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# The refugee filtering process and host country resettlement issues in Canada: A critical theoretical analysis

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Canada

THE REFUGEE FILTERING PROCESS AND HOST
COUNTRY RESETTLEMENT ISSUES IN CANADA:
A CRITICAL THEORETICAL ANALYSIS


By


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ABSTRACT

In the present study, an attempt is made to integrate the diverse literature pertaining to host country resettlement and refugee mental health in Canada. A historical perspective is provided, reviewing the checkered Canadian responses to international refugee movements and the various influences on the humanitarian aims of refugee policy. A model is then developed, drawing on the literature of multiple academic disciplines. The model constitutes a critical generative theory whereby the resettlement issues of assimilationism, racial prejudice, employment difficulties, and domestic political pressures are respectively linked to the filtering processes of ideology, race, economics, and international diplomacy.

A test of the model is then undertaken by examining two newspapers, The Globe and Mail and The Vancouver Sun, at two critical junctures in the development of Canada's refugee policy. That is, letters to the editor and editorials are examined from 1947, when there were general calls for a more open immigration/refugee policy, and in 1987, when there was public pressure to enact tighter restrictions on the entrance of refugees. General support was found for the model. However, there were substantial differences in terms of public and media responses across the Canadian regions as well as across time periods. Implications for action from a community psychology perspective are then suggested, both at the micro-level and at the macro-level.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

> "Ble..sed are the peacemakers, for they shall be
> called the children of God."
>
> Matthew 5:9

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INTRODUCTION

The adaptation process of resettled refugees has received increasing attention from researchers over the last decade, as evidenced by several recent reviews (Berry, 1989; Cohon, 1981; Indra, 1987; Nicassio, 1985; Van Deusen, 1982). Post-migration variables which affect adaptation have been examined, yet the Report of the Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees (RCTF, 1989a) notes that there is a "dearth of concrete information relating host country reception to migrant mental health" (p. 13). Examination of the extensive literature review conducted by the Task Force (RCTF, 1989b) reveals that refugee issues have been studied from a variety of disciplinary perspectives, yet much of the research has been ahistorical and uni-disciplinary in scope. The overarching goal of the present thesis is to develop a multidisciplinary model within a historical context to improve our understanding of host country factors and their impact on refugee resettlement in Canada.

In the present paper, host factors will be identified by broadening the mental health field of inquiry through a multidisciplinary research review. Such an approach has been advocated by Dr. Barbara Harrell-Bond (1988) who recently began the Refugee Studies Program at Oxford, England. An historical outlook will be provided, with a view to understanding how the present Canadian refugee system evolved from earlier immigration practices, yet is now considered a separate and distinct policy.

By viewing the historical context in which present policies operate, a broader theoretical framework can be developed (Reppucci & Saunders, 1977) for understanding the adaptation process refugees undergo after resettlement in Canada.

Following the historical review, a necessary link will then be established between microlevel phenomena and macrolevel elements (Starr & Roberts, 1982), by examining the mental health literature pertaining to refugees within a context of the "politics of exile" (Charlton, Farley, & Kaye, 1988). I will explore resettlement pressures refugees encounter such as assimilationism, racial prejudice, employment difficulties, and domestic political pressure where the international concerns of refugee groups contradict the position of the host government in power. Connections between these pressures and the ideologica. racial, economic, and internationa' factors that determine which refugees are permitted to resettle will be explored.

My objective therefore will be to engage in a "process of historical reconstruction" (Sarason, 1978, p.370) through which the social issues surrounding refugees can be better understood A generative theoretical model will be developed (see Gergen, 1978) in which commonly held assumptions are called into question and problems relating to refugees are redefined (Bennett, 1987). I will attempt in the model to demonstrate the link between forces which inhibit refugees' successful adaptation in Canada and the filtering processes which screen the flow of refugees seeking resettlement. Having developed this framework, the model

will be tested by examining two Canadian newspapers at critical junctures in the development of Canada's refugee policy. Following this analysis, further improvements in the model and some general considerations for action from a community psychology perspective will be suggested.

PART ONE

Canada's Refugee Policy - The Historical Context in Review

Early history.

Canada has a long history of providing sanctuary for refugees. Pre-confederation, some of the first colonial settlers were refugees who escaped during the American War of Independence (Abella, 1989; Everest, 1976; Stastny & Tyrnauer, 1989; Zohlberg, Suhrke, & Aguayo, 1986), although there is some dispute over what proportion of settlers should be considered immigrants rather than refugees. Prior to the American Civil War, thousands of Black fugitives from the U.S. also found asylum in this country (Dirks, 1977; Stastny & Tyrnauer, 1989). Post-confederation, the first refugees brought in by the British government were Russian Mennonites (c.1874) and Doukhobors (c.1899) who had excellent agrarian skills (Passaris, 1981). The over-riding concern of government was not, however, humanitarian; rather, it was the economic benefits the newcomers brought to Canada. Domestic economic interests, necessitating (relatively) large scale immigration provided the framework in which certain ethno-geographic groups could find haven in Canada (Dirks, 1977; Passaris, 1979). There was no distinction made between refugees

and immigrants.

While Canada's record in accepting immigrants (including those who would now be termed "refugees") appears at first to have been open and progressive. this image belies the strong racial bias which predominated during the first half of the twentieth century. Although no overarching legislative policy of racial exclusion existed prior to the 1930's (Atchison, 1988). the government found means to exempt certain ethnic groups through elaborate legislative means. For examnle, Black farmers left Oklahcma to enter Alberta in 1910 where they were turned away based on medical examinations which concluded that Blacks could not adapt to the cold (Hotchkiss, 1988). Likewise, racial exemptions resulted in the levying of a Chinese "head tax" designed to "keep the non-assimilative portion of the population within reasonable bounds" (Clements, 1913, p.101) and "in order to prevent the undesirable coolie element from migrating to our Pacific coast" (sic, p.110). Clearly, as many critics have asserted. Canada had a discriminatory immigration policy (Abella, 1989; Dirks, 1977; Estable, 1986; Howard, 1980; Naidoo, 1985; Stastny & Tyrnauer, 1989). favouring in descending order: British. white Americans. northern Europeans. central Europeans, Jews. Orientals. and Blacks (Abella & Troper, 1979).

### 1920's to 1940's.

Not only did Canadians hold a generally racial view of which types of immigrants were considered more or less desirable, there was also a strong tendency to view newcomers as sources of

competition in the labour market, especially during periods of high umenployment (Atchison, 1988). Hence, the Great Depression was the most restrictive immigration period in Canadian history (Perues, 1987). Newcomers from ethnically "undesirable" groups who arri·ed just prior to and during this crisis were subjected to virulent public castigation, as evidenced by the post-World War I pastoral letter of the Anglican bishop of Saskatchewan protesting the arrival of "dirty, stupid, reeking of garlic, undesirable Continental Europeans" (cited in Radecki & Heydenkorn, 1976).

It was in this context that the most arrant example of racial discrimination occurred, with the shutting out of Jewish refugees suffering persecution by the Nazis. Between 1933 and 1939, Canada accepted only 4,000 Jewish refugees (Abella & Troper, 1979). This restrictionist policy occurred despite widespread knowledge of organized persecution designed to expel the Jewish population from Germany (Adams, 1939); indeed, Canada's closed-door policy was rationalized as a means to pressure the Nazi government into keeping the Jews as their own "problem" (Abella, 1989). The situation dramatically worsened, of course, with Hitler's shift in policy to the Final Solution. However, even shortly after the war, most Canadians remained unmoved in regard to the plight of the Jewish people. Having just emerged from World War II with a deep awareness of the substantial human losses, Canadians polled in 1946 still preferred German over Jewish immigrants (Atchison, 1988)! The

effects of such a restrictionist attitude were not readily

admitted, yet were to emerge in shaping later policy. As

Loescher and Scanlan (1983) have so aptly stated:

> The Holocaust demonstrated that the refugee problem, when
> exacerbated by prejudice, isolationism, and restrictionism,
> could be incalculably worse than had ever been imagined.
> (p 9)

Following World War II, Canada positioned itself

internationally as a "middle-range, humanitarian power."

Consequent to this designation, Prime Minister MacKenzie King

delivered a speech to the House of Commons on May 1, 1947

announcing that immigration policy would "take account of the

urgent problem of the resettlement of persons who are displaced

and homeless" in Europe (cited in Purues, 1987). A humanitarian

nation could no longer ignore its international responsibility

towards refugees and displaced persons, given the volume of

dislocated masses after the war. However, the tradition of

racial selectivity was to continue as an important criterion

regarding immigration, as the Prime Minister clarified in his

speech:

> The people of Canada do not wish as a result of mass
> immigration to make fundamental alteration in the
> character of our population. (cited in Holborn, 1975)

Furthermore, as "junior partners" to the United States in the

onset of Cod War politics, Canada began using Communist-block

refugees as means to embarrass the Soviet Union (Dirks, 1977).

In 1946, the United Nations set up the International Refugee

Organization which was succeeded by the United Nations High

Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in 1950. The original mandate

was to oversee the legal protection, transportation, and

resettlement of European refugees (Howard, 1981). The focus on

refugees displaced by the war is noted in the limited time-frame

outlined in the 1951 Convention definition:

> ...an individual, who as a result of events occurring before
> 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being
> persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality,
> membership of a particular social group or political
> opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is
> unable, or owing to such fear unwilling to avail himself of
> the protection of that country; or, who, not having a
> nationality and being outside the country of his former
> habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or,
> owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.
> (cited in Wenk, 1968, p.63)

Canada was an active participant in the United Nations at

the time but was not to sign the UN Refugee Convention until 1969

given earlier concerns regarding the obligations it would entail

(Holborn, 1975). In the interim, policy was guided by the

Immigration Act of 1952 which gave widely discriminatory powers

to exclude immigrants (including refugees) on the basis of

"nationality, citizenship, ethnic group, occupation, class or

geographic area" (Naidoo, 1985, unpaginated). Although the UN

definition of refugee was not formally recognized, it did provide

an implicit guideline for Canada to follow as different

international crises erupted (Lanphier, 1981). So while a

selective form of immigration occurred, there were increasing

instances of Canada's doors being opened to refugees.

Post-World War II history.

The first major post-war refugee flow occurred in 1956 when

some 200,000 people fled from the Soviet reoccuration of Hungary (Passaris, 1981; Purues, 1987). Canada humanely accepted over 37,000 Hungarians, with the government relying heavily on the voluntary sector to assist in finding accomodation and employment (Lanphier, 1981; Perues, 1987).

As refugee flows were perpetuated by international crises, Canada continued to provide assistance and to delineate clearer policies. In 1962 a single set of criteria was established for all immigrants, regardless of where they came from in the world, and in 1967 it was further clarified that there would be no discrimination on the basis of race or nationality (Howard, 1981). The White Paper of 1966 recommended 'relaxed' immigration standards for refugees as had been done on an ad hoc basis over the previous decade.

Recognizing that refugee flows were an ongoing element of international politics, in 1967 the UN Protocol removed the deadline of 1 January 1951 from its definition of refugee and in 1969 Canada acceeded to this international standard. Despite improvements in policy, extant practices continued to point to over-riding concerns with domestic economic and racial preferences. For example, the generous admission of 7,000 Ugandan-Asians from 1972 to 1973, following their threatened expulsion by President Idi Amin, did not meet the highest humanitarian ideals; Canada moved quickly to pick out only the most highly skilled people (Passaris, 1981), the majority of whom had good English language skills, were young, and either had a

job or a sponsor upon arrival in Canada (Adams & Jesudason, 1984).

Following the Green Paper on Population and Immigration in 1975, Canada finally adopted a policy on refugees as a distinct and separate admissible class (Passaris, 1981). This was legislated in the Immigration Act of 1976 which came into effect as law in 1978. The UN Convention definition of a refugee was adopted along with a formal procedure that attempted to balance judicial and administrative requirements, although it later became increasingly clear that this balance was not successfully achieved (Dirks, 1984; Plaut, 1985; Young, 1988). Under the new policy, the immigration "point system" was substantially relaxed and refugees were assessed according to the degree that they could be expected to adapt successfully to Canada, given that a number of community and governmental support systems were in place to help them ( Lanphier, 1981; Perues, 1987).

The Immigration Act of 1976 also recognized that an expanded definition of refugee was warranted. As the definition explicitly states: "'Convention refugee' means any person who...is outside the country of his nationality..." (Immigration Act, 1976, Section 2(1)). Obviously, persecuted persons may still require international assistance even if they have not left the geographic bounds of their home country. Also, individuals not singled out for persecution may still require assistance because of war or the threat of mass slaughter (Gibney, 1988). Thus, three "Designated Classes" were formulated, under which

refugees could be admitted based on humanitarian concerns.
Specifically, these classes are now categorized as:

> 1) Political Prisoners and Oppressed Persons - including
> individuals from Chile, Poland, Uruguay, El Salvador and
> Guatamala who have been detained or imprisoned and fear
> reprisal should they return to their home countries;
>
> 2) Self-Exiled Class - including individuals from the Soviet
> Union and its satellite countries as well as from Albania;
>
> 3) Indochinese - including individuals from Kampuchea, Laos,
> and Vietnam who have left their countries after 30 April
> 1975.                                          (Perues, 1987)

Quotas are set yearly by the Minister of Employment and
Immigration as to the number of refugees the government will
sponsor to enter Canada within each class, according to changing
international and domestic conditions.

### 1978 to the present.

In 1978 the Liberal government set up a private sponsorship
program in cooperation with the voluntary sector, in which groups
of five or more people, organizations (e.g., churches), and
corporations could sponsor refugees, above and beyond the quotas
set yearly by the government (Howard, 1980; Lanphier, 1981).
This program formalized the ongoing relationship the government
had with the voluntary sector since World War II, during which
the latter had provided advocacy, education, policy initiatives,
and policy implementation (Winkler, 1981). The benefits of this
system include the following: a) private individuals would bear

much of the material cost for the refugees' first year in Canada;
b) community participation would facilitate refugee integration
and reduce racial backlash (Howard, 1980); and c) concerned
advocates had the opportunity to increase the overall levels of
incoming refugees by bearing initial responsibility for them.
The program stands as an excellent example of how public policy
can be implemented through the use of mediating structures such
as churches and voluntary organizations (Berger & Neuhaus, 1977).

While there are several humanitarian examples of coordinated
efforts involving government and private sponsors, by far the
largest and best organized effort involved the Conservative
government-initiated admission of Indochinese refugees. The
success of this program was evidenced by the admission to Canada
of 85,139 Indochinese refugees between 1976 and 1982, as reported
by the UNHCR (cited in Rogge, 1985). It is generally accepted
that these efforts met the highest humanitarian ideals (e.g.,
Passaris, 1981) as the public responded with compassion to the
plight of the "boat people". However, at least one critic noted
that the large influx also served to meet Canadian demographic
and economic needs, as evidenced by the strong preference for
accepting young Indochinese (79% were under the age of 30 years:
Somerset, cited in Naidoo & Edwards, 1989).

Another factor largely overlooked in discussions of
Indochinese resettlement was the role Canada played in the
Vietnam war. As Levant (1986) has exhaustively detailed,
Canada's stated international position was one of neutrality; the

role actually played was one of "quiet complicity" with the United States. That Canada contributed generously (although quietly) to the American war effort and reaped considerable financial gain (Levant estimated that 2.5 billion dollars in war materials were sold to the U.S., providing Canadians with 140,000 jobs), it behooved the government to share the burden of refugees with the United States when the war was lost. Canadians undoubtedly shared, to some degree, the collective national guilt Americans felt regarding the Vietnam war (Loescher & Scanlan, 1986). In harsher terms, Indra (1984) asserts that the acceptance of Indochinese refugees "provided a platform for exuberant communist-bashing" in keeping with Canada's "pro-West, anticommunist, pro-American bias" (p.167).

Ulterior motives notwithstanding, Canada's initial response was generous. The Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission (1986) spent $141.6 million on the Indochinese resettlement program from 1979-1981, the peak years of resettlement for this group. The numbers of refugees admitted soon dwindled, however, with only 3200 government sponsored refugee allocations for 1987 (Refugee Perspectives, 1987). This decreasing support has been attributed to a public backlash and sponsors feeling fatigued (Adelman, 1982; Rogge, 1985). Additionally, anticommunist sentiments may have been saturated, leading to a drastic reduction in their intake to a level consistent with that from other areas of the troubled globe.

Other refugee groups have suffered a worse fate than having

their entrance numbers drastically reduced; the denial of
resettlement has been part of an ongoing historical
discrimination. For example, Black Africans are
disproportionately prohibited from gaining admittance to Canada
as refugees, as those who suffer discrimination are often
considered "equally disadvantaged" and not singled out for
individual persecution (Howard, 1981; Mazur, 1988). It should be
clarified that under the presently accepted definition, the
failure of a foreign government to meet certain of its people's
basic human needs does not constitute their international
recognition as legitimate refugees (Shacknove, 1985).
Furthermore, the adoption of a "point system" for immigration
continues to exclude almost all non-white Africans from being
admitted to Canada as they fail to meet the necessary criteria
(Howard, 1981; Naidoo, 1985). Hence, immigration application
centers in Africa, and Third World countries more generally, are
few, with less staff resources than in traditional source
countries such as Britain and the U.S.A. (Sangha, 1986/87).

For the vast majority of African individuals who are
considered genuine refugees, the commonly held solution to their
plight has been development assistance within the home country
rather than resettlement in a Western country. In this area
Canada has shown international leadership with steady development
aid to the African nations (Howard, 1981). The Prime Minister's
strong denunciation of South African apartheid should also be
seen as an attempt to end one of the root causes of refugee

formation, although commitment to blocking Canadian trade with
this nation appears to be wavering (Nagle, 1989). Thus, for
example, imports to South Africa rose 68% and exports from South
Africa rose 44% in 1988 (Statistics Canada, cited in the
Kitchener-Waterloo Record, February 7, 1989, p.A8). Notably,
these policies are a significant departure from the Reagan
administration's policy of "constructive engagement", involving a
perpetuation of refugee flows through increased military funding
of certain African states (Weiss, 1984). Yet the challenge
remains that given estimates of Africa's refugee population which
range from 25% (Mazur, 1988) to 50% of the world's 12.6 million
refugees (UN Chronicle, 1988a) and Africa being among the poorest
continents, containing the fewest resources to cope with the
displaced (Terrill, 1984). Canada must move in the direction of
accepting more Black African refugees and immigrants commensurate
with its policies towards European and Asian people (Naidoo,
1985).

The direction Canada's refugee policy will take from the
present appears discouraging. With the adoption of Bill C-55
into law. the government's commitment to screening bogus refugee
claims appears to have taken precedence over the right of
refugees to a fair hearing. Advocates for refugees, such as the
Canadian Council of Churches, have already undertaken legal
challenges to the new system (Bryden. 1989a). The new
administrative system is still in its infancy, hence, the
substantial social and legal issues which must be called into

question will remain beyond the scrutiny of the present paper.

This historical review, while brief and inexhaustive, serves
to demonstrate the mixed motives operative behind Canada's
present refugee policy. Certainly, Canada has been generous. We
rank second among Western countries in terms of actual numbers of
refugees permanently resettled, as shown in a world map of
refugee locations (see Appendix A). Yet we also have as part of
our recent historical record the refusal to accept Jewish victims
of Nazi oppression followed by a checkered history in which
racial, economic, ideological, and international concerns have
often been put ahead of humanitarian ideals (Neuwirth, 1988). It
is o a more detailed understanding of the relationship between
this filtering process and the mental health of resettled
refugees that we turn next.

PART TWO

Resettlement Issues and the Refugee Filtering Process

Having engaged in a "process of historical reconstruction"
(Sarason, 1978) which illuminates the issues surrounding refugees
in the Canadian context. I will now develop a model that
demonstrates the relationship between resettlement issues and the
mental health needs of refugees. Specifically, four major
resettlement issues of assimilationist pressure, racial
prejudice, employment difficulties, and domestic political
pressure will be respectively linked to the means of restricting
resettlement, that is, the ideological, racial, economic, and
international "diplomatic" filters. Filters, in this case,

simply refers to the arbitrary system by which some refugees are permitted to enter and resettle in Canada while others are turned away. The model will be genera' ive theoretical (Gergen, 1978) in that it calls into question commonly held assumptions regarding refugees while generating new insights for social intervention. Such a meta-theoretical framework, which intervenes through discourse that allows for clearer understanding of the problems confronting refugees and points towards their resolution, must then be tied to community action that attempts to free the oppressive constra nts that limit the opportunities affor ˙ to marginalized groups (Goldenberg, 1978).

Assimilationist pressure and the ideological filter.

Kunz (1981) has identified at a theoretical level the importance of host country receptiveness for the successful adar ion of refugees. As indicated in the historical review, some ⌐efugee groups have been more openly welcomed than others. An exploration of the social context of resettlement sheds light on this issue, as assimilationist pressures during resettlement are closely linked to the ideological constraints which filte⌐ incoming refugees.

Refugees who resettle in a Western country face a considerable challenge. While there are usually many sympathetic individuals who will receive them, the general population's response ranges from ambivalence to hostility (Liu, 1979). Expression of the latter may be due to a misguided perception of increased competition in the labo r market, however, the

persistence of this myth and the relative ambivalence of many who understand its erroneous nature indicates a more profound discomfort at a deeper level.

This sense of discomfort arises from the first-hand proof provided by resettled refugees who have undergone violent upheaval, that one's security in the world is tenuous (Wotruba & Cernovsky, 1987). Tyhurst (1982) notes that even front-line refugee workers often feel threatened: "the refugee's dangerous past brings to mind the explosive state of the world" (p.108). The presence of these "strangers" disturbs the social order of the community, with some members accepting (and occasionally welcoming) this change; while others attempt to distance themselves from the source of intrusion (Wood, 1934). As long standing members of the community have at their disposal substantial resources for coping with life, interest in gaining knowledge of these newcomers is generally not present; however, refugees are strangers in an unfamiliar setting and so must gain this knowledge from their reluctant hosts (Schuetz, 1944). This non-reciprocating dynamic can occur even between refugees and their private sponsors, leading some researchers to characterize these relationships as "master-dependent" (Chan & Lam, 1983; Woon, 1984) This accounts, in part, for the recent finding that private sponsorship is not substantially better than government sponsorship (Indra, 1988).

Host communities may find adjustment to the newcomers discomforting but it is refugees who undergo the difficult

process of acculturation. Having been physically uprooted, refugees face the further trauma of a loss of familiar socio-cultural norms regarding behaviors, values, and previously existing authority systems (Cohon, 1981; Tyhurst, 1^ ﹒). As Muecke (1987) has stated:

> Refugee suffering ... is not limited to the pain of losing family and country: it is ʾeepened by awareness that former cultural solutions, the blueprints for action and interpretation of the world that one learned from childhood, cannot be trusted. (p.275)

The ongoing process of surrendering old value systems for new ones while adjusting to the new found freedoms and limitations these may imply can be arduous (e.g., Gerber, 1984). This process is made even more difficult by the lack of a clear "rite of passage" for the incoming refugee (Wittkower & Dubreuil, 1973), other than the vague but pervasive notion that newcomers ought to "pay their dues" (i.e., tolerate a mixture of public ambivalence and scorn, ﹒s have most previous immigrant waves. Hence, attempts to mitigate these stressors, combined with the stress from involuntary departure, have resulted in a profusion of studies demonstrating the need for culturally sensitive counselling and clinical services (Boehnlein, 1987; Brodsky, 1982; Bromley, 1987; Kim, 1981; Kinzie, 1978; Kinzie, Tran, Breckenbridge, & Bloom, 1980; Rinfret-Raynor & Raynor, 1983; Young, Ingram, & Swartz, 1986) and for ethnic community support systems (Berry & Blondel, 1982; Tran, 1987; Tran & Wright Jr., 1986). Ironically, pressures from the host country on refugees to assimilate can reb^und, creating a strong sense of ethnic

solidarity, as occurred, for example, among the Hmong refugee community of San Diego (Scott, Jr., 1982).

Canada's adoption of a multiculturalism policy serves to reduce the acculturative stress experienced by immigrants and refugees (Dyal & Dyal, 1981). Research has shown that mental health problems for immigrants are far fewer within Canada than within the melting pot ideology of the United States (Murphy, cited in Dyal & Dyal, 1981), yet ev_n in a pluralistic society there are still difficulties in adjustment (Berry, Minde, Kim, & Mok, 1987). Within Canada, research has indicated that individuals who resist acculturation place themselves at psychological risk (Berry et al., 1987). The price of not resisting also appears high, as the negative racial attitudes within much of the host population may be introjected by refugees in the process (Chan, 1987; Fry, 1985). It follows that those who bear the most similarities to the predominant host culture are the least psychologically at risk.

Assimilationist pressures cover a broad band of "acceptable" personal characteristics. Some aspects are not amenable to change (e.g.. race, past history) and others clearly are (e.g., ideology, religious beliefs, daily habits). I argue that of the personal characteristics which are amenable to change, the ideological positions of refugees are under the most pressure to conform with the host society.

Indirect evidence points to the role of ideological similarities as a component in reduced acculturative stress.

Refugees from Eastern Europe who resettled in Canada numbered 5,358 in 1986 as compared to 4,159 Latin Americans and 6,006 Southeast Asians (Refugee Perspectives, 1987). Despite similar entrance numbers, an examination of the mental health literature indicates that the latter two groups have been intensely researched regarding the adjustment process, while there has been a paucity of data on Eastern Europeans. For example, the literature review of the RCTF (1989b) contains some 69 references which bear directly on the adjustment difficulties of Southeast Asians, 24 references for Central Americans, but only 4 for Eastern Europeans. Since racial and ethnic origins per se have nothing to do with refugees' adaptability (Lanphier, 1981; Richmond, 1974) nor with their susceptibility to mental dysfunction (Klopfer, 1944), it is reasonable to infer that Eastern Europeans possibly experience reduced acculturative stress.

This difference may be due in part to Eastern European's "invisible minority" status. Certainly, the fact that many who entered Canada as designated-class refugees suffered poverty but not persecution (e.g., the majority of Poles who arrived during the period of Solidarity unrest; Matejdo, 1985) would account for much of this discrepancy. As a British study demonstrates, when persecution has occurred, mental illness rates are higher (Hitch & Rack, 1980).

I further suggest, however, that since Eastern European refugees provide de jure evidence of Communist repression, they

are held up as "worthy victims" by the public and the media as opposed to "unworthy victims" such as refugees from right-wing dicatorships (see Herman & Chomsky, 1988). While economic hardship is encountered by Eastern Europeans much the same as it is with many immigrant groups, they receive public support for having broken with their Communist past.

Consistent with the role of ideology in the process of acculturation is the influence of ideology on which groups are permitted resettlement in Canada. For example, both Dirks' (1977) and Howard's (1980) assessments have shown that it is more difficult for refugees suspected of having socialist or communist ideologies to be granted admission than individuals with other ideological beliefs. The intensive screenings and relatively low numbers of Chileans permitted entrance to Canada during the height of post-Allende repression serves as evidence of this selectivity. In brief, Dirks (1977) documented that following the September 11, 1973 coup of the democratically elected Allende administration, the Liberal government responded as follows:

(i) in mid-October, Canadian immigration officials were dispatched to Chile (notably, statements concerning Chilean refugees were made by the Department of External Affairs not the Department of Manpower and Immigration, as usually occurred);

(ii) in late November, the immigration team began screening and processing potential refugees;

(iii) by December 20, 1973, 184 visas had been granted (meanwhile, "at least 20,000 had been put to death by the end of

1973" by the Chilean military, p.307);

(iv) in the Spring, the numbers permitted entrance to Canada had risen to over 1000 (pressure substantially increased from international relief agencies, labour groups, university organizations, and churches to cease the unprecedented security interrogations and grant broad refugee admittance);

(v) as of February 1975, only 1188 Chilean refugees had been resettled in Canada.

Dirks concluded:

> Evidence suggests that the Canadian government delayed any decision to assist in the matter of Chilean refugees until enough pressure had been mounted within Canada to indicate a significant degree of public concern for the problem. When the government did act, however, it did so with a considerable degree of deliberateness and caution uncharacteristic of earlier positions adopted during refugee emergencies. While a number of factors may have accounted for this, the left of centre ideological stance of many of the refugees appears most important...
> The Chilean military regime ... came to power to protect "western" economic or capitalist values and set out to do so by oppressing those it believed to be endangering the economic order. Canada, while not an authoritarian state such as contemporary Chile, does, however, share the economic principles which are adhered to by the military rulers. Thus, it can by argued, the Canadian government finds that the refugees' values conflict with its interpretation of the public interest. (p.250)

Such a response should be considered oppressive, in that the Canadian government contained and restricted the possibilities for helping Chileans who suffered widespread persecution. With the refugee filter shaped by ideological con.traints, the expendability of Chileans resulted, as their loss was not seen as diminishing society as a whole (Bennett, 1987; Goldenberg, 1978).

More recently, Brandt, Foster, and MacAdam (1989) argue that

in response to the present crises in Central America, Canadian immigration increasingly favours Sandinista Nicarauguans over victims of right-wing dictatorships. The authors point out that the "number of Nicarauguans selected increased dramatically from 77 in 1984 to 915 in 1987, when only 440 Guatemalans fleeing right-wing terror were accepted" (p.A7).

Closely related with pressures to assimilate are the racial biases of the host community, as explored in the next section. Racial prejudice and the racial filter.

Naidoo and Edwards (1989) have summarized substantial improvements that have been made in Canada's race relations policies. Among various programs and legislation at the federal level, two efforts to enhance respect for racial diversity stand out. The establishment of the Human Rights Commission in 1978 was one significant step forward in terms of minority ethnic rights. One central mandate of the Commission is to investigate and resolve cases of racial discrimination and to develop an educational program aimed at ending discriminatory practices (Sheridan, 1988). Government efforts to improve the relations among Canada's many ethnic communities also include, in 1987, the establishment of the Ministry of Multiculturalism and, in 1988, the Multiculturalism Act, passed "to recognize all Canadians as full and equal participants in Canadian society" (Multiculturalism, 1987). This effort is consistent with the view that the state's duty towards ethnic minorities is positive, in that ethnic diversity is to be enhanced through the allocation

of government funds for ethnic publications, newspapers, and broadcasting as well as for the promotion of minority languages and minority cultures more generally (Cholewinski, 1988).

While the movement towards greater multicultural sensitivity on the part of government is welcomed, the political will of politicians remains essential to ensure that recommendations put forward to combat racism are carried through. There are two conflicting dangers. First, with many different areas of government bearing responsibility for issues of racism, a dispersal of effort could result. Cavins and Williams (1986) state that such a "dispersal and segregation" (pp.154-155) occurred in regards to the government's response to women's issues. Second, with the issue of racism centered in a distinct Multicultu.·lism portfolio, the danger arises that other departments could divest themselves of responsibility for multicultural services (Lanphier, 1987). Government rhetoric on multiculturalism aside, the fact that no ethnic group has a numerical majority in Canada (Berry, 1984) does not diminish the historical fact that ethnic minority rights are subservient to the two founding cultures (Kallen, 1988).

Government efforts are definitely needed, as there is an insidious racism among many members of the predominant cultures in which visible minorities (especially Blacks and South Asians) continue to be viewed as less preferable than other ethnic groups (Naidoo & Edwards, 1989). This attitude is often subtle, with racist notions being held by otherwise reasonable people (Pillay,

1984) who, nonetheless, blame victims for the racial strife that is encountered. Such victim-blaming is frequently directed towards refugees, the exposure to which increases the negative effects experienced by involuntary dislocation (Hussain, 1984).

The recent Report of the Canadian Task Force (RCTF, 1989a) identifies negative racial attitudes on the part of the larger society as one of the chief impediments to immigrants' and refugees' positive mental health. As stated in one submission to the report:

> The basis for much of the mental health problem in Canada is a moderate, systemic racism throughout our society. To be sure, it is not as blatant or as extreme as in the past. Even so, the racism that lingers is still powerful enough to place visible minority people under the pressure of always being on watch for the hard edge of prejudice and discrimination. It is the individual representation of this racist plague that underlies, we think, many of the psycho-social problems immigrants and refugees manifest. (p.12)

At a recent conference entitled "Building Partnerships in Race Relations", discriminatory practices against ethnic minorities were described as surfacing in smaller Canadian communities in the form of "genteel racism" (Hamara, 1989).

Negative public attitudes are further reinforced by the government's downplaying of its historical role in discriminatory practices (ranging from immigration to hiring policies) and by laying the adaptational problems inherent in resettlement at the feet of refugees. The Nielsen Task Force Study Team Report on Citizenship, Labour and Immigration (cited in Adelman, 1986/87) provides an overview of the direction immigration and refugee

policy will take under the present Conservative government. Adelman provides an indictment of the report, citing the following: "Aside from true convention refugees and immediate families, there is no reason to continue admitting what appears to be a significant proportion of persons who face real difficulties in adapting." This suggestion is no different than the one expressed at the turn of the century that "non-assimilative" ethnic groups should be denied admittance to Canada (see pp.4-5 above).

That such a view would gain substantial support among large sectors of the population is evidenced by a recent Gallup Poll (1986) in which the majority of respondents believed that Canada is doing more than its fair share of accepting refugees compared to other countries. That is, 58% of Canadians believe we should accept fewer refugees, 17% think we should accept the same number, and only 18% believe we should accept more. Immigrants fair little better in terms of the host society's attitudes, as a more recent Gallup Poll (1988) indicates that 41% of the population would decrease immigration levels, 42% would leave them at the same level, and 14% would increase the levels admitted.

Unfortunately, refugees sometimes introject the racial values of the host country and partially attribute discriminatory practices to themselves (Chan, 1987). Goldenberg (1978) has termed this general phenomenon "the doctrine of personal culpability" in which the victimized view their difficult

circumstances as arising out of personal deficiencies rather than out of an alienating social environment. The pressure to do so is understandably overwhelming at times, given the frequent negative stereotypes perpetuated by the press (DuCharme, 1986; Ginzberg, 1986; Simon, 1985). This is particularly the case when the international and ideological positions of a minority citizen's native country are in opposition to that of the host country (Chomsky, 1986; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Mouammar, 1986).

An obvious link exists between the social climate of racial prejudice and the intolerance towards accepting refugees, most of whom are now from the Third World (as the recent Maclean's cover story "An Angry Racial Backlash" documented; July 10, 1989, pp.14-25). It is not surprising nor coincidental that Western countries are moving in tandem to close the doors on refugees in response to public pressure, given these predominant attitudes (Gwyn, 1989; UN Chronicle, 1989b). Critics claim, therefore, that it is no longer the case in which the Canadian government blatantly restricts certain ethnic groups from entering, as practiced in the past and evidenced in the historical review. Rather, they argue that the whole policy of restrictionism has racism as a core element, in which Third World people in desperate need of refuge are turned away. In a recent article appearing in The Globe and Mail (Friday, May 12, 1989) Brandt et al. make such an assertion:

> The fact that refugee claimants are now coming on their own has brought racist sentiments to the surface. The leader of a right-wing anti-immigrant group described the arrivals as "an almost uncontrolled i ivasion," suggesting that Canadians

shouldn't worry about free trade and whether their children
will speak French or English but "whether they'll be
speaking Chinese or Hindu." (p.A7).

Closely tied to the issue of racial discrimination is that
of economic marginality, as has been recognized in Community
Psychology for some time (Chishom, 1989). It is to a more
detailed understanding of this ~ality that we turn next.

The economic filter and employment difficulties.

One of the most commonly used arguments for restricting
entrance of asylum seekers is the suggestion that many are
economic refugees seeking a better standard of living rather than
persecuted individuals fleeing for safety (Janigan, 1987). While
there are undoubtedly "queue jumpers" who have entered Canada as
refugees when in fact their true motivation was for financial
betterment (as Plaut, 1985, noted in his recommendations for
procedural revisions in Canada), the label of "economic refugee"
and the context in which it is frequently used bears closer
scrutiny.

As the majority of refugees now seeking resettlement in the
Western world are from Third World countries, there are
difficulties that arise in attempting to distinguish between
bogus and genuine claims. Economic deprivation is often
inseparable from political persecution, making a distinction
between the two almost impossible in some cases (Grahl-Madsen,
1983; Richmond, 1988; Stein, 1983; Zolberg, 1983). For example,
there have been long-standing migratory flows out of Central
America for economic reasons, yet Madrazo's (1988) extensive

literature review further demonstrates that the general violence in this area "represents a serious deterioration in basic security of living which indiscriminately affects large sectors of the population, not only individuals" (p.97).

Two further questions, therefore, arise that defy quick administrative solutions. First, should life-threatening poverty be considered grounds for recognition and resettlement as refugees (Shacknove, 1985)? Second, if someone claiming refugee status cannot substantiate the claim of having been persecuted, what is an acceptable probability level that they will not suffer persecution given deportation to a country afflicted with generalized violence (Grahl-Madsen, 1983)? The Canadian government's implicit response to these questions may be found in its commitment to resettling refugees from Central America. Thus, in the cases of both Nicaraugua and El Salvador, Canada continues to pursue the UNHCR's policy of local resettlement and voluntary repatriation for all but those who have been political prisoners (Refugee Perspectives, 1987). Acknowledging that "no meaningful distinctions between economic and Convention refugees are made in terms of refugee policy [for Central Americans]" (p.10) and that the political situation is "unstable" (p.11), the government sponsored only 3,654 out of the 313,000 refugees of Central America in 1986.

To illustrate more thoroughly, I will explore and evaluate the relationship between poverty and persecution in the Central American context. It is estimated that half of Latin America's

240 million people will be living in extreme poverty by the end
of 1990 (Freedom House, cited in Ashford, 1989). There have been
70,000 deaths as a result of widespread and systematic repression
in El Salvador alone (Dyer, 1989). Most of the Salvadoran state
repression has been directed at the rural poor where, not
surprisingly, opposition groups find their greatest support
(Hastedt & Knickrehm, 1989). The Canadian government has
responded by following the misleading policy of the U.S. in
condemning atrocities as resulting from extreme factions on both
the "left" and the "right" (Arbour, 1989), despite comprehensive
documentation that terrorism is systematically applied by the
Salvadoran military state (Chomsky, 1988; Herman & Chomsky,
1988).

The economics of state repression are no less devastating t
the disposessed than the politics of violent persecution.
Hastedt and Knickrehm (1989) document that the child mortality
rate among the landless poor is 48% in El Salvador.
Consequently, the Sanford Commission reported that the majority
of victims are women, children, and the elderly (Carty, 1989).
Yet despite these facts, Canada accepted only 27.4% of Salvadoran
refugee claimants processed in Canada in 1986-87 (Immigration
Canada, cited in The Toronto Star, Saturday, December 31, 1988,
p.A8).

In Nicaraugua, where the Contras are admitting defeat, the
current inflation rate is 36,000 per cent (Dyer, 1989). The
response to this country's situation is also off balance, with

Prime Minister Mulroney denouncing widespread human rights abuses
when in fact few occur, although there is evidence regarding
violations of civil rights tied directly to the war with the
Contras (Arbour, 1989). The Canadian government does depart from
the American administration by continuing trade with Nicaraugua.
However, in an attempt to improve bilateral relations between
Canada and the U.S., the Prime Minister has refused to make any
public denunciations of the Contras (Arbour, 1989).

The situation not only arises where economic and political
factors are indistinguishable due to the crippling effects of
poverty within an atmosphere of violence. In some cases it is
the relative prosperity that ethnic minorities are able to
achieve within poor countries that make them vulnerable to
persecution (Gould, 1982). When internal conditions within an
economically failing state shift or change, an ethnic group which
has been relatively successful may become the object of derision.
The Jews under Nazism certainly suffered persecution under these
circumstances. They were then denied entrance into other "safe"
countries under various rhetorical guises which played into the
public's racial stereotype of Jews as simply "economic"
asylum-seekers. More recent examples include Nigerians in Ghana
and Asians in Uganda (Gould, 1982); note, however, that the
latter were accepted quickly (albeit selectively) to meet
Canada's economic needs (see p.9 above).

Procedural vagaries in Canada also complicate this issue.
Designated class refugees do not have to provide proof of

individual persecution (see p.10 above), hence, economically motivated individuals may enter through these provisions (see exchange between Caccia and Baker, Standing Committee on Labour, Employment and Immigration, 1988, p.23). For example, Poles enter as Designated class refugees, with approximately 28,000 arriving between 1981-86 to escape both political and economic strife (Heydenkorn, 1988). Simply tightening up these measures would not resolve the dilemma for reasons outlined above.

Most critical to an understanding of the debate regarding admittance of economically motivated refugees are the contradictory messages that the present government sends worldwide. Having effectively closed the doors to many of the world's persecuted under the guise of halting economic refugees (Bill C-55), Prime Minister Mulroney continues to state publicly that current immigration needs will be supplemented with refugee intakes. The primary admittance criterion of refugees is not the degree of persecution they have suffered, however; as with immigration it is their ability to economically adapt, albeit under relaxed standards (see p. 11 above). ₁n short, the government is both screening "economic refugees" while encouraging only the economically most promising to enter!

Double messages are not confined to entrance criteria. Resettled refugees face the mixed message of public resentment when economic self-sufficiency is not obtained as well as resentment when gainful employment is found. As Baer (1982) illustrates in the American context, the latter frequently takes

the form of anti-refugee folklore within Western society where there is an uncritically accepted myth of insufficient goods to go around.

These contradictory messages are reflected in the conditions facing refugees once they have resettled and are searching for work. There is strong evidence that refugees suffer discrimination regarding employment in Canada, especially during periods of economic recession (Adams & Jesudason, 1984; Chan, 1987; Estable, 1986; Fry, 1985; Samuel, 1984). Resentment towards refugees and immigrants "taking away" Canadians' jobs is frequently expressed by the general public (Atchison, 1988), despite the opinion of many economists that immigrants enhance the economy (Moore, 1986). Note, although Moore's research was conducted in the U.S., his findings are no less applicable to Canada. Historically, refugees have actually contributed a great deal to our economic landscape. For example, the Estonians established some of the first Canadian economic co-operatives (Aun, 1985).

On this issue, the current Employment and Immigration Minister's record is mixed. Barbara McDougall has asserted that immigrants are economically beneficial to Canada (Lalonde, 1989). However, she also recently refused to issue many refugee claimants work permits, forcing them onto welfare (Editorial, The Toronto Star, Thursday, February, 23, 1989). In this instance, government policy perpetuates the derogatory image of refugees as frequent users and abusers of the welfare system (see Kerpen,

1985 for a relevant discussion in the American context). Such a
dependent relationship on social services for survival is
considered degrading by refugees, who tend to suffer poor mental
health when reliant on this form of help and when experiencing
employment related difficulties (Chan & Lam, 1983; Lin, Tazuma, &
Masuda, 1979; McSpadden, 1987; Nicassio & Pate, 1984). The
reverse is no less true; Tran's (1987) study of Vietnamese
refugees demonstrates that economic adaptation fosters
psychological well-being.

As long as refugees find themselves marginalized by the
predominant culture, they will be caught in the double bind of
having to work long hours for low pay, with little time to
upgrade vocational or language skills (Chan & Lam, 1983; Neuwirth
& Clark, 1981). When time is found to utilize employment
services, a further boundary arises in that the underemployed are
excluded from these programs (Neuwirth & Clark, 1981). These
systemic barriers can be oppressive in the sense that they lead
to a "state of continual marginality and premature obsolence"
(Goldenberg, 1978, p.3). Restrictions occur despite research
indicating that for refugees whose vocational skills are
ill-suited to the host country, upgrading and training programs
are essential as preventive measures for positive mental health
(Williams, 1985). Indeed, alternative education such as The
School of Human Services in the U.S. stands as an excellent
example of how we can prevent "the exclusion of vast numbers of
people from the economic and intellectual possibilities of higher

education and their subsequent relegation to positions of continuing personal, social and political powerlessness" (Osher & Goldenberg, 1987, p.61).

For refugee women, the politics of exile are often more difficult than that experienced by their male peers (Kay, 1988). In many cases, women must either adjust quickly to becoming primary economic providers or they arrive as sponsored immigrants and so are not eligible for language training or social assistance (Lee, 1988; Ng & Estable, 1987). Employment is often found in the industrial sector (e.g., garment and textile industries) and the service sector (e.g., cleaners and domestic workers), although as the examples illustrate, this work is low-paying and low-status (Estable, 1986). That many refugee women must also work at home raising a family (Estable, 1986) represents a further difficulty pointing to systemic discrimination, since adequate and affordable daycare is lacking (Currents, 1987).

Discriminatory treatment notwithstanding, comprehensive studies indicate that after initial periods of difficulty, labour force participation and incomes are higher for many refugee groups than for the Canadian born population (Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission, 1986; Samuel, 1984). With the cautionary note that the general category of "refugee" envelopes many distinct cultural groups, in each of which there are individual differences regarding adaptation to the stress of involuntary migration and resettlement, there is evidence that

some resettled refugee groups channel their aggressiveness and feelings of invulnerability into entrepeneurial ventures, making for successful economic gains (Starr & Roberts, 1982; Stein, 1981).

The international filter and domestic political pressure.

Domestic ideological, racial, and economic interests do not provide a full explanation as to why Canada seems more open to some refugees than others. To appreciate our refugee policy in context, international factors both as precipitators of refugee flows (see Kliot, 1987; Zolberg, 1983; and Zolberg et al., 1986 for excellent reviews) and as determinants of which refugees will be acknowledged and resettled in a host country (Benard, 1986; Teitelbaum, 1984; Zolberg et al., 1986) should be understood.

While it is beyond the scope of this paper to explore them in depth, salient international factors as precipitators of involuntary migration movements should be noted. Kliot (1987) has identified six causal agents of refugee flows. They are: 1) anticolonial and self-determination movements (e.g., Angola and Mozambique);

2) international conflicts (e.g., both World Wars, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Kampuchea); 3) revolutions and coup d'etats (e.g., Indochina, Nicaraugua, Guatamala, Uganda); 4) ethnic and tribal conflicts (e.g., Sri Lanka, Sudan); 5) partitioning of states (e.g., Palestine, North/South Vietnam); and 6) population transfers and expulsions (e.g., Nigeria, Lesotho). These categories are obviously not mutually exclusive; indeed, the

majority of refugee flows result from an interaction of domestic and transnational forces (Zolberg et al., 1986). Evidence of the transnational causes of refugee flows is the recognition by the UN that preventive solutions require international cooperation (Lee, 1984), although the difficulties in negotiating responsibility for particular refugee movements are obviously enormous (e.g., UN Chronicle, 1986). With the above conditions constituting the various causes of refugee formation and durable solutions so difficult to negotiate internationally, it follows that refugee resettlement should not be considered as simply a domestic issue.

By providing sanctuary, the host nation demonstrates criticism against the country from which the refugees departed and also demonstrates its own humanitarian objectives at the international level (Benard, 1986; Zolberg et al., 1936). As a corollary, denial of refugee status usually occurs where the policies of the refugee producing country are either supported and/or influenced substantially by the country from which refuge is sought. In light of this introduction, the impact of Canada's foreign objectives on refugee policy can be understood.

Foreign policy is rarely raised as a partisan electoral issue in Canada (Nevitte & Gibbins, 1986) and there is little genuine input from the Canadian public into foreign policy objectives. As Nossal (1983/84) has argued:

> the state enjoys ... relative autonomy vis-a-vis civil society. Only at the outer limits of a broad band of acceptable behavior will the state's actions not diverge from societal preferences. (p.22)

The ability of government to direct foreign policy with little
input from the electorate means that in the area that can have
the most profound effect on preventing refugee formation, the
public appears to have the least say. Within the government,
however, the Ministry of External Affairs has considerable
jurisdiction over the refugee system above and beyond that of the
Ministry of Employment and Immigration (Dirks, 1984).

Only when a groundswell of public opinion occurs is a ruling
political party forced to respond to specific international
concerns (Nossal, 1983/84), especially when combined with
opposition parties compelling debates and forcing clarifications
within parliament (Nolan, 1985). Such was the case with the
Canadian government's response to Central America. The Canadian
government had only marginal interest in Central America when
crises erupted, since economic interests in the area were very
slight. Hence, a response to the U.S. involvement was only
defined following pressure from public and church groups
(Schmitz, 1986). As Schmitz's official government background
paper summarized, treading the line between maintaining good
relations with the U.S. and responding in a truly humanitarian
way to the victims of their foreign intervention was difficult:

> Canada is against giving more aid (70% of which will be
> "lethal," the remainder "humanitarian") to the Contras,
> the policy identified by most Latin American governments
> as the main external stumbling block to peace in the
> region. Yet Canada has refrained from direct criticism
> of U.S. policy, keeping its "loyal opposition" at the
> level of principle, carefully treading a path of middle-
> power moderation. Canadian governments, anxious to
> maintain Washington's good will, have often "resisted the
> temptation" to say in public what they think in private. (p.2)

In response to public pressure, refugee quotas were marginally raised, although initially only a small number of .killed professionals were able to avail themselves of this haven (Schmitz, 1986). Refugees from this region are being allowed entrance in greater numbers now, however, the Conservative government's policy continues to be one of avoiding confrontation with the U.S. and turning back many refugees in dire need (see pp.25-27 above). Recently, three Central Americans were deported under the new refugee system, despite the imminent dangers they will face (Bryden, 1989b). The Center for Study of Torture in Toronto reports that of the refugees returned to El Salvador in 1984, 12-25% were tortured or killed (cited in Molesky, 1986).

A clear example of how Canadian foreign interests influence decisions to permit refugee resettlement will be explored, by examining the U.S. intervention in Central America. Given Canada's profound economic dependence on the United States (i.e., the U.S. is currently the destination of 76.6% of all Canadian exports: The Financial Post, November 19-21, 1988, p.1), it follows that the international filter would only reluctantlv permit the entrance of Central American refugees, as those seeking refuge offer de facto criticism of U.S. interventionist policies. I will, therefore, provide my evaluation of the Canadian government's response to Central American refugees by exploring the United States' role in these migratory movements.

The Reagan administration's significant departures from

international law (Kim, 1987; Malawer, 1988) to further
military/economic interests in Central America (Chomsky, 1985;
Chomsky, 1988) undoubtedly perpetuate refugee flows out of this
area. Indeed, U.S. support of the contras runs "directly counter
to the spirit of repatriation and reconciliation" (p.D3) of the
recent International Conference on Central American Refugees
(Carty, 1989).

While a strong militaristic stance tends to galvanize
support among large portions of the American electorate (Gurr,
1988), in order to ensure electoral support for its military
intervention the Reagan administration faced the dilemma of
allowing Latin American refugees entrance to the U.S. (i.e.,
demonstrating that the U.S. was humanitarian and that the nations
the people left were repressive) while clearly not wishing to
have further numbers of refugees enter the country. Note that in
Canada, with its tradition of non-intervention in foreign states,
the presence of Central American refugees demonstrates criticism
of U.S. policy; in the U.S., with its militaristic foreign
traditions, the presence of these refugees demonstrates criticism
of the forces resisting their "liberation" efforts.

To pattern foreign objectives with domestic concerns,
Hoffman (cited in Teitelbaum, 1984) argues that the U.S.
government resolved to permit Central American refugees into
their country while withholding refu$_{\xi}$e status from them. This
captive subpopulation could then be deported if they organized
political protest, as their status was not formally recognized.

Furthermore, they were economically marginalized by the federal
government withholding refugee assistance funds, despite the
obvious connection between American foreign intervention and this
new "tide" of refugees (Whited, 1989). Refugees, rather thar the
government, then became the popular scapegoat of the elector:.te.

As the American-backed contra rebels continued their efforts
to overthrow the Nicaraguan populist government, and the American
client states of Guatemala[1] and El Salvador[2] continued to suppress
popular, dissident movements through gross violations of human
rights (Chomsky. 1988), the movement of refugees substantially
increased. These policies led to a burgeoning "underground
railway" in which refugees were transported north to Canada
through the aid of some 160 U.S. churches and synagogues
(Anonymous, 1985). In light of these U.S. developments, the
Canadian government's attempt to balance humanitarian assistance
with the political expedience of positive U.S. relations was
extremely difficult.

Closely tied to these dubious attempts at "balance" are the
pressures asserted on resettled refugee groups whose
international political objectives differ from that of the host
government.

As refugees by definition have fled intolerable situations
and have sacrificed much as a result, it should be expected that
they will engage in political activities to change the conditions
of their homelands. What is not as clear is how these activities
will be interpreted and acted upon by Canadian authorities. The

recent efforts of the Secretary of State for External Affairs to interfere in the political affairs of Sikh refugees (Gill, 1988) demonstrates that the government is not neutral on this issue. For refugees whose political activities fall within the boundaries of Canadian law yet outside the policies of a given government administration, the result may be increased stress and adaptational difficulties.

The relationship between the Canadian Sikh community and the Canadian government provides a particularly good example of how international concerns are manifested in domestic pressures. Historically, Sikhs were the first South Asians to arrive in Canada (c.1900), where they experienced strongly discriminatory immigration laws (i.e., the "Continuous journey" law) as well as domestic restrictions severely limiting political, social, and economic participation in the country (Buchignani, 1980). While much of this discrimination occurred in the first half of the century, systemic constraints such as the presence of only one Canadian immigration center in India continue to impede the flow of Sikhs who require refuge (Buchignani, Indra, & Srivastava, 1985).

In a blatant attempt to exert political pressure, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Joe Clark, recently advocated that all premiers and parliament members should ostracize Canadian-Sikh organizations due to the irritation their activity causes for Canada's relationship with India. As well, he stated that some members promote violent activities in Canada

and elsewhere (Sikh News and Views, 1989). No substantive evidence was brought forward regarding the latter allegation. Such treatment by the present government has perpetuated racial prejudice in the public, with many Sikhs having to endure the racial slur of being called "terrorists" (D'Amato, 1989). Clearly, adaptational difficulties would be expected to occur from the poor treatment extended to Sikhs.

For refugees whose international concerns differ from that of the host country, the pressure towards political passivity runs counter to their social-psychological needs. Indeed, when individuals have experienced persecution, political action can be the best form of therapy. Despite the difficulty it entails for those numb from the stress of adaptation (Kinzie & Fleck, 1987), it can provide a freeing up of emotions that have been stoically repressed for survival as well as providing a means to project the humiliation that is experienced internally onto the perpetrators (Ritterman, 1985). Testimony of political repression then becomes a means for refugees to experience catharsis, by creating continuity with their past lives and making former political commitments meaningful in the present and future (Cienfuegos & Monelli, 1983). Certainly, such activity is consistent with the suggestion that refugees' expression of hostility can be healthy (Cohon, 1981; Meszaros, cited in Stein, 1981). Indeed, as a combined means to bring about political change and to reduce personal stress, Labonte (1985) has observed: "Carefully directed hostility and anger can be potent

catalysts for social mobilization, political change, and an
environmental transformation" (p.9). However, expressions of
anger and efforts at social mobilization should be engaged in
with the realization that members of the host community may
distance themselves further as a result (Tyhurst, 1951). A
balance must be struck, then, between refugees' free expression
of anger towards the country from which haven is sought and the
realization that the host public does not want newcomers to
transfer their traditional ancestral antagonisms to Canada.

Diagram of the Model

Having advanced a thesis which links the filtering process
of refugees to the adaptational problems they encounter upon
resettlement. a test of this model will be undertaken. In sum,
the model represents a generative theory which explores the
relationship between the resettlement issues of assimilationist
pressure, racial prejudice, employment difficulties, and domestic
political pressure and the four filters of ideology, race,
economy, and international "diplomacy". Only through an
understanding of the oppressive constraints that refugees face
can adequate responses and interventions be formulated. The
model, for ease of interpretation and application, is illustrated
in Figure One:

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Figure One - A Model Linking Resettlement Issues and
the Refugee Filtering Process

| RESETTLEMENT ISSUES | FILTERING PROCESS |
|---|---|
| ASSIMILATIONIST PRESSURES<br>- hosts are fearful, ambivalent<br>- no clear "rite of passage"<br>- pressure to conform with prevailing ideology<br>- "worthy" vs. "unworthy" victims | IDEOLOGICAL FILTER<br>- socialist/communist leaning refugees intensely scrutinized and face greater restrictions/obstacles in attempting to come to Canada |
| RACIAL PREJUDICE<br>- victim blaming<br>- "genteel" racism | RACIAL FILTER<br>- racial backlash<br>- policy of restrictionism |
| EMPLOYMENT DIFFICULTIES<br>- marginalized work with limited time and access to skills upgrading<br>- mixed message of resentment towards refugees taking away Canadian's jobs while also resenting refugees for not finding gainful employment | ECONOMIC FILTER<br>- inseparabilit⁻ of economic deprivation and political persecution in many cases<br>- mixed message of discouraging "economic" refugees while encouraging the most economically adaptable into Canada |
| DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURE<br><br>- little public input into foreign policy<br>- interference by Canadian government in refugee groups freedom of expression<br>- refugees need for political expression of anger at being persecuted<br>- public's intolerance towards newcomers displaying their native traditional antagonisms | INTERNATIONAL "DIPLOMATIC" FILTER<br>- government accepts little input into foreign policy, an area where root problem of refugee formation could be addressed<br>- granting refuge is an implicit criticism of refugees' native country<br>- desire to help refugees often outweighed by fear of offending friendly states |

PART THREE

A Test of the Model

## Introduction

One of the most influential forces in contemporary society is the modern press. It has the power to perpetuate stereotypes regarding refugees as well as the opportunity to take an activist stance in eroding commonly held myths. Furthermore, through editorials and letters to the editor, the press provides a window through which the opinions of ordinary Canadians can be viewed.

The responsibility of the press to present ethnic minority group~ in a fair and balanced manner has come under scrutiny recently. A study of The Toronto Sun undertaken for the Urban Alliance on Race Relations demonstrates that negative stereotyping of ethnic minorities occurs frequently (Ginzberg, 1986). DuCharme (1986) examined the coverage of immigration policy in The Globe and Mail ("Canada's national newspaper") from 1980 to 1985 and found that of the 70 articles examined, 12 were biased against immigrants. Unfortunately, DuCharme provided only a vague reference to several articles that explored the plight of immigrants, hence, the overall fairness of The Globe's coverage cannot be assessed.

In order to test the model presented concerning refugees, an examination of editorials and letters to the editor was undertaken. In keeping with the historical framework outlined in the Introduction of this thesis, two pivotal periods in the evolution of Canada's refugee policy were explored.

The first period followed shortly after the Second World
War, when the mass of displaced people in Europe necessitated
Commonwealth countries permitting large-scale immigration.
Notions of "safe haven" and "refuge" weighed as critical factors
in addition to the host country's actual immigration needs.
Seminal in the development of Canada's response was Prime
Minister MacKenzie King's speech of May 1, 1947 in which he
stated that immigration policy would "take account of the urgent
problem of the resettlement of persons who are displaced and
homeless" (see pp. 7-8 above). Specific contextual details which
should be noted from this time period include: the private
importing of 100 Polish women by an elected MP and industrialist
to meet his corporations' labour needs (The Globe and Mail, May
6, 1947, p.3); the use of Orders-in-Council to continue
restrictive regulations against Japanese-Canadians returning to
the west coast after the war ("A Nation Disgraced"-Editorial. The
Globe and Mail, May 26, 1947, p.6); and Ontario Premier Drew's
plan to import 7,000 Britains to meet Ontario's skilled labour
needs (The Globe and Mail, June 28, 1947, p.3).

The second period occurred forty years later, with
Employment and Immigration Minister Benoit Bouchard's
announcement of administrative measures to "better help refugees
who need our protection while deterring abuse of our refugee
determination system" (The Globe and Mail, February 20, 1987,
p.A2). Bouchard also stated that in 1986 seventy-five percent of
those seeking refugee status were making false claims and that

"right now we have so many abuses that the government has to move
very quickly with control measures and in terms of the
legislation I will introduce in March" (The Vancouver Sun,
February 20, 1987, p.A2). The later legislation (Bill C-55)
streamlined the refugee processing system at the expense, critics
claim, of Charter rights to a fair hearing (see p. 16 above).

Related events that should be noted from this time period
included: widespread rumours that a boat carrying Tamil refugees
from West Germany was headed for Canada, similar to the arrival
of 155 Tamils in Canada the previous August (The Vancouver Sun,
February, 10, 1987, p.B2); reports of continued killing in Sri
Lanka where "5,000 people have died since fighting began in 1982"
(The Vancouver Sun, February 16, 1987, p.B6); new U.S.
legislation designed to "crackdown on illegal aliens" that caused
many Salvadorans and Guatemalans to seek refuge in Canada (The
Globe and Mail, February 12, 1987, p.A1S); and 26 Chileans went
on a hunger strike to persuade the government to permit the
entrance of 91 Chileans stranded in Buenos Aires, in spite of the
new immigration restrictions (The Globe and Mail, March 5, 1987,
p.5).

It should be clarified that these two time periods, while
critical in the development of Canada's refugee policy, were
chosen for the additional reason that they stimulated heated
public debate. I originally investigated the possibility of
content analyzing newspapers from 1966, when racial restrictions
were relaxed in immigration policy, and newspapers from

1975-1978, when the Green Paper on Immigration was tabled and the distinct refugee policy was implemented. Based on my pilot-test, neither of these two time periods appeared to have provoked levels of public discussion that enabled an adequate analysis of the data. A further clarification should be noted. Letters to the editor and editorials are not intended to be representative of the population's opinions, in a scientific sense, rather they are simply an accessible data base from which to test the model.

In order to test the model, three questions were asked. These were: 1) In what manner are refugees referred to in newspaper editorials and in letters to the editor? (2) How many and what sorts of themes are put forward regarding refugees? and (3) In what manner do editorial headings present refugee issues?

## Method

Content analysis has been defined as "a method of studying and analyzing communications in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner" (Kerlinger, 1973). In carrying out a content analysis, the first obvious decision to be made involves the material to be analyzed. Newspaper editorials and letters to the editor were decided upon as they provide a means to assess public sentiments regarding refugees, as they were expressed at different points in Canadian history.

Parameters must then be set regarding the exact time periods to be looked at and the newspaper sources to be used. Two time periods were chosen, one centering on MacKenzie King's May 1, 1947 speech calling for increased immigration and the other

centering on Benoit Bouchard's February 2C, 1987 announcement of
tighter restrictions on the entrance of refugees. For each time
period, editorials and letters to the editor were examined
beginning in the month prior to the announced changes and
continuing for the next four months. The temporal parameters for
the cor ent analysis are therefore from April 1, 1947 to August
31, 1947 and from January 1, 1987 to May 31, 1987. To gain
sufficient breadth in terms of public opinion, two newspapers
were chosen, representing different geographic areas of Canada.
The Globe and Mail was chosen to represent Eastern and Central
Canada and The Vancouver Sun was chosen for the West.

Having decided upon the material to be content analyzed,
decisions must be made regarding the appropriate units of
analysis. Kerlinger (1973, citing Berelson) lists five types:
"words, themes, characters, items, and space-and-time measures"
(p.528). Similarly, Carney (1973) suggests there are four forms
of units: words or phrases, themes, characters, and
interactions.

For the first question "In what manner are refugees referred
to in the newspaper and in the letters to the editor?" the
simplest unit of analysis was employed. A list of words and
phrases were formed based on the terms used as references to
refugees. Apart from the actual term "refugee", the list
exhaustively included adjectives preceding the word "refugee",
other terms to denote "refugee" (e.g., "victims", "abusers"), and
phrases that began with the demonstrative pronoun "those" (e.g.,

"those who seek asylum"). The frequency of occurence for each word/phrase was also recorded. Each phrase was rated on a three point scale indicating whether the term had a positive, neutral, or negative connotation in reference to refugees. Comparisons could then be made across newspapers and across time periods.

Unitizing and counting words presents a relatively straightforward task, however, difficulties arise in that the wider context in which terms are used is ignored. Hence, the need to build on this first question with a second that identifies themes was apparent. As Carney (1972) notes:

> themes can sometimes reach into aspects of a communication which cannot be dealt with by frequency counts ... where two or more passages contain almost identical words but mean wholly differeat things" (p.159)

The second question was pivotal in testing the model as it revealed whether themes presented in the newspapers bore any conceptual unity to those advanced in the thesis. The question was: "How many and what sorts of themes are put forward regarding refugees?"

For this question, each editorial and letter to the editor was analyzed according to the themes (or arguments) it put forward. An exhaustive list was formed, with the frequency of occurrence for each theme recorded. To buttress the information gained by this analysis, each letter and editorial was also given a single rating indicating the degree to which the writer was favourable/unfavourable towards the acceptance of refugees.

Finally, the manner in which headings over editorials were

written was also scrutinized. DuCharme (1986) points out that headings not only provide a brief encapsulation of the content of an article, they are also intended to draw the attention of the reader. Citing Eleanor MacLean's text, Between the lines: How to detect bias and propaganda in the press and everyday life, DuCharme demonstrates how the subject, verb and object of a heading can be respectively formed into a scapegoat term, a groundless accusation in the future, and a glittering generality (e.g., "Immigration policy/called risk to/Canadian educators' jobs"; DuCharme, 1986, p.8).

Performing a content analysis inevitably requires subjective judgements as to the appropriate material to be sampled and the choice of questions to be tested. Furthermore, it involves the operationalization of abstract concepts into concrete units to be measured. Unlike a questionnaire where the conditions of application and the frame of reference of the respondent can be carefully controlled, a content analysis must rely to a greater degree on the judgements of the researcher.

To ensure validity two steps were therefore taken. First, two newspapers representing two different samples from the same population (i.e., Canadians) were taken. Second, three different questions were posed (see p. 50), each of which involved different units of analysis. Where the findings of the three questions have the most overlap, one would expect the greater degree of validity.

Reliability of this methodology is more difficult to

substantiate. Carney (1972) recommends having an independent
group of experts review the material and undertake the analysis,
however, this option was not available for the present thesis.
To ensure consistency of findings, I simply attempted the same
content analysis at two different time periods, a variant of the
test-retest method. While this approach lacks the mathematical
rigour of a computerized system, Carney (1972) points out the
following:

> Humans are better at noticing things about word meanings
> than are computerized search procedures. Humans are not
> as fast, maybe, nor as infallible. But they are much
> more sensitive to meaning-in-context. Words of identical
> spelling but radically different meanings, which cause
> computers so much trouble, are no problem. Themes, which
> are so difficult to define to a computer's satisfaction,
> likewise cause a human analyst far fewer problems. (p.201)

Results

Question one asked: "In what manner are refugees referred
to in the newspaper editorials and in the letters to the editor?"
Responses varied across newspapers and time periods. The modal
response (see Appendix One for the list of terms) in The Globe
and Mail (1987) was the neutral term "refugee claimant" (f=6)
with the ratio of positive to negative terms respectively at
12:16 (see Table One for frequencies between newspapers and time
periods). The next most frequently used term was "genuine
refugees" (f=3). The Vancouver Sun for the same time period had
a modal response of "bogus refugees" (f=5), reflecting a strong
negative connotation. Both the phrases "true refugees" and
"phoney refugees" were second most frequent (f=3). The ratio of

positive to negative terms shows a higher proportion of the
latter (13:21) than occurred above.

In 1947, the terms used differed markedly from 1987. The
modal response for The Globe and Mail was the neutral term
"displaced persons" (f=8) followed by the positively skewed terms
"newcomers" (f=3) and "new arrivals" (f=3). Noticeably differing
from 1987, the ratio of positive to negative terms was 20:1.
Similarly, The Vancouver Sun's most frequent term was "displaced
persons" (f=4) followed by "newcomers" (f=3). The ratio in this
case was more evenly divided at 9:6.

Table One demonstrates the overall findings across
newspapers and time periods.

Table 1:  Use of Terms for The Globe and Mail and for The Vancouver
Sun in 1947 and 1987

| COUNT<br>ROW %<br>COLUMN % | The Globe and Mail | | The Vancouver Sun | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1947 | 1987 | 1947 | 1987 |
| Positive | 20<br>62.5%<br>58.8% | 12<br>37.5%<br>28.6% | 9<br>40.9%<br>42.9% | 13<br>59.1%<br>34.2% |
| Neutral | 13<br>48.1%<br>38.2% | 14<br>51.9%<br>33.3% | 6<br>60.0%<br>28.6% | 4<br>40.0%<br>10.5% |
| Negative | 1<br>5.9%<br>2.9% | 16<br>94.1%<br>38.1% | 6<br>22.2%<br>28.6% | 21<br>77.8%<br>55.3% |
| Totals | 34 | 42 | 21 | 38 |

Two Chi Square analyses were performed on these data.  For
The Globe and Mail a significant relationship was found between
"Year" and the "Connotation of the terms" ($X^2$= 14.5), p < .001).
A significant relationship was not found between "Year" and "The

connotation of the terms" for The Vancouver Sun ($X^2$= 4.98, p = .08). A determination of whether there were differences between the number of negative terms used between 1947 and 1987 for each newspaper was also undertaken. A comparison of two binomial proportions for The Globe and Mail revealed a significant difference (z = -3.66, p < .001). A comparison of two binomial proport.ons, between 1947 and 1987 for The Vancouver Sun, was also significant (z = -1.97, p < .05).

Collapsing across newspapers, the differences are as illustrated in Table Two.

Table 2: Table of Combined Editorial Terms

| COUNT ROW % COLUMN % | 1947 | 1987 |
|---|---|---|
| Positive | 29 | 25 |
| | 53.7% | 46.3% |
| | 52.7% | 31.3% |
| Neutral | 19 | 18 |
| | 51.4% | 48.6% |
| | 34.5% | 22.5% |
| Negative | 7 | 37 |
| | 15.9% | 84.1% |
| | 12.7% | 46.3% |
| Totals | 55 | 80 |

The results illustrated in Table Two demonstrate that in 1947 refugees were spoken of in more positive terms than in 1987 (ratio = 29:25), a difference that is significant (z= 2.50, p < .05). Indeed, in 1987 the number of negatively skewed terms were 37 compared to the 7 used in the 1947 period, a difference that is also significant (z = -4.08, p < .00001).

The second question asked: "How many and what sorts of

themes are put forward regarding refugees?" For The Globe and

Mail in 1987 the modal theme was that the of the right of

refugees to a fair hearing and humane treatment (f=9). The

second most common theme was a demand for the government to apply

tighter control and to limit the access of refugees to Canada

(f=7). The themes are as follows in Figure Two.

Figure Two: Themes in The Globe and Mail, 1987

Themes                                              Frequency

- increase general immigration                         1
- increase number of genuine refugees                  4
- must apply tighter control/limit access              7
of refugees
- cease bringing in immigrants and refugees            1
- more energy spent ridding bogus
claims than helping legitimate ones                    1
- right of refugees to a fair hearing/
humane treatment                                       9
- need for fairness in admitting diverse
refugee groups/not just select ones                    1
- change immigration, not refugee laws                 1
- need for other countries to adopt
humane refugee policies                                4
- stem influx of economic refugees                     3
- do not follow U.S. lead in restrictions              2
- economic benefits of refugees to Canada              1

Each editorial and letter was rated, indicating the degree

to which the writer was favourable/unfavourable towards the

acceptance of refugees, according to the following scale:

| very favourable | moderately fav. | neutral | moderately unfav. | very unfavourable |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 1 | 0 | -1 | -2 |

Of the 20 letters and editorials bearing on the issue of

refugees, the following are the ratings: 7 scores of +2; 6

scores of +1; 1 score of 0; 4 scores of -1; and 2 scores of -2.
The mean score equaled 0.60, indicating a slight degree of
favourability.

The Vancouver Sun (1987) showed a different pattern of
themes emerging, with a bimodal response of "the economic burden
of refugees" and "must apply tighter control/limit access of
refugees" (f=4). Figure Three shows the range of themes and the
frequencies with which they occurred.

Figure Three:   The Vancouver Sun, 1987

| Themes | Frequency |
|---|---|
| - economic burden of refugees | 4 |
| - restrict economic refugees | 2 |
| - must apply tighter control/limit access of refugees | 4 |
| - forbid immigration, deport all refugees | 1 |
| - need to restrict refugees who bring their political struggles to Canada | 2 |
| - caution against permitting entrance of South African whites in future | 1 |
| - refugees make contribution to Canada | 1 |
| - right of refugees to a fair hearing/ humane treatment | 2 |
| - need to welcome refugees, whatever their race, color, creed, or place of origin | 1 |
| - need to depoliticize which refugees are permitted entrance | 2 |
| - do not follow U.S. lead in restrictions | 1 |
| - unnecessary refugee restrictions given current need to increase immigration | 1 |
| - need to help refugees being deported from U.S. | 3 |

Of the 13 letters and editorials bearing on the issue of
refugees, the following are the ratings on the favourableness

scale: 3 scores of +2; 1 score of +1; 2 scores of 0; 2 scores of
-1; and 5 scores of -2. The mean score equaled -0.30, indicating
a slightly negative overall response.

In 1947, the pattern of themes differed markedly from that
of 1987. In The Globe and Mail the modal response was "need a
generous immigration policy" (f=10). Both "need for assimilable
immigrants" and "employment benefits of newcomers/need for
skilled workers" had the second highest frequency (f=5). Figure
Four lists the entire sample.

Figure Four: The Globe and Mail, 1947

| Themes | Frequency |
|---|---|
| - need a generous immigration policy | 10 |
| - the gov't is not doing enough to bring in immigrants from Britain/must do more | 3 |
| - need more European immigrants | 3 |
| - difficulties in getting immigrants and refugees to Canada/need to overcome them | 3 |
| - need for general selectivity | 4 |
| - need for racial selectivity (also based on country of origin) | 2 |
| - end racially discriminatory immigration laws/encourage diverse immigration | 3 |
| - need for ideological selectivity | 3 |
| - benefits of anti-Communist DP's | 2 |
| - benefits of anti-Nazi DP's | 1 |
| - need for assimilable immigrants | 5 |
| - Canada as a safe/peaceful haven for DP's | 1 |
| - accepting British immigrants a means to further British colonial influence | 1 |
| - economic benefits of newcomers | 2 |
| - employment benefits of newcomers/need for skilled workers | 5 |
| - no need fo import trained engineers | 1 |
| - concern for loss of workers to U.S. | 3 |
| - government should be more concerned with Canada's workers/not import more | 1 |

Of the 29 letters and editorials bearing on the issue of refugees, the following are the ratings:   17 scores of +2;  5 scores of +1;  2 scores of 0;  4 scores of -1;  and 1 score of -2. The mean score equaled 1.14, which was clearly favourable.

For The Vancouver Sun (1947), a similar blend of themes emerged with a modal response of "need a generous immigration policy" (f=5) followed by "need British immigrants" (f=4). Figure Five lists the themes.

Figure Five:   The Vancouver Sun, 1947

| Themes | Frequency |
|---|---|
| - need a generous immigration policy | 5 |
| - need for a moderately generous immigration policy | 2 |
| - need British immigrants | 4 |
| - need European immigrants | 2 |
| - difficulties in getting immigrants and refugees to Canada/need to overcome them | 2 |
| - need for increasing Canadian consumers/ decreasing export dependency | 3 |
| - concern for loss of workers to U.S. | 1 |
| - workers leaving Canada to their homelands to pursue peace | 1 |
| - need for general selectivity | 2 |
| - need for racial selectivity (also based on country of origin) | 1 |
| - need for assimilable immigrants | 1 |
| - immigrants should not be used to lessen work standards/job pay | 3 |
| - economic benefits of newcomers | 2 |
| - employment benefits of newcomers/need for skilled workers | 3 |

Of the 20 letters and editorials bearing on the issue of refugees, the following are the ratings:   11 scores of +2;  6

scores of +1; 1 score of 0; 1 score of -1; and 0 scores of -2.
The mean score equaled 1.25, indicating markedly favourable
responses overall.

The ratings for each letter and editorial buttress the
evidence found for differences between time periods, with mean
scores of +0.60 and -0.30 for The Globe and Mail and The
Vancouver Sun respectively, in 1987, and scores of +1.14 and
+1.25, in 1947.

The final question posed was:   In what manner do the
editorial headings present refugee issues?   Figure Six lists the
headings according to newspaper and time periods.

Figure Six:   List of Headings

The Globe and Mail/1987
Refugees in waiting
When refugees call
Destination: Canada
Handling refugees
Limiting the access
Coming to Canada
Considering refugees
To identify refugees

The Vancouver Sun/1987
I Shut the back door
I Walk right in
I Heart and head on the refugees
I Misplaced concern

The Globe and Mail/1947
Many are leaving Canada
Strange but true
Indentured labour?
A matter of interpretation
Progress towards justice
Journey's end
The will found the way
Mr. Bevins bold lead
Men and capital from Britain
Sticking to a bad system
Howe high the humiliation !
'Profitable' humanitarianism
The snag dissolves
The vanguard
The power of example

The Vancouver Sun/1947
I Mr. Gardiner's lone voice
I Surplus populations
I Why Canadians emigrate
I New immigration policy
I For a liberal immigration policy
I 250,000 Orientals for B.C.
I A poor twist on sound policy
I No second choices for B.C.
I Mr. Hart. take note!
I The competition will be keen
I 'We ain't seen nuthin' yet'
I Third pick for B.C.?

An examinaton of the headings for 1987 revealed a noticeable difference between editorials in The Globe and Mail and The Vancouver Sun. Of the eight editorial headings in the Globe, seven appeared to be neutral (e.g., "Coming to Canada") and only one had a slightly negative connotation (i.e., "Limiting the access"). In contrast, The Vancouver Sun had only one heading that appeared neutral (i.e., "Heart and head on the refugees") and three with strongly negative connotations (e.g., "Walk right in"). A comparison of the proportions of negative responses revealed a significant difference between the two newspapers in 1987 ($z = -2.17$, $p < .05$).

In 1947, the issue of immigration and the admittance of refugees (or DP's as they were labelled) was addressed more frequently in the editorials. Of the fifteen headings present in The Globe and Mail, eight are positive in regards to the acceptance of refugees (e.g., "Progress towards justice", "Journey's end", and "The will found the way"). Six editorial headings were critical of the government's response (e.g., "Many are leaving Canada", and "Indentured labour?") indicating that more should be done to bring in immigrants.

The Vancouver Sun demonstrated a wider range of editorials headings. Three were positively skewed in favour of immigration (i.e., "For a liberal immigration policy", "The competition will be keen", and "'We ain't seen nuthin' yet'"). Two were critical of the Federal government for not bringing in more immigrants (i.e., "Mr. Gardiner's lone voice" and "Why Canadians emigrate").

Five demonstrated concern for which type of immigrant British
Columbia would receive (e.g., "Surplus population" and "250,000
Orientals for B.C.") and criticism of the government in this
regard.  One editorial appeared neutral on the subject (i.e.,
"New immigration policy").  A comparison of the proportion of
positive responses between the two newspapers in 1947 did not
reveal a significant difference (z = 1.49, p > .05) despite the
obvious trends that appeared (i.e., 8/15 positive for The Globe
and Mail and only 3/12 for The Vancouver Sun), perhaps because of
the small sample size.

Discussion and Conclusion

The various terms and phrases used to describe refugees
provide ample evidence of the diversity of public opinion on the
issues connected to refugee entrance and resettlement.  The
question "In what manner are refugees referred to in the
newspaper editorials and in the letters to the editor?" revealed
an overall trend, in 1987, to negatively viewing refugees.
Phrases such as "economic opportunists" and "economic migrants"
occurred indicating concern for the economic impact of refugees
on the economy.  However, the vast majority of the negative terms
simply pointed to the desire to enforce tighter restrictions on
refugees (e.g.. "unwanted aliens", "phonies", and "those who
merely wish to jump the queue").  Evidence was therefore strong
in 1987 for the existence of public pressure to further limit
(filter) the entrance of refugees, with specific concerns
relating to refugees economic motivations.

In 1987, the number of positive terms was very similar
across The Globe and Mail and The Vancouver Sun, however, the
latter paper was more frequently negative. This trend
demonstrated the regional differences of public sentiment, with
the west expressing greater concern for the economic impact of
refugees on their communities. These regional differences were
validated across the three questions and the two time periods, as
is shown below.

There was clearly a different tone to the debate in 1947,
with terms such as "newcomers" and "new arrivals" occurring
frequently. Concerns still centered on the effect of displaced
persons and refugees on the economy, however, in this time period
it was more generally believed that the "newcomers" would be an
asset. Terms such as "consumers", "skilled workers",
"reinforcements", and "customers" were used. This finding
confirms the presence of a mixed message that the public sends to
refugees, as posited in the model. Having screened out Jewish
refugees prior to and during the war, based on the perception
that their motives were primarily economic, the public then began
expressing strongly the need for economically adaptable Western
European immigrants and refugees shortly after the war.

Overall, the public and the media referred to refugees more
positively in 1947 than in 1987 (see Table 2). Notably, the
period in 1947 produced considerably less negative phrases (n=7)
than occurred in 1987 (n=37), confirming the contextual basis of
the public's mixed message. This evidence suggests that the

public may view the presence of new Canadians more positively in times of demographic need; more importantly, however, they view them less negatively. Relative to the model presented, the fear and ambivalence of the host public may recede as their own needs are seen as being tied to the influx of newcomers.

Further evidence in support of the model may be found in 1947 with frequent references to refugees of preferable national and racial origin. For example, phrases such as "worthy Europeans", "right type of settler", and "best blood available" occurred. While the model makes distinctions between racial and economic filtering processes, the present finding appears to tie the two together. That is, in attracting refugees to Canada to aid the economy, the public was also indicating that only certain racial and national groups would better the economy. Implicitly, therefore, other less desirable groups were seen as having a deleterious effect on the economic future of Canada.

Regional differences were again apparent with The Vancouver Sun containing a higher number of phrases that were concerned with the racial origins of immigrants and refugees than were contained in The Globe and Mail. In the latter paper there were phrases such as "worthy Europeans" and "thousands of foreigners", however, the former made reference to "the cream", "best blood available", and "transported coolies". These more blatantly racial terms indicated the presence of strong racial biases in public sentiment that would have undoubtedly affected the filtering process.

Beginning from this base of information, substantial support for the model may be found in the results of Question Two: "How many and what sorts of themes are put forward regarding refugees?" In 1987, themes emerged in The Globe and Mail indicating both the desire for fair treatment of refugees as well as for the application of tighter limits on the access of refugees to Canada. The results from The Vancouver Sun showed a different pattern with the demand for tighter control equalling in emphasis that of "the economic burden of refugees." These results validate the regional differences found above. Clearly, public perception in the west is much more sensitive to the economic impact of refugees than in central and eastern Canada.

Across newspapers in 1987, there were themes covering the spectrum from advocating a very generous refugee policy to advocating that no refugees should be permitted entrance to Canada. There appeared in The Globe several instances of the need for other countries to adopt humane policies and in both papers there were calls to help refugees who faced deportation from the U.S.

Also, The Vancouver Sun contained two instances where the need to depoliticize which refugees were permitted entrance was argued and two instances indicating the desire to restrict refugees who bring their political struggles to Canada. The presence of these themes in the west provides some confirmatory evidence for the model, in that the tension between offering refuge to refugees irrespective of their political origins and

restricting refugees who bring their political struggles to
Canada is demonstrated.

The desire to have increased immigration in 1947 differed
from the call fcr increased restrictions in 1987, yet many of the
issues remained consistent over time (see Figure Four and Figure
Five). Evidence in support of the model was apparent in that
even though higher immigration quotas were generally advocated,
there were numerous calls for racial selectivity in bringing
newcomers to Canada. Both newspapers emphasized the need for
European workers generally, and for British workers specifically.
They also contained calls for racial selectivity although The
Globe also had three instances where there were themes advocating
an end to racially discriminatory immigration laws.

The Globe and Mail had several calls for ideological
selectivity as well as consistent themes arguing the benefits of
anti-communist and anti-Nazi immigrants. Consonant with the
model presented, The Globe also had five instances where the
theme "need for assimilable immigrants" occurred. In The
Vancouver Sun there were no arguments for ideological
restrictions and only one instance where the need for assimilable
immigrants was advanced. These findings provide some support for
the link between the ideological filter and assimilationist
pressures. The Vancouver Sun had a theme emerge, in three
instances, that immigrants not be used to lessen work standards
and wages, an area of concern not expressed in The Globe. These
findings appear to indicate a greater concern for ideological

purity in the eastern and central part of Canada than in the west while the latter was more concerned with maintaining economic stability. Again, these findings validate the presence of strong regional differences.

A set of editorials that appeared in one issue of The Globe in 1947 further indicates that regional differences occurred, in this case between Quebec and the rest of Canada. In the editorials, translated from the French language press in Quebec, the argument was put forward that the importation of British civilians was a means to increase British colonial influence.

Examination of the editorial headings again confirms the need for historical and contextual sensitivity in interpretation. For the question, "In what manner do the editorial headings present refugee issues?", differences across newspapers and time periods were found as was general support for the model. In 1987, The Globe and Mail headings were generally neutral while The Vancouver Sun had a majority that were quite negative in connotation. These negative headings all centered on the desire for tighter restrictions. providing general evidence of public pressure that influences the filtering process. Additionally, the more frequent call for limiting access came from the west which validates the regional differences found above.

For 1947, The Globe and Mail headings focused on the need to break down restrictions and were critical of the government in not doing so. The Vancouver Sun had a more diverse range of headings reflecting the concerns expressed in The Globe headings

as well as concern over the racial origins of immigrants to be permitted entrance. The racial bias of the western paper was most evident in the heading: "250,000 Orientals for B.C." Regional differences were therefore apparent in 1947 as well as in 1987.

The content analysis provides substantial support for the model presented, although due to methodological constraints as well as the ambitious scope of the theory presented, conclusions must remain tentative. Limitations of the present methodology should be noted. First, there were time constraints in terms of the number of months analyzed. A broader period of time may have revealed contradictory patterns of results but may also have provided more conclusive evidence for the model. Second, as the findings of the present analysis have strongly demonstrated, there are numerous differences across geographic areas in Canada. An examination of the French language press in Quebec would have undoubtedly revealed further variations on the themes presented, as the brief reference in The Globe and Mail noted (see p.68 above). Furthermore, although The Globe and Mail is advertised as "Canada's national newspaper" and distributed throughout, an analysis that included a newspaper exclusively from the Eastern provinces may have presented a further variant of the themes put forward. Third, by restricting the method of data collection to content analysis, other available means of gathering information were not employed. For example, oral histories of refugees who resettled at different periods in the last several decades, and

across various regions, would provide rich material for further
study, as would reports from resettlement personnel.

## PART FOUR

### Conclusion

The content analysis provided substantial evidence in
support of both the historical trends in Canadian refugee policy
and the model presented. In this final section, I will summarize
these trends within a framework of the four sections of the
model, I will summarize further developments that should be
considered in the model, and I will present some general
considerations for action that arise from a community psychology
perspective. In keeping within the framework that examines the
mental health issues pertaining to refugees within a context of
the politics of exile, suggestions will be made for intervention
both at the micro-level and at the macro-level.

The content analysis provided some evidence for the
historical presence of assimilationist pressures in Canada that
were connected to the ideological filtering process. Certainly
the call for permitting only "assimilable" displaced persons into
Canada provides evidence of this notion. Particularly in eastern
and central Canada after World War II, there were numerous calls
for permitting the entrance of anti-Nazi and anti-communist
individuals.

There was less clear evidence of these pressures in 1987,
probably because of a substantially decreased public perception
of threat from these forces. This possibility notwithstanding,

the link presented between assimilationist pressures and the ideology of refugees appears to be the most tenuous of the four presented in the model. Assimilationist pressures probably extend across racial, economic, political, and ideological factors, while the latter may be more closely linked to simple political pressures. Nonetheless, the necessity of an ideological filtering process that contributes to the oppression of people, by restricting the entrance of refugees who maintain socialist or communist ideologies, must be called into question. Certainly individuals who hold these beliefs and are able to resettle in Canada face more difficult adjustment than those who accept the prevailing ideology.

Several implications for community psychology may be suggested from this analysis. At the micro-level, the provision of culturally sensitive counselling services as well as the support of ethnic community support systems should be encouraged. Education of host communities regarding the culture of incoming refugee groups should also be a priority in order to demystify the needs of the newcomers and to allay host fears of changes that may result in their communities.

At the macro-level, the continued pursuit of multicultural equality is consonant with the Community Psychology principle of respect for cultural diversity and pluralism. This allows for refugees to integrate comfortably with the host population, at their own individually determined level, rather than being coercively assimilated at the group level. Furthermore,

multicultural equality should be extended to ideological
tolerance. That is, community work could center on ending the
oppression of Third World people generally, and refugees
specifically, who do not fit within our own ideological belief
systems. We must change our own ideology to one that accepts and
tolerates others that differ, as no people should be considered
expendable.

Strong evidence of the racial biases in Canada's earlier
immigration and refugee policies was apparent in the context of
the 1947 debate regarding how many and which types of refugees
would be permitted entrance. There were blatant calls for racial
selectivity, favouring European and British newcomers. These
attitudes were particularly strong in the  st, as exemplified by
the editorial heading "250,000 Orientals fox B.C." (see pp. 62,63
above), where the lingering disenfranchisement of the Japanese as
a result of war-time policies was still present. Quebec provided
the only substantial difference in this regard, with concern
being expressed that the importation of more British citizens
would further threaten the French identity.

Racially selective attitudes persisted up to 1987, although
in more muted tones. There was evidence in this more recent time
period of the existence of "genteel" and moderate racism which
underlied the call for increased restrictions. For refugees
suffering the negative effects of involuntary dislocation, the
necessity of having to remain on guard against racial
discrimination may overwhelm their ability to cope. In terms of

the model presented, strong support for this oppressive
circumstance was found.

The implications of continued negative racial attitudes for
community psychology are similar to those outlined above.
Micro-level counselling that seeks to undo the "victim-blaming"
by the host population is certainly a beginning. However, it
must be combined with efforts to present the positive
opportunities that Canada's multicultural policies offer. For
example, advocacy with and on behalf of ethnic minorities to have
their concerns and aspirations reflected within the predominant
media will be beneficial. Schools and the broader education
system should make greater use of socio-psychological principles
to change negative racial attitudes. Perhaps most importantly,
government and corporate policies that seek to end institutional
racism within the workplace are a necessity, particularly toward
ending the discriminatory hiring practices of many employers
(Equality Now, 1984).

Supportive evidence of the economic filter and the
employment difficulties of newcomers was found in the content
analysis. The frequent calls for placing greater restrictions on
refugees based on their perceived economic motives was prevalent
in 1987. These calls differed from that of 1947, when there was
widespread public support for more refugees. Interestingly, the
1947 data revealed more frequent positive portrayals of refugees
than in 1987 but the greater difference between time periods was
in terms of the fewer negative portrayals of refugees in 1947.

That is, the host public viewed refugees in far less negative terms in 1947, as the hosts needs were seen as converging with that of the newcomers. Furthermore, in 1947 refugees were predominantly European while in 1987 they were mostly non-European, indicating that the economic factor was confounded with the racial factor. Again there were regional differences that surfaced, with the west expressing concern that refugees not lower their work standards nor their wages.

Solutions at the macro-economic level must begin with an understanding that only with an alleviation of the severe disparities in the international economy will the tide of economic migrants and refugees be stemmed, as has been recognized for some time (Dean, 1939). Additionally, a legal obligation of states to bear the financial burden for the refugee populations they create when engaging in power politics would both deter violence as a means of conflict resolution and would provide for the people that are forced to depart when violent conflicts arise (Garvey, 1985). For refugees who are resettled, root solutions must entail removing macroeconomic elements such as unemployment that overwhelm individuals' coping responses (Cahill, 1983). At the micro-level, vocational and language training programs that are integrated into the workplaces of refugees would be beneficial in allowing for greater social mobility. Addressing the needs of women refugees who choose to stay at home by offering locally sponsored programs designed for their needs (e.g., including inexpensive day care facilities) is also a

necessity.

Limited evidence for the fourth factor in the model was found. In 1987, the tension between the call for a depoliticized refugee determination process and the desire to restrict refugees who bring their political struggles to Canada surfaced in the west. There were also calls to separate Canada's refugee policy from that of the U.S., given the latter country's move to increased restrictions. While the general public may maintain a moderate interest in seeing the end to political oppression in the world, they clearly do not want the battles to be fought in their own country. Some members of the public carry this fear to the point of not wanting any demonstrations against oppressive regimes to occur in their communities.

As indicated in the model, while the host community's desire to remain outside of any factional disputes that occur in other parts of the world is understandable, if carried to far, it may run counter to refugees' psychological needs. For this reason, micro-level considerations should include therapy in which the humiliation and anger associated with persecution can be expressed and overcome. At the macro-level, the political expression against persecuters should be seen as positive to the extent that it stays within the bounds of domestic and international law. It should also be engaged in with the full realization of its potential negative effects on the attitudes of the host community. Were the expressions of hostility toward the persecuters done in such a way as to frighten and anger the host

population, the backlash would not serve to further either the refugees' needs or that of the wider community.

Overall, then, support for the model was established. However, future application of the model must include greater sensitivity to the regional differences that occur across Canada. The interconnectedness of the four factors in the model should also receive more emphasis, as substantial overlap appears to have occurred. Clearly, Canada's refugee policy must be understood within its historical context, with ideological, racial, economic, and international factors influencing the direction of policy in different ways across time periods and regions. With a clearer understanding of the public pressures that pattern these trends, humane responses to the mental health needs of resettled refugees can occur.

Epilogue - Future application of the model

Future applications of the model will include a test of its fit to the new refugee determination process in Canada. With the government delegating responsibility to quasi-independent judicial boards who determine which refugees are genuine among the ones arriving in Canada, the process may be de-politicized somewhat. Note, however, that this change will not effect which refugees are chosen by the government to be brought to Canada, making the model no less applicable to understanding the filtering and resettlement issues of these refugees.

A direct application will also occur in relation to the author's work with a local multicultural housing co-operative.

Ten housing units have been set aside as transitional housing for refugees when they first arrive in Canada. The various ethnic groups who are in the co-op will then assist in the adjustment process, including the provision of social support for the refugees emotional and tangible needs. It would be hypothesized that given these opportunities for ethnic solidarity and for networking to find suitable long-term housing and employment, refugees would experience reduced acculturative stress compared to refugees who are simply lodged and isolated in a hotel, as occurs presently.

Most importantly, the model provides a strong analytical tool to assess regional differences in reception factors. For example, the comparative responses of British Columbia and Central Canada to Japanese Canadian citizens following World War II . This suggests that host country reception factors must be examined on a regional basis to be meaningful. As a community-oriented psychologist, I have an interest in developing a broader data base of reception factors across the various regions of Canada. It would then be possible to develop diverse social intervention strategies sensitive to regional differences which may be uncovered.

ENDNOTES

1.   where U.S. President Ronald Reagan recently approved "a $13.8 million shipment of 20,000 U.S. made M-16 rifles to the Guatemalan Army" (Toronto Guatemala Solidarity Committee, 1989, unpaginated).

2.   which receives more than $1 million a day in U.S. aid (Goodspeed, 1989).

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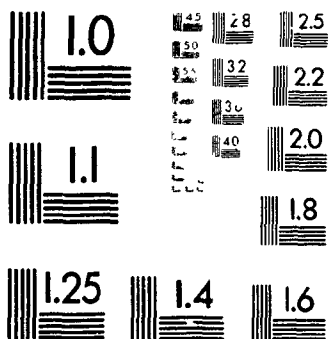
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APPENDIX A

Map of Refugees in the World. 1987 (source: U.'HCR. cited in The
Globe and Mail. F⁻ᵔ. 7. ₁987. p.D3) including a Table of the Top
Ten Western Resettlement Countries from 1975 to 1987 (source:
UNHCR. cited in The Toronto Star. Dec.31. 1988. p.A8).
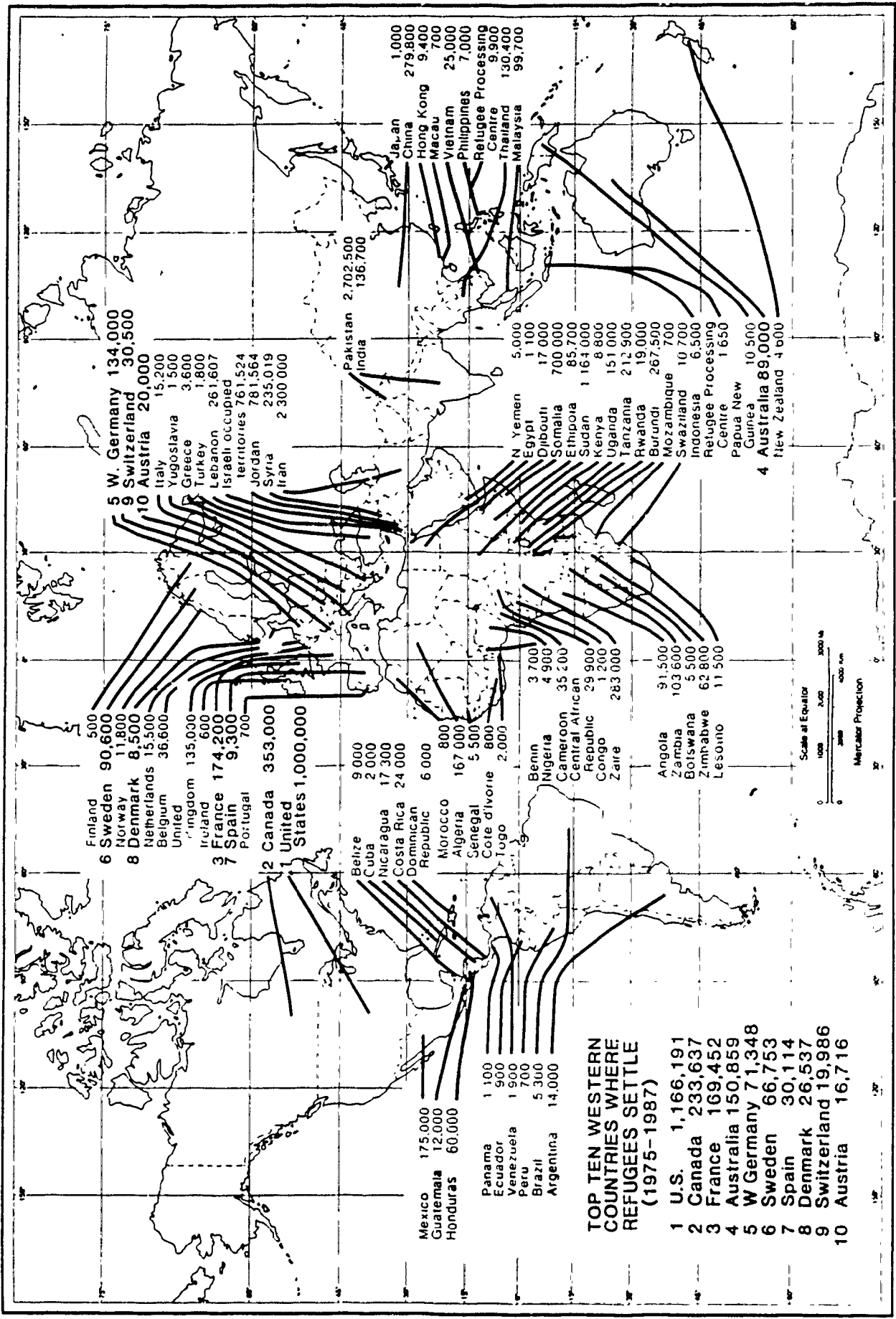
**TOP TEN WESTERN COUNTRIES WHERE REFUGEES SETTLE (1975–1987)**

1 U.S. 1,166,191
2 Canada 233,637
3 France 169,452
4 Australia 150,859
5 W Germany 71,348
6 Sweden 66,753
7 Spain 30,114
8 Denmark 26,537
9 Switzerland 19,986
10 Austria 16,716

Finland 500
6 Sweden 90,600
Norway 11,800
8 Denmark 8,500
Netherlands 15,500
Belgium 36,600
United Kingdom 135,000
Ireland 600
3 France 174,200
7 Spain 9,300
Portugal 700
2 Canada 353,000
1 United States 1,000,000

5 W. Germany 134,000
9 Switzerland 30,500
10 Austria 20,000
Italy 15,200
Yugoslavia 1,500
Greece 3,600
Turkey 1,800
Lebanon 261,607
Israeli occupied territories 761,524
Jordan 781,564
Syria 235,019
Iran 2,300,000

Pakistan 2,702,500
India 136,700

Mexico 175,000
Guatemala 12,000
Honduras 60,000

Panama 1,100
Ecuador 900
Venezuela 1,900
Peru 700
Brazil 5,300
Argentina 14,000

Belize 9,000
Cuba 2,000
Nicaragua 17,300
Costa Rica 24,000
Dominican Republic 6,000

Morocco 800
Algeria 167,000
Senegal 5,500
Cote d'ivoire 800
Togo 2,000

Benin 3,700
Nigeria 4,900
Cameroon 35,200
Central African Republic 29,900
Congo 1,200
Zaire 283,000

N Yemen 5,000
Egypt 1,100
Djibouti 17,000
Somalia 700,000
Ethiopia 85,700
Sudan 1,164,000
Kenya 8,800
Uganda 151,000
Tanzania 212,900
Rwanda 19,000
Burundi 267,500
Mozambique 700
Swaziland 10,700
Indonesia 6,500
Refugee Processing Centre 1650
Papua New Guinea 10,500
4 Australia 89,000
New Zealand 4,600

Angola 91,500
Zambia 103,600
Botswana 5,500
Zimbabwe 62,800
Lesotho 11,500

Japan 1,000
China 279,800
Hong Kong 9,400
Macau 700
Vietnam 25,000
Philippines 7,000
Refugee Processing Centre 9,900
Thailand 130,400
Malaysia 99,700

Scale at Equator
1000  km
Mercator Projection

APPENDIX B

Terms Used to Refer to Refugees in the Newspaper

Editorials and Letters to the Editor

In what manner are refugees referred to in the newspaper editorials and in the letters to the editor?

## The Globe and Mail / 1987

| List | Frequency | Positive (1); Neutral (2); or Negative (3). |
|------|-----------|------------------------------------------|
| unfortunates | 1 | 1 |
| abusers | 1 | 3 |
| unwanted aliens | 1 | 3 |
| legitimate refugees | 1 | 1 |
| bogus refugees | 1 | 3 |
| bogus claimants | 1 | 3 |
| bogus groups | 1 | 3 |
| refugee claimant(s) | 6 | 2 |
| political refugees | 1 | 2 |
| genuine refugee(s) | 3 | 1 |
| claimants | 2 | 2 |
| false claimants | 1 | 3 |
| genuine claimants | 1 | 1 |
| cheaters | 1 | 3 |
| asylum seekers | 1 | 2 |
| clients | 1 | 2 |
| so-called economic refugees | 1 | 1 |
| those who desperately need a new home | 1 | 1 |
| those who advance conterfeit claims | 1 | 3 |
| queue jumpers | 1 | 3 |
| needy exiles | 1 | 1 |
| economic migrants | 1 | 3 |
| those claiming refugee status | 1 | 2 |
| hapless boat people | 1 | 1 |
| human contraband | 1 | 3 |
| illegal migrants | 1 | 3 |
| economic opportunists | 1 | 3 |
| those who claim asylum | 1 | 2 |
| counterfeit claimants | 1 | 3 |
| exiles | 1 | 2 |
| human cargo | 1 | 3 |
| victims of violence | 1 | 1 |
| those who are fleeing | 1 | 1 |
| those whose lives are not threatened | 1 | 3 |

The ratio of Positive/Neutral/Negative terms for the above is 12:14:16.

The Vancouver Sun / 1987

| List | Frequency | Positive (1); Neutral (2); Negative (3). |
|------|-----------|------------------------------------------|
| bogus refugees | 5 | 3 |
| lost soul | 1 | 1 |
| phoney refugee claimants | 1 | 3 |
| true refugees | 3 | 1 |
| those who are not | 1 | 3 |
| those who clearly abused | 1 | 3 |
| so called refugees | 2 | 3 |
| opportunists | 1 | 3 |
| illegal refurees | 2 | 3 |
| fully integrated citizens | 1 | 1 |
| those fleeing from persecution | 1 | 1 |
| genuine refugees | 2 | 1 |
| human beings | 1 | 1 |
| those who merely wish to jump the queue | 1 | 3 |
| refugee claimants | 3 | 3 |
| phoney refugees | 2 | 3 |
| phonies | 1 | 3 |
| those genuinely seeking a refuge | 1 | 1 |
| those seeking refugee status | 1 | 2 |
| those who must wait | 1 | 2 |
| displaced people | 1 | 2 |
| victims | 1 | 1 |
| illegal immigrants | 1 | 3 |
| legitimate asylum seekers | 1 | 1 |
| legitimate refugees | 1 | 1 |
| citizens | 1 | 1 |
| those seeking refugee status | 1 | 2 |
| those who will make a valuable contribution | 1 | 1 |

The ratio of Positive/Neutral/Negative terms for the above is 13:4:21.

## The Globe and Mail / 1947

| List | Frequency | Positive (1); Neutral (2); or Negative (3). |
|------|-----------|---------------------------------------------|
| indentured labour | 1 | 3 |
| worthy Europeans | 1 | 1 |
| displaced persons | 8 | 2 |
| newcomers | 3 | 1 |
| new arrivals | 3 | 1 |
| consumers | 1 | 1 |
| quiet, thankful people | 1 | 1 |
| forerunners of many more | 1 | 2 |
| thousands of foreigners | 1 | 2 |
| certain people of doubtful views | 1 | 1 |
| new citizens | 2 | 1 |
| skilled workers | 2 | 1 |
| those who voluntarily seek new careers abroad | 1 | 1 |
| would-be immigrants | 1 | 2 |
| desirable immigrants | 1 | 1 |
| alien immigrants | 1 | 2 |
| reinforcements | 1 | 1 |
| homeless and unhappy group | 1 | 1 |
| victims of circumstances | 1 | 1 |
| DP's | 1 | 2 |
| so-called "foreigners" | 1 | 1 |

The ratio of Positive/Neutral/Negative terms for the above is 20:13:1.

The Vancouver Sun / 1947

| List | Frequency | Positive (1); Neutral (2); or Negative (3). |
|------|-----------|---------------------------------------------|
| displaced persons | 4 | 2 |
| those with relatives | 1 | 2 |
| customers | 1 | 1 |
| newcomers | 3 | 1 |
| the cream | 1 | 1 |
| foreigner(s) | 2 | 3 |
| slave labour | 1 | 3 |
| right type of settler | 1 | 1 |
| indentured labour | 1 | 3 |
| bona fide immigrants | 1 | 1 |
| transported coolies | 1 | 3 |
| unhappy refugees | 1 | 3 |
| best blood available | 1 | 1 |
| would-be immigrants | 1 | 2 |
| very carefully selected immigrants | 1 | 1 |

The ratio of Positive/Neutral/Negative terms for the above is 9:6:6.