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University of Alberta

The Integration of Refugee Youth in Canada

By

Lori A. Wilkinson

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy

Department of Sociology

Edmonton, Alberta
Spring 2001

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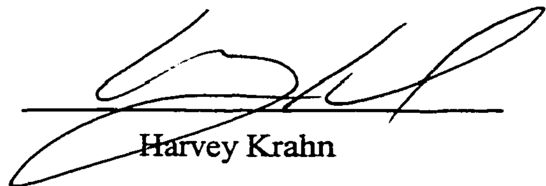

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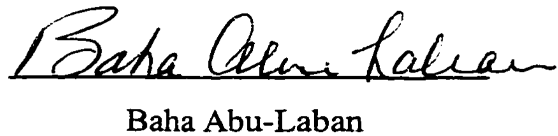

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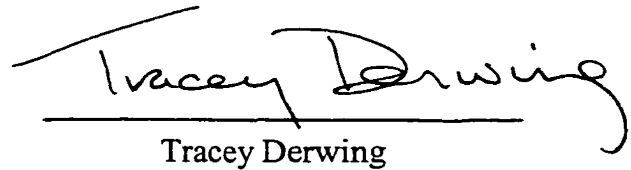

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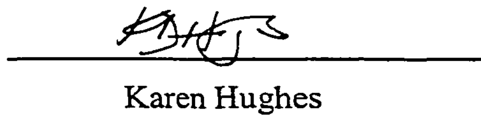

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Abstract

The central question asked in this study is "how well do refugee youth integrate into Canadian society?" The study examines the experiences of 91 refugee youth who arrived in Alberta between 1992 and 1997, focusing on their subjective experiences of integration, their educational performance, and their occupational aspirations. To provide context for this study, research literatures on integration, immigration, race and ethnic relations, the sociology of education, and citizenship, broadly defined, are discussed. Taken together, they provide a fuller understanding of the complex process of integration of refugee youth into Canadian society. This study presents a number of unique and sometimes unexpected findings. First, in terms of their subjective assessments of integration, refugee youth appear to be more integrated than the relevant literature suggests. For example, three-quarters of refugee youth state that they feel like "real" Canadians. Even so, just over 70% of refugee youth indicate that keeping their heritage culture is important to them, suggesting that their integration is best understood within a multiculturalism framework. Second, the majority of refugee youth are relatively successful in the Canadian education system. Despite the fact that 40% of refugee youth were placed in grades too low for their age when they arrived in Canada, most were able to "catch up" within a short time. Furthermore, over half of refugee youth were on-track for post-secondary education, should they choose to go. Third, the occupational aspirations of refugee youth are comparable to those of Canadian-born youth, suggesting that, in this sense, integration has also occurred. A number of the factors (e.g., family socioeconomic status) typically found to influence educational success and occupational aspirations among Canadian-born youth appear

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to be of less importance for refugee youth. Furthermore, the traumatic experiences of being a refugee (e.g., having spent time in a refugee camp) do not have as large an effect as we might expect. However, the study does show that Yugoslavian refugee youth generally perform better in the education system than do youth from other countries.

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Chapter 1: Refugee Youth in the International and Canadian Context

> *Seventy per cent of Angolan children have witnessed a murder, almost half the children of Sarajevo were shot at by snipers during the Bosnian war, and in Sudan, guerrillas use youngsters to clear paths through minefields. During Liberia's civil war, a third of the rebel force was under the age of 16. Children as young as five have fought in Sierra Leone, armed with automatic weapons and sucking on alcohol-laced popsicles to steel their nerves. In Liberia, after the civil war, many children moved into civilian life as street thugs and criminals. Others who fled to the sanctuary of Guinea soon became bored with their suddenly peaceable life and returned to the war for excitement. Soldiers are what they are, and war is what they know.* (Bell, 2000)

Introduction

Refugee youth are a largely unknown group in Canada. There is very little research about their lives once they resettle in their new home. Research on refugees tends to focus on adults and their economic situation and language acquisition, or on children and the psychological problems associated with war and trauma. What the public learns about refugee youth is frequently tainted by biased news reports, uninformed politicians, and armchair social reformers exaggerating the *refugee threat*.

For example, reports of a professional drug ring luring youth from Honduras to Vancouver surfaced in late July 1998. It was reported that as many as one hundred Honduran children had been smuggled to Canada from Honduras and were being used as indentured street corner crack dealers (*Vancouver Province*, 1998: A1). In November of the same year, a 32 year old man, Freddas (Jim) Bwabwa, was murdered by a gang of young Tamil refugees. The man was attempting to break up a fight among the gang members (*Maclean's Magazine*, 1998). The media portrayal of the murder was one of good refugees (Bwabwa) versus immoral youth refugees (Tamil

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youth gang). Media reports such as these conjure up images of criminal refugee youth running wild in Canadian cities.

Adding to this moral panic are reports of bogus refugee claims by convicted criminals. An example of exaggerated claims on the part of the media is the public response in 1999 to the clandestine arrival on Canada's west coast of five boats carrying refugee claimants from Fujian province, China. Refugee-bashing continues to be fashionable. The National Post put these xenophobic feelings succinctly in a recent editorial:

> Indeed, Canada's attitude toward asylum seekers, as this newspaper has argued, is, if anything, too generous; our reputation for open arms no doubt contributed to the shiploads of bogus refugees that arrived on our shores last summer (*The National Post,* August 31, 2000).

Articles like this not only create intolerance towards newcomers, but they also perpetuate stereotypes of refugees as invaders who drain our social welfare system and create havoc in our streets. Calls to end or significantly reduce the entrance of refugees are not limited to Canada. British Home Secretary Jack Straw stated earlier this year that the United Nations Convention for the Protection of Refugees is "too broad for the 21st century," and made the case that member countries of the European Union (EU) should agree on new ways to interpret it (Collacott, 2000). Furthermore, the EU is set to harmonize national policies to stem the "tide" of refugees entering Europe (Edminster, 2000: 54). Already, countries such as Germany have taken measures to reduce the number of refugees crossing their borders.

While negative accounts are easy to find, there are many fewer successful refugee stories in the media. One positive example is that of 26 year old Daniel Igali, a refugee who came to Canada from Nigeria six years ago. He won an Olympic gold medal for Canada in free-style wrestling in the summer of 2000. Interestingly, in the many news stories I read about his performance, only one referred to him as a former refugee. Despite such one-sided reporting of events, most refugees to Canada are law-abiding,

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self-supporting citizens. Preliminary research suggests that their reliance on welfare and other types of social assistance is well below that of native-born Canadians (Lui-Gurr, 1995: 128), and that their rates of criminality and incarceration are much lower than the rates for Canadian-born individuals or immigrants (Yaeger, 1996: 6; Thomas, 1993).

While my dissertation is not an investigation of the media portrayal of refugee youth or of refugees in general, its intention is to provide a more accurate description of refugee youth in Canada. The central research question addressed here is the following: *how well do refugee youth integrate into Canadian society?*

Data for this research were gathered in the summer of 1998 via structured interviews with 91 refugee youth in seven urban centres across Alberta. These interviews were part of a larger study conducted by researchers at the University of Alberta entitled "The Resettlement of Refugees in Alberta" (Abu-Laban, Derwing, Krahn, Mulder and Wilkinson, 1999). The object of the larger study was to explore the settlement experience of refugees who had been destined to small urban centres in the province from 1992 to 1997. Anecdotal evidence suggested that many refugees do not complete their first year of settlement in such communities, preferring to move to larger centres. Hence, the main question addressed by that study was *why do some refugees stay in rural communities in Alberta while others do not?* The research was designed to assist immigration officials in deciding whether it made sense to send refugees to cities other than Edmonton and Calgary. However, the study also provided a unique opportunity to examine the integration of refugees into Canadian society.

The youth survey component of the project was developed in recognition of the fact that resettlement and integration experiences of refugee youth would be markedly different from those of their parents. Thus, the youth survey also addressed the themes of school-to-work transitions, occupational aspirations, and other more youth-specific topics.

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Before discussing these themes, a broader examination of the global refugee situation is called for. The next section of this chapter examines the experiences of refugees in a global context, before returning to the topic of refugee youth in Canada.

Canada's Response to the World Refugee Crisis

Estimates of the number of refugees worldwide vary, depending on the source, from 13 million per year (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998:40), to 14 million (U.S. Committee for Refugees, 2000: 3), to highs of 21,459,550[1] (UNHCR, 1999) as of 1999. The numbers provided by Canada and the United States do not include the millions of people who are in refugee-like situations worldwide. The majority of refugees have fled to camps in Africa, the major source continent of refugees. While Canada and many other affluent countries have a long history of providing protection to refugees and asylum seekers, the number of refugees actually arriving annually in Canada is quite small. In the past two decades, an average of 30,000 refugees per year came to Canada, but this number has decreased in recent years. Tables 1.1 through 1.5 show that between 1992 and 1997, the number of refugees entering the country rarely exceeded 25,000 per year. In 1999, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2000: 52) allowed only 24,367 refugees to enter the country.

The impact of war and the related movement of refugees is immense. Since 1945, there have been 160 wars and armed conflicts, with 22 million deaths and three times as many people injured (Zwi and Ugalde, 1989). There was an average of 9 wars per year during the 1950s, 11 during the 1960s, 14 during the 1970s, and at least 50 per year in the 1980s (Summerfield, 1999: 111). Civilian casualties have also increased dramatically since the Second World War. Five per cent of all casualties during World War I were civilian, 50% of the casualties in World War II were civilian. In the

[1] The UNHCR figures include 11,491,710 refugees (under the UN 1951 Convention), 1,319,020 asylum seekers, 1,907,310 returned refugees (returning to their place of origin in the past two years), 4,935,600 internally displaced persons, 448,100 returned internally displaced persons, and 1,357,810 other groups of concern. The refugees included in this figure are, in terms of the UNHCR, persons who are still in danger of persecution, torture or death, even if they have been repatriated to their country of origin.

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Vietnam war, 80% of the casualties were civilian. Currently, civilian casualties account for 90% of all victims (Summerfield, 1999: 111).

Once in Canada, refugees face a number of bureaucratic obstacles to resettlement. First, there are many regulations governing the settlement of refugees. Refugees may arrive in Canada as members of the convention or designated refugee class, or they may arrive at a port of entry and claim refugee status, in which case they undergo a refugee determination process designed to assess the legitimacy of their claims. In the later case, if an individual's claim is deemed worthy, he/she is allowed to remain in Canada as a refugee. Convention refugees are declared as such by the United Nations *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*. Under this category, Canada accepts individuals who meet a predetermined set of entrance criteria from refugee source countries as defined by the United Nations. Designated class refugee selection is based on Canadian criteria for refugees, which is exclusive of the UN definition. This category includes the Canadian program that identifies women at risk for special consideration as refugees.

For administrative purposes, Citizenship and Immigration Canada further categorizes refugees in terms of the type of sponsorship, either government, private or family-assisted classes. In 1999, 30.5% (N=7,442) of all refugees were admitted to Canada under government sponsorship (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2000: 52). In the same year, privately sponsored refugees accounted for 9.8% (N=2,331) of all refugees entering Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2000: 52). The largest category of refugees declared refugee status upon arrival, accounting for 48.4% of all refugees (N=11,790), while dependents abroad (children of a refugee already in Canada) accounted for 11.5% (N=2,804) of the refugee arrivals in 1999 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2000: 52).

Upon official selection, the Canadian government and numerous non-governmental organizations (NGOs) provide a number of services to newly arrived refugees. Refugees to Canada receive financial assistance for their first year from the federal

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government or from private organizations such as churches or ethnic groups, depending on their category of entrance (government sponsored, privately-sponsored or dependents). Federal government direct financial support can be received for one year in the case of those who do not have sufficient funds to support themselves. A range of settlement services is provided by NGOs, including language training, help finding employment, some job training, help with housing, health, and help with children's schooling.

Refugees are distributed geographically by the federal government. Alberta receives the fourth largest number of refugees in the country. Between 1992 and 1997, refugees to Alberta numbered 9,629, representing 5.9% of all refugees to the country (See Table 1.1). Alberta was fourth behind Ontario (55.8%), Quebec (24.4%), and British Columbia (7.0%). A defining characteristic of refugees is that most are destined to the major metropolitan areas. Toronto received the largest number of refugees (30.4%) between 1993 and 1997,[2] with 38,174 over the six year period (See Table 1.2). Montreal is a distant second, the recipient of 18.1% of all refugees, while Vancouver received 6.2%. Calgary and Edmonton received 2.6% and 2.2% of all refugees, respectively, over this time period, placing the cities in 5th and 7th places. The number of refugees destined to smaller urban centres has been increasing since 1993. In 1995 and 1996, over 8,000 refugees were destined to smaller urban centres across Canada, compared to a low of 5,000 in 1994.

