In February of 1989, for instance, Djiboutian authorities cut all rations to the Ethiopian refugees at the Dikhil settlement. "There were only about 1,300 persons there at the

time", explained an official. "To encourage them to repatriate we have momentarily stopped assistance" (cited in *Refugees*, February, 1990, p. 26). Later that same year in Thailand, authorities forcibly repatriated 1,000 Burmese students; upon their return as many as 500 were imprisoned, tortured, or executed (WRS, 1989). In June of 1991, "46,585 healthy Ethiopian soldiers and 5,700 of their dependents arrived in Kassala [Sudan] fleeing the forces of the new government. Three months later they were dying of malaria, dysentery and scurvy, 'a disease caused by vitamin deficiencies and unknown in most of the world since the 17th century', according to one nutritionalist" (*Refugees*, October, 1991, p. 8).

Even when aide is forthcoming, camp and settlement conditions frequently remain appalling. Overcrowding, with tens of thousands confined to facilities built to house five or six thousand, is not uncommon. At Hong Kong's Whitehead detention centre, home of 23,000 Vietnamese refugees in 1990, "the barracks and huts stand one next to the other, each of them overcrowded with more than 100 people, accommodated in three-tiered bunks. Blankets and clothing are used as partitions, thereby giving each family a little privacy. But this merely adds to the heat and suffocating air inside" (*Refugees*, July-August, 1990, p. 24). On the Malaysian island of Pulau Bidong, Tollefson (1989) reported, "over 80,000 Vietnamese were held in a quarter of a mile, with open latrines, no water other than what was brought from the mainland, and makeshift shelters offering little shade

or relief from the crowding" (p. 9). In the Sudanese camp of Wad Kowli in 1985, before the donation of tents by Band Aid, more than 35,000 Ethiopians lived in shelters made of mud, sand, and leaves. "It rained in torrents", recalled Jean-Michel Goudstikker of the UNHCR, "and the people, numb with cold, were huddled against each other" (Refugees, March, 1986, p. 28).

In Ethiopia and Somalia, where camps have been without a single well, water supplies have averaged as little as three and five litres per person per day - less than one-half the UNHCR recommendation of ten to fifteen litres (Refugees, April, 1986; WRS, 1989). In the rainy season, when the earth becomes water-logged, pools of stagnant water pose a serious health threat. Cholera, malaria, and dysentery spread quickly in the crowded, unsanitary conditions. Mortality rates in some camps have reached 7 and 13 dead per 10,000 persons per day (Refugees, March, 1986).

Food shortages are also not uncommon. Nutritional surveys among refugees have shown malnutrition to be as high as 10% to 15% in Malawi and between 15% to 20% in eastern Sudan (WRS, 1989; Refugees, April, 1990). In 1985, in the Somalian camp of Tug Wajale, at least 1,000 Ethiopians died of starvation (Refugees, April, 1986). In the Sudan in 1991, the UNHCHR estimated that 46% of the children in the Kebri Bayey camp had less than 80% of their normal body weight. "Nutritionalists called the figure 'out of control' and doctors told the High Commissioner they did not need medicines to stem the equally 'out of

control' death rates - they just needed a balanced food basket"

(Refugees, October, 1991, p. 9).

Bhirom Sughandabhirom (1986), in studying the logistical considerations of Thai camps, found that refugees generally were in need of clothing, blankets, and mosquito nets. Drinking water was particularly scarce during the dry months of February and March and nutrition amounted to rice, dried or canned fish, and vegetable oil. In the Philippines, even within the resettlement processing centres established by the United States government, food has consisted of fish or meat (usually chicken), vegetables (usually lettuce), and fruit (usually bananas). At the Palawan camp in 1984, when officials were found to be selling 'surplus' chickens on the black market, these rations were cut by 40%. "The immediate effect upon the refugees was to force many to shop in the public market for food or to scavenge in the surrounding forests for lizards, snakes, and edible plants" (Tollefson, 1989, p. 138). When Kymer Seri troops were found by Thai authorities to be selling supplies designated for Bak Non Mun on the black market, all food and water was halted for ten days to the 400,000 Cambodian and Vietnamese residents; it was stopped indefinitely two months later when Red Cross officials estimated that only 13% of the food was reaching the refugees (Institute of Asian Studies, 1988).

However crippling hunger and disease may be, no less debilitating is the psychological climate of a great many camps. The refugee from the outset is frequently subjugated and humiliated, given the status

and treatment of a pariah. A Vietnamese refugee who sought asylum in Malaysia, for instance, recounted, "From the distance, I saw many soldiers with guns. They made us fear when our boat came to the wharf. One by one we sat on the wharf like prisoners. A soldier said, "don't move, don't talk if you don't want to be killed" (Tollefson, 1989, p. 29). Tollefson further observes that even

in the best circumstances, refugees suffer the petty humiliations of prisoners everywhere: loss of belongings, mandatory haircuts, curfews and confinement to barracks after hours, verbal and physical abuse at the hands of the guards, fear of speaking out, and lack any semblance of due process. As one middle-aged Vietnamese man said of his confinement in the Lantau Island close camp in Hong Kong, 'It is beyond my imagination, really, that we have to flee a Communist country to be detained later in what you call a concentration or closed camp ... People in the camp are really detainees. We are treated as criminals' (p. 30).

Even in the best of settlements, where the refugee is accorded the respect of an asylum seeker, there still may be a stripping of self-control and esteem. Dorsh Maria de Voe (1981), among others, has observed that the socio-political structure of camps is such that the refugee is commonly deemed both needy and helpless in the minds of the apparent benefactors. Either in the name of institutional efficiency or under the banner of charity, the refugee is initially framed as a victim, placed within the custody of 'experts', and thus assumes the subservient role of a 'client' in a bureaucratic system which has undertaken the responsibility for the nurturance and management of displaced persons. The refugee is therefore not only dependent upon a paternal-like authority for daily subsistence, but is effectively

powerless in a system in which personal reliance and management succumb to institutional structure and policy.

Like other people who are clients, refugees are categorized with an impersonal quality, like property. Then institutions interested in absorbing or rehabilitating refugees impose an organization of relevant facts, needs and goals in a way that institutional structures can handle them ... Yet in being overseen, they [refugees] haven't the chance to actualize their personal and community power for their own lives and livelihood ... [and they] cannot effect their own release from the situation; only others can (p.p. 90, 91, 93).

There is little questioning of the adverse impact of this socio-political climate. Refugees, in being cast into roles of passivity, are not only powerless to better their physical environment, but in effect find themselves "doing time" (Chan & Loveridge, 1987). Liu et al., (1979) and Knudsen (1983), as noted, have observed that interim asylum frequently consists of little more than inconsequential waiting; cut off from the world, "with no future beyond camp life and no past to which they can return" (Tollefson, 1989, p. 31), refugees often come to feel undesired, forgotten and betrayed (Murphy, 1955; Oliver-Smith, 1982). Often, as frustration and anger grows, seemingly minor disagreements erupt into violence.

Mrs D [a trained volunteer of the Khmer Women's Association at Site 2 in Thailand] tells of two men who got into an argument over a piece wood each wanted to use to cover his bunker. "It ended with one man in hospital, wounded with an axe. People are frustrated and idle. They fight over nothing. Ten years is just too long. (Refugees, November, 1989, p. 34).

Common too, as refugees lose hope of ever leaving, is a succumbing to helpless despair and depression (Chan & Loveridge, 1987) Some, as

Tollefson (1989) reported,

deny the awful reality of their own circumstances or numb themselves against the pain ... One Vietnamese man described people he met in the Pulua Bidong camp in Malaysia. 'Many people lived there for a long time ... They told me that they were afraid to be a person. They became more and more withdrawn. No smiling' (Tollefson, 1989, p.p. 31, 32).

Loveridge (1987) has no less noted that there is often but a fine line between the despair common to camp life and "a deep, suicidal depression".

They [the refugees] ask themselves, 'how do I justify what I have done?' They thought that they would soon be able to send money back home or even sponsor relatives to join them. As people lose the things that have meaning for them there's a quiet dying that goes on inside. The distinction between being alive and dead is not always a very big one (Refugees, September, 1987, p. 22).

In addition to stripping the refugee of personal power and control, in some cases of his/her very will to live, camp administrators and staff tend to negate this individual's need for "warm, accepting, and constructive interactions" (Liu et al., 1979, p. 90). Indeed, and as Chan and Loveridge (1987) have observed, an essentially antagonistic relationship may well be in the offing from the moment of the refugee's first brush with officialdom.

An almost symbiotic relationship grows up between refugee and officialdom, whereby the latter becomes the external projection of all that the refugee instinctively most fears ... A refugee arrives in Hong Kong numbed, disoriented, vulnerable, sometimes half alive - living a nightmare of Kafkaesque proposition ... He is immediately interviewed by immigrant officials and later by U.N.H.C.R. [United Nations High Commission for Refugees] representatives, given a number and assigned to a camp ... Faced by uniformed authority asking questions, giving him numbers, talking about camps, he feels sufficient reverbera-

tions of Vietnam and perhaps of the re-education camp to immediately distrust camp officials and camp regulations (p.p. 752, 753).

Tollefson (1989), in examining the impact of camp violence, presents an even bleaker scenario of refugee's relationship viv-a-vis camp staff.

Refugees learn that they should trust no one. In many border camps guards attack individuals, raping women, and stealing refugees' meager belongings. Armed gangs often invade camps at night, as the as the guards retreat to safety rather than risk their lives to defend the refugees ... Like soldiers in a guerrilla war, refugees in many first-asylum countries live every day with violence, fear, and the possibility of death (p. 31).

There is little questioning of the refugee's status within the camp structure; these individuals are in fact reminded each day of who is and is not important. Whereas the refugee may well be trapped within barely humane conditions, his/her life regimented and controlled, camp staff and administrators come and go with impunity, often living in dormitories with running water and electricity and, on occasion, may even have access to a swimming pool or bowling alley (Tollefson, 1989). As Oliver-Smith (1982) observed among the 1970 Peruvian earthquake survivors, this apparent disparity of status and privilege tends to contribute to a sense of isolation and rejection.

The Yungainos felt abandoned and alone ... threatened and weak ... because they felt that aid was insufficient in light of the magnitude of their tragedy ... [and] because no one "official" came to live in the camp to help them with their problems and try to understand their realities in the year following the disaster. The authorities and experts in disaster aid all seemed to go live in places with services like lights and running water (p. 93).

Unfortunately, the refugee's sense of personal status, worth, and

power may be further diminished by the sanctioned use of discipline and punishment. In a great many countries, Hong Kong, Thailand, and the Philippines included, camp authorities ensure the day-to-day operations of camps (and discourage additional arrivals) through the use of punitive measures. Tollefson (1989), for example, reported that the American managed Refugee Processing Centers in the Philippines relied extensively upon regulations and sanctions to enforce attendance within language and orientation classes, to ensure the completion of work details that staff were unwilling to do themselves (e.g., collecting of garbage, the spraying of pesticides), and to even guarantee the return of cooking utensils. Refugees could be imprisoned or placed on "administrative hold" (the delay or cancelling of departure to the United States), with neither trial, hearing nor proof of the alleged violation, for the consumption of alcohol, suspicion of "communistic" affiliation, or public protest or demonstration.

Some staff members threaten to report poor classroom attendance, work-credit violations, or other punishable offenses as a way of extorting money, goods, and personal or sexual favors ... Refugees imprisoned in the jail reportedly have been beaten and robbed. Among women, imprisonment is particularly feared, due to reports of sexual abuse of female prisoners ... Because the jail does not provide food for prisoners, family and friends must bring it each day. Guards have reportedly extorted cigarettes, money, and sexual favors for the right to deliver food to hungry prisoners (p. 135).

The effect of such overt, indiscriminate authority, tends to be a confirming of the refugee's sense of subjugation and humiliation. Indeed, the threat of imprisonment or "administrative hold" not only

heightens feelings of insecurity and powerlessness, but may well inhibit the refugee's ability and willingness to assert individual character and identity. As De Voe (1981) observed, a threat of punishment is apt to contribute to a constant "fear of failure or of doing something wrong ... of being 'summoned before a bar', found guilty or inadequate ... and being abandoned by those outsiders who somehow once promised salvation." Refugees are thus likely to not only relinquish "their personal and community power for their own lives and livelihood ... [when they] try to develop behaviors they perceive as expected of them" (p. 93), but view their apparent benefactors with suspicion, resentment, and hostility. Services, when received, may therefore be perceived "not as originating from genuine sympathy to help but directed at confirming the survivor's helplessness, weakness, and humiliation" (Lifton, 1979, p. 193).

In considering the physical and socio-political conditions of camp life, there may be little questioning of the adverse impact of such upon the refugee. Indeed, the surviving refugee may not only contract any number of diseases (respiratory, gastro-intestinal, and so forth), but is at risk of succumbing to the socio-emotional pressures of camp life. Estimates of mental health disorder among camp inmates, for example, have been reported to be as high as 20% and 30% (Strotzka, 1973; Sughandabhirom, 1986), with those most at risk likely to have endured the longest internment (Pfister-Ammende, 1955). Common characteristics observed among camp populations have included

a "tactiturn, distrustful, and noncommittal" demeanor, feelings of insecurity and anxiety, impaired concentration, and asocial and aggressive behavior (Pfister-Ammende, 1973; Harding and Looney, 1977). Chan and Loveridge (1987) have also concluded that the uncertainties, frustrations, and despair associated with camp life heighten susceptibility to depression, somatization, and psychotic-like withdrawal. Tollefson (1989) has reported of an "emotional numbing" not unlike that exhibited by victims of trauma.

Sughandabhirom, in addition to reporting of a high level of mental dysfunction within the refugee camp, also provides a graphic description of the socio-emotional and behavioral character of Cambodian refugees. In enduring barely humane conditions, at constant risk of Kymer Rouge reprisal, these refugees experienced a number of personality changes including: (a) a diminished sense of morality and social responsibility which enabled them "to get everything in every possible way"; (b) extreme insecurity, suspicion, and a "constant fear that the enemy would appear and kill or torture them any time"; (c) limited or indifferent emotional expression. "Only in their eyes could one discern emotional responses"; (d) social withdrawal and isolation; (e) a general passiveness and compliance to requests and suggestions; (f) the future was perceived to be vague and "alternatives were absent"; and (g) an inability to cope with minor problems, which commonly precipitated anxiety and depression (p. 88).

Of interest too are the most desired wishes of these refugees.

Most frequent wishes were for cloth, going to a third country, going back home, having enough food to eat, having a chance to learn to study and gain knowledge. (The refugees believed that most of the learned and capable persons were killed during the war so they should learn as a substitute for them). Some refugees (15%) answered that they were willing to take anything that was given, 3% did not know what to wish, and 2% wanted to have peace of mind (p. 90).

An equally revealing study was conducted by Tung (1975) at Camp Pendleton, California. Camp authorities, by all accounts, provided for the Vietnamese population's physical and material needs; services included prepared meals, cleaning of laundry, day care, post exchange services, recreation and entertainment. However, in establishing a "paternal authority" which suppressed individual self-sufficiency and the most basic opportunities of autonomous self-management, there evolved a general atmosphere of boredom and passivity. Common among the refugees were feelings of rejection and isolation, frustration and anger, homesickness, remorse, and guilt of having abandoned loved ones. Depression, anxiety, and somatic symptoms were also observed, as were incidents of familial conflict, suicide attempts, and violent quarrels and fist-fights.

Tung's study, if nothing else, illustrates the "counterfeit universe" of camp life. Indeed, Tollefson (1989) has observed that many of the services rendered not only 'teach the language of dependency and powerlessness', but are instituted with little regard to the receiver's needs, customs, or desires. Camp policy and programs have often been based upon the opinions of bureaucrats who have neither adequate knowledge nor experience of either working with refugees or

of their unique needs. In analyzing American refugee processing camps in the Philippines, Tollefson noted that "upper managers have virtually no contact with individual refugees ... and no refugees are asked to review the decisions made" (p.p. 67, 92). English language and vocational training programs, when available, tended to lack qualified and effective teachers, with content offering little more than the prospect of deadend, minimum wage employment upon resettlement.

Preemployment classes include lessons in which refugees sort various plastic chips according to color and size. Other lessons require students to cut different-colored wires into specified lengths, or to sort beans into plastic beans. In more advanced lessons, adults drill holes in wood, make a circuit with a lightbulb and a switch, follow a pattern to make a paper hat or a box, and clean floors with electric brooms. The aim of these lessons is to prepare the refugees [regardless of former occupation, education and training] for assembly-line employment in the electronics industry, for janitorial service, and for other minimum-wage jobs requiring little or no English proficiency (p. 79).

These programs, euphemistically described as education, not only limit opportunities for social and economic advancement, but heighten feelings of boredom and passivity, subjugation and humiliation. Tollefson provides the following example;

A former head of a major Saigon corporation was required to attend lessons on how to write a check and to plan a family budget ... Nguyen Zuan Hoong, who had studied biology and chemistry in college, complained that 'there is nothing for me in these classes'. Another Vietnamese, who had a master's degree in electrical engineering, said he was insulted by the implication that he had no skills that would qualify him for employment in the United States (p.p. 79-80).

In reviewing the camp experience, there is little question of its impact upon the refugee. The physical conditions alone, for example,

may contribute to feelings of abandonment and betrayal, of limited status and worth. The socio-political climate, moreover, subjugates and humiliates the refugee, and in many ways is not unlike the repression and persecution endured in the homeland. Indeed, Tollefson (1989) has concluded that the United States

refugee program ultimately undermines precisely those principles that it claims to represent ... individual responsibility, self-sufficiency, and commitment to democratic principles within an active and organized community ... They [the refugee processing centers] fail to protect civil liberties or individual autonomy, and they employ an undemocratic hierarchy within a potentially harmful environment. The refugees learn an important lesson from this gulf between word and deed: that the practice of democracy is quite different from its principles and that many Americans do not believe that individual responsibility, democracy, and self-sufficiency apply equally to all (p. 149).

One should not conclude, however, that the effects of camp life upon refugees are uniform. Indeed, even in the worst of circumstances, as Sughandabhirom has observed, a number of individuals will somehow adjust. Pfister-Ammende (1955) and Liu et al. (1979) have further reported that the socio-psychological disturbances associated with refugee camps may be either mitigated or intensified by a number of factors: (a) the duration of internment; (b) the quality and availability of such basic necessities as housing, clothing, food and drinking water; (c) camp size and availability of space to conduct daily activities; (d) access to the surrounding community; (e) access to employment opportunities, either within or beyond the camp; (f) availability of adequate and appropriate medical and mental health care; and (g) the degree of self-management and participation within

the administration of the camp.

Though these factors have yet to be empirically analyzed, common sense suggests that the shortening of the stay, betterment of living conditions, and the accessing of health care and counselling may not only relieve the sufferings common to interim asylum, but might in fact facilitate coping and adjustment through primary prevention and early identification and treatment of medical disease and socio-emotional disturbance. Employment opportunities may too facilitate adaptation, providing the individual with not only a role and status of value, but with a sense of personal power and self-regard. In offering the inhabitants the opportunity to share in the administration and organization of camp life, to provide input and to review educational recreational, and social programs, there might evolve not only a greater sense of autonomy and self-sufficiency, but a climate of cooperation and association (rather than mistrust, suspicion, and hostility). There may emerge, in addition, a social and community structure with indigenous leadership, accessible to the individual refugee, and representative of the group's unique needs and concerns.

Even in the best of conditions, however, the refugee camp will remain a source of considerable stress. The arriving refugee, homeless, disoriented, and frequently half-alive, is in fact encountering a new and frightening culture. Cut off from the homeland, the future vague and uncertain, this individual neither belongs nor understands this 'no man's land of midway-to-nowhere', and but for a supportive

community, might well succumb to feelings of isolation, abandonment, and despair. For the many refugees who are less fortunate, finding themselves amidst the squalor, despondency, and violence more typical of camps, these emotions may well be a reality.

### Resettlement

Resettlement, adjustment, acculturation and assimilation is a complex and multi-faceted process involving adaptation to the past, present, and future. Refugees, having been torn from homeland and loved ones, are confronted by not only an array of bewildering social, cultural, and occupational difficulties, but by a struggle "to defend and recover a meaningful pattern of [emotional, social, and behavioral] relationships" (Baskauskas, 1981, p. 279). Deprived of family and kin, roles and status, indeed of a way of life, refugees must rebuild a life in a country which is often perceived in terms of 'exile' rather than 'resettlement'.

Their relationship with the country of refuge is complex; they did not come "to" it but rather fled "from" their own country. This marks their relationship with the place where they dwell but which they do not "live" in the fullest sense of the word (Maletta, et al., 1988, p. 190).

Central to the process of adjustment is the establishment of a stable and reciprocal relationship with the society of resettlement. This process not only involves the acquisition of those skills, roles, and behaviors essential to attaining a level of interpersonal effectiveness within the new society, but considerable resocialization and

identity reorganization (Brody, 1981) - essentially a process of "trying to combine the effects of the present and the past" (Simila, 1988).

Adaptation, as Whitmore et al., (1989) have observed, is "not an 'either-or' situation for the refugees, a choice between their 'traditions' and Western 'modernity'" (p. 137). Rather, and as Baskauskas noted, it is a slow and gradual process of reformulation or reorientation, involving not so much the displacement or substitution of social or cultural ties to the homeland as it does an ever increasing sense of communality with the host population. The crux of this process, accordingly, is the refugee's ability to narrow the gap between the culture of origin and that of resettlement; to not only relinquish those roles, behaviors, or customs which conflict with those of the new society, but to acquire the skills and knowledge which may maximize awareness and understanding of the dominant social, cultural, and occupational structures. This process, Baskauskas concludes, not only allows the refugee to achieve interpersonal effectiveness and acceptance in society, but to establish a meaningful socio-cultural identity which is conducive to associations with native inhabitants.

The influence of culture per se upon this process, particularly in the case of the refugee, is frequently minimal. Though socio-cultural compatibility between a country of origin and one of resettlement may greatly accelerate adjustment, "only seldom do refugees enjoy the

luxury of linguistic compatibility and even rarer are the refugee's chances to move to a culturally compatible country" (Kunz, 1981, p. 47). The vast majority of refugees are thus confronted by socio-cultural incompatibility, and while the degree may well vary from one population to the next, all are burdened with the task of establishing a pattern of conduct which maximizes interpersonal effectiveness and acceptance within the new society. The ease or difficulty in achieving this, in addition, is relative; the level of adjustment likely to be attained by any one refugee is reflective not so much of the culture of origin or the socio-cultural differences to be resolved as it is of a number of identifiable variables which either: (a) accentuate the differences and thus retard adjustment; or (b) minimize the differences and hence facilitate adjustment (Stein, 1981; Berry, 1986). Among the factors of greatest effect are the following: (a) traumas and losses sustained through displacement, flight, interim asylum, as well as resettlement; (b) degree of social receptiveness of and assistance received from the country of resettlement; (c) availability of social, emotional, and financial supports, both communal and familial; (d) availability and access to educational and occupational opportunities; and (e) individual and demographic variables (e.g., age, gender, level of education, language proficiency, employment and socioeconomic background) (Kunz, 1981; Starr & Roberts, 1982; Fontaine, 1986; Tran, 1987).

Though the process of adjustment is in large determined by

individual background and the conditions encountered throughout displacement and resettlement, there remains a general pattern which may be ascribed to the vast majority of refugees. Eisenstadt (1954) and Gordon (1964), for example, delineated the process of acculturation and assimilation into the following four stages: (a) the acquisition of language, roles, and socio-cultural conventions; (b) the mastery of new roles and hence increased competency in adjusting to and participating within new situations; (c) the development of a new identity and status-image which is consistent to the adopted conventions and roles; and (d) movement from participation within institutions of a respective ethnic group to those of the host society. Baskauskas (1981) and Loizos (1981) subsequently observed that the change and loss inherent to such a process is likely to result in a concomitant course of grief, consisting of three stages: (a) conservatism, a security-oriented coping strategy evoked so to maintain continuity and ties to the past; (b) bereavement, an emotional response of mourning to the acknowledgment of irretrievable loss; and (c) innovation, a 'moving beyond' the loss and the development of new patterns of life. In reviewing the above observations in relation to studies of refugee adjustment, acculturation and assimilation, Stein (1981) concluded that all may be incorporated into four general, time-framed periods of adaptation (psychological, socio-cultural, occupational and socioeconomic). These consist of: (a) the initial arrival period; (b) the second and third years of resettlement; (c) after four to five years; and (d) a decade

or more later.

The following literature review encompasses each of the forementioned stages of adjustment, utilizing Stein's time-framed periods to delineate the process into relatively distinct spectrums of change and adaptation. The final stage of Stein's model (a decade or more later), however, is incorporated into the period of 'after four to five years'. This stage of adjustment is not only beyond the scope of the proposed study, and thus of lesser concern, but in fact lacks a body of substantiating research. More importantly, it largely reflects the pattern of adjustment attained in the previous stage and may therefore be analyzed within this context.

One should not conclude, however, that the delineated stages of adjustment are either autonomous of each other or confined to any given time-frame. Adaptation is a multi-faceted process (psychological, socio-cultural, and socioeconomic), influenced by a number of diverse factors (trauma and loss, age, gender, education, and so on) which determine the speed of and level of adaptation attained in any one given stage. This, in turn, has considerable impact upon the refugee's willingness and capacity to cope with and adjust to the difficulties and pressures of the subsequent stage.

#### The Initial Arrival Period

The initial arrival period, or approximately the first year of resettlement, is one of considerable adversity. Though the refugee may

well arrive in "an overly positive state of mind", certain that the country of resettlement will be everything that the countries of origin and interim asylum were not (Tyhurst, 1980), exuberance and hope is quickly vanquished by the realities of resettlement.

The next few years will never be all smooth and easy. The job that has taken so long to find often is far from adequate in terms of pay or satisfaction. Communication is, at best, problematic and frequently the cause of distressing situations when a finer comprehension is essential, for example, in interpersonal relationships. There is yet to be a sense of belonging to the new homeland, and even with a degree of material success, one's family and one's own group of friends, a person will often wonder what good there is to live in this foreign land. And for the individual himself, familial conflicts and personal problems often become more intricate or more acute in this compulsory intimacy and dependency. A happy few may see it through with a great deal of luck and some degree of compliance and ingenuity. In most cases, this would not be a small feat. Whatever success they may obtain, there is a price to pay in exertion, frustration, disquietude ... (Tung, 1975, p. 9).

There is little question of the impact of resettlement upon the refugee. Alone and bewildered, confronted by language, occupational, social and cultural differences, "refugees suddenly find themselves virtual islands in a strange and sometimes hostile sea" (Mituso, 1979, in Stein, 1986, p. 14).

They will confront the loss of their culture - their identity, their habits. Every action that used to be habitual or routine will require careful examination and consideration. The refugee is searching his own way through a strange and frightening society. The patterns of behavior that sustained life at home are no longer sufficient. The refugee is uncertain how to mobilize his or her resources, to succeed in his or her new home (Stein, 1981, p.p. 327, 328).

This struggle to re-establish an effective pattern of conduct is in fact reflective of an identity crisis. Bar-Yosef (1968), for one,

has observed that

migration is one of the most obvious instances of complete disorganization of the individual's role system, hence some disturbance of the social identity and the self-image tied to the system is to be predicted . . . The immigrant [or refugee] coming into the new society misses the access to the elementary mechanisms of a stable [physical and] social structure. He is ignorant of the proper definition of situations in which he has to participate and of the rules of social interaction; he has no grasp of the role map of the others and has no clear idea about either the roles he is expected to fulfill or the opportunities for entering the roles he desires. The old social identity is inappropriate, being in general entirely different from the actual identity bestowed on the immigrant [or refugee] by the absorbing society (p.p. 28, 29).

Few arriving refugees are prepared to cope with this condition of resettlement. Indeed, the resulting disorientation, apprehension, frustration, and anxiety (Hall, 1976; Cohon, 1981; Paige, 1986) may be such that the refugee may well adopt the conservative, security-oriented strategy of "clinging to the familiar and changing no more than necessary" (Scudder & Colson, 1982, p. 272). The refugee, in this instance, tends to acquire only those skills essential to attaining employment and self-sufficiency, while attempting to maintain, intact and unchanged, the values, roles, and practices of the original socio-cultural system.

One should not conclude, however, that the strategy of conservatism is essentially maladaptive. As Baskauskas (1981) has pointed out, conservatism serves to defend the predictability of life, to provide a semblance of meaning and structure in an otherwise strange and incomprehensible society.

In this sense, [though delaying integration], conservatism is but one aspect of our ability to survive any situation: for without the continuity of structures of meaning, we can not interpret what events means to us, nor explore the new experiences with any integrative mechanisms (p. 280).

There are, in addition, a number of elements unique to refugees which may contribute to this coping strategy. A number of researchers, for example, have observed that arriving refugees commonly demonstrate a belief that resettlement will bring about a relative immediate, complete, and unobstructed recovery of that which was lost through displacement and flight (Rogg, 1974; Sughandabhirom, 1986).

On his way to the country offering him asylum ... the refugee experienced ... his liberation from the troubles and cares which has driven him from his fatherland; the oppression of the uncertain arrival which he has to face; the sorrow on account of all that was dear to him and left behind. Against the background of his ... experiences ... he fostered undifferentiated and rose-colored expectations about things awaiting him in the country lying ahead (Ex. 1966, in Stein, 1981, p. 327).

Lyon (1988), in a study of Kymer refugees who were to be resettled in Zealand, found that the vast majority tended to minimize the possible adaptational problems in coping with culture shock and customs (78% did not foresee a problem), acquiring the language (83%), furthering their education (91%), or in getting along with other people (96%).

In addition to unrealistic and rose-colored expectations of resettlement, ones which minimize both the perceived need and thus too the refugee's preparedness and ability to adapt, the need "to cling to the familiar" may also be attributed to the isolation sustained through resettlement itself. Refugees, commonly dispersed rather than

resettled within geographic communities, are often placed in a state of socio-cultural and socio-emotional privation. This condition of isolation is likely to not only intensify the refugee's sense of loss, disorientation and anxiety, but divests from this individual the opportunity of sharing a pattern of communication and interaction with similar others (Tran, 1987). "The refugees are thus deprived of an important source of gratification, and are exposed directly to a hard life without the protection of a community, and are emotionally vulnerable in the absence of belonging" (Liu, 1986, p. 62). Alienated and alone, uncertain as to how to act and react, the refugee remains reliant upon a former and inappropriate pattern of meaning and conduct.

The resulting disorientation and frustration, moreover, is often further compounded by the losses of employment viability and socio-economic status. In more cases than not, "a highly educated person with professional competence becomes a nonentity overnight" (Doheny, 1981, p. 17), plunging from "professional to menial, from elite to an impoverished minority" (Stein, 1981, p. 325). Inadequate financial status, in addition to providing the individual with a spot in the welfare queue (Stein, 1979), may greatly accentuate the difficulties of resettlement. Among families, strains may appear in the home as the husband's role of breadwinner is diminished. With employment of either or both the wife and/or children, there is likely to be a disruption of both traditional family structure and sex-role assignment. Members "are torn between the need to adapt to the new value system and behavioral

norms ... and the influence of the old cultural upbringings" (Lin, 1986, p. 66). Marital and familial conflict is common (Chan & Lam, 1983), as are feelings of inadequacy, frustration, anger, and shame on the part of the husband.

Unemployment, or menial, low paying employment, may also retard the very process of acculturation and assimilation. As Stein (1979) observed;

Employment seems to be the critical factor in moving the refugee into the mainstream of society. Besides restoring the refugee's sense of 'self-esteem', employment provides contacts with colleagues, the boss, and the company. It also offers opportunities to learn and practice the language, discover and conform to group norms, and develop social involvement and acceptance. It provides, in addition, the income needed to participate in social and cultural activities (p. 27).

Studies of refugees entering the labour force, however, have consistently shown a prevailing trend of high unemployment, under-employment, and low income. In 1977, for instance, the United States Interagency Task Force on Indochina Refugees (in Stein, 1979) published a series of surveys conducted 3, 7, and 15 months following the first influx of Vietnamese refugees into the United States. The surveys revealed the following: (a) male unemployment rates of 32%, 18.2%, and 14% respectively; (b) underemployment of heads of households ranging from 76% to 73.5% and 67.6%; and (c) low income, with 56.3%, 52.4%, and 33.6% of the households reporting monthly earnings of less than \$400. Low income contributed to a concomitant figure of welfare recipients: initially as high as 42% and remaining over 30%.

The above figures, however grim, may also be optimistic. In 1975, the United States Interagency Task Force on Indochina Refugees (in Liu et al., 1975) estimated the initial unemployment rate of this population to be as high as 50%, while those working were reported to be significantly underemployed.

When the present occupation of the household heads is compared to their Vietnamese occupation and by proficiency in English, the majority of them are found to be underemployed. Only 19.5% are employed at comparable occupational levels and 4.5% at a higher level (p.p. 166-167).

Approximated annual income was also substandard; 42% of households earned between only \$2,500 and \$4,999. A mere 2% of the households reported incomes exceeding \$10,000.

This trend, by all indications, remains characteristic of refugees. According to surveys conducted between 1975 and 1986 by the United States Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) (1987, in Chantavanich & Reynolds, 1988), the unemployment rate of Indochinese within any given year of arrival may be as high as 50%. It has, in addition, been estimated that only 20% of Indochinese refugees live above the poverty line during the first four months of resettlement (declining to but 57% after three years) and that fully 70% and 39% receive public assistance during these periods (ORR, 1985, in Tollefson, 1989). Among those who do find employment during the first year, the ORR (1985) judged that 80% attain low or unskilled jobs paying minimum wage and offering little opportunity for advancement (e.g., operatives, service workers, and laborers). Fewer than 14% had

held such positions in Southeast Asia.

A similar trend has also been reported within the Canadian labour force. Estimates of unemployment among Indochinese refugees, for example, have been as high as 25% and 32% (Deschamps, 1982; Nguyen, 1986), with those working tending to experience substantial under-employment. Indeed, a national survey conducted in 1982 by the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission (EIC) revealed that fully 84% of employed Indochinese refugees had jobs which differed from those held in Southeast Asia; of the 25% who had professional, technical, or managerial backgrounds, only 4% had found similar employment. Neuwirth (1984) further observed that as many as a third of the first jobs held by refugees are either part-time, short-term or seasonal, are non-unionized and pay minimum wage. Samuel (1987) no less concluded that "at best the majority of [Indochinese] job seekers could be placed in either low or semi-skilled occupations, particularly in the service industry, garment industry, and light manufacturing assembly type operations" (p. 69).

The economic and financial difficulties endured by refugees are by no means restricted to Indochinese populations. Among Hungarians refugees, for example, Weiermair (1971) reported that fully 70% experienced more than two months of involuntary unemployment and only 15% of the first jobs were comparable to those held in Hungary. Stepick and Portes (1986), in a study of some 499 Haitian refugees, reported that 31% were unemployed and fully 60% of the households fell below the

federal poverty level. Of those who had held skilled blue collar, white collar, or professional and managerial positions in Haiti (50%), only 6% had found similar employment. McSpadden's (1987) study of Ethiopian refugees is somewhat more optimistic: only 20% of those surveyed were unemployed. Professional or "status jobs", however, were held by only 13% and well-paying positions (full and part-time) by 21% of the Ethiopians. Unskilled or semi-skilled occupations accounted for over 50% of the jobs.

These figures are by no means uncharacteristic of refugees. Samuel (1984) has concluded that the refugee is essentially a disadvantaged labour force entrant. In analyzing the economic adjustment among refugees to Canada between 1947 and 1981 (Hungarians, Czechoslovaks, Ugandan Asians, Chileans, and Indochinese), it was found that the refugee consistently experienced greater unemployment, underemployment, and lower income than both the native born and the immigrant entrant. Though this pattern was to a degree influenced by prevailing market conditions (e.g., economic recessions and recoveries), the refugees also endured common obstacles which limited occupational adjustment. These included: (a) lack of language proficiency; (b) limited transferability of education, training, and skills; (c) lack of occupational-related information and job-seeking skills; and (d) financial pressures to accept the first available job.

Language proficiency, above all other determinants, "constitutes the sine qua non condition of a successful adaptation" (Dorais, 1987,

p. 52). This knowledge is not only a prerequisite for the understanding of and participation within a society's institutions (social, educational, political, and so forth), but is in fact critical to occupational and socioeconomic adjustment. As Kleinmann and Daniel (1981) observed, the inability to communicate will not only result in isolation and alienation, but "may lead to the entrapment of the refugee in a mire of frustration and immobilization" (p. 239).

There is little questioning of the impact of language upon adaptation. The United States Interagency Task Force for Indochinese Refugees (1975), for instance, reported not only that a "lack of language proficiency" was the principal obstacle in locating and obtaining employment, but that the majority of refugees not employed were those who did not speak English. Such was similarly concluded from a survey conducted by the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission (1982) which revealed that the unemployment rate of Indochinese refugees with no or poor knowledge of English exceeded that of those with a fluent, good, or fair knowledge (11.8% in comparison to 7.8%). Stepick and Portes (1986), in analyzing this relationship among Haitian refugees, also found that the fluent and moderate English speaking refugees were more likely to be employed than those with no or limited language skills (54% and 31% respectively).

Income also appears to be significantly related to language proficiency. Starr and Roberts (1982), for instance, found that the monthly earnings of Vietnamese refugee families (ranging from \$751

to \$251) could be correlated to the levels of English spoken by the household heads, concluding that "the higher the person's income, the better his or her English skills" (p. 606). Stepick and Portes (1986) reported of a similar relationship among Haitian refugees, adding that those with a moderate or extensive knowledge of the language were also less likely to receive public assistance. It has also been documented that refugee populations arriving to North America with relatively high levels of language proficiency (e.g., Ethiopian and Ugandan Asians) attain both greater initial income as well as greater earnings within the first year of resettlement than those groups with little prior knowledge of the language (e.g., Chileans and Indochinese) (Samuel, 1984, 1987; McSpadden, 1987).

The significant impact of language upon socioeconomic adjustment may be attributed to three principal elements. Firstly, refugees lacking adequate language skills will be limited to menial, low or unskilled occupations which require minimal communicative skills (Neuwirth, 1984). Secondly, insufficient language precludes the possibility of improving one's economic marketability through educational, vocational, and skill-upgrading programs (Stein, 1979). Thirdly, and of equal significance, lack of the dominant language greatly limits integration within the new society's social and cultural structure; inadequate language only retards the acquisition of work-related roles, norms, and skills which might otherwise contribute to the attainment of more satisfactory employment, but greatly reduces the

refugee's number of vocational contacts and opportunities (Stein, 1979).

Though the language barrier may well be the principal obstacle of socioeconomic adjustment, it may yet be compounded by limited transferability of education, skills, occupational experience and status. Unlike the voluntary immigrant who frequently resettles for the purpose of economic advancement, and who is thus better prepared as a labour force entrant (having assessed vocational opportunities consonant to training, acquired documentation of past work experience, and so on), the refugee's concern is of safety. The economic considerations of flight are therefore rarely considered, often resulting in the individual being woefully unprepared to enter the labour force. The skills of a Hmong tribesman, as Fass (1986) observed, are hardly adequate in a highly modern and industrialized economy.

Employment difficulties, however, are by no means limited to illiterate refugees of rural, agricultural origin. Though years of education attained prior to resettlement has been positively correlated with employment (Weiermair, 1971; Bach & Carroll-Seguin, 1986; Jones, 1987), few refugees are able to make use of formerly acquired skills within the first year of resettlement. Indeed, Bach (1984, in Chantavanich & Reynolds, 1988) reported that "among refugees who were professionals in Southeast Asia, only 10% found professional employment in the United States. Most of those who did find jobs

worked as operatives or in service jobs, just as did their less educated compatriots" (p. 242).

There are a number of elements contributing to this apparent negation of education and training. Stepick and Portes (1986), for example, observed that what might be an essentially skilled profession of considerable demand in a country such as Haiti (e.g., tailor, seamstress, or small commerce) may in fact be of limited demand in North America. Deschamps (1987) has further noted that the skills necessary to succeed in a country of origin may be quite inadequate in the country of resettlement. In studying former middle class Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian refugees, it was found that three quarters had received only seven years of education, yet many had been shopkeepers (50%), office workers (10%), or professionals and higher ranking members in the military or government (11%). Similar results were reported by Neuwirth and associates (1988).

Of [the Indochinese] respondents who had been professionals at home, only 36% had post secondary education, one-fifth had graduated from high school, while most of the remainder had between seven to nine years of formal education. About one-third of previous white collar workers had graduated from high school and another third had between seven to eleven years of education. Manual workers showed the highest concentration among respondents with less than six years and between seven and eleven years of education (p.p. 275-276).

On the basis of qualifications alone, then, it may be surmised that a great many refugees are unable to resume former careers. Moreover, even when the refugee is highly educated or trained, there remains the issue of documentation, certification, and licensing

restrictions (Deschamps, 1982; Samuel, 1987). Few skills and professions, other than those which operate near or at an international standard (e.g., medicine, plumbing, science, or engineering), are easily transferred to North America (Stein, 1979). Educational skills, if not obtained in either the United Kingdom or Northern or Western Europe, are similarly rarely recognized (Boyd, 1985).

Retraining, skill-upgrading and certification, in addition, is frequently a prohibitive task. Such requires not only considerable finance, unlikely to be available to refugees in menial, low paying employment, but a relative high level of language proficiency. Unfortunately, within the United States the provided English-language programs are structured to increase only "basic survival language proficiency", with ORR regulations forbidding "academic" English language preparation (Tollefson, 1989). In Canada, where financial support is provided throughout the six-month English or seven-month French language training periods, Third World refugees were until recently enrolled in courses originally designed for European immigrants with high levels of education (Neuwirth & Rogge, 1988). Not unexpectedly, Neuwirth et al., (1986) found that less than one-quarter of the Indochinese refugees who attended these courses "knew enough English to get by in every-day life" and merely one-fifth knew enough "to function in a job requiring English" (p. 269).

In addition to language, educational and skill-related deficits, the refugee is apt to be further handicapped by a lack of both

employment-related information and job-seeking skills. Stein (1979), for instance, noted that the resettled individual is commonly without knowledge of not only the very regulations governing the employment of alien workers, but of the structure of the labour market (e.g., operating industries and services) and the means of accessing potential employers. Indeed, Chan (1987) found that none of 119 Indochinese refugees surveyed had attained employment through such conventional avenues as employment agencies or newspaper advertisements; an overwhelming 70% had used personal networks consisting of friends (50%), relatives (9%), or sponsors (7%). The most successful job-seeking technique was found to be "word-of-mouth". Such reliance upon personal networks was similarly revealed by Deschamps in 1982 (Canadian Employment Centers accounted for only one of eight jobs obtained by the surveyed refugees) as well as by Stepick & Portes (1986).

Those [Haitians] who found employment did so largely with the help of relatives and friends ... Governmental and private aid agencies offered little help: less than two percent of the males and less than six percent of the females found employment in this manner (p. 339).

On the basis of the above studies, it may be surmised that the refugee's lack of employment-related knowledge is compensated by known others' links to prospective employers. This linkage to the labour force may in large be attributed to two work-related developments which have arisen from the continuing influx of refugees to Northern America. Firstly, the absorption of refugees by both the United States and

Canada has given growth to the formation of ethnic and refugee communities. Such have not only served to welcome, support, and assist refugees, but have facilitated the informal exchange of resources, information, and advice (Lieberman & Berman, 1979). "Perhaps, most important, it is through [such] informal refugee networks that many refugees find jobs, having been referred to employers by other refugees (Gallagher, 1988, p. 246).

The influx of refugees, in addition, has contributed to the formation of private resettlement or sponsorship groups. Arising in the latter seventies in response to the Indochinese exodus, these "host programs" assume the "financial and moral responsibility" of the refugee during the first year of resettlement. Among the services provided are: (a) provision of shelter, food, clothing, and monthly allowance; (b) provision of social and emotional support; (c) English language training; (d) upgrading or retraining of vocational skills; and (e) procurement of employment (Liu et al., 1979; Neuwirth & Clark, 1981).

Though communal networks and sponsors may well provide arriving refugees with invaluable support and assistance, one might keep in mind that both may also handicap the individual. Occupational opportunities obtained through compatriots, for example, are likely to be limited to menial, low paying vocations. Indeed, and as Viviani (1988) observed, the arriving refugee's employment contacts are frequently restricted to those of the community which are, of course, limited by virtue of the

members' language, educational, and skill deficits. "The effect of these factors is to concentrate employment in these areas [requiring neither English nor skill aptitude] and thus to restrain occupational mobility and integration into the wider community" (p. 186). Rogg (1974) and Pisarowicz and Silverman (1977), among others, have further noted that ethnic communities tend to perpetuate the maintenance of the original language, roles, customs and conventions - not uncommonly to the extent that "community pressure in the form of gossip and censure may be exerted on anyone who tries to live outside traditional patterns" (Tollefson, 1989, p. 24). Baskauskas (1981), in discussing Lithuanian refugee experience, provides an example of this phenomenon:

[There evolved] a reconstructed community which reflected former life in urban Lithuania with its numerous political parties, interest groups, voluntary associations, calendrical and personal festivities, all involving the use of the native language. The wide range of society with its numerous socio-economic distinctions was maintained, so that although the person was now a manual laborer, in the community he was still a corporal in the army, a major landowner, an important poet or son of someone important . . . Any individual who attempted to integrate even minor local customs was immediately faced with community sanctions in the form of gossip, ridicule and open hostility, though the customs be as insignificant as a woman showing her legs or wearing nail polish, or a man drinking mixed drinks (p. 282).

Sponsorship programs have also been reported to be problematic. Such can largely be attributed to the fact that these groups have been permitted to operate independently, without an established nor uniform procedure to regulate their structure and organization, financial resources, or methods by which to fulfill the obligations to

the refugee (Minetta, et al., 1975). Many, in addition, have accepted the responsibilities of sponsorship out of a "spontaneous act of compassion ... goodwill, or reasons of personal growth" (Neuwirth & Clark, 1981, p. 134). The result, as Neuwirth and Clark noted, has been a number of agencies which have lacked either the financial or human resources, the organization and cohesion, or the education and training necessary to meet both the material and socio-emotional needs of the refugee. Practices employed to facilitate adjustment to North American culture have ranged from alienating clients from an ethnic community in the belief that as "they're not at home anymore, they shouldn't segregate themselves from us", to encouraging such contact on the grounds that "refugees need the support of their own group ... to facilitate adjustment ... in that way they are less of a burden on the sponsors and on the general society" (Neuwirth & Clark, 1981, p. 139). Financial assistance has also fluctuated (monthly allowances ranging from \$33 to \$117 per person) while employment assistance has been frequently inadequate.

Most of the refugees have been placed in unskilled, deadend and low paying jobs. As a rule sponsors also have not made any provisions to further improve or upgrade the refugee's linguistic and occupational skills [other than initial enrollment within English Secondary Language Training - which tends to be insufficient] (p. 140).

One should not conclude, however, that either sponsoring agencies or ethnic communities are essentially detrimental to the refugee. Sponsorship groups, for instance, vary widely in structure, organi-

zation, expertise and resources, and while a great many may renege on their obligations, others have not only fulfilled their responsibilities, but have remained a committed source of support and assistance well beyond the first year of resettlement (Lyon, 1988). Ethnic groups and communities, though limiting integration in some ways, are also greatly facilitative, indeed critical, to adjustment. As shall be discussed in the following chapter, the community can not only provide considerable assistance which is in many ways superior to that of both sponsors and government agencies, but offers "the newcomer with at least one familiar reference point in an otherwise strange society" (Alexander, 1969, p. 92). The refugee is thus furnished with not only a sense of socio-cultural continuity which may cushion the losses of involuntary immigration, but the opportunity to both re-establish relations with similar others and to regain a sense of affiliation, acceptance, and socio-emotional security which is so essential to short and long-term adjustment (David, 1969).

In analyzing the refugee's first year of resettlement, it is clear that it is not without considerable adversity and deprivation. Alone in a strange and frightening society, with neither the knowledge nor the resources which might facilitate self-sufficiency and success, the refugee is confronted by a bewildering array of social, cultural, occupational and economic difficulties. Dependent upon sponsors and government agencies, and on occasion negated and abandoned, this individual is all but controlled by the conditions in which he or she

is placed. Indeed, and as it has been documented, the likelihood that a refugee will obtain the language, occupational, and social skills necessary to adjust and succeed is in large dependent upon the willingness and ability of others to fulfill their "financial and moral responsibilities" to the refugee. In further considering that this initial interaction with resettlement agencies in fact constitutes the refugee's first step towards acculturation and assimilation, one might well reason that it may also exert considerable impact upon the individual's subsequent willingness and capacity to adopt to and succeed within the new homeland. Tollefson (1989), in studying the Indochinese within the United States resettlement program, reached this conclusion:

The refugees of Southeast Asia are witness to both to the awesome power of individuals and nations to inflict suffering upon their fellow human beings, and to the world's effort to respond with compassion and generosity. As refugees, their lives are in the hands of the world. As participants in the U.S. resettlement program, their future is in the hands of program staff, and ultimately the American people (p. 17).

#### The Second and Third Years

This stage of adjustment, encompassing the second and third years of resettlement, is one in which the refugee strives to establish a more stable and satisfying role in society. At this point of resettlement, the refugee's focus is not so much upon survival and attaining mere self-sufficiency as it is upon the recovery and/or the rebuilding of that which has been lost through displacement (Stein, 1981). Be this demonstrated in attempts to attain a higher standard of living,

to complete schooling, or to procure employment consonant to former socioeconomic status, there is a relative effort among refugees to 'develop their potential' (Scudder & Colson, 1982).

This change in the refugee's pattern of behavior, from 'clinging to the familiar' to increasing participation within the society of resettlement, may be attributed to an 'unfolding' of needs and priorities. Adler (1977) and Nguyen (1987) have postulated that the process of adjustment experienced by refugees is not unlike Maslow's (1970) theory of motivation and hierarchy of needs; a refugee will not seek to gratify the higher need for esteem (e.g., upward mobility, socioeconomic status) until the more basic physiological, safety, and social needs have been gratified (e.g., self-sufficiency, social affiliation). Thus, the drive to develop potential, to recover the socioeconomic roles and status lost through displacement and resettlement, may be expected to emerge only after the refugee has attained a degree of both economic self-sufficiency and socio-emotional security.

According to this argument, the second stage of adjustment must be precipitated by a degree of economic and social adaptation. Though the previous chapter focused upon the difficulties confronting the arriving refugee, a number of these may in fact be ameliorated by time (Stein, 1981). The willingness of refugees to accept unskilled, low paying jobs, for instance, allows a significant majority to attain employment by the end of the first year of resettlement. Indeed, Deschamps (1982) observed that the average 1981 Indochinese arrival to Quebec entered the labour

force after eight months of residence (allowing for the completion of language training), and that fully 87% of the heads of households were employed after one year of settlement. Grenier (1986) noted a similar pattern among 1981 Indochinese arrivals to Canada; whereas only 30% were employed after three months of residence, this proportion increased to 50% after six months and 90% after one year. Among the 1968 and 1969 Czechoslovak refugees to Canada, the rate of employment likewise increased from 29% after one month to 92.2% after one year (Research Projects Group, 1975). Rates of employment among the 1972 Uganda Asian arrivals rates ranged from 86.3% after six months to 93.3% after one year (Research Projects Group, 1974) while over 90% the 1971 and 1972 Tibetan refugees had found work by 1974 (Research Projects Group, 1976).

The refugee, within the initial period of resettlement, is also likely to have reestablished a sense of socio-cultural and emotional security. Kelly (1977), for example, found that Indochinese refugees, having been dispersed across the United States so to avoid impacting any one community, had within a year formed substantial communities in Dallas, New York, New Orleans, and Los Angeles. As of 1980, the Indochinese population in California's Santa Clara County alone was approximated to be 15,000 (Indochinese Resettlement and Cultural Center, in Finnan, 1981), and by 1984 nearly 40% of all Southeast Asian refugees admitted to the United States were residing in California. In April of 1990, Time Magazine reported that an estimated 80,000 Vietnamese and 40,000 Cambodians had respectively made Orange County and Long Beach

their home.

This pattern of secondary migration among refugees has also been observed in countries other than the United States. In Australia, for instance, substantial Indochinese enclaves have arisen in particular suburban locations in Melbourne and Sidney - despite a settlement policy of nation-wide dispersal (Viviani, 1988). In England, Southeast Asian refugees have actively relocated from initial placements in small, rural towns to the centers of London, Birmingham, Manchester, and Bradford. In fact, the Vietnamese population in London increased by 2,000 between 1982 and 1984, with a great many of the refugees having chosen "to move from even reasonably spacious accommodation in the north to very overcrowded conditions in the south, where they could be near members of their own community and where employment prospects were better" (Hitchcox, 1988, p. 326).

Though studies of secondary migration among refugees have focused predominantly upon those of Southeast Asian origin, there is little evidence to suggest that this trend is culturally specific. Poles, Rumanians, Czechs, Afghanis, Ethiopians, Iranians, and Iraqis have also been observed to gravitate toward existing ethnic communities (Forbes, 1986), as have Cubans (Rogg, 1974), Dominicans (Bray, 1987), and Haitians (Stepick & Portes, 1986). Indeed, Tyhurst (1980) has no less than concluded that refugees may be uniquely motivated to seek group affiliation, with the experience of 'exposure to disaster' serving as a 'precontact condition'. Though varying in quality (ranging from war to

famine) and extent (some devastating, others merely dislocating), this 'exposure' apparently anchors refugees within a 'collective experience' of loss and change, furnishing a unique sense of mutual likeness, solidarity, and affiliation.

Colson (1971) observed a similar phenomenon among resettled African tribesmen.

It is a truism that kinship comes into its own in times of trouble, when people turn to those with whom they feel a bond based on something stronger than congeniality or economic interest. The dogma of kinship solidarity was reinforced throughout the resettlement period as men turned to kinsmen ... when they felt threatened with extinction, or with the extinction of their humanity through being pushed into the bush to become like animals, they clung to known kinsmen who shared with them the responsibility for the perpetuation of their heritage and clan  
(p. 71).

In considering the provided observations, there appears grounds to reason that refugees - given time - will likely relocate to or within proximity of an ethnic/refugee community. Indeed, one might expect such of any individual who is culturally and emotionally alienated from familiar terrain. Similar others not only provide an invaluable sense of commonality, of socio-cultural and socio-emotional reciprocity and understanding, but they allow for a "feeling at home in a new place" (Scudder & Colson, 1982). Though such identification and involvement with a minority group may be perceived as askew to the process of acculturation and assimilation, indeed "as a barrier that keeps the refugee in an ambivalent position midway to nowhere between the lost homeland and the new society" (Stein, 1981, p. 17), it may also be

considered essential to both short-and-long term adjustment. It is, after all, primarily the ethnic/refugee community which enables the refugee to attain the sense of socioeconomic and socio-emotional security which is so imperative to adaptation. In thus facilitating the gratification of the refugee's more basic needs, the community in effect empowers the individual with the ability to develop his or her potential - an endeavour which may well necessitate increased exposure to and interaction with the host society.

There is little questioning of the persuasive influence of the community upon adjustment. Alexander (1969), for instance, observed that groups of similar others provide "the newcomer with at least one familiar reference point in an otherwise strange society" (p. 72). David (1969) further noted that a community may serve as both a buffer and a bridge between the old and new cultures, allowing the refugee "to reflect on the novelty of new experiences and to regain the inner security and self-respect so essential to effective continuation of normal life processes" (p. 37). Such functions alone, as Taft (1973) and Bochner (1981) recognized, may both contribute to a sense of socio-cultural continuity as well as lessen feelings of isolation, disorientation, uprootedness, homesickness and nostalgia.

Communities, in addition, provide the refugee with considerable assistance and support. A study conducted by the Stanford Research Institute (1983), for example, revealed that a number of Indochinese communities in the United States have established self-help or mutual

assistance associations (MAAs), many of which offer educational, employment, and mental health services. Haines et al. (1981) have reported that it is not uncommon for members of Vietnamese communities to assist newcomers in the learning of English and interviewing skills, to obtain employment, and may even offer temporary work until more viable employment is attained. Chan (1987) observed a similar pattern of informational and resource exchange among Indochinese refugees within Canada, noting that friends and relatives not only served as the principal link to the labour market, but provided financial assistance during periods of unemployment.

Refugees within a given [Indochinese] ethnic community [may also] pool money for both living expenses and to begin business ventures. The community thus serves as a surrogate banking institution. Moreover, shared housing is used to minimize expenses and increase the likelihood that employment will lead to self-sufficiency (Gallagher, 1988, p. 246).

The value of communal assistance and support, however, should not be viewed strictly in terms of quantity of services or resources rendered. As Adelman (1988) has pointed out, tangible aide - financial, educational, or otherwise - is "supportive" only to the extent that its accompanying message is so too. In other words, "its not what you say (give), but how you say (give) it" (p. 188). Stein (1981) has further noted that the assistance provided by a community may well be superior to that offered by resettlement agencies.

Refugees are helped because they are helpless; they must display their need and helplessness; the caseworker can not accede to all who are needy and must shield him or herself from emotional involvement; the cool attitude of the caseworker conveys suspicion

to the refugee about his or her truthfulness (p. 327). Assistance, when received, is thus often perceived as originating from obligation rather than genuine charity, conducive to feelings of subjugation and humiliation rather than of mutual respect and acceptance (Keller, 1975).

Communities, on the other hand, may lack the resources available to government agencies and sponsors yet nevertheless enhance socio-emotional adjustment. In part, this may be attributed to such commonalities as language and socio-cultural conventions which improve communication and therefore the understanding of a newcomer's needs and problems. Of equal significance, however, the community members may also have endured the experience of involuntary displacement and resettlement, with the result that the newcomer is perceived and accepted as a uniquely similar other. The assistance provided is thus likely to originate from a spirit of solidarity and affiliation, of an "in-the-same-boat fellowship" (Solomon, 1979; Haines et al., 1981). The accompanying message is therefore apt to reflect this spirit, and thus contribute to feelings of intimacy and reciprocity, acceptance and belonging (Finnan, 1981).

The provision of tangible assistance is but one of many attributes of the community. Of equal benefit is the fact that the presence of similar or comparable others enables the refugee to affirm his or her life situation; in terms of the past as well as the present and the future. This function includes not only the maintenance of socio-

cultural roles and conventions through participation within ethnic organizations and institutions, but a validation of the displacement-resettlement experience itself. The community, as Tyhurst (1980) and Kunz (1981) noted, anchors members within a "collective experience", furnishing a sense of group identity and solidarity derived from the common experience of having fled the homeland.

Such group identity, though conducive to a "fortressing effect" and thus limiting integration if extreme in degree (Berry, 1976), nevertheless appears critical to refugee adjustment. Apart from creating an atmosphere of unity and affinity which may counter feelings of uprootedness, loss, isolation and alienation (Mayadas & Lasan, 1981, in Glassman & Skolnick, 1982), it greatly facilitates the establishment and maintenance of mutual aid networks. Lieberman and Borman (1979), for example, observed that social units which move-in-mass (not unlike refugee movements) often function as loosely structured "self-help groups", providing members the opportunity to not only share information and resources, but to engage in mutual self-disclosure and problem-solving. Though obviously facilitative to the process of adjustment within the country of resettlement, such may also enhance adjustment to the losses and traumas sustained through displacement and flight. Both Cienfuegos and Monelli (1983) and Arnston and Droge (1987) have reported that the communication and sharing of traumatic events with similar others may not only improve the understanding and acceptance of these experiences, but may alleviate associated symptoms of depression

and anxiety, guilt and anger, social withdrawal, and sleep disturbances.

The community may also enhance adjustment in that it "initially provides a comparison reference group for refugees so that they may evaluate their own occupational performance or social status in the United States [or elsewhere] according to the performance of other people in similar circumstances" (Pisarowicz & Tosher, 1982, p. 74). Though again seemingly askew to the notion of acculturation and assimilation, such might also be considered "as a process of creating an order appropriate to the new environment" (Finnan, 1981, p. 307). As Finnan elaborates, an established occupational and social hierarchy may provide a number of facilitative functions: (a) it provides the newcomer with a sense of structure, with perceivable and understood roles and relationships; (b) it sets a criteria for acceptable vocations which is consistent to member's skills, interests, and aspirations; and (c) it may reduce "downward mobility" in that these occupations are also likely to be granted high socioeconomic status. A refugee may therefore experience downward mobility, relative to his or her position held in the homeland, yet be awarded a comparable level of status.

In having considered the principal facilitative functions of the community, there appears grounds to reason that this structure does much in "paving" the refugee's way to the second stage of adjustment. Not only do comparable others provide a sense of socio-cultural continuity which may allow for the "feeling at home in a new place", but the offered support and assistance may do much in cushioning both the

materialistic and socio-emotional losses of displacement. In addition, the provision of assistance, guidance and direction in identifying and establishing new occupational and socioeconomic roles contributes greatly to self-sufficiency and thus the gratification of this basic need.

In thus having attained a sense of both economic and socio-emotional security, there may be an emergence and a pursuit of new priorities. Indeed, in having both survived and improved upon their situation, a great many refugees experience a renewed sense of optimism, ambition, and determination (Chan, 1987), believing that just as hard work, perseverance, and sacrifice enabled them to overcome past privations, so too will such contribute to future success (Haines, et al., 1981). McSpadden (1987) provides an excellent example of such behavior among Ethiopian refugees attending college.

Particularly impressive is the intense effort put into getting a college education, an effort which would not have been necessary in Ethiopia. Typically they will go to school all day, and juggle one or more jobs part-time. Once they understand how to do this combination, school becomes clearly the top priority (p. 814).

Finnan (1981) too observed such a pattern of ambition, determination, and sacrifice among Vietnamese refugees working within the electronics industry of Santa Clara County.

Vietnamese generally are willing to sacrifice material comfort, such as large homes, for white collar jobs, in part because the jobs carry more status, but also because they appear to have more potential for advancement. Many refugees are eager to work as many hours of overtime as possible. The potential for overtime often influences job choice. It is also not unusual for refugees

to work two shifts back-to-back at two different companies ... They spend little money on entertainment and clothes. As a result, many of the students at the private [electronic] job training centers save enough money to pay the \$1,500-\$2,000 tuitions (p. 301).

One should not conclude, however, that determination and resiliency alone may produce substantial occupational and socioeconomic advancements. Though it may well be true that a majority of refugees claim to be "pleased" or "satisfied" with their lives (Portes, 1969; Rogg, 1974), and may in fact "better off in their own eyes and in the eyes of the social analyst" by the second or third year of resettlement (Scudder & Colson, 1982, p. 275), this improvement must be considered within the parameters of the refugee experience itself.

Accordingly, the perception of improvement common to both the refugee and the social analyst is likely to be relative to the refugee's own past conditions of living: both physical and socio-emotional, within the country of origin, during flight and interim asylum, as well as during the initial stage of resettlement. Indeed, considering the many losses, hardships, and privations a refugee may endure, the simple attainment of safety, self-sufficiency, and socio-emotional security may be suffice to restore feelings of relative well-being and satisfaction. Stein (1979) has further pointed out that it is not uncommon for refugees to surpass their former standard of living, particularly when migration is from an underdeveloped to a developed country. Unskilled refugees, for example, may well find that menial, entry level jobs in North America provide a rise in both occupational status and income,

while downward mobility experienced by more skilled refugees may be cushioned by financial and material gains unattainable in the homeland. Lastly, one may again note that the second stage of adjustment is one of recovery and rebuilding, of the development of potential. The refugee's focus is not so much upon the past and present as it is on the future. Emphasis is therefore upon the setting and striving toward goals (rather than the actual attainment of goals), with difficulties perceived not so much as obstacles but as hurdles to be overcome through determination and perseverance.

This notion thus accounts for the refugee's sense of optimism and resolve to succeed despite a number of persistent and debilitating obstacles. Unfortunately, determination and ambition alone are rarely sufficient to overcome either language difficulties, educational or skill deficits, or even the initial plunge into menial, low paying employment. Neuwirth and Clark (1981), for example, found that Indochinese refugees, having been placed in deadend, minimal-wage jobs prior to adequate language acquisition, remained in a 'double bind'.

They needed to improve their knowledge of English: yet considering the type of jobs they were holding and the hours they work, the chances of doing so either at work or in night courses were slim. Without qualifying for any retraining or skill upgrading programs, these refugees would not be able to raise their present occupational status and would remain in marginal jobs (p. 137).

Studies confirm the above observation that language and skill deficits continue to plague refugees well into the second and third years of resettlement. Deschamp's (1982) study of Indochinese refugees

residing in Quebec, for example, revealed that of the 32% who were unemployed after two years of resettlement, fully 90% reported the cause to be language-related

In addition to this rather basic handicap, many of the refugee's occupational qualifications were not directly applicable, either because they needed to be adapted in the cases of the few specialized occupations that were still in demand, or because the host society had no need for these skills. In either event, many refugee's full integration into the work force ultimately necessitated retraining or complete reorientation, which is difficult to achieve without formal training. Once again, the obstacle posed by language was enormous since training is designed for Canadian workers and is based on the assumption that the trainees have a good working knowledge of French and English (p. 109).

One can not assume, in addition, that language-related difficulties may be substantially ameliorated by time. Mere exposure to language is insufficient for its acquisition (Kleinmann & David, 1981), and even the process of coping with daily demands may not significantly contribute to language proficiency. Neuwirth et al. (1986), for example, reported that of the surveyed Indochinese refugees who had resettled in Canada in 1981, fully three quarters had only a "poor" or "fair" command of English by 1983. The proportion who claimed to be "fluent" in 1981 (only 1%) increased to merely 2.3% in 1983, and those with a "good" command of English increased from 10% to 18%. As many as two-thirds of the refugees reported no change in their level of proficiency, and 11% believed that their English had deteriorated. Of the 20% who reported of language improvement, the majority had arrived with no language ability whatsoever and rated their English as but "poor" three

years later.

In considering the above studies, one might well conclude that a significant number of refugees are apt to experience limited occupational adjustment within the second and third years of resettlement. Though utilization of personal networks and mutual aide associations may increase vocational opportunities and thus too the likelihood of attaining a higher paying job, employment is nevertheless likely to be restricted to those occupations demanding few skills. In addition, it can be assumed that such refugees, disadvantaged by language and skill deficits, may well be the first victims of an economical decline or recession, among "the last hired and the first fired" (OOR, 1985).

There is, in fact, little questioning of the continuing impact of language and skill-related deficits. Panel-surveys conducted between 1975 and 1977 by the United States Interagency Task Force on Indochina Refugees (1977), for example, revealed that while employment of heads of households increased during this period (from 68.2% to 95.%), fully 60.6% of the former white collar refugees remained in blue collar jobs while two-thirds of those in white collar positions had been confined to clerical or sales work. Though income also increased (the number of households earning less than \$400 per month decreased from 52.4% to 22.4%), the proportion of households receiving public assistance declined by only 7.6%: from 39.6% in 1975 to 32% in 1977.

In the early eighties, the economic recession further hindered the

occupational adjustment of refugees. In 1982, for instance, one of every four refugees seeking work in the United States remained unemployed and fully 42.3% and 36.3% of the 1980 and 1981 arrivals could not find work (in comparison to 22.5% and 12.5% of the 1979 and 1975 arrivals) (United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1983). Among Indochinese refugees, Whitmore et al. (1989) observed a similar trend, with those arriving in 1982 significantly more likely to be unemployed (75%) than those who had been resettled for either two years (52%), three years (35%), or four years (30%). Household income also rose with length of residence, increasing from approximately \$800 a month after one year to \$1,200 after three years and almost \$1,600 following four years. It was also observed, however, that the number of households with two or more jobs had increased (from 13% after one year to 32% and 47% after three and four years) and that no less than 26% of the households continued to receive public assistance even after four years of resettlement.

Underemployment also remained characteristic of Indochinese refugees. Dunning (1989), for example, reported that only 10% of the 1975 to 1979 Vietnamese arrivals to the United States had obtained professional, technical, or managerial positions by 1980. The more common occupations were either blue collar or semi-skilled, including electrical assembly and repair (15%), clerical work (10%), metal machinery (7%), fabrication and repair of textiles (6%), and food and beverage services (4%). Roberts and Starr (1989) similarly noted that

80% of working Vietnamese refugees were in lower or upper working class occupations, most often holding semi-skilled or machine operative positions. Bach, in 1984, estimated that only 15% the Southeast Asian refugees working within the United States could be classified as professionals; technical, sales and administrative support accounted for 24% of the employed refugees, service 22%, precision production, craft and repair 21%, and operatives and fabricators 19%. The refugees, moreover, tended to hold low-skilled positions. Within the service industry, for example, nearly 40% were involved in food preparation and distribution while 25% were janitors and cleaners.

Refugees within the Canadian labour force have fared no better. A study conducted by Deschamps (1987) during the recession revealed that a greater proportion of 1981 Indochinese arrivals were unemployed at the end of 1982 (32%) than at the end of their first year of resettlement (18%). Though 41% of those employed reported having obtained more permanent work during this period, the proportion of professionals and administrators had increased by but 3% (from 3% to 6%). Those in clerical and sales positions had remained at 7% and the number in manufacturing and service industries had increased from 69% to 74%. Fully 73% of the refugees reported difficulties in meeting household financial needs and nearly half (46%) of the heads of households had received unemployment insurance benefits in 1982. The number of social aid recipients during this year was 29%.

Grenier (1986) also observed such a pattern of limited adjustment

among Indochinese refugees. Approximately 20% of the 1981 arrivals experienced unemployment during 1983 (in comparison to 9% in 1981) and 13% could not find work for six months or longer (as opposed to only 4% during the initial year of settlement). Occupational mobility was found to be minimal, with the number of professionals increasing by only 2% (from 3% to 5%) and white collar and sales persons from 4% to 6%. Though average weekly income rose from \$202 in 1981 to \$240 in 1983, so too did the proportion of refugees earning less than \$3,000 per year (from 4.3% to 14.2%). It was estimated that 68% of the surveyed families fell below the poverty line of \$21,000 for a metropolitan family of five and 48% below the rural level of \$15,500.

Abella (1984), in analyzing the distribution of immigrants in the Canadian labour force, also reported of limited occupational adjustment among the Indochinese. With the exception of those refugees employed in natural sciences and engineering (9% of those surveyed), the majority were found to be in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations. Product fabricating and assembly accounted for 18% of the employed males (23% of the working females), service 17% (23%), machining and related occupations 9%, and processing occupations 8%. Though males in product fabricating were most often classified as mechanics and repairers, those within service occupations were more likely to be janitors or cleaners while the largest number in machining worked in metal shaping and forming. Both sexes in the processing category tended to be associated with food and beverage industries. Women, however, were more likely to

be employed as sewing machine operators in product fabricating and, when in clerical work (20.9%), serve as cashiers, tellers, or typists.

Though recent research has predominantly utilized the Indochinese in studying occupational adjustment, one should not assume that the difficulties are not uncommon to other population. Indeed, Davie (1947) found that even the most successful of the European groups admitted to the United States between 1937 and 1941 experienced increases of over 20% in blue collar workers. Richmond (1967) no less observed that 57% of the post-war immigrants to Canada had not entered their intended occupations by 1961, while the Canadian Department of Manpower and Immigration (1975) reported that nearly a third (31%) of the 1969 arrivals had not obtained similar employment by 1972. Contributing factors were found to include nonrecognition of qualifications or experience (44%), unavailability of the intended job (21%), and language difficulties (16%).

The Research Projects Group (1975) noted a similar trend among the 1969 Czechoslovak refugees; 58% of the entire population and 40% of those with professional and technical backgrounds were in dissimilar work following three years of resettlement. Polish and Greek refugees too have endured occupational adjustment difficulties, with as many as 40% and 32% dropping permanently from skilled to semi-skilled and unskilled positions (Burnley, 1972). Among Cuban exiles, whose adaptation has been heralded as a "success story", Wenk (1968) observed a 20% decline in the professional, skilled, and business sectors. Moncarz

(1970), in studying the adjustment of selected health professionals within the Cuban community, also noted a pattern of limited adaptation. Though over 90% of the physicians and nurses remained in the medical profession (owing in large to the 1961 Post-Graduate Medical Program for Cuban Refugees), as many as 51% of the pharmacists, 50% of the veterinarians, and 32% of the optometrists were unable to resume their careers in any capacity.

The success of refugees who do effect substantial occupational and socioeconomic mobility appears to be a derivative of three personal attributes brought to the country of resettlement: (a) higher than average education; (b) high language proficiency; and (c) a general knowledge of the new socioeconomic structure. In a comprehensive study of 1957 Hungarian refugees to Canada, Weiermair (1971) found that of the 51.6% who were reestablished within their former occupations by 1961, all had above-average education in comparison to their compatriots, as well as appreciably higher scores in English and employment-related information at the time of arrival. Of those who changed occupations involuntary (27.9%), and who attained the least status and income gain, all cited difficulties in degree or licensing recognition. This group, however, also had significantly lower scores in language proficiency and information than those refugees who changed vocations voluntarily and for the reasons of better pay, employment security, occupational satisfaction or career opportunities (20.5%). It was concluded that the combination of above-average education, language

proficiency and information maximized the transfer and use of work-related qualifications and experience, facilitated skill-upgrading and certification, and accelerated the process of familiarization and thus adaptation to economic conditions.

There is in fact little question of the impact of pre-arrival background upon adaptation. Educational attainment, as Jones (1987) observed, is commonly linked to both urban residence and "urbanization", and thus may well be associated with greater familiarity with the modern, industrial infrastructure which is so common to Western nations. Schooling, in addition to providing opportunities to study both English (Neuwirth et al., 1986; McSpadden, 1987) as well as those subjects which might encompass Western principals and practices (Montero, 1979), may also greatly facilitate language acquisition itself. As Kleinmann and Daniel (1981) observed among Indochinese refugees:

Second language learners with limited formal education in their first language simply do not have the experience or skills necessary to formalize language data into rules which they can refer. In this connection there is little difference between uneducated Indochinese refugees and other uneducated foreign adults. Both groups are unable to develop a sophisticated enough Monitor [conscious linguistic knowledge and rules used to edit that which is learned] in formal second language learning environments (p. 242).

The above observations are not without substantiating data. Green and Reder (1986), for example, found that Hmong refugees with formal education scored significantly higher in language proficiency tests than the noneducated (an average score of 70.3 versus 28.3), and literates higher than nonliterates (scores of 68 and 29.7 when compared

to literacy in Lao; scores of 62 and 27.3 when compared to literacy in Hmong). Desbaretts (1986) similarly observed such a pattern among Sino-Vietnamese and ethnic Vietnamese refugees; of those with 9 to 18 years of education, the proportion who were able to read English press was 46% and 79% respectively. Only 15% and 46% who had less than 9 years of education could read the English press. Among Indochinese refugees, De Vries (1986) found that

the major gains in language facility, in both English and French, are made by those respondents who came to Canada already equipped with relatively high levels of educational attainment. Percentage increases in ability in English was highest for those with 14 or more years of education and for those with 10 or 11 years. Those with less formal education in contrast, appear to have made little progress in language skills in the three and half years since they arrived in Canada (p.270).

In considering the forementioned studies, one may well reason that pre-arrival background may either enhance or diminish the refugee's ability to overcome the obstacles of occupational mobility. Indeed, Desbaretts (1986) found that those refugees with a good understanding of English were 1.6 times more likely to enrol in vocational training than those with little understanding, while Neuwirth et al. (1986) reported that Indochinese refugees with post secondary education were three times more likely to be enrolled in either vocational or general educational courses than those with six or less years of education.

Bach (1984) and Dunning (1989), in studying the impact of education upon employment, found that Indochinese participation within the American labour force increased by three full percentage points

with each year of education received in Southeast Asia. Bach and Carroll Seguin (1986) reported that the average education of Indochinese refugees employed or seeking employment in the United States surpassed that of non-participating refugees by 3.3 years (8.8 years in comparison to 5.5). Higher education was noted to serve as a "selling point", as a source of differentiation which provided the better educated "an edge over other Southeast Asian refugees" (p. 387).

What one might conclude from the above studies, then, is that former occupation, education and training, as well as language proficiency and employment-related knowledge, interact so to determine socioeconomic adjustment and mobility. Among refugees of professional or white collar origin, for instance, the most likely to resume their careers are those who are highly educated or trained, whose professions operate near or at an international standard, and whose levels of English proficiency and information upon arrival allow for skill-upgrading and certification. Among professions of lesser demand, or which are subjected to licensing or certification restrictions, adaptation is similarly determined: those refugees with the highest levels of the forementioned attributes are the most apt to seek additional retraining when necessary and thus able to relocate to alternative occupations of similar status and which make maximum use of former qualifications and experience. Those professionals and white collar refugees with inadequate education, training or skills, and whose levels of language proficiency prevent additional vocational training,

may be expected to drop to the blue collar or labour sectors of the economy. Blue collar refugees, on the other hand, are most likely to find equivalent employment due to the high transferability of these skills (Weiermair, 1971; Montero, 1979; Stein, 1979), though education and language are certain to be of considerable influence. Minimally skilled refugees may likewise be expected to find equivalent employment.

Occupational adjustment within the second and third years of resettlement, it seems clear, is greatly influenced by the very conditions which determined the refugee's initial socioeconomic situation. Unfortunately, the consequences of inadequate language, education, training or skills are not limited to status and income loss. Among others, Starr and Roberts (1982) have noted that the occupationally unsuccessful refugee is also likely to feel "relatively deprived either in relation to his ... previous position in Vietnam [or elsewhere] or in relation to other Vietnamese [or respective compatriots] who have found more satisfying employment" (p. 608). Montero (1979) too observed that menial, low paying employment among Indochinese refugees precipitated definite feelings of deprivation and loss of prestige. Chan (1987) reported of a tendency towards social withdrawal:

[Because of a] lack of money and time, and a host of psychological barriers such as guilt, shame, and sense of personal incompetence stemming from continued unemployment or under-employment, which became particularly acute when those one was to socialize with happened to be active in the labour force (p. 124).

Many refugees, as Chan and Lam (1983) observed, become frustrated and

angry; alcohol abuse, marital and familial conflict and abuse are not uncommon.

In addition to precipitating socio-emotional discord, unsuccessful occupational adjustment may also retard the very process of acculturation and assimilation. Unemployment, or employment within menial, low paying jobs, not only removes the refugee from the mainstream of society (Viviani, 1988), but greatly reduces opportunities for either additional language or vocational training (Neuwirth & Clark, 1981). Unable to upgrade either of these skills, the refugee is becomes essentially 'immobilized', trapped within "lower-level jobs with little remuneration or opportunity for advancement" (Montero, 1979, p. 69). There may thus be a questioning of "what good there is to live in this foreign country" (Tung, 1975, p. 9), providing impetus toward a renewed tendency of conservatism for the simple reason that there is far more to lose than to gain if integration is pursued (e.g., continued menial employment at the cost of heritage and socio-cultural identity). Such, of course, not only arrests the process of acculturation and assimilation, but may well set the refugee apart from more successful compatriots because of a resulting lesser rate of socio-cultural and socio-emotional adaptation.

It should not be concluded, however, that adaptation is simply a function of employment-related attributes. Though occupational and educational background may be among the more significant variables of influence, one would be amiss in excluding from discussion a number of additional factors. Pfister-Ammende (1958, 1967), for example, observed

that adjustment to a country of resettlement may be markedly poor when conditions prior to, during, and/or following flight are particularly stressful. Indeed, one might even hypothesize that an experience of severe or prolonged trauma may well block the resettled refugee's capacity to attain the sense of inner-security, stability, and regard which is "so essential to effective continuation of normal life processes" (David, 1969, p. 77).

There is, in fact, little questioning of the impact of experienced trauma upon resettlement and adjustment. The resulting symptomatology, often including helplessness, anxiety, mistrust and hostility, impaired memory and inability to concentrate, (Martin, 1981; Cienfuegos & Monelli, 1983), is likely to not only obstruct efforts to attain both socioeconomic and socio-emotional security, but may well be intensified by the stresses of resettlement (Cohon, 1981; Lin, 1986). Kinzie and Fleck (1987), for example, reported that while the intrusive symptoms of the posttraumatic stress disorder often wane with time, the avoidance symptoms (loss of interest in work or family, detachment, and social withdrawal) may not, "leaving our [Indochinese] patients extremely vulnerable to stress, unable to perform demanding work or academic assignments. They also remain socially isolated" (p. 83). Krumperman (1983), studying European refugees, observed that the torture and rape victims not only continued to exhibit depressiveness and mistrust of even compatriots (which was intensified by experienced discrimination, the language barrier, and employment-related obstacles), but tended to

display a "psychic numbing" which greatly retarded these individuals' ability to "feel and to relate" in marriage, family life, friendship, and work. Gonsalves (1990) found that Chilean victims of detention and torture experienced not only economic hardship and marital problems, but a sense of persecution in exile, loneliness, and alienation from existing support systems.

Matussek (1975) also observed this link between experienced trauma and subsequent maladjustment among former European internees of Nazi concentration camps. Those who had been exposed to the harshest conditions of forced labour not only exhibited greater "resignation and despair", "apathy and inhibition", and "aggressive-irritable moodiness", but were also the least likely to actively cope and adjust to environmental demands and changes upon release. These individuals in fact tended to attain neither former occupational status nor financial comfort, and frequently experienced social isolation, discontinuous social relations, and disharmonious marriages and family conditions.

They remain stuck in their concentration camp past, unable to put down any new roots either in their job or in their marriage. They find society without exception rotten and hold it responsible for the fact that their own lives are without meaning or content. They no longer feel obliged to achieve anything or to work. But the less society is able to do to fulfill these demands, the more the persons in question sink into a state of despair (p. 167).

Age too may have a significant impact upon the resettlement and adjustment process. The middle aged or older refugee, for example, may not only suffer the greatest status loss and inconsistency in having

had his or her former career severed, but is also unlikely to attain the degree of occupational mobility experienced by the younger exile. Montero (1979) has observed that a number of white collar positions, ones which are more apt to have been held by older rather than younger refugees, may be extremely difficult to recover. "Managers, in particular, would be hardest hit in attempting to translate their supervisory skills to the United States. Superior interpersonal skills [and thus too language proficiency] are a prerequisite for gaining entry into managerial ranks" (p. 40). Stein (1979) has further noted that commencing and climbing the occupational ladder is a far more forbiddable task to those with fewer years to put into the labour market. Age is not only a recognizable handicap within the North American employment sphere, reducing job and advancement opportunities for the native born and refugee alike, but the financial responsibilities of the older head of household places "a burden on the refugee to maximize his income early ... which leaves little flexibility to pursue a career" (p. 40). Indeed, Dunning (1989) found that of those Indochinese refugees who reported participating within the American educational system, over half were 18 to 20 years old and the remainder were generally 30 years of age or less.

Age may also limit the process of acculturation and assimilation itself. Whereas the younger refugee may expect that resettlement will bring about a higher life status than would be possible in an under-developed country (Stein, 1979), and is thus inclined towards integra-

tion, the older refugee's "heart and interest" commonly remains in the homeland (Price, 1968; Portes & Mozo, 1985). In fact, with both greater internalization of and identification with the original culture, society and language itself, the older individual may not only be reluctant to endure the pain of "abandoning" his or her national background (David, 1969; Simila, 1988), but may well choose to believe that he or she is simply too old to learn of a new way of life (Green & Reder, 1986). Such may not only preclude the prospect of regaining meaningful capacity, but may can contribute to feelings of dissatisfaction, immobilization and inadequacy, isolation, nostalgia and homesickness (Stein, 1979; Viviani, 1988).

Women, too, are likely to experience below-average employment and occupational mobility. These refugees, particularly when originating from more traditional, male-dominated cultures, not only tend to have lower levels of both education and language proficiency than their male cohorts (Bach & Carroll-Seguin, 1986), but are less likely to have been employed within the country of origin and thus may too lack conventional work-related skills and experience (Deschamps, 1982). Women, in addition, are burdened by membership to two or more negative status groups (sex, race, and nativity) as well as by household and child care responsibilities (Boyd, 1984). This "double duty/double burden" phenomenon referred to by Boyd may not only contribute to fatigue, demoralization, depression, and vulnerability to stress (Guttentag, 1980; Dumon, 1981; Freidenberg et al., 1989), but renders "impossible,

for reasons of time and energy, any attempts at learning the language of the host society. As a result, immigrant women who do not speak the language(s) of the receiving country remain locked into job ghettos" (Boyd, p. 1092).

Women, moreover, are commonly stereotyped (and treated) as dependents of male heads of households when resettling within either the United States or Canada (Boyd, 1975). Frequently overlooked, for example, is the need for affordable day care among single, divorced, or widowed refugee women seeking either employment or English or vocational training (Bach & Carroll-Seguin, 1986; Freidenberg et al., 1989). Indeed, both the employment status and capacities of these refugees have been devalued to the extent that the accessible training programs are more likely to foster marginality rather than integration within the labour force. Mason (1986), for instance, reported that

despite the stipulation of the 1980 Refugee Act that women must have the same employment training opportunities as men, training programs accessible to women have been inadequate and inequitable. Generally, job training programs for male heads of households are designed to prepare them for employment in the economic mainstream, while women are channeled into programs leading to marginal work such as housecleaning and cottage industry sewing. Income-generating projects for refugee women have also focused on piecework sewing, craft production, crop picking and other low paid, exploitative labour. Although this type of employment provides refugee women with much needed income, it tends to stabilize their economic status at a low level without providing them with the skills necessary for economic mobility (p.p. 101, 102).

Studies support the forementioned observations. Philzacklea (1983), for example, reported that the negative status associated with

foreign birth contributed to the holding of subordinate positions even within labour sectors dominated by women, while Arnopoulos (1979) found that immigrant women were located disproportionately "in the poorly paid labor markets where they work as domestics, chambermaids, building cleaners, dishwashers, sewing machine operators and plastic workers" (p. 3). A survey conducted by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1976, in Montero, 1979) no less revealed that Indochinese women experienced not only a higher rate of unemployment than their male cohorts (31% in comparison to 13%), but were significantly less likely to be employed full-time (73% in comparison to 82%). Though fully 51% of the women not employed cited keeping house as the reason (a mere 5% of the males did so), they were also more likely to report language as an employment obstacles (15% as opposed to 3%) and almost one-half (43%) had no education whatsoever (as opposed to 29%).

Bach and Carroll-Seguin, in 1986, reported the following finding:

Refugee men, who are of the same age, have similarly composed households, have comparable levels of former education, and have undergone similar experiences in the United States ... still have a full 15% higher labor force participation rate than refugee women (p. 397).

One might finally recount that former residence (urban or rural) may also impact upon resettlement and adjustment. Refugees of rural origin, for example, are not only unlikely to have attained the levels of education and language proficiency of their urban cohorts (Neuwirth et al., 1986; Jones, 1987; McSpadden, 1987), but may arrive with substantial skill and informational deficits. Indeed, refugees

originating from traditional labour intensive and self-subsistent agricultural cultures may not only lack the vocational skills and experience demanded by a highly mechanized, industrialized economy, but may well be unfamiliar with this system's rapid pace, regimented work days, or the practice of wage employment itself (Fass, 1986). One might expect too that the rural refugee's lack of "urbanization" and knowledge of the Western way of life would intensify acculturative stress, contribute to misunderstandings of North American social and economic roles and conventions, and enhance the difficulties of accessing and utilizing community and health care services, vocational training and employment agencies, or even public transportation. A study conducted by Strand (1989), for instance, revealed that two out of five Hmong refugees were unaware as to how to obtain job-related information and nearly half did not know where assistance could be received).

Unfortunately, the situation of disadvantaged refugees is made no better by the physical environment in which they may find themselves. With neither viable income nor the means to secure such, these refugees are likely to be forced into low income, high crime neighborhoods (Liu et al., 1979; Neuwirth & Clark, 1981). If not hidden from the view and seemingly abandoned by the society which once promised salvation and opportunity, they may well be perceived as "lazy, slowing moving, and uneducated ... [who] have come to Canada [or elsewhere] to rip off the welfare and social welfare system" (Henry, 1987, p. 216). Trapped in substandard housing and poverty, visible targets for underclass racial

stereotyping, prejudice and hostility (Rambo, 1975; Starr, 1981), what hopes and aspirations these refugees might have had may be superseded by feelings of resignation, bitterness, alienation and renunciation (Stein, 1979). As commented by a Vietnamese refugee resettled within the United Kingdom:

The more I study this culture the more I lose interest. It's almost one-way traffic, just trying to adapt and adjust in this society. The British don't try to adjust to us. I just can't say: if they won't bother with me then I won't bother with them, because as a refugee I want to be accepted (Hitchcox, 1988, p. 328).

It is apparent, in analyzing the second and third years of resettlement, that this stage of resettlement (despite its uniqueness) is in many ways reflective of the initial year. It is a period, for the majority of refugees, of not only greater socioeconomic and socio-emotional stability, but of ambition and drive to recover and to rebuild that which has been lost. The individual's ability to complete this task, however, appears to be as much a function of his/her individual attributes as it is determination and resiliency. Neither language, educational, nor skill deficits may be easily overcome, and a great many refugees are unlikely to develop fully their occupational potential.

The majority of refugees, however, may well be satisfied and optimistic at this point of resettlement, confident that determination, perseverance, and sacrifice will bring about success. Of particular concern, then, are those disadvantaged refugees (by age,

sex, education, or otherwise) who may not only experience the harshness of poverty, but be set apart from compatriots by both an 'integration lag' as well as the resulting feelings of dissatisfaction, deprivation, inadequacy and shame. Isolated and alienated, the question of developing potential is irrelevant. The existence of these individuals remains one of survival, both physical and emotional - much as it was within the initial period of resettlement. Such a condition, if not increasing vulnerability to stress and psychopathology (Lin et al., 1979; Berry & Blondel, 1982), will certainly retard the process of acculturation and assimilation and may well accentuate the bereavement common to subsequent years.

#### After Four to Five Years

This final stage of adaptation (encompassing Stein's (1981) period of a decade or more later) centers upon the acknowledgement and acceptance of the immutableness of the conditions of exile. Most refugees, at this point of resettlement, are likely to not only have completed the greatest degree of their occupational adjustment, but may well find that the goals of upward mobility and status restoration remain as distant as the country of origin (Stein, 1979); many too may have come to perceive themselves as a 'marginal citizens', severed from the homeland by time and distance, set apart from the host society by both minority status and an unrelinquishing sense of 'foreignness' (Jagucki, 1983). The refugee is thus confronted with the task of

not only accepting a number of losses associated with long-term resettlement, but of developing a new identity and status-image which is consistent to the country of resettlement rather than that of origin (Eisenstadt, 1954; Gordon, 1964).

This stage, not unexpectedly, is also marked by a renewed experience of grief and mourning (Baskauskas, 1981; Loizos, 1981). This process of bereavement, though seemingly delayed, is in fact reflective of those losses associated with long-term resettlement and which frequently come to forefront only with time (Marris, 1975). Indeed, resettling refugees may not only cling to former roles and status in the belief that they will be recovered or in hopes of returning to the homeland (thus delaying the pain associated with their loss), but may have little time to reflect upon the losses of their displacement.

[Many refugees] focus their lives on the necessities of the reestablishment of the material world and are forever busy with two jobs, making a living, saving for the next new home, new car, new summer retreat, new whatever, so that they manage to suppress the pain of the loss (Baskauskas, p. 284).

Finnan (1981) similarly observed that vocational training and employment cushioned occupational-related and socio-cultural losses suffered by Vietnamese refugees.

The refugees said they were too busy to be homesick or sad, and work helps them think about the future rather than the past. The electronics industry gives them hope. They need to believe that they will advance to counteract the effect of the hardships they have endured (p. 302).

With the cessation of occupational mobility, however, this seemingly ceaseless pattern of effort and activity is disrupted. Indeed,

it has been estimated that as many as 68% of all job changes and 75% of all occupational changes occur within the first four years of resettlement (Weiermair, 1971) - with the result that "reality and pursuit of the dream" increasingly conflict in subsequent years.

The refugee is getting older, his skills are stale, and his family demands his attention. If the goal is not near or at hand now, if the refugee has not at least returned to his occupational field, even if he is at the bottom rung, the effort is likely to be abandoned ... Determination and drive wane, discouragement sets in, and the refugee accepts the changes in his life and status. It is not uncommon for refugees to talk of their exodus as having been "for the children", reflecting the fact that they have transferred their hopes to the next generation (Stein, 1979, p. 35).

This process of relinquishing former occupational roles and status, though painful to the majority of refugees, may be particularly so among the former socioeconomic elite. Stein (1979), among others, has observed that "the higher one's former occupational status, the worse the adjustment. As [former] occupational status declines, the likelihood increases that one will attain or surpass former levels" (p. 38). Though former professionals and white collar refugees bring to resettlement the highest levels of education, language proficiency, and knowledge of the urban industrial infrastructure, these refugees also encounter the greatest number of obstacles in transferring occupational-related skills and status (e.g., non-recognition of degrees, licensing restrictions, extensive retraining). Thus, unlike blue collar and labour class refugees whose skills and status are highly transferable (Weiermair, 1971; Stein, 1979), these refugees tend to

experience a dramatic and sustained loss of status. In fact, even with considerable upward mobility, most are unable to overcome the initial status plunge (Stein, 1979). Many, frustrated and dissatisfied, become discouraged and pessimistic.

This sense of dissatisfaction and pessimism may be further intensified by age. Older refugees are not only less apt to attain their former occupational role and status (Krupinski, 1967; Montero, 1976; Stein, 1979), but are weighed upon by fears of job loss, mandatory retirement, financial insecurity and poor health (Jagucki, 1983). These refugees, in addition, may also be confronted with the prospect of being stripped of the status and esteem which might have otherwise been accorded to their age and experience in a more traditional society:

In Vietnam the elderly are considered important, integral members of the family. While given differential treatment, nevertheless they are expected to contribute in an active way to the needs of their society. This is in sharp contrast to the treatment afforded the elderly in America, where they are expected to behave in a helpless, even childlike manner (Montero, 1979, p. 31).

Intergenerational conflict, not unexpectedly, is also a source of frustration and despair among older refugees. Unlike children who are rapidly acculturated through public schooling and peers, who adopt not only the behaviors and norms of the new society, but "its fashions, surface Western ways, its instant pop culture" (Chan & Loveridge, 1987, p. 751), parents tend to demonstrate significantly less flexibility in both language acquisition and socio-cultural adaptation (Salvendy, 1983). This 'adaptational lag' not only tends to intensify generational

differences and misunderstandings, but may place considerable pressure upon the family unit. Indeed, a child may not only serve as an interpreter of the new society and thus too as the head of the household in a number of situations, but at the same time be grieved, dismayed, and embarrassed by the parent's poor ability to adapt (Lyon, 1988). The parents, on the other hand, must cope with not only a diminished image and role within the family (and the concomitant feelings of inadequacy and shame), but with the child's rapid acculturation and apparent disregard for traditional values and ideals.

For parents, children are too independent of their influence. Children are defiantly disobedient [in comparison to traditional expectations], too lazy when it comes to school work, and much too uninterested in their mother tongue, native culture and religion. Only a very few parents really understand their children's acute need to fit in and be the same as their peers (Lyon, p. 210).

Unfortunately, the refugee's sense of rejection and alienation may be further intensified by minority status and "negative valuations based on membership to a stigmatized group" (Solomon, 1976). Bach (1987), for example, found that although only 19.2% of the Mariel refugees of the much publicized 1980 Cuban exodus had served time in prison, these refugees were generally believed to be "anti-social" and "criminal". Vietnamese refugees have similarly been accorded the status of "pimps, prostitutes, and pushers" (Rambo, 1975), perceived to be both "intruders" and a "burden on the state" (Whitham, 1983), and accused of stealing and eating pets (Zucker & Zucker, 1987). In a more analytical study of some 250,000 persons of mainstream Toronto, Henry

(1978) no less reported that fully 16% were "very racist" in their views of blacks, West Indians, and Southeast Asians, 35% were "somewhat racist", and 30% "somewhat tolerant". Only 19% were "very tolerant".

Refugees, as with other minorities, may also serve as both scapegoats and convenient outlets for the frustrations of the dominant population (Ehrlich, 1973). Pitman (1977), for instance, noted that nonwhites within Canada came under increasing attack during the economic downturn of the mid-seventies. Srivastava (1983) similarly observed that "as the number of South Asians grew, they became increasingly visible. But there was no overt hostility until the Canadian economy began to decline and unemployment began to rise" (p. 38). Neuwirth and Rogge (1988) reported the following:

What some have described as compassion fatigue or apathy has to be considered as one of the psychological factors contributing to the changing attitudes of Canadians. Adverse economic conditions, especially high unemployment which peaked at 14% at the height of the recession in 1983, are partly responsible for this apathy and have contributed to an outright sense of hostility among some Canadians toward the admission of refugees and, indeed, of immigrants in general. The unfounded fear that refugees take away jobs from Canadians, which has been voiced repeatedly in the past, continues to prevail ... What is seldom understood or accepted is the fact that most refugees enter unskilled, deadend, and low paying jobs which few Canadians actively seek out (p. 257).

In 1981, as the spirit of liberality succumbed to similar fears among the American populace, the New York Times reported, "MORE HAITIANS ARRIVE IN FLORIDA: Some of the nearly 100 Haitians who arrived Saturday in Key Biscayne wait to be interviewed by immigration officials. Some area residents who were boating nearby offered them food: others shouted

'Go home'" (p. 86).

Refugees, in addition to being visible scapegoats, and targets of racial ridicule, hostility and violence (Berry & Tischler, 1978; Starr, 1981), may also be subjected to institutional discrimination. Indeed, nonwhite refugees are not only among "the last hired and the first fired", even when qualifications and job experience are controlled (Reitz et al., 1981), but have been labeled as 'welfare dependent' by the very agencies set up to assist in their adaptation. James Purcell, director of the United States Bureau for Refugee Programs in 1985, claimed that "a major obstacle to refugee [economic] self-sufficiency and the overall success of the resettlement program has been the high benefit structure of the welfare system in some states" (in Tollefson, 1989, p. 116). H. Eugene Douglas, the United States Coordinator for Refugee Affairs in 1982, similarly referred to the lure of welfare to account for the lack of gainful employment and high rates of public assistance among refugees; "I am seriously concerned ... about the apparent misuse or over-utilization of our refugee public assistance programs. Many refugees appear to regard public assistance as an entitlement" (in Tollefson, 1989, p. 117-118). Lance Clark, of the Refugee Policy Group, no less observed that "refugees are often described as unmotivated, lacking in initiative, as being unappreciative of the kind of assistance given to them, looking to others to solve their problems" (in Refugees, 1986, p. 39).

Expectedly, racism and prejudice weighs heavily upon the refugee.

Woon (in Chan & Indra, 1986), for example, reported that Indochinese resettled in Victoria, British Columbia, commonly felt themselves to be disliked and mistrusted, perceived Canadians as unsympathetic and hostile, and believed that "eventually they would get into trouble [with Canadians] ... by doing wrong things that would create bad impressions" (p. 43). Stepick and Portes (1986), in a survey of 590 Haitian refugees, found that one-third believed that Americans considered themselves superior and approximately one-half felt discriminated against by whites and blacks alike, believed that racial discrimination had limited economic opportunities, and that the American way of life weakened the Haitian family. Portes (1984), in a study of nearly 600 Cubans, found that 26.4% had experienced discrimination and 25.5% considered relations with Anglo-Americans as either hostile or distant. Fully 50.8% believed that Anglo-Americans perceived themselves to be superior to Cubans.

IT seems clear that a great many refugees remain beyond the mainstream of society, alienated by both racial and socio-cultural differences. Nguyen (1987), for example, found that 55% of some 285 Indochinese refugees who had lived in Canada for up to and beyond six years felt "moderately awkward and out of place"; no less than 95% had experienced difficulties in making Canadian friends and lacked affiliation with a Canadian organization of any kind. Dunning (1989) in a study of 555 Vietnamese refugees who resettled in the United States between 1975 and 1979, observed that 71% perceived themselves to be economically disadvantaged in comparison to non-Vietnamese Americans,

58% believed that their social status was lower in America than Vietnam, and only 13% reported that life was better in America. Fully two-thirds preferred to live in a predominantly Vietnamese neighborhood (over one-half did so), participation in social organizations was twice as likely to occur within the ethnic community (close friendships were found almost exclusively within the community), and over three quarters of the Catholics belonged to congregations which were either entirely or one-half Vietnamese. Kim (1989), in a similar study of 1975 to 1979 Indochinese arrivals, reported that the majority of refugees agreed with the statements, "I feel all alone in America" (63%), "It is difficult for me to understand the American way of life" (62%), and "I feel awkward and out of place in America" (54%). As many as 57% disagreed with the statement, "I feel that the Americans that I know like me", as did 46% to "It is easy for me to make American friends" and 42% to "I feel that I belong in American society". Significantly less than one-half the refugees agreed with the items, "As an individual, I can contribute something to American society" (26%) and "The future looks very bright for me in America" (37%).

This sense of marginality, of alienation and isolation, may yet be compounded by an acknowledgement of the permanency of exile. Watson (1979), among others, has observed that refugees not uncommonly exhibit a "myth of return", a fervent belief "that their exile is temporary and that all of a sudden a sudden or radical change in the international situation will upset the status quo and enable them to return to their

homes" (Baskauskas, 1981, p. 280). This conviction, which may persist for years (Schechtman, 1963), may both delay integration as well as provide an impetus to preserve in relative totality the original culture, socioeconomic status structure, and ideological/political orientation (e.g., the anti-communism fervor among Cuban exiles (Kunz, 1981; Portes & Mozo, 1985). The refugee, as Baskauskas noted, may continually speculate, anticipate, and prepare for a distant revolution which might reverse his or her fate. Despite all that this individual might accomplish, the seeming permanence of his/her efforts to recover and to rebuild a new life, there remains an "escape clause": a willingness to again uproot so to return to the homeland which has been sustained through golden, albeit frequently distorted, memories (Blauw & Elich, 1984; Pedraza-Bailey, 1985).

Such a mental orientation, while sustaining the refugee for a number of years, is also likely to weaken and contribute to a renewed (if not delayed) experience of loss and bereavement (Baskauskas, 1981). As the refugee ages, and the hopes of return diminish as the changes in the homeland fail to unfold according to expectations, this individual is increasingly confronted by the permanency of his or her situation: of both a lost homeland and of enduring resettlement. In thus acknowledging the permanency of exile, the refugee must also acknowledge the loss inherent to this condition: family, kin and friendship ties, the indigenous socio-cultural system, socioeconomic roles and status, even ideological convictions and goals (e.g., plans to join like-minded

compatriots in the liberation of homeland and abandoned loved ones) (Chan & Loveridge, 1987). The individual may therefore experience not only a profound sense of ideological loss and thus too purposelessness and meaninglessness, but a period of grief and mourning not unlike that initially endured following displacement: the feelings of acute anguish, yearning, and despair common to mourning, of guilt and shame for having failed to ensure the safety of those abandoned, of nostalgia and homesickness, and (not infrequently) symptoms of depression which might include outbursts of anger, crying, confusion and restlessness (Garza-Guerrero, 1974; Keller, 1975; Zwingmann, 1978; Baskauskas, 1981).

One should not assume, however, that this process of grief and mourning is symptomatic of maladaptive adjustment. One might well reason that it is, instead, reflective of significant and distressing changes within the refugee's life cycle. The individual, at this point of resettlement, is not only confronted with the task of relinquishing strong emotional ties to the homeland and loved ones, but with the prospects of aging, of remaining in lower-level occupations with little remuneration or opportunity for advancement, and of living permanently with minority status in a country which frequently neither understands nor accepts his or her heritage and culture. Many, in addition, may have loved ones in countries where conditions have worsened rather than improved. Montero (1979), for example, observed that communist rule in South Vietnam brought peace in the form of reprisal and re-education camps. "Many [Vietnamese] are worried about the reports of abuse and

torture ... and agonize over friends and relatives left behind" (p. 69).

The acknowledgement of loss and change, in addition, is essential to the process of reconciliation. Indeed, it is only through mourning and bereavement that the refugee may understand and accept that which was lost through displacement as permanent, to "move on" and form new and more integrative relationships (Lindemann, 1944; Kubler-Ross, 1969). Though it is unlikely that this individual will either sever all ties to the homeland or adopt in entirety the behaviors and customs of the new society, the act of acknowledging the permanency of resettlement nevertheless affirms his or her status as a member of this society. In addition, and equally significant, the acknowledgement of the losses and changes common to resettlement itself (e.g., occupational and socio-cultural roles and status) may not only contribute to a new identity and status-image which is more consistent to the refugee's actual rather than former position in society, but can create an awareness that 'life will never be as it was in the homeland'. This knowledge, as Baskauskas (1981) observed, not only allows the individual to relinquish the struggle to maintain in relative totality the original socio-cultural system, but to in fact "innovate", to adapt his or her ethnic identity in a manner which permits both meaningful expression as well as interpersonal effectiveness and acceptance within a heterogeneous, urban environment.

In considering the process of reconciliation, one might well conclude that it represents a turning point in the refugee's life.

Though the refugee, as Maletta et al., (1988) observed, may retain a unique sense of 'foreignness', of having come to the country of resettlement and thus forever set apart from the indigenous population, this individual is also likely to increasingly identify this country as a 'new homeland'. The acceptance of resettlement not only redefines the exile's status in relation to the new society (from a temporary to a permanent resident), but may precipitate citizenship, electoral participation, as well as increased activity within those dominant institutions which may best serve the needs and interests of the refugee as a domestic minority (Portes & Mozo, 1985). Equally significant, and as Baskauskas noted, the acknowledgement of the socio-cultural losses and changes sustained through displacement may contribute to a shift from ethnic conservatism and ethnocentrism to intercultural heterogeneity and tolerance. The refugee at this point of resettlement may be said to be "trying to combine the effects of the present and the past", weighing the costs and benefits of both the original ethnic character as well as those dominant roles, behaviors, and customs which might be incorporated so to maximize interpersonal effectiveness and acceptance in society (Simila, 1988). This process, Baskauskas concludes, not only allows the refugee to attain a sense of communality with the host population, and thus too a greater feeling of belonging and acceptance, but to establish a meaningful socio-cultural identity which is conducive to association with native inhabitants.

Adaptation in the latter years of resettlement may thus be termed

as primarily socio-cultural (rather than occupational and socio-economic), involving not so much a process of host conformity as one of a reorientation of the ethnic character. Indeed, and as Stein (1981) noted, the complete immersion of a refugee group into the dominant society may well span several generations, if it occurs at all. Though the second and third generations, born and reared in the receiving country, may well appear to be Americanized or Canadianized (and identify themselves as such), this precludes neither the transmission of cultural values and practices through intergenerational contact nor pride and interest in conserving heritage and tradition (Rogler et al., 1980).

In considering this pattern of adjustment, the issue of concern is not so much the displacement of ethnicity as it is the refugee's ability to acquire an awareness and understanding of the dominant culture so that a degree of intercultural and thus interpersonal effectiveness and acceptance may in fact be achieved (for without such knowledge the refugee is essentially isolated and alienated). As one might expect, however, the individual's capacity to complete this task is in large a function of personal attributes. As Kleinmann and Daniel (1981) and Lyon (1988) have observed, those refugees most likely to succeed may be expected to be younger, better educated, and having high levels of language proficiency; who have not only internalized the original culture to a lesser extent, and thus experience a narrower gap between the culture of origin and that of resettlement, but who in fact have the

linguistic skills, and "social au fait" to establish relations with native inhabitants. Simila (1988) has no less observed that higher education and language proficiency relates positively to the adoption of dominant roles and customs, while Rogler et al., (1980) concluded that

arrival of a younger age limits past social experiences in the traditional society and, thus, the sense of ethnic identity is less firmly established ... More education tends to weaken ethnic identity because it expands cognitive life beyond the ethnic group by exposure to alternative values and lifestyles, whether that education is received in the traditional or host society (p 195).

Tzeng and Landis (1982, in Lefley, 1985), in analyzing the impact of communication skills and cultural awareness, noted that "elevation of an individual's cultural awareness level will definitely improve one's attitudes, values, and behavioral dispositions toward the members of another race, and thus decrease intercultural gaps and/or conflicts in inter-social communications" (p. 305).

Those refugees most at risk of experiencing isolation and alienation within society, on the other hand, may be expected to be older and/or lacking in education and language proficiency. These refugees, as previously documented, are not only less likely to attain the socioeconomic mobility of their younger, more fluent and educated cohorts, frequently remaining in menial positions which offer few opportunities for advancement (Neuwirth & Clark, 1981), but may in fact retain the original ethnic character in relative totality. Lacking communication skills, these refugees may not only avoid contact with native inhabitants, encounters which may well evoke frustration and

anxiety (Abe & Wiseman, 1983; Kleinmann & Daniel, 1981), but are most apt to associate with fellow refugees who are similarly "traditionally-minded" (Starr & Roberts, 1989). This pattern of affiliation, Lyon (1988) observed, "can and does lead to insularity from the wider, dominant culture" (p. 208), limiting exposure to new behaviors and beliefs as well as involving a pattern of interaction which tends to reinforce ethnic roles and values (Starr & Roberts).

Unfortunately, though not unexpectedly, women are likely to experience even greater isolation. These refugees, frequently burdened by both the legacy of subordination in their countries of origin as well as domestic and child rearing responsibilities (Rumbaut, 1989), not only arrive with lesser levels of education and language proficiency than their male cohorts (Hoffman-Nowotny, 1978; Montero, 1979; Rumbaut, 1989), but are commonly channelled into menial, piece-work employment (Mason, 1983). Trapped in "job ghettos", unable to pursue alternatives for reasons of time and energy (Boyd, 1984), women may be further handicapped by the expectation that they are

to be the guardians of their indigenous culture, the promoters of ethnic loyalty within the family. Yet each morning they wave the children off to school knowing that their offspring are naturally becoming more Canadianized. If these women do not learn English or French, do not gain an appreciation of Canadian lifestyle, they find themselves, as the years of sacrifice grow, in the agonizing position of being rewarded with alienation from their husband and children (Fleming, 1981, in Boekestijn, 1988, p 94).

One might expect, in addition, that a number of conditions common to the process of displacement and resettlement itself may impact upon

socio-cultural adjustment. Trauma (prior to, during, or following flight), for example, may contribute to any number of socio-emotional disturbances which may not only limit occupational success (Gonsalves, 1990; Matussek, 1975), but contribute to interpersonal dysfunction and alienation. Indeed, the experience of having confronted death, brutality and violence "is never forgotten and is struggled with throughout life" (Davidson, 1983, p. 22); the individual is frequently left acutely aware of the savageness man is capable (Matussek, 1976), mistrustful and suspicious (Engelhardt, 1976; Kinzie & Fleck, 1987), and highly vulnerable to stress and mental illness alike (Cohon, 1981; Lin, 1986). Moreover, "the longer these problems are left undiagnosed ... the harder the treatment and the longer lasting these problems will be" August & Gianola, 1987, p. 829).

Conditions within the country of resettlement are too likely to impact upon the adjustment process. Initial settlement apart from an ethnic community or compatriots, for example, may effectively hamper or at least delay adaptation; it not only limits opportunities to regain a sense of socio-emotional security and well-being (Nguyen et. al., 1980), but increases susceptibility to feelings of isolation and alienation (Taft, 1973; Bochner, 1981), depression and anxiety (Salvendy, 1983), suspiciousness and paranoia (Prange, 1959; Kumusaka & Saito, 1970), and hostility and aggression (Jensen, 1966). Prejudice and discrimination may too contribute to a sense of alienation, mistrust, and hostility, (Berry, 1976) - and intensify ethnic clustering

and insularity for reasons of mutual support and protection from a seemingly threatening environment (Lyon, 1988).

Insensitive, instrumental government or agency policies may likewise adversely influence adjustment. It may be surmised, for instance, that the 1984 ORR regulation forbidding language and vocational training when minimum-wage employment is available (in Tollefson, 1989) might well foster cynicism and bitterness, if not a belief that asylum was granted for reasons other than genuine sympathy (e.g., for a cheap source of labour) (de Voe, 1981; Kunz, 1981). Indeed, and as Neuwirth and Clark (1981) have noted, such policies may not only lock refugees within unskilled, deadend "job ghettos", but retard effectively the process of socio-cultural adjustment.

Sponsors [or related agencies] act, as it were, as the direct representatives of the new society; apart from providing material assistance, they, ideally, should also guide the refugees in their initial social and cultural adjustment. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the refugee's ability or willingness to integrate will depend, to a significant extent, on the nature of their interaction with sponsors (p. 139).

In other words, as one refugee poignantly observed, "Whether or not we will be happy in America depends on you. We know that were not welcomed guests. If the people are nice, we will be happy" (Liu, Lamanna, & Murata, 1979, p. 171).

In considering the dynamics of socio-cultural adjustment, one may well conclude that it is not culture per se which determines adaptation but rather those individual and 'experiential' variables which either enhance or diminish the refugee's willingness and ability to gain an

understanding and appreciation of the new society. In fact, and as one might expect, the pattern of adaptation within any given refugee group is extremely diverse, thus confirming the supposition that country of origin is not the determining factor. Soskis (1967), in a study of some 154 Hungarian refugees who had resided in the United States for a decade, observed that 38% "felt at home" in less than a year, 46% did so after one to three years, and 16% felt that they "belonged" only after acquiring citizenship (five or more years). Wenk (1968) noted a similar pattern among 279 Cuban refugees, with the "length of time to feel settled" ranging from less than one year (7.6%) to two to three years (30%), three to five years (24%), and five years or more (11%).

In an equally revealing analysis of long-term adjustment among Vietnamese resettled in Canada, Dorais (1987) estimated that 5% of the surveyed refugees considered themselves to be essentially Canadian, speaking English or French in both public and private, engaging in predominantly 'Canadian' social activities and acquaintances, and demonstrating little interest in either the ethnic community or the homeland itself. Approximately 70% perceived themselves as Vietnamese-Canadians; while bilingual, and having Canadian contacts (predominantly work-related) and knowledge of the dominant social, economic and political issues, these individuals also maintained ties to the community and the used their native tongue among family and friends. A third group (25%) viewed themselves as Vietnamese residing in Canada, speaking exclusively Vietnamese, emphasizing heritage and tradition, and

actively organizing and participating within those cultural associations and activities which reinforced this ethnic identification

Non-integrating refugees are those who, for various reasons (general economic conditions, age, lack of professional skills, linguistic or psychological problems) cannot regain here a socioeconomic status similar to the one held in Vietnam. They are generally confined to manual labour (or to unemployment), working in factories, warehouses, hotels or restaurants without much hope of finding better jobs. Their chief interests are their families and a small circle of Vietnamese friends (p. 61).

Adjustment, in the end, as it is in the beginning, may thus be traced to a number of identifiable and consistent variables. Indeed, and as observed throughout the process of displacement and resettlement, refugees exhibit remarkably similar patterns of behavior and sets of problems, ones which may be readily addressed by professionals so that this population may acquire the skills and knowledge necessary to effectively interact within society. Unfortunately, resettlement agencies, both within countries of interim asylum and resettlement, frequently diminish rather than facilitate the refugee's capacity to complete this task. Programs and services have generally been instrumental and administered on an ad hoc emergency basis, not only negating the refugee's need for "warm, accepting, and constructive interactions" (Liu et al., 1979, p. 80), but channelling much of this population into menial, deadend job ghettos. Yet it has been the refugee who has been held accountable, swiftly and perversely labeled as "unemployable" and "welfare dependent", an economic and social burden on society (Tollefson, 1989).

Distortion and deception, however, serves no other purpose than to hide complacency, ignorance, and inefficiency. Academics and professionals, in turning a blind eye to the status quo, are not only condoning this "shot gun" approach which negates the refugee's socio-economic and socio-emotional needs, but are in fact burdening society themselves. As Tollefson (1989) and Zucker and Zucker (1987) have noted, the objective of ensuring mere self-sufficiency (minimum-wage employment), at the least possible financial cost to society, not only subjugates and humiliates the refugee, but greatly undermines this individual's capacity to develop assets, to become a contributing and valuable member of society.

It is without argument that refugee programs are in need of revision in both content and perspective. Yet if this is to transpire in a constructive and consistent manner, there is a pressing need to develop a body of academic knowledge which delineates the unique needs and problems common to this population; one which examines the refugee experience in its totality and universality so that a structured and comparative approach may in fact be attained. The study undertaken had as its purpose this very objective.

The conducted study was an observational survey designed to explore and assess the universality of the refugee experience among resettled Ethiopians, Laotians, Vietnamese, Chileans and Salvadoreans. It addressed, through a descriptive inventory of collected data, the premise that "there is a refugee experience and that this refugee

experience produces what we can call refugee behavior ... with identifiable and often identical patterns of behavior and sets of problems" (Williams & Westermeyer, 1986, p. 5). The specific objectives, accordingly, were as follows: (a) to assess and compare the psychological adjustment of the forementioned groups; (b) to identify and compare those variables which impact upon the psychological adjustment of these groups; (c) to identify the needs and problems of resettled refugees; and (d) to integrate the findings into a structured and comparative model of refugee adaptation.

## CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Subjects: Subjects, totaling 119 persons, were drawn from the Ethiopian Society of Winnipeg (17 subjects), the Lao Association of Manitoba (36 subjects), the Free Vietnamese Association of Manitoba (24 subjects), and Chilean Association Of Winnipeg (20 subjects). Due to the absence of a large, established Salvadorean association, the 22 Salvadorean subjects were drawn from both the Democratic Salvadorean Center and the Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba (IRCOM).

The original goal of 30 subjects per group, with the exception of the Laotian sample, was not obtained. Far fewer subjects than anticipated were willing to answer the questionnaire either within prearranged sessions at their community centres (as originally called for) or (when given the questionnaire to complete at their own convenience) in their own residences. This was attributed to four principal factors: (a) either in inability or unwillingness (because of time, travel, energy, or weather) to travel to and from a community centre to simply answer a questionnaire; (b) an unwillingness to answer a questionnaire among others who they may not have known or felt comfortable with (refugees, because of past persecution, may be suspicious/distrustful even in resettlement); (c) an unwillingness to answer any type of questionnaire; and/or (d) the length of the questionnaire itself (20 pages).

The groups themselves were selected for study on the basis of a three principal conditions: (a) each was among the more recent refugee populations to resettle in Canada; (b) each had a population which would apparently allow for the participation of at least 30 subjects; and (c) each was relatively distinct from the others. The Chileans and Salvadoreans, while sharing language and religion, are distinct in their history, traditions, and culture. The Laotians and Vietnamese, though sharing a border, differ in language, culture, and history.

The associations, prior to the implementation of the study, reviewed and consented to have the questionnaire answered by their members. All were fully informed of the purpose and nature of the study and ensured of confidentiality. Representatives of each of the associations were invited to the oral proposal of the study. All received a copy of the completed study.

The subjects themselves were volunteers, recruited through the associations to which they belonged. These individuals were made aware of the study either directly through the associations (the Laotians and Vietnamese were recruited by community representatives) or by the researcher (the Ethiopians, Salvadoreans, and Chileans were recruited during arranged visits to their centres). Translation, when necessary, was provided by the collaborating representatives.

All subjects, prior to answering the questionnaire, were informed of the purpose and nature of both the study and the questionnaire by either the researcher or by the representatives of associations to which

they belonged. No conditions (e.g., demographic characteristics), other than refugee status, were utilized in the selection of the subjects. Subjects were permitted to withdraw from the study at any given time and for any reason.

Apparatus: Data was collected via the Refugee Event and Adjustment Questionnaire (REAO) (Hutton, 1991) and the Symptom Rating Test-7 Scale Version (SRT-7) (Kellner, 1986).

The REAO (see Appendix B) was designed with the assistance and advice of Robert Balshaw, consultant of the Statistical Advisory Service of the University of Manitoba. This questionnaire, comprised of 60 items, elicits quantitative and qualitative data of both the refugee's history and adaptational status (social, linguistic, and economic) within a country of resettlement. The structure of the REAO is as follows: (a) individual and demographic background; (b) conditions and impact of displacement and flight; (c) conditions and impact of interim asylum; (d) conditions of resettlement, including measures of social, language, and economic adjustment; and (e) the overall impact of displacement and resettlement upon the refugee's perceptions of life as well as his/her feelings towards the countries of origin and resettlement.

The REAO, though lacking empirical measures of reliability and validity, is based upon an extensive literature review conducted throughout 1989-1990 (see supplementary reference for sources utilized in its construction). During the spring of 1991, it was reviewed by

both resettlement workers of Interfaith House, themselves refugees to Canada, and by Reginaldo Hernandez, coordinator of the cross-cultural counselling unit of Mount Carmel Clinic.

The Symptom Rating Test-7 Scale Version (see Appendix C) was utilized as a measurement of psychological adjustment. Revised and abridged from 51 to 38 items so to limit the length of the study (and the possibility of fatigue and/or boredom), the SRT-7 nevertheless retained six dimensions of symptoms which were particularly relevant to refugee populations: (a) anxiety; (b) depression; (c) somatic complaints; (d) anger-hostility; (e) cognitive symptoms; and (f) paranoia-self-reference symptoms. Included too, though not of the SRT-7, were a number of symptoms indicative of the Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), derived from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (American Psychiatric Associations, 1980).

All revisions to the SRT-7 were made with the permission of its author (R. Kellner, personal communication, February 7, 1991). The revisions included: (a) the deletion of the psychotic symptoms scale, deemed inappropriate for the present subject pool; (b) the deletion or combination of those symptoms deemed redundant and expendable; (c) the addition of symptoms deemed particularly relevant to refugee populations but not included within the SRT-7; (d) the rewording of symptoms so to enhance comprehension among culturally diverse populations; and (e) the alteration of the scoring procedure so to increase its sensitivity as well as to retain a method of assessment consistent to that employed

within the REAQ. The SRT-7, in its revised form, was also reviewed and approved of by Interfaith resettlement workers and Reginaldo Hernandez.

Though the SRT-7 Scale Version had yet to be utilized within other studies of refugee populations, it was selected for both its scope of symptomatology and the relevance of these symptom dimensions to refugee groups. Its original version, the Symptom Rating Test (Kellner & Sheffield, 1973), is also comparable to the Langner 22-Item Scale of psychiatric epidemiology (Langner, 1962) (Cochrane, 1980), which has been utilized in assessing mental health among such varied populations as Indian and Asian immigrants in England (Cochrane & Stopes-Roe, 1981; Cochrane et al., 1977), North African immigrants in Montreal (Lasry, 1977; Eaton & Lasry, 1978), Chinese in Hong Kong (Cheung, 1982), Vietnamese refugees in Northern California and the central Gulf Coast (Roberts & Starr, 1989), and Polish, Romanian, Iraqi, Vietnamese, and Hmong refugees in Detroit (Young et al., 1987). The advantages of employing the Symptom Rating Test include: (a) a broader range of symptoms due to its greater length; and (b) a more sensitive scoring procedure (Cochrane, 1980). Its symptomatology is also superior due to an inclusion of cognitive, hostility, and paranoia-self-reference symptoms.

Within the present study, the SRT-7 was utilized to assess:

(a) the overall psychological adjustment level of each group according to both the number and type of symptoms exhibited; and (b) the levels of psychological adjustment of the subjects in relation to selected

potential adjustment-related predictors (i.e., demographics, conditions of displacement, interim asylum, and resettlement).

The REAO and the SRT-7, which were administered as a single paper-and-pencil questionnaire, were translated into Laotian, Vietnamese, and Spanish (see Appendices D, E, and F). The Ethiopian subjects did not receive a translated version as the representatives of this community felt the members' level of English was sufficient to complete the study in its original form.

Design and Procedure: The implemented study was designed as an observational survey, utilizing the REAO and the SRT-7 Scale Version as the data collecting apparatus. The study was conducted between January and June of 1992.

The questionnaire was originally to be administered at the groups' community centres (in a group format) at prearranged dates and times. This was only possible, however, with the Laotian sample (all questionnaires were completed within one session). Though sessions were scheduled (and publicized) at the Vietnamese, Chilean and the Salvadorean centers (IRCOM), not a single subject arrived to participate on these occasions (four sessions were held in total).

It was therefore necessary, in order to collect data, to adapt the procedure of the study. It was agreed, on the recommendation of the Vietnamese association, that the association's community counsellors assist in the distribution of the questionnaire. The Vietnamese subjects were therefore recruited by the counsellors and consisted of individuals

who frequented the Free Vietnamese Association and who were willing to complete the questionnaire during their visit. The association was informed of the study's objectives and procedure so to maintain a degree of consistency in the administering of the questionnaire.

Ethiopian, Salvadorean and Chilean subjects, on the other hand, were recruited primarily by the researcher himself during visits to these association centres. Subjects, in this case, were directly informed of the purpose and nature of the study and, if willing to participate, given the choice of either completing the questionnaire in the presence of the researcher (i.e., at the centre) or, if unable to or preferring to answer it in private, at their own convenience (returning by mail the completed survey). Approximately one-half of the Ethiopian questionnaires were completed outside of the centre; all Salvadorean and Chilean questionnaires were completed in private.

The procedure carried for the Laotian sample, and those Vietnamese and Ethiopians who answered the questionnaire individually at their own centres, remained relatively consistent. These subjects, in both cases, were informed verbally and through a translated cover letter (see Appendix A) of the purpose and nature the study, provided instructions, and ensured that all information given was confidential and optional. They were encouraged to seek assistance when necessary and to voice concerns (if arising) during the answering of the questionnaire. Written comments and individual answers were allowed, either next to a particular item or on the page provided for remarks and comments at the end

of the REAQ. Subjects, for any reason, could choose not to answer a particular question or the questionnaire itself.

Following the completion of the questionnaire, subjects were provided the opportunity to discuss any or all aspects of the study. This period was utilized to not only address questions, comments, and concerns, but to offer the subjects an opportunity to debrief; to recognize and discuss any issues (emotional or otherwise) which may have arisen during the answering of the questionnaire. No referrals were necessary.

Subjects choosing to complete the questionnaire at their convenience were also provided all the information and instructions relevant to this study (both upon receiving the questionnaire as well as through the cover letter). These subjects, in addition, were given the researchers phone number and address for the purpose of eliciting further assistance or information if so desired (no such contact was initiated).

Approximately one-half of the questionnaires which were to be completed outside of the centres were returned to the researcher (over 100 were distributed). In total, 123 questionnaires were answered; though many were not entirely completed, only four warranted discarding.

The collected data was examined through numerical summarizations. This allowed for not only for the development of group profiles (reflecting demographics, conditions of displacement, conditions of resettlement, and psychological adjustment), but a means to compare

the findings amongst the groups so to identify common adjustment-related predictors. Primary exploration focused upon; (a) the impact of displacement upon psychological adjustment (including level of adversity and conditions endured prior to and during flight); (b) the impact of interim asylum upon psychological adjustment; (c) the impact of resettlement upon psychological adjustment (including level language proficiency, social and cultural adaptation, and occupational adaptation); (d) the impact of length of settlement, language proficiency (arrival and current levels), education, gender and age upon adaptation (including language acquisition, social and cultural adaptation, and occupational adaptation; and (e) the relationship between conditions of displacement and resettlement upon return migration.

Inadequate sample size (no group, with the exception of the Laotian sample, exceeded 24 subjects) precluded the possibility of examining the impact of specific adjustment-related predictors within each of the groups (e.g., the relation between varying levels of language proficiency or education upon the occupational adaptation of the Ethiopians). The examination of the potential predictors of adjustment was, however, supplemented through the combining of categorical data across the five group so to provide viable units for exploration (e.g., the level of occupational adaptation attained by all low English speakers might be compared to the level attained by all moderate speakers).

## CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The data collected from the REAQ and the SRT-7 is presented through numerical summaries. However, due the remarkably large and eclectic body of information which the REAQ generated, it was necessary for practical reason to both limit the exploratory scope of the study as well as to combine and collapse the data so to form manageable numerical units of examination.

To provide greater clarity, the data has been presented and discussed within units which correspond to the structure of the REAQ. These units are as follows: (a) individual and demographic background; (b) conditions and adversity of displacement and flight; (c) conditions and adversity of interim asylum; (d) social relations and adaptation in Canada, including the measure of acculturation/assimilation; (e) English language adaptation; (f) occupational adaptation (including financial status); (g) the overall impact of displacement and resettlement upon the subjects' perceptions of life as well as their feelings towards the countries of origin and resettlement (Being a Refugee); and (h) psychological adjustment as assessed by the SRT-7.

The presented data, unless otherwise indicated, corresponds directly to the answers of the REAQ.

Individual and Demographic Background (Table 1)

Ethiopians: All 17 of the participating Ethiopians were male. Over three-quarters of these subjects (12 or 71%) were 30-39 years old; the remainder fell in the age categories of 20-29 (3) and 40-49 (2). Their ages upon arrival to Canada had been 20-29 (8), 30-39 (8) and 40-49 (1). All but five were single; only four were married with children and one indicated having been separated or divorced.

The entire sample was of urban origin and had received no less than 7-12 years of education (three subjects reported this level). Over three-quarters of the subjects had either completed high school (5) or some or all of a university degree (9).

Most of the participating subjects had been students prior to their leaving of Ethiopia (7). Of those who had worked in their country, four listed professional employment, three skilled, and two clerical/sales.

Over one-third of the sample (6) had lived in Winnipeg for at least five years (one for as many as ten years). Only two subjects had resided here for a year or less, two for 1-2 years, four for 3-4 years, and two for 4-5 years. None indicated having lived outside of Winnipeg.

Laotians: This sample, the largest of the five groups, consisted of 30 males and 6 females. The majority were 30-39 years old (21 or 58%); the remainder reported their ages to be 20-29 (6), 40-49 (6), and 50 plus (2). Most had come to Canada in their twenties (14) or thirties (16).

Over three-quarters of the sample (30 or 83%) were married and all

but two of these subjects had children. Only four of the subjects were single (never married); two had been separated from their spouse.

This group also contained the largest proportion of subjects originating from rural areas (21 or 58%). Nearly one-half of the entire sample (16 or 44%) had only 1-6 years of education while an additional seven (19%) had received but 7-12 years. Only seven of the subjects had graduated from high school graduates and merely six had studied at a university (only two had graduated).

The occupational backgrounds of the subjects varied. Ten had been students or had never worked, nine had held unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, and two had had skilled positions. The remainder of the sample fell into professional occupations (6), the military (4), agriculture (2), or small business (1).

No subject had lived outside of Winnipeg. Approximately one-quarter (9) had resided in Canada for a year or less, seven for 1-2 years, six for 2-3 years, and four for 3-5 years. The remaining ten had been in Canada for either 5-10 years (8) or longer (2).

Vietnamese: The Vietnamese sample consisted of 20 males and 4 females. At the time of answering the questionnaire, eight of the subjects were between 20-29 years old, twelve between 30-39, and four between 40-49. The ages at arrival had been 15-19 (4), 20-29 (9), and 30-39 (11). Over one-half of the group was single (14 or 58%). Nine of the ten married subjects had children.

The majority (19 or 79%) had come from urban centers in

Vietnam. Many had either completed high school (8) or some or all of a university degree (8). The remaining seven subjects, with one exception (1-6 years of education), had 7-12 years .

The most cited 'former occupation' was student (7). Of the twelve subjects who indicated having worked in Vietnam, six had been involved in unskilled or skilled labour (4/2), two had worked in the semi-professional or professional sector, and four had been in the military.

Nearly one-half of the sample (10) had been in Canada for 1-3 years while five had been here for 3-5 years. Nine subjects reported their residence to be at least 5 years (six indicated 5-10 years, three 10 or more years). Only one subject had resided outside of Winnipeg.

Salvadoreans: This Central American group contained 13 males and 9 females. Their ages fell largely within the 30-39 (12) and 40-49 (6) age categories; only three were in their twenties and one was older than fifty. Arrival ages were similar; ten had been in their thirties when they came to Canada, five had been in their forties, and six in their twenties.

All the subjects were either married (17) or single. All but two had children.

Only one subject did not originate from an urban area. Over one-half (13 or 59%) had studied at or completed university. However, only two others had graduated from high school; six of the subjects had 7-12 years and one had only 1-6 years.

The occupational background of the Salvadoreans (including three

working students) tended to be white collar or higher in socioeconomic status. Clerical and sales positions accounted for seven of the 20 jobs listed, managerial positions had been held by three of the subjects, and semi-professional or professional jobs by six of the subjects. Only two of the subjects had held unskilled jobs.

Nearly one-quarter (5) of the subjects had lived in Canada for a year or less while eight had been here for only 1-2 years (in total accounting for 59% of the sample). With the exception of three persons who arrived in Canada 5-10 years ago, the remaining six subjects had lived in Canada between 2 to 5 years. Only one subject had lived outside of Winnipeg.

Chileans: The Chileans, totaling 20 subjects, consisted of 12 males and 8 females. Their ages, reflective of the exodus from Chile in the early 1970's, tended to be the highest of the groups studied; twelve listed their age as 40 or older (two as 50+), six as 30-39, and two as 29 or younger. The majority had arrived in Canada in their twenties (9) and thirties (8).

Only two of the subjects were single; nine were married and nearly as many (8) had been separated from a spouse. All but two of the subjects had children.

This group, of the five samples, had the highest level of education of; twelve (60%) of the subjects had studied at or completed university, three had graduated from high school, and the remaining five had at least 7-12 years of education. All had originated from an

urban centre.

The former occupational status of this sample was also higher than that of the other groups. Almost three-quarters of this sample (12 of the 17 respondents) had held semi-professional or professional positions. Other vocations listed, each once, included skilled, managerial, and clerical work.

Over one-half (12) of the group had been living in Canada for at least 10 years; five had been here for 5-10 years and three for 4-5 years. Only one Chilean had lived outside of Winnipeg.

Table 1  
Individual and Demographic  
Variables

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
Sample size	17	36	24	22	20	119
Arrival age						
15-19	0	0	4	0	1	5
20-29	8	14	9	6	9	48
30-39	8	16	0	5	2	11
50-	0	2	0	1	0	3
no answer	0	1	0	0	0	1
Current age						
15-19	0	0	4	0	1	5
20-29	3	6	7	3	1	20
30-39	12	21	12	12	6	63
40-49	2	6	2	6	10	26
50-	0	2	2	1	2	7
no answer	0	1	0	0	0	
Gender						
male	all	30	20	13	12	92
female	0	6	4	9	8	27
Marital status						
single	12	4	14	5	2	37
married	4	30	10	17	9	70
separated	1	2	0	0	8	11
widowed	0	0	0	0	1	1
Children						
yes	4	32	9	20	18	83
no	13	4	15	2	4	48
Former residence						
urban	all	21	19	21	all	98
rural	0	15	5	1	0	21

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
Education						
none	0	0	0	0	0	0
1-6 years	0	16	1	1	0	18
7-12 years	3	7	8	6	5	29
High school						
graduate	5	7	7	2	3	24
Incomplete						
university	5	4	5	8	6	28
University						
graduate	4	2	3	5	6	20
Former employment						
never worked	1	2	4	1	1	9
student	7	8	7	3	1	23
unskilled	0	6	4	1	0	11
semi-skilled	0	3	0	0	0	3
skilled	3	2	2	3	2	12
clerical or						
sales	1	0	0	6	3	10
managerial	1	0	0	3	0	4
semi-pro.	0	0	1	2	3	6
professional	4	6	1	4	9	24
military	0	4	4	0	0	8
other	1	3	0	0	1	5
no answer	0	2	1	1	0	4
Length of residence						
1 year	2	9	0	5	0	16
1-2 years	2	7	5	8	0	22
2-3 years	3	6	5	2	0	17
3-4 years	1	3	3	2	0	9
4-5 years	2	1	2	2	3	10
5-10 years	6	8	6	3	5	27
10 years-	1	2	3	0	12	18
Secondary migration						
	0	0	1	1	1	3

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Displacement and Flight In Table 2, the adversity scores of displacement and flight are presented. These scores represent the sum of the 0-5 numerical values assigned to the answers of items 2, 3, and 4 (displacement score) and items 10, 11, and 12 (flight score).

Ethiopians: Ethiopia, in the past two decades, been wracked by famine and drought, a war with neighboring Somalia, separatist conflicts and a social revolution. It is today among the world's poorest countries.

Among the Ethiopians in this study, more than one-half (11 or 65%) cited government persecution/harassment as a reason for leaving their country. Other reasons included the desire to attain greater freedom (4) and the need to secure personal safety (cited by four subjects, including one who had fled war/fighting). Schooling and economic/financial improvement accounted for only 2 of the 21 cited reasons.

Most of the subjects had been at physical risk while living in Ethiopia. Over one-half the sample (59%) felt their personal safety to be in danger either 'frequently' (3) or 'always' (7), while six subjects (35%) felt that they had 'sometimes' been in danger. Most also reported that conditions in the country prior to their leaving had been adverse; eight rated the level as 'somewhat' adverse, four as 'very' adverse, and one as 'extremely' adverse.

The decision to flee Ethiopia was most often made at least one month prior to flight; eight or 50% of the applicable subjects decided 6 months before their actual departure while four decided during the 1-6 month period. Only four of subjects decided a week prior to their

flight (including two who made the decision either just 'days' or 'hours' before leaving).

The majority (11 or 65%) left the country with neither the knowledge nor the consent of the government. Flight was most frequently by foot (8) or plane (7), alone (10) or with family members (4). Most subjects had felt their lives had been either 'sometimes' (5), 'frequently' (2), or 'always' in danger (5). The degree of adversity endured varied from 'not at all' and 'slightly' adverse (2/5) to 'somewhat' (3), 'very' or 'extremely' adverse (3/1).

Prior to and/or during flight, and because of conditions encountered at this time, all but two of the subjects lost through death either a family member or significant other (a relative or close friend) (5/14). Many also reported that family and friends had been abducted and/or had disappeared (7/12), had been imprisoned (6/5) and/or assaulted (6/8).

Among the subjects themselves, two-thirds (11) had been imprisoned and approximately one-half assaulted (7) and/or attacked by a government or rebel force (7). During flight, six had lacked adequate shelter, five adequate food/water, and four adequate transportation. A number of others had been denied asylum (3)

When asked if their lives in Canada had in any way been adversely or negatively affected by conditions/events experienced in Ethiopia, almost three-quarters indicated 'not at all' or 'slightly' (6/6); only three felt that their lives had been affected 'somewhat' or 'alot'.

When asked if their lives had been adversely influenced by the conditions of flight, eleven (73% of the 15 respondents) reported 'not at all' or 'slightly' (8/3). Only four of the subjects rated the impact as 'somewhat' (3) or 'alot' (1).

The displacement adversity scores among the 13 applicable Ethiopians ranged from 4 to 10, with an average of 6.38. The flight adversity scores ranged from 1 to 9, with the average coming to 4.76.

Laotians: Laos, like Ethiopia, is among the poorest of the world's nations. Its populaion, moreover, has lived through the horrors of a massive American bombing campaign during the Vietnam war, a full-scale civil war, and a communist government which has made considerable use of repression and reeducation (concentration) camps. By 1985, after a decade of Pathet Lao rule, almost one-tenth of the total population (3.3 million) had fled the country (Zolberg, Suhrke, & Aguayo, 1989).

The reasons for leaving Laos most cited in this study were:

(a) to attain greater freedom (21 or 57% of the responses);  
 (b) to better the lives of children (17 or 46%); (c) to escape government persecution/harassment (15 or 41%); and (d) for personal safety (12 or 32%). Other factors influencing the departure of this group included the prospect of economic improvement (9), familial reunification (5), and the need to escape war or fighting (2).

Only four of the Laotians felt that their lives were never or seldom in danger while living in their country. The greatest number (16 or 50% of the 32 responses) believed that they were 'sometimes'

at risk while 12 subjects (38%) indicated they were 'frequently' or 'always' in danger. Over one-half of the subjects (68% of the 34 responses) reported that they had lived through conditions which were at least 'somewhat' adverse.

The decision to flee Laos was most frequently made either 6 months prior to flight (16) or within the 1 to 6 month period (8). Only three of the Laotians made the decision to flee 2 to 3 weeks before their departure and but five made the decision within the week of their flight.

All subjects reported that they left the country clandestinely. Flight was most often by boat across the Mekong river to Thailand (29 of the subjects fled in this manner), with family or friends (24/6). Virtually every subject had felt in danger; three-quarters (27 or 75%) believed their lives had 'always' been in danger. All but one subject rated the conditions of flight as 'somewhat' (7), 'very' (8) or 'extremely' adverse (27). A number, presumably on their way overland to the crossing, had lacked adequate transportation (6), shelter (10), and/or food/water (4). Some, upon reaching the river, were forced to swim (5) or were refused asylum by Thai authorities (6).

Many of the Laotians, either prior to or during their flight, had been imprisoned (8), assaulted (6), and/or attacked by either a military force or bandits (7/7); six had suffered a serious injury or illness. Others reported of a death (5/13), disappearance or abduction (11/13), imprisonment (5/13), and/or assault (6/8) of a family member

or relative/close friend.

Only seven of the subjects felt that their lives in Canada had been significantly and negatively affected by conditions/events experienced in Laos; four indicated this effect to be 'somewhat' adverse and two described it as 'very' adverse. Fully 81% of the sample stated that they had been affected 'not at all' (20) or just 'slightly' (9). When asked if the conditions/events experienced during flight had had an effect, 17 or 59% of the 29 applicable subjects answered 'not at all' or 'slightly'; only four felt that their lives had been substantially affected (at least 'somewhat' affected).

The level of displacement adversity, based upon 31 subjects, ranged from the scores of 1 to 11, with the average being 5.35. When the two lowest scores were removed, the average rose to 5.62. The flight adversity scores, derived from 29 subjects, varied from 5 to 11, with the average coming to 8.10.

Vietnamese: Peace, after almost continuous war from 1945 to 1975, has not come easy to Vietnam. Ideological rigidities, government mismanagement, the recent cutoff of Soviet subsidies and a virtual economic embargo by Western nations has left the country impoverished and isolated. To many Vietnamese, the socialist reconstruction of their country came in the form of crushing poverty, food shortages, repression and reeducation camps.

The reasons for leaving Vietnam most often found in this study were: (a) for personal safety (11 or 46%); (b) to escape government

persecution/harassment (5 or 21%); and (c) to attain greater freedom (5 or 21%). Others had left to avoid military service (3), so to better the lives of their children (3), or for the purpose of family reunification (2).

Prior to leaving their country, over 90% of the Vietnamese felt their lives had been either 'sometimes' (7), 'frequently' (10), or 'always' in danger (5). All but five of the applicable 22 subjects rated the conditions within the country as 'very' or 'extremely adverse' (5). Many, either prior to or during their flight, had lost through death a family member or significant other (4/4); others reported that these persons had disappeared (9/5), been imprisoned (6/1) and/or assaulted (7/1). Almost one-half (11) of the subjects themselves had been imprisoned and nearly as many assaulted (9).

Over two-thirds of the Vietnamese (15 or 65% of the 23 applicable subjects) decided to leave their country at least 6 months prior to flight; only three decided during the 1-6 month period prior to their departure and but four within the week of their flight. Almost all fled clandestinely (20) and by boat (20); most left alone (9) or with family (10).

Most of the Vietnamese during their flight felt their lives to be either 'always' (16) or at least 'sometimes' in danger (4); only three indicated they were 'never' or 'seldom' in danger. The conditions encountered during this time were most often described as either 'very' or 'extremely' adverse (13/5). Many of the Vietnamese reported of

inadequate transportation (9), loss of direction (12), bad weather or storms (8), and/or a lack of food and water (13). A number had also been refused landing or asylum (2) and/or had been attacked by either pirates or a military force (4/3). One wrote that his boat had sank.

The vast majority of Vietnamese, however, reported that their lives in Canada had in no way been adversely affected by the conditions and events encountered either prior to or during flight (19 and 20 of the responses respectively). Only five of the subjects reported that they had been 'slightly' or 'somewhat' influenced by departure; only three felt they had been 'slightly' or 'somewhat' affected by their flight.

The displacement adversity scores among the 24 Vietnamese ranged from 0 to 8, with an average of 5.87. When the lowest score of 0 was removed, the average rose to 6.13.

The flight adversity scores, based on 23 subjects, ranged from 0 to 10, with the average coming to 6.21. When the two lowest scores of 0 and 1 were removed, the average rose to 6.76.

Salvadoreans: El Salvador, a country torn by class conflict and civil revolt, bears a legacy of violence and terror. Its people, for nearly two decades, lived with war, political and social repression, bombings and death squads. Today, even with an end to the fighting, there is but an uneasy, fearful peace.

The reasons most often given for leaving El Salvador in this study included: (a) for personal safety (13 or 59%); (b) to escape war or

fighting (11 or 50%); (c) to escape government persecution/harassment (7 or 32%); and (d) to attain greater freedom (5 or 23%). Other considerations involved improved economic prospects (3) and a better life for children (4).

Fully 90% of the sample indicated that they felt their lives had been in danger while in El Salvador; three-quarters of the subjects (15 or 68%) indicated they were either 'frequently' or 'always in danger' while five had felt they were 'sometimes in danger'. A number of subjects, prior to their actual flight from the country, had been imprisoned (2), assaulted (5), and/or attacked by a government or rebel force (13). Many had lost through death a family member or a relative/friend (2/8); others reported that these persons had been abducted or disappeared (5/6), had been imprisoned (8/3), and/or assaulted (7/6).

However, the perceived adversity of conditions/events experienced in El Salvador was relatively low. Over one-half of the sample (13 or 59%) indicated the level of adversity to be either 'none' or 'slight'. The remainder of the subjects gave the ratings of 'somewhat' (4), 'very' (4), or 'extremely' adverse (1). Only three of the Salvadoreans believed that the experienced conditions/events had substantially ('somewhat') affected their lives in Canada; 86% (19) felt there had been no or little effect (12/7).

The decision to flee El Salvador was most often made at least 3 months prior to flight (17 or 77%); 13 of the subjects decided 6

months prior to their departure while only three decided to leave within weeks of the departure. Flight itself was overwhelmingly by plane (21), with government consent (20), and with family (19). All but three of the subjects felt that they had 'never' or had 'seldom' been in danger; only four indicated the level of adversity to be 'somewhat' or greater. Not one subject felt that his/her life in Canada had been substantially affected by flight.

The displacement adversity scores among the 22 Salvadoreans ranged from 2 to 9, with an average of 5.40. The flight adversity scores varied from 0 to 6, with the average coming to 1.90. When the three scores of 0 were removed, the average rose to 2.21 (based on 19 scores ranging from 1 to 6).

Chileans: Chile in 1973 was shaken by a bloody military coup. The country, once the most stable democracy in Latin America, entered a fifteen year hiatus of terror. Under the brutal dictatorship of General Pinochet, thousands would be abducted, imprisoned, tortured and murdered.

Reasons for leaving Chile found most often in this study included: (a) to escape government persecution/harassment (10 or 50% of the responses); (b) for personal safety (8 or 40%); and (c) to attain freedom (5 or 25%). Other considerations included the need to escape fighting (3), economic betterment (4), and family reunification (3).

All but four of subjects felt that their lives had been either 'frequently' or 'always' in danger while they lived in Chile; many (11

or 55%) felt that the conditions of the country had been at least 'somewhat' adverse. A number of these subjects, prior to their actual flight, had been imprisoned (5), assaulted (7), and/or attacked by a military force (4). Many had a family member or knew of a significant other who had died (5/12), been abducted/disappeared (8/6), been imprisoned (8/5) and/or assaulted (8/6).

The majority of Chileans (84% of the 19 responses) decided to leave the country either 6 months prior to their flight (10) or within the 1-3 month period (6); only two decided within the week of their flight. Almost all left with the consent of the government (17), by plane (17), and with family (14).

Most felt a considerable degree of danger during their departure; four felt their lives to be in danger 'sometimes' and six felt they were in danger 'frequently' or 'always'. The actual level of flight adversity, however, was relatively low; 19 of the 20 subjects rated it as either 'none' (11) or 'slight' (8). Only two of subjects reported that the conditions/events experienced either prior to or during flight had 'somewhat' adversely influenced their lives in Canada.

The 20 displacement adversity scores among the Chileans ranged from 2 to 9, with an average of 5.10. The range of the 18 applicable flight adversity scores was 0 to 9, with the average being 2.66. When the two lowest scores of 0 were removed, the average rose to 3.00. When the lowest scores of 0 and the highest score of 9 were removed, the average worked out to 2.60 (based on a total of 15 scores).

Table 2

## Displacement and Flight

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
Reasons for departure						
safety	3	12	11	13	8	46
war	1	2	0	7	3	13
persecution	11	15	5	7	10	38
freedom	4	21	5	5	5	40
avoid draft	1	0	3	1	0	5
childrens'						
future	0	17	3	4	1	25
reunify						
family	0	5	2	1	3	11
other	1	0	1	1	0	3
Feeling in danger						
prior to flight						
never	0	1	2	0	1	4
seldomly	1	3	0	2	1	7
sometimes	6	16	7	5	2	36
frequently	3	5	10	7	10	35
always	7	7	5	8	6	33
no answer	0	4	0	0	0	4
Adversity prior						
to flight						
none	0	1	1	4	1	7
alittle	2	10	1	9	8	30
some	8	13	3	4	6	34
alot	4	4	14	4	4	30
extreme	1	6	5	1	1	14
no answer	2	2	0	0	0	4
Adverse effect						
of displacement						
none	6	20	19	12	13	70
alittle	6	9	3	7	6	31
somewhat	2	4	2	1	1	10
very	1	3	0	2	0	6
extreme	0	0	0	0	0	0
no answer	2	0	0	0	0	2

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	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
Decision to flee was made						
6 months	8	16	15	13	10	62
3-6 months	2	3	1	4	1	11
1-3 months	2	5	2	0	6	15
2-3 weeks	0	3	0	3	1	7
1 week	2	2	2	1	1	8
days	1	2	0	0	0	3
hours	1	1	2	0	0	4
no answer	1	4	2	1	1	9
Left country legally						
yes	6	0	3	20	17	46
no	11	34	20	2	3	70
no answer	0	2	1	0	0	3
Transportation						
train/bus	1	0	0	0	0	1
boat	0	29	20	0	0	49
car	0	0	0	0	3	3
plane	7	0	2	21	17	47
foot	8	1	1	0	0	5
no answer	1	3	2	1	0	7
Fled with whom						
alone	10	4	9	3	4	30
family	4	24	10	19	14	71
friends	1	6	1	0	1	9
others	3	2	3	0	1	9
no answer	0	0	1	0	0	1
Feeling in danger during flight						
never	1	0	1	5	5	12
seldomly	2	0	2	14	5	23
sometimes	5	5	4	1	4	19
frequently	2	4	0	0	3	9
always	5	27	16	2	3	53
no answer	2	0	1	0	0	3
Adversity during flight						
none	2	1	1	13	11	28
alittle	5	0	2	5	8	20
some	3	7	2	3	0	15
alot	3	8	3	1	0	25
extreme	1	20	5	0	1	27
no answer	3	0	1	0	0	4

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
Adverse effect						
of flight						
none	8	10	20	17	14	69
alittle	3	7	1	5	4	20
somewhat	3	6	2	0	1	12
very	1	3	0	0	0	4
extreme	0	3	0	0	0	3
no answer	2	7	1	0	1	11
POTENTIAL						
TRAUMAS						
Personal						
prison	11	8	11	2	5	37
assault	7	6	9	5	7	34
attack	7	7	5	13	4	36
piracy	2	7	4	0	0	13
war	2	4	2	3	2	13
injury	3	6	1	0	3	13
Family						
death	5	5	4	2	5	21
disappear	7	5	9	5	8	34
prison	6	11	6	8	8	31
assault	6	6	7	7	8	34
injury	2	6	1	2	4	15
Other						
death	14	13	4	8	12	51
prison	5	13	1	3	5	27
disappear	12	13	5	6	6	42
assault	8	8	1	6	6	29
injury	6	10	1	2	3	22
Conditions of flight						
Lacked						
-transport	4	6	9	0	2	21
-provisions	5	4	13	1	2	25
-shelter	6	10	4	0	2	22
bad weather	4	2	8	0	2	16
loss of						
direction	4	3	12	0	1	20
refused						
landing	3	2	2	0	1	9
no answer	0	3	2	3	0	8

Interim Asylum (Table 3) Includes an overall adversity score of interim asylum which consists of the sum of the 0-5 numerical values (totaling 50) assigned to the answers of questions 4, 5, and 7. The conditions encountered in the countries of interim asylum were rated and averaged out upon a 5 point scale (question 5).

Ethiopians: The Ethiopians sought asylum in an array of countries: Djibouti, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda, Yemen, and Italy. Most lived in these countries for 1 to 2 years (6), between 2 to 4 years (5), or in excess of 5 years (5). Only two subjects spent the entire duration in a camp (one in a Somalian "prison camp" for 11 years); six subjects had been in a camp for a portion of their interim asylum.

The countries, as places to live, were most often described as 'awful' or 'poor' (8), 'fair' (5), or 'desirable' (4). Italy, the only European country, was rated significantly more desirable than the combined others (a numerical score of 3.2 versus 2.2, out of a possible score of 5.0). It also received higher ratings in regard to the specific living conditions assessed via the REAQ (a score of 1 to less than 3 indicates poor and inadequate conditions, 3 indicates adequate conditions, and 4 to 5 represents good to desirable conditions): (a) housing - 3.0 versus 1.75; (b) provisions (food and water) - 4.0 versus 2.62; (c) medical facilities/service - 3.75 versus 2.12; (d) security/safety (freedom from crime and assault) - 3.25 versus 1.75; (d) education and training opportunities: 2.0 versus 1.62; (e) employment opportunities - 1.50 versus 1.62; (f) recreation - 4.25

versus 1.87; and (g) freedom of movement - 3.25 versus 2.0. The overall average score for the four subjects who had resided in Italy was significantly higher than that of the eight subjects who had fled to the Horn of Africa and the Middle East (3.2 versus 1.90).

Virtually all subjects experienced a degree of emotional distress during interim asylum. Those who spent time in Italy, however, reported significantly fewer distressful emotions than those who had sought safety in less accommodating countries (2.56 versus 4.2 - out of a possible score of 11.). The most prevalent feelings, reported by at least 20% of the subjects, included: (a) uncertainty (reported by 11 or 65% of the respondents); (b) fear for those left behind (10 or 59%); (c) mistrust/suspicion of officials (7 or 41%); (d) fears for one's own safety (6 or 35%); (e) loneliness (6 or 35%); (f) feeling abandoned or forgotten by the world (5 or 29%); (g) hopelessness (5 or 29%); (h) helplessness (4 or 24%); and (i) regrets for having left their country (4 or 24%).

When asked if their lives in Canada had in any way been adversely influenced by interim asylum, almost two-thirds of the subjects (11 or 65%) indicated "not at all or 'slightly'". The remaining six subjects, three of whom who had spent time in Italy, stated they had been 'somewhat' affected.

The interim asylum adversity scores of the 12 applicable Ethiopians ranged from 15 to 33, with the average coming to 22.41 (out of a possible score of 50).

Laotians: All participating Laotians had fled overland to Thailand, a country frequently found wanting in its treatment of refugees. Over one-half (18 of the 34 responses) would spend at least 5 years here awaiting eventual resettlement to Canada; an additional five would spend 4-5 years and six 3-4 years. Only five of the subjects remained in Thailand for a year or less. All lived in camps - 30 for the entire duration.

Thailand, as a place to live, was at best described as 'fair' (5) and most frequently as 'awful' or 'poor' (30). Conditions of living received an overall rating of 1.67 out of the possible score of 5.0. Specifically, the country was rated as follows: (a) housing - 2.04; (b) provisions - 2.22; (c) medical facilities/service - 2.22; (d) security/safety - 2.0; (e) education and training opportunities - 1.81; (f) employment opportunities - 1.36; (g) spending money - 1.63; (h) recreation - 1.72; and (i) freedom of movement - 1.67.

All but one of the subjects experienced some degree of emotional distress during interim asylum; the number of emotions per subject ranged from 1 to 7 with the average coming to 2.4 per subject. The most prevalent of these (reported by at least 20% of the subjects) were feelings of uncertainty (19 or 53%), fear for one's own safety (15 or 42%), regrets for having left Laos (12 or 33%), boredom (12 or 33%), and hopelessness (9 or 25%).

Nearly three-quarters of the sample (25 or 74% of the 34 respondents) felt that their lives had been 'not at all' or but

'slightly affected by their stay in Thailand. Only seven reported a moderately adverse effect ('somewhat adverse') and but one an 'extremely adverse' effect.

The interim asylum adversity scores for this sample (21 in total) ranged from 15 to 33, with an average of 16.40.

Vietnamese: The Vietnamese, overwhelmingly "boat people", fled to a number of countries: Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, and Philippines (one had spent time in the United States, three had come directly to Canada). Most remained in these countries for either a year or less (9) or but 1 to 2 years (9). Only three of the subjects had spent 2 to 4 years in a country of interim asylum. All but one of the subjects had been interned in a camp; 16 had spent their entire stay in a camp while four had been in a camp for a proportion of the the period.

The asylum granting countries were most often described as either 'awful' or 'poor' (17) places to live. Only Singapore (where two subjects had fled to) was rated as 'desirable' place to live (as well as 'awful') while the United States received but a 'fair' rating. The conditions of both Singapore and the United States, however, were rated significantly higher than those of the others (an overall average rating of 4.1 versus 2.2). Most Vietnamese subjects rated their living conditions barely adequate; (a) housing - 2.41; (b) provisions - 2.41; (c) medical facilities/service - 2.50; (d) security/safety - 2.50; (e) education and training opportunities - 2.50; (f) employment

opportunities - 1.66; (g) spending money - 1.25; (h) recreation - 1.83; and (i) freedom of movement - 2.58.

All but one of the subjects reported having experienced distressful emotions; the number per subject ranged from 1 to 5, with the average working out to 2.38. The most common feelings were of uncertainty (15 or 71%), fears for those left behind (13 or 62%), loneliness (8 or 38%), and boredom (6 or 29%).

The majority of the Vietnamese (15 or 71%) felt that interim asylum had 'no' or but a 'slight' effect upon their lives in Canada. Only six indicated that their lives had been affected 'somewhat' or 'alot'.

The interim asylum adversity scores for this sample ranged from 15 to 49, with the average for the 15 applicable subjects coming to 24.06. When the scores for Singapore and the United States were removed (34-49 for an average of 40.33), the overall average fell to 20.0.

Salvadoreans and Chileans: The Salvadorean and Chilean samples in this instance have been combined so to provide sufficient data for analysis; only six of the 22 Salvadoreans and five of the 20 Chileans did not come directly to Canada. The collapsing of data, specifically in examining the ratings of the United States as a country of interim asylum, allows for at least a rudimentary insight of the conditions which may be encountered by Spanish speaking refugees.

The United States was listed by five of the six Salvadoreans and three of the five Chileans as the country of interim asylum. Most (5)

had spent a year or less here, none in a camp of any sort.

The country, as a place to live, was most often described as 'awful' or 'poor' (5), followed by 'fair' or 'good' (3). Its overall rating by the eight subjects was 2.72 (versus a 2.37 rating for Argentina and Mexico). Specific conditions were rated as follows; (a) housing - 2.75; (b) provisions - 3.62; (c) medical facilities and/or service- 2.25; (d) security/safety - 3.37; (e) education and training opportunities - 2.25; (f) employment opportunities - 2.00; (g) spending money - 2.37; and (h) recreation - 2.87. Freedom of movement in this instance is not applicable.

With the exception of two Salvadoreans, all subjects reported a degree of emotional distress. Among the six Salvadoreans, the average number of reported emotions was 3.50 (or 5.25 amongst the four reporting emotions), with the most common emotions including loneliness (4), hopelessness (4), and guilt (3). The average number of feelings reported by the Chileans was 4.20, with the more prevalent including boredom, uncertainty, guilt, and mistrust/suspicion of officials (all cited 3 times).

All but two of 11 subjects reported that their lives in Canada had in no way been adversely influenced by interim asylum. The interim asylum adversity scores among the subjects who had lived in the United States ranged from 19 to 32, with an average of 25.12 (versus 23.00 of the 3 who lived in Argentina and Mexico). The average Salvadorean score of 24.00 was comparable to the Chilean score of 25.33.

Table 3  
Interim Asylum

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
Direct to Canada						
no	17	36	21	6	5	83
yes	0	0	3	16	15	36
Length of interim asylum						
6 months	1	2	5	0	3	12
1-2 years	6	0	9	1	0	9
3-4 years	2	3	1	0	0	6
4-5 years	0	5	0	1	0	6
5 years-	5	18	0	1	1	25
no answer	0	2	3	16	15	36
Confined to camp						
yes-all	2	30	16	0	0	38
yes-part	6	4	4	0	1	15
no	9	0	1	6	4	20
no answer	0	2	3	16	15	36
Country rated as a place to live						
awful	5	7	3	0	1	16
poor	3	23	14	3	3	46
fair	5	5	3	2	1	16
good	0	0	0	1	0	1
excellent	4	0	1	0	0	5
no answer	0	2	3	16	15	36
Adverse effect of interim asylum						
none	7	11	12	5	3	38
slight	4	14	3	0	1	22
somewhat	6	7	5	1	0	19
very	0	0	1	0	0	1
extreme	0	1	0	0	0	1
no answer	0	3	3	16	15	37

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean/Chilean	Total
Rated conditions of interim asylum (average ratings out of 5.00)					
shelter	1.91	2.04	2.41	2.75	2.27
provisions	2.66	2.22	2.80	3.62	2.82
medicine	2.66	2.22	2.86	2.25	2.49
safety	2.41	2.00	2.30	3.37	2.52
education	1.58	1.81	2.93	2.25	2.14
employment	1.91	1.36	1.93	2.00	1.80
money	2.58	1.63	1.86	2.37	2.03
recreation	2.66	1.72	2.40	2.87	2.41
freedom	2.08	1.72	2.86	N/A	2.22
average score	2.27	1.67	2.89	2.37	2.30
no answer	5	14	7	31	57

	Ethiopians	Laotians	Vietnamese	Salvadoreans	Chileans	Total
Emotional distress (number of subjects reporting emotion)						
boredom	2	12	6	1	3	24
loneliness	6	6	6	1	2	21
uncertainty	11	19	15	4	3	52
regrets	4	12	0	2	2	20
guilt	2	4	0	0	2	8
abandoned	5	1	2	2	1	11
helpless	4	2	3	1	0	10
hopeless	5	9	3	4	2	23
mistrust	7	6	2	2	3	20
fear for						
-others	10	N/A	13	3	3	29
-self	6	15	0	1	0	22
no answer	5	5	4	16	15	45

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Social Relations and Adaptation (Table 4) Includes ratings of social relations with compatriots (the sum of the 0-5 numerical values assigned to the answers of questions 4, 5, and 6) as well as an acculturation/assimilation score (eight items of socio-cultural adaptation [question 7] were rated and averaged out upon a 5 point scale). This latter score is also adjusted for discrimination (the sum of question 7 minus the 0-4 values assigned to the answers of question 8) and serves as a general social adjustment score.

Ethiopians: The majority of Ethiopians (10 or 59%) were in Canada alone; only six were with family or relatives and but one was with extended family. Apart from the ten who were separated from their entire family, two indicated having been separated from a sibling and six from a parent. Almost all (15 of 16 responding) were able to communicate with at least some of their separated family members.

Within the Ethiopian community in Winnipeg, the majority of subjects were 'somewhat' or 'very' satisfied with their number of compatriot friends (10), with the level of support/assistance they had received (12 of the 15 responding), and with their sense of belonging/acceptance within the group (16). A significant number, however, were not satisfied with their friendships (7) and, to a lesser extent, with the ethnic group as a source of support (3). The 15 ethnic relations scores ranged from 5 to 13, with the average working out to 9.26.

Of the five refugee groups studied, the Ethiopians had attained

the greatest level of acculturation/assimilation (an overall score of 3.07 out of a possible 5.0). Along the specific dimensions of this measurement, defined by both the number of subjects who described their level as at least "adequate" (a score of 3 to 5) as well as by the overall group score for this particular item, the Ethiopians fared as follows: (a) number of Canadians considered friends - 7 of the 13 responses or 54% (2.53); (b) understanding ways Canadian people think and behave - 10 or 77% (2.84); (c) knowledge of events and issues of Canadian society - 9 or 69% (3.00); (d) use of English media (e.g., radio, television, newspapers, books and magazines) - 12 or 92% (3.61); (e) participation in activities with Canadians - 7 or 54% (2.53); (f) fitting in with Canadians - 11 or 85% (3.23); (g) feeling accepted by Canadians - 10 or 77% (3.46); and (h) sense of belonging in Canada - 10 or 77% (3.38).

All but two of the Ethiopians had experienced prejudice and/or discrimination while living in Canada; seven rated it as low, five as moderate, and three as high.

The 13 individual social adjustment scores, derived from the acculturation/assimilation scale, ranged from 17 to 32, with an average of 24.00. When these were adjusted for discrimination, the average fell to 23.00.

Laotians: Of the 36 Laotians in the sample, nearly 90% (32) were in Canada with immediate or extended family; only three were with relatives and but one was alone. However, only eight of the 30

responding subjects indicated that their immediate families were intact; at least 10 of the subjects had been separated from a child, 17 from a sibling, and five from a parent. All but one of the 19 applicable subjects reported that they could communicate with some or all of their family members remaining in Laos.

Within their community, almost one-half of the subjects (17 or 47%) were only 'somewhat' satisfied with their number of compatriot friends and fully one-third (12) were either 'not at all' or but 'slightly' satisfied. Similarly, 42% (14 of the 33 responding) expressed dissatisfaction with their sense of acceptance and belonging within the group (in comparison to 19 or 58% who were somewhat or very satisfied). Assistance and support received, however, was most often rated 'fair' (27) or even 'good/desirable' (6). The ethnic relations scores, 29 in total, ranged from 5 to 14, with an average of 8.63. The scores among the 5 females varied from 5 to 8, with the average working out to 7.0.

The average level of acculturation/assimilation, based on a four-point scale (see Note 1) answered by 24 subjects, was 2.20 (2.09 among the three females). Along the dimensions of the measurement, defined by the number of subjects who described their level as at least "adequate" (a score of 3 or 4), as well as by the average group score, the sample responded as follows; (a) number of Canadian friends - 5 of the 24 responses or 21% (2.0); (b) understanding Canadian ways - 6 or 25% (2.25); (c) knowledge of Canadian events/issues - 5 or 21% (2.0);

(d) English media use - 3 or 12% (2.08); (e) participation in activities with Canadians - 3 or 12% (2.16); (f) fitting in with Canadians - 5 or 21% (2.12); (g) feeling accepted by Canadians - 10 or 42% (2.33); and (h) sense of belonging in Canada - 12 or 50% (2.66).

Only seven of the Laotians reported having experienced substantial (at least 'some') prejudice/discrimination. Nearly 70% (25) answered that they had 'never' or had 'seldom' been confronted by this problem.

The 24 social adjustment scores ranged from 10 to 24, with an average of 17.54 (17.68 once adjusted for discrimination). Among the four females, the scores varied from 12 to 22, with the average being 16.75 (14.75 when adjusted).

Vietnamese: Only seven of the 23 responding Vietnamese were in Canada with an intact immediate family; nine had been separated from at least one member and ten were completely alone. Three of the eight applicable subjects could not communicate with family who had remained in Vietnam.

Within their community, the majority of the Vietnamese (18 or 86% of the 22 responding) were at least 'somewhat' satisfied with their compatriot friendships. Similarly, most (87%) were somewhat or very satisfied with the support/assistance they had received and virtually all felt a moderate or high sense of acceptance/belonging within the group. The ethnic relations scores (21 in total) ranged from 6 to 13, with an average of 10.61. Among the three females, the scores ranges from 10 to 12 and the average was 11.00.

The average level of acculturation/assimilation of the group,

based upon the scores of 17 subjects, was 2.55 (2.20 among the three females). The specific results are as follows: (a) number of Canadian friends - 8 or 47% gave at least an "adequate" rating (2.47); (b) understanding Canadian ways - 11 or 65% (2.58); (c) knowledge of Canadian events/issues - 10 or 59% (2.64); (d) English media use - 13 or 76% (2.82); (e) participation in activities with Canadians - 2 or 12% (1.82); (f) fitting in with Canadians - 9 or 53% (2.58); (g) feeling accepted by Canadians - 13 or 76% (2.82); and (h) sense of belonging in Canada - 14 or 82% (2.70).

Only six of the Vietnamese reported having experienced 'some' prejudice or discrimination. The majority (75%) indicated they had 'never' or had 'seldom' been faced with the behavior.

The social adjustment scores, 17 in total, ranged from 14 to 27 with an average of 20.47 (19.47 when adjusted for discrimination). Among the three females, the scores varied from 19 to 23 with an average of 20.66 (20.00 once adjusted).

Salvadoreans: Almost the entire Salvadorean sample (95%) was in Canada with family or relatives (18/3). Only one of the 19 applicable subjects, however, reported of having an intact family: 14 had been separated from a parent or grandparent, nine from a sibling, six from a child, one from a spouse, and two from all family members. All applicable subjects (18) indicated they could communicate with some or all family members who had remained in El Salvador.

Only three of the subjects were very satisfied with their

compatriot friendships: most were either 'slightly' or 'somewhat' satisfied. Similarly, only two of these subjects were very satisfied with the support/assistance they had received within the community and merely three were satisfied with their sense of acceptance/belonging. Over one-third (9) expressed dissatisfaction with the level of support they had received (including six who had apparently received none) while the remaining 11 rated it as but 'fair'. Two-thirds of the sample felt unaccepted within the group; only four indicated that they felt 'somewhat' accepted.

This group, judging from the average ethnic relations scores, offered its members the least support. These scores, 21 in total, ranged from 4 to 13, with the average working out to 7.04 (versus an overall average of 8.73). The ranges of scores among the eight females was 3 to 13, with an average of 7.80.

The Salvadoreans also exhibited the lowest level of acculturation/assimilation; an average score of 2.11 (based on 20 applicable subjects). The results are as follows: (a) number of Canadian friends - 6 or 30% gave at least an "adequate" rating (1.95); (b) understanding Canadian ways - 6 or 30% (2.30); (c) knowledge of Canadian events/issues - 6 or 30% (2.25); (d) English media use - 11 or 55% (2.60); (e) participation in activities with Canadians - 6 or 30% (1.90); (f) fitting in with Canadians - 3 or 15% (1.50); (g) feeling accepted by Canadians - 4 or 20% (2.05); and (h) sense of belonging in Canada - 6 or 30% (2.30).

Of the 22 responding subjects, eight or 36% reported having experienced 'a great deal' of prejudice/discrimination - the highest level of the the five groups. Ten had been confronted by a 'slight' degree and only four had had no such experiences while living in Canada.

The 20 social adjustment scores varied from 9 to 28 and had an average of 16.50 (14.60 when adjusted for discrimination). Among the six females, the scores ranged from 9 to 28 with an average of 18.16 (15.66 once adjusted). When the lowest and highest scores (9 and 28) were removed, the range was 15 to 20 with an average of 18.00 (15.50 when adjusted).

Chileans: All but five of the Chileans were in Canada with immediate family members. However, only one family had remained intact; nine of the subjects had been separated from a sibling, seven from a parent or grandparent, two from a spouse or child, and four from all family members. All those applicable (19) indicated they could communicate with some or all family members in Chile (8/11).

Within the their community, most of the Chileans were either dissatisfied or merely 'somewhat' satisfied with both their friendships (6/11) as well as in their sense of being accepted and belonging (7/11 of the 19 responses). Support/assistance received tended to be rated slightly higher: only five of the 17 responding subjects expressed clear dissatisfaction while 12 or 60% rated it as at least 'fair'.

The ethnic relations scores within the group ranged from 1 to 11,

with an average working out to 8.11. When the lowest of 1 was removed, the average rose to 8.56. Among the seven females, the range was 1 to 11 and the average 7.28. This rose to 8.33 when the lowest score was removed.

The Chileans exhibited the second highest acculturation/assimilation score in the study (2.85 and 2.68 among the 8 females). The results are as follows: (a) number of Canadian friends - 7 or 37% of the 19 respondents gave at least an "adequate" rating (2.73); (b) understanding Canadian ways - 12 or 63% (3.26); (c) knowledge of Canadian events/issues - 17 or 89% (3); (d) English media use - 19 or 100% (3.89); (e) participation in activities with Canadians - 6 or 32% (2.10); (f) fitting in with Canadians - 8 or 42% (2.47); (g) feeling accepted by Canadians - 13 or 68% (3.05); and (h) sense of belonging in Canada - 12 or 63% (2.31).

Only six of the Chileans reported having experienced substantial prejudice or discrimination. Most (12 or 60%) rated the problem to be 'slight' and two had yet to experience it.

The 19 social adjustment scores ranged from 15 to 40 for an average of 23.78 (22.05 when adjusted for discrimination). When the highest score of 40 was removed, the average fell only to 22.88 (21.05 adjusted). Among the eight females, the range was 15 to 33 and the average 21.50 (19.50 adjusted). When the highest score was removed, the average fell to 19.85 (17.71 adjusted).

Table 4

Social Relations  
and Adaptation

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
In Canada with						
family	3	28	13	18	14	76
relatives	3	3	0	3	1	10
extended family	1	4	0	0	1	6
alone	10	1	10	1	4	26
no answer	0	0	1	0	0	1
Separated from						
entire family	9	2	4	2	4	21
spouse	0	1	0	1	1	3
child	0	10	0	6	1	17
sibling	2	17	4	9	9	41
parent	6	5	6	12	5	34
other	0	0	1	3	3	7
no answer	2	14	12	4	1	3
Communicate with family left behind						
not at all	1	1	3	0	0	5
with some	12	9	1	9	9	40
with all	3	9	4	10	10	36
no answer	1	17	16	3	1	38
Satisfied with ethnic friends						
not at all	3	6	1	0	2	12
slightly	4	6	2	8	4	24
somewhat	8	17	14	8	11	58
very	2	0	4	1	1	8
extremely	0	3	0	2	0	5
no answer	0	4	3	1	2	10
Satisfied with ethnic support						
not at all	2	0	0	6	1	9
slightly	1	2	3	3	4	13
somewhat	7	27	7	11	8	60
very	4	2	10	1	2	19
extremely	1	4	4	1	2	12
no answer	2	1	0	0	3	6

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
Feeling accepted in community						
not at all	1	1	0	4	1	7
slightly	0	13	0	9	6	28
somewhat	6	8	9	4	11	38
very	8	6	6	2	1	23
extremely	2	5	9	1	0	17
no answer	0	3	0	2	1	6

Acculturation/Assimilation Scale (average ratings out of 5.00)						
friendship	2.53	*2.00	2.47	1.95	2.73	2.33
understanding	2.84	2.25	2.58	2.30	3.26	2.64
knowledge	3.00	2.00	2.64	2.25	3.00	2.57
media use	3.61	2.08	2.82	2.60	3.89	2.98
participation	2.53	2.16	1.82	1.90	2.10	2.11
fitting-in	3.23	2.12	2.58	1.50	2.47	2.38
acceptance	3.46	2.33	2.82	2.05	3.05	2.74
belonging	3.38	2.66	2.70	2.30	2.31	2.67
average score	3.07	2.20	2.55	2.16	2.85	2.56
no answer	4	12	7	2	1	26

Acculturation/Assimilation Scale  
(proportion attaining adequate level - 3.00)

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
friendship	54%	21%	47%	30%	37%	38%
understand	77%	25%	65%	30%	63%	52%
knowledge	69%	21%	59%	30%	89%	54%
media use	92%	12%	76%	30%	32%	28%
fitting-in	85%	21%	53%	15%	42%	43%
acceptance	77%	42%	76%	20%	68%	57%
belonging	77%	50%	82%	30%	63%	60%
average	82%	25%	59%	30%	62%	52%
no answer	4	12	7	2	1	26

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
Discrimination						
none	2	10	7	4	2	25
slightly	7	15	11	10	12	55
some	5	2	6	0	2	15
alot	2	2	0	7	4	15
extreme	1	3	0	1	0	5
no answer	0	4	0	0	0	4

Language Acquisition and Adaptation (Table 5)

Ethiopians: All Ethiopians, at the time of their arrival to Canada, spoke a degree of English; four rated their level as low, ten as moderate, and three as high. Of the 11 (65%) who pursued language training, all but one had either completed or were planning to complete the course (7/3). This training was most rated as either 'fair' or 'good' (4/6).

At the time of answering the questionnaire, all but two of the Ethiopians rated their level of English as moderate or high (8/7). Over 35% of the sample (6 of 17) had improved their level of English.

Laotians: All but one Laotian spoke 'no' or 'low' English upon arrival to Canada. Of the 29 (81%) who took language training, only 12 (or 44% of the 27 respondents) had completed or were planning to complete the course. The training itself, however, tended to be rated as at least 'fair' (53% of the 34 responses); only six of the subjects had found it 'not at all adequate' while three rated it as 'poor'.

Almost 40% (14 of 36) of the Laotians reported language improvement. Those with no or low English skills dropped from 97% (12/23) to 67% (6/18) while the number with moderate skills jumped from one to eleven subjects (31%).

Vietnamese: The initial English skills of this group ranged from none/low (16) to moderate/high (9). Of the 21 subjects who took language training, only 12 (41%) had completed or were planning to complete it (two were 'unsure'). This training, with the exception of

five 'poor' or worse ratings, tended to be described as 'fair' (11) or even 'good/desirable' (5).

Over one-half (13 of 24) of the subjects had improved their language level. Those with low English skills dropped from 67% to 25%; the proportion speaking a moderate or high level rose from 37% to 75%. Salvadoreans: Only five (23%) of the Salvadoreans rated their initial language skills as moderate or high; ten had no skills whatsoever and seven rated their level as low. Of the 22 who took language training, only 11 (exactly 50%) had completed or were planning to complete it (one was unsure). The ratings of this training ranged from 'poor' (4) to 'fair' or better (9/5).

Almost 60% of the sample reported language improvement. All subjects had acquired at least a 'low' level of English (12 or 55% indicated this level) while ten (46%) had attained a moderate or high level.

Chileans: The initial language skills of the Chileans varied from none whatsoever (6) to moderate (11) and high (3). Of the 15 who had language training, only eight (40% of the entire sample) had completed it. The ratings ranged from 'poor' (4) to 'fair' (6) or 'good/desirable' (5).

All but three of the Chileans had improved their English skills. Those with a low level of English dropped from 85% to 15% while the proportion speaking a high level rose from 0 to 10 (50%). The remaining eight subjects (40%) reported a moderate level of English.

Table 5

## Language Acquisition and Adaptation

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
English at arrival						
none	0	12	2	10	6	30
low	4	23	13	7	11	58
moderate	10	1	8	4	3	26
high	2	0	1	1	0	4
fluent	1	0	0	0	0	1
Studied English						
yes	11	29	21	22	15	98
no	6	7	3	0	5	21
Course completed						
yes	7	5	11	5	8	36
no	0	10	4	10	7	31
plan to	3	7	4	6	0	20
plan not to	0	1	0	0	0	1
not sure	1	4	2	1	0	8
N/A	6	9	3	0	5	23
Course rated						
inadequate	0	6	2	0	0	8
poor	0	3	3	7	4	17
fair	4	16	11	9	6	46
good	6	1	4	3	1	15
excellent	1	1	1	2	4	9
N/A	6	9	3	1	5	24
Current level of English						
none	0	6	0	0	0	6
low	2	18	6	12	2	40
moderate	8	11	14	7	8	48
high	6	0	4	2	8	20
fluent	1	1	0	1	2	5
Improvement average						
	35%	39%	54%	59%	85%	54%

Occupational Adaptation (Table 6) The occupational adjustment score, essentially a numerical representation of job satisfaction, is the sum of the 0-5 values assigned to the answers of questions 7, 8, and 10.

Ethiopians: All but two of the 16 applicable Ethiopians had acquired either full or part-time employment. Only two subjects were unemployed and seeking work. Most (11 or 71%) rated their incomes as 'fair' or better. Of the six who rated their incomes as 'poor', three (out of a total of 4 responses) were receiving financial assistance.

Of the seven subjects who had worked in both Ethiopia and Canada, only one had attained an occupational status higher than that held in the country of origin; four held lower status jobs while two were in jobs of equivalent status. The most frequent employment found in Canada tended to be unskilled or semi-skilled work (7 or 54% of the 13 applicable responses).

Only four or 31% of the 13 responding subjects were very satisfied with their employment in Canada; seven were 'not at all' or 'slightly' satisfied while two were 'somewhat' satisfied. Most, when asked to compare this work to their former jobs in Ethiopia, reported it to be less satisfying (6 of the 10 responses). However, a slight majority (7 of 11 respondents) were either 'somewhat' or 'very' optimistic about attaining satisfactory work in the future. All but one of those subjects who were at least 'somewhat' satisfied with their current work were also 'somewhat' optimistic about the future.

The most cited difficulties in finding satisfactory employment

in Canada included: (a) inadequate work experience in the country (cited by 6 of the 17 respondents); (b) poor economic conditions (4); (c) nonrecognition of degrees, diplomas, or certification (3); and (d) prejudice or discrimination (3). Also cited, each once, were language difficulties, inadequate education or training, and inadequate job-seeking skills or assistance from employment agencies.

The occupational adjustment scores, representative of the subjects' levels of job satisfaction, ranged from 3 to 11. The average of the eight applicable scores worked out to 7.50 (out of a possible 15)

Laotians: Of the 34 Laotians in the work force, only 17 or 61% had found full-time employment; nine of the ten working part-time were seeking full-time positions. Almost one-fifth (6) were unemployed and seeking work.

Among the 34 subjects who rated their incomes, all but two described theirs' as either 'poor' (14 or 41%) or 'fair' (17 or 50%). Nearly 85% of the 32 applicable subjects were receiving financial assistance from either the government (16), family or friends (10), or both (1).

Of the 19 subjects who had worked in both Laos and Canada, two-thirds (12) were in occupations of lesser status, six held jobs of equivalent status, and but one was in a position of higher status. No less than 25 of the 27 listed jobs were unskilled or semi-skilled.

Only two of the 31 applicable subjects were very satisfied with

the type of work they were doing; 21 (71%) were either 'not at all' or but 'slightly' satisfied while the remaining seven (23%) were 'somewhat' satisfied. When asked to compare their work to their former jobs, however, all but four of the 26 respondents answered that their current jobs were either equally or more satisfying (16/6). When asked about future employment, the majority (18 or 60% of the 30 respondents) believed that it would be 'somewhat' satisfying.

The employment-related difficulties most often cited by the Laotians included: (a) language difficulties (cited by 22 of the 35 respondents); (b) inadequate work experience in Canada (15); (c) inadequate education or training (8); (d) lack of accessible educational/training programs (5); and (e) nonrecognition of degrees and certification (4). Few Laotians attributed their difficulties to either discrimination or the economic recession.

The average occupational adjustment score, drawn from 23 scores with a range of 4 to 13, was 8.21.

Vietnamese: One-third (8) of the subjects in this sample described themselves as students. Of the 16 who were in or entering the workforce, only six were working full-time and but two, both students, were employed part-time. Almost one-third (7) of the sample was unemployed and seeking work. Over two-thirds of the listed occupations (14 of 17) were either unskilled or semi-skilled positions.

Not one subject described his/her income as 'good'. Virtually all felt their incomes to be either 'poor' (7) or 'fair' (17). Eight of 19

respondents indicated they were receiving financial assistance from the government.

Only nine of the subjects had worked in both Vietnam and Canada. All but one reported that their jobs in Canada were either of equivalent (5) or lower (3) status in comparison to those held in Vietnam.

Of the 17 Vietnamese who had worked in Canada, only five expressed dissatisfaction with either their former or current job; eight found their employment 'somewhat' satisfying and four reported it to be 'very' satisfying. Among the nine subjects who had worked in Vietnam as well, only three indicated that their employment in Canada had been less satisfying than their former jobs. Most too (15 of the 18 respondents) believed that future work would be 'somewhat' or 'very' satisfying (11/4).

The obstacles most often encountered by the Vietnamese in finding satisfactory employment are as follows: (a) language difficulties (cited by 8 of the 18 respondents); (b) inadequate education or training (6); (c) inadequate work experience in Canada (5); (d) nonrecognition of degrees or certification (4); and (e) poor economic conditions (4).

The average occupational score, based upon 15 scores ranging from 5 to 11, was 9.26.

Salvadoreans: Of the 14 Salvadoreans in or entering the work force, only five (36%) had found full-time work. Nine or 64% of the subjects

were unemployed while eight were studying full or part-time.

Most subjects described their incomes as either 'poor' (8) or 'fair' (7). Of the eight who indicated that they had no personal income whatsoever, all were receiving government financial assistance (received by 11 of the 14 respondents). This assistance, when rated as a source of income, tended to be described as either 'poor' (4) or 'fair' (3).

Of the nine subjects who had worked in both El Salvador and Canada, six had found jobs of lesser status and three jobs of equal status. The most frequently held positions were in either the unskilled (6) or skilled labour (3) sectors.

All but three of these subjects were dissatisfied with their employment in Canada and had found it less satisfying than the work they had done in El Salvador. Of the nine subjects who considered their occupational future in Canada, all but one believed that it would be less than even 'somewhat' satisfying.

The employment-related difficulties most often listed by the Salvadoreans included: (a) language difficulties (cited by 7 of the 13 respondents); (b) nonrecognition of degrees or certification (7); and (c) inadequate work experience in Canada (6). Also cited, each by three subjects, were inadequate education or training, lack of accessible education/training programs, lack of assistance from employment agencies, discrimination, as well as both poor economic conditions and a lack of work consonant to acquired skills/abilities.

The average occupational adjustment score, derived from eight scores with a range of 3 to 9, was 5.62 (the lowest among the five samples).

Chileans: Of the 18 Chileans in the work force, ten were working full-time, four part-time, and four were unemployed. Income ratings varied from 'poor' (9) to 'fair' or better (11). Seven of the subjects were receiving financial assistance, most often from the government (5).

Of the 12 subjects who had worked in both Chile and Canada, only three (25%) had attained jobs of equivalent status. Most were employed as unskilled (4), semi-skilled (3) or skilled labour (2). Those in semi-professional and professional positions, as high as 76% of the applicable subjects in Chile (13 of the 17 jobs listed), had dropped to 20% in Canada (3 of the 15 jobs listed).

Only three of the 16 applicable subjects were 'very' satisfied with their employment in Canada; almost one-half (7) were dissatisfied while the remaining six were but 'somewhat' satisfied. Most (8 or 57% of the 14 respondents) also found their work to be less satisfying than their former jobs; only four (of 16 respondents) believed that their employment in the future would be satisfying. Almost one-third (5) felt their future employment would be 'not at all' satisfying.

The obstacles to attaining satisfying employment most often encountered by this group are as follows: (a) language difficulties (cited by 10 of the 14 respondents); (b) nonrecognition of degrees or certification (8); (c) lack of accessible educational/training

programs (5); (d) lack of work consonant to acquired skills/abilities (5); (e) discrimination (5); (f) inadequate education or training (4); and (g) lack of assistance from employment agencies (4). Inadequate work experience in Canada and poor economic conditions were listed only twice.

The average occupational adjustment score, based on 13 scores with a range of 3 to 13, was 5.84. When the highest score of 13 was removed, the range fell to 3 to 9 and the average to 5.25 (lowest among the five groups).

Table 6

## Occupational Adjustment

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
<b>Employment status</b>						
full-time	8	17	6	5	10	45
part-time	4	1	2	0	2	10
seeking						
full-time	1	9	0	0	2	12
unemployed	2	6	7	9	4	28
student						
-full	1	1	6	6	1	15
-part	0	1	2	2	0	5
other	1	1	1	0	1	4
<b>Personal income</b>						
none	0	2	0	6	1	9
poor	6	13	7	8	8	42
fair	9	17	17	8	8	59
good	2	2	0	0	2	6
desirable	0	0	0	0	1	1
no answer	0	2	0	0	0	2
<b>Household income</b>						
none	0	2	0	6	1	8
poor	6	18	5	8	6	43
fair	9	16	19	8	11	63
good	2	0	0	0	2	4
desirable	0	0	0	0	1	1
<b>Financial assistance</b>						
none	10	5	11	6	12	44
government	4	16	8	14	5	47
family	1	11	0	0	0	12
other	0	0	1	0	2	3
no answer	2	4	4	2	1	13

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
Present type of employment						
unskilled	3	14	5	6	4	32
semi-skilled	4	11	9	0	3	27
skilled	0	0	1	3	2	6
clerical/ sales	1	1	0	0	2	4
managerial	3	0	1	0	0	4
semi-pro.	0	1	1	1	2	5
professional	1	0	0	0	1	2
other	1	0	0	0	1	2
no answer	4	9	7	12	5	37
Comparative occupational status (present versus former employment)						
lower	4	12	3	6	9	34
same	2	6	5	3	3	19
higher	4	1	1	0	0	6
no answer	7	17	15	13	8	60
Satisfied with present employment						
not at all	5	3	3	1	3	15
slightly	2	19	2	5	4	32
somewhat	2	7	8	1	6	24
very	3	2	3	2	2	12
extremely	1	0	1	0	1	3
no answer	4	5	7	13	4	33
Present employment as satisfying as former occupation						
much less	5	4	2	2	3	16
less	1	0	1	5	5	12
same	1	16	7	3	3	30
more	3	4	4	0	3	14
much more	0	2	1	0	0	3
no answer	7	10	9	12	6	44
Optimistic about future employment						
not at all	3	1	1	2	5	12
slightly	1	11	2	7	7	28
somewhat	4	12	11	1	2	30
very	3	4	3	0	2	12
extremely	0	2	1	0	0	3
no answer	6	6	6	12	4	34

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Tota
Employment-related difficulties (number of subjects reporting obstacle)						
education	1	8	6	3	4	22
experience	6	15	5	6	2	34
certification	3	4	4	7	8	26
language	1	22	8	7	10	48
former work unavailable	0	3	0	3	5	11
skill upgrading unavailable	0	5	1	3	7	16
lack job-finding skills	1	2	1	1	0	5
lack of agency assistance	1	2	1	3	4	11
poor economy discrimination	4	2	4	3	2	15
or prejudice	3	1	1	3	5	13
other	0	1	0	0	0	0
no answer	6	1	6	9	6	28

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Being a Refugee (Table 7)

Ethiopians: Virtually every respondent (16) believed that his life had been adversely affected by displacement (departure from Ethiopia): eight subjects rated the effect as 'slight', three felt it to be 'somewhat or quite adverse', and five indicated it to be 'very' adverse. When asked if coming to Canada had adversely influenced their lives, seven or 41% of the subjects answered 'not at all' while the remainder thought that their lives had been but 'slightly' or 'somewhat' affected (10 or 59%). Seven of the subjects (41%) thought that life would have been at least 'somewhat' better had they remained in Ethiopia.

Canada, as a place to live, was described as either 'fair' (6), 'good' (8) or 'desirable' (3). All but two of the 17 Ethiopians had acquired or were planning to acquire Canadian citizenship. If conditions permitted, however, only four of these subjects were certain not to return to Ethiopia; five would definitely return and eight were unsure.

Laotians: All Laotian respondents (35) indicated that their lives had been at least 'slightly' adversely influenced by displacement and all but four (31 or 89%) rated the effect as either 'somewhat' or 'very' negative. Most too (31 of 36) thought that their coming to Canada had had at least a 'slight' negative influence upon their lives (10 reported this level); 21 or 58% rated this effect to be 'somewhat' or 'very' adverse. However, few subjects (5 or 15%) believed that life

would have been even 'slightly' better had they remained in Laos.

Canada was consistently considered as a 'fair' (21 or 59%) or better place to live (15 or 42%). All but one subject was a citizen or was planning to become a citizen of the country. When asked if they would return to Laos if conditions permitted, only seven of the Laotians (19%) indicated they would not; 10 (28%) would definitely return while 19 (53%) were uncertain.

Vietnamese: Of the five refugee groups studied, the Vietnamese were the least likely to perceive displacement as an adverse determinant of life; only three of the 24 subjects thought that their lives had been 'somewhat' affected by this experience. Similarly, only five or 21% believed that coming to Canada had adversely affected their lives (all but one rated the effect as 'slight'). However, nine or 37% of the subjects believed that life would have been better had they remained in Vietnam.

Canada was most often described as a 'good' or better place to live (20 or 83% of the responses)). All but one of subjects had or was planning to acquire citizenship (11/12). When asked if they would consider returning to Vietnam, only six (24%) indicated that they definitely would not. Most (13 or 54%) were unsure while five (21%) would definitely return.

Salvadoreans: Over one-half of the Salvadoreans (12 or 57% of the 21 respondents) believed that displacement had had a 'somewhat' or 'very' adverse affect upon their lives. When asked if coming to Canada had

had an adverse impact, 11 of 21 respondents answered affirmatively (ten rating the effect as 'somewhat' or 'very' adverse). Seven of the 22 subjects (32%) believed that life would have been better had they remained in El Salvador (all but one felt that it would have been only at least 'somewhat' better).

Canada was most often described as a 'fair' (9) or a 'good/desirable' place to live (10). However, only 10 of the 20 respondents indicated that they had or were planning to acquire citizenship while only two (of 22 subjects) would definitely not return to El Salvador if conditions permitted (10 would definitely return).

Chileans: Two-thirds of the Chileans (13 or 65% of 20 respondents) believed that their lives had been adversely affected by displacement; three described the effect as 'slight', seven rated it as 'somewhat' or 'quite' adverse, and three stated it to be 'very' negative. Of the eleven (55%) who had been affected by their coming to Canada, all but four rated the negative influence as 'slight'. Seven (37% of the 19 respondents) believed that their lives would have been better had they remained in Chile.

Canada, as a place to live, was described as either 'fair' (8) or better (12). Fully three-quarters (16) of the sample had acquired citizenship while the remaining four were unsure. Not one subject, however, was certain to remain in Canada if conditions permitted their return to Chile; nine of the Chileans would definitely return while the remaining eleven were unsure.

Table 7

## Being a Refugee

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
Adversity of displacement						
not at all	0	0	16	8	7	31
slightly	8	4	5	1	3	21
somewhat	3	10	3	7	7	30
very	4	8	0	1	1	14
extremely	1	13	0	4	2	20
no answer	1	1	0	1	0	3
Adversity of coming to Canada						
not at all	7	5	19	11	9	51
slightly	4	10	4	1	7	26
somewhat	6	11	1	8	2	28
very	0	8	0	0	0	8
extremely	0	2	0	2	2	6
Canada rated as a place to live						
awful	0	0	0	1	0	1
poor	0	0	0	2	0	2
fair	6	21	4	9	8	48
good	8	10	17	5	2	42
desirable	3	5	3	5	10	26
Life better if remained in country of origin						
not at all	6	29	15	15	12	77
slightly	2	4	2	1	3	12
somewhat	3	1	0	2	1	7
much more	3	0	5	1	1	10
extremely	1	0	2	3	2	8
no answer	2	2	0	0	1	6
Return to homeland live if possible						
no	4	7	6	2	0	19
yes	5	10	5	10	9	39
not sure	8	19	13	10	11	61

## Refugee Adjustment 199

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
Citizen of Canada						
yes	8	12	11	6	16	53
planning	7	23	12	4	0	46
not sure	2	1	1	10	4	18
will not	0	0	0	0	0	0
no answer	0	0	0	2	0	2

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Psychological Adjustment (Table 8) Psychological adjustment scores were attained through the summation of the 0-5 values assigned to each of the answers of the 38 symptoms. The average intensity score of symptoms was likewise attained through these 0-5 values.

Ethiopians: The average psychological adjustment score, derived from 17 scores with a range of 1 to 34, was 16.29 (out a possible score of 152). When the lowest score of 1 was removed, the average rose to 17.31.

Over one-half of the symptoms (20 or 53%) were reported by at least 30% (5) of the subjects and as many as eleven or 29% of the symptoms by at least 40% (7) of the subjects. The eight symptoms most frequently reported by approximately 50% (8) of the subjects, along with the average intensity of these symptoms, are as follows:

(a) anger - 12 or 71% of the subjects (average intensity of 1.07 out of the possible 4.0); (b) headaches - 11 or 65% (1.45); (c) bad memories - 10 or 59% (1.8); (d) loss of interest in things - 10 or 59% (1.20); (e) nervousness - 9 or 53% (1.80); (f) unhappiness/sadness - 9 or 53% (1.33); (g) worrying - 8 or 47% (1.87); and (h) difficulties with a friend - 8 or 47% (1.50).

Laotians: The average psychological adjustment score, based upon 33 scores with a range of 0 to 67, was 21.36. When the lowest and highest scores were removed for a total of 30 scores with a range of 6 to 33, this overall average fell to 18.40. Among the six applicable females, the scores varied from 10 to 42 for an average of 27.16 (24.2 when the

highest score was removed).

Just over 70% (27) of the symptoms were reported by 30% (10) of the subjects and almost 45% (17) by 40% (13) of the subjects. The 16 symptoms most often reported by approximately 50% (16) of the sample are as follows: (a) nervousness - 27 or 82% (1.37); (b) problems at work - 25 or 76% (1.84); (c) headaches - 25 or 76% (1.16); (d) worrying - 24 or 73% (1.66); (e) tiredness - 22 or 67% (1.13); (f) anger - 20 or 61% (1.35); (g) unclear thinking - 20 or 61% (1.35); (h) restlessness - 20 or 61% (1.15); (i) hopelessness - 20 or 61% (1.05); (j) aches/pains - 19 or 58% (1.36); (k) forgetfulness - 19 or 58% (1.31); (l) numbness/weakness - 18 or 55% (1.16); (m) loss of interest in things - 17 or 52% (1.17); (n) unhappiness/sadness - 16 or 48% (1.68); and (o) dizziness/faintness - 16 or 48% (1.06).

Vietnamese: The average Vietnamese psychological adjustment score, drawn from 16 scores with a range of 0 to 29, was 11.80. Even when the four lowest scores were removed, the range was altered minimally (6 to 29) as was the overall score (14.41). The scores of the two female subjects were 10 and 13 (11.50 average).

Approximately 40% (14) of the listed symptoms were reported by 30% (5) of the subjects and one-third (11 or 33%) by 40% (7) of the subjects. The six symptoms reported by 50% (8) of the subjects included: (a) worrying - 10 or 63% (1.30); (b) tiredness - 9 or 56% (1.0); (c) nervousness - 8 or 50% (1.25); (d) dizziness/faintness - 8 or 50% (1.12); (e) headaches - 8 or 50% (1.12); and (f) problems at

work - 8 or 50% (1.0).

Salvadoreans: The average psychological adjustment score, derived from 21 scores with a range of 3 to 87, was 22.90. When the two highest scores were removed, the range was 4 to 40 and the average 16.52. Among the seven females, when the total range of 5 to 80 was utilized, the average adjustment score worked out to 25.85. When the single highest score was removed, the range fell to 5 to 38 and the average to 16.83.

Almost three-quarters (27 or 71%) of the symptoms were reported by 30% (6) of the Salvadorean subjects and nearly one-half (18 or 47%) by 40% (8) of the subjects. The eight symptoms reported by approximately 50% (10) of the subjects are as follows: (a) worrying - 16 or 76% (1.62); (b) unhappiness/sadness - 14 or 67% (1.83); (c) nervousness - 13 or 62% (1.76); (d) aches and/or pains - 13 or 62% (1.46); (e) headaches - 12 or 57% (1.58); (f) skin problems - 11 or 52% (2.18); (g) bad memories - 11 or 52% (1.45); and (h) anger - 10 or 48% (1.50).

Chileans: The average psychological adjustment score, derived from 19 scores with a range of 1 to 68, was 23.36. When the three lowest and highest scores were removed, the average (based on a range of 4 to 37) dropped to 19.25. Among the six females, whose scores varied from 5 to 68, the average was 25.33. This fell to 16.80 when the highest score was removed (range of 5 to 23) but rose to 19.75 when the lowest score was also removed (range of 16 to 23).

Three-quarters (29 or 76%) of the listed symptoms were reported by 30% (6) of the subjects and over one-half (21 or 55%) by 40% (8)

of the subjects. The 17 symptoms reported by approximately 50% (9) of the subjects are as follows: (a) worrying - 16 or 84% (1.37); (b) nervousness - 15 or 79% (1.60); (c) loss of interest in things - 13 or 68% (1.53); (d) unhappiness/sadness - 12 or 63% (1.83); (e) restlessness - 12 or 63% (1.41); (f) tiredness - 12 or 63% (1.41); (g) aches/pains - 11 or 58% (1.72); (h) easily distracted - 11 or 58% (1.45); (i) headaches - 11 or 58% (1.45); (j) forgetfulness - 10 or 53% (1.70); (k) hopelessness - 10 or 53% (1.60); (l) easily lose temper - 10 or 53% (1.50); (m) feeling nothing is worthwhile - 10 or 53% (1.40); (n) bad memories - 10 or 53% (1.40); (o) anger - 10 or 53% (1.30); (p) poor memory - 9 or 47% (1.66); and (q) feeling annoyed - 9 or 47% (1.33).

Table 8

Psychological Adjustment  
(Symptom Rating Test-7 Scale Version)

	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
*Symptom						
dizziness	1 (1.00)	16 (1.06)	8 (1.12)	5 (1.00)	8 (1.00)	31%
tiredness	5 (1.60)	22 (1.13)	9 (1.00)	6 (1.33)	12 (1.41)	37%
nervous	9 (1.66)	27 (1.37)	8 (1.25)	13 (1.76)	15 (1.60)	68%
headaches	11 (1.45)	25 (1.16)	8 (1.12)	12 (1.58)	11 (1.45)	63%
scared	6 (1.33)	11 (1.09)	4 (1.00)	8 (1.62)	6 (1.50)	33%
heart						
pounding	3 (1.00)	10 (1.00)	3 (1.00)	1 (1.85)	7 (1.28)	23%
hopeless	7 (2.28)	20 (1.05)	0	9 (1.55)	10 (1.60)	43%
restless	5 (1.00)	20 (1.50)	7 (1.00)	9 (2.33)	12 (1.41)	50%
memories	10 (1.80)	10 (1.30)	7 (1.14)	11 (1.45)	10 (1.40)	45%
guilt	5 (1.40)	7 (1.14)	2 (1.00)	2 (1.15)	1 (1.00)	18%
chest pain	4 (1.25)	7 (1.14)	3 (1.00)	8 (1.87)	7 (1.57)	27%
friend						
problems	8 (1.51)	12 (1.25)	4 (1.25)	5 (2.20)	8 (1.37)	35%
worrying	8 (1.87)	24 (1.66)	10 (1.30)	16 (1.62)	16 (1.37)	70%
annoyed	6 (1.16)	5 (1.00)	7 (1.00)	8 (1.37)	9 (1.33)	33%
others						
hostile	2 (1.50)	4 (1.75)	1 (1.00)	6 (2.50)	8 (1.25)	20%
aches	3 (2.00)	19 (1.36)	6 (1.00)	13 (1.46)	11 (1.72)	49%
trembling	0	7 (1.00)	0	2 (1.00)	3 (1.00)	11%
unclear						
thinking	3 (1.00)	20 (1.35)	3 (1.00)	5 (2.20)	5 (1.20)	34%
over-react	2 (1.00)	11 (1.09)	2 (1.00)	6 (1.66)	4 (1.25)	24%
feel locked						
down on	3 (2.33)	14 (1.14)	3 (1.00)	5 (2.20)	3 (1.00)	26%
nightmares	7 (1.85)	11 (1.18)	3 (1.00)	8 (1.66)	7 (1.42)	34%
angry	12 (1.07)	20 (1.35)	4 (1.00)	10 (1.50)	10 (1.30)	53%
distracted	5 (1.00)	12 (1.08)	6 (1.00)	9 (1.55)	11 (1.45)	41%
work						
problems	6 (1.83)	25 (1.84)	8 (1.00)	3 (1.33)	3 (1.33)	42%
skin						
problems	3 (1.00)	12 (1.25)	4 (1.00)	11 (2.18)	8 (1.87)	36%
forgetting	2 (1.00)	19 (1.31)	3 (1.00)	6 (1.83)	10 (1.70)	38%
lose						
interest	10 (1.200)	17 (1.17)	1 (1.00)	8 (1.50)	13 (1.53)	46%
sadness	9 (1.33)	16 (1.68)	6 (1.33)	14 (1.57)	12 (1.83)	54%
hostility	4 (1.25)	10 (1.20)	0	6 (1.66)	4 (1.250)	23%
detached	7 (1.57)	8 (1.00)	2 (1.00)	8 (1.62)	7 (1.85)	30%
unliked	1 (1.00)	11 (1.09)	2 (1.00)	2 (1.40)	7 (1.00)	22%
bad temper	6 (2.00)	17 (1.47)	1 (1.10)	9 (1.77)	10 (1.50)	41%
worthless	4 (1.00)	9 (1.00)	3 (1.00)	6 (1.66)	10 (1.40)	30%

Symptom	Ethiopian	Laotian	Vietnamese	Salvadorean	Chilean	Total
family problems	4 (2.00)	8 (1.12)	7 (1.28)	9 (1.22)	8 (1.12)	34%
panic	2 (1.15)	8 (1.12)	0	3 (2.00)	4 (1.25)	16%
numb/weak	3 (1.33)	18 (1.16)	3 (1.00)	7 (1.28)	6 (1.66)	35%
suspicion	5 (1.20)	7 (1.00)	2 (1.00)	4 (1.75)	2 (2.00)	19%
bad memory	4 (1.00)	15 (1.33)	7 (1.14)	8 (1.75)	9 (1.66)	41%
average score	16.29	21.36	11.80	22.90	23.36	19.14
no answer	0	3	6	1	1	11

\*Presentation of each symptom includes the number of subjects (per group who reported it, its average intensity (based on a 5 point scale), and the total percentage of all reporting subjects.

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## CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The primary objective of this study was to explore and assess the universality of the refugee experience among resettled Ethiopians, Laotians, Vietnamese, Salvadoreans and Chileans. The data which was obtained through its undertaking, though limited by a number of methodological considerations (e.g., inadequate sample size, inconsistent procedures) which precluded the possibility of examining and comparing the impact of specific variables both within and across the five groups, nevertheless permitted a structured and systematic examination of the displacement/resettlement process. The findings, moreover, supported the premise that "there is a refugee experience and that this refugee experience produces what we can call refugee behavior ... with identifiable and often identical patterns of behavior and sets of problems" (Williams & Westermeyer, 1986, p. 5).

The more specific objectives of the study were; (a) to compare the overall psychological adjustment profiles of each of the subject pools; (b) to identify those variables which impact psychological adjustment; (c) to identify those demographic and individual variables which might influence adaptation; (d) to identify the needs and problems common to resettled refugees; and (e) to relate the findings to the presented cross-cultural model of refugee adaptation. Headings are utilized throughout the discussion so to promote clarity in the the

examination of these objectives.

Psychological Adjustment: Central to the study, and serving as a general, comparative adjustment measurement, were the psychological adjustment profiles. Although symptoms were found to vary among the groups, the average adjustment scores of four of the five groups (once adjusted for disproportionately low and high scores; no less than 5, no greater than 40) were remarkably similar; with the exception of the Vietnamese sample, all scores fell within 3 points of one and another (ranging from 16.52 to 19.52 - out of a possible score of 152). When the total of 106 scores (including the Vietnamese) were split at approximately the 33rd and 66th percentiles, it was found that 43 or 39% of the subjects had low scores (0-12), 32 or 29% moderate scores (12-24), and 31 or 28% high scores (25-87). Only 22 subjects had scores exceeding 30. By group, the Vietnamese and Ethiopians contained the fewest high scores (only 14% and 18% of these subjects had scores exceeding 25); comparable among themselves were the Chileans (30%), Laotians (37%), and the Salvadoreans (38%).

The Vietnamese score (13.61), though lower than average, was not unexpected. Many Asians are not only reluctant to report symptoms of mental illness (highly stigmatized in most Asian communities), but may well hide in general any feelings which might be indicative of even psychological distress (Lin, Masuda, & Tazuma, 1982). This would be most apparent among the Vietnamese subjects (rather than the Laotians) who frequently completed the questionnaire with the assistance of a

member of the Free Vietnamese Association of Manitoba. Such may account for not only the relatively low average adjustment score, but the disproportionately high number of uncompleted Symptom Rating Tests; the eight tests not completed by this group surpassed the total number of five not completed among all other subjects).

In terms of overall symptomatology, it was found that fully 33 of the 38 symptoms (87%) were reported by 20% of the subjects, 27 (75%) by 30% of the subjects, and 14 (37%) by 40% of the subjects. When the six symptom scales (consisting of the collapsed scores of individual scores) were examined, the most prevalent was found to be depression (these items were reported by 42% of the subjects), followed in rank order by anxiety (41%), cognitive symptoms (38%), somatic complaints (38%), anger and hostility (37%), and paranoia/self-reference symptoms (22%). The ten most prevalent individual symptoms, reported by at least 40% of the subjects, consisted of: (a) worrying (70%); (b) nervousness (68%); (c) headaches (63%); (d) unhappiness or sadness (54%); (e) anger (53%); (f) aches or pains (49%); (g) loss of interest in things (46%); (h) hopelessness (43%); (i) easily distracted (41%); and (j) easily lose temper (41%).

Those items believed to be particularly relevant to refugee populations (and often associated with having endured traumatic events) were also examined. Though the feelings of shame and guilt were relatively unlikely to be reported (24%), one-third (34%) of the subjects did experience nightmares and almost one-half (45%)

had 'bad memories they could not push from their minds'. A number of subjects also reported of feeling detached from others (30%) as well as being easily startled or over-reactive (24%). Over one-third reported problems at work (42%), with friends (35%), and/or with family (34%).

These symptoms, however, were not indicative of substantially lower or poor overall psychological adjustment. With the exception of five subjects whose adjustment scores exceeded 60 (60 to 87), the average adjustment score of the 61 subjects reporting at least one of the forementioned symptoms was 24.21 (31.10 when the five highest scores were included). Individual symptoms, when related to overall adjustment, were found to be fairly consistent; the average adjustment scores ranged from 22.76 (among those easily startled) to 25.88 (among those reporting bad memories). Although at least one of these symptoms was reported by 30 of the 31 subjects with high adjustment scores (25-87), such was also common to 86% of those subjects with low or moderate scores.

Relational problems, though associated with lower than average adjustment, were also by no means indicative of poor psychological adjustment. When the six adjustment scores which exceeded 60 were excluded, the average adjustment of the 71 subjects reporting at least one relational problem was but 5 points higher than the overall average (23.29 versus 17.07; 27.11 including the scores exceeding 60). The individual items, when related to overall adjustment, were also found to be comparable; the associated average adjustment scores ranged from

22.59 to 24.00 and, while at least one relational problem was reported by all but one of the 31 subjects with high adjustment scores, such too was the case among 78% of those subjects with low or moderate adjustment scores.

Most subjects, one might thus assume, coped remarkably well with the trials of their displacement. Though this conclusion is based upon the face validity (rather than empirical verification) of the SRT, the consistent pattern of low scores across all five groups (despite a relatively high response rate to the items themselves) indicates that the psychological impact of the losses and changes suffered by refugees may well have been over-estimated. This is not to suggest that there is not hidden pain, heartache, and grief. Indeed, most refugees reported symptoms of depression and anxiety. Many lived with nightmares and painful memories of their past. Others, as one subject commented, with the awful loneliness of coming to and living in a new country.

The first night I found my own place a couple of friends dropped by and gone (sic). I was all alone in a rectangular prison where I could talk only to the wall, maybe watch my back and white, cableless t.v (sic). Really I cried. I was born in people, grew up in people, love people. I thought I miss them forever (sic). Then all these followed by nightmares and heavy dreams. Still when I write you this I am alone, but almost I am used to it (sic).

One might conclude, in considering these observations, that there is an increasing need to examine the process of psychological adjustment (rather than maladjustment) among refugee populations. Studies of refugee mental health have tended to focus upon socio-

emotional and mental disturbance with little regard to the process of adaptation itself. Thus, while information has been attained concerning potential precipitating factors of illness, little is yet known as to how refugees in general cope and adjust to the losses, changes, and indeed, the traumas of displacement and resettlement. The present results clearly provide impetus to examine far more thoroughly the process of adaptation (rather than maladaptation) among refugees.

Conditions of Displacement and Flight: It is clear that most refugees - regardless of their geographical and historical circumstances - must cope with extreme and frequently dangerous conditions. Of the 115 applicable subjects in the present study, for example, fully 90% felt that their personal safety had been at least 'sometimes' at risk in their country while over one-half (67%) rated the conditions they had experienced prior to their flight as 'somewhat' or 'very/extremely' adverse. Many, either prior to or during flight, had been imprisoned (32%), assaulted (30%), and/or attacked by a government or rebel force (31%). Over one-half reported of a death (63%), disappearance or abduction (53%) of an immediate family member, relative or close friend

Only 11% of the 118 applicable subjects did not indicate that their flight had been motivated by at least one potentially adverse condition (all but 2 of these 13 subjects had fled for the purpose of familial reunification, economic gain, and/or to improve the

prospects of their children). The three most cited reasons for fleeing, at least one of which was selected by 83% of the subjects (accounting for 66% of the 205 responses), were clearly associated with the averse states of these subjects' countries: 40% of the subjects cited government persecution/harassment as a reason for their flight, 39% the need to secure personal safety, and 34% the desire to attain greater personal freedom. On the other hand, the most cited "pull" factor (or motivator to seek resettlement, in this case, being the prospect of bettering the lives of their children) was cited by only 21% of the subjects (most often by Laotians fleeing, with family, the revolution and poverty of their country).

Almost three-quarters (68%) of the subjects made the decision to flee more than 6 months prior to their flight (only 20% decided within the month of their flight). With the exception of the Salvadorean and Chilean refugees who tended to come legally and directly to Canada (having acquired recognized refugee status within their countries), most subjects (91%) fled 'illegally' - with neither the knowledge nor the consent of their governments.

Most refugees (particularly when married) fled with family; over one-half (60%) of all subjects were found to have left their countries with immediate family members. Of those 47 who left either alone (30 or 25%) or with friends/compatriots (17 or 14%), at least 27 (57%) were single at the time of their flight. Of the 17 who were married at the time of this study (marital status unknown at time of

flight), 13 were in Canada with immediate family members.

Flight, when not by plane, was frequently life threatening. Of the 73 subjects (predominantly Ethiopian, Laotian, and Vietnamese) who fled either overland or by sea, 73% felt their lives to be 'frequently' or 'always' in danger (versus 6 of the 38 who flew); no less than 67% rated the encountered conditions as either 'very' or 'extremely' adverse (versus 2 of 38). Over one-quarter of these refugees had lacked adequate transportation and/or had gone without food and drinking water. Attacks, by pirates or a military force, were not uncommon (reported by 26 or 36% of the subjects).

Conditions of Interim Asylum: Most subjects (83 or 70%), excluding the Salvadoreans and Chileans, had spent time in a country of interim asylum. The Laotians endured the harshest conditions; 88% of the 34 respondents had lived in Thai camps full-time, one-half (53%) for at least five years, in conditions consistently described as 'awful' or 'poor' (88%). The Vietnamese, who fled to a host of Asian countries, fared somewhat better; though all but one had been interned in a camp, their living conditions had apparently been significantly better (an average rating of 2.50 versus 1.67) and all but three were resettled in Canada within two years. Ethiopians fleeing to neighbouring countries also encountered poor living conditions; though only two of the twelve applicable subjects spent their entire stay in camps, these countries were often described as 'awful/poor' (6) and the conditions rated as less than adequate (a 1.90 average rating out of 5.0).

Almost all of the 85 applicable subjects (96%) experienced a degree of emotional distress during this period. The average number of these emotions reported per subject between the five groups was relatively consistent (ranging from 2.38 among the Vietnamese to 4.20 among the five Chileans) and all but three of the eleven emotions were reported by at least 20% of the subjects. Among the most common were; (a) uncertainty about the future (indicated by 61% of the subjects); (b) fear for the safety of those left behind (34% - see Note 2); (c) boredom (28%); (d) loneliness (27%); (e) fear for one's own safety (26%); (f) hopelessness (25%); (g) regrets for having left the homeland (24%); and (h) mistrust or suspicion of the officials (24%).

It had been expected that the degree of emotional distress experienced during interim asylum would be related to the conditions encountered. This was found only among the Ethiopians; those living in Italy not only rated their conditions of living substantially higher than those endured by their compatriots who fled to less accommodating countries (3.20 versus 1.90), but reported significantly fewer distressful emotions (2.56 versus 4.27 per subject). What is clear, however, is that refugees in any country of interim asylum (Thailand, Somalia, or the United States) can be expected to experience a range of distressing emotions. Spanish speaking refugees, for example, lived in the United States and reported no less than an average of 4.24 emotions

Less clear, however, is the long-term socio-emotional of impact of

interim asylum. Indeed, while this period in itself was not indicative of subsequent psychological adjustment (subjects who came directly to Canada actually had a higher average psychological score - 19.57 versus 18.63), and while inadequate living conditions were not related to impaired adjustment, it remained clear that adequate conditions might nevertheless enhance adjustment. It was found, for example, that average adjustment score of those subjects who spent less than three years in a country of asylum was significantly lower than that of subjects who had spent three or more years in this state; a score of 16.77 (15.19 among subjects who had spent one to two years in a country of asylum) versus a score of 17.82 (18.28 among those subjects who had spent at least five years in a country of asylum). Living conditions were similarly found to be related to adjustment; subjects who spent either no time or merely part of their interim asylum in a camp exhibited higher adjustment (scores of 14.72 and 15.15 respectively) than those persons who spent the entire duration in a camp (an average score of 18.86 - and scores of 18.15 and 18.75 among subjects who spent at least three years and more than five years in a camp). Likewise, subjects who rated their conditions of living as at least 'fair' demonstrated higher adjustment than those who rated the conditions as 'awful' or 'poor' (an average score of 15.66 versus 18.02).

One might conclude, in considering this data, that interim asylum can not be discounted as a determining factor of psychological adjust-

ment. Indeed, while inadequate conditions of this period may not necessarily impair psychological adjustment, it seems clear that the betterment of conditions may well enhance the refugee's capacity to cope with the sufferings, fears, and uncertainties of interim asylum. Unfortunately, and illustrated by the degree of uncertainty, boredom, hopelessness, and mistrust of officials reported within the study, it appears that most asylum seekers - even in the more accommodating countries - continue to be placed within a system which negates the socio-emotional needs of its clients. In fact, and as described within the literature review, the socio-political climate of camps (and apparently of international settlement agencies) is such that it strips refugees of their power and control; individual responsibility and self-sufficiency succumb to a bureaucratic authority which manages both the daily needs and the future of the refugee (usually without regard to the receiver's needs or desires). This, compounded by a lack of education, employment, and even recreation opportunities (a combined average of 2.12 in the present study), may well accentuate the emotional distress which so often experienced in interim asylum.

Displacement and Psychological Adjustment: Relatively few refugees (25% of the sample), however, felt that their lives in Canada had been adversely affected by the conditions of interim asylum. In fact, most refugees believed that they had been affected more by displacement (departure and resettlement) than by the events and conditions encountered during any given phase of this process. Whereas 66% of all

subjects reported that the 'leaving of their country' had had at least a 'somewhat' negative impact upon their lives, only 13% and 19% respectively felt that their lives had been 'somewhat' affected by conditions experienced either prior to or during flight. In comparison, 35% thought that their coming to Canada had had at least a 'somewhat' negative impact on their lives.

This finding was contrary to the expectation that the painful and often traumatic experiences endured by refugees would significantly influence adjustment in resettlement. Few subjects, however, confirmed this assumption and no clear, significant relationship was observed between potentially traumatic events experienced and subsequent levels of psychological adjustment (i.e., low 0-12, moderate 13-24, and high 25-87). When the eight most potentially traumatic events (see Note 3) were compared with adjustment, it was found that 76% or 25 of the 33 subjects with the highest and thus poorest adjustment scores had experienced at least one such event (with an average of 2.09 events per subject). However, at least one event was also reported by 77% or 31 of the 40 subjects with low scores (1.87 events per subject) and by 64% or 21 of the 33 subjects with moderate scores (1.51 events per subject).

Also examined, and found largely unrelated in psychological adjustment, was familial separation. Indeed, the average adjustment score of subjects who had been separated from all immediate family members (13.83), as well as those who were living completely alone in Canada (16.84), was significantly lower than the overall average

(19.14); only separation from a spouse or child appeared to have possibly impacted (though minimally) upon adjustment (the average score of these 12 subjects was 21.22). Average adjustment among subjects who could communicate with all or some family members still residing in their country of origin was relatively comparable (respective scores of 22.03 and 19.97). Only two applicable respondents could communicate at all with family members left behind).

It seems clear from the data that most subjects had coped remarkably well with the losses and hardships endured through their displacement. In fact, the average psychological adjustment score among the 106 applicable subjects (19.14 - out of a possible score of 152) was lower than an average score of 23.10 attained from 22 Canadian respondents of the SRT-7 Scale Version (see Note 4). Moreover, when the 22 absolute highest and poorest scores (30 or higher) were compared with incidents of trauma, it was found that six of the subjects had not reported a single incident, five reported just one or two incidents, and the remaining eleven averaged 3.81 incidents (only 3 were alone in Canada). This is comparable to the results obtained among the subjects with the 33 absolute lowest scores (10 or less); eight reported no incidents, 13 one or two incidents, while the remaining 12 averaged 3.50 incidents (six were in Canada alone!). Similarly, the adjustment of subjects who had experienced less than three incidents (20.29) was comparable to that of those who had experienced three or more incidents (21.58) or even four or more incidents (20.93).

Resettlement and Psychological Adjustment: Of equal interest is the finding that subjects were likely to perceive their coming to Canada as having more adverse impact upon their lives than the conditions/events encountered during their displacement; only 13% believed they had been affected by the conditions of their displacement in comparison to the 35% who felt that resettlement had adversely affected their lives. This data suggests that many of the subjects, despite describing Canada as a 'fair' or even 'desirable' place to live (97% of all subjects), have nonetheless encountered "damaging" circumstances (apparently often more damaging than those endured during displacement!).

This finding, though initially unexpected, is not without grounds once considered. Resettlement, to however a desirable country, represents not only a loss of livelihood, roles and status, but constitutes a complete interruption of the individual's life expectations. The refugee is virtually thrust into a new social, cultural, and occupational milieu, without knowledge of the language, values, the customs and norms of social interaction. Settlement, in many cases, may represent a greater degree of change and loss to the refugee than that endured at any other time of displacement.

It was assumed, upon consideration of this assumption, that those refugees who reported Canada as having an adverse impact upon their lives might also have attained the least adjustment. This was in fact found; these subjects were less likely to have attained at least a moderate level of English (40% versus the overall proportion of 66%)

and were slightly lagging in their degree of acculturation/assimilation (an average score of 17.28 versus 19.45). They were, in addition, more likely to rate their personal income as 'poor' (48% versus 42%), to be receiving financial assistance (60% versus 58%), to be unemployed or employed part-time but seeking full-time work (49% versus 42%), and to be holding in jobs of lesser status than those held in their country of origin (48% versus 35%). The average psychological score of these subjects was 23.82 - surpassing by four points the overall average of 19.14; 11 of the 22 scores exceeded 30.

Psychological adjustment, upon further examination, was also found to be related to specific conditions of resettlement. Indeed, the 22 subjects with the absolute highest scores (exceeding 30) exhibited a rate of linguistic, social, and occupational adaptation which, with one exception (employment status), fell below both the average level of adaptation as well as that of the 33 subjects with the absolute lowest scores (10 or less). The comparison of adjustment scores follows: (a) 59% spoke no or low English versus the average of 35% (and 35% among the subjects with the lowest adjustment); (b) the average ethnic relations score was 7.33 versus 8.73 (9.54); (c) the average individual acculturation/assimilation score was 16.96 versus 18.61 (18.80); (d) 50% were unemployed or employed part-time but seeking full-time work versus the average of 44% (52%); (e) all (11 of 11) had experienced a loss of occupational status versus the average of 59% (50%); (f) 48% rated their personal incomes as 'poor' versus 44%

(35%); and (g) 67% were receiving financial assistance versus 60% (52%).

Though it is difficult to discern the most influential variables of psychological adjustment, indeed many may well act upon the individual simultaneously, there is little questioning that resettlement may weigh heavily upon the individual. This is most apparent through an examination of the selected predictors of adjustment: (a) subjects with no or low English scored higher on the SRT than those with at least moderate language skills (22.25 versus 17.10); (b) subjects who rated their relations with compatriots the poorest (a score of 7 or less) scored significantly higher than those whose scores totaled 8 or more (22.44 versus 15.88); (c) subjects with the lowest level of acculturation/assimilation (16 or less) scored significantly higher than those who had attained a moderate or high level (25.83 versus 17.22); (d) subjects who had lost occupational status scored higher than those who had attained equivalent or greater status (22.25 versus 12.83); (e) subjects who rated their personal incomes as 'none' or 'poor' scored substantially higher than those with at least a 'fair' income (23.20 versus 16.77); and (f) subjects who were receiving financial assistance scored higher than those who had achieved financial independence (20.24 versus 17.04).

Though it had been expected that a lack of employment would place considerable stress upon the refugee, and result in lower psychological adjustment, this relationship was not observed. The average adjustment

score of unemployed subjects (20.39) was comparable to the score of those satisfactorily employed (17.48). Moreover, the highest level of adjustment was exhibited by those subjects employed part-time but who were seeking full-time work (14.58).

Occupational satisfaction, however, was found to be related to psychological adjustment. The average adjustment score among subjects who 'disliked' their present jobs, for example, was significantly higher than the average score of those who liked their work 'somewhat' or more (18.63 versus 13.68). Similarly, subjects who found their current work to be less satisfying than their former jobs tended to exhibit a lower level of adjustment than those individuals who had found equally or more satisfying employment (a score of 21.19 versus 17.89). Clearer yet was the relationship between psychological adjustment and perceived prospects of a satisfying life; subjects who felt that their future employment in Canada would be unfavorable exhibited significantly lower adjustment than those persons who believed that they would eventually attain satisfying work (an average score of 22.48 versus 12.43). When the overall occupational scores (numerical summarization of the above items) were compared to adjustment, it was found that those subjects with the lowest scores (7 and less) exhibited a lesser degree of psychological adjustment than those subjects with scores of 8 or more (21.76 versus 16.80).

Adjustment as a Process: In considering the data, one might well surmise that psychological adjustment among refugees is primarily

a function of conditions of resettlement. One should not further presume, however, that adjustment is a singular, uniform process; while it may be possible to identify general predictors of psychological adjustment (e.g., language proficiency, level of attained social adaptation, financial independence, or occupational satisfaction), one must keep in mind that these are also reflective of a number of demographic and individual variables. These variables, moreover, may well vary from group to group and - despite the remarkably similar level of psychological Adjustment observed among four of the five groups - contribute to fairly unique patterns of adjustment.

Adjustment, however, remains an identifiable and recurring process. Though groups of refugees may well exhibit varying (and different) degrees of social, cultural, and economic adaptation, each also brings to resettlement a number of identifiable demographic and individual characteristics which can be used to identify and understand the exhibited pattern of behavior. In the present study, for example, a comparative examination of the five groups revealed that high adaptation is likely to reflect three combining variables: (a) a higher than average education; (b) a higher than average level of English - particularly at the time of arrival to Canada; and (c) a lengthier period of residence in Canada.

The Ethiopians: The impact of these variables was most apparent within the Ethiopian sample which exhibited both the second lowest average psychological score (16.52) as well as the greatest degree of overall

adaptation. All but two of these subjects (89%) spoke at least a moderate level of English at the time of the study and most had attained considerable occupational adjustment; 79% had found a stable full or part-time job, 71% rated their incomes as at least 'fair', and 73% were financially independent. This group, in addition, had achieved the greatest level of acculturation/assimilation (an average score of 3.07) with no less than 70% of the subjects giving at least an adequate rating to six of the eight dimensions of the measurement; use of English media (which received an adequate rating by 92% of the subjects), fitting in with Canadians (85%), understanding Canadian ways and behavior (77%), feeling accepted and a sense of belonging in Canada (both 77%), and knowledge of events and issues of Canadian society (69%).

The Chileans: The group most comparable to the Ethiopians was the Chilean sample (average psychological score of 19.25). Both contained a large number of subjects who had at least a high school education (82% and 75% respectively) as well as a significant number who had studied at a university (53% and 60%). Most Chileans, in addition, had at least a moderate level of spoken English (90%) and demonstrated considerable socio-cultural adaptation (an average acculturation/ assimilation score of 2.85). Two of the eight items of this measurement received an adequate rating by 70% of the subjects while three were rated adequate by 60% of the subjects; use of English media (100%), knowledge of events and issues (89%), feeling accepted by Canadians (68%), feeling a

sense of belonging in Canada (63%), and understanding Canadian ways and behavior (63%).

The most discerning differences between the groups were occupationally-related. The Chileans, despite having resided in Canada for a longer period of time (85% versus 41% had lived here for five to ten years), were somewhat less likely to be employed in stable full or part-time jobs (67% versus 77%), to rate their incomes as at least 'fair' (55% versus 71%), or to be financially independent (65% versus 73%). Though fewer Chileans were in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs (50% versus 58%), they had nevertheless experienced the greatest drop in status; white collar and professional listings dropped from 94% in Chile to 36% in Canada (versus 67% to 42% among the Ethiopians). While subjects of both groups frequently neither liked their work (44% and 53%) nor found it as satisfying as their former jobs (43% and 60%), the Chileans - perhaps owing to lengthier residence - were less likely to be optimistic about the future (25% versus 64%).

The principal demographic difference, and apparently the determining factor between the groups, was the level of spoken English at the time of arrival to Canada; whereas 77% (13 of 17) of the Ethiopians indicated at least a moderate level of language proficiency at time of arrival, only 15% (3 of 20) of the Chileans did so. This finding suggests that the Chileans, despite a level of education comparable to that of the Ethiopians, were significantly handicapped by their inability to communicate. Indeed, when asked to consider the

obstacles in obtaining satisfactory employment in Canada, the Chileans were most apt to cite language difficulties; this was listed by 10 of the 14 Chilean respondents in comparison to but one of the 17 Ethiopians! When the Chileans' lengthier residence in Canada is considered - no Chilean had lived in Canada for less than three years, only seven or 41% of the Ethiopians had - the impact of initial language skills on both short and long-term adjustment becomes even more apparent.

The Salvadoreans: This relationship, particularly the short-term impact of inadequate language skills upon adaptation, is no less apparent within the Salvadorean sample (average psychological adjustment score was 16.52). Though similar to the Chileans in education (68% of the sample had graduated from high school, 59% had studied at a university), the Salvadoreans had not had a lengthy period of residence in which to acquire language skills; at the time of answering the questionnaire, 68% of the sample had been in Canada for less than three years while only three had been here for five or more years. Almost one-third (32%) of the subjects were still studying English.

The Salvadoreans, owing largely to their brief residence (the shortest of all groups), had attained limited adaptation. Less than one-half (46%) of these subjects had yet to acquire a moderate level of language proficiency while their average acculturation/assimilation score was the lowest of all groups - 2.16 with all dimensions but media use (55%) receiving no higher than a 30% adequacy rating. These sub-

jects, in addition, demonstrated the lowest level occupational adjustment; less than one-half (36%) of the sample had acquired a stable full or part-time job, 53% had yet to attain a 'fair' income, and 79% were receiving financial assistance. Relatively few liked their jobs (33%), fewer yet found this employment as satisfying as their former occupations (30%), and barely one in ten was optimistic about the future (11%). Only one subject had found a professional occupation (down from the 80% in El Salvador) while those in the unskilled and semi-skilled sectors had jumped from 20% to 60%.

One can conclude that the Salvadoreans, unlike the Chileans, had not had the time to establish themselves in Canada. Nevertheless, one can reasonably presume that the degree of adversity experienced by these subjects might have been substantially lessened had their level of English at arrival been higher. Indeed, in considering that 41% of the Ethiopians had also been in Canada for less than three years, the discrepancy between the adjustment levels of the two groups can not be attributed to length of residence alone. In further noting that the Chileans, despite having the longest residence in Canada and acquiring high level of language proficiency in time, still lagged behind the Ethiopians in both acculturative and occupational adjustment, one might well conclude that a relatively high level of language proficiency at arrival may accelerate the adaptation process to such an extent that the resulting disparity between low and high language learners remains apparent even after the language differences are minimized.

The Vietnamese: In furthering the examination to the Vietnamese sample (average psychological adjustment score of 14.41), one is provided with a somewhat more complex view of the adaptation process. Though the Vietnamese were similar to the Chileans and Salvadoreans in their of number of high school graduates (62%), significantly fewer of these subjects had studied at a university (33% versus 60% of the South Americans). This lower level of formal education, however, appears to have been in many ways compensated for by the Vietnamese higher level of English at the time of their arrival; 35% of the Vietnamese subjects, versus 15% of the Chileans and 19% of the Salvadoreans, spoke at least moderate English when they arrived in Canada. At the time of the study, at which point 37% of the Vietnamese had been in Canada for five to ten years (42% had been here for three or fewer years), the proportion speaking a moderate or high level of English had risen to 75%.

Neither education, language, nor length of residence can be discounted as a determinant of the Vietnamese level of attained acculturation/assimilation. In fact, it seems likely that all three contributed to this group's moderately high level of socio-cultural adjustment (2.55). Though this overall score was expectedly lower than the levels attained by either the Ethiopians (3.07) or the Chileans (2.85), three of the eight acculturative dimensions received an adequate rating by at least 70% of the Vietnamese (media use, feeling accepted, feeling a sense of belonging to Canada). Three also

received such a rating by 50% of the subjects (understanding Canadian ways, knowledge of Canadian issues, fitting in with Canadians).

The Vietnamese, however, were less successful in their occupational adjustment. Though most (71%) were living on incomes described as 'fair', no less than 42% were still receiving financial assistance and but 50% had found stable full or part-time jobs. Owing largely to their lack of university education and a predominantly blue collar background (only two of the subjects had white collar experience), fully 82% of the Vietnamese were employed in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs.

The Vietnamese, nonetheless, were more likely to be satisfied with their occupational situation. These subjects were not only the most apt to like their jobs (76% - versus the second highest score of 56% among the Chileans), but expressed the greatest degree of optimism about their future prospects; 83% of the Vietnamese - versus 64% of the Ethiopians - believed they would find satisfying employment. In fact, despite the finding that many subjects (46%) were in jobs not as satisfying as those formerly held, one can conclude that the Vietnamese were generally satisfied with their employment in Canada and, more importantly, were confident of attaining greater success.

This degree of occupational satisfaction, despite limited occupational mobility as well as financial independence, is not unexpected. The Vietnamese, unlike either the Ethiopians, Chileans or Salvadoreans, were predominantly of blue collar origin; only two these

subjects indicated their former status to be white collar and thus were less likely to experience downward mobility when accepting such positions in Canada. It may also be that many, having attained a level of occupational status comparable to that formerly held, were confident that the future would be as equally rewarding. Indeed, and as outlined within the literature review, it might be argued that many of the Vietnamese had entered the second stage of adaptation; 54% of the Vietnamese had resided in Canada for one to four years and, having attained at least a degree of self-sufficiency, may have turned their attention to the task of developing their potential.

The Laotians: Of all groups, the Laotians (average psychological score of 18.40) were perhaps the least prepared to cope with the demands of settlement. Only 50% of the applicable subjects had found stable full or part-time employment, 45% had yet to receive a 'fair' income, and 84% were receiving financial assistance (highest among all groups). Employment, when found, was almost always unskilled or semi-skilled (82%) and either disliked or but 'slightly' liked (71%). Most subjects, however, tended to find this work as satisfying as their former jobs (85%) and over one-half (60%) believed that their future employment would be at least 'somewhat' satisfying

The difficulties encountered by the Laotians can in large be attributed to inadequate skills and knowledge. Though a substantial proportion of this sample had been in Canada for three or less years (61%), only 36% of the subjects were high school graduates and

but 17% had studied at a university. Fully 44% had only 1 to 6 years of schooling. At the time of their arrival to Canada, only one of 36 subjects had a moderate level of language proficiency; at the time of the study, this figure had increased to but 12 or 33% of the subjects (61% indicated that their level of English had not changed). Most, when asked to account for their difficulties in obtaining satisfactory employment in Canada, cited inadequate language skills (22 of the 35 responses), inadequate work experience in Canada (15), and/or inadequate education/training (8).

The comparative level of acculturation/assimilation attained by the this group is less certain. Based upon a four-point (rather than five-point) scale, the Laotian score of 2.20 was the second lowest among the five groups (followed only by the Salvadoreans); only two of the eight dimensions of the measurement received an adequacy rating by more than 25% of the subjects (42% felt accepted by Canadians and 50% felt a sense of belonging to Canada). Particularly low were media use (12%) and participation in activities with Canadians (12%). It is surmised, given the generally low level of language proficiency within this group, that a significantly higher score would not have been obtained even if a five-point scale had been employed.

Predictors of Adaptation: In examining the groups in a comparative manner, it is apparent that adaptation, though a complex, multi-dimensional process, is nonetheless rooted within identifiable factors. It is difficult, for example, to attribute the high degree

of adaptation attained by the Ethiopians to causes other than a combination of greater education (53% had studied at university), language proficiency (89% spoke at least moderate English), and length of residence (41% had lived here for at least five years). Even the Chileans, who attained the second highest level of adjustment and were comparable in all respects but one (only 25% spoke moderate English at arrival versus 77% of the Ethiopians), were noticeably lower in their degree of both occupational and acculturational adaptation. The Vietnamese, perhaps best described as moderately 'prepared' for settlement - 62% were high school graduates, 75% knew moderate English, 35% at arrival - achieved what might be described as moderate adjustment (the third highest) during their residence in Canada. The Salvadoreans and Laotians, on the other hand, attained a low level of adjustment which was clearly reflective of their more recent arrival and inadequate language skills; only 14% and 28% of these subjects had lived in Canada for five or more years and less than 50% in both groups spoke moderate English. Adaptation, in the case of the Asian sample, was further hampered by these subject's low level of education (only 36% were high school graduates)

Length of Residence: Of the three discussed variables, the most predictable (though not necessarily influential) appears to be length of residence (see Table 10). Indeed, one can conclude with considerable certainty that a degree of adaptation - even amongst refugees with little education or initial language proficiency - will occur with

time. Language skills, for example, were found to increase significantly over time; whereas only 11% of the subjects spoke a moderate level of English during their first year of residence, this figure rose to 45% after one to two years, 56% after two to three years, 67% after three to five years, and 84% following five years of residence. Those with high or fluent skills rose from 14% after a year of residence (no first year resident had attained this level) to 32% following three years of their settlement

Considerable occupational adjustment may also be expected to occur with time. Whereas not one of the eleven applicable first year subjects had found stable work (five were working part-time but seeking full-time employment), this figure rose to 45% among those who had been in Canada for one to two years and 73% among those with more than two years of residence. Those receiving a 'fair' income likewise increased; from 37% after one or two years of residence (36% among first year residents) to 67% after the second or third year. Recipients of financial assistance, totaling 83% of all first, second and third year residents, fell to 44% among subjects with three to five years of residence and to 37% among those who had been living in Canada for at least five years.

The greatest degree of occupational adjustment apparently occurs within the first two to three years of settlement. Whereas relatively few subjects found work within the first two years of their resettlement (24% in total), the proportion who were employed after two to three years both increased and stabilized; 75% of the subjects were

employed after two to three years, 74% after five years of residence. Those receiving a 'fair' income similarly jumped after the first and second years of residence (from 38% to 63% after two to three years), then too remained relatively constant (74% and 66% after three and five years respectively). Financial recipients, though peaking during the second and third years (93%), dropped to 44% among subjects with three to five years of residence and 37% among those with five or more years in Canada.

This pattern of occupational adjustment is common to most refugee populations. Weiermair (1971) and Stein (1979), for instance, have pointed out that the three-quarters of attained occupational adjustment can be expected to occur within the first three to four years of settlement. Though the process may be initially offset by language, skill and certification problems - and is in fact denoted by high unemployment, low income, and financial assistance - many of the occupational-related obstacles may be ameliorated by the third or fourth year through language improvement, work experience, or skill upgrading. If the difficulties are not resolved, however, there is often a waning of drive and determination. The refugee, frustrated and discouraged, may abandon the goal of complete economic recovery and accept the changes in his/her life and status.

This change of attitude was observed within the present study. First years residents, though obviously grateful when employment was found (67% reportedly liked their jobs), had found their entry into

the work force a difficult experience; these subjects not only encountered the greatest number of occupational-related obstacles (2.85 versus an average of 2.27), but were the least likely to be optimistic about their future employment (29%). The most optimistic of all subjects, despite general dissatisfaction with their immediate employment (only 40% expressed satisfaction), were subjects with one to three years of residence; 77% of these refugees felt the future would be at least 'somewhat satisfying. The least positive in their outlook were those subjects with three or more years of residence; only 44% liked their jobs - declining to 42% among those with five or more years of residence - and but 45% thought that future employment would be satisfying (41% among the five and plus years residents). These subjects, in addition, were the least likely to find work in Canada as satisfying as their former occupations (50% versus the overall average of 78%).

Examined also in relation to length of residence was socio-cultural adaptation. Again, as with occupational adjustment, it was found that the greatest degree of acculturation/assimilation took place with the first two to three years of settlement. Whereas the attained level remained relatively stable among subjects who had lived in Canada for either three to five years (19.60) or five and more years (22.72), considerable change was observed between the average scores of those who had been in Canada for one to two years (14.40) and two to three years (16.76). The difference in scores between subjects with approximately

two years of residence (1-2 years) and those with at least three years (3-5 years) was a full five points (5.2).

The average score among the eight first year residents, however, was found to be disproportionately high (18.25). Given the low level of language proficiency of these subjects (only two spoke moderate English), one can only surmise that many of these subjects over-estimated their level of socio-cultural adaptation. Indeed, the average scores of many of the acculturation/assimilation items were comparable to, or exceeded, the overall average scores; though less apt to use English media (2.12 versus 3.0) and less knowledgeable of Canadian events and issues (1.75 versus 2.57), these subjects nonetheless reported greater understanding of the ways Canadian people think and behave (3.0 versus 2.64). Found too, despite lower ratings in terms of having Canadian friends (2.10 versus 2.33) and participating in Canadian activities (1.80 versus 2.10), were unexpectedly high acculturation scores; fitting in with Canadians received an average score of 2.0 (versus 2.33), feeling accepted in Canada a score of 2.75 (versus 2.74), and having a sense of belonging in Canada a score of 2.62 (versus 2.67).

It is surmised that this unexpectedly high level of socio-cultural adaptation may be reflective of an initial 'period of relief' which commonly follows contact with a new society. During this time, Tyhurst (1980) observed, refugees commonly experience "an overly positive state of mind". This state of relative euphoria tends not only to delay the "psychological entry" of the refugee, thus hiding from the individual

potential socio-cultural conflicts, but may well lend itself to a security-oriented strategy of conservatism which allows the newcomer to retain a semblance of meaning and structure in an otherwise strange and poorly understood society (Baskauskas, 1981).

Also found to be related to length of residence, and again occurring primarily after two to three years of settlement, was social adjustment within the ethnic group. With the exception of acquiring friends, which apparently is a more gradual process, most subjects felt both supported (83%) and accepted (76%) within their community by their third year of residence. Subjects who had been in Canada for fewer years, however, were less likely to feel either supported (62%) or accepted (67%). First year residents, though reporting the lowest level of community acceptance (44%), felt that they had nevertheless received considerable support (87% were satisfied in this regard). This figure may reflect these subjects' greater need for and in fact reception of assistance as newcomers to Canada.

Acquisition of friendships, unlike support and assistance within a community, was found to be a more gradual process. Though most subjects (64%) were satisfied with their number of compatriot friendships, the most likely to rate favorably these friendships had resided in Canada for either three to five years (69%) or five or more years (78%). Subjects who had settled in Canada for three or fewer years, in comparison, were almost as likely to express dissatisfaction (42%) as they were satisfaction (58%).

Table 9

Length of Residence  
and Adaptation

	<b>First Year</b>	<b>1-2 Years</b>	<b>2-3 Years</b>	<b>3-5 Years</b>	<b>5- Years-</b>
Moderate English	11%	45%	56%	69%	84%
Total employment	27%	56%	75%	75%	74%
Stable employment (full or part time)	0	45%	75%	71%	73%
Fair personal income	36%	38%	63%	74%	66%
Financial assistance	77%	79%	93%	44%	37%
Job satisfaction	67%	36%	43%	47%	42%
Employment optimism	29%	70%	83%	50%	41%
Satisfied with ethnic					
-friendships	57%	59%	57%	69%	77%
-support	87%	62%	81%	83%	84%
-acceptance	44%	67%	80%	78%	72%
Average Acculturation	18.25	14.40	16.76	19.60	22.72
Psychological adjustment	18.28	22.05 (15.08)	15.07	16.23	20.23 (16.70)

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The relationship between length of residence and psychological adjustment could not be clearly discerned. In fact, when the five disproportionately highest scores (60 to 87) were excluded, the range of average scores between the first and fifth years was 15.07 to 16.23 (and 18.28 among subjects who had been in Canada for a year or less). However, when the highest scores (25 to 87) were related to years of residence, it was found that a substantially greater proportion fell among subjects with either one to two years (35%) or five or more years of residence (39%); no difference was observed among subjects with two to three or three to five years of residence (only 13% of either group exhibited high scores). One might at best surmise that these results reflect either the difficulties and hardships encountered during the initial period of resettlement or the growing sense of pessimism and dissatisfaction which long-term settlement may bring.

One should keep in mind, however, that each phase of the adaptation process places a degree of stress upon the refugee. In fact, many of the difficulties encountered by first year refugees continue to be problematic into the second and third years of resettlement; almost one-half these subjects still lacked adequate language and one-quarter were unemployed. Most too, even the more successful who believed that they would attain occupational satisfaction in the coming years, had yet to find jobs they liked (only 43% liked their work) and no less than 93% were still receiving financial assistance. Even by the fifth year of settlement, when most subjects had clearly given up hope of attaining a

more satisfying career, many remained burdened with unemployment and financial dependency.

Language Proficiency: Though length of residence is in many ways the delineating factor of adaptation, the most influential individual attribute appears to be language proficiency (see Table 11). Indeed, those subjects who arrived to Canada speaking at least a moderate level of English were significantly more likely to have found stable full or part-time employment (74% versus 49% of the low English speakers), to be receiving a 'fair' personal income (77% versus 50%), and to be financially independent (61% versus 36%). When current language proficiency was related to occupational adjustment, the figures were no less disparate; moderate and high language speakers were more apt to be employed in a stable job (73% versus 32%), to be recipients of a 'fair' income (71% versus 41%), and be financially independent (57% versus 30%). Only 27% of those subjects with a high level of language proficiency were found to be receiving financial assistance.

Language was also found to be related to occupational satisfaction. Subjects who arrived with moderate proficiency, for example, were not only more likely to be holding jobs which they liked (67% versus 36%), but were noticeably more optimistic about their employment future in Canada (72% versus 47%). Similarly, subjects who rated their current level of English as at least moderate were more likely than their less proficient cohorts to have jobs which they liked (47%

versus 39%). They were not found, however, more likely to be optimistic about the future; only 54%, in comparison to 55%, were encouraged by their future prospects. This lower than expected level of optimism among moderate English speakers may reflect these subjects lengthier residence and the sense of discouragement which long-term settlement may bring; 73% had lived in Canada for at least three years and 54% for as long as five years).

The impact of language upon acculturation/assimilation, though apparently less significant, is nevertheless evident. The average overall score of those subjects who arrived in Canada with at least a moderate level of English was 19.43, only slightly higher than score of 17.89 attained from among the low language users. However, when current language use was related to socio-cultural adjustment, it was found that high and moderate language users scored substantially higher than those subjects with a low level of English proficiency (21.14 versus 15.41).

There is also evidence supporting the supposition that language proficiency at arrival may accelerate the adaptation process to a degree that is otherwise unattainable (as was contended in the discussion of the Ethiopian and Chilean samples). Indeed, subjects who settled in Canada with a moderate level of English proficiency exhibited both greater socio-cultural adaptation (20.54 versus 18.12) and occupational adaptation (74% versus 49% had found satisfactory employment) than those who had acquired the language while living in

Table 10  
Language and Adaptation

	<b>Arrival Level</b>		<b>Present Level</b>	
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Moderate</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Moderate</u>
Rate of employment	49%	74%	32%	73%
Fair personal income	50%	77%	41%	71%
Financial assistance	64%	39%	70%	43%
Satisfied with job	36%	67%	39%	47%
Employment optimism	47%	72%	55%	54%
Average acculturation	17.89	19.43	15.41	21.14

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Canada. These subjects, in addition, were more likely to be receiving a 'fair' income (77% versus 50%) as well as to be financially independent (61% versus 36%).

These findings are not without supporting research. In fact, and as outlined throughout the literature review, inadequate language skills can not only retard the acquisition of roles and skills essential to integration, but may limit the refugee to marginal, low paying jobs which require minimal communicative skills (Neuwirth, 1984; Samuel, 1984) This in turn retards the refugee's opportunities for advancement as well as limiting the possibilities - due to inadequate financial resource - of pursuing the additional language or vocational training which might enhance the individual's marketability (Montero, 1979; Neuwirth & Clark, 1979). High language proficiency, on the other hand, has been directly linked to greater employability (Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission, 1982; Stepick & Portes, 1986), enhanced earnings (Starr & Roberts, 1982; McSpadden, 1987), and increased occupational mobility (Weiermair, 1971; Stein, 1979).

Level of Education: Education, as expected, was also found to influence adaptation (see Table 12). Those subjects who had studied at a university, for example, were significantly more likely to arrive in Canada with at least a moderate level of English; 40% of these subjects rated their arrival English at this level in comparison to 12% of the high school graduates, 21% of those with 7 to 12 years, and none (0 of 8) of the subjects with 1 to 6 years of education. The university-

educated subjects, in addition, were the most likely to rate their current English skills as at least moderate; 79% of these refugees had acquired this level in comparison to 67% of the high school graduates, 59% of the subjects with 7 to 12 years, and 18% of those with 1 to 6 years of education.

It appears, for the most part, that higher education had not only provided many subjects an opportunity to study English, but facilitated language acquisition during settlement. Indeed, the proportion of university and high school educated subjects who had attained at least moderate language skills during resettlement (47%) was substantially higher than those with 7 to 12 years (38%) or 1 to 6 years of education (18%). They were, in addition, more likely to have completed their language training (69% versus 51% of those with 12 or fewer years of education) as well as to be furthering their education in areas other than language training - only one of the 14 full or part-time students had less than a high school education; 10 had studied at a university.

Less clear, however, was the relationship between education and socio-cultural adjustment. Though the lowest average acculturation/assimilation score was expectedly found among those subjects with only 1 to 6 years of education (17.75), the highest scores were among high school graduates (22.21) and those with 7 to 12 years of education (20.52). The average score of those who had studied at a university was unexpectedly low (19.45) - even among those who spoke moderate

English (19.91) as well among those who had arrived in Canada with this level of proficiency (20.11).

It is difficult to account for the relatively low scores obtained from the university-educated subjects. Indeed, it appears that while low education (1 to 6 years) might well limit socio-cultural adaptation, a higher than average level of education (university studies) does not necessarily enhance the process. Within all but the Ethiopian sample, it was found that the average acculturation/assimilation score of those subjects with 7 to 12 years of education (including high school graduates) surpassed that of the university-educated subjects; a combined average score of 20.81 versus 18.71; 23.0 versus 23.12 amongst the Ethiopians.

A somewhat similar relationship was observed when education was related to occupational adjustment. Though subjects with 1 to 6 years of education were clearly the least likely to be either satisfactorily employed (29% versus 67% of the more educated subjects), to be receiving a 'fair' income (31% versus 64%), or to be financially independent (12% versus 45%), those with a higher than average education did not fare as well as expected. Indeed, fewer university-educated subjects (61%) had found stable full or part-time employment than either high school graduates (69%) or those individuals with 7 to 12 years of education (73%). They were, in addition, no more likely than high school graduates to be financially independent (46% versus 47%) and were in fact less apt to be receiving a 'fair'

personal income (62% versus 74%). Subjects with 7 to 12 years of education, though more often recipients of financial assistance (60% versus 53%), were comparable to their university-educated cohorts in terms of income (57% reported their incomes as 'fair').

Despite extensive examination of the data, no consistent explanation was found to account for the lower than expected level of adaptation exhibited by university-educated subjects. These subjects, even after three years of settlement, were no more likely than high school educated subjects to have found a stable job (63% versus 70%), to be receiving a 'fair' income (62% versus 76%), or to be financially independent (59% versus 61%). Even when the influence of current language proficiency was examined, it was found that the university-educated subjects speaking moderate English fared no better than high school educated subjects at this language level; 75% versus 74% were employed, 61% versus 74% were earning 'fair' incomes, and 39% versus 36% were recipients of financial assistance. Among those with low language skills, not one of the eight university-educated subjects was employed (versus five of ten who had studied at a high school), only five of ten were earning 'fair' incomes (versus 9 of 17), and six of eight were receiving financial assistance (versus 13 of 16). Only the few who had actually graduated from a university, and who arrived to Canada speaking at least moderate English, had attained higher adjustment; 75% (12 of 16) were employed, 75% (15 of 20) made 'fair' earnings, and but 28% (5 of 18) were receiving assistance.

Table 11

## Education and Adaptation

	<b>1-6 years</b>	<b>7-12 Years</b>	<b>High School</b>	<b>University</b>
Moderate arrival English	0	21%	12%	40%
Moderate current English	18%	59%	67%	79%
Rate of employment	29%	73%	68%	61%
Fair personal income	31%	57%	74%	62%
Financial assistance	88%	60%	53%	54%
Satisfied with job	15%	50%	59%	46%
Employment optimism	69%	53%	73%	44%
Average acculturation	17.75	20.52	22.21	18.71

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It appears, at least within the present study, that many better educated refugees are simply unable to adjust to the occupational-related difficulties encountered during settlement. Indeed, university-educated subjects tended to sustain the greatest degree of downward mobility. Whereas 86% of these refugees had held professional or white collar jobs in their countries, only 21% did so in Canada (fully 76% were in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs). These subjects, moreover, encountered the second highest number of obstacles in pursuing satisfactory employment; the average of 2.57 per subject was surpassed only by the 2.76 averaged by subjects with 1 to 6 years of education. The most frequently reported obstacle in attaining satisfactory employment, accounting for 54% of the 33 responses (but reported by only four of the 42 less-educated subjects), was the non-recognition of degrees, diplomas, or certification. This was followed by language difficulties (39%), inadequate work experience in Canada (39%), and a lack of accessible education, training, or skill-upgrading programs (27%)

High school graduates, in comparison, encountered significantly fewer occupational-related difficulties. In fact, despite an increase in unskilled and semi-skilled labour from 33% to 71%, no less than 73% of these subjects had found the work as satisfying as their former jobs and were at least 'somewhat' optimistic about the future. These subjects, in addition, had apparently encountered the fewest obstacles in pursuing satisfactory employment; an average of only 1.38 was obtained and only two subjects reported that their employment had been

hampered by nonrecognition of a degree or related certificate. The most frequently reported obstacles were the lack of accessible education or training programs in Canada (38% of the 13 responses), inadequate work experience in Canada (31%), and inadequate language skills (31%).

The least likely to experience status loss, as well as status gain, were subjects with less than a high school education. Among those with 7 to 12 years of education, for example, only 15% (formerly 33%) had found white collar work in Canada; 70% - versus 61% prior to displacement - were employed within unskilled or semi-skilled vocations. Of those with 1 to 6 years, all with blue collar background, only one was not in an unskilled or semi-skilled job. Though 68% of all these refugees disliked their jobs, fully 92% did not find them less satisfying than their former occupations. Over one-half of the subjects (61%) were still optimistic about their future.

These subjects, for the most part, experienced the same difficulties in attaining satisfying employment. Both groups, in rank order, indicated the most prevalent of obstacles to be language difficulties (77% and 75% of the respective responses), inadequate work experience in Canada (54% and 43%), and inadequate education or training (38% and 31%). Subjects with 7 to 12 years of education, however, tended to report a greater number of obstacles (2.76 versus 2.06).

In examining more fully the relationship between education and occupational adjustment, one can only surmise that the difficulties encountered by the university-educated subjects are in fact a function

of the very attribute which also facilitates adaptation - higher than average education. Though there is little question that a university education may greatly enhance language acquisition, and is at least associated with high acculturation/assimilation (as is high school education), the transference of such schooling to the occupational field is extremely limited. Though this obviously does not preclude the attainment of employment, it does account for the high degree of underemployment, namely a 75% increase of blue collar jobs, experienced by the university-educated refugees. It might also have placed many of these individuals in the unenviable position of not only being over-qualified for the type of work most often available in Canada (unskilled and semi-skilled), but also underqualified. Due to their white collar background, many of these refugees may lack the skills and experience needed to first secure this type of employment, then advance and obtain remuneration within the sector.

Lesser educated refugees, on the other hand, may well bring to resettlement more transferable skills. Indeed, while many (particularly nongraduates of high school) reported their lack of education and training to be an occupational obstacle, they were nevertheless - with the exception of the least employable (1 to 6 years) - more likely than the university-educated subjects to have found employment (71% versus 61%). These jobs, moreover, were largely compatible to the both subjects' lower level of education as well as their occupational background; 61% were of blue collar origin, 80% were holding blue collar

jobs. Such suggests that the moderately educated refugee, though less likely than a highly educated refugee to find white collar work, may nevertheless attain a relative higher degree of occupational adjustment.

Gender and Age: Also examined in relation to adaptation, though to a lesser degree, were the factors of gender and age. Former residence, while explored, was excluded from further examination; though refugees of rural origin (all Laotian) were only half as likely to be either employed or to speak moderate English, over one-half (11 of 21) had also been in Canada for only one to two years). In terms of gender and age, neither were found - in and of themselves - to exert a consistently significant influence upon adjustment. The data concerning the status of female refugees, however, may have been limited by the size of this sample; only 27 women, or 23% of all subjects, participated in the study.

Women: Females, upon initial examination, exhibited a slightly higher than average rate of moderate language proficiency (67% versus the overall average of 60%) as well as acculturation/assimilation (18.10 versus 17.81). However, further exploration of this data revealed that both these measurements might also have been reflective of these subjects' length of residence. Among the 18 subjects who spoke moderate English, for instance, no less than 15 had spent at least three years in Canada; of the nine who spoke poor English, six had resided in Canada for less than three years. Similarly, subjects with three or more years of residence had attained a higher level of socio-cultural adaptation

than their shorter term compatriots (19.37 versus 13.60)

Occupational adjustment among females was also related to length of residence. Though women in general demonstrated almost an average level of employment (65% were employed versus the average of 71%), no less than ten of the thirteen working women had been in Canada for at least three years. Similarly, each of the twelve subjects who reported receiving a 'fair' income (44% of the sample) had resided in Canada for no less than three years while all but three of the eleven subjects who were receiving financial assistance (48% of the sample) had been in the country for less than three years.

Though these subjects in many ways fared better than expected, there nevertheless remains concern for the female refugee. Indeed, while exactly three-quarters of all subjects who had resided in Canada for at least two to three years were employed, this was the case for only two of the thirteen women. Similarly, while 63% of all subjects were receiving a 'fair' income by the this point of their settlement, only one of the twelve women were. Even after this period, many of the female subjects continued to struggle; six of the seven unemployed women had lived in Canada for at least three years as had one-half (7 of 14) of those receiving a 'poor' income. All but one of those not receiving financial assistance were either married - their incomes thus likely supplimented by their spouses' - or had resided in Canada for at least five years.

Though most female subjects in this study had attained (with time)

what might be described as average adjustment, it seems clear that the process itself was initially hindered by a number of obstacles. Only 11% of these subjects had arrived in Canada with adequate English skills and almost one-half (13 of 27) had less than a high school education. Even among the twelve subjects who had studied at a university (11 of whom came from Latin America), only two spoke moderate English at the time of their arrival (10 at the time of the study).

This language deficit was by far the most frequently encountered obstacle in attaining satisfactory employment (32% of the 50 responses). It was followed by nonrecognition of degrees or certification (16%), inadequate work experience in Canada (12%), and inadequate knowledge as to how to find a job in Canada (also 12%). Most jobs, found in the unskilled and semi-skilled sectors (71%), offered little opportunity for advancement. Only 40% of the women expressed optimism about their future employment prospects.

Gender (or female status), one might thus conclude, is a variable which can not be examined without consideration of related individual and demographic factors (i.e., education, language proficiency, length of residence). Though it may be that women in general tend to attain lower levels of adaptation than their male cohorts, subjects in the present study exhibited average psychological adjustment (an average score of 18.10 versus the overall average of 17.07) as well as considerable adaptation to the more specific demands of resettlement. In fact, these females demonstrated no less a capacity than their male

cohorts to cope with, and in many cases, overcome the language, socio-cultural, and occupational difficulties which they encountered. This ability, however, is seemingly not so much a function of gender per se as it was a reflection of these subjects' willingness to maintain their efforts to learn and adapt over a number of years.

Current Age: Current age, as a variable in and of itself, was also found to be a poor indicator of adaptation. Little evidence, for example, was found to support the contention that older refugees were the most likely to experience adjustment difficulties. These subjects (forty plus) not only demonstrated considerable psychological adjustment (an average score of 15.10 versus the 19.43 among the younger subjects), but were superior to their younger cohorts in many spheres of adaptation. They exhibited an above average level of moderate language proficiency (72% spoke moderate English versus 65% of the younger subjects) and no less than a comparable level of socio-cultural adaptation (18.71 versus 18.88). Occupationally, older subjects more likely to be employed (67% versus 52%) and were compatible in terms of 'fair' income (58% versus 63%) and financial assistance (60% versus 61%).

In further examining the data, it was found that current age simply served to mask more relevant predictors of adaptation. Indeed, the level of adaptation attained by the older age group in many ways reflected their greater length of residence; whereas 81% of subjects aged forty or more had resided in Canada for at least three years, this figure dropped to 43% among the younger subjects (44% had settled within

the past two years). Moreover, it was found that the level of adjustment attained by the older subjects was in some ways superior to that of their younger cohorts even when length of residence was taken into account; among subjects who had lived in Canada for at least three years, those of forty or more years demonstrated the greatest language proficiency (84% versus 74% spoke moderate English) as well as the the highest level of employment (78% versus 70% were employed). Though these subjects were less likely to report 'fair' incomes' (58% versus 77%), and were more apt to be receiving assistance (44% versus 31%), such may well reflect greater financial responsibilities rather than their employment per se; while both older and younger subjects tended to hold unskilled or semi-skilled jobs (respectively 65% and 70%), the former were significantly more likely to have the financial responsibilities of raising children (92% versus 66% reported having children).

This pattern was also observed among the younger subjects. Subjects in their thirties, for example, exhibited greater adaptation than those in their twenties in both language proficiency (69% versus 61% spoke moderate English) as well as occupational status; 61% versus 43% were employed, 69% versus 57% were receiving 'fair' incomes, and 47% versus 32% had achieved financial independence. Upon further examination of the data, however, it was found that the thirty year olds had clearly had a greater period of time in which to accomplish this higher degree of adaptation; whereas 49% of these subjects had spent at least three

years in Canada (25% had settled within the past two years), 64% of the twenty year olds had spent only one to two years in Canada (36% had resided here for three or more years).

Age at Arrival: Age at resettlement, however, was found to be somewhat more predictive of adaptation. Though subjects who came to Canada in their forties and fifties were comparable to their younger cohorts in terms of socio-cultural knowledge (21.90 versus 20.29), they were lagging in both language and occupational adjustment; 51% versus 65% spoke moderate English, 67% versus 76% were employed, 38% versus 65% reported receiving 'fair' incomes, and 83% versus 43% were receiving financial assistance. Though most of the applicable older subjects, by the third year of their residence, were able to overcome their difficulties in language (5 of 7 had attained moderate skills) and employment (5 of 6 were working), they were less successful in acquiring either 'fair' incomes (3 of 6) or financial independence (3 of 6). All but two of the seven listed occupations were unskilled or semi-skilled.

Younger subjects, who came to Canada in their thirties or twenties, were found to have attained comparable levels of adjustment. Both the thirty and twenty year olds who had resided in Canada for at least three years exhibited high levels of language proficiency (78% and 81%), socio-cultural adaptation (scores of 20.39 and 21.16), and employability (77% and 75%). Though the twenty year olds were somewhat more likely to report 'fair' incomes (77% versus 65%) and to be

financially independent (72% versus 58%), they were also less likely to have the financial responsibilities of family life; only 60% of these subjects, in comparison to 71% of the thirty year olds, had children. Both groups were relatively comparable in terms of education (only 27% and 33% had less than a high school education), language proficiency at arrival (33% and 29% spoke moderate English), and occupational status (50% and 68% held unskilled or semi-skilled jobs).

One might conclude, in considering the data, that age (like gender) is a variable which may often mask more influential factors of adaptation. Though there seems little questioning that advanced age at resettlement may limit adjustment, particularly within the work force, many of these same refugees nonetheless appeared to have adjusted remarkably well to the losses and changes in their lives. The forty plus subjects not only exhibited considerable psychological adjustment (an average score of 15.92), but appeared to have made the best of their employment opportunities despite an acknowledgement that their occupational future in Canada would likely be dissatisfying (only 3 of 8 believed their future employment would be rewarding). Most too, despite apparent plans to return to their homelands if conditions permitted (7 of 14 would definitely return), had demonstrated considerable effort to acquire the English language and adjust to the Canadian way of life.

Current age, for the most part, appears to be even less significant. Indeed, and as demonstrated, the degree of adjustment attained by both the younger and older subjects seemed to reflect primarily their

length of residence rather than age. Moreover, given that adaptation apparently occurs largely within the first three years of resettlement, one may infer that most refugees will have concluded the greatest proportion of their expected level of adaptation by the age of forty (or even thirty - given that most, as in the present case, arrive in their twenties or thirties). Interestingly, however, many of these same refugees appear to retain their hopes of a more rewarding future - despite a dramatically reduced rate of adaptation - until they have in fact reached their middle years; whereas only 32% of the older subjects (forty plus) who had been in Canada for at least five years expressed optimism about their occupational future, this figure had not dropped below 50% among the younger subjects who had been in the country for the same period. Advancing age, combined with length of residence, may force the refugee to accept the permanency of the status quo.

Long-Term Adaptation and Return Migration: The long-term prospects for the aging refugee are anything but rose colored. Though most fifth subjects in this study exhibited considerable language acquisition (84% spoke moderate English) as well as socio-cultural adjustment (over four points higher than the average), many also continued to struggle occupationally. No less than 31% of these subjects were without jobs of any sort and 37% were still receiving financial assistance. Fewer than one-half of the subjects (41%) were optimistic about the future and merely 42% liked their jobs.

Most refugees, even after years of resettlement, will also

continue their struggle to resolve ties their homeland. It was found, in assessing the subjects' perceptions towards both Canada and their countries or origin, that no fewer than 85% would consider returning to their countries to live if conditions permitted; 33% would definitely return and 51% were uncertain. Only 15% would definitely remain in Canada. Interestingly, however, all but three of the subjects described Canada as a 'fair' (40%), 'good' or 'desirable' place to live (57%). Fully 85% of the subjects had already or were planning to become Canadian citizens. The remaining 16% were unsure.

Predictors of Return Migration: The trend towards potential "return migration" may in part be traced to the degree of adversity experienced in both the country of origin as well as that of resettlement (see Table 12). Subjects who would definitely return to their countries to live, for example, seemed have experienced substantially less adversity during their displacement than those who would not return. These individuals not only exhibited a noticeably lower overall displacement adversity score (6.05 versus 5.05), but were significantly less likely to feel that their lives had been either 'frequently' or 'always' in danger (41% versus 79%). They were also less likely, despite having experienced a greater number of the potentially traumatic events (4.07 versus 3.31), to feel that the conditions of their country had been 'very' or 'extremely' adverse (37% versus 66%). Neither group felt that their lives had been negatively affected by the endured conditions (4 of 38 and 3 of 19).

There is considerable more evidence linking the conditions of resettlement to return migration. Subjects who would definitely return to their countries of origin, for example, were over twice as likely as their cohorts to believe that their lives had been adversely influenced by their departure (74% versus 43%) as well as by their coming to Canada (56% versus 21%). Over one-third (36%) of these subjects were in the country without immediate family members and almost one-half (46%) lacked friendships within their own community (42% of the subjects reported such even after three years of residence). Occupationally, the subjects were less likely than their compatriots to be either employed in a stable job (58% versus 66%) or to find their work as satisfying as their former occupations (58% versus 72%). Though they were no less likely to be receiving a 'fair' income (59% versus 57%), they were nevertheless more apt to be receiving financial assistance (65% versus 51%). Many (41%) believed that their lives would have been substantially better had they remained in their home country.

These subjects, in addition, were disproportionately more likely to have a higher than average education as well as a professional or white collar background. It seems apparent, however, that it is not these attributes per se which motivate return but rather the high degree of role and status loss that is sustained by more educated and professional refugees. While 39% of the subjects who had studied at a university would definitely return to their homeland to live (versus 22% of the high school graduates and 26% of the nongraduates), almost all

had also experienced substantial downward mobility; whereas 86% of all subjects with a university education had held professional or white collar positions prior to displacement, only 21% had found similar work in Canada. Fully three-quarters had been confined to unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Only two of the twelve applicable university-educated subjects who would return to their countries of origin had attained white collar status while living in Canada.

Subjects who would definitely not return to their countries to live, on the other hand, seemed to have experienced a lesser degree of adversity during their resettlement. These persons were not only extremely unlikely to believe that their lives would have been better had they remained in their countries (1 of 19 subjects), but tended to think that neither displacement nor resettlement had had a negative impact upon them; only 39% and 17% respectively believed that these experiences had adversely affected their lives. Most subjects, in addition, had established strong and positive ties within their communities; 76% were satisfied with their friendships and 78% felt themselves to be accepted. Occupationally, many had not only found stable employment (77%), but were earning 'fair' incomes (65%) and were financially self-sufficient (53%). Most also tended to hold jobs which they both liked (69%) and found as satisfying as their former occupations (83%). They were not, however, particularly optimistic about their occupational futures; only 54% believed they would eventually find satisfying employment - comparable to the figure

of 52% obtained from those who desiring return.

These subjects were, however, less likely to have sustained a significant occupational-related loss through resettlement. Three-quarters had no more than a high school education and only three had worked within the white collar sector prior to displacement; four had served in the military as officers, three had held blue collar jobs, and seven had never worked (students included). These less educated refugees, however, were nevertheless more likely than their university-educated cohorts to be in jobs which were at least consonant to their level of education. Though 37% of the high school graduates had also sustained downward mobility, one-third (33%) had remained in the white collar sector and only 29% of those in the blue collar sector held unskilled jobs. Those with less than this level of education were even more likely to be in jobs compatible to their occupational background; whereas 75% of these subjects held blue collar positions in their homelands (59% in unskilled jobs), this figure rose by only 9 points to 83% following resettlement in Canada (where 63% held unskilled jobs).

Though there seems little question that the level of adaptation attained in a country of resettlement - and the degree of adversity experienced during displacement - may well influence a refugee's feelings towards both that nation as well as his/her country of origin, such alone can not account for the vast number of subjects who might consider return migration. Indeed, while as many as one-half of these individuals may well have been dissatisfied with their lives in Canada ,

(socially, occupationally, or otherwise), there remained another one-half which had in fact achieved considerable adaptation; 54% of the subjects were satisfied with their friendships, 46.4% did like their jobs, and 51% were optimistic about their occupational future. Similarly, while many of those subjects who would not return may have well have endured life threatening conditions, no less than 67% of the total sample had endured adverse conditions (37% very or extremely adverse conditions) and fully 90% had been in danger at one time or another (60% frequently or always).

Return migration, moreover, was also found to be largely unrelated to those demographic variables which would be most expected to influence a refugee's feelings towards both his/her own country and that of resettlement. With the exception of arrival age, no other aspect of either this variable (age) or length of resettlement was found to be discerning of this trend. Although subjects who settled in Canada in their forties or fifties were more likely than their younger cohorts to definitely return to their countries of origin (50% versus 29%), both groups were likely to consider the prospect of return (13 of 14 and 86%). Current age, however, was found to be not at all indicative of possible return; 35% and 34% of the older and younger subjects would return. Length of residence was similarly found to be a poor indicator of return; residents of five or more years were as likely to return (30%) as those of one to two years (31%) or two to five years (30%).

Table 12

Return Migration and  
Potential Predictors

	Would Return	Would Not Return
Average displacement adversity	6.05	5.05
Life 'frequently' in danger	41%	79%
Conditions 'very' adverse	37%	66%
Life affected by conditions	11%	16%
Average traumas	4.07	3.31
Life adversely affected by departure	74%	39%
Life adversely affected by resettlement	56%	17%
Life better if remained in country of origin	41%	5%
In Canada without family	36%	33%
Satisfied with friendships	54%	76%
Feel accepted in community	67%	78%
Rate of employment	58%	77%
Fair personal income	59%	65%
Financial assistance	65%	47%
Satisfied with job	46%	69%
Employment optimism	52%	54%

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One might conclude, in considering the data, that while majority of subjects found Canada a desirable place country to live, they were also in some way dissatisfied with their lives here. Though this sense of dissatisfaction may reflect to an extent the multitude of difficulties and privations encountered in resettlement, one might further surmise that it may also be very much a function of displacement itself. Indeed, it might be argued that this pattern of behavior should be expected among any persons (and particularly older individuals) who have been forced from their homes and who live in countries of resettlement out of necessity rather than choice. As Grinberg and Grinberg (1984) have observed, the refugee's relationship to a country of refuge is complex; it is a place that is 'fled to' rather than a place 'come to', a place where the refugee dwells but does not 'live' in the fullest sense of the word.

One might infer from this observation that the task of resolving strong emotional ties to the homeland and loved ones remains central to the refugee experience even after years of resettlement. Despite the seeming permanence of their settlement, and a most obvious desire to acquire citizenship (perhaps reflective of a need to recover a degree of security and power), almost all the subjects (85%) exhibited what Blauw and Elich have described as the "escape clause" - the willingness to again uproot so to return to the homeland.

This tendency, interestingly, was most apparent among the Chilean and Salvadorean subjects; none of the Chileans, and all but two

Salvadoreans, would not at least consider return. At the time of the answering of the questionnaire, a substantial, but undetermined, number Chilean families had already left Winnipeg to return to their country to live while the Salvadorean community had arranged an automobile "caravan" to El Salvador for the purpose of assessing the possibility of their return. These countries, however, had for the most part stabilized with the return to democracy in Chile in 1990 and the signing of the peace accord in El Salvador in 1992. Though the same might also be said of Vietnam and Laos (with peace coming almost a decade ago), the refugee communities in Winnipeg have remained far more mistrustful of the ruling socialist regimes which have remained fundamentally unchanged since the time they were fled. Ethiopia, simply put, has remained a troubled nation.

Exile, rather than resettlement, might thus be considered a more apt descriptor of the circumstances in which a great many refugees find themselves. Almost all the data indicates that a great number of refugees leave their countries with, and maintain in resettlement, the intention of returning; the proportion of subjects who would not return to their countries even after five years of residence was scarcely higher than the number among first and second year residents (20% and 13%). Perhaps it is even unreasonable that these persons, uprooted without choice from family, heritage, and home, should not at least consider an opportunity to return to a homeland from which they had no original desire to depart.

## CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Resettlement and adaptation is a highly complex, multi-faceted process. It is clear, however, that this experience is also grounded within an identifiable and recurring pattern of displacement which tends to produce an identifiable and recurring pattern of behavior. This is apparent not only within the dynamics of resettlement itself, a process which may be delineated by both time-framed stages and identifiable adjustment-related predictors, but by the very experience of being involuntarily uprooted and displaced to a foreign country.

Subjects in the present study clearly shared a 'collective experience' of having been forced into exile. Indeed, only eleven of the subjects had come to Canada for reasons not related to their physical safety (e.g., familial reunification or improved economic prospects). Fully nine out of ten subjects, at one time or another, had felt their lives to be in danger while over two-thirds had endured what were described as aversive conditions. Many, either prior to or during their flight, had lost family and friends; many too had been imprisoned, assaulted, and/or attacked by a government or rebel force. Some, after a fearful and harrowing escape, had spent as many as five years in camps awaiting their resettlement.

These peoples, upon resettlement too, shared a pattern of behavior which is clearly reflective of a recurring process of

adaptation. The results obtained in this study correspond in large to the stages of adaptation delineated within the literature review; an initial resettlement period (one to two years) in which the refugee struggles to attain mere sustenance (economic and socio-emotional), an interim stage (the second and third years) in which the refugee strives to develop his/her potential and recover that which has been lost through displacement, and a final (and indefinite) period in which the refugee, because of previously unforeseen or disregarded occupational barriers, abandons the goal of role/status restoration and develops a new identity and status-image which is more consistent with his/her actual position in the country of resettlement.

It is clear that most arriving refugees struggle to overcome the demands of living and making a living in a new society. The subjects in this study, for example, clearly lacked the language skills to attain even self-sufficiency; only 14% of the subjects, excluding the Ethiopians who commonly receive English in their schooling, spoke moderate English at this point. Only 27% of these subjects had found part-time employment, 64% rated their personal incomes as inadequate, and 77% were receiving financial assistance. Only 29% were encouraged by their future prospects.

By the second year of resettlement, however, there appears to be a definitive shift in outlook of the refugee. Most subjects, judging from the drop in the acculturation/assimilation scores between the first and second years (from 18.25 to 14.40), clearly exhibited a

less positive, but perhaps more realistic perception of their position within Canadian society. Many, one might assume, had encountered the inevitable socio-cultural conflicts of entering a new society and, from these experiences, reevaluated their initial and overly positive perception of society.

At the same time, however, these subjects were far more optimistic about their employment future. Though many continued to struggle financially - only 38% were receiving a 'fair' income and fully 79% were recipients of assistance - three-quarters also believed that their employment in Canada would be at least 'somewhat' satisfying. This emerging sense of confidence appears largely attributable to these subjects' ability to increasingly and effectively interact within society; 45% could at this point speak moderate English while 56% had found jobs. By the third year of settlement, when over one-half of the subjects had attained moderate English skills and three-quarters had found employment, no less than 83% were encouraged by their future prospects.

This period of optimism, however, was short-lived. Although the refugees continued to adjust to demands of resettlement (particularly in terms of language proficiency and socio-cultural adaptation), most were also becoming increasingly pessimistic; only 50% of the third year subjects believed their future would be satisfying while 41% expressed such optimism after five years. This discouragement, for the most part, reflected not only a continuing struggle to maintain mere

self-sufficiency, but an inability to recover former roles and status. No less than 28% of the subjects, even after five years of resettlement, were unemployed, 42% were still earning less than a 'fair' income, and 37% were receiving financial assistance. The number of subjects satisfied with their work declined from 60% after three years to 42% after five years. Most, even when successful, were locked in unskilled or semi-skilled vocations which offered little prospect of a better future.

One should keep in mind, however, this process of adaptation may be influenced by a number of demographic and individual variables. In the present case, it appears that the greater sense of optimism expressed by the second and third year refugees may have in part been reflective of these individuals' lower education and thus greater likelihood of obtaining compatible employment; 73% of these subjects had less than a high school education, 86% of the listed occupations were blue collar. Subjects with three or more years of residence, in contrast, may well have been discouraged their inability to utilize their education to attain satisfactory employment; although 53% of these subjects had studied at a university, almost three-quarters (70%) of the listed occupations were blue collar. These subjects, in addition, were somewhat more likely to be older (29% versus 14% were forty plus) and thus may have had a greater awareness of the permanency of the status quo.

Perhaps the most striking finding of this study, particularly

in regard to long-term adjustment, was the fact that relatively few subjects (only 15%) surrendered entirely the hope of returning to their homeland. Though this trend toward potential return migration among refugees had been previously documented (Schechtman, 1963; Baskauskas, 1979; Blauw and Elich, 1984; Grinberg & Grinberg, 1984), it had nevertheless been expected that most subjects - at least in time - would acknowledge the permanency of their exile. This, as discussed, was not found to be the case and perhaps should not even be expected of persons who, unlike voluntary immigrants, are compelled to leave their countries and resettle for reasons of personal safety rather than economic or personal gain.

Despite having been uprooted, their lives and life expectations abruptly interrupted and disrupted, these subjects nevertheless displayed remarkable coping power. Indeed, judging from the average psychological adjustment score (19.14 out of 152), most refugees seemed to have not only accepted the losses and changes endured through their displacement, but had come to terms with whatever potentially traumatic events they may have experienced either prior to or during their flight. These, in fact, were found to be unrelated to psychological adjustment.

It should be noted, however, that this sample was comprised of subjects who had, during their resettlement, received considerable socio-emotional support. Indeed, no more than 22% of the subjects were in Canada alone (69% were with immediate family members) and virtually all were affiliated with an established community organization. Though

social adaptation within the communities (as measured by friendships and feelings of acceptance) was found to increase with length of residence, the majority of subjects were nevertheless satisfied with their compatriot friendships (64%) and felt accepted within their communities (68%). Over three-quarters of the total sample, including 87% of the first year residents, were satisfied with the level of support and assistance they had received.

The impact of an established community upon adjustment can not be discounted. It offers the refugee, and particularly the newcomer, not only "at least one familiar reference point in an otherwise strange society" (Alexander, 1969, p. 72), but the opportunity to regain and retain a sense of social and cultural continuity (Scudder & Colson, 1982). Moreover, the establishment of relationships with similar others may not only gratify the refugee's need for social affiliation and acceptance (Nguyen, 1987), and offset feelings of uprootedness, loneliness, homesickness and nostalgia (Mayadas & Lasan, 1981), but contribute greatly to a sense of socio-emotional security and well-being (Finnan, 1981).

The present subjects, however, were not without their needs and problems. A considerable number experienced worrying (70%), nervousness (68%), unhappiness or sadness (54%), anger (53%), and hopelessness (43%). Others reported problems at work (42%), with family members (34%), or with friends (35%). It might well be too, as Tung (1975) observed, that many subjects were 'silent' in their pain.

Most probably the unhappiness will be suffered in silence and private; crying alone at night or just staying awake, remembering and regretting and feeling loneliness and emptiness ... Disturbed behavior and acting out will not be too frequent due to the cultural inhibitions but may may often cause intrafamilial problems (p.10).

The refugees also demonstrated a definite need to increase the their capacity to attain both employment and self-sufficiency; the proportion of unemployed subjects (40%) was exceeded only by the number receiving inadequate personal incomes (42%) and financial assistance (58%). Work, even when found, was predominantly unskilled (40%) or semi-skilled (36%) - offering few opportunities for either advancement or remuneration.

Implications and Recommendations: Much might be gained by providing the refugee with the tools to effectively interact within his/her new society. Clearly the most needed service is that of adequate language training. This, by most accounts, is not being provided. Though newcomers are currently offered a four to six month period of language training (approximately 550 hours), few refugees appear capable of attaining even a moderate level of language proficiency within this period; although only 25% of the present subjects were apparently still receiving language training, fully 40% of the subjects had not yet acquired moderate language skills. Of the 61% of the subjects who had obtained a moderate level of English, no less than 41% had arrived with moderate language skills and, of those who had acquired the skills while in Canada (only 34% of the entire sample), over one-half (65%) had been

residents for at least five years. Only 21% of the first and second year residents indicated language improvement.

Consideration must also be given to the issue of education and training. While education and occupational background are principal conditions considered by the Canadian government in the granting of asylum, few attempts have been made to utilize the skills of the refugees admitted. In the present study, for example, no less than 82% (9 of 11) of the respondents who had graduated from a university reported that their degrees had not been recognized in Canada. Only three of the 14 university graduates who listed their present occupation had found professional or semi-professional employment (eight held unskilled or semi-skilled jobs). The employment found by three former professors included translator, nursemaid, and dish-washer.

The process of upgrading education and skills, moreover, is a formidable task. Many refugees, even after language training, will lack the level of proficiency needed to resume their education/training in the Canadian educational system; ESL courses, even at the advanced level, are oriented towards daily living. Preparatory English courses for students, though existing, are characterized by limited entry (in fact waiting lists) and, being taught primarily during the day, are often inaccessible to working refugees.

Even if this initial language barrier is overcome, most refugees are likely to find themselves starting at the bottom rung of the education ladder. Many refugees - even those with a university degree -

can be required to recomplete the final year of high school. Skill-upgrading and recertification programs, though available to a number of the most skilled professional occupations (e.g., medicine, nursing, engineering), have limited and highly competitive entry and tend to involve at least two to three years of schooling. Funding, other than that which might be accessed by any student, is usually not available.

The development of a more adequate, and accessible, educational system would do much in enhancing the opportunities of the arriving refugee. It would remain far short of its objective, however, if it did not address the needs of the lesser educated or qualified refugees (total employment of these subjects was 61%). These individuals can benefit not only from the teaching of basic job-seeking skills, but from programs oriented towards the provision of applicable work skills, apprenticeships, and on-the-job experience. Almost one-third (29%) of the those subjects who had not graduated from high school had found their education, training, or skills to be inadequate in Canada. Fully 40% reported that their lack of work experience in the country had been an obstacle in obtaining satisfactory employment.

Steps must also be taken to ensure that female refugees succeed in resettlement. These women not only tend to exhibit lower levels of both education and language proficiency than their male cohorts, but (because of household and child care responsibilities) have even fewer opportunities to pursue their education. Most, as the present study confirmed, are forced to accept and remain in either unskilled or semi-

skilled positions which offer little opportunity for either advancement or, for reasons of time, money, or energy, to seek the additional training which might improve their economic prospects.

There is little question that much can yet be done to enhance the economic prospects of the refugee. It is imperative, however, that these changes are directed towards the arriving refugee so that these persons may be better prepared to attain satisfactory employment even prior to their entry into the Canadian work force. Indeed, it is highly unlikely that a refugee, once within the labour force (most often in marginal employment), will have either the time, finances, or even ambition to resume either language or vocational training. Within the present system, however, the very programs which might benefit even the average refugee are more inaccessible rather than accessible; this individual, to pursue either educational or vocational training, must not only have attained a high level of language proficiency (exhibited by only 21% of the present subjects), but have at his/her disposal a relatively stable income (hardly likely to be obtained during the first year or two of resettlement).

However pressing the economic problems of the refugee may be, there is no less of a need to address the socio-cultural and socio-emotional pressures of resettlement. The arriving refugee, particularly if not caucasian, must not only contend with the issue of reduced or even negative social status within society (89% of the present subjects had experienced at least 'alittle' prejudice or discrimination, 30%

'quite abit'), but with the disruption of both his/her heritage and socio-cultural upbringing. Considerable strain, for example, is placed on upon the family unit (and a community itself) as traditional roles, values, customs and traditions are challenged by the multitude of changes which are encountered - the diminished earning power (and primary breadwinner role) of the husband, the necessity of maternal employment, and the introduction of Western values and behaviors through the more rapidly acculturated youth. Many families, as Lin (1986) has noted, can be expected to experience a degree of intergenerational conflict.

In the new environment, older people commonly find that age acts to their disadvantage in terms of learning new skills and absorbing the essential elements of the new culture. Conversely, the younger members of the family are torn between the need to adapt to the new value system and behavioral norms on the one hand, and the influences of the old cultural upbringings on the other. Often, this results in confusion in terms of mutual expectations and uncertainties in defining the relationships. Feelings of resentment, anger, and frustration are easily fostered in such a situation (p. 66).

There are also a number of individual variables which might contribute to adaptational problems. One should keep in mind, for example, that prior trauma has been linked to a number of socio-emotional symptoms (e.g., suspicion, anger, hostility) which can hinder a resettled refugee's capacity to integrate within either the ethnic or the host society (Matussek, 1975; Davidson, 1983; Kinzie & Fleck, 1987). Refugees who resettle at an older age, though for reasons quite different, are likewise at risk of experiencing limited adjustment. Many

of these individuals may not only wish to retain their ethnic character in its relative totality (David, 1969; Simila, 1988), but may in fact believe that they are simply too old to adjust to a new society (Green & Reder, 1986). Women, particularly those who fail to acquire the language, may also encounter difficulties; they may not only lack the communicative skills to effectively interact within the country of resettlement, but may well find themselves increasingly alienated from their more integrated spouses and children (Fleming, 1981).

It is clear, if the adjustment of refugees is to be facilitated, that steps must be taken to address their needs and problems. Many of the individuals within the present system are being provided neither the language nor means to access even those services which might be to their assistance. A recent survey of refugees in Winnipeg, for example, revealed that only 42% were familiar with the Continuing Education Centre, 37% with Legal Aide, 16% with the Immigrant Access Service, and 6% with the Cross-Cultural Counselling Unit. Almost three-quarters did not know how to obtain information about either employment (73%) or unemployment insurance (70%), 81% did not know where to seek help for personal or family problems, and 49% of those with children were unaware of the Child Related Support Program (Kosznik, 1991).

Constructive change, however, is unlikely to be achieved without the provision of a more structured and integrated perspective of the refugee experience itself. As Williams and Westermeyer (1986) have noted, many researchers and professionals have yet to perceive the

universality of the refugee experience; each refugee movement continues to be analyzed and treated as an atypical and nonrecurring event, culturally and historically distinct, with its own sets of problems and casualties. Still others in the field, Stein (1981) noted, are simply unaware of the uniqueness of the refugee.

Many people dealing with refugees don't even know who or what they are studying. They can't define refugee or immigrant and have no idea of how profoundly different the background and behavior of refugees is from underprivileged minorities (p. 7).

This poorly informed, cursory and sporadic approach to the refugee phenomenon has resulted in an equally porous body of research which lacks appropriate methods of assessment. The Refugee Event and Adjustment Questionnaire (REAO) was in fact developed due to a lack of instruments which might have otherwise been utilized to assess the refugee experience in its totality. Though a number of revisions are in order (see Note 5), the REAO did prove to be an instrument capable of generating both quantitative and qualitative information over a number of culturally and historically diverse groups.

Also in need of development are measurements capable of assessing socio-emotional and psychological adjustment across cultures. There is, apart from the Symptom Rating Test-7 Scale Version (Kellner, 1987), the Langner 22-Item Scale (Langner, 1962), and the Hopkins Symptom Checklist of anxiety and depression (a revised edition of the Symptom Distress Checklist developed by Parloff et. al. in 1954), little choice in the selection of an assessment instrument which combines brevity with

adequate symptomatology. The SRT-7 Scale Version, at least within the present study, appears to be a fairly reliable instrument; though the overall adjustment scores were lower than expected, these scores were relatively consistent across the sampled populations. All but 3 of the 38 symptoms were shared by the five groups (hopelessness, trembling, and panic attacks were not reported by the Vietnamese, trembling not by the Ethiopians).

There is, above all, a need to establish a body of knowledge which might serve to guide the researcher. Indeed, and as found within the present study, this field of study not only lacks a theoretical framework, but demands the use of alternative research procedures. Refugees, for a number of reasons (nativity, language, culture, socio-economic status), have remained outside of the mainstream of society and are therefore largely inaccessible to any study being conducted through community agencies or organizations (which they in fact underutilize). Many, particularly those originating from less developed countries, may also be unfamiliar with questionnaires or surveys while others, having experienced persecution and repression, may be reluctant to provide personal information. Some are likely to view studies originating outside of the community as being irrelevant to their own needs and problems.

There are, at this time, few guidelines to follow in the development of research strategies. It is clear, however, that both the recruitment of subjects and the design of studies may be greatly

facilitated through community involvement. The present study, for example, would not have been possible without the assistance of community volunteers who served as translators, enlisted subjects, and provided throughout its running invaluable advice and information. It is recommended that researchers collaborate with refugee communities so to develop increasingly more appropriate and effective methods of study.

There is little doubt, in considering the field of refugee research, that much can yet be done to enhance the opportunities of the refugee. It is essential, however, that this process be carried out in a structured and systematic fashion. It will serve no one, least of all the refugee, if the academic and professional treatment of these persons remains cursory and sporadic. Indeed, until the time that the refugee experience is recognized as a recurring phenomena, with identifiable patterns of behavior and sets of problems, it is unlikely that the needs of the refugee will be adequately addressed.

The refugee, one can be certain, will remain an integral part of both the international arena and of North American society. As a new world order began to emerge in 1990, there were over 16 million refugees across the globe (Refugees, April, 1990). Today, as war, genocide, famine and drought continue without an end in sight, the figure grows. Many will eventually return to what is left of their homes, many will perish, only a very small number will be 'saved' by the Canadian and American governments. Those 'saved' will arrive to a new land without money, without the language, their lives packaged in a suitcase or two,

and for all efforts in this new land, many will attain little more than mere sustenance. They will, however, be citizens of these countries. As citizens, indeed in simply having been accepted as new members of these nations, they deserve a far better fate.

Summary of Recommendations

Based upon the conclusions of the study, the following recommendations appear warranted:

1. Establish a procedure to identify, through resettlement agencies, refugees at-risk of experiencing limited adaptation; design and implement remedial programs within appropriate services.
2. Intensify language training and orient courses toward the needs and problems of refugees.
  - increase accessibility to educational and employment-related language courses.
3. Develop accessible educational and vocational programs to facilitate re-entry and marketability in the labour force.
  - increase and diversify professional recertification and skill-upgrading programs.
  - establish programs which may provide lesser qualified refugees with applicable work skills, apprenticeships, on-the-job training and experience.
4. Increase funding and financial support to facilitate educational attainment (language or vocational); provide or supplement day care service when necessary.
5. Address, through resettlement agencies and community organizations, the socio-economic, socio-cultural, and socio-emotional pressures and difficulties of resettlement.

6. Provide newcomers and ethnic/refugee organizations the means to access institutional and community resources.
7. Involve refugee organizations in the development and implementation of programs and services which may effect this populace.
8. Conduct, with community involvement and input, both quantitative and qualitative research which may identify more appropriate and effective means to address the needs and problems of this populace.

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APPENDIX A

Cover Letter

This questionnaire is part of a Master's thesis being undertaken by myself, David Hutton, at the University of Manitoba (Department of Educational Psychology, Faculty of Education). The purpose of the thesis is to study adjustment among refugees; how refugees adjust to leaving their countries and which conditions of this experience most often affect their adjustment. You may obtain a summary of the results and additional information about this study by contacting me at the address listed below.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You may withdraw at anytime, without penalty, for any reason.

The questionnaire will take about one hour to answer. It consists of several sections, each with questions dealing with different issues common to refugees, including those of departure and flight, interim asylum, and resettlement. There is also a section concerned with the overall experience of being a refugee (how such may affect one's life) as well as a section concerned with psychological adjustment and health.

All your answers are confidential. You are not expected to write your name on the questionnaire and no one, including myself, will know which answers you personally give.

A number of questions may cause individuals emotional discomfort or pain. You may, for this or any other reason, choose not to answer a question. Simply place an X over its designated number and go to the next question. If too, for any reason, you do not wish to complete the questionnaire, you do not have to.

Directions are provided throughout the questionnaire. Most questions require only that you select an answer which best describes yourself in relation to a particular event, condition or issue, with the letter or number delineating that answer either being circled or placed in a box (as is indicated). A number of questions may involve more than one answer, and this too is indicated with the questions. If for any reason you feel that the provided answers do not accurately describe you, feel free to write your own answer in a space next to the question or along the line marked "other".

If you have any questions or concerns, feel free to ask questions or for assistance.

I thank you in advance for your time and cooperation.

David G. Hutton

Winnipeg, Manitoba  
R Canada

Letter of Consent

Please place a checkmark (✓) in the box below if you

- ... have read the introduction and instructions to the questionnaire.
- ... understand the nature and purpose of the questionnaire and what is required of you.
- ... agree freely as a volunteer to answer the questionnaire with the understanding that you may, for any reason and without penalty whatsoever, choose not to answer a question or complete the questionnaire itself.

APPENDIX B  
Refugee Event and  
Adjustment Questionnaire

The Refugee Event and  
Adjustment Questionnaire  
(REAQ)

David G. Hutton  
University of Manitoba

## Individual and Demographic Background

The purpose of the questions in this section is to acquire information about the background of refugees (for example, age, marital status, education, and former employment). To answer the questions, simply circle the letter (a, b, c, d, or e) of the answers which most accurately describe you. If for any reason you feel that the provided answers do not describe you, you may write your own answer in a space next to the question.

- 1.) How old were you when you first came to Canada? Were you
  - a. 15 to 19 years old?
  - b. 20 to 29 years old?
  - c. 30 to 39 years old?
  - d. 40 to 49 years old?
  - e. more than 50 years old?
  
- 2.) How old are you now? Are you
  - a. 15 to 19 years old?
  - b. 20 to 29 years old?
  - c. 30 to 39 years old?
  - d. 40 to 49 years old?
  - e. more than 50 years old?
  
- 3.) Are you a
  - a. male?
  - b. female?
  
- 4.) What is your marital status?
  - a. single (never been married)
  - b. married
  - c. divorced or separated
  - d. widowed
  
- 5.) Do you have any children?
  - a. yes
  - b. no
  
- 6.) In what kind of area did you live in your country of origin. Would you say
  - a. an urban area?
  - b. a rural area?

7) How many years of schooling have you completed?

- a. none
- b. 1 to 6 years of school
- c. 7 to 12 years of school (not including high school graduation)
- d. high school (including graduation)
- e. some university or college (not including graduation)
- f. university or college (including graduation)

8) Which of the below answers best describes the type of occupation you had in your country of origin?

- a. student
- b. never employed
- c. unskilled worker
- d. semi-skilled worker
- e. skilled worker
- f. clerical or sales
- g. managerial
- h. semi-professional
- i. professional
- j. other \_\_\_\_\_ (please indicate)

9) If you did work in your country of origin, please specify your job title: \_\_\_\_\_

10) How long have you lived in Canada?

- a. less than 6 months
- b. 6 months to 1 year
- c. 1 to 2 years
- d. 2 to 3 years
- e. 3 to 4 years
- f. 4 to 5 years
- g. 5 to 10 years
- h. more than 10 years

11) How long have you lived in Winnipeg?

- a. less than 6 months
- b. 6 months to 1 year
- c. 1 to 2 years
- d. 2 to 3 years
- e. 3 to 4 years
- f. 4 to 5 years
- g. 5 to 10 years
- h. more than 10 years

## Departure and Flight

The questions in this section deal with the experience of leaving one's country of birth, of the conditions both preceding and prompting flight as well as those experienced during flight.

So to ensure clarity, the questions have been divided into two sections, "Departure" and "Flight".

### Departure

- 1) Why did you leave your country of origin. Please indicate all answers which apply to you and, if necessary, write your own answer in the space marked "other".
  - a. for personal safety (your life/personal safety was in danger)
  - b. to escape war or fighting
  - c. to escape government persecution/harassment
  - d. to attain greater freedom (so that you could live the way you wish to live)
  - e. to avoid military service
  - f. for economic or financial improvement
  - g. so that your children could have a better life
  - h. to reunite with family members
  - i. other: \_\_\_\_\_ (please indicate)
  
- 2) When you were living in your country, did you ever feel that your personal safety was in danger? Would you say
  - a. never in danger?
  - b. seldomly in danger?
  - c. sometimes in danger?
  - d. frequently in danger?
  - e. always in danger?
  
- 3) How adverse or negative were the conditions/events you experienced in your country before you left?
  - a. not at all adverse
  - b. alittle, slightly adverse
  - c. somewhat, quite adverse
  - d. very adverse
  - e. extremely adverse, could not be worst
  
- 4) Do you think your life in Canada has in any way been adversely or negatively affected (or influenced) by the conditions/events you experienced before leaving your country of origin?
  - a. no, not at all
  - b. alittle, slightly
  - c. somewhat, quite abit
  - d. alot, a great deal
  - e. extremely so, could not be worst

5) Below is a list of events you may have experienced before you left your country of origin. If you did experience any of these events because of the conditions in your country at that time (for example, because of war, civil strife, political repression, famine or drought), please indicate so by placing a check (✓) in the box next to the event experienced. If an event was not experienced, simply leave the box blank.

1) Death of a

- a. immediate family member (for example, your spouse, child, sibling, or parent)?
- b. significant other (for example, a relative or a close friend)?

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

2) Disappearance of a

- a. immediate family member?
- b. significant other?

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

3) Imprisonment of

- a. yourself?
- b. immediate family member?
- c. significant other?

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

4) Physical assault (including torture and rape) of

- a. yourself?
- b. immediate family member?
- c. significant other?

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

5) Injury or serious illness because of conditions of your country to

- a. yourself?
- b. immediate family member?
- c. significant other?

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

6) Attack by government or rebel forces or army?

<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------

7) A shortage of food or drinking water?

<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------

8) A lack of housing or shelter?

<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------

9) Did you fight in a war or in similar conditions?

<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------

10) Other: \_\_\_\_\_?  
(please indicate)

<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------

FLIGHT

- 6) Which of the below answers best describes when you made the decision to leave your country of origin?
- a. more than 6 months before you left
  - b. between 3 and 6 months before you left
  - c. between 1 and 3 months before you left
  - d. 2 or 3 weeks before you left
  - e. about a week before you left
  - f. just days before you left
  - g. just hours before you left
- 7) Did you leave your country legally, with the government's consent and knowledge?
- a. yes
  - b. no
- 8) How did you leave or flee your country? Please indicate all answers which apply to you.
- a. on foot
  - b. train or bus
  - c. boat
  - d. car
  - e. plane
  - f. other: \_\_\_\_\_ (please indicate)
- 9) Did you leave your country
- a. alone?
  - b. with family members?
  - c. with friends?
  - d. with unknown compatriots?
- 10) While you were leaving or fleeing your country (during flight) did you ever feel that your personal safety was in danger?
- a. never in danger
  - b. seldomly in danger
  - c. sometimes in danger
  - d. frequently in danger
  - e. always in danger

11) How adverse or negative were the conditions/events you experienced during flight?

- a. not at all adverse
- b. a little, slightly adverse
- c. somewhat, quite adverse
- d. very adverse
- e. extremely adverse, could not be worst

12) Do you think your life in Canada has in any way been adversely or negatively affected (or influenced) by the conditions/events you experienced during flight?

- a. no, not at all
- b. a little, slightly
- c. somewhat, quite a bit
- d. a lot, a great deal
- e. extremely so, could not be worst

13) Below is a list of events you may have experienced while leaving your country of origin (during flight). To answer, simply place a check (✓) in the boxes next to the events which you experienced. If an event was not experienced, simply leave the box blank.

- 1) Death of a
  - a. immediate family member (for example, your spouse, child, sibling, or parent)?
  - b. significant other (for example, a relative or a close friend)?
- 2) Piracy or banditry?
- 3) Attack by government or rebel forces or army?
- 4) Abduction of a
  - a. immediate family member?
  - b. significant other?
- 5) Physical assault (including rape) of
  - a. yourself?
  - b. immediate family member?
  - c. significant other?
- 6) Injury or serious illness because of conditions experienced during flight to
  - a. yourself?
  - b. immediate family member?
  - c. significant other?
- 7) Inadequate transportation?
- 8) Shortage of food or drinking water?
- 9) Lack of shelter?
- 10) Loss of direction?
- 11) Bad weather or storms?
- 12) Refused landing or denied asylum?
- 13) Other: \_\_\_\_\_?  
(please indicate)

Interim Asylum

This section of the questionnaire deals with interim asylum, or that country in which you waited to be resettled in Canada after you left or fled your own country.

If you came directly to Canada from your country of origin, you do not have to answer these questions. Simply place a check (✓) in the box below and go the next section, Resettlement.

- 1) To what country did you flee or leave to? \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) How much time did you spend in this country?
  - a. less than 6 months
  - b. 6 months to 1 year
  - c. 1 to 2 years
  - d. 2 to 3 years
  - e. 3 to 4 years
  - f. 4 to 5 years
  - g. more than 5 years
- 3) Did you live in a refugee camp while you were in this country?
  - a. no, not at all
  - b. yes, part of the time that I was in this country
  - c. yes, all of the time that I was in this country
- 4) How would you describe this country as a place to live?
  - a. awful, terrible
  - b. poor, inadequate
  - c. fair, adequate
  - d. good, more than adequate
  - e. very good, desirable

5) During the time you lived in this country, how would you rate the following living arrangements and conditions?

Please mark the most accurate number in the box next to the item.

- |                             |
|-----------------------------|
| 1. none at all              |
| 2. poor, inadequate         |
| 3. fair, adequate           |
| 4. good, more than adequate |
| 5. very good, desirable     |

- a. housing, shelter
- b. food, drinking water
- c. medical facilities, services
- d. safety, free from crime/assault
- e. education, training programs
- f. employment opportunities
- g. spending money
- h. recreation
- i. companionship
- j. access to surrounding community


6) Below is a list of feelings often experienced by refugees during interim asylum. Please indicate, by circling the appropriate letter, any of those which you commonly experienced.

- a. boredom
- b. loneliness
- c. uncertainty about the future
- d. regrets about having left your country
- e. guilt for having left others behind
- f. fear for the safety of those left behind
- g. fear for your own safety
- h. feeling abandoned or forgotten by the world
- i. helplessness
- j. hopelessness
- k. mistrust or suspicion of the officials
- l. other: \_\_\_\_\_ (please indicate)

7) Do you think your life in Canada has in any way been adversely or negatively affected (or influenced) by the time that you spent in this country?

- a. no, not at all
- b. a little, slightly
- c. somewhat, quite a bit
- d. a lot, a great deal
- e. extremely so, could not be worse

## Resettlement

This section is about the experience of coming to and living in Canada. The questions are divided into three subjects: (a) social relationships; (b) language adjustment; and (c) occupational adjustment. Again, if you feel that the provided answers do not accurately describe you, you may write your own answer in a space next to the question.

### Social Relationships

- 1) Are you in Canada
  - a. alone?
  - b. with immediate family members?
  - c. with relatives?
  
- 2) Are you separated from any immediate family members? Please indicate all answers which apply to you.
  - a. from my entire family
  - b. from my spouse (husband or wife)
  - c. from my child (son or daughter)
  - d. from my sibling (brother or sister)
  - e. from my parent (mother or father)
  - f. from my grandparent
  - g. other: \_\_\_\_\_ (please indicate)
  - h. I am not separated from any immediate family members
  
- 3) Are you able to communicate with those family members you are separated from?
  - a. no, not at all
  - b. yes, with some of them
  - c. yes, with all of them
  - d. does not apply (I am not separated from any family members)
  
- 4) Are you satisfied with the number of friends you have from your country of origin? Would you say that you are
  - a. not at all satisfied?
  - b. a little, slightly satisfied?
  - c. somewhat, quite satisfied?
  - d. very satisfied?
  - e. extremely satisfied, it could not be better?



8) During the time you have lived in Canada, have you experienced prejudice or discrimination?

- a. none at all
- b. a little
- c. some, quite a bit
- d. a lot, a great deal
- e. could not be worse

Language Adjustment

1) How would you describe your level of English when you first came to Canada?

- a. none
- b. low, inadequate
- c. moderate, adequate
- d. high, more than adequate
- e. fluent, excellent

2) Did you receive language training?

- a. yes
- b. no

3) Have you, or are you planning to complete English language training? Please select that answer which best describes you.

- a. I have completed language training.
- b. I am planning to complete language training.
- c. I did not complete language training.
- d. I do not plan to complete language training.
- e. I am not sure if I will complete language training.
- f. does not apply (I did not receive language training).

4) How do you rate the language training which you have received? Was it adequate, has it helped you?

- a. not at all adequate
- b. poor, inadequate
- c. fair, adequate
- d. good, more than adequate
- e. very good, desirable
- f. does not apply (I did not receive language training)

5) How would you describe your level of English now?

- a. none
- b. low, inadequate
- c. moderate, adequate
- d. high, more than adequate
- e. fluent, excellent

Occupational Adjustment

1) How would you describe your employment status? Please indicate all answers which apply to you.

- a. employed full-time
- b. employed part-time
- c. employed part-time but seeking full-time work
- d. unemployed and seeking work
- e. unemployed and not seeking work
- f. full-time student
- g. part-time student
- h. other: \_\_\_\_\_ (please indicate)

2) Which of the below answers best describes your personal income?

- a. none at all (I am not employed in a paying job)
- b. poor, inadequate
- c. fair, adequate
- d. good, more than adequate
- e. very good, desirable

3) Which of the below answers best describes your household income?

- a. none at all
- b. poor, inadequate
- c. fair, adequate
- d. good, more than adequate
- e. very good, desirable

4) Are you, or is your household presently receiving any financial assistance? Please indicate all answers which apply.

- a. none at all
- b. yes, from family, relatives, or friends
- c. yes, from the Canadian government
- d. yes, from \_\_\_\_\_ (please indicate this other source)

If you have never worked in Canada, please place a check (✓) in the box below and go to the next section, Being A Refugee.

If you are unemployed, but have worked in Canada, please answer the following questions in relation to your last job.

) Which of the below answers best describes your present type of occupation?

- a. unskilled worker
- b. semi-skilled worker
- c. skilled worker
- d. clerical or sales
- e. managerial
- f. semi-professional
- g. professional
- h. other: \_\_\_\_\_ (please indicate)

) Please specify your job title. \_\_\_\_\_

) Do you like the type of work you are doing? Would you say

- a. no, not at all?
- b. a little, slightly?
- c. somewhat, quite a bit?
- d. a lot, a great deal?
- e. extremely so, could not be better?

) How does this work compare to the work which you did in your country of origin? Is it

- a. less satisfying?
- b. much less satisfying?
- c. about the same?
- d. more satisfying?
- e. much more satisfying?
- f. does not apply (I did not work in my country of origin)

9) What do you think are the greatest difficulties in finding satisfactory employment in Canada? Please indicate all answers which apply to your working experience in Canada.

- a. inadequate education, training, or skills
- b. inadequate work experience in Canada
- c. nonrecognition of degrees, diplomas, or certification
- d. language difficulties
- e. a lack of the type of work which you did in your country of origin
- f. a lack of accessible education or training programs so that you can acquire the skills needed to find satisfactory employment
- g. not knowing how to find a job in Canada
- h. a lack of help from Canadian employment agencies
- i. poor economic conditions
- j. prejudice or discrimination
- k. other: \_\_\_\_\_ (please indicate)

10) How do you think your work in Canada will be in the future? Do you think you will be

- a. not at all satisfied?
- b. a little, slightly satisfied?
- c. somewhat, quite satisfied?
- d. very satisfied?
- e. extremely satisfied, it could not be better?
- f. does not apply (I do not plan to be working in the future)

## Being A Refugee

The purpose of this section is to acquire a general, overall perspective of the refugee experience. The questions are therefore quite general, concerned with how being a refugee may affect one's life.

- 1) Do you think leaving your country of origin has had an adverse or negative effect upon your life?
  - a. no, not at all adverse
  - b. alittle, slightly adverse
  - c. somewhat, quite adverse
  - d. very adverse
  - e. extremely adverse, could not be worst
  
- 2) Do you think coming to Canada has had an adverse or negative effect upon your life?
  - a. no, not at all adverse
  - b. alittle, slightly adverse
  - c. somewhat, quite adverse
  - d. very adverse
  - e. extremely adverse, could not be worst
  
- 3) How would you describe Canada as a place to live?
  - a. awful, terrible
  - b. poor, inadequate
  - c. fair, adequate
  - d. good, more than adequate
  - e. very good, desirable
  
- 4) Do you think life would have been better had you remained in your country of origin?
  - a. no, not at all better
  - b. alittle, slightly better
  - c. somewhat, quite abit better
  - d. much better
  - e. extremely better
  
- 5) If conditions permitted, would you return to your country of origin to live?
  - a. no, I would not return to my country to live
  - b. I am not sure if I would return to my country to live
  - c. yes, I would definitely return to my country to live
  
- 6) Are you, or are you planning to become a citizen of Canada? Please select that answer which best describes you.
  - a. I am a citizen of Canada
  - b. I am planning to become a citizen of Canada
  - c. I am not sure if I will become a citizen of Canada
  - d. I definitely will not become a citizen of Canada

## Comments

Please feel free to comment or to provide additional information if you wish to.

APPENDIX C

Symptom Rating

Test-7 Scale Version

(revised and abridged)

Psychological Adjustment and Health

The questions in this section, comprising the Symptom Rating Test-7 Scale Version, concern psychological adjustment and health. All answers are confidential.

To answer each question, simply place a check (✓) in that box which best describes how you generally feel in relation to that particular symptom or feeling. For example, if you never have stomach aches or pains, place a check (✓) in the box on the left like this:

	not at all	a little, slightly	quite a bit	a lot, a great deal	could not be worst
stomach aches or pains	✓				

If you do get stomach aches or pains, describe how much they trouble or bother you. Like this, for example:

	not at all	a little, slightly	quite a bit	a lot, a great deal	could not be worst
stomach aches or pains			✓		

Please try to answer all the questions. Do not think long before answering.

	not at all	a little, slightly	quite a bit	a lot, a great deal	could not be worst
feeling dizzy or faint					
feeling tired or a lack of energy					
feeling nervous or tense or "wound up"					

	not at all	a little, slightly	quite abit	alot, a great deal	could not be worst
4. headaches or feeling of tightness or pressure in your head					
5. feeling scared or frightened					
6. heart beating quickly or strongly without reason (throbbing or pounding)					
7. feeling there is no hope					
8. restless or jumpy					
9. bad memories you can not push out of your mind					
10. feeling guilty or ashamed					
11. chest pains or breathing difficulties or feeling you can not get enough air					
12. difficulties with a friend					
13. worrying					
14. feeling annoyed or irritable					
15. feeling that other people are hostile or may hurt you					
16. muscle or joint pains or aches					
17. trembling or shaking					
18. difficulty in thinking clearly					
19. easily startled or over-reacting					
20. feeling like people look down on you or think badly of you					
21. bad dreams or nightmares					

	not at all	a little, slightly	quite abit	alot, a great deal	could not be worse
22. feeling angry					
23. can not concentrate or easily distracted					
24. difficulties at work					
25. skin problems or parts of your body feel itchy					
26. forgetting important matters					
27. lose interest in things					
28. feeling unhappy or sad					
29. feelings of hate or hostility					
30. feeling detached or apart from others					
31. feeling that people do not like you					
32. lose your temper easily					
33. feeling that nothing is worthwhile or nothing turns out right					
34. difficulties with family					
35. attacks of panic					
36. parts of your body feel numb or weak					
37. feeling mistrustful or suspicious					
38. poor memory					

APPENDIX D  
Laotian Translation  
of the REAQ and SRT



( ຕໍ່ຈາກຫນ້າ... 1 )

- ຖ້າທ່ານມີຄຳຖາມ, ຫລືຕ້ອງການຊ່ວຍເຫລືອ ກໍ່ຂໍເຊີນທ່ານຢ່າລັງເລໃຈ .
- ເຮົາຂໍຂອບໃຈລ່ວງຫນ້າພ້ອມນີ້ ໃນຄວາມຮ່ວມມື ແລະການເສີຍສລະເວລາຂອງທ່ານ.

David G. Hutton

Winnipeg, Manitoba  
R Canada

Phone:

ສ່ວນຕົວບຸກຄົນ ແລະ ປະຫວັດການໆເປັນມາ

- ຈຸດປະສົງຂອງຄຳຖາມນີ້ແມ່ນເພື່ອຊາບປະຫວັດຂອງຊາວອົບອົກ. ( ຕົວຢ່າງ, ອາຍຸ, ສະພາບການແຕ່ງງານ, ຣະດັບສຶກສາ, ແລະຫນ້າທີ່ການ. ) ຈຶ່ງຕອບຄຳຖາມດ້ວຍໝາຍວົງມົນ ( ) ໃສ່ອັກສອນ (ກ.ຂ.ຄ.ງ) ໃສ່ຄຳຕອບທີ່ທ່ານເຫັນວ່າຖືກຕ້ອງ. ຖ້າທ່ານຄິດວ່າບໍ່ຈັກອັນຖືກກັບທ່ານ ຢາກຈະຂຽນເອງກໍ່ຂໍເອີ້ນຂຽນໃສ່ທາງຂ້າງລຸ່ມຄຳຖາມໄດ້.

1- / ເວລາທ່ານມາປະເທດ ການາດາ ອາຍຸທ່ານຈັກປີ ?

- ກ. 15 ຫາ 19 ປີ. ?
- ຂ. 20 " 29 " ?
- ຄ. 30 " 39 " ?
- ງ. 40 " 49 " ?
- ຈ. ຫລາຍກວ່າ 50 " ?

2- / ດຽວນີ້ອາຍຸທ່ານເທົ່າໃດ ?

- ກ. 15 ຫາ 19 ປີ ?
- ຂ. 20 " 29 " ?
- ຄ. 30 " 39 " ?
- ງ. 40 " 49 " ?
- ຈ. ຫລາຍກວ່າ 50 " ?

3- / ເຈົ້າເປັນ.

- ກ. ຊາຍ ?
- ຂ. ຍິງ ?

4- / ສະພາບການແຕ່ງງານ ?

- ກ. ໂຊດ ( ບໍ່ເຄີຍແຕ່ງງານ )
- ຂ. ແຕ່ງງານແລ້ວ
- ຄ. ຮ້າງ
- ງ. ຫມ້າຍ

5- / ເຈົ້າມີລູກບໍ່ ?

- ກ. ມີ
- ຂ. ບໍ່ມີ

6- / ເຈົ້າຢູ່ເຂດໃດ ໃນປະເທດຂອງເຈົ້າ ?

- ກ. ໃນຕົວເມືອງ
- ຂ. ໃນຈຸນນະບົດ ( ບ້ານນອກ )

7- / ເຈົ້າຮຽນຮອດຊັ້ນໃດ ?

- ກ. ບໍ່ໄດ້ຮຽນ
- ຂ. ປ1 ຫາ ປ6
- ຄ. ມັທຍົມ ມ7 ຫາ ມ12 (ແຕ່ບໍ່ຈົບ)
- ງ. ຈົບມັທຍົມ ( ໄດ້ລັບໃບປະກາດ )
- ຈ. ມະຫາວິທຍາລັຍ (ແຕ່ບໍ່ຈົບ)
- ສ. ຈົບມະຫາວິທຍາລັຍ ( ໄດ້ລັບໃບປະກາດ )

8- / ອາຊີບຢູ່ປະເທດຂອງເຈົ້າ.

- ກ. ນັກຮຽນ
- ຂ. ບໍ່ເຄີຍເຮັດການຈັກເຫືອ
- ຄ. ພະນັກງານບໍ່ມີຄວາມສໍາຄັນເຫືອ
- ງ. ພະນັກງານຄວາມສໍາຄັນປານກາງ
- ຈ. ພະນັກງານຂັ້ນຊ້ຽວອາມ
- ສ. ສະມຽນການຄ້າ
- ຊ. ຜູ້ຈັດການ
- ຍ. ນັກວິຊາການຂັ້ນກາງ
- ດ. ນັກວິຊາການ
- ຕ. ອື່ນໆ.....

9- / ຖ້າເຮັດການຢູ່ປະເທດຂອງເຈົ້າ, ຈິ່ງບອກວ່າເຮັດການຫຍັງ ?.....

10- / ທ່ານຢູ່ປະເທດ ການາດາ ຈັກປີແລ້ວ ?

- ກ. ນ້ອຍກວ່າ 6 ເດືອນ
- ຂ. 6ເດືອນ ຫາ 1ປີ
- ຄ. 1ປີ " 2ປີ
- ງ. 2ປີ " 3ປີ
- ຈ. 3ປີ ຫາ 4ປີ
- ສ. 4ປີ " 5ປີ
- ຊ. 5ປີ " 10ປີ
- ຍ. ຫລາຍກວ່າ 10ປີ

11- / ທ່ານຢູ່ເມືອງ ວິນນິເປັກດິນປານໃດ ?

- ກ. ນ້ອຍກວ່າ 6 ເດືອນ
- ຂ. 6ເດືອນ ຫາ 1ປີ
- ຄ. 1ປີ 2ປີ
- ງ. 2ປີ 3ປີ
- ຈ. 3ປີ ຫາ 4ປີ
- ສ. 4ປີ 5ປີ
- ຊ. 5ປີ 10ປີ
- ຍ. ຫລາຍກວ່າ 10ປີ

ການເດີນທາງ / ການຫລົບຫນີ.

ຄໍາຖາມນີ້ແມ່ນກ່ຽວກັບປະສົບການຂອງຊາວອົບພົມ ທີ່ໄດ້ຫນີຈາກບ້ານເກີດເມືອງນອນ.

ສະພາບການໃນການຕຽມຕົວ, ການ ຫລົບ ຫລີບ ຫລີ ແລະປະສົບການໃນຄນະເດີນທາງຢູ່ນັ້ນ.

- ເພື່ອເຮັດໃຫ້ຈະແຈ້ງ, ຄໍາຖາມນີ້ໄດ້ແບ່ງອອກເປັນສອງພາກ ຄື: ການອອກເດີນທາງ ແລະການຫລົບຫນີ ການເດີນທາງ.

1-/ ເປັນຫຍັງທ່ານຈຶ່ງຫນີຈາກບ້ານເກີດ, ກະລຸນາ ຕອບທຸກຂໍ້ທີ່ທ່ານເຫັນວ່າຖືກກັບຊີວິດຂອງທ່ານ, ຖ້າເປັນໄປໄດ້, ຖ້າຈະອະທິບາຍເອງຂໍໃຫ້ທ່ານຈຶ່ງຂຽນໃສ່ຂໍ້ທີ່ວ່າ ( ອື່ນໆ )

- ກ. ເພື່ອຄວາມປອດພັຍ ( ຊີວິດຂອງທ່ານຢູ່ໃນລັກສະນະອັນຕຣາຍ )
- ຂ. ຫລົບຫນີຈາກສິ່ງຄາມ ຫລື ການຕິເສີກ.
- ຄ. ຫນີຈາກການຂົ່ມເຫັງ ແລະການລວນລາມຂອງຮັຖບານ.
- ງ. ເພື່ອຊອກຫາສິດເສສິພາບ ( ເພື່ອດໍາລົງຊີວິດທີ່ຕົນປາຖນາ )
- ຈ. ຫລີກຈາກການເປັນຫະຫານ
- ສ. ເພື່ອຊອກຫາຄວາມຢູ່ດີກິນດີ ຄື: ເສດຖກິດແລະການເງິນ.
- ຊ. ເພື່ອອາໄສຄິດຂອງລູກໃຫ້ດີຂຶ້ນ.
- ຍ. ເພື່ອຫ້ອນໂຮມຄອບຄົວ.
- ດ. ອື່ນໆ.....

2-/ ເວລາທ່ານຢູ່ບ້ານເດີມ, ທ່ານຮູ້ສຶກວ່າຊີວິດຂອງທ່ານອັນຕຣາຍບໍ່ ?

- ກ. ບໍ່ອັນຕຣາຍບໍ່ ?..
- ຂ. ນ້ອຍເທື່ອໄດ້ລັບອັນຕຣາຍ ?..
- ຄ. ບາງເທື່ອຢູ່ໃນອັນຕຣາຍບໍ່ ?..
- ງ. ຢູ່ໃນຄວາມອັນຕຣາຍເລື້ອຍໆບໍ່ ?..
- ຈ. ຢູ່ໃນຄວາມອັນຕຣາຍທຸກເວລາບໍ່ ?..

3-/ ສະພາບການເປັນປໍລະປັກຕໍ່ຊີວິດຂອງທ່ານໄດ້ຮັບຮຽງຢາມໃດ / ທີ່ທ່ານໄດ້ປະສົບການຢູ່ບ້ານເດີມ ກ່ອນຈະອອກຈາກບ້ານ.

- ກ. ບໍ່ຮັບຮຽງຈັກນ້ອຍ...
- ຂ. ຮັບຮຽງນ້ອຍນຶ່ງ....
- ຄ. ຮັບຮຽງຫລາຍເຕີບ..

ຕໍ່ຈາກຫນ້າ ( 4 )

ງ. ຮ້າຍແຮງຫລາຍ...

ຈ. ຮ້າຍແຮງທີ່ສຸດ....

4- / ເຈົ້າຄິດບໍ່ວ່າ ປະສົບການບໍ່ດີ ທີ່ທ່ານມີຢູ່ບ້ານເດີມ ພາໃຫ້ກະທົບກະເຫຼືອນ ຕໍ່ຊີວິດໃໝ່ຂອງທ່ານ  
ໃນປະເທດ ການາດາບໍ່ ?

ກ. ບໍ່, ບໍ່ແມ່ນຈັກນ້ອຍ...

ຂ. ແມ່ນນ້ອຍນຶ່ງ.....

ຄ. ແມ່ນຫລາຍເຕີບ.....

ງ. ແມ່ນຫລາຍອີຫລີ.....

ຈ. ຫລາຍແທ້ໆ ບໍ່ມີຫຍັງກະເຫຼືອນຫລາຍກວ່ານີ້...

5-/  
ຂ້າງລຸ່ມນີ້ແມ່ນທີ່ກວດກາການ ທ່ານອາດປະສົບກ່ອນທ່ານຈາກບັນເກີດຂອງທ່ານ. ຖ້າທ່ານປະສົບໃນສິ່ງ ດັ່ງກ່າວ ເພາະວ່າສະພາບການໃນປະເທດເດີມໃນເວລານັ້ນ. ( ຕົວຢ່າງ: ສົງຄາມ, ຄວາມວຸ້ນວາຍ, ຄວາມ ນິບເຕັງດ້ານຈິດໃຈຈາກກຸ່ມການເມືອງ, ຄວາມອິດຢາກ, ຫລືພັຍແຫ້ງແລ້ງ ) ກະລຸນາແຈ້ງໂດຍຫມາຍຂິດໃສ່ ວົງສີຫລຽມຕຽງກັບຄຳຕາມ. ຖ້າວ່າມັນບໍ່ຖືກກັບປະສົບການຂອງທ່ານບໍ່ຕ້ອງຫມາຍ.

1-/  
ການຕາຍ.

- ກ. ສະນາຊິກໃນຄອບຄົວ ( ຕົວຢ່າງ, ພໍ່ແມ່, ຜົວເມັຍ, ແລະລູກ )?
- ຂ. ຄົນອື່ນທີ່ສຳຄັນກັບເຈົ້າ ( ຕົວຢ່າງ, ພັນອັງ, ເພື່ອນໃກ້ສິດ. ) ?

2-/  
ການຫາຍສາບສູນ.

- ກ. ສະນາຊິກຄອບຄົວ ?
- ຂ. ຄົນອື່ນທີ່ສຳຄັນກັບເຈົ້າ ?

3-/  
ຖືກຈັບກຸມຂັງ.

- ກ. ຕົວທ່ານເອງ ?
- ຂ. ສະນາຊິກໃນຄອບຄົວ ?
- ຄ. ຄົນອື່ນທີ່ສຳຄັນກັບເຈົ້າ ?

4-/  
ຫຳຮ້າຍຮ່າງການ ( ທີ່ອະນາມແລະຂົນຂົນ )

- ກ. ຕົວທ່ານເອງ ?
- ຂ. ສະນາຊິກໃນຄອບຄົວ ?
- ຄ. ຄົນອື່ນທີ່ສຳຄັນກັບເຈົ້າ ?

5-/  
ບາດເຈັບ, ເຈັບສາຫັດ, ຍ້ອນວ່າສະພາບການຂອງປະເທດເຮັດໃຫ້ທ່ານ.

- ກ. ຕົວທ່ານເອງ ?
- ຂ. ສະນາຊິກໃນຄອບຄົວ ?
- ຄ. ຄົນອື່ນທີ່ສຳຄັນກັບເຈົ້າ ?

6-/  
ຖືກໂຈມຕີໂດຍກຳລັງຮັຖບານ ?

7-/  
ອິດອາຫານ ແລະນ້ຳ ?

8-/  
ບໍ່ມີບ້ານເຮືອນອາໄສຢູ່ ?

9-/  
ທ່ານຕໍ່ສູ້ສົງຄາມບໍ່ ?

10-/  
ອື່ນໆ. ຖ້າມີຈົ່ງຊື່ແຈ້ງ.....

6- / ການຫນີພັບ.

ຄຳຕອບອັນໃດຂ້າງລຸ່ມນີ້ທີ່ເຫັນວ່າຄືກັບຊີວິດຂອງທ່ານ ໃນເວລາທີ່ທ່ານຕັດສິນໃຈຫນີຈາກປະເທດຂອງທ່ານ.

- ກ. ຫລາຍກວ່າ 6 ເດືອນຈຶງໄດ້ຫນີ...
- ຂ. ລະຫວ່າງ 3 ແລະ 6 ເດືອນຈຶງໄດ້ຫນີ...
- ຄ. ລະຫວ່າງ 1 ແລະ 3 ເດືອນຈຶງໄດ້ຫນີ...
- ງ. 2 ຫລື 3 ອາທິດ ຈຶງໄດ້ຫນີ...
- ຈ. ປະມານອາທິດນຶ່ງ ຈຶງໄດ້ຫນີ...
- ສ. ພຽງແຕ່ບໍ່ເຫືອາໃດມັກໄດ້ຫນີ...
- ຂ. ພຽງບໍ່ເຫືອາໃດຊົ່ວໂມງກໍໄດ້ຫນີ...

7- / ທ່ານຫນີຈາກປະເທດຂອງທ່ານຕັກຕ້ອງຕາມກົດໝາຍບໍ່, ດ້ວຍຄວາມເຫັນພ້ອມຈາກຮັຖບານບໍ່ ?

- ກ. ແມ່ນ...
- ຂ. ບໍ່ແມ່ນ...

8- / ທ່ານຫນີຈາກປະເທດຂອງທ່ານດ້ວຍວິທີໃດ. ກະລຸນາໝາຍເອົາຂໍ້ໃດທີ່ຖືກຕ້ອງກັບທ່ານ.

- ກ. ຍ່າງຫນີ...
- ຂ. ຂີ່ຮີຖຸໄຟ , ຮີຖເມຫນີ...
- ຄ. ຂີ່ເຮືອຫນີ..
- ງ. ຮີຖຫນີ...
- ຈ. ຂີ່ຍົນຫນີ...
- ສ. ອື່ນໆ.....

9- / ທ່ານຫນີຈາກປະເທດຂອງທ່ານກັບໃຜ.

- ກ. ຜູ້ດຽວ...
- ຂ. ສະມາຊິກຄອບຄົວ...
- ຄ. ກັບຫມູ່ເພື່ອນ...
- ງ. ກັບຄົນຊາດດຽວກັນ, ແຕ່ບໍ່ຮູ້ຈັກກັນມາກ່ອນ.

ຕໍ່ຈາກຫນ້າ ( 6 )

10- / ໃນຄະນະທີ່ທ່ານເອົາຕົວຫລົບຫນ້າ, ທ່ານຮູ້ສຶກວ່າຊີວິດຂອງທ່ານຢູ່ໃນອັນຕະລາຍບໍ່ ?

- ກ. ບໍ່ມີອັນຕະລາຍຈັກນ້ອຍ...
- ຂ. ນ້ອຍເທື່ອອັນຕະລາຍ...
- ຄ. ບາງເທື່ອອັນຕະລາຍ...
- ງ. ສ່ວນຫລາຍອັນຕະລາຍ...
- ຈ. ອັນຕະລາຍຕະລອດເວລາ...

11- / ຍາກຫລືກັບການປານໃດ ທີ່ທ່ານປະສົບໃນການຫລົບຫນ້າຈາກປະເທດ.

- ກ. ບໍ່ຍາກ...
- ຂ. ຍາກນ້ອຍໜຶ່ງ...
- ຄ. ຍາກສົມຄວນ...
- ງ. ຍາກຫລາຍ...
- ຈ. ຍາກຫລາຍທີ່ສຸດ, ບໍ່ມີຫຍັງຍາກຫນ້ນ...

12- / ທ່ານຄິດບໍ່ວ່າຊີວິດຂອງທ່ານໃນປະເທດ ການາດາ ແມ່ນຍາກລຳບາກ ຫລືບໍ່ຄ່ອຍດີ.  
ເນື່ອງມາຈາກເຫດການຕ່າງໆທີ່ທ່ານປະສົບໃນເວລາທີ່ທ່ານຫນ້າຈາກບ້ານເດີມ ຫລືປະເທດຂອງທ່ານ.

- ກ. ບໍ່, ບໍ່ແມ່ນເລີຍ...
- ຂ. ນ້ອຍໜຶ່ງ...
- ຄ. ຫລາຍສົມຄວນ...
- ງ. ຫລາຍເຕີບ...
- ຈ. ຫລາຍອີຫລີ...



ຫີ ພັ ກ ຊີ ວ ຄ າ ວ

- ຄຳຕາມອັນນີ້ແມ່ນກ່ຽວກັບການຕອ້ນລັບຊີວິດຄາວ, ຫລືປະເທດທີ່ສອງທີ່ທ່ານຢູ່ລີ້ຖ້າ ເພື່ອໄປຕັ້ງຄືນຄວາມ  
ໃນປະເທດ ການາດາ, ໃນຕອນທີ່ທ່ານຫາກໍ່ຫນີຈາກບັ້ນເກີດຂອງທ່ານ.

ຖ້າທ່ານມາຈາກບັ້ນເກີດຂອງທ່ານ ແລ້ວຕື່ງໄປປະເທດ ການາດາ ໂລດ. ທ່ານບໍ່ຈຳເປັນຕອບ, ພຽງ  
ແຕ່ຫມາຍ (✓) ໃສ່ຮູບສີຫລຽມຂ້າງລຸ່ມນີ້ແລ້ວຂວ້າມໄປວັກໃໝ່.



1- / ທ່ານຫລົບຫນີຈາກບັ້ນເກີດໄປຢູ່ປະເທດໃດ.....

2- / ທ່ານຢູ່ປະເທດນັ້ນຈັກປີ..?

- ກ. ນ້ອຍກວ່າ 6 ເດືອນ...
- ຂ. 6 ເດືອນ ຫາ 1 ປີ...
- ຄ. 1 ປີ " 2 ປີ...
- ງ. 2 ປີ " 3 ປີ...
- ຈ. 3 ປີ " 4 ປີ...
- ສ. 4 ປີ " 5 ປີ...
- ຊ. ຫລາຍກວ່າ 5 ປີ...

3- / ທ່ານໄດ້ຢູ່ສູນອົບຮົມບໍ່ ? ໃນຄນະທີ່ທ່ານຢູ່ໃນປະເທດທີ່ສອງ.

- ກ. ບໍ່, ບໍ່ໄດ້ຢູ່...
- ຂ. ຢູ່, ແຕ່ຢູ່ບາງເວລາ...
- ຄ. ຢູ່, ຢູ່ຕະລອດເວລາ ຈົນກວ່າມາປະເທດທີ່ສາມ...

4- / ທ່ານຮູ້ສຶກວ່າປະເທດນັ້ນເປັນແນວໃດ. ໃນຄນະທີ່ທ່ານຢູ່ຫນີ້.

- ກ. ຂີ້ລ້າຍຫລາຍ, ບໍ່ເປັນຕາຢູ່...
- ຂ. ຫຼາກຫລາຍ, ບໍ່ພຽງພໍແລະຂາດເຂີນ...
- ຄ. ເຫມາະສົມ, ດີສົມຄວນ...
- ງ. ດີ, ພຽງພໍ...
- ຈ. ດີທີ່ສຸດ, ສົມອົກສົມໃຈ...

5- / ໃນຄນະທີ່ທ່ານຢູ່ໃນປະເທດນັ້ນ, ທ່ານຈະຕີຄວາມໝາຍວ່າແນວໃດ ໃນການຢູ່ກິນແລະຕອ້ມລັບ.? ກະຮຸນນາໝາຍໃສ່ຮູບສີ່ຫລ່ຽມ ( ) ຂ້າງຄຳຕອບນີ້.

- 1) ບໍ່ມີຫຍັງເລີຍ...
- 2) ທຸກ, ບໍ່ພຽງພໍ...
- 3) ດີສົມຄວນ, ພຽງພໍ...
- 4) ດີຫລາຍ, ແລະພຽງພໍ...
- 5) ດີເລີດ, ຫນ້າເພິງພໍໃຈ...

- ກ. ເຮືອນຢູ່, ບ່ອນອາໄສ...
- ຂ. ອາຫານ, ນ້ຳດື່ມ...
- ຄ. ຢາຮັຊສາໂຮກ, ການບໍລິການ...
- ງ. ຄວາມປອດພັຍ, ຈໍສະກັມ/ຂ້າຕີ...
- ຈ. ສຶກສາ, ການຝຶກສອນ...
- ສ. ວຽກເຮັດການຫຳ...
- ຊ. ການຈັບຈ່າຍເງິນຄຳ...
- ຍ. ບ່ອນຫລິ້ນ, ພັກພ່ອນບ່ອນອາຣຶມ...
- ດ. ການອອກໄປຫາງນອກ, ໃນເຂດອອ້ມແອ້ມ...


6- / ຂ້າງລຸ່ມນີ້ແມ່ນບົດບັນທຶກຄວາມຮູ້ສຶກຂອງຊາວອົບພົກ ທີ່ເຄີຍປະສົບມາ ໃນຄນະທີ່ທ່ານຢູ່ໃນປະເທດທີ່ສອງ. ກະຮຸນນາໝາຍເອົາດ້ວຍການຂີດຈົງມືນ 0 ໃສ່ຂ້າງຄຳຕອບ. ຂໍ້ທີ່ຖືກກັບຈິວິດຂອງທ່ານ.

- ກ. ເປືອຫລາຍ...
- ຂ. ເປົ່າປຽວ...
- ຄ. ອານາຄົດບໍ່ແນ່ນອນ...
- ງ. ເສັຍໃຈທີ່ໄດ້ຫນີຈາກບ້ານເກີດ...
- ຈ. ກິນແຫນງທີ່ໄດ້ຫນີຈາກພື້ນອັງ....
- ສ. ຢ້ານຕົວເອງແລະຄອບຄົວບໍ່ປອດພັຍ...
- ຊ. ບໍ່ມີໃຜຫົວຊານຳ...
- ຍ. ບໍ່ມີການຊ່ວຍເຫລືອ...
- ດ. ຫນົດຫວັງໃນຊີວິດ...
- ຕ. ບໍ່ເຊື່ອໃຜຫນຶດ / ຖືກລະແວງສົງສັຍຈາກເຈົ້າຫນ້າທີ່.
- ຖ. ອື່ນໆ: \_\_\_\_\_

ສິ່ງ ກໍ່ແວງ.

7- / ທ່ານຄິດວ່າຈິວິດຂອງທ່ານ ໃນປະເທດ ກາມາດາ ຍັງມີສ່ວນໃດສ່ວນໜຶ່ງຢູ່ຍາກແລະບໍ່ດີ ຍ້ອນສາ  
ເຫດສິບເມືອງມາຈາກປະສົບການ ໃນຄນະທີ່ທ່ານຢູ່ໃນປະເທດທີ່ສອງບໍ່ ?

ກ. ບໍ່, ບໍ່ມີຫຍັງ...

ຂ. ມີນ້ອຍໜຶ່ງ...

ຄ. ມີຢູ່ຫລາຍເຕີບ...

ງ. ມີຫລາຍອີຫລີ...

ຈ. ມີຫລາຍໂພດ, ບໍ່ມີຫຍັງໂພດກວ່ານອກ...

ການຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານໃໝ່

- ອັນນີ້ແມ່ນກ່ຽວກັບປະສົບການ ໃນການຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານໃໝ່. ໃນປະເທດ ການາດາ. ຄຳຖາມໄດ້ແບ່ງອອກເປັນສາມເຮືອງ: ຄວາມສຳພັນດ້ານສັງຄົມ, (ຂ)ການປັບຕົວດ້ານພາສາ (ຄ)ການປັບຕົວກ່ຽວກັບວິຊາຊີບ, ຖ້າຄຳຖາມນັ້ນບໍ່ຖືກກັບຊີວິດຂອງທ່ານ, ຂໍທ່ານຈົ່ງຂຽນຕອບເອງ ໃສ່ບ່ອນຕໍ່ກັບຄຳຖາມ.

ສຳພັນດ້ານສັງຄົມ.

1-/ ເຈົ້າຢູ່ການາດາ.

ກ. ຄົນດຽວບໍ່ ?...

ຂ. ກັບຄອບຄົວ?...

ຄ. ກັບຍາດພີ່ນ້ອງ?...

2-/ ເຈົ້າຖືແຍກຍ້າຍແລະຫ່າງເຫີນຈາກຄອບຄົວບໍ່ ? ຈົ່ງຫມາຍເອົາຄຳຕອບທີ່ຖືກກັບຊີວິດຂອງທ່ານ.

ກ. ໄດ້ຈາກຄອບຄົວ...

ຂ. ຈາກ ຜົວ / ເມັຍ...

ຄ. ຈາກລູກ...

ງ. ຈາກອຸ້ຍເອອຍນ້ອງ...

ຈ. ຈາກພໍ່ແມ່...

ສ. ຈາກພໍ່ຕູ້ ແມ່ຕູ້...

ຂ. ອື່ນ..... ຈົ່ງ ຊີ້ແຈ້ງ.

ຍ. ບໍ່ໄດ້ແຍກຍ້າຍຢູ່ຄົນລະບອ່ນຈາກຄອບຄົວອັນໃດທັງຫມົດທີ່ເລີ້ມມາຂ້າງເທິງນີ້.

3-/ ເຈົ້າສາມາດຕິດຕໍ່ກັບຜູ້ທີ່ຖືກແຍກຍ້າຍນັ້ນໄດ້ບໍ່ ?

ກ. ບໍ່, ບໍ່ໄດ້ເລີຍ...

ຂ. ໄດ້, ໄດ້ເປັນບາງຄົນ...

ຄ. ໄດ້, ໄດ້ຫມົດທຸກຄົນ...

ງ. ເຮືອງນັ້ນບໍ່ຖືກກັບສະພາບຂອງຂອ້ຍເລີຍ, ຂອ້ຍບໍ່ໄດ້ແຍກຍ້າຍກັບຄອບຄົວຂອງຂອ້ຍ...

4-/ ຈຳນວນຫນູ່ເພື່ອນທີ່ຈາກປະເທດດຽວກັນກັບເຈົ້າ, ມີ ຈຳນວນ ແບ່ງເບີ ບໍ່? ເຈົ້າຄິດວ່າແນວໃດ.

ກ. ບໍ່, ບໍ່ ຈັກນອ້ຍເລີຍ?...

ຂ. ບໍ່ ນອ້ຍນຶ່ງ?...

ຄ. ພິສິນຄວນ?...

ງ. ບໍ່ ດີຫລາຍ ?...

ຈ. ບໍ່ ບາດຍ ແຫ້ງ?...



8- / ໃນຄະນະທີ່ເຈົ້າຢູ່ໃນປະເທດ ການາດາ, ເຈົ້າປະສົບກັບການຖືກແບ່ງແຍກ ລັງກຽດຍ້ອນຜົວພັນ ?

- ກ. ບໍ່ມີຈັກດີ.
- ຂ. ນ້ອຍນຶ່ງ.
- ຄ. ຫລາຍເຕີບ.
- ງ. ຫລາຍສົມຄວນ.
- ຈ. ຫລາຍອີຫລີ.

ການປັບຕົວດ້ານພາສາ.

1- / ເຈົ້າຄິດວ່າລະດັບດ້ານພາສາ ອັງກລິດ ຂອງເຈົ້າສຳໃດຕອນເຈົ້າມາຮອດ ການາດາ ໃໝ່.

- ກ. ບໍ່ໄດ້ຈັກດີ.
- ຂ. ຕ່ຳ, ບໍ່ພຽງພໍ
- ຄ. ພຽງພໍ
- ງ. ສູງ
- ຈ. ຄອງແຄ້ວ

2- / ເຈົ້າໄດ້ລັບການຝຶກຜົນດ້ານພາສາບໍ່ ?

- ກ. ແນ່ນແລ້ວ.
- ຂ. ບໍ່, ບໍ່ໄດ້ຝຶກຜົນເລີຍ.

3- / ເຈົ້າໄດ້ມີແຜນການຈະຮຽນຝຶກຜົນພາສາ ອັງກລິດ ບໍ່ ? ກະຮຸນາເລືອກເອົາຄຳຕອບທີ່ຖືກກັບເຈົ້າ.

- ກ. ໄດ້ຮຽນຈົບດ້ານພາສາ ອັງກລິດ ?.
- ຂ. ຂ້ອຍວາງແຜນຈະຮຽນພາສາໃຫ້ຈົບ.
- ຄ. ຂ້ອຍຮຽນບໍ່ຈົບ.
- ງ. ຂ້ອຍບໍ່ມີແຜນການຈະຮຽນໃຫ້ຈົບ.
- ຈ. ຂ້ອຍບໍ່ແນ່ນອນຈະຮຽນພາສາໃຫ້ຈົບ.
- ສ. ບໍ່ຖືກກັບຂ້ອຍ ( ຂ້ອຍບໍ່ໄດ້ຮຽນພາສາ )

4- / ເຈົ້າຈະຕິຣາຄາສະລຸບການຝຶກຫັດຮຽນພາສາ ທີ່ເຈົ້າເຄີຍໄດ້ຮັບແນວໃດ, ພຽງພໍບໍ່?, ມັນຊ່ວຍເຈົ້າບໍ່ ?

- ກ. ບໍ່ພຽງພໍຈັກນ້ອຍ.
- ຂ. ຂຶ້ນ, ບໍ່ພຽງພໍ.
- ຄ. ດີສົມຄວນ.
- ງ. ດີ, ເກີນກວ່າພຽງພໍອີກຊ້ຳ.
- ຈ. ດີເລີດ, ພໍອີກພໍໃຈ.
- ສ. ບໍ່ກ່ຽວກັບຂ້ອຍ, ( ຂ້ອຍບໍ່ເຄີຍໄດ້ຮຽນພາສາ )

5- / ເຈົ້າຄິດວ່າພາສາ ອັງກລິດ ຂອງເຈົ້າປະຈຸບັນນີ້ຢູ່ໃນລະດັບໃດ. ?

- ກ. ບໍ່ໄດ້ຈັກດີ.
- ຂ. ຕໍ່າ, ບໍ່ພຽງພໍ.
- ຄ. ປານກາງ, ພໍໃຊ້ໄດ້.
- ງ. ສູງ, ເກີນກວ່າພຽງພໍ.
- ຈ. ຄອ່ງແຄ້ວ, ດີເລີດ.

ການປັບຕົວດ້ານອາຊີພ.

1- / ເຈົ້າຈຶ່ງບັນລະຍາຍຕາມະດັບວຽກການຂອງເຈົ້າຢູ່ໃນຂັ້ນໃດ. ກະຮຸນາຫມາຍຄຳຕອບຫຼັກກັບຊີວິດຂອງເຈົ້າ,

- ກ. ເຮັດວຽກເຕັມເວລາ.
- ຂ. ເຮັດວຽກບາງເວລາ.
- ຄ. ເຮັດວຽກບໍ່ເຕັມ, ແຕ່ຊອກຫາວຽກເຕັມຢູ່.
- ງ. ວ່າງງານ, ແລະຊອກຫາວຽກຢູ່.
- ຈ. ວ່າງງານ, ບໍ່ຊອກວຽກ.
- ສ. ຮຽນເຕັມເວລາ.
- ຊ. ຮຽນຍາມວ່າງ, ບໍ່ເຕັມເວລາ.
- ຍ. ອື່ນໆ..... (ໄປຮດຊື້ແຈ້ງ)

2- / ຄຳຕອບໂຕໃດຢູ່ຂ້າງລຸ່ມນີ້ທີ່ເໝາະສົມກັບລາຍໄດ້ຂອງເຈົ້າ ?

- ກ. ບໍ່ມີຈັກດີ, ຂອບບໍ່ໄດ້ເຮັດວຽກທີ່ມີເງິນຄ່າແຮງງານ.
- ຂ. ທຸກ, ບໍ່ພຽງພໍ.
- ຄ. ພໍສົມຄວນ.
- ງ. ດີ, ເກີນກວ່າພໍດີ ພໍຈັບຈ່າຍໄດ້.
- ຈ. ດີເລີດ, ພໍອີກພໍໃຈ.

3- / ຄຳຕອບອັນໃດຢູ່ຂ້າງລຸ່ມນີ້ເໝາະສົມກັບລາຍໄດ້ຄອບຄົວເຈົ້າ ?

- ກ. ບໍ່ມີຈັກດີ.
- ຂ. ທຸກ, ບໍ່ພຽງພໍ.
- ຄ. ສົມຄວນ, ພຽງພໍ.
- ງ. ດີ, ເກີນກວ່າພໍກິນພໍຈ່າຍ.
- ຈ. ດີ, ດີເລີດພໍອີກພໍໃຈ.

4- / ເຈົ້າ, ຫລືຄົນຢູ່ໃນຄອບຄົວເຈົ້າໄດ້ລັບການຊວ່ຍເຫລືອບໍ່ ດ້ານການເງິນ. ໃຫ້ຫມາຍຄຳຕອບທີ່ຖືກກັບເຈົ້າ.

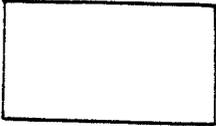
ກ. ບໍ່ແມ່ນຈັກດີ.

ຂ. ແມ່ນ, ຈາກຄອບຄົວຂ້ອຍເອງ, ພື້ນອ້ງ, ຫນຸ່ງເພື່ອນ.

ຄ. ແມ່ນ, ຈາກຮັຖບານ.

ງ. ຈາກອື່ນໆ..... ( ໂປຣດຊື້ແຈ່ງ )

ຕົກທ່ານບໍ່ເຄີຍເຮັດວຽກຢູ່ ການາດາ ຈັກເທືອ ກະຊວງໜ່ວຍ  
(✓) ໃສ່ຮູບສີ່ຫລ່ຽມຢູ່ລຸ່ມນີ້ ແລ້ວຂວັນໄປວັກໃໝ່ ທີ່ວ່າອິພິກ



5- / ຄຳຕອບຢູ່ຂ້າງລຸ່ມນີ້ທີ່ເຫັນຕົກຕ້ອງທີ່ສຸດກັບວິຊາຈີພຂອງທ່ານ. ?

- ກ. ພະນັກງານບໍ່ມີຄວາມສຳນານ.
- ຂ. ພະນັກງານສຳນານປານກາງ.
- ຄ. ພະນັກງານ ( ຊ່ຽວຊານ ) .
- ງ. ສະມຽນຫລືຄຳຂາຍ.
- ຈ. ຜູ້ຈັດການຄວບຄຸມ.
- ສ. ນັກວິຊາຊີບຂັ້ນກາງ.
- ຊ. ນັກວິຊາຊີບ.
- ຍ. ອື່ນໆ..... ( ໂປຣດຊີແຈ້ງ )

6- / ກະຊວງບອກແຈ້ງໃນຫນ້າທີ່ວຽກງານຂອງເຈົ້າ.....

7- / ເຈົ້າມັກໃນວຽກທີ່ເຈົ້າເຮັດບໍ່ ? ເຈົ້າຈະວ່າແນວໃດ.

- ກ. ບໍ່, ບໍ່ມັກຈັກດີ.
- ຂ. ມັກນ້ອຍນຶ່ງ.
- ຄ. ມັກຫລາຍເ ຕີບ.
- ງ. ມັກຫລາຍອີຫລີ.
- ຈ. ມັກຫລາຍບໍ່ມີອັນຈະມັກກວ່ານີ້.

8- / ປຽບທຽບວຽກຢູ່ນີ້, ກັບຢູ່ບ້ານເກົ່າຂອງເຈົ້າມັນເປັນແນວໃດ. ?

- ກ. ບໍ່ມັກຊ່າວຽກຢູ່ບ້ານເກົ່າ.
- ຂ. ບໍ່ມັກຫລາຍວຽກຢູ່ນີ້.
- ຄ. ມັກພໍປານກາງ.
- ງ. ດີກວ່າວຽກເກົ່າ.
- ຈ. ດີກວ່າຫລາຍເທົ່າ.
- ສ. ບໍ່ຖືກກັບຂ້ອຍ ( ຂ້ອຍບໍ່ເຄີຍເຮັດວຽກຢູ່ບ້ານເກົ່າ )

9- / ແມ່ນຫຍັງທີ່ເຈົ້າຄິດວ່າຂໍ້ຫຍຸ້ງຍາກໃນການຊອກຫາວຽກງານທີ່ ທີ່ເຈົ້າພໍໃຈໃນປະເທດ ການາດາ.  
ກະຊວງໝາຍເອົາຄຳຕອບທີ່ເຈົ້າວ່າຕົກກັບປະສົບການຂອງເຈົ້າ.

- ກ. ການສຶກສາພຽງພໍ, ຂາດການຝຶກຜົນ, ຄວາມສຳນານ.
- ຂ. ບໍ່ມີປະສົບການພຽງພໍໃນ ການາດາ.
- ຄ. ໃບປະກາດອັນເກົ່າ, ບໍ່ຕົກຮັບຮູ້ໄຊ້ການບໍ່ໄດ້.
- ງ. ຄວາມຊຸ່ງຍາກດ້ານພາສາ.
- ຈ. ວຽກທີ່ເຄີຍເຮັດມາກ່ອນ ບໍ່ມີຢູ່ ການາດາ.
- ສ. ຂາດຝຶກຜົນແລະສຶກສາ ເພື່ອຈະໄດ້ຮຳຮຽນວິຊາທີ່ຈຳເປັນ ກ່ຽວກັບວຽກການທີ່ຕົນມັກໃນການາດາ.
- ຊ. ບໍ່ຮູ້ຈັກຊອກວຽກຢູ່ ການາດາ.
- ຍ. ບໍ່ມີການຊ່ວຍເຫລືອຈາກຮັຖບານ ແລະອົງການຕ່າງໆ.
- ດ. ສະພາບເສດຖະກິດຄອບຄົວທຸກ.
- ຕ. ຖືກລັງກຽດຍອ້ອມເຊື່ອຊາດຜົວພັນ.
- ຖ. ອື່ນໆ..... ( ໂປຣດຊີແຈ່ງ )

10- / ເຈົ້າຄິດວ່າວຽກງານຂອງເຈົ້າໃນອາຟຣິກາ ທີ່ການາດາ ຈະເປັນແນວໃດ.

- ກ. ຈະບໍ່ພໍໃຈຈັກດີ.
- ຂ. ຈະພໍໃຈຂຶ້ນນ້ອຍນຶ່ງ.
- ຄ. ຈະພໍໃຈສົມຄວນ.
- ງ. ຈະພໍໃຈຫລາຍ.
- ຈ. ຈະພໍໃຈອີຫລີ, ຈະບໍ່ມີຫຍັງດີກວ່ານີ້ອີກແລ້ວ.
- ສ. ບໍ່ຕົກກັບສະພາບຂອງຂອ້ຍ. ( ຂອ້ຍບໍ່ແຜນການຈະເຮັດວຽກໃນອາຟຣິກາ )

ກ າ ນ ເ ປ ີ ນ ອີ ພ ຍິ ກ

- ຈຸດປະສົງໃນວັກນີ້, ແມ່ນອອກຫາຄວາມຄິດສ່ວນຮວມຂອງປະສົບການໃນຊີວິດຊາວອີພຍິກ. ເຫດນີ້ເອງ  
ຄຳຕາມຈຶ່ງຂອບເຂດຫົວໄປ, ກ່ຽວກັບຊີວິດເປັນອີພຍິກ. ມີຜົນສະທ້ອນຕໍ່ຊີວິດຄືແນວໃດ.

1- / ເຈົ້າຄິດວ່າການຫນີຈາກບ້ານເກີດເນື່ອງມອນມີຄວາມຊຸ່ງຍາກຕໍ່ຊີວິດຢູ່ບໍ ?

- ກ. ບໍ່, ບໍ່ແມ່ນຈັກດີ.
- ຂ. ມີອັນນຶ່ງ.
- ຄ. ສ່ວນໃດສ່ວນນຶ່ງ.
- ງ. ຫຼືຊຸ່ງຍາກຫລາຍ.
- ຈ. ແມ່ນແລ້ວ, ຫຼືຊຸ່ງຍາກທີ່ສຸດ.

2- / ເຈົ້າຄິດວ່າການມາຢູ່ປະເທດ ການາດາ ມີຄວາມຫຼືຊຸ່ງຍາກຕໍ່ຊີວິດຂອງເຈົ້າບໍ ?

- ກ. ບໍ່, ບໍ່ມີຫຍັງຫຼືຊຸ່ງຍາກ.
- ຂ. ມີອັນນຶ່ງ.
- ຄ. ມີສ່ວນໃດສ່ວນນຶ່ງ.
- ງ. ມີຫລາຍ.
- ຈ. ມີຫລາຍທີ່ສຸດ, ບໍ່ມີຫຍັງຫຼືຊຸ່ງຍາກກວ່ານີ້.

3- / ເຈົ້າວ່າຢູ່ ປະເທດ ການາດານີ້ເປັນແນວໃດ.

- ກ. ບໍ່ດີຫລາຍ.
- ຂ. ຫຼຸກຍາກ, ບໍ່ພຽງພໍ.
- ຄ. ດີສົມຄວນ, ພຽງພໍ.
- ງ. ດີຫລາຍ.
- ຈ. ດີຫລາຍທີ່ສຸດ, ພໍອີກພໍໃຈ. Q

4- / ເຈົ້າຄິດວ່າຖ້າເຈົ້າປະເທດຂອງເຈົ້າຊີວິດຂອງເຈົ້າຈະດີຂຶ້ນກວ່ານີ້ບໍ ?

- ກ. ບໍ່, ຈະບໍ່ດີຂຶ້ນຈັກເທື່ອ.
- ຂ. ຈະດີຂຶ້ນອັນນຶ່ງ.
- ຄ. ຈະດີຂຶ້ນສ່ວນໃດສ່ວນນຶ່ງ.
- ງ. ຈະດີຂຶ້ນຫລາຍສົມຄວນ.
- ຈ. ຈະດີເລີດ.

5- / ຖ້າໂອກາດອຳນວຍ, ເຈົ້າຈະກັບຄືນເມືອງຢູ່ບ້ານເກີດຂອງເຈົ້າບໍ່ ?

- ກ. ບໍ່, ຂ້ອຍຈະບໍ່ຄືນເມືອງຢູ່ບ້ານເກີດຂອງຂ້ອຍ.
- ຂ. ຂ້ອຍບໍ່ແນ່ໃຈ, ວ່າຂ້ອຍຈະກັບຄືນບ້ານເກີດຫລືບໍ່.
- ຄ. ແນ່ນແລ້ວ, ຂ້ອຍຈະກັບຄືນບ້ານເກີດຂອງຂ້ອຍ.

6- / ເຈົ້າມີແຜນການຈະເປັນຄົນ ການາດຽນ ບໍ່ ? ຈຶ່ງໝາຍເອົາຄຳຕອບທີ່ຖືກກັບເຈົ້າ.

- ກ. ຂ້ອຍເປັນຄົນ ການາດຽນແລ້ວ.
- ຂ. ຂ້ອຍມີຄວາມຄິດແລ້ວວ່າຈະເປັນ ການາດຽນ.
- ຄ. ຂ້ອຍບໍ່ແນ່ໃຈ ວ່າຈະເປັນຄົນການາດຽນຫລືບໍ່ .
- ງ. ບໍ່, ຂ້ອຍຈະບໍ່ເປັນຄົນ ການາດຽນ ເດັດຂາດ .

ຄວາມຄິດຄວາມເຫັນ

- ຖ້າທ່ານປາຖນາຢາກລົງຄວາມຄິດຄວາມເຫັນສ່ວນຕົວ ຫລືເພີ່ມເຕີມອັນໃດອັນໜຶ່ງ, ຂໍເອີ້ນທ່ານ  
ຂຽນລົງໄດ້ໃນໜ້າກະດາດນີ້ໂລດ.

ດ ັ ນ ສ ຸ ຂ ພ າ ບ

- ຄຳຖາມວັກນີ້ແມ່ນກ່ຽວກັບສຸຂພາບ ແລະຄວາມຮູ້ສຶກທົ່ວໄປຂອງເຈົ້າ. ຄຳຕອບທຸກໆອັນໆແມ່ນເປັນຄວາມລັບ.

- ຈົ່ງຕອບຄຳຖາມແຕ່ລະອັນ, ດ້ວຍການໝາຍ ຕົວຢ່າງ: (✓) ໃສ່ຫ້ອງທີ່ເຈົ້າວ່າຖືກຕ້ອງກັບອາການ ແລະຄວາມຮູ້ສຶກຂອງເຈົ້າ. ຕາມຄຳຖາມ.

	ບໍ່ເຈັບຈັກດີ	ນ້ອຍໜຶ່ງ	ຫລາຍເຕີບ	ຫລາຍແທ້ໆ	ແຮງຫລາຍທີ່ສຸດ
ເຈັບ, ປວດ ຫ້ອງ	✓				

- ຖ້າຫາກວ່າທ່ານເຈັບຫລືປວດຫ້ອງຈຶ່ງອະທິບາຍຂອງອາການເຈັບຫລາຍປານໃດ. ດັ່ງນີ້:

	ບໍ່ເຈັບຈັກດີ	ນ້ອຍໜຶ່ງ	ຫລາຍເຕີບ	ຫລາຍແທ້ໆ	ແຮງທີ່ສຸດ
ເຈັບ, ປວດ ຫ້ອງ			✓		

- ກະລຸນາພະຍາຍາມຕອບທຸກຄຳຖາມ. ບໍ່ຕ້ອງຄິດຫລາຍກ່ອນຕອບ.

	ບໍ່, ຈັກດີ	ນ້ອຍໜຶ່ງ	ຫລາຍເຕີບ	ຫລາຍແທ້ໆ	ແຮງທີ່ສຸດ
1. ຮູ້ສຶກວິນຫລືເປັນລົມ					
2. ຮູ້ສຶກເມື່ອຍ					
3. ຮູ້ສຶກອຸກໃຈກະວົນ ກະວົນກະວາຍ					

	ບໍ່ແມ່ນຈັກດີ	ນ້ອຍນຶ່ງ	ຫລາຍເຕີບ	ຫລາຍອີຫລີ	ຫລາຍທີ່ສຸດ
4. ເຈັບຫົວ ແລະ ຫລີ້ນ ຄວາມກົດດັນຢູ່ຫົວ					
5. ຢ້ານກົວ ຕື່ນເຕັ້ນ ຕື່ນ ຍຸບງ ຍັບງ					
6. ຢູ່ຊຶ່ງຫົວໃຈເຕັ້ນໄວ ຫລືແຮງໂດຍບໍ່ເຫດ ຜົນອັນໃດອັນນຶ່ງ					
7. ຮູ້ສຶກບໍ່ມີຄວາມຫວັງ					
8. ຮູ້ສຶກບໍ່ມີແຮງ					
9. ຄວາມຊຶ່ງຈຳບໍ່ດີ ຄິດ ບອອກ.					
10. ຮູ້ສຶກກິນແຫນ້ງແລະ ລະອາຍໃຈ					
11. ເຈັບເອີກຫັນໃຈຟິດ					
12. ມີຄວາມຢູ່ງຍາກນຳຫມູ່					
13. ອຸກໃຈ ເປັນຫ່ວງ					
14. ຮູ້ສຶກກວນໃຈຫລື ກົນແຂ້ວ					
15. ຮູ້ສຶກວ່າຄົນອື່ນເປັນບໍ່ຮະປັກ ປາກຫຳຮ້າຍເຮົາ					
16. ປວດກ້າມເນື້ອຫລືປວດກະດູ					
17. ຢ້ານສິນ					
18. ມີບັນຫາໃນການຄິດ					

	ບໍ່ແມ່ນຈັກດີ	ນ້ອຍໜຶ່ງ	ຫລາຍເຕີບ	ຫລາຍອີຫລີ	ຫລາຍທີ່ສຸດ
19. ຕື່ນຍູບໆ ຍັບໆ ສະເດີດ ສະດາງ					
20. ຮູ້ສຶກວ່າຄົນອື່ນດູກູກຕົນ ຫລຸດເບິ່ງແຈ້ງຮ້າຍ					
21. ຝັນຮ້າຍ, ນອນໃຫລ					
22. ຮູ້ສຶກໃຈຮ້າຍ					
23. ຕັ້ງໃຈບໍ່ໄດ້ຫລືຮູ້ສຶກບໍ່ສົນໃຈ					
24. ມີຄວາມຢຸ່ງຍາກໃນວຽກ					
25. ຮູ້ສຶກຄັນຄາຍໃນຕົນຕົວ					
26. ມັກລົມເຮືອງທີ່ສຳຄັນ					
27. ຂາດຄວາມສົນໃຈໃນສິ່ງຕ່າງໆ					
28. ຮູ້ສຶກເສົາໃຈ ເຫງົາໃຈ					
29. ຮູ້ສຶກກຽດຊັງແລະຄຽດ					
30. ຮູ້ສຶກຖືກຕັດຂາດຈາກຄົນອື່ນ					
31. ຮູ້ສຶກວ່າຄົນອື່ນບໍ່ມັກຕົນ					
32. ເສຍອາຣົມໄດ້ຫງ່າຍໆ					
33. ຮູ້ສຶກບໍ່ມີຄຸນຄ່າເຮັດຫຍັງກໍ່ມີ ແຕ່ຜິດ					
34. ມີບັນຫາກັບຄອບຄົວ					
35. ຮູ້ສຶກງົງໆ					
36. ຮູ້ສຶກມືນຕົວອ່ອນເພັຍ					
37. ຮູ້ສຶກບໍ່ໄດ້ລັບຄວາມໄວ້ເນືອ ເຊື່ອໃຈ, ຖືກສົງສັຍ					
38. ຄວາມຊຶ່ງຈຳເສັຍ.					

APPENDIX E  
Vietnamese Translation  
of the REO and SRT

Bản câu hỏi này là phần luận án tiến sĩ do David Hutton, sinh viên trường Đại học Manitoba (Ngành tâm lý giáo dục, Phân khoa sư phạm) thực hiện. Mục đích của luận án là nghiên cứu sự sắp xếp giữa những người tỵ nạn, cách mà họ chuẩn bị cho cuộc ra đi và kinh nghiệm nào ảnh hưởng nhiều nhất cho sự sắp xếp này. Anh hoặc chị cần có một bản tóm tắt về kết quả hoặc những chi tiết khác về bản luận án này xin liên lạc theo địa chỉ được ghi ở phần dưới.

Sự hưởng ứng của anh hoặc chị đối với bản câu hỏi này là hoàn toàn tự nguyện. Anh hoặc chị có thể rút lại bất cứ lúc nào với bất kỳ một lý do nào.

Bản câu hỏi này cần khoảng một giờ để trả lời và bao gồm nhiều phần. Mỗi phần là những câu hỏi liên quan đến những vấn đề khác nhau đối với người tỵ nạn kể cả sự khởi hành, chuyển ra đi, cuộc sống bên trong trại tỵ nạn và phần định cư. Ngoài ra có một phần liên hệ đến toàn bộ những kinh nghiệm của cuộc đời người tỵ nạn (và sự việc này ảnh hưởng như thế nào đến cuộc sống của họ) cũng như có một phần tìm hiểu về sự ổn định tâm lý và tình trạng sức khỏe.

Tất cả những câu trả lời của anh hoặc chị đều được giữ kín. Anh hoặc chị không phải viết tên của mình vào bản câu hỏi. Không một ai, ngay cả người phụ trách biết danh tánh của anh hoặc chị, người đã trả lời bản câu hỏi này.

Một số câu hỏi có thể gây cho anh hoặc chị những mối thương tâm hoặc sự bức dọc. Anh hoặc chị không cần phải trả lời những câu hỏi này. Anh hoặc chị chỉ đơn giản đánh dấu (X) vào phần được hướng dẫn của câu hỏi đó và trả lời câu hỏi kế tiếp. Tương tự, không có một sự bắt buộc nào đòi hỏi anh hoặc chị phải trả lời toàn bộ bản câu hỏi khi anh hoặc chị cảm thấy không thể hoặc không tiện để trả lời.

Trong tất cả những phần câu hỏi đều có sự hướng dẫn. Phần lớn những câu hỏi chỉ yêu cầu anh hoặc chị chọn một câu trả lời thích hợp nhất đối với mình khi đề cập đến một vấn đề, một điều kiện hoặc một sự kiện nào đó bằng cách khoanh tròn một mẫu tự hoặc là một con số phác họa những trường hợp xảy ra (theo như hướng dẫn). Một số câu hỏi có hơn một câu trả lời và những câu hỏi này cũng sẽ được hướng dẫn. Nếu như anh hoặc chị cảm thấy phần trả lời không diễn tả đúng về trường hợp của mình, anh hoặc chị hãy tự nhiên viết ra câu trả lời riêng ở khoảng trống kế bên câu hỏi hoặc ở phần ghi là "Trường hợp khác".

Nếu như anh hoặc chị có điều gì thắc mắc hoặc muốn tìm hiểu thêm về bản câu hỏi này, xin hãy tự nhiên cho biết ý kiến.

Thành thật cảm ơn anh, chị đã bỏ ra thì giờ quý báu để cộng tác với chúng tôi.

DAVID G. HUTTON

Winnipeg, Manitoba

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Canada.

## LỜI GIAO ƯỚC

*Xin anh hoặc chị đánh dấu (✓) vào ô trống bên dưới nếu anh hoặc chị*

*... đã đọc hết phần giới thiệu và phần hướng dẫn đối với bản câu hỏi.*

*... hiểu được tính chất và mục đích được yêu cầu của bản câu hỏi.*

*... đồng ý tự nguyện trả lời bản câu hỏi và hiểu rằng anh hoặc chị có thể chọn không trả lời một câu hỏi hoặc toàn bộ bản câu hỏi với bất kỳ một lý do nào mà không bị phiền trách.*

## SƠ LƯỢC CÁ NHÂN

Mục đích của những câu hỏi ở phần này là tìm hiểu về quá khứ của người tỵ nạn (thí dụ như tuổi tác, hoàn cảnh gia đình, trình độ học vấn và nghề nghiệp đã làm). Để trả lời những câu hỏi này, anh hoặc chị chỉ cần khoanh tròn mẫu tự (a, b, c, d hoặc e) của câu trả lời diễn tả chính xác nhất về bản thân mình. Nếu vì một lý do gì, anh hoặc chị cảm thấy rằng phần trả lời không được đúng, anh hoặc chị có thể viết câu trả lời riêng ở khoảng trống kẻ bên câu hỏi.

1- Lúc đến Canada, anh hoặc chị bao nhiêu tuổi? Có phải anh hoặc chị

a-Từ 15 đến 19 tuổi?

b-Từ 20 đến 29 tuổi?

c-Từ 30 đến 39 tuổi?

d-Từ 40 đến 49 tuổi?

e-Hơn 50 tuổi?

2-Bây giờ anh hoặc chị bao nhiêu tuổi? Có phải anh hoặc chị

a-Từ 15 đến 19 tuổi?

b-Từ 20 đến 29 tuổi?

c-Từ 30 đến 39 tuổi?

d-Từ 40 đến 49 tuổi?

e-Hơn 50 tuổi?

3- Anh hoặc chị thuộc phái

a-Nam?

b- Nữ?

4- Gia cảnh của anh hoặc chị ra sao?

a-Độc thân (chưa từng lập gia đình)

b-Đã có gia đình

c-Ly dị hoặc ly thân

d-Vợ hoặc chồng qua đời.

5-Anh hoặc chị đã có con chưa?

a-Có

b-Chưa

6-Tại quốc gia cũ, anh hoặc chị sống ở vùng nào. Anh hoặc chị có thể trả lời

a-Vùng nội thành.

b-Vùng nông thôn.

7-Anh hoặc chị đi học được mấy năm?

- a-Không có đi học
- b-Có đi học trong khoảng từ 1 đến 6 năm.
- c-Có đi học trong khoảng từ 7 đến 12 năm (không kể tốt nghiệp phổ thông)
- d-Tốt nghiệp trung học phổ thông
- e-Đã học đại học hoặc cao đẳng (không tính đã tốt nghiệp hay chưa)
- f-Đã tốt nghiệp đại học hoặc cao đẳng.

8-Câu trả lời nào dưới đây chỉ rõ được nghề nghiệp mà anh hoặc chị đã làm ở quốc gia của mình.

- |                         |                         |                              |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| a-Học sinh              | b-Chưa từng đi làm việc | c-Lao động phổ thông         |
| d-Phụ thợ               | e-Thợ chính             | f-Thư ký hoặc người bán hàng |
| g-Quản lý               | h-Cán sự                | i-Chuyên viên                |
| j-Trường hợp khác ..... | ..(Xin ghi rõ ra)       |                              |

9-Nếu anh hoặc chị đã từng làm việc ở quốc gia cũ xin ghi ra tên công việc đã làm

.....

10-Anh hoặc chị đã sống tại Canada được bao lâu?

- |                    |                                      |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a-Chưa đến 6 tháng | b-Trong khoảng từ 6 tháng đến 1 năm. |
| c-Từ 1 đến 2 năm   | d-Từ 2 đến 3 năm                     |
| e-Từ 3 đến 4 năm   | f-Từ 4 đến 5 năm                     |
| g-Từ 5 đến 10 năm  | h-Hơn 10 năm                         |

11-Anh hoặc chị đã sống tại Winnipeg được bao lâu?

- |                    |                                      |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a-Chưa đến 6 tháng | b-Trong khoảng từ 6 tháng đến 1 năm. |
| c-Từ 1 đến 2 năm   | d-Từ 2 đến 3 năm                     |
| e-Từ 3 đến 4 năm   | f-Từ 4 đến 5 năm                     |
| g-Từ 5 đến 10 năm  | h-Hơn 10 năm                         |

## KHỞI HÀNH VÀ CHUYỂN RA ĐI

Những câu hỏi trong phần này liên quan đến kinh nghiệm vượt thoát. Trong đó bao gồm việc chuẩn bị, lúc khởi hành cũng như kinh nghiệm suốt cuộc hành trình. Để được rõ ràng hơn, những câu hỏi trong phần này được chia ra làm hai. Một phần là "Khởi hành" và một phần là "Cuộc hành trình"

### KHỞI HÀNH

1-Tại sao anh hoặc chị phải rời bỏ quốc gia của mình. Xin anh hoặc chị cho biết những câu trả lời nào dưới đây thích hợp với trường hợp của anh hoặc chị. Nếu cần thiết anh hoặc chị có thể viết câu trả lời riêng ở khoảng trống ghi "Một lý do khác"

- a-Vì sự an toàn bản thân (sinh mạng của bản thân bị nguy hiểm)
- b-Trốn chiến tranh hoặc trốn chiến đấu
- c-Trốn sự bức hại hoặc bức bách của chính quyền
- d-Muốn có một sự tự do hơn (Để có thể sống như ý mình muốn)
- e-Trốn quân dịch
- f-Vì lý do kinh tế hoặc muốn cải thiện về tình trạng tài chánh
- g-Để con cái có thể có một cuộc sống tốt hơn
- h-Để đoàn tụ với gia đình
- i-Một lý do khác .....(Xin ghi rõ ra)

2-Khi đang sống trên quốc gia cũ, anh hoặc chị có cảm thấy sự an toàn bản thân bị nguy hiểm không. Anh hoặc chị có thể nói rằng

- a-Không bị nguy hiểm
- b-Ít khi bị nguy hiểm
- c-Đôi khi có nguy hiểm
- d-Thường bị nguy hiểm
- e-Luôn luôn bị nguy hiểm

3-Tình trạng nguy hiểm như thế nào? (Những sự việc mà anh hoặc chị đã trải qua trước khi vượt thoát)

- a-Không nguy hiểm gì cả
- b-Hơi có nguy hiểm
- c-Có, nhưng không đáng kể
- d-Có nhiều nguy hiểm đáng lo ngại
- e-Thật là nguy hiểm, không thể có một tình trạng nào nguy hiểm hơn

4-Nhìn một cách nào đó, anh hoặc chị có nghĩ là cuộc sống của anh hoặc chị tại Canada cũng xấu và nguy hại như những tình trạng mà anh hoặc chị đã trải qua trước khi rời bỏ quốc gia cũ của mình

- a-Không nguy hiểm gì cả
- b-Hơi có nguy hiểm
- c-Có, nhưng không đáng kể
- d-Có nhiều nguy hiểm đáng lo ngại
- e-Thật là nguy hiểm, không thể có một tình trạng nào nguy hiểm hơn

5-Dưới đây là những sự kiện mà có thể anh hoặc chị đã trải qua trước khi anh hoặc chị rời bỏ quốc gia cũ. Nếu như anh hoặc chị thật sự đã trải qua những sự kiện này vì điều kiện của quốc gia của anh hoặc chị vào thời điểm lúc bấy giờ (thí dụ như chiến tranh, nội chiến, đàn áp chính trị, nạn đói hoặc hạn hán) Xin anh hoặc chị đánh dấu (✓) vào ô trống kế bên. Nếu anh hoặc chị không bị trải qua, xin để ô trống.

1-Sự qua đời của

a-Một người thân trong gia đình  
(thí dụ như vợ hoặc chồng, con cái, anh em ruột hoặc cha mẹ)

b-Một người thân cận khác (thí dụ người bà con, bạn thân)


2-Sự mất tích của

a-Một người thân trong gia đình

b- Một người thân cận khác


3-Sự bắt bớ tù đày của

a-Bản thân của anh hoặc chị

b-Một người thân trong gia đình

c-Một người thân cận khác


4-Sự hành hung thân thể (bao gồm việc tra tấn và cưỡng hiếp) của

a-Bản thân của anh hoặc chị

b-Một người thân trong gia đình

c-Một người thân cận khác


5-Sự tổn hại hoặc chứng bệnh hiểm nghèo xảy ra ở quốc gia cũ đối với

a-Bản thân của anh hoặc chị

b-Một người thân trong gia đình

c-Một người thân cận khác


6-Bị chính quyền, quân nổi loạn hoặc quân đội tấn công

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7-Thiếu thực phẩm và nước uống

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8-Thiếu nhà cửa hoặc nơi cư trú

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9-Anh hoặc chị có từng chiến đấu trong chiến tranh hoặc một điều kiện tương tự

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10-Trường hợp khác ..... (Xin ghi rõ ra)

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## CUỘC HÀNH TRÌNH

6-Câu trả lời nào dưới đây diễn tả đúng nhất khoảng thời gian để anh hoặc chị quyết định rời bỏ quốc gia cũ của mình

- a-Hơn 6 tháng trước khi đi
- b-Trong khoảng từ 3 tháng đến 6 tháng trước khi đi
- c-Trong khoảng 1 đến 3 tháng trước khi đi
- d-Trong khoảng 1 đến 3 tuần trước khi đi
- e-Vào khoảng 1 tuần trước khi đi
- f-Chỉ một vài ngày trước khi đi
- g-Chỉ một vài giờ trước khi đi

7-Anh hoặc chị ra đi có hợp pháp với sự đồng ý và chấp thuận của chính quyền không?

- a-Có
- b-Không

8-Anh hoặc chị rời bỏ hoặc chạy trốn quốc gia cũ bằng cách nào. Xin hoặc chị chỉ rõ câu những câu trả lời đúng với trường hợp của mình.

- a-Bằng đường bộ
- b-Bằng xe lửa hoặc xe đò
- c-Bằng đường biển
- d-Bằng xe hơi
- e-Bằng máy bay
- f-Bằng một phương tiện khác. Đó là..... (Xin ghi rõ ra)

9-Có phải anh hoặc chị ra đi

- a-Một mình
- b-Cùng với gia đình
- c-Với bạn bè
- d-Với những người đồng hương không quen biết

10-Trong khi anh chị ra đi hoặc trốn đi khỏi quốc gia cũ, nói rõ hơn là trong cuộc hành trình vượt thoát, anh chị có cảm thấy sự an toàn bản thân bị nguy hiểm không?

a-Không nguy hiểm gì cả

b-Ít khi bị nguy hiểm

c-Thỉnh thoảng bị nguy hiểm

d-Thường xuyên bị nguy hiểm

e-Luôn luôn bị nguy hiểm

11-Điều kiện và tình trạng tệ hại như thế nào mà anh hoặc chị đã trải qua trong cuộc hành trình

a-Không nguy hại gì cả

b-Hơi nguy hại

c-Có nguy hại nhưng không đáng kể

d-Rất là nguy hiểm

e-Nguy hiểm một cách khủng khiếp, không thể có một tình trạng kinh khiếp hơn.

12-Anh hoặc chị có nghĩ rằng, nhìn một cách nào đó cuộc sống của anh hoặc chị tại Canada cũng nguy hại như trong điều kiện mà anh hoặc chị đã trải qua trong cuộc hành trình vượt thoát.

a-Không nguy hại gì cả

b-Hơi nguy hại

c-Có nguy hại nhưng không đáng kể

d-Rất là nguy hại

e-Nguy hại một cách trầm trọng, không thể có một tình trạng nào xấu hơn

13)-Bên dưới đây là một số sự kiện mà anh hoặc chị có thể đã trải qua trong cuộc hành trình vượt thoát. Để trả lời, anh hoặc chị chỉ cần đánh dấu (✓) vào một ô chỉ sự kiện mà anh hoặc chị đã trải qua. Nếu sự kiện ấy không xảy ra cho anh hoặc chị. Xin để ô trống.

1-Sự qua đời của

a-Một người thân trong gia đình

(thí dụ như vợ hoặc chồng, con cái, anh em ruột hoặc cha mẹ)

b-Một người thân cận khác (thí dụ như người bà con hoặc bạn thân)

2-bị hải tặc hoặc kẻ cướp

3-Bị chính quyền, quân nổi loạn hoặc quân đội tấn công

4-Bị bắt cóc

a-Một người thân trong gia đình

b-Một người thân cận khác

5-Sự hành hung kể cả việc cưỡng hiếp đôi với

a-Chính bản thân anh hoặc chị

b-Một người thân trong gia đình

c-Một người thân cận khác

6-Sự tổn hại hoặc chứng bệnh hiểm nghèo xảy ra trong cuộc hành trình đối với

a-Chính bản thân anh hoặc chị

b-Một người thân trong gia đình

c-Một người thân cận khác

7-Không đủ phương tiện

8-Thiếu thực phẩm, nước uống

9-Thiếu nơi cư trú

10-Mất phương hướng

11-Bị thời tiết xấu hoặc bão

12-Bị từ chối không cho cập bờ hoặc từ chối không cho nhập trại

13-Một trường hợp khác . . . . . (Xin ghi rõ ra)

## CUỘC SỐNG BÊN TRONG TRẠI TỴ NẠN

Những câu hỏi trong phần này liên quan đến cuộc sống bên trong trại tỵ nạn hoặc ở quốc gia mà anh hoặc chị đã đợi để đi Canada sau khi anh hoặc chị vượt thoát khỏi quốc gia cũ của mình.

Nếu như anh hoặc chị đi trực tiếp từ quốc gia cũ đến Canada, anh hoặc chị không cần phải trả lời những câu hỏi trong phần này. Anh hoặc chị chỉ đánh dấu (✓) vào ô trống ngay bên dưới và tiếp sang phần kế tiếp. Đó là phần định cư.

1-Anh hoặc chị vượt thoát đến quốc gia nào? .....

2-Anh hoặc chị phải trú ngụ tại quốc gia này bao lâu?

a-Vào khoảng 6 tháng

b-Từ 7 tháng đến 1 năm

c-Từ 1 đến 2 năm

d-Từ 2 đến 3 năm

e-Hơn 3 năm

3-Anh hoặc chị có phải sống trong trại tỵ nạn của quốc gia này không

a-Không, không ở một ngày nào cả

b-Có, nhưng chỉ ở một khoảng thời gian ngắn

c-Có, Tất cả thời gian sống tại đây là ở trong trại tỵ nạn.

4-Anh hoặc chị có thể diễn tả nơi mà anh chị đã tạm dung

a-Xấu, rất tồi tệ

b-Thiếu thốn nghèo khổ

c-Bình thường đầy đủ

d-Tốt, dư dật

e-Rất tốt, đúng như ý muốn

5-Suốt thời gian sống tại quốc gia tạm dung, anh hoặc chị đánh giá như thế nào về sự sắp xếp và điều kiện sinh sống? Anh hoặc chị dùng con số diễn tả sự việc một cách chính xác nhất vào ô trống đối với mỗi mục

- |                            |
|----------------------------|
| 1-Không có được gì cả      |
| 2-Thiếu thốn, không đủ     |
| 3-Bình thường, đầy đủ      |
| 4-Tốt, khá đầy đủ          |
| 5-Rất tốt, đúng như ý muốn |

- |                                      |                          |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| a-Nhà cửa, nơi trú ẩn                | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b-Thực phẩm, nước uống               | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c-Bện xá dịch vụ xã hội              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d-Tình trạng an ninh                 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e-Trường học, chương trình huấn nghệ | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f-Cơ hội có việc làm                 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g-Tiêu xài tiền                      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h-Giải trí                           | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| i-Sự hợp quần, đoàn kết              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| j-Kết hợp thành một cộng đồng        | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6-Dưới đây là những xúc cảm thường xảy ra đối với một người sống trong trại tỵ nạn. Xin anh hoặc chị khoanh tròn mẫu tự thích hợp diễn tả sự xúc cảm thường xảy đến với anh hoặc chị

- a-Bực bội
- b-Có đơn
- c-Lo ngại về tương lai
- d-Hối hận vì đã bỏ ra đi
- e-Cảm thấy tội lỗi vì đã bỏ lại người thân
- f-Lo sợ cho sự an toàn của người thân còn ở lại
- g-Lo sợ cho sự an toàn bản thân
- h-Cảm thấy bị thế giới bên ngoài bỏ rơi, quên lãng
- i-Không có sự giúp đỡ
- j-Cảm thấy tuyệt vọng
- k-Không tin tưởng và nghi ngờ nhân viên hữu trách
- l-Những xúc cảm khác. .... (Xin ghi rõ ra)

7-Nhìn một cách nào đó, anh hoặc chị có nghĩ rằng tại Canada cũng có những tình trạng tồi tệ ảnh hưởng đến cuộc sống của anh hoặc chị như là thời gian anh hoặc chị sống tại quốc gia tạm dung

- a-Không, không có nguy hại gì cả
- b-Chỉ hơi hơi
- c-Có, nhưng không đáng kể
- d-Nhiều và đáng lo ngại
- e-Quá nhiều, không thể có tình trạng nào xấu hơn

## ĐINI CỨ

Phần này nói về kinh nghiệm đến và sống tại Canada. Những câu hỏi được chia ra làm 3 đề mục  
A-Mối quan hệ xã hội B-Sự trau dồi ngôn ngữ C-Sự cải tiến nghề nghiệp

### A-Mối quan hệ xã hội

1-Có phải anh hoặc chị sống tại Canada

- a-Một mình
- b-Với những người thân trong gia đình
- c-Với những người bà con

2-Có phải anh hoặc chị bị cách ly những người thân trong gia đình. Xin hoặc chị chỉ rõ những câu trả lời đúng với trường hợp của anh hoặc chị

- a-Bị cách ly toàn bộ gia đình
- b-Bị cách ly khỏi người phối ngẫu (vợ hoặc chồng)
- c-Bị cách ly khỏi con cái (con trai hoặc con gái)
- d-Bị cách ly khỏi anh em ruột (anh em trai hoặc chị em gái)
- e-Bị cách ly khỏi cha mẹ (cha hoặc mẹ)
- f-Bị cách ly khỏi ông bà
- g-Trường hợp khác (Xin ghi rõ ra)
- h-Không bị cách ly những người thân trong gia đình

3-Anh hoặc chị có được phép tiếp xúc với những người mà anh hoặc chị bị cách ly không?

- a-Không
- b-Có, nhưng chỉ một vài người
- c-Có, được tiếp xúc với tất cả mọi người
- d-Không trả lời được (vì không bị cách ly khỏi gia đình)

4-Anh hoặc chị có thỏa mãn về những bạn bè mà anh hoặc chị đã quen biết trước đây ở quốc gia cũ không. Anh hoặc chị có thể nói rằng

- a-Không thỏa mãn gì cả
- b-Hơi bằng lòng
- c-Bình thường, được
- d-Rất thỏa mãn
- e-Thật thoản mãn, không thể có trường hợp tốt hơn



8-Suốt thời gian sống tại Canada, anh hoặc chị có trải qua những trường hợp như bị thành kiến hoặc bị phân biệt không?

- a-Không, không có gì cả
- b-Chỉ chút ít
- c-Có, nhưng không đáng kể
- d-Nhiều và là một vấn đề đáng lo ngại
- e-Không có một tình trạng nào xấu hơn

### B-Trau dồi ngôn ngữ

1-Khả năng Anh Ngữ của anh hoặc chị ở cấp độ nào khi đến Canada?

- a-Không biết gì cả
- b-Chỉ chút ít, không đủ sử dụng
- c-vừa, đủ nói chuyện
- d-Trên mức trung bình, khá
- e-Lưu loát, thành thạo

2-Anh hoặc chị có học qua một lớp anh ngữ nào chưa ?

- a-Có
- b-Không

3-Anh hoặc chị có dự tính hoàn tất một khóa Anh ngữ nào không? Xin anh hoặc chị chỉ ra câu trả lời thích hợp nhất đối với mình

- a-Đã hoàn tất một khoá học Anh ngữ
- b-Có dự tính hoàn tất một khóa học Anh ngữ
- c-Không hoàn tất một khóa học Anh ngữ
- d-Không dự tính hoàn tất một khóa học Anh ngữ
- e-Không chắc có hoàn tất một khóa học Anh ngữ hay không
- f-Không trả lời được (vì không dự một khóa học anh ngữ nào)

4-Anh hoặc chị đánh giá ra sao về khóa học anh ngữ mà anh chị vừa học. Nó có được kết quả gì không? Nó có giúp được gì cho anh hoặc chị không ?

- a-Không được gì cả
- b-Không có hiệu quả bao nhiêu
- c-Bình thường, được
- d-Tốt, có tác dụng nhiều
- e-Rất tốt, đúng như ý muốn
- f-Không trả lời được (vì không có dự khoá học nào cả)

5-Khả năng Anh ngữ của anh hoặc chị bây giờ như thế nào?

- a-Không biết gì cả
- b-Thấp, không đủ sử dụng
- c-Vừa đủ sử dụng
- d-Khá, trên mức trung bình
- e-Lưu loát, thành thạo

C-Cải tiến nghề nghiệp

1-Hoàn cảnh công việc làm của anh hoặc chị như thế nào. Xin anh hoặc chị chỉ ra câu trả lời đúng với trường hợp của mình

- a-Làm việc toàn thời gian
- b-Làm việc bán thời gian
- c-Làm việc bán thời gian nhưng đang tìm một công việc toàn thời gian
- d-Thất nghiệp, đang tìm việc
- e-Thất nghiệp nhưng không tìm việc
- f-Học sinh toàn thời gian
- g-Học sinh bán thời gian
- h-Trường hợp khác .....(Xin ghi rõ ra)

2-Câu trả lời nào dưới đây nói rõ được lợi tức cá nhân của anh hoặc chị

- a-Chẳng có gì cả
- b-thiếu thốn, không đủ
- c-Bình thường, đủ
- d-Trên mức trung bình
- e-Dư dả, đúng như ý muốn

3-Câu trả lời nào dưới đây nói rõ được lợi tức của người chủ gia đình mà anh hoặc chị đang sống chung

- a-Chẳng có gì cả
- b-thiếu thốn, không đủ
- c-Bình thường, đủ
- d-Trên mức trung bình
- e-Dư dả, đúng như ý muốn

4-Có phải anh hoặc chị hoặc người chủ gia đình đang nhận tiền trợ cấp. Xin anh hoặc chị chỉ rõ câu trả lời

- a-Không nhận tiền trợ cấp
- b-Có, có nhận tiền trợ cấp của gia đình, thân nhân bạn bè
- c-Có, có nhận tiền trợ cấp của chính phủ Canada
- d-Có, từ nguồn trợ cấp của. .... (Xin ghi rõ nguồn trợ cấp)

Nếu anh hoặc chị chưa bao giờ làm việc tại Canada, xin anh hoặc chị đánh dấu ( ) vào ô trống bên dưới và tiếp sang đề mục khác, "Là một người tỵ nạn"

Nếu anh hoặc chị đang thất nghiệp nhưng đã từng làm việc tại Canada, xin anh hoặc chị trả lời những câu hỏi có liên quan đến công việc làm của anh hoặc chị sau đây.

5-Câu trả lời nào dưới đây diễn tả đúng nghề nghiệp hiện tại của anh hoặc chị

- a-Lao động phổ thông                      b-Phụ trợ                      c-Thợ chính  
d-Thư ký hoặc người bán hàng              e-Quản lý                      f-Cán sự  
g-Chuyên viên                      h-Nghề nghiệp khác. . . . . (Xin ghi rõ ra)

6-Xin anh hoặc chị cho biết tên công việc mà anh hoặc chị đang làm . . . . .

7-Anh hoặc chị có thích loại công việc mà anh hoặc chị đang làm không. Anh hoặc chị có thể nói rằng

- a-Không, không thích một chút nào cả  
b-Hơi hơi thích  
c-Cũng được  
d-Tốt, khá thích  
e-Rất thích, không thể có một công việc khác tốt hơn

8-Anh hoặc chị so sánh thế nào về công việc này và công việc mà anh hoặc chị đã làm tại quốc gia cũ của mình. Có phải công việc đang làm

- a-Kém thoải mái  
b-Rất kém thoải mái  
c-Cũng tương tự  
d-Thoải mái hơn  
e-Rất là thoải mái  
f-Không trả lời được (Vì chưa từng làm việc tại quốc gia cũ)

9-Anh hoặc chị nghĩ điều gì khó khăn nhất trong việc tìm một công việc làm thoải mái ở Canada. Xin anh hoặc chị chỉ ra câu trả lời đúng theo kinh nghiệm làm việc của anh hoặc chị tại Canada

a-Không đủ trình độ học vấn, không được huấn nghiệp hoặc thiếu khả năng

b-thiếu kinh nghiệm làm việc tại Canada

c-Bằng cấp, chứng chỉ không được chấp nhận

d-Khó khăn về ngôn ngữ

e-Không có công việc mà anh hoặc chị đã làm tại quốc gia cũ

f-Không có điều kiện học hoặc dự một chương trình huấn nghệ để tạo được khả năng cần thiết trong việc kiếm một công việc làm thỏa mãn với ý muốn

g-Không biết cách tìm việc

h-Thiếu sự hướng dẫn của cơ quan dân dụng Canada

i-Tình trạng kinh tế suy thoái

j-Bị thành kiến và phân biệt đối xử

k-Trường hợp khác. . . . . (Xin ghi rõ ra)

10-Anh chị nghĩ thế nào khi anh hoặc chị trong tương lai sẽ làm việc tại Canada. Anh hoặc chị có nghĩ rằng anh hoặc chị sẽ

a-Không thỏa mãn

b-thỏa mãn đôi chút

c-Tạm được

d-Rất thỏa mãn

e-Thậ là thỏa mãn, không thể có gì tốt hơn

f-Không trả lời được (vì không dự tính sẽ làm việc tại Canada)

## LÀ MỘT NGƯỜI TỶ NẠN

Mục đích của phần này là tìm hiểu một cách bao quát sự từng trải của người tỵ nạn. Những câu hỏi, vì vậy, hơi chung chung nhưng chú trọng đến sự ảnh hưởng của cuộc sống người tỵ nạn đối với cuộc đời của họ.

1-Anh hoặc chị có nghĩ rằng, rời bỏ quốc gia cũ của mình có nguy hại đến cuộc đời của anh hoặc chị không?

- a-Không, không nguy hại gì cả
- b-Có nguy hại đôi chút
- c-Có nguy hại và khá nguy hại
- d-Rất là nguy hại
- e-Thật là nguy hại. Không có một điều gì nguy hại hơn

2-Anh hoặc chị có nghĩ đến Canada cũng có những ảnh hưởng nguy hại đến cuộc đời của anh hoặc chị không?

- a-Không, không nguy hại gì cả
- b-Có nguy hại đôi chút
- c-Có nguy hại và khá nguy hại
- d-Rất là nguy hại
- e-Thật là nguy hại. Không có một điều gì nguy hại hơn

3-Anh hoặc chị cho biết Canada là một nơi sống

- a-tôi tệ khủng khiếp
- b-Nghèo thiếu thốn
- c-Bình thường, đầy đủ
- d-Tốt, khá đầy đủ
- e-Rất tốt, đúng như ý muốn

4-Anh hoặc chị có nghĩ rằng cuộc sống sẽ được tốt hơn khi anh hoặc chị còn ở lại quốc gia cũ không?

- a-Không, không có gì tốt hơn cả
- b-Tốt hơn đôi chút
- c-Khá hơn được đôi chút .
- d-Tốt hơn nhiều
- e-Tốt hơn rất nhiều

5- Nếu điều kiện cho phép, anh hoặc chị có sẽ trở về nguyên quán để sinh sống không?

- a-Không, Tôi sẽ không trở về nguyên quán để sinh sống
- b-Tôi không chắc là có sẽ trở về nguyên quán để sinh sống hay không
- c-Có, tôi chắc chắn sẽ trở về nguyên quán để sinh sống

6-Anh hoặc chị có tính sẽ nhập quốc tịch Canada không? Xin anh hoặc chị vui lòng chọn câu trả lời đúng nhất

- a-Tôi đã là công dân Canada
- b-Tôi dự tính sẽ nhập quốc tịch Canada
- c-Tôi không chắc sẽ nhập quốc tịch Canada hay không
- d-Tôi xác định là sẽ không nhập quốc tịch Canada

## Ý KIẾN

*Xin anh hoặc chị tự nhiên cho biết thêm những ý kiến hoặc những tin tức nếu anh chị muốn .*

## ÔN ĐỊNH TÂM LÝ và SỨC KHỎE

Những câu hỏi trong phần này là bước trắc nghiệm liên quan đến sự ổn định tâm lý và sức khỏe. Tất cả những câu trả lời đều được giữ kín.

Để trả lời những câu hỏi này, anh hoặc chị chỉ cần đánh dấu (✓) vào ô trống diễn tả điều mà anh hoặc chị cảm thấy đối với một triệu chứng hoặc cảm xúc. Thí dụ, nếu như anh hoặc chị không từng đau bao tử hay đau, anh hoặc chị đánh dấu (✓) vào một ô như dưới đây

	Không đau gì cả	Hơi đau, đau đôi chút	Khá đau	Đau nhiều, đau nặng	Rất trầm trọng
Đau bao tử hoặc đau,	✓				

Nếu anh chị bị đau bao tử hoặc đau, anh hoặc chị hãy diễn tả mức độ mà cơn đau hành hạ hoặc gây bực bội cho anh hoặc chị. Thí dụ

	Không đau gì cả	Hơi đau, đau đôi chút	Khá đau	Đau nhiều, đau nặng	Rất trầm trọng
Đau bao tử hoặc đau,			✓		

Xin anh hoặc chị trả lời hết tất cả những câu hỏi và không nên suy nghĩ lâu trước khi trả lời

	Không đau gì cả	Hơi đau, đau đôi chút	Khá đau	Đau nhiều, đau nặng	Rất trầm trọng
1-Cảm thấy choáng váng, uể oải					
2-Cảm thấy mệt mỏi hoặc thiếu năng lực					
3-Cảm thấy hồi hộp, căng thẳng hoặc bị tổn thương					

	Không đau gì cả	Hơi đau đau đôi chút	Khá đau	Đau nhiều, đau nặng	Rất trầm trọng
4-Nhứt đầu hoặc cảm thấy nặng đầu					
5-Cảm thấy lo ngại hoặc sợ hãi					
6-Tim đập nhanh hoặc mạnh					
7-Cảm thấy tuyệt vọng					
8-Thiếu ngủ hoặc hay bồn chồn					
9-Kém trí nhớ hoặc không thể nhớ lại một chuyện gì					
10-Cảm thấy tội lỗi hoặc xấu hổ					
11-Đau ngực hoặc khó thở hoặc cảm thấy không hít thở đầy đủ không khí					
12-Có sự khó khăn với bạn bè					
13-Lo lắng					
14-Cảm thấy bị quấy rầy hoặc đề cập kính					
15-Cảm thấy rằng người khác là thù địch hoặc họ có thể làm hại mình					
16-Nhứt môi hoặc đau khớp xương					
17-Bị run rẩy					
18-Khó suy nghĩ được một cách rõ ràng					
19-Đễ giết mình hoặc hốt hoảng					
20-Cảm nghĩ những người khác khinh thường hoặc nghĩ xấu về mình					
21-Có những cơn chiêm bao xấu hoặc ác mộng					
22-Cảm thấy giận dỗi					
23-Không thể tập trung suy nghĩ hoặc để dang trí					
24-Khó khăn ở công việc					

	Không đau gì cả	Hơi đau, đau đôi chút	Khá đau	Đau nhiều, đau nặng	Rất trầm trọng
25-Bị bình ngoài da hoặc cơ thể bị ngứa					
26-Quên những vấn đề quan trọng					
27-Mất sự hứng thú với mọi việc					
28-Cảm thấy không vui hoặc buồn					
29-Cảm thấy ghét và thù địch					
30-Cảm thấy bị ngăn cách hoặc bị tách rời					
31-Cảm thấy mọi người không thích mình					
32-Để mất bản tính của chính mình					
33-Cảm thấy rằng không có gì có giá trị hoặc không có việc gì đúng					
34-Có sự khó khăn đối với gia đình					
35-Nổi kinh hoàng xâm chiếm					
36-Một số bộ phận của cơ thể bị tê liệt hoặc yếu					
37-Cảm thấy không tin tưởng hoặc nghi ngờ					
38- Thiếu trí nhớ					

APPENDIX F  
Spanish Translation  
of the REAO and SRT

Este cuestionario es parte del tesis del Sr. David Hutton quien estudia dentro del Departamento de Psicología Educacional, Facultad de Educación, en la Universidad de Manitoba. El propósito de este tesis es estudiar las condiciones que afectan el asentamiento de familias recién llegadas a Canadá. El estudio es acerca de como estas personas se acostumbran al hecho de tener que dejar sus países y cuales son las condiciones que los afectan en mayor parte. Ud. podrá obtener los resultados de este estudio e información adicional por medio de las indicaciones al fin de esta página.

Se requiere una hora para completar el cuestionario. Son varias secciones acerca de distintos temas tales como: partida, asilo temporario, y asentamiento. También incluye una sección acerca de la experiencia de haber sido un refugiado (como esto afecta la vida) y una sección acerca de salud.

Todas sus respuestas serán mantenidas en confidencia. No es necesario que Ud. ponga su nombre en el cuestionario y nadie sabrá cuales son las respuestas que Ud. dio. Si, por alguna razón, algunas de las preguntas lo hacen sentir incomodo no es necesario que la responda. Simplemente ponga un cheque en lugar de la respuesta y continúe con la siguiente pregunta. También, si por alguna razón no desea o no puede completar este cuestionario, no se sienta obligado a hacerlo.

La mayoría de las preguntas requieren que Ud. seleccione la respuesta más adecuada en relación a algún evento, condición, o tema, marcando la respuesta en la manera indicada en las direcciones. Es posible que algunas preguntas requieran más que una respuesta, en ese caso esto será especificado dentro de las direcciones. Si Ud. siente que ninguna de las respuestas explican su situación, Ud. puede marcar la respuesta bajo "otra" o añadir su propia respuesta a la par de la pregunta.

Si Ud. tiene preguntas o necesita clarificar ciertos aspectos, sienta la libertad de solicitar ayuda.

Le agradezco de antemano por su tiempo y cooperación.

David Hutton

Winnipeg, Manitoba  
Canada  
R

Este cuestionario es parte del tesis del Sr. David Hutton quien estudia dentro del Departamento de Psicología Educacional, Facultad de Educacion, en la Universidad de Manitoba. El proposito de este tesis es estudiar las condiciones que afectan el asentamiento de familias recién llegadas a Canada. El estudio es acerca de como estas personas se acostumbran al hecho de tener que dejar sus paises y cuales son las condiciones que los afectan en mayor parte. Ud. podra obtener los resultados de este estudio e informacion adicional por medio de las indicaciones al fin de esta pagina.

Se requiere una hora para completar el cuestionario. Son varias secciones acerca de distintos temas tales como: partida, asilo temporareno, y asentamiento. Tambien incluye una seccion acerca de la experiencia de haber sido un refugiado (como esto afecta la vida) y una seccion acerca de salud.

Todas sus respuestas seran mantenidas en confidencia. No es necesario que Ud. ponga su nombre en el cuestionario y nadie sabra cuales son las respuestas que Ud. dio. Si, por alguna razon, algunas de las preguntas lo hacen sentir incomodo no es necesario que la responda. Simplemente ponga un cheque en lugar de la respuesta y continúe con la siguiente pregunta. Tambien, si por alguna razon no desea o no puede completar este cuestionario, no se sienta obligado a hacerlo.

La mayoria de las preguntas requieren que Ud. seleccione la respuesta mas adecuada en relacion a algun evento, condicion, o tema, marcando la respuesta en la manera indicada en las direcciones. Es posible que algunas preguntas requieran mas que una repuesta, en ese caso esto sera especificado dentro de las direcciones. Si Ud. siente que ninguna de las respuestas explican su situacion, Ud. puede macar la respuestar bajo "otra" o anadir su propia respuesta a la par de la pregunta.

Si Ud. tiene preguntas o necisita clarificar ciertos aspectos, sienta la libertad de solicitar ayuda.

Le agradezco de antamano por su tiempo y cooperacion.

David Hutton

Winnipeg, Manitoba  
Canada

R.

Letter of Consent

Please place a checkmark (✓) in the box below if you

- ... have read the introduction and instructions to the questionnaire.
- ... understand the nature and purpose of the questionnaire and what is required of you.
- ... agree freely as a volunteer to answer the questionnaire with the understanding that you may, for any reason and without penalty whatsoever, choose not to answer a question or complete the questionnaire itself.

## HISTORIAL INDIVIDUAL Y DEMOGRAFICO

El proposito de las preguntas en esta seccion es de conseguir informacion acerca del historial de personas recién llegades (por ejemplo, edad, estado civil, educacion, y empleo). Circule la letra (a, b, c, d, o e) de las respuestas presentadas para definir cual de todas las respuestas es mas apropiada en su caso. Si las respuestas no describen su situacion, escriba su respuesta en el espacio a la par de la pregunta.

1) Cuantos años tenía cuando llegó a Canada? Tenía

- a) 15 a 19 años?
- b) 20 a 29 años?
- c) 30 a 39 años?
- d) 40 a 49 años?
- e) más de 50 años?

2) Cuantos años tiene ahora? Tiene

- a) 15 a 19 años?
- b) 20 a 29 años?
- c) 30 a 39 años?
- d) 40 a 49 años?
- e) más de 50 años?

3) Es Ud.

- a) hombre?
- b) mujer?

4) Cual es su estado civil?

- a) soltero (nunca casado)
- b) casado
- c) divorciado o separado
- d) viudo

5) Tiene hijos?

- a) si
- b) no

6) Diría que la area donde Ud. vivió en su pais es

- a) urbana?
- b) rural?

7) Cuantos años de educación tiene Ud?

- a) no estudió
- b) 1 a 6 años
- c) 7 a 12 años sin graduar
- d) bachillerato, se graduó
- e) estudios universitarios u otros sin graduar
- f) graduado de estudios universitarios u otros

8) Cual de las siguientes respuestas describen su empleo en su país?

- |                             |                                   |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a) estudiante               | f) ventas                         |
| b) no trabajaba             | g) gerente                        |
| c) obrero                   | h) semi - profesional             |
| d) obrero (semi adiestrado) | i) profesional                    |
| e) obrero adiestrado        | j) otro _____ (por favor indique) |

9) Si Ud. trabajó en su país, por favor especifique el título de su trabajo: \_\_\_\_\_

10) Cuanto tiempo tiene de vivir en Canada?

- a) menos de 6 meses
- b) de 6 meses a 1 año
- c) de 1 a 2 años
- d) de 2 a 3 años
- e) de 3 a 4 años
- f) de 4 a 5 años
- g) de 5 a 10 años
- h) mas de 10 años

11) Cuanto tiempo tiene de vivir en Winnipeg?

- a) menos de 6 meses
- b) de 6 meses a 1 año
- c) de 1 a 2 años
- d) de 2 a 3 años
- e) de 3 a 4 años
- f) de 4 a 5 años
- g) de 5 a 10 años
- h) más de 10 años

## PARTIDA

Esta sección tiene que ver con la experiencia de la salida de su país de origen, las condiciones antes de la salida, y especialmente las que causaron la salida de su país. También se van a examinar las experiencias durante el trayecto de el viaje a su nuevo destino.

### SITUACIONES QUE LE MOTIVARON A DEJAR EL PAIS

1) Porque decidió salir de su país? Por favor indique todas las respuestas que influyeron en su decisión. Si es necesario, también puede responder con sus propias observaciones bajo "otra".

- a) Por su seguridad propia (su vida o seguridad peligraban)
- b) Por escapar la guerra o enfrentamientos
- c) Por escapar de persecucion de parte de el gobierno
- d) Por tener más libertad para vivir en la manera que Ud. desea
- e) Por evitar el servicio militar
- f) Por razones económicas
- g) Por los niños
- h) Para volver a reunirse con familiares
- i) otra razón: \_\_\_\_\_ ( mencione su razón)

2) Cuando Ud. vivía dentro de su país, sintió que su vida o bienestar peligraban? Diría que

- a) no había peligro?
- b) el peligro era menor?
- c) a veces peligraba?
- d) el peligro era frecuente?
- e) peligraba todo el tiempo?

3) Cuan negativas fueron sus experiencias antes de salir de su país?

- a) no fueron negativas
- b) un poco negativas
- c) bastante negativas
- d) muy negativas
- f) extremadamente negativas, lo peor posible

4) Siente que las experiencias dentro de su país afectan su vida en Canada en una manera negativa?

- a) no
- b) un poco
- c) bastante
- d) mucho
- e) totalmente, no podría ser peor

5) Aquí se encuentra una lista de eventos que pueden haber ocurrido antes de que Ud. dejara su país. Si Ud. pasó por alguna de estas experiencias por la situación en su país, (por ejemplo, por razones de guerra, guerra civil, represión política, o falta de alimento), por favor indique marcando un chequeo en el espacio correspondiente. Si esta no fué parte de su experiencia, no haga ninguna marca.

i) La muerte de

- a) un familiar cercano (por ejemplo, su esposa, hijo, hermano, o padre)?
- b) alguna otra persona cercana (por ejemplo, un familiar o un amigo)?


ii) Fué desaparecido

- a) un familiar?
- b) alguna otra persona cercana a Ud?


iii) Encarcelación de

- a) Ud. mismo
- b) un familiar
- c) alguna otra persona cercana a Ud.


iv) Asalto (incluye tortura o violación)

- a) Ud. mismo
- b) un familiar
- c) alguna otra persona cercana a Ud.


v) Sufrir una lesión o enfermedad grave causada por la situación de el país

- a) Ud. mismo
- b) un familiar
- c) alguna otra persona cercana a Ud.


vi) Ataque de fuerzas perteneciendo al gobierno, de los rebeldes o de el ejército?

--

vii) Falta de alimentos o agua?

--

viii) Falta de vivienda?

--

ix) Tuvo que luchar en la guerra o en condiciones similares a guerra?

--

x) otros eventos significantes \_\_\_\_\_ ?

EXPERIENCIAS DURANTE EL VIAJE

6) Cuando fué que decidió salir de su país?

- a) más de 6 meses antes de salir
- b) de 3 a 6 meses antes de salir
- c) de 1 a 3 meses antes de salir
- d) 2 o 3 semanas antes de salir
- e) una semana antes de salir
- f) unos días antes de salir
- g) unas horas antes de salir

7) Salió de su país en una manera legal, con permiso de las autoridades?

- a) sí
- b) no

8) Como fué que salió o huyó de su país? Indique más de una respuesta si es necesario

- a) a pie
- b) en tren o bus
- c) en barco
- d) en un carro
- e) en avión
- f) de otra manera \_\_\_\_\_ (indique la manera)

9) Cuando salió de su país, salió

- a) solo?
- b) con familiares?
- c) con amigos?
- d) con otras personas desconocidas?

10) Durante el tiempo de su salida, sintió que su vida corría peligro?

- a) nunca
- b) un poco
- c) a veces
- d) frecuentemente
- e) todo el tiempo

11) Cuan negativas fueron sus experiencias durante el viaje?

- a) no fueron negativas
- b) un poco negativas
- c) bastante negativas
- d) muy negativas
- e) extremadamente negativas, no podría haber sido peor

12) Siente que su vida en Canada a sido afectada por sus experiencias negativas durante el viaje?

- a) no , ni un poco
- b) un poco
- c) bastante
- d) mucho
- e) totalmente, no podría ser peor

13) Esta lista contiene eventos que le pueden haber sucedido durante la venida. Para responder, se debe marcar una (x) en la casilla correspondiente. Si no ha sido parte de su experiencia, deje la casilla en blanco.

i) La muerte de

- a) un familiar (por ejemplo, su esposa, hijo, hermano, o padre)
- b) otra persona cercana a Ud. (por ejemplo, otro familiar a un amigo)


ii) Atacado por piratas o ladrones

--

iii) Atacado por el gobierno, rebeldes o la fuerza armada

--

iv) Secuestro de

- a) un familiar
- b) un amigo


v) Asalto físico (incluya violación) de

- a) Ud. mismo
- b) un familiar
- c) un amigo


vi) Herido o enfermedad grave causadas por las condiciones durante el escape de

- a) Ud. mismo
- b) un familiar
- c) un amigo


vii) Métodos de transportación inadecuados

viii) Falta de comida o agua para beber

ix) Falta de vivienda

x) Se perdió

xi) Tormentas o clima inclemente

xii) Rehusado entrada o asilo


xiii) Otra razón: \_\_\_\_\_  
(por favor indique)

### ASILO TEMPORAREO

Esta sección del cuestionario se trata acerca de asilo temporareo, o sea el país donde Ud. esperó hasta poder asentarse en Canada despues que Ud. salio o huyó de su país.

Si Ud. vino directamente al Canada desde su país de origen, no tiene que responder estas preguntas. Simplemente ponga una (x) en la cajilla y pase a la siguiente sección, REASENTAMIENTO.

- 1) A que país fue que Ud. huyó o llegó? \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) Cuanto tiempo vivió en ese país?
  - a) menos de 6 meses.
  - b) de 6 meses a 1 año
  - c) de 1 a 2 años
  - d) de 2 a 3 años
  - e) de 3 a 4 años
  - f) de 4 a 5 años
  - g) más de 5 años
- 3) Vivio en un campo de refugio durante el tiempo que estuvo en ese país
  - a) no
  - b) sí, parte del tiempo
  - c) sí, todo el tiempo
- 4) Como describiría ese mismo país como un lugar para vivir permanentemente
  - a) terrible
  - b) inadecuado
  - c) adecuado
  - d) bueno, mas que adecuado
  - e) muy adecuado

5) Durante el tiempo que vivió en ese país, como mediría Ud. las siguientes condiciones? Por favor, ponga el número más adecuado en la cajilla a la par de cada ejemplo.

- |                     |
|---------------------|
| 1. NADA             |
| 2. INADECUADO       |
| 3. ADECUADO         |
| 4. MAS QUE ADECUADO |
| 5. MUY BUENO        |

- a) vivienda
- b) alimentos, agua para beber
- c) facilidades y atención médica
- d) seguridad falta de crímenes, asaltos
- e) educación, programas de entrenamiento
- f) oportunidades de empleo
- g) dinero
- h) recreación
- i) amistades
- j) acceso a la comunidad


6) Debajo está una lista de sentimientos que pueden ser parte de la experiencia sentida por refugiados durante asilo temporario. Por favor, indique poniendo un círculo alrededor de las letras apropiadas, de los sentimientos que Ud. sintió.

- a) aburrido
- b) aislado
- c) desconocimiento del futuro
- d) sintió haber dejado su país
- e) culpabilidad por haber dejado a otros en el país
- f) temor por la seguridad de los que quedaron en el país
- g) temor por su propia seguridad
- h) se sintió abandonado y olvidado por todo el mundo
- i) desamparado
- j) desesperanzado
- k) falta de confianza o sospecha de oficiales
- l) otros sentimientos: \_\_\_\_\_

(por favor indique)

7) Piensa que su vida en Canada a sido afectada en alguna manera negativa por el tiempo que Ud. pasó en este país?

- a) no
- b) un poco
- c) bastante
- d) mucho
- e) extremadamente, no podría ser peor

## REASENTAMIENTO

Esta sección se trata acerca de la llegada y tiempo vivido en Canada. Las preguntas han sido divididas en tres areas distintas: a) relaciones sociales; b) adaptación al idioma; c) adaptación a nuevo empleo. De nuevo, le advierto que si las respuestas sugeridas no describen su situación, Ud. puede escribir su respuesta en el espacio a la par de la pregunta.

### RELACIONES SOCIALES

- 1) Cual es su situación en Canada? Está
  - a) solo
  - b) con su familia o parte de su familia
  - c) con familiares
  
- 2) Está separado de algunos miembros de su familia ? Por favor indique todas las respuestas que describen su situación. Está separado de
  - a) toda su familia
  - b) mi marido o esposa
  - c) mi hijo o hija
  - d) mi hermano o hermana
  - e) mi padre o madre
  - f) mi abuelo o abuela
  - g) otra persona: \_\_\_\_\_ ( por favor indique)
  - h) no estoy separado de ningun miembro de mi familia
  
- 3) Tiene como comunicarse con los miembros de su familia que no estan con Ud?
  - a) no, de ninguna manera
  - b) si, con algunos de ellos
  - c) si, con todos ellos
  - d) todos están conmigo

4) Está satisfecho con la cantidad de amigos que son de su país? Diría que

- a) no está satisfecho
- b) un poco satisfecho
- c) satisfecho
- d) muy satisfecho
- e) extremadamente satisfecho

5) Como describe a sus compatriotas como fuentes de asistencia y apoyo

- a) no han ayudado en nada
- b) inadecuados
- c) adecuados
- d) más que adecuados
- e) excelentes

6) Siente que Ud. es aceptado y valorado por sus compatriotas?

- a) no
- b) un poco
- c) bastante
- d) mucho
- e) totalmente, no podría ser mejor

7) Durante el tiempo que ha vivido en Canada, como medira las condiciones mencionadas aqui abajo? Por favor, ponga el numero adecuado para cada caso.

- |  |
|--|
| 1. NINGUNO, NO                             |
| 2. UN POCO, NO ES SUFICIENTE               |
| 3. ALGO, SUFICIENTE                        |
| 4. MUCHO, MAS QUE SUFICIENTE               |
| 5. CASI PERFECTO, MUCHO MAS QUE SUFICIENTE |

- a) La cantidad de Canadiense que considera como amigos.
- b) Entiende la manera de pensar y comportamiento de Canadiense.
- c) Conocimiento de eventos y temas de la sociedad Canadiense.
- d) Uso de medios de comunicación en inglés (por ejemplo, radio, televisión, periódico, revistas y libros).
- e) Participación en actividades con Canadienses (por ejemplo, iglesias, deportes, clubs).
- f) Siente que es parte de la comunidad Canadiense.
- g) Siente que es aceptado por los Canadienses.
- h) siente que Canada es su país.

8) Durante el tiempo que Ud. ha vivido en Canada, ha sentido prejuicio o discriminacion?

- a) no
- b) un poco
- c) bastante
- d) muchas veces
- e) no podria ser peor

## ADAPTACION AL IDIOMA

1) Que nivel de inglés tenía cuando llegó a Canada?

- a) nada
- b) bajo, inadecuado
- c) regular
- d) avanzado
- e) fluido, excelente

2) Recibí clases de inglés?

- a) sí
- b) no

3) A tomado o tiene planes de tomar clases de inglés? Por favor, escoja la respuesta más adecuada a su situación.

- a) E completado mis clases de inglés
- b) Tengo planes de completar mis clases de inglés
- c) No e completado mis clases de inglés
- d) No tengo planes de completar mis clases de inglés
- e) No estoy seguro si voy a terminar mis clases de inglés
- f) No recibí clases de inglés

4) Que piensa de las clases de inglés que recibió? Fueron adecuadas, le ayudaron?

- a) no
- b) inadecuadas
- c) adecuadas
- d) más que adecuadas
- e) muy adecuadas
- f) no recibí clases de ingles

5) Cual es su nivel de inglés ahora?

- a) nada
- b) poco
- c) adecuado
- d) más que adecuado
- e) fluido, excelente

## ADAPTACION A NUEVO EMPLEO

1) Cual es su situación de empleo? Indique todas las respuestas que aplican a su situación.

- a) empleado tiempo completo
- b) empleado "part time"
- c) empleado "part time" pero busco tiempo completo
- d) desempleado y buscando trabajo
- e) desempleado, no estoy buscando trabajo
- f) estudiante, tiempo completo
- g) estudiante ("part time")
- h) otra situación: \_\_\_\_\_ (por favor indique)

2) Cual de las respuestas debajo describe sus ingresos personales?

- a) nada
- b) poco, inadecuado
- c) adecuado
- d) buen sueldo, más que adecuado
- e) sueldo excelente

3) Cual de las respuestas debajo describe los ingresos de su familia?

- a) nada
- b) poco, inadecuado
- c) adecuado
- d) buenos ingresos, más que adecuados
- d) excelentes ingresos

4) Ud. o su familia están recibiendo asistencia financiera? Por favor, indique todas las respuestas que aplican en su caso.

- a) nada
- b) si, de la familia, familiares, o amigos
- c) si, del gobierno Canadiense
- d) si, de \_\_\_\_\_ (por favor indique de donde más)

Si Ud. nunca a trabajado en Canada, por favor ponga una X en la casilla y continúe en la sección titulada EL SER REFUGIADO.

Si Ud. está desempleado, pero ha trabajado en Canada, por favor de su respuesta a las siguientes preguntas en relación a su último trabajo.

5) Cual de las siguientes describe su situación de empleo?

- a) obrero comun
- b) obrero semi adiestrado
- c) obrero adiestrado
- d) oficinista o ventas
- e) gerente
- f) semi profesional
- g) profesional
- h) otro: \_\_\_\_\_ (por favor indique)

6) Que es el título de su trabajo. \_\_\_\_\_

7) Le gusta el tipo de trabajo que Ud. está desempeñando? Diría que

- a) no
- b) un poco
- c) bastante
- d) mucho
- e) perfectamente, es lo que deseaba hacer

8) Como compara este trabajo con el que Ud. tenía en su país? Le da

- a) mucha menos satisfacción
- b) menos satisfaccíón
- c) lo mismo
- d) mas satisfaccíón
- e) mucha mas satisfaccíón
- f) no trabaje en mi país

9) Que piensa Ud. que son las dificultades mayores en encontrar un trabajo que le puede satisfacer en Canada? Por favor indique todas las respuestas que aplican a su situación en el trabajo en Canada.

- a) educación, entreno, o habilidades inadecuadas
- b) experiencia de trabajo en Canada es inadecuada
- c) no son reconocidos sus diplomas o certificaciones.
- d) dificultades con el idioma
- e) no hay suficiente trabajo del tipo que Ud. hacía en su país
- f) una falta de acceso a educación o programas de entreno para poder adquirir las habilidades necesarias para poder encontrar el trabajo adecuado
- g) no conoce el proceso que se usa para buscar trabajo en Canada
- h) falta de ayuda de oficinas de empleo Canadienses
- i) condiciones económicas
- j) prejuicio o discriminación
- k) otra razón: \_\_\_\_\_ (por favor indique)

10) Que piensa de su trabajo en el futuro en Canada? Piensa que estará

- a) desatisfecho
- b) un poco satisfecho
- c) bastante satisfecho
- d) muy satisfecho
- e) extremadamente satisfecho, no podría ser mejor
- f) no tiene planes de trabajar en el futuro

## QUE SIGNIFICA SER REFUGIADO O RESIDENTE PERMANENTE

El propósito de esta sección es de tratar de adquirir una perspectiva general o total de las experiencias vividas en Canada. Las preguntas, en general, acerca de como el hecho de ser un refugiado puede afectar la vida de una persona.

1) Piensa que el haber salido de su país a tenido un efecto negativo en su vida?

- a) no, por nada
- b) un poco, apenas
- c) algo, en parte
- d) muy negativo
- e) totalmente

2) Piensa que el hecho de haber venido a Canada a tenido un efecto negativo en su vida?

- a) no, por nada
- b) un poco, apenas
- c) algo, en parte
- d) muy negativo
- e) totalmente

3) Que piensa acerca de Canada como un lugar donde vivir?

- a) terrible
- b) inadecuado
- c) adecuado
- d) bueno, más que adecuado
- d) muy buen lugar

4) Piensa que su vida sería mejor si se hubiera quedado en su país?

- a) no, de ninguna manera
- b) un poco mejor
- c) algo o bastante mejor
- d) mucho mejor
- e) definitivamente, totalmente

5) Si las condiciones lo permitieran, volvería a vivir en su país?

- a) no
- b) no estoy seguro
- c) sí, definitivamente

6) Es Ud. ciudadano o tiene planes de hacerse ciudadano de Canada? Escoja la respuesta más adecuada para su situación.

- a) Soy ciudadano Canadiense
- b) No tengo planes de aplicar por la ciudadanía
- c) no estoy seguro si voy a aplicar por la ciudadanía
- d) definitivamente no voy a aplicar por la ciudadanía

## COMENTARIOS

Por favor incluya cualquier comentario o información adicional que Ud. desee incluir.

## ASENTAMIENTO PSICOLOGICO Y SALUD

Las preguntas en esta sección son acerca de asentamiento psicológico y salud. Se usa un sistema de analysis llamado Tasación de síntoma prueba-7 Version de Escala, Toda las respuestas son mantenidas en confidencia.

Para dar su respuesta a cada pregunta, solo ponga un chequeo en la cajilla cual mejor describe como Ud. se siente, en general, en relación a ese síntoma o sentimiento. Por ejemplo, si nunca tiene dolor de estómago, ponga un chequeo (✓) en la cajilla en la izquierda en ésta manera:

	no	un poco	bastante	mucho	no podría ser peor
dolor de estómago	✓				

Si Ud. siente dolor de estomago o dolores, describa a que magnitud lo afectan. Por ejemplo, fijese en esta respuesta:

	no	un poco	bastante	mucho	no podria ser peor
dolor de estomago			✓		

Por favor, trate de responder a todas las preguntas. No es necesario pensar largo tiempo para responder.

	no	un poco, apenas	bastante	mucho	no podría ser peor
1. se siente mariado					
2. se siente cansado o le falta energía					
3. se siente nervioso o tenso					
4. siente dolor de cabeza o tensión o presión en su cabeza					
5. siente miedo o temor					
6. su corazón palpita rápidamente o muy fuerte sin razón					
7. siente que no tiene esperanza					
8. se siente inconforme o nervioso					
9. no se puede olvidar de malos recuerdos					
10. se siente culpable o avergonzado					
11. dolores en su pecho o problemas de respiración o siente que le hace falta aire					
12. dificultades con un amigo					
13. se siente preocupado					

	no	un poco	bastante	mucho	no podría ser peor
14. se siente molesto o irritable					
15. siente que algunas personas son hostiles y le quieren hacer mal					
16. dolor muscular o de los ligamentos					
17. temblores					
18. no puede pensar claro					
19. reacciona o es asustado facilmente					
20. siente que la gente lo desprecia o lo ve mal					
21. tiene pesadillas					
22. siente enojo					
23. no puede concentrarse y es distraído facilmente					
24. tiene dificultades en el trabajo					
25. problemas de la piel o siente picazón					
26. se olvida de cosas importantes					
27. a perdido el interes en ciertas cosas					
28. siente tristeza					
29. siente odio o hostilidad					
30. se siente apartado o lejano de los demas					
31. siente que la gente no lo quiere					
32. se enoja facilmente					

	no	un poco	bastante	mucho	no podría ser peor
33. siente que nada vale la pena y que nada sale como Ud. quisiera					
34. dificultades con la familia					
35. siente pánico					
36. partes de su cuerpo estan adormecidas o débiles					
37. siente sospección					
38. tiene mala memoria					

## Author Notes

1. The Laotian acculturation/assimilation score was based upon a four rather than five-point scale due to a translation error which had limited the respondents to a choice of four (rather than five) ratings.
2. It reasonable to assume that this figure might have been substantially higher had this item been included within the Laotian translation of the REAQ. Due to a translation error, however, it was not answered by any of the 36 Laotian subjects.
3. The eight most traumatic events, as selected by the researcher, consisted of; (a) death of an immediate family member (prior to or during flight); (b) disappearance or abduction of an immediate family member (prior to or during flight); (c) imprisonment of the subject; (d) assault of the subject (prior to or during flight); (e) attack upon the subject by government or rebel forces (prior to or during flight); (f) piracy or banditry during flight; (g) fought in a war; and (g) subject injury or illness because of conditions encountered prior to or during flight.
4. The SRT-7 Scale Version was distributed to (and by) acquaintances of the researcher so to attain a comparative score derived from a non-refugee population. All respondents were of mainstream society; white, middle class, English speaking Canadians. The SRT was answered at these individuals' convenience and returned by mail to the researcher. The range of the 22 scores obtained was 9 to 59, with an average of

32.10. Nine of the scores exceeded 25 while four exceeded 30. When the the three highest scores (47, 52, and 59) were removed, the overall average score fell to 18.47.

5. Revisions of the REAQ might include the following considerations; (a) the potentially traumatic events of displacement and flight (items 5 and 13 of this section) might be collapsed so to form a single listing. The present format not only lengthens the length of the questionnaire (perhaps unnecessarily), but may result in the subject confusion if directions are not clearly read (because of the questions' similar format, subjects may believe that the items relating to flight are redundant and thus either disregard the items or duplicate prior responses); (b) assessment of language training might be further clarified in specifying that the questions relate to ESL courses provided to the subject at his/her arrival to Canada (the present wording can be interpreted as including courses taken by the individual after this initial training was completed); and (c) assessment of household income, if it is to be clear, must include an additional question eliciting information concerning the employment of other household members. The question in its present form provides inadequate information regarding other sources of household income (e.g., it is not clear if a subject's household income is adequate because his/her personal income is adequate or because an additional member of the household is a contributing income source).