Refugees come to Canada from many different countries. Africa and the Middle East accounted for 32.3% (N=52,464) of all refugees between 1992 and 1997 (see Table 1.3). The next largest source of refugees is Asia and the Pacific at 30.0% (N=48,666), and Europe at 27.1% (N=44,073). In terms of source country, since 1993, former Yugoslavia has been the number one source of refugees. In the years between 1992 and 1997, former Yugoslavia accounted for 23,706 refugees (14.6%) (see Table 1.4). Other top countries of origin include Sri Lanka (14.2%), the Democratic Republic of Somalia (6.1%), Iran (5.6%), Iraq (5.5%), Afghanistan (3.7%), Vietnam (3.5%),

[2] Data for refugees to large metropolitan centres in 1992 are not available.

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Table 1.1
Refugees to Canada by Province of Landing, 1992-1997

	Total (1992-1997)		1997	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992
	N	%						
Newfoundland	1,186	0.7%	133	165	208	224	236	220
Prince Edward Island	324	0.2%	63	67	61	64	41	28
Nova Scotia	1,198	0.7%	211	229	223	173	186	176
New Brunswick	851	0.5%	150	191	174	138	103	95
Quebec	39,606	24.4%	7,654	8,896	6,113	4,453	5,637	6,853
Ontario	90,637	55.8%	11,594	14,139	16,656	11,073	14,335	22,840
Manitoba	4,266	2.6%	620	663	666	582	687	1,048
Saskatchewan	3,132	1.9%	553	549	575	515	372	568
Alberta	**9,629**	**5.9%**	**1,156**	**1,345**	**1,451**	**1,622**	**1,635**	**2,420**
Northwest Territories	13	0.0%		3			10	0
British Columbia	11,380	7.0%	1,989	2,318	1,874	1,540	1,300	2,359
Yukon	15	0.0%	1	2	8	2	1	1
Unknown	79	0.0%	6	44	11	18		
Total	162,316	100.0%	24,130	28,611	28,020	20,404	24,543	36,608

Sources:
Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1994) *Facts and Figures: Overview of Immigration*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services; Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1997) *Facts and Figures: Overview of Immigration* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada; Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2000) *Facts and Figures: Overview of Immigration*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Table 1.2
Refugees to Canada by City of Destination, 1993-1997

	Total (1993-1997)		1997	1996	1995	1994	1993
	N	%					
Halifax	771	0.6%	207	193	207	164	
Montreal	22,808	18.1%	5,599	6,249	3,674	2,877	4,409
Quebec City	2,038	1.6%	509	457	593	479	
Toronto	38,174	30.4%	7,998	7,445	9,646	5,978	7,107
Hamilton	1,334	1.1%	362	417	320	235	
Ottawa/Carleton	5,958	4.7%	1,157	1,153	1,002	1,180	1,466
London	2,689	2.1%	469	534	530	592	564
Winnipeg	3,030	2.4%	605	585	635	571	634
Regina	826	0.7%	204	198	224	200	
Saskatoon	993	0.8%	243	224	267	259	
Edmonton	**2,743**	**2.2%**	**404**	**402**	**516**	**721**	**700**
Calgary	**3,240**	**2.6%**	**554**	**665**	**671**	**670**	**680**
Vancouver	7,784	6.2%	1,714	1,996	1,608	1,388	1,078
Victoria	150	0.1%	24	28	57	41	
Smaller urban centres	33,170	26.4%	4,075	8,065	8,070	5,049	7,911
Unknown	6	0.0%	6				
Total	125,714	100.0%	24,130	28,611	28,020	20,404	24,549

Note:
Data not available for 1992. Information not available for all metropolitan areas for 1993.

Sources:
Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1994) *Facts and Figures: Overview of Immigration.* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services; Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1997) *Facts and Figures: Overview of Immigration* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada; Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2000) *Facts and Figures: Overview of Immigration.* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

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Table 1.3
Refugees by Source Area, 1992-1997

	Total (1993-1997)		1997	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992
	N	%						
Africa and the Middle East	52,464	32.3%	7,930	8,701	7,115	5,576	9,612	13,530
Asia and the Pacific	48,666	30.0%	7,104	9,079	9,596	5,793	7,298	9,796
South and Central America	16,523	10.2%	1,717	2,460	2,089	1,933	3,135	5,189
Europe	44,073	27.1%	7,319	8,284	9,186	7,018	4,399	7,867
Other	276	0.2%	53	87	52	84		
Not Stated	332	0.2%	7				99	226
Total	162,334	100.0%	24,130	28,611	28,038	20,404	24,543	36,608

Sources:
Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1994) *Facts and Figures: Overview of Immigration*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services; Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1997) *Facts and Figures: Overview of Immigration* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada; Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2000) *Facts and Figures: Overview of Immigration.* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

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Table 1.4
Refugees to Canada by Top Ten Source Country, 1992-1997

	Total (1992-1997)		1997	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992
	N	%						
Former Yugoslavia*	23,706	14.6%	4,673	5,521	6,589	4,968	1,853	102
Sri Lanka	23,080	14.2%	2,564	3,645	6,025	2,754	3,357	4,735
Democratic Republic of Somalia	9,890	6.1%	729	812	1,149	753	2,376	4,071
Iran	9,038	5.6%	1,665	1,742	1,365	749	1,080	2,437
Iraq	8,855	5.5%	1,346	1,344	1,282	1,456	2,246	1,181
Afghanistan	6,049	3.7%	1,674	1,807	1,115	431	393	629
Vietnam	5,730	3.5%		52	244	1,231	1,947	2,256
Poland	5,542	3.4%					781	4,761
El Salvador	4,121	2.5%					1,245	2,876
Ethiopia	3,976	2.4%		358	435	582	1,141	1,460
Other source countries**	62,347	38.4%	7,926	10,863	8,928	7,038	4,691	5,988
Total	162,334	100.0%	25,250	28,611	28,020	20,424	22,963	30,598

Note:
Information not available for all metropolitan areas for years 1992 and 1993.
* Former Yugoslavia includes Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and other Yugoslavia.
** Includes countries that did not make the "top ten" in any year from 1992-1997 and those countries in the "top ten" in one or more of these years, but not in the "top ten" for this six year span.

Sources:
Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1994) *Facts and Figures: Overview of Immigration*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services; Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1997) *Facts and Figures: Overview of Immigration* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada; Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2000) *Facts and Figures: Overview of Immigration*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Poland (3.4%), El Salvador (2.5%), and Ethiopia (2.4%). These ten countries accounted for 61.6% of the refugees arriving in Canada during this six year time period.

Refugee Youth

Refugees tend to be younger than other immigrant groups. Over 90% of all refugees who arrive in Canada are below the age of 45 (see Table 1.5). Refugees between the ages of 15 and 24 represented 18.2% of all refugees (N=22,905) between 1993 and 1997.[3] Child refugees (under age 15) accounted for one-quarter of all refugees to Canada during these years.

The effects of war on refugee children and youth are varied. According to the United Nations, over two million children have been killed in armed conflicts during the past ten years. However, research suggests that the experience of war and the related trauma can be devastating to the social and psychological development of youth. "During the same period, another four to five million were disabled, twelve million were left homeless, and one million were orphaned or separated from their parents" (Summerfield, 1999: 111). Today, over 50% of the world's refugee population consists of children under the age of 18 and between 2.5% and 5% of all refugees are unaccompanied children (Summerfield, 1999: 111).

UNICEF has collected a number of psycho-social assessments of refugee children (Raymond and Raymond, 2000). For instance, of all the children in Mostar, Yugoslavia, 85% were forced to leave their town or village during the war, 57% reported that one or both of their parents were wounded, 19% had been injured themselves, 95% had been in a situation during the war in which they thought they would be killed, 75% had their homes attacked or shelled, and 67% had been shot at by snipers. In Israel, three generations of Palestinian children have grown up in refugee facilities (Raymond and Raymond, 2000: 47). Over 30% of the Palestinian

[3] Age group data for refugees are not available for 1992.

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Table 1.5
Refugees to Canada by Age, 1993-1997

	Total (1993-1997)		1997	1996	1995	1994	1993
	N	%					
0-14 years	31,985	25.4%	6,559	7,510	6,968	5,100	5,848
15-24 years	**22,905**	**18.2%**	**4,066**	**4,689**	**5,677**	**3,478**	**4,995**
25-44 years	59,559	47.3%	11,367	13,001	13,386	10,030	11,775
45-64 years	9,668	7.7%	1,814	2,359	2,340	1,548	1,607
Over 65 years	1,909	1.5%	323	552	459	248	327
Total	126,026	100.0%	24,129	28,111	28,830	20,404	24,552

Note:
Data for age of refugees not available for 1992.

Sources:
Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1994) *Facts and Figures: Overview of Immigration* Minister of Supply and Services; Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1997) *Facts and Overview of Immigration* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada; Citizenship Immigration Canada (2000) *Facts and Figures: Overview of Immigration*. Ottawa: Minist Supply and Services Canada.

children in these camps have some psychological or behavioural problems (Raymond and Raymond, 2000: 55). Rwanda was the first internationally recognized case of genocide since World War II. Hutu rebels were encouraged to kill Tutsi children. Recordings from Rwandan Radio Mille Collines encouraged Hutus "To destroy the big rats, you must kill the little rats" in reference to Tutsi children and youth (Raymond and Raymond, 2000: 77). In just three months in 1994, 800,000 Tutsi were killed. An estimated 300,000 were children and youth.

Some aspects of war and genocide disproportionately affect children and youth. Landmines are one example. A study of Afghanistan, Bosnia, Mozambique, and Cambodia revealed that 1 in 20 persons in the civilian population had stepped on a landmine, 1 in 10 were children (Summerfield, 1999: 114). Furthermore, children and youth are not passive observers of wars, many are active participants. The use of child soldiers has been reported in many wars including recent conflicts in Kosovo,

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Thailand, Sudan, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, and Sierra Leone. These children and youth are not immune to the physiological or psychological manifestations of trauma and stress. Frequently, they arrive in third countries with emotional problems that may be quite different from youth who have not actively participated in violent activities.

What happens to refugee youth once they arrive to Canada? There has been limited research on the pre-migration, migration and post-migration factors that influence the successful resettlement of refugee children and youth. Pre-migration factors include reaction to trauma, separation and loss, and deprivation (Ahearn, Loughry, and Ager, 1999). How youth react to these events often plays a role in how quickly they settle in their new communities. Successful resettlement is based on the social and economic supports provided by the community and the family, and the resilience of the individual in question.

There is also some research into intergenerational conflict between refugee youth and their parents (Boehnlein, Tran, Riley, Vu, Tan and Leung 1995; Ahearn, Loughry and Ager, 1999: 230). Role reversals where youth take on sensitive family issues surrounding translation, banking and other adult tasks may cause role conflicts between parents and their children. Youth tend to adapt to their new society faster than their parents and this again may cause tension in the family (Ahearn and Athey, 1991; Huyck and Fields, 1981). Youth generally master English, and adopt new values, customs and lifestyles related to the host country faster than their parents and this causes additional friction. But with these few exceptions, refugee youth have not received sustained interest from Canadian researchers.

Research Questions

The purpose of this research is to describe and analyze the integration of refugee youth in Canada. The data analysis begins in Chapter 4 by tackling the core question immediately:

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1. How well do refugee youth integrate into Canadian society?

As my literature review in the next chapter demonstrates, integration is a highly complex process involving many aspects of life. Hence, a number of sub-themes of integration are examined separately in Chapter 4 in order to answer the central question. Specifically:

a) What are the pre-arrival experiences of refugee youth?
b) What is the health status of refugee youth?
c) What is the English language proficiency of refugee youth, and what are their ESL experiences in Canada?
d) What are the educational experiences of refugee youth prior to and upon arrival in Canada?
e) What kinds of relationships do refugee youth have with their family and peers?
f) How do refugee youth subjectively assess their overall integration experience in Canada?

Answers to some of these sub-questions (i.e., pre-arrival experiences, health, and subjective assessments of integration) provide only a partial picture of refugee youth's integration into Canadian society. For instance, pre-arrival factors such as refugee camp experience, do not explain integration per se, but provide a background against which subsequent integration experiences can be understood. Other sub-themes, such as English language ability, educational experiences, and relationships with family and peers are probably more directly related to the integration experience. English language ability, for example, strongly influences integration as it is a primary tool of communication within the host society.

Answers to the array of questions regarding direct and indirect influences on integration, taken together, help us better understand the process of refugees integrating into Canadian society. However, some of these sub-themes are more

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germane to a study of youth in particular. Because my sample is young, between the ages of 15 and 21, it makes sense to focus heavily on their educational experiences. School is the place where youth spend most of their time and where much of their integration unfolds. Thus, a more focused research question in Chapter 5 asks:

2. What are the key determinants of educational success for refugee youth?

While a number of the sub-questions in Chapter 4 addresses how integrated refugee youth feel in Canadian schools, this research question in Chapter 5 refers to the factors that influence their educational success. Little is known about the determinants of educational success for refugee youth. Kapreilian-Churchill (1996) provides one of the few studies of refugee youth in the school system. She finds that many refugee youth require special attention in order to be successful, and advocates changes to the school system that would allow them to reach their academic potential. Rousseau, Drapeau and Corrin (1996) have conducted one of the few other relevant studies in Canada. They observe that refugee youth have a number of emotional and psychological problems that may impede their success in school. Such studies, though enlightening, do not provide information on the prevalence of emotional and learning problems among refugee youth (a topic I examine in Chapter 4) and about how important these factors are relative to other factors that influence school success (the key question addressed in Chapter 5).

While not focused specifically on refugees, two recent studies suggest that ESL students in Alberta, of which refugees constitute a part, do not perform well at school. Watt and Roessingh (1994, 1996) find that as many as 75% of all youth in high school ESL classes do not complete high school. In their study of ESL high school students over a five year period, Derwing, DeCorby, Ichikawa and Jamieson (1999) found that only 40% received a diploma upon completing high school, 46% did not complete high school at all, and 14% completed with 100 credits but no high school diploma. Thus, both studies suggest that many youth who enter high school as funded ESL

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students, including refugees, will not complete school and go on to obtain post-secondary training.

High school completion and post-secondary training are essential for gaining access to high pay and high skilled employment in the Canadian labour market. Hence, success in the secondary and post-secondary educational system is a critical marker of the current integration of refugee youth into Canadian society and of their future integration as adults. Those who are doing well in school now should have greater opportunities to obtain high waged, more secure, professional and managerial employment in the future, while those who are doing poorly in school will have fewer chances for this type of employment.

Another indirect indicator of the integration of refugee youth into Canadian society is their occupational aspirations. Most Canadian-born youth aspire to high status, high waged employment although there is also considerable variation, particularly on the basis of social class. Do refugee youth have similar occupational aspirations? And are the factors that influence the aspirations of refugee youth similar to those observed for Canadian-born youth? Thus, a third set of questions in Chapter 6 includes the following:

> *3a. How high are the occupational aspirations of refugee youth?*
>
> *3b. What are the key determinants of the occupational aspirations of refugee youth?*

Occupation has a significant influence on the socioeconomic status and lifestyle of adults. Largely influenced by educational attainment, occupation is an important indicator of successful integration and successful school-to-work transitions. However, it is not possible to directly study the occupations of many of these refugee youth as the majority are still involved in secondary and post-secondary education. Of the few refugee youth who have finished high school, the type of employment they

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currently hold is probably not going to result in satisfying life-long careers. For this reason, the measurement of occupational aspirations of youth was an important consideration in the design of the survey instrument. Aspirations are a measure of the type of employment these youth strive for, and a way of predicting their socioeconomic status as adults. School performance typically has a strong influence on aspirations. For this reason, a path analysis is conducted in Chapter 6 with educational status, the key dependent variable in Chapter 5, as one of the predictors of occupational aspirations.

Both educational status and occupational aspirations are partial indicators of the integration in refugee youth in Canadian society. Educational status is an indication of how well they are doing in school and also a measure of the possibility of going on to post-secondary training. The successful completion of high school and subsequent post-secondary schooling is critical for gaining access to high wage and high skilled employment in the adult labour market. Occupational aspirations are also a measure of possible career outcomes. Because most of the youth in my sample are not old enough to participate in the adult labour market, we must rely on a proxy measure of their career outcomes.

Theoretical Focus

A number of theoretical perspectives are used in this dissertation to guide and interpret the analyses of educational status, occupational aspirations, and integration of refugee youth. The broad literature on immigration and integration, including the race and ethnic relations literature, is the first source. Within this perspective, the assimilation approach focuses on how over time, refugee youth might begin to integrate into Canadian society. In contrast, power/conflict theories show how socially constructed barriers can limit the successful integration of refugee youth. A newly emerging intergenerational focus on integration provides yet another perspective.

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The school-to-work transitions theoretical perspective directly addresses the linkage between school and work, an important part of growing up for youth in North American society. In addition, this literature helps us to understand the overall process of growing up. It recognizes that there are many pathways to becoming an adult, and that the order in which these choices take place, marriage, childbirth, employment or independence from parents, may vary significantly. Thus, this literature contextualizes the progression to adulthood made by refugee youth. It also reminds us that though these youth are refugees, they are also young people in Canada, experiencing the same culture as Canadian-born youth. In this way, this theoretical perspective helps us understand refugee youth as "normal" youth.

Finally, the theoretical literature on citizenship is used to contextualize the overall integration process of refugee youth. Citizenship can be defined in a narrow sense as involving the rights and obligations of legal citizenship. It can also be defined more broadly, in the sense of having an equal right to a good education, satisfactory employment and a high quality of life. Attainment of citizenship, in both a narrow and a broad sense, is part of the integration process for refugee youth. A focus on citizenship encourages us to ask whether refugee youth feel as though they fit into Canadian society, and whether their educational experiences provide them with the future they desire.

These different theoretical perspectives are not intended to be tested here. Rather they are used to help analyze and understand the data and to provide a clearer picture of what it is like to be a refugee youth in Canada. Each perspective in turn sheds a different light on the resettlement experience of refugee youth in this country. These theories are discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

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Chapter 2: Youth, Integration, Education, and Citizenship: A Review of Relevant Research Literatures

> *During the first year it was a nightmare because I felt like I didn't fit in and I didn't have friends and I couldn't speak English properly."* A 21 year old female from Azerbaijan in response to a question on "did you have difficulties while in high school?" Later in the interview she was asked if she had any further comments. She replied: *"I'm just glad to be here, even if it is stressful. It's nice to be living in a peaceful country, better than the way it was back home.*

Introduction

These comments are representative of the feelings of many refugees interviewed in the Resettlement Project. Many of the youth respondents indicated that, initially, they had some problems adjusting to their new society. Most said that after a period of time, things became better for them. They felt more accepted at school and more comfortable in their surroundings. Nevertheless, such accounts of settlement experiences should not lead us to downplay the difficult process of integration. Integration is typically a path of ups and downs, with some youth having more difficulty adjusting than others.

Unfortunately, much of the available research concerning refugees has little to say about the rocky path towards integration into a new society and the transition into adulthood. It mainly centres around three predominant themes: mental health, economic adaptation, and language acquisition. Research on refugee youth in Canada and the United States is consistent with these themes (Apfel and Simon, 1996; Ahearn and Athey, 1991; Dunnigan et. al., 1996; Dunnigan and Martin, 1989; Simon, 1983; Whitmore et. al., 1989; Edwards and Beiser, 1994; Sack, Clarke and Seeley, 1996; Tsui and Sammons, 1988). The present work provides a more holistic approach to the study of refugee youth and their integration into Canadian society. For refugee youth,

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a large part of this integration process is encompassed by the transition from school to work. Hence, integration, as discussed in this dissertation, focuses heavily on various aspects of school-to-work transition for refugee youth.

The school-to-work transition process for refugee youth may be characterized by transition pathways that are markedly different from those of Canadian-born youth. Refugee youth, like Canadian-born youth, are not only learning to integrate into a new society, they are also in the process of becoming adults. Growing up involves leaving the education system, obtaining a job, or pursuing post-secondary education. For this reason, school-to-work transitions are a major part of their transition into Canadian society. Furthermore, the school-work transitions of refugee youth may be considerably more difficult, compared to their Canadian-born peers. The education of refugee youth may have been severely interrupted, and almost all will have had to learn a new language. Refugee youth will have had to try to fit into a very different school system and, perhaps, a different youth culture.

This chapter reviews four inter-related literatures on integration, race and ethnicity, the educational experiences of refugee youth, and citizenship to contextualize my study of the transition to adulthood and concurrent integration of refugee youth into Canadian society. My goal is not to test theories or to synthesize them. Instead, this literature review provides context for the descriptive and analytic findings in subsequent chapters. The different emphases in the various literatures encourage us to look at the school-to-work experiences of refugee youth from a variety of perspectives.

The first section of this chapter examines the integration literature, with the next focusing on theories of race and ethnicity as they apply to the experiences of the Alberta sample of refugees. The next part of the chapter looks at research on the school experiences of refugee youth. The chapter concludes with an overview of the literature on citizenship and how it is beginning to be applied to issues such as employment and schooling rather than simply the acquisition of passports and rights as a Canadian. It is this literature that can help tie the concepts of integration and

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transition together so that refugee youth can be better understood in the context of Canadian society.

Defining Integration

When researching refugee youth, it is imperative to take into account the research literature on integration, immigration, and the related work on race and ethnicity. Migration is a longstanding interest of sociologists. Furthermore, immigration has often been seen as one of the defining features of Canadian society. But despite this, there has been little systematic research on refugees. Furthermore, when refugees are the subject of inquiry, the research tends to be rather negative, focusing on mental health problems and language acquisition and seldom on their positive contributions to Canadian society.

The term 'integration' implies comparison between individuals. In the case of immigrants and refugees, the standard for comparison is native-born Canadians. An implicit but critical assumption is that as immigrants and refugees spend more time in Canada, the more they become 'Canadian'. The problem is that there is no precise definition of the processes and little consensus about the indicators of successful integration. In addition, newcomers are not subject to experiences similar to Canadian-born residents. Immigrants and refugees are *selected* for entry into the country. Thus, should they be expected to become just the same as those born here? Perhaps there is another way to look at the concept of integration, one that does not imply that newcomers must become more like the Canadian-born. Instead, both groups can be conceived as working together to accommodate one another, rather than forcing newcomers to adopt the practices of the host society.

An ideal form of integration involves a two-way process of accommodation between native-born Canadians and immigrants. Yet common use of the term implies a one-way process. Kallen's view is exemplary of the one-sided view requiring "members of ethnic communities to interact, exchange views, learn new values and lifestyles and

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acquire new reference and membership groups" (Kallen, 1995: 153). While the ideal is a two-way process of interaction, the reality is that this process frequently remains unidirectional, with change and accommodation occurring almost entirely on the part of immigrants.

The term 'integration' becomes even more ambiguous when the understandings of immigrants, native-born citizens and the government are compared. For immigrants and refugees, integration involves many long and short-term goals. In the short-term, integration can include some of the following: locating suitable housing, adjusting to a new climate, securing employment, learning French or English and even locating the nearest grocery store. More long-term integration goals may include finding employment in a specific profession, making friends and learning more about Canadian culture. This should not be considered an identical process for all immigrants and refugees. Immigrants and refugees enter the country under varying circumstances. Some may know one or both official languages before arriving. For these individuals, language acquisition is not a part of the overall process of integration. For others, business investment might be an immediate objective. Thus, the concept of integration varies even among newcomers.[1]

Native-born Canadians have different conceptions of integration. Some see successful integration as an end-point where all immigrants abandon their culture and language and conform to 'Canadian' standards. They feel that newcomers must conform to linguistic, cultural, economic, religious and other norms in order to become fully functioning members of society. It could even be argued that those who are ethnically or racially different from white Canadians may not integrate at all, given the racism existing in Canadian society. Thus, even the word 'immigrant' evokes negative connotations.

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[1] The integration process is made even more complex since the settlement process can be affected by immigrant entrance classification (in terms of access to particular services), ethnicity, age or gender. Integration for *some* refugees differs due to possible physical or mental health problems from war, political instability or other factors relating to refugee status. For women, the integration process is more likely to involve learning a new language than it is for men, no matter how long they have lived in

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The popular conception of immigrant refers to people of colour who come from 'Third World' countries, who do not speak fluent English (or French) and who occupy lower positions in the occupational hierarchy. White, middle-class professionals from Britain or the United States are not commonly perceived as immigrants (Kobayashi and Peake 1996: 10).

This negative connotation is often applied to refugees as well. Even white immigrants and refugees may fall victim to negative stereotypes, especially if they have an audible accent.

For other native-born Canadians, a more positive connotation of integration involves a general acceptance of all immigrant cultures, languages, behaviours and norms with the understanding that Canada is a country open to cultural diversity. This perspective is more congruent with the two-way process of understanding integration, implying a desire to encourage immigrants to adapt to Canadian society and to be received by Canadians without requiring them to abandon their cultures or values (Immigration Consultations Working Group #5, 1994).

The federal government also has conceptions of integration that frequently vary from those held by newcomers and native-born Canadians. In the short-run, the government promises to aid initial integration by providing for the settlement expenses for government-sponsored refugees for one year, but does little to encourage native-born Canadians or social institutions to change and adapt to newcomers in the long run. Nowhere does government policy articulate a vision of integration that includes the active participation of native-born Canadians[2]. The mission statement of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1996: 9) includes three components: "labour market and other economic considerations, family reunification and the protection of genuine

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Canada (Statistics Canada, 1995: 120). Integration is therefore characterized by a variety of different processes, depending on individual circumstance.

[2] Except for those Canadians participating in the host program which help sponsor refugees to Canada. However, the host program involves a very small number of Canadians.

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refugees" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1996: 9). It does not encourage the host society to make the integration process any easier for newcomers. Until a two-way process is reflected in government policy, the main costs of integration will continue to be carried by immigrants and refugees.

In reality, integration remains a one-way process where the onus to integrate is placed on immigrants and refugees, not on the receiving society. The term integration implies mutual acceptance from both hosts and newcomers. But while academics and policy analysts may speak of two-way accommodation and acceptance, the reality is that it is refugees and immigrants who must adapt. Under the current system, newcomers can add little to the cultural dynamics of the host society, given their powerlessness to incorporate their beliefs into the dominant culture. In this way, the concept of integration appears to give hope for a better society for us all, but has contributed little in reality.

Problems in Achieving a State of Integration

The government is also ambiguous in its concern for refugees and immigrants on a practical level. It is most concerned about the impact of newcomers on the Canadian economy. Programs must be cost effective so that immigrants and refugees do not drain the social welfare system. In return, newcomers must also contribute to the federal and provincial economies. For example, immigrants entering under the Investor Program are expected to enhance Canada's entrepreneurial capacity, provide additional sources of business capital, support job growth, and enhance international trade (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1996: 8). Immigrants entering under other classes must not be an economic burden on the government. This means that once settled, refugees need to quickly make a positive economic contribution to society. If they do not, the government faces negative public backlash that would probably result in restricting yearly entrance quotas for refugees.

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Integration processes can be affected by entrance classification especially since it has repercussions for the amount and types of services available to immigrants and refugees. "Historically, classification as a dependent, family class or refugee made a tremendous difference in accessing certain government training and funding programs" (Lamba and Wilkinson, 1998: 21). For instance, immigrants arriving as principal applicants in any of the business classes are eligible for profession-specific skill and language training[3]. Refugees and other newcomers are ineligible for these programs (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1997: 35). These barriers mean fewer opportunities for economic integration for such groups.

Private-sponsored refugees are particularly disadvantaged due to their entrance classification. Many are ineligible for provincial assistance due to the ten-year support clause in the *Immigration Act* stating that sponsors are responsible for the lodging, care and normal settlement needs for a period of ten years (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1997b). The only way these refugees can obtain provincial support is to prove that the sponsor-refugee relationship has broken down, the onus of proof falling on the refugees. This is often difficult to prove to representatives of provincial aid agencies, many of whom do not understand the complexities of refugee settlement experiences.

Refugees are further disadvantaged upon their arrival given the heavy loan burden many carry for travel to Canada and related expenses. Compounding these loans is the additional $975 payment of the Right of Landing Fee. It was introduced in February 1995, has been called a "head tax" by the National Action Committee on the Status of Women and the Canadian Council for Refugees, and has been condemned by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees[4]. No other country imposes such an entry fee on refugees (Canadian Council for Refugees 1997: 1). For this reason, the economic integration of refugees may be prolonged due to extensive debt incurred upon entry. In turn, these initial economic barriers set the stage for subsequent

[3] However, all immigrants are eligible for general language training.
[4] The Right of Landing fee was abolished in February 2000. Persons entering the country after this date no longer have to pay this fee.

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problems in integration that are non-economic such as education and social integration.

Integration of Immigrants and Refugees

Considering all the refugees who entered Canada in the six-year period of the study, eight of the top ten countries are *non-traditional* source countries (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1998b). As Table 1.4 in Chapter 1 shows, the top ten refugee-sending countries include: Sri Lanka, Somalia, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Vietnam, El Salvador, and Ethiopia. A conservative estimate indicates that 64% of all refugees entering the country are "visible minorities" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1998a). The figures for Alberta in 1995 (according to the most recent census) are not largely different from those for Canada.

There are a number of theoretical perspectives that can contribute to the understanding of the integration of newcomers into society. These theories can be broadly categorized into three different groups: mainstream absorption theories, underclass absorption theories, and a newly emerging focus on intergenerational comparisons.

Mainstream absorption theoretical models are associated with the assimilationist perspective of Robert Park and are still evidenced in ethnogenisis and ethnic pluralism sub-models. These theories are distinguished by their focus on "patterns of inclusion, of orderly integration and assimilation of particular racial and ethnic groups into a core culture and society" (Feagin and Booher Feagin, 1994: 29). A common theme of these order theories is the idea of assimilation as a uni-dimensional process of integration. Immigrants are forced to relinquish their own culture for the mainstream "white" culture. In order to go about everyday life in Canada, newcomers must at least pretend to adopt the dominant culture. Failure to do so results in marginalization with the accompanying repercussions of high unemployment, low waged work and other negative outcomes.

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How is this body of literature relevant to the educational performance and school-to-work transitions of refugee youth? Essentially, it suggests that children adapt to new societies faster than their parents because of their almost immediate introduction to the new culture through the school system (Isajiw, 1999). The school is *sometimes* a less threatening institution to learn the ways of a new society. Often, parents must negotiate employment, health, and other institutions simultaneously and with little guidance from others. The school, on the other hand, is supposed to be a friendly environment where all children are relatively free to learn, regardless of their immigrant or refugee status (Coeyman, 1999: 14). While systemic barriers and discrimination exist within this institution, it is assumed that school is an easier place to learn a new culture and language. In contrast, a number of Canadian studies have outlined discriminatory practices against immigrants and visible minorities in general in the labour market (Basran and Zong, 1998; Pendakur and Pendakur, 1996). While the education system does reproduce "structured inequality based on race" (Henry, et al., 1995: 174), it is a place where, at some level, refugee youth are introduced to the culture of their new society.

Once out of school, immigrant and refugee youth generally have better labour market outcomes than their parents, due to the fact that youth are exposed to more of the norms and values of their new society before they enter the labour force (Tsui and Sammons, 1988). Thus, while upon arrival the unemployment rates for immigrant and refugee youth are higher than for other groups of youth, as adults, their occupations and incomes tend to be of higher status and higher pay than their parents. This is due to their immersion in the Canadian education system providing them with additional "Canadian experience" that their parents often lack. Research on the economic returns to education for immigrants show that those arriving as children or youth generally have higher levels of education, and higher skilled occupations with higher wages than their parents (Boyd and Grieco, 1998).

A second strand of integration theories can be collectively considered as the *underclass absorption* model. Neo-colonialism (Gonzalez-Cassanova, 1969; Frideres,

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1998), blocked mobility (Bonacich and Modell, 1980), and split labour market (Bonacich, 1972; Bonacich, 1976) theories focus on the persistence of ethnicity-based inequality in terms of power and resource allocation, and document the frequent downward mobility of new immigrants. This group of theories emphasizes the persistence of social inequality based on ethnicity, social class and gender. Essentially, newcomers who do not fit into or actively reject the mainstream culture are relegated to lower social strata with accompanying low wages and high unemployment rates.

A good example of research in the underclass absorption tradition is the large literature on "ethnic enclaves". Ethnic enclaves arise as a result of the exclusion of people of colour from the better employment and wages in the mainstream economy. The ethnic enclave is based mainly on self-employment and may include family members as labourers. Feagin and Booher Feagin (1994) call this an "in-between" position whereby certain ethnic groups have positioned themselves as separate groups as a result of institutional barriers to better types of employment in the mainstream economy. These groups find a niche by servicing the mainstream economy. In Canada, the history of ethnic enclaves can be traced back to early Chinese immigrants who were limited, by law, to working in laundries and restaurants (Li, 1998).

Underclass absorption theory can also help us understand the school-to-work transition experiences of refugee youth. Youth who reject mainstream values are more likely to quit school, get into trouble with the law, and practice deviant behaviours as forms of resistance to the mainstream culture (Schissel, 1998). This rejection and their subsequent educational failures, leads to low educational attainment and low skilled, low waged employment as adults. Some refugee youth may not have a choice in their acceptance or rejection of the dominant Canadian culture. Their situation is hindered by the expectation of teachers that refugees will have trouble in school due to their past traumas and the difficulties surrounding the learning of English (Rousseau, Drapeau and Corin, 1996; Henkin and Nguyen, 1984; Ima and Rumbaut, 1989). These forces combine to hinder the academic success of many refugee youth.

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From the perspective of this theoretical approach, refugee parents do not have much influence on their children because the parents may also have difficulty adapting to the mainstream culture. In fact, because their introduction to Canadian culture often does not occur in a friendly institution as the education system, the integration of refugee parents may take longer than for their children. Parents having difficulty accepting or adapting to Canadian culture means they are unable to help their children who may be experiencing problems in school. The consequence is the perpetuation of low income amongst newcomers and their families. Studies on Mexican immigrants in the United States are a good illustration of the insights gained from the underclass absorption model. Many Mexican immigrants live in areas characterized by low income and low skilled employment. Combined with systemic racism in the American labour market, this leads to the perpetuation of low income and lower class status (Padilla and Glick, 2000; Massey, 1993; Santiago and Wilder, 1991).

Boyd and Grieco (1998) have recently added an intergenerational focus to this literature. They use a two-tiered model of integration, focusing mainly on the "one point five generation". First generation immigrants are those who have immigrated to this country. Second generation immigrants are the children of immigrant parents. The 1.5 generation are foreign-born children who immigrated early in their lives. Boyd and Grieco argue that children spending a large part of their formative years in Canada have different integration experiences. For instance, younger children may have fewer problems integrating than older siblings since they are introduced to the new culture and/or new language at a younger age and have a longer duration to adjust to their new society and culture before becoming adults. This is a useful perspective to consider for this thesis, since it reminds us that not only are the integration experiences of refugee youth quite different from the experiences of their parents, but they may vary from individual to individual, dependent on age of arrival. Consequently, it is important to go beyond the traditional focus of integration research when studying refugee youth. In particular, given that school plays such an important role in the lives of youth, a detailed systematic examination of the school-to-work transition experiences of refugee youth could be very useful.

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Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations

Given that visible minorities make up a large proportion of refugees entering Canada[5], and due to the persistence of racism in Canada, it is imperative that the literature on race and ethnicity is included in this discussion. Henry et al., (1995) insist that racism exists within all institutions in Canadian society, especially in the labour market and within the school system—two institutions within which refugee youth spend much of their time. The race and ethnic relations literature can be divided into two broad categories shaped by order theories and power/conflict theories (Feagin and Booher Feagin, 1994).

Order theories "tend to accent patterns of inclusion, of the orderly integration and assimilation of particular racial and ethnic groups to a core culture and society" (Feagin and Booher Feagin, 1994: 29). These theories emphasize consistency, stability and adaptation to society. A common theme of these structural-functionalist theories is the idea of assimilation as a one-way process where immigrants are unproblematically integrated or assimilated into the dominant (white) culture by relinquishing their own (non-white) culture. Historically, the Canadian literature on race and ethnicity has been heavily influenced by these theories.

Robert Park's (1921, c.f. Banton 1998) Race Relations Cycle is the most widely known of the order theories. The Race Relations Cycle has four components: contact, competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation. All steps are progressive and irreversible. In the contact stage, small numbers of immigrants arrive and settle. Once initial settlement occurs, the competition phase means an increase in immigrant arrivals and introduces rivalry for jobs, a competition involving the hosts and newcomers. Generally, the host community begins to feel threatened by the presence of and competition stimulated by the arrival of immigrants. Competition and conflict are interrelated steps and are generated from increased contacts between the host and

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newcomers. In the final step, newcomers and native-born compete as equals for the same jobs, education and other achieved statuses. Newcomers are required to assimilate in order to "fit in" to society. According to Park, integration is a long term but inevitable process experienced by all host communities and immigrants.

However, order theories do little to explain the continued exploitation of newcomers and non-whites by a largely white capitalist class. For instance, why do some refugee groups such as Africans continue to have poverty rates twice as high as white Canadians? Kaziempur and Halli (1999) highlight the existence of inequality in the economic sphere that is based on this type of discrimination. They find that while newcomers to Canada are disproportionately represented in the highest income brackets, they are also disproportionately represented in the lowest income brackets. In addition, order theories fail to account for the fact that many immigrant groups do manage to maintain some aspects of their culture.

Despite such flaws, order theories provide a useful perspective for understanding the integration of refugee youth. All newcomers need to adapt to fit into their new society. For example, it is necessary to learn English (or French) to participate in the Canadian school system, and to integrate into networks of friends. It is also inevitable, particularly for immigrant and refugee youth that they will begin to accept some of the norms and values of their new society.

Power-conflict theories focus on "the persisting inequality of the power and resource distribution associated with racial or ethnic subordination"(Feagin and Booher Feagin, 1994: 29). This perspective places much greater emphasis on economic stratification, structural barriers to equal participation in society, and power inequality issues than do the order theories. For the purposes of this thesis, however, only the blocked mobility and ethnic enclave versions of power-conflict theory are discussed.

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[5] Refugees who are visible minorities make up approximately 73% of all refugees entering Canada between 1992 and 1997, according to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1998).

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Blocked mobility (neo-Marxist) theory emphasizes class stratification as the major factor influencing race and ethnic relations. Neo -Marxists emphasize class as the most central since the dominant capitalists control access to good jobs and high wages. Since society is also racist, class formation occurs (more or less) along racial lines. It is in the best interests of the capitalists to subordinate all working class people in order to keep the price of labour low. An effective way of achieving this is by dividing the working class by race or ethnicity (Feagin and Booher Feagin 1994: 38). Within the subordinated classes, we find competition for better jobs and higher wages based on ethnicity and/or race instead of a solidarity of the entire working class which may produce the revolution needed to overthrow the dominant class regime as predicted by Marxist theory. In this way, racial and ethnic differences effectively divide the lower classes so that they are powerless to collectively resist the true oppressors, the capitalists.

The core problem with this perspective is that it places too much emphasis on the dominance of the capitalist class in coordinating the subjugation of workers by race or ethnicity. There are other factors that contribute to the racial division of labour that require more attention. The blocked mobility thesis helps to identify the structures of inequality that prevent some refugees from participating fully and equally in all aspects of society. It is a useful perspective in considering the situation of refugee youth in Canada because of its emphasis on structural barriers, many based on race or ethnicity, to obtaining a good education and satisfactory employment.

Bonacich, along with Modell (1980), contribute to the separate but related literature on ethnic enclaves. Ethnic enclaves arise as a result of the exclusion of people of colour from the better employment and wages in the "mainstream" economy. Ethnic enclaves are "business organizations associated with an ethnic community, as characterized by small firms, owned and operated by minority members, that are located in a limited number of markets such as retailing and food services" (Li 1988: 52). These activities are largely based on self-employment and may include family members as labourers. Feagin and Booher Feagin (1994) call this the *in-between* position where certain

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ethnic groups find a niche in the economy by serving as small-business people positioned between producers and consumers. While these occupations are not high status, they are necessary to the successful operation of the mainstream economy. Nevertheless, these ethnic enclaves are often perceived with hostility by the dominant classes. This further increases racial tensions between dominant and subordinate work groups and encourages a racial division of labour.

Ethnic enclaves are not necessarily negative experiences for all refugees or immigrants. In fact, some enclaves provide relatively successful venues for enterprising individuals. For example, the Hong Kong Chinese have economically successful enclaves in Vancouver and Toronto. However, their success does not mean economic success for all Hong Kong Chinese in Canada. Rather, there are a select few who profit from the labour provided by others, mainly newcomers from similar ethnic backgrounds. In this way, the ethnic enclave works within the mainstream economy, with owners profiting from the labour provided by others.

Ethnic enclave theories are useful for this study of refugees because of their utility in describing the alternatives to employment available to marginalized groups, especially those who are visible minorities. This perspective can help us understand the structural barriers that prevent many refugee youth from aspiring to and obtaining high status and high waged occupations. For instance, the availability of employment in the ethnic enclave may discourage youth from excelling at school, and may limit the role models that help shape their occupational aspirations.

Thus, via its emphasis both on assimilation and on barriers to equal participation in society, the race and ethnic relations literature can contribute to our understanding of the integration and school-to-work transition of refugee youth in Alberta. However, by itself, this literature is not enough to fully appreciate the process of school-to-work transitions of refugee youth, nor is it sufficient for explaining the linkage between transitions and the concept of integration.

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Research on Refugee Youth in the Education System

The narrow focus in the research literature on the education of refugees is a product of a large number of studies in the 1970s that focused on the *problem* of immigrant youth in particular and multicultural education in general (Ashworth, 1975; Troyna and Smith, 1983, Bazalgette, 1978; Department of Education and Science, 1971). It was an issue that became more "visible" with the arrival of a large number of Vietnamese refugees in the late 1970s. This new source of immigrants introduced, for the first time, a significant number of non-white, non-English-speaking youth to many schools. Despite this initial interest, there are few recent Canadian studies that focus specifically on the education of refugee youth.

What makes the study of refugee youth transitions from school to work interesting are the life course differences associated with being a refugee. Within the general literature on transitions, there is no consensus on the benchmarks defining the "ultimate" transition to adulthood. Heinz (1996) suggests that leaving school, first full-time job, first marriage and occupational career sequences are the major transitions from youth to adulthood. Others would argue that leaving home, entering post-secondary education and parenthood are also important transitions (Venne, 1996; Irwin, 1996). There are also certain subjective aspects to this transition including feeling like an adult, acquiring feelings of independence and the accepting of certain adult obligations. For refugees, life course transitions from youth to adult may also mean additional role transitions: becoming a member of Canadian society, taking on temporary adult roles, and possibly learning a new language. These are transitions that most Canadian-born youth do not traverse and yet significantly impact the school-to-work transitions of refugee youth.

Coelho et al. (1990), writing about newcomer students in general, suggest that teaching practices need to be altered to accommodate the language needs of some refugees. They suggest modifying classroom language, developing alternative

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materials and becoming aware of the linguistic demands of each subject. This way, an understanding of language acquisition may help teachers better understand some of their refugee students. Kaprielian-Churchill (1996) and Yau (1995) build on these findings by examining the identification, assessment, monitoring, and placement of refugee students in grade levels. They then go on to recommend radical changes to the Canadian education system. These studies suggest that current educational practices are inadequate for many refugees, but this research literature is largely unclear as to the best solutions for schools.

When refugee students perform poorly in school, it is often blamed on their "refugee experience". Rousseau, Drapeau and Corin (1996) find that grades are negatively correlated with previous trauma. They also find that even when refugee students excel in school, they are more often assigned to remedial classes than are their Canadian-born counterparts[6]. It is a presumption of many school administrators that refugees invariably encounter integration problems in the education system. Such assumptions can perpetuate unequal treatment that may hinder refugee youth's future education. These sentiments are echoed in American literature (Henkin and Nguyen, 1984; Ima and Rumbaut, 1989) with calls for extreme changes to educational curriculum and policies to better serve the needs of refugee pupils. However, not all research calls for a large-scale revamping of the education system. Grundy (1994) suggests that the existing system requires only slight modifications. For her, teacher preparation is more effective and efficient than challenging existing education policies. However, hers is a long-term solution to this problem.

Few studies dwell on the contribution of education to the integration of refugee youth. Tsui and Sammons (1988) used group meetings with Vietnamese students to teach social skills, sex education, and to help transmit *American values* to these newcomers in the United States. In Israel, Zima (1988) studied the integration of Ethiopian boys into the school system alongside the social integration of Israeli students. This study

[6] This phenomenon is also seen among immigrant students. A further problem is that IQ tests are administered in English to non-English speaking students resulting in a low IQ score.

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emphasized the two-way process of integration involving both refugees and the host society. Unfortunately, little work has been done on the non-curricular types of integration that the education system can foster.

There are some studies that focus on gender and education of refugees. Khasiani (1990), Bankston (1995) and Tran (1988) discuss the social mobility of female Vietnamese refugees upon their entry to the United States. They argue that a culture of gender equity in the US allows Vietnamese women access to higher occupational and educational status than they would have attained, had they remained in their homeland. Tran (1988) also adds that there is a gender difference in language acquisition. More Vietnamese men than women participate in language training, resulting in slower integration of and less social participation by Vietnamese women. This finding is supported by Canadian research. Immigrant women are more likely than immigrant men not to be able to speak one of Canada's official languages (Statistics Canada, 1995). Thus, gender differences in education and language acquisition must be included as an integral part of any research on refugee youth.

Much of the remaining literature on education and refugees focuses on English as a Second Language (ESL) training. Taplin (1987) dismisses the idea that ESL is a new form of language training by outlining how ESL has been an integral part of settlement on the Canadian prairies during the past century. Furthermore, ESL is more than just language training. It transmits knowledge about the host society and its norms and values (Derwing and Munro, 1987; Pham, 1987), as well as providing citizenship education and a rudimentary introduction to Canadian society. These studies touch on non-curriculum based learning but do not focus specifically on refugee youth.

As this literature review suggests, relatively little is known about the school-to-work transitions of refugee youth and about their integration in Canadian society. I see a critical need to further investigate school-to-work transitions of refugee youth for a number of inter-related reasons. In general, knowledge of school-to-work transition

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experiences of refugee youth would greatly increase our understanding of the overall settlement of refugees in Canada. The impression left by existing research is that refugee youth are undereducated, high school dropouts with various mental and physical health problems. My research goes beyond discussions of their mental health and provides a more holistic view of refugees and an insight into a part of the integration process in Canada.

More specifically, as this short review suggests, little is known about the longer-term experiences of refugee youth in the education system. We know that few obtain high school diplomas, but what happens to refugee youth once they enter post-secondary education or the labour market? Furthermore, we know little about the economic and educational outcomes of refugee youth. Does Canadian education provide similar economic returns to refugee youth as to Canadian-born youth? Answers to this question could inform us about discrimination and/or unequal opportunity in both the Canadian education system and in the labour market. Unfortunately, the answer to this question must be left to future studies as the youth in this sample are too young to have established their careers.

While my thesis is not designed to directly tackle all these questions, it does address some of them and it highlights the need for further research in this area. Specifically, this dissertation describes in detail the educational experiences of refugee youth. It also asks about how well they are doing in school, examines their occupational aspirations, and asks whether they feel integrated into Canadian society.

The Concept of Citizenship

I have covered considerable theoretical territory in my overview of the integration literature, theories of race and ethnic relations, and research on the educational experiences of refugee youth. Another literature on citizenship can help integrate these disparate discussions. The concept of citizenship is intimately linked with youth-to-adulthood and school-to-work transitions. It is associated with the acquisition of the

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rights and responsibilities of being an adult in a democratic society. However, citizenship is much more than just the right to vote and various obligations to the state. Citizenship can be seen as a more holistic concept. Youth "can be seen as a period during which the *transition to citizenship*, that is, to full participation in society, occurs" (Jones and Wallace, 1992: 18, emphasis my own).

Sociologist T.H. Marshall's three domains of citizenship are a useful starting point for understanding the inclusive nature of this concept. The civil, political, and socioeconomic domains each have considerable importance in creating a more holistic conception of citizenship (Marshall, 1998). The civil domain includes freedom of speech, expression, and equality before the law. The political domain includes the right to vote and political participation. The relationship between individuals in society, social and employment and economic rights, and rights to a good standard of living are part of the socio-economic domain.

Yet there is a fourth dimension of citizenship that has been less often discussed. This cultural component takes into account the increasing cultural diversity in societies and recognizes that international migration and increased mobility are increasingly important in a globalized society (Audigier, 1998). This domain of citizenship also includes demands for collective rights for various minority groups such as Francophones and First Nations Peoples. This domain of citizenship is very much contested within the emerging citizenship literature as it implies that there are multiple ways of belonging, and therefore, multiple ways of being a citizen. The varied cultural domain of citizenship has significant implications for refugee youth, given the many ethnic and religious backgrounds they represent.

Citizenship, by its nature, is a contradictory concept as far as youth are concerned. Young people are approaching adulthood, but they lack the legal rights of citizens, at least until they reach a certain age (for example, the right to vote acquired at age 18, or the right to consume alcohol at age 19, depending on the province). Further, they are both dependent on and independent of their parents. Generally youth rely on their

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family for financial support, but they are also independent in terms of the freedom to make decisions about future schooling and occupational aspirations. Youth are, as a result, in limbo in terms of full citizenship. Nevertheless, citizenship, broadly defined, is a useful concept for studying youth (Hutson and Jenkins, 1987, 1989; Turner, 1997). As Jones and Wallace (1992) state, citizenship can be understood as a source of inequality in that youth are not eligible for all the benefits of society due to their chronological age. Some may even be living independently, but still lacking a variety of citizenship rights. For example, a 16 year-old youth has the legal right to leave school, but not the legal right to vote or collect social welfare payments. In this way, their rights are curtailed by their age. Access to these rights and services are partially determined by other sources of inequality in society, including gender, race, ethnicity, religion, (dis)ability, and so on.

Despite their frequently disenfranchised position, youth are very active participants in Canadian society. But going to school, working in part-time jobs, and helping at home are not recognized as fully productive work in our society and do not qualify youth to become full-fledged citizens. Citizenship is typically based on productivity, giving back to society, and this is partially premised on economic independence—something the majority of youth lack. Political rights usually arrive at the age of majority. Some of the civil rights of citizenship can be obtained before this age, such as the right to work or the right to leave school. However, many of the social and cultural benefits of citizenship come only with adulthood. Thus, to fully understand citizenship, one must take a life course approach (Jones and Wallace, 1992).

McLaughlin (1992) also writes about citizenship in a way that takes into account the civil, political, social and cultural domains. According to McLaughlin's (1992) conception, citizenship can be defined in a minimal and a maximal manner. Minimal interpretations of citizenship emphasize the rights and responsibilities of individuals as members of a society. For example, a good citizen is law-abiding, public-spirited and votes in elections (Evans, 1998: 8). As Wilkinson and Hébert (forthcoming) argue, the problem with thinking about citizenship in this limited way confines the concept to

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notions of legal status and ignores broader issues such as equality, power and social disadvantage. Furthermore, this minimal conception of citizenship fails to account for structural barriers to equality in institutions such as the education system and the media that help shape and define our ideals of citizenship. This minimal interpretation is reflected in various government policies such as the *Citizenship Act* that defines who is eligible for citizenship and who is entitled to its benefits. Another example of minimal citizenship in legislation is the *Voting Act*, defining who is eligible to vote.

McLaughlin's second interpretation of citizenship, maximal citizenship, is more useful for examining its linkage with education, employment, and other aspects of social life. The maximal interpretation of citizenship includes notions of a shared democratic culture, an emphasis on political and social involvement, and a knowledge of how social disadvantage can undermine citizenship "by denying people full participation in society" (Evans, 1998: 8). The maximal view of citizenship is only beginning to become popular in the philosophical, education and sociological literature. It is in direct contention with much of the political literature that portrays citizenship as something mostly instrumental. Maximal notions of citizenship argue that citizenship must account for influences outside the political-legal realm such as the social, economic, and most recently, the cultural domains of society (Morin, 1997; Audigier, 1998). Thus, rights should extend beyond the civil-political-social rights triad to include other rights such as First Nations treaty rights, reproductive rights, and rights to protection from abuse (Strong-Boag, 1996; Mohanty, 1995; Appiah, 1995; Young 1995; Young 1998; Mouffe, 1995). This is where discussions of work and the transition to adulthood fit within the notion of citizenship. Turner (1997) suggests that the transition to adulthood is important in both citizenship and identity formation which, in addition to legal status, confers a "particular cultural identity on individuals and groups".

This maximal version of citizenship is a more useful way of viewing the citizenship debate since it looks at citizenship in terms of multiple discourses (Wilkinson and Hébert, forthcoming). In other words, maximal citizenship is fluid, and has the ability

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to encompass different parts of individual identity, including public and private life, as well as accommodating the definition of citizenship held by others. In this regard, the right to a good education and to a good job is elevated to the status of other rights associated with citizenship (Reid, 1995).

This broader social perspective on citizenship can be linked to some of the empirical research in the area of school-to-work transitions. Here, the emphasis is mainly on the socioeconomic characteristics of the transition. Heinz (1996: 2) uses the life course approach "to discover how social-cultural circumstances interact with the timing and duration of life events and the social positions of different generations or cohorts". This approach recognizes that there are individual factors such as gender, socioeconomic status, place of residence, ethnicity and ability that influence the outcome of school-to-work transitions. It also recognizes that these processes are not entirely driven by individuals. There are social forces that stream individuals into certain life paths, steering them away from other types of transitions. These include structural factors such as the economy, the education system, and the political system. Thus, it recognizes that both social forces and individual agency affect the life course outcomes of individuals. While a complete life course analysis is not possible in the present research, this approach is a useful guide in remembering transition outcome differences as defined by age, cohort, gender, socioeconomic class, ability, and ethnicity (Anisef, Axelrod, Baichman-Anisef, James and Turrittin, 2000; Gabor et. al, 1996; Varpalotai, 1996; Geller, 1996; Hill, 1996; Perron, 1996; Looker and Lowe, 1996; Axelrod and Anisef, 1996; Krahn et al., 1993; Gaskell, 1991).

There is agreement in this literature that citizenship issues are intimately tied to employment issues. According to Jones and Wallace (1992: 103) the path to adulthood today is "structured by access to employment to a greater extent than before". For refugee youth, structural barriers, especially in the labour market and in the school must be considered to better understand their transition to work, to adulthood, and to full citizenship. Yet such analysis must also include family influences such as parents' aspirations, effects of community, and individual ascribed and achieved statuses to

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obtain a more accurate picture of the issues enabling and constraining the integration of refugee youth into the labour market and society as a whole.

Thus, citizenship is intimately tied to issues of youth, education, work, immigration and integration. The idea that citizenship is comprised of four domains (civil, political, socioeconomic and cultural) is key to understanding the shift in theoretical emphasis. Citizenship, defined in this fashion, places an emphasis on the individual as an active participant in the negotiation of transitions towards adulthood. At the same time, this perspective recognizes that youth are constrained by structural barriers such as labour market conditions, social class location, gender, race, and immigrant or refugee status, all of which can affect their transition from school to work and to adulthood. The influence of these factors is examined in subsequent chapters.

Conclusion

It is apparent that social forces stream refugee youth into particular life-paths that may differ from other youth. This lengthy review of some of the relevant theoretical and empirical literature reaffirms that our knowledge of refugee youth is limited. The integration, race and ethnic relations, school-to-work transitions, and citizenship literatures have paid little attention to this unique group of young people in Canada. Together, however, these inter-related literatures can help us to better understand the transitions and integration of refugee youth. The integration literature aids in understanding the resettlement process that all refugees to Canada experience. It also sheds some light on how individuals view themselves within their new society, focusing on their perceptions of "fitting in". The literature on race and ethnicity identifies structural barriers and discrimination in Canadian society that can inhibit equal participation in school, the labour market, and in other aspects of social life. Finally, the citizenship literature provides a means of linking these different perspectives with the concept of integration, since integration is ultimately concerned with the acquisition of civil, political, social, and cultural rights. These are issues that

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are intimately connected with the transition from being a newcomer to becoming a full-fledged citizen in a new society.

As noted earlier, the intent of this dissertation is not to test any of these theories, or to attempt a theoretical synthesis. Instead, these different theoretical and empirical literatures help to contextualize this study, and to interpret findings. The next chapter describes the research methods used to conduct this study of refugee youth. Chapter four contains a broad and detailed description of the educational and integration experiences of refugee youth. Chapter five and six are more focused and analytical, examining the educational status and occupational aspirations of refugee youth, respectively. The final chapter summarizes these empirical findings and questions introduced in this chapter.

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Chapter 3: Research Methods

"Nothing really prepares you for going to a war zone" Alan and Susan Raymond (2000: 149) on their experiences of interviewing children and youth involved in armed conflicts.

Introduction

While I have worked as an interviewer on a number of occasions, I shared the Raymond's feelings as I began the interview phase of the Resettlement of Refugees in Alberta project. During the interviews, I heard stories that were unimaginable in my comfortable world in the Canadian prairies. The purpose of the Resettlement project and my thesis were not to delve into the traumatic experiences of these men, women and children, yet bits and pieces of their stories filtered into our *objective* data collection. These traumatic experiences are largely absent from this dissertation[1]. I believe that the pre-arrival experiences of refugee youth cannot be divorced from their current settlement needs since trauma, separation and loss of family members, and disruption in socialization have lasting impact on the lives of every refugee. For these reasons, their trauma becomes a hidden backdrop in this thesis, ever present but hidden from the reader and to some extent, myself as an interviewer.

This chapter describes the data used to examine the school experiences, feelings about fitting into Canadian society, current educational status, and occupational aspirations of refugee youth. It includes a general discussion of the larger Resettlement of Refugees in Alberta Project, in addition to a more detailed description of the sampling and interview methods, and ethical considerations. This chapter also provides a description of the core independent variables, and a demographic profile of the refugee youth in my sample. Since youth were surveyed concurrently with the adults in this project, it is necessary to discuss the research methods in terms of the entire project prior to considering some of the issues more pertinent to the refugee youth.

[1] This is not because of a lack of caring or interest on our part as researchers, but perhaps more because of a concern of having our survey instrument approved by the ethics committee.

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The Resettlement of Refugees in Alberta Project

The larger project examined the settlement experiences of newly arrived refugees to the province of Alberta. Our project focuses only on those refugees arriving during a six year period from 1992 to 1997. Some settled in the larger centres of Edmonton and Calgary, while the remainder were destined to the smaller centres of Lethbridge, Red Deer, Medicine Hat, Grande Prairie, and Fort McMurray. The primary purpose of the study was to compare the settlement experiences of those in the smaller centres with those in the larger cities. The study is timely because of the absence of reliable information on the settlement experiences of refugees in smaller urban centres. For this reason, the study was commissioned by the Edmonton office of Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

In the six-year period between 1992 and 1997, an annual average of 57 refugees arrived in Lethbridge, 57 in Red Deer, 46 in Medicine Hat, 17 in Grande Prairie and 9 in Fort McMurray (Abu-Laban, et al., 1999: 4). These smaller communities, although they are considered "major urban centres", do not have the same kinds of resettlement services and generally lack large ethnic communities like those existing in Edmonton and Calgary. Edmonton received an average of 532 refugees per year and Calgary received 507 during this time period (Abu-Laban et al., 1999).[2]

One of the major goals of the Resettlement Project was to quantify the geographic mobility of privately and government-sponsored refugees sent to Alberta. Anecdotal evidence suggested that refugees destined to the smaller centres of Lethbridge, Red Deer, Medicine Hat, Grande Prairie and Fort McMurray were more likely to move to other locales than those initially destined to Edmonton and Calgary. There were also indications that many refugees moved to larger centres to find better employment, access additional settlement services, and to join ethnic communities. However, no evidence had been established until the completion of the study. The research

[2] This information was provided by Alberta Advanced Education and Career Development and was produced from the Landed Immigrant Data Set (LIDS).

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indicated that 60% of the refugees destined to these seven cities in Alberta between 1992 and 1997 were still living in these community of destination when they were interviewed in 1998. As expected, however, the retention rates in Edmonton (69%) and Calgary (77%) were highest, with the smallest cities of Fort McMurray (35%) and Grande Prairie (31%) experiencing the lowest retention rates. This meant that an average of 40% of refugees who were destined to Alberta did move, resulting in a higher rate of mobility than the national average of 24% according to the 1996 Census (Statistics Canada, 1998).[3]

To capture a full picture of the resettlement experiences of refugees, the Resettlement Project used a multi-phase research design consisting of five parts: 1) *Semi-structured interviews* with settlement workers, educators, Citizenship and Immigration staff, and general social service providers in each of the host communities were conducted. A total of 78 interviews were completed. 2) *A public opinion survey* of 802 immigrant and Canadian-born respondents was conducted in the seven host cities. This survey was used to measure the host society response to immigrants, refugees and members of different ethnic communities. 3) A *literature review* of refugee research was compiled to provide context to the results. 4) *Analysis of Census data* and other official statistics on ethnicity, immigrant status, language usage, and labour market conditions gave further context to the results and helped to explain how the conditions of refugees may have differed from other persons in the communities. 5) *Face-to-face structured interviews* were conducted, many in the participants' first language, with 525 refugee adults and 91 refugee youth destined to the seven centres. The results of these interviews provided the basis for a three-volume research report completed by the research team (see Abu-Laban et al., 1999).

[3] The five year mobility rate as measured in the 1996 Census is not directly comparable to the 40% leaver rate of refugees in the Resettlement Project because it covers a different time period and measures new arrivals to an area rather than the proportion of "leavers".

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Questionnaire Construction

A majority of the questions in both the youth and adult questionnaires were designed specifically for the purposes of examining the geographic mobility and adequacy of settlement services for refugees. In consultation with the Citizenship and Immigration Canada office in Edmonton, the research team created a questionnaire designed to study newly arrived refugees. Because of possibly differing integration and resettlement experiences of refugee youth compared to adults, the research team decided to interview youth between the ages of 15 and 21 separately from their parents. Many of the questions in the adult questionnaire also appear in the youth questionnaire. However, the youth questionnaire contains additional questions about school experiences (prior to and after arrival to Alberta), relationships with parents and peers, career and occupational aspirations, and young refugees' hopes for the future.

For reasons of comparability, a number of questions on the youth questionnaire were modelled on existing survey instruments. Questions about educational aspirations, work experience, grades and high school experience were taken from the 1996 Alberta High School Graduate Survey (Lowe, Krahn and Bowlby, 1997) and the National School Leavers Survey (Gilbert, Barr, Clark, Blue and Sunter, 1993). Questions about physical and mental health, as well as stress, and sporting and voluntary activities were taken from the National Population Health Survey (NPHS) conducted by Statistics Canada. A survey conducted by Sarah Irwin (1995) in Scotland provided questions about future marital status and childbearing expectations. A few questions on opinions toward immigration and multiculturalism were drawn from Peters (1995). Some of the general demographic measurements were compiled from various national surveys including the Canadian Census, while some of the labour market questions, especially on job length and reasons for leaving employment, were taken from the Survey on Labour and Income Dynamics.

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The youth questionnaire was designed for a structured interview format but with a number of open-ended questions to capture personal opinions and experiences of refugee youth. The questionnaires were examined and approved by the University of Alberta Research Ethics Committee. They were then submitted to the Edmonton office of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) for approval. Suggestions from this office led to the addition of a few further questions. A pre-test with a small number of refugee residents in Edmonton was conducted. On the basis of the pre-test a few of the questions were re-worded and others were dropped. The youth questionnaire appears in the Appendix.

Sampling Design

Refugee respondents were selected from a sampling frame generated by CIC. According to the Landed Immigrant Database (LIDS), 9,198 refugees were destined to the seven Alberta host communities between 1992 and 1997. CIC provided the research group with a sampling frame of 5,208 names, addresses and landing record numbers of government and privately-sponsored refugees.[4] Refugees not included in the sampling frame were refugee claimants, dependants sponsored by family members, and refugees without available addresses. This means the results of this study cannot be generalized to refugee claimants or family-sponsored refugees. However, the sample is a good representation of refugees in the other categories.

The Population Research Laboratory (PRL) in the Department of Sociology, University of Alberta was contracted to manage the study. The PRL was able to estimate the number of families and single individuals in the sampling frame by examining the last names and addresses of individuals. The purpose of this step was to roughly estimate the percentage of families and single individuals so that neither group was inadvertently oversampled. A systematic sample was then drawn using every nth name for single respondents and for family units to obtain a "target sample"

[4] The original list actually contained 5,366 names. We removed the 158 individuals who had moved to new communities immediately on arrival to Canada before drawing the sample.

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of refugees in each of the seven communities. All refugees in Fort McMurray and Grande Prairie were included in the target sample due to their small numbers. The resulting target sample numbered 956 individuals (See Table 3.1).

Refugee Studies and Methodological Considerations

A special note on the problems of data collection with refugees is warranted. The identification of refugees from the greater population of immigrants is a difficult task in Canada as detailed immigration records are not normally available to researchers outside the federal government. Furthermore, information on refugees is generally not included in available databases since refugees are rarely distinguished from the larger immigrant population. Surveys like the Canadian Census are designed to study the population in its entirety and only ask respondents to report their country of birth, but do not ask whether respondents arrived in Canada as immigrants or refugees. Cost constraints and ignorance about potential differences between immigrants and refugees mean that important variations are missed in many studies. For this reason, questions differentiating refugees from immigrants are not included in any available survey material. Even the official records are suspect. The Landed Immigrant Database (LIDS) contained many spelling errors. Correct spelling of names is essential in tracking respondents. Conversations I have had with Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) personnel also informed me that at the time the sample was drawn, CIC was in the process of changing their immigration record system from one that was partially based on paper records to one that was fully automated. These changes made the identification of refugees even more difficult.

There are other problems associated with studying refugee youth. It may have been possible to interview the youth sample at school where comparable data on Canadian-born and other immigrant youth could be simultaneously collected. Unfortunately, accessing students in the school system is quite difficult. Researchers must receive permission from many levels including the school board, school administration, teachers, and parents before the students can be contacted. By interviewing refugee

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Table 3.1
Sampling Design, Final Target Sample and Completed Interviews

	Total refugees destined to each city			Desired Sample			Final Target Sample'			Completed Interviews	Interview Rate"
	# of families*	# of individuals*	Total N	# of families^	# of individuals^	Total N	# of families	# of individuals	Total N		
Edmonton	399	732	2,203	70	60	235	69	60	236	136	58%
Calgary	374	864	2,149	65	65	228	61	65	231	162	70%
Lethbridge	68	78	312	40	40	140	35	38	196	122	62%
Red Deer	55	41	234	35	25	113	29	21	110	76	69%
Medicine Hat	45	52	209	25	30	93	22	27	115	78	68%
Grande Prairie	16	10	71	16	10	50	16	10	45	27	60%
Fort McMurray	6	9	30	6	9	24	6	9	23	15	65%
Total	963	1,786	5,208	257	239	883	238	230	956	616	64%

Notes:
* The number of families and individuals has been estimated based on a visual inspection of the sample frame provided by CIC.
^ The desired sample is estimated to be 883 respondents, roughly proportional to the number of families and single individuals in the CIC database for each community. All families and singles in Grande Prairie and Fort McMurray have been included in the desired sample. It assumes that there are 2.5 individuals over the age of 15 per family.
' Final target sample refers to the actual number of families and individuals that the research team attempted to locate.
" Interview rate = (completed interviews/total individuals in target sample). A significant number of the target sample members had moved across the country. Even though most (95%) could be located, it was not feasible to attempt interviews with all. Interviews were requested with 648 individuals. Only 32 refused, translating to a response rate of 95%.

Adapted from original source (see Abu-Laban et. al, 1999: 14).

youth at home at the same time as their parents, a few layers of this bureaucracy could be avoided. It is these types of problems that make the study of refugee youth more challenging than other populations.

Initial contact with potential respondents was made using a variety of methods. Direct telephone contact was initiated when the respondent's phone number was available in the original sampling frame. A search of directories, in telephone books or on the Internet, was also helpful in tracking current phone numbers and addresses of refugees who had moved within the same metropolitan area. Once this method was exhausted, we turned to community centres and ethnic and immigrant organizations for lists of clients. These organizations were helpful in providing up-to-date location information for many respondents. Additionally, lists of hard-to-find respondents were created and given daily to each interviewer. These lists were shown to respondents at the conclusion of their interview and they were asked if they could provide telephone numbers for any of these individuals or families. This last method of respondent tracking was one of the most effective. Eventually, we were able to find 95% of the 956 individuals in the sampling frame (N=909). Only 47 individuals could not be located.

As Table 1.4 in Chapter 1 shows, the largest numbers of refugees to Canada and to Alberta in recent years were from the former Yugoslavia. Respondents from the former Yugoslavia were also more recent arrivals to Canada, making them less likely to have moved from their original destination, and so easier to find and interview. Respondents from Vietnam were particularly difficult to locate due difficulties with record-keeping by CIC[5] and the fact that most of these respondents had arrived in 1992 or 1993. For these reasons, respondents from the former Yugoslavia made up a majority (61%) of the final sample (see Table 3.2).

[5] CIC tries to maintain accurate records of refugees on the Landed Immigrant Data Base (LIDS). However, due to variations in naming conventions, this is often difficult. For instance, first names of Vietnamese refugees were often recorded as last names and/or were misspelled.

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Table 3.2
Region of Origin, Target Sample and Final Interview Sample

	CIC Sampling Frame		Target Sample		Interviewed	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Africa	589	11%	83	9%	39	6%
Central America	344	6%	98	10%	64	10%
Southeast Asia	568	11%	96	10%	20	3%
Former Yugoslavia	2482	46%	500	52%	375	61%
Middle East	1237	23%	163	17%	107	17%
Poland	99	2%	12	1%	11	2%
Other	47	1%	4	0%	0	0%
Total	5,366	100%	956	100%	616	100%

Note:
The original sampling frame provided by CIC contained 5,366 names of government and privately sponsored individuals destined to the seven cities. However, a small number went directly to other communities other than the city to which they were destined. Hence the original sampling frame of this study consisted of 5,208 subjects. The original CIC data-base contained 85 individuals who had arrived to Canada from western European countries (e.g. Denmark) and another 40 for whom no country of origin had been recorded. On the assumption that these individuals probably came from Africa, the Middle East or the former Yugoslavia, via western European countries, these cases were assigned to these three categories proportional to the actual number of refugees in these three categories.

Adapted from source document (see Abu-Laban, et. al, 1999)

Interviewing

Due to cost constraints, the research team was able to conduct only 616 interviews (525 adults and 91 youth), although 909 individuals had been located. Because a large minority of refugees were now living in a wide range of communities across Canada, it was not feasible to conduct interviews with all those who had subsequently moved from Alberta. A total of 186 individuals in the original target sample were living outside of Alberta at the time of the study. We were able to interview 74 of these individuals[6] including 11 youth. Out-of-province telephone or face-to-face interviews

[6] Of the 74 out-of province interviews conducted, 22 were face-to-face and 63 were telephone interviews.

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were conducted with 6 youth in British Columbia and 5 youth in Ontario.[7] The interviews took place from July 12 to October 21, 1998, with the bulk of the face-to-face interviews conducted before August 31.

Of those refugees contacted for possible interviews, only 32 (4.9%) refused. Based on my own experience in contacting the respondents, the major reason for refusals was fear of having the information "leaked" to the federal government. Additionally, some expressed fears that the information they provided would somehow find its way back to their former country, resulting in some sort of retribution to themselves or their remaining family. This is understandable as many of these respondents had horrendous experiences with the government and police in their home country. Some may also have had unpleasant experiences with the government and police in Canada due to the hearing process that determines the validity of their refugee claim. Most respondents, when told that the information they provided would be strictly confidential, and would help other refugees in Canada were extremely eager to respond. Another procedure we used to increase the response rate was to have our interviewers of the same background contact individuals who had previously declined to be interviewed. Often, when interviewers from the same country or ethnic background could relate similar experiences and empathize with respondents, it became easier to gain their trust.

An interviewing team with thirteen members was hired on the basis of their interviewing skills, multiple language proficiency, and experience with refugee and multicultural issues. The interviewers participated in a training session prior to data collection. Because the interviews took place in the respondents' city of residence, the interview team was required to travel to each of the seven centres.[8] The majority of the interviews were conducted by ten interviewers (six were former refugees); I conducted a small proportion of interviews myself. Only 1/3 of the interviews were conducted in

[7] Out-of-province interviews for adults included 23 from British Columbia, 1 from Saskatchewan, 36 from Ontario, 1 from Quebec and 2 from Nova Scotia.
[8] One interviewer was hired in Grande Prairie to conduct the interviews there.

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English, with the remainder being conducted in 11 different languages.[9] Interviewers translated the questions on site. For fixed-choice questions, response categories were translated and presented on cue cards using nine different languages. These cards were shown to respondents during the interviews to help facilitate accurate responses (see Appendix for cue cards).

In order to obtain accurate and complete information, and to avoid translation errors, the interviewers systematically verified each questionnaire after the interview was conducted. As an occasional interviewing supervisor, I observed the interviewers spending a lot of time rewriting illegible responses and making sure that all questions were answered. I do not believe that any of the responses were elaborated or changed by the interviewers as they were trained in the importance of accuracy and took their jobs seriously. Furthermore, many of our interviewers felt they had a personal stake in the study results, as most were former refugees themselves. They often saw their role as one that would facilitate a better understanding of refugees to Canada and felt that they would have a small part in making conditions better for other refugees. Part of the supervisory job involved debriefing the interviewers. The process continually dredged up old memories and so many evenings were spent talking with the interviewers. After a while, many of the interviewers began debriefing themselves, especially the Yugoslavian interviewers as there were four to support one another.

Living and working together during the interview phase of this study may have been frustrating at times, but it also led to friendships that continue to this day. It is for these reasons, both personal and observational, that I have full faith in the accuracy of the data as collected by the interviewers. Finally, I was told by most of the interviewers that they "preferred" interviewing the youth. The interviewers felt that the youth survey instrument was "smoother", and that the youth were less likely to become "off-track", leading to shorter interview times and less interviewer/subject fatigue.

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[9] These languages included: Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian, Russian, Arabic, Urdu, Spanish, Polish, Somali, Vietnamese, Pashto, Amharic and Farsi.

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Most of the interviews took place in respondents' homes. When possible, interviewers conducted the interviews in separate rooms. One of the interview protocols required interviewers to enter a respondent's homes in pairs. This meant that two or more interviewers would be present in the house at the same time and could conduct interviews in different rooms. No youth was ever interviewed in the presence of a parent.[10] However, there were a few times when siblings were interviewed simultaneously. This may have influenced their responses somewhat. My personal experience in interviewing siblings simultaneously was that common questions, for example demographic questions, could be recorded more quickly, but that answers to the more personal responses were rarely similar. However, the practice of tandem interviewing was highly discouraged.

The average length of a youth interview was 50 minutes.[11] Upon completion of the interview, all respondents were paid $20 to compensate them for their time and any expenses. I never experienced a youth refusing the $20 "gift". However, many parents initially refused since they simply wished their participation to improve the experience of other refugees. In the end, we convinced all respondents to take the "gift" by stating that we might lose our jobs if we returned to our employers with the money.

We were generally treated with extreme hospitality, regardless of the ethnicity or gender of the interviewer. As part of the training, interviewers were instructed to accept food and/or beverages. To refuse might be seen as a slight on the household. My first mistake was declining coffee at an Afghani household at 10:00PM in favour of water. While my purpose was to avoid caffeine before bedtime, asking for water was interpreted as an insult to the respondent's Turkish coffee. After that, I found myself having multiple "snacks" throughout the day and evening as refusal of any offering was construed as impolite. Needless to say, I probably gained five pounds during the experience and lost much sleep due to caffeine-induced insomnia.

[10] Parents were often interviewed first, mainly as a courtesy. This also meant that the parents could know that none of the questions were too threatening or personal for their children to answer.
[11] The average adult interview was 80 minutes.

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Sometimes, I was offered cigarettes, but I drew the line at starting this addiction in order to obtain data!

All respondents were informed of the nature and purpose of the study when first contacted by telephone. Before the interview began, respondents were again informed of the purpose of the study. They were reminded that their participation was voluntary, that they could decline to answer any question, and could terminate the interview at any time. They were assured that their answers would not personally identify them and that their names and telephone numbers would be destroyed upon completion of the interview. As already noted, there were very few refusals (N=32) and most refugees, once they had been told about the purpose of the study, were eager to participate.

Overall, the interviewing experience was very enlightening. While I had conducted interviews previously in various settings, I had never worked in such an intense environment. To minimize costs, we sent all the interviewers to each community at the same time to complete as many interviews as quickly as possible. This meant living together, experiencing stress, and working long hours. A typical day would begin at 7:00 AM with a ringing phone. A respondent was returning a message we had left the day before. Many respondents worked on shifts, so some of our interviews took place in the late evening, as late as 2:00 AM in some instances. The late nights were further lengthened by the daily debriefing of our interviewers. Debriefing was essential, but personally draining. At the beginning of the project, many of our interviewers had to face their own private memories that resurfaced while speaking with respondents. Others who were not refugees themselves had to cope with the stories told to them by the respondents. As well, there was much discussion among the interviewers concerning their own roles and quality of life in Canada. However, the team had, for the most part, good inter-personal skills that I believed helped to lessen their personal stresses. I do not feel this is a detriment to the integrity of our data, but rather a necessary psychological process for the interviewers and myself (as I was not immune to the stress of listening to traumatic experiences).

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Coding, Data Preparation and Statistical Analysis

Upon completion of the interviews, answers to the closed-ended questions were keypunched into an SPSS database. Coding frameworks for the "open-ended" questions in the youth survey were developed by myself, except when the questions were repeated on the adult survey. In this case, the coding frames were developed in consultation with the three principal investigators of the Resettlement of Refugees in Alberta Project. Subsequent to data cleaning, discrepant value and consistency checks were also conducted. I was responsible for additional coding and restructuring of the variables because of the specialized statistical analysis required for this project.. Once coding was completed, the youth data were merged with some information from their parents so that data from the adults could be linked to their children. This step in the preparation of the data file provided unique inter-generational information unavailable in previous studies of refugee youth.

The data analyses presented in Chapter 4 are largely descriptive, based on frequency distributions and bivariate cross-tabulations. However, while not overly complex, these descriptive analyses present us with some very useful and informative findings related to topics previously unexplored in the literature on immigrant and refugee youth. Chapters 5 and 6 contain somewhat more sophisticated multivariate analyses. The path analyses (extensions of multiple regression) in these chapters allow us to untangle some of the causal connections among the many variables examined in this study. However, it should be noted that the relatively small sample size (N=91) means that some interesting findings do not attain statistical significance.

The data analysis in Chapter 4 is largely descriptive, focusing on a wide range of measures of integration and school experiences. Cross-tabulations of these findings by gender and ethnicity are also presented, with Chi-square tests of significance. Due to the small sample size ($N = 91$), a relationship is deemed significant when $p < 0.10$. In Chapter 5, multiple regression analysis is used to identify the key factors influencing the dependent variable "educational status". A path analysis with refugee youth's

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occupational aspirations as the dependent variable is presented in Chapter 6 to uncover the influence of a range of endogenous independent variables including family socioeconomic status. In both of these multivariate analyses, a significance level of 0.10 is used, again because of the small sample size.

Why Focus on Refugees from the Former Yugoslavia?

Much of the analysis in subsequent chapters includes comparisons of youth from the former Yugoslavia and non-Yugoslavian youth. In part, this is because youth from the former Yugoslavia make up half of the entire sample (N=46). As already noted, this is not a flaw in the sampling design. The years 1994 through 1997 saw the largest influx of arrivals from the former Yugoslavia as a result of the wars in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia. In 1995, 10,016 individuals from the former Yugoslavia, mostly refugees, arrived in Canada, representing 5% all immigrants and refugees arriving in the country (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997a). In Alberta, the pattern is similar; 860 immigrants arrived in the province from the former Yugoslavia. This accounts for 6% of all immigrants arriving in the province. The figures are more dramatic when only refugees are considered. In Canada, refugees from the former Yugoslavia numbered 6,948, or 28% of all refugee arrivals, making this category the number one refugee source. When compared to the intake of refugees to Alberta (N=1,317), individuals from the former Yugoslavia represent 53% of the total, indicating that our apparent over-sampling of Yugoslavian respondents is only slight.

There is also an important theoretical reason for comparing Yugoslavian respondents to refugees from elsewhere. Setting aside the two respondents from Poland, there is one commonality uniting many of the youth in the non-Yugoslavian group. This is their visible minority status. Most refugee youth arriving from these countries can be classified as visible minorities in the Canadian context. Though some respondents from the former Yugoslavia may also identify themselves as belonging to a visible

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minority, the majority would not.[12] Since much of the literature on ethnic relations suggests that Canada is indeed a racist society (e.g., Satzewich, 1998; Li, 1999; Isajiw, 1999), the "visible differences" of some refugee groups cannot be ignored. A major research question, as a result, is whether visible minority status has an impact on the experiences of refugee youth in Alberta.

For these reasons, refugee youth from the former Yugoslavia are compared to those from elsewhere throughout this dissertation. Even when grouped by region of origin (i.e., the Middle East or Central America), subsamples are too small for further systematic comparison within the non-Yugoslavian group. Youth respondents from countries outside the former Yugoslavia total 45 with 4 from Azerbaijan, 1 from Pakistan, 6 from Iraq, 8 from Afghanistan, 4 from Vietnam, 5 from Somalia, 13 from El Salvador, 2 from Guatemala and 2 from Poland. Therefore, it is not feasible statistically to analyse refugees from each country separately.

A Demographic Portrait of Refugee Youth

The following is a univariate description of some key demographic characteristics of refugee youth, using the two main analytic groups: those from the former Yugoslavia and youth from elsewhere, prior to their arrival in Canada.

[12] According to the 1996 Census of Canada, only 0.1% of respondents from the former Yugoslavia considered themselves to be visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 1998).

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Figure 3.3: Youth from Yugoslavia

Demographic Information

- There were 23 males and 22 females.
- Their mean age was 17.0 years
- Mean number of months living in the present community was 20.
- Half of respondents had left the former Yugoslavia by 1994.
- While 33% of youth were destined to Edmonton, only 18% of the sample were destined to Calgary. 33% were destined to Lethbridge, with 17% destined to Medicine Hat, Red Deer, and Grande Prairie.
- At the time of the interview, about 33% lived in Edmonton and 37% live in Calgary. A total of 11 youth live in Lethbridge, Medicine Hat, and Red Deer. Only three lived outside Alberta at the time of the interview.

First Language Knowledge and Ethnic Background

- Almost 60% of youth indicated that their first language is Serbo-Croatian, 22% Bosnian, and 13% Croatian. Two respondents have Hungarian as their first language.
- Almost all youth speak more than one language (96%).
- 26% of the youth interviewed spoke French and German as a second language; five other languages were spoken by some of the other youth.
- The language most often used at home was Serbo-Croatian (54%), followed by Bosnian (17%) and Croatian (15%).
- The ethnicity of the respondents was Bosnian (27%), Yugoslavian (20%), Croatian (18%), Serbian (18%), Muslim (9%), and Serbo-Croatian (4%). Two respondents reported a Hungarian ethnic origin.
- All youth were born in the former Yugoslavia (though half specifed their place of birth as Bosnia-Herzegovina).

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Figure 3.4: Youth from Other Countries

Demographic Information

- There are 26 males and 19 females.
- Their mean age was 18.3 years.
- The mean number of months living in present community was 27.
- Half of respondents had left their home country by 1992, with the majority spending time in a second country before arriving in Canada.
- Edmonton was the destination of 18% of youth, while 36% were originally destined to Calgary, 22% were destined to Lethbridge, and 25% were destined to Medicine Hat and Red Deer.
- At the time of the interview, one third lived in Calgary while Edmonton was home to 16% of the sample. Those living in Red Deer, Lethbridge, and Medicine Hat accounted for another 33% while another 18% lived outside the province, in either British Columbia or Ontario.

First Language Knowledge and Ethnic Background

- Spanish was the most common first language indicated by youth in this category (33%). Somali was spoken by 11%, Pashei by 11%, and Armenian by 9%. Other first languages spoken included Polish, Farsi, Arabic, Persian, Kurdish, Assyrian, Cantonese, Vietnamese and Pushtu.
- The language most often used at home was Spanish (33%), followed by Somali (11%) and Pashei (11%).
- Twenty per cent indicated their ethnicity as Afghani, 13% reported Central American, 11% were Somali, and 11% were Hispanic. Other origins reported include Salvadoran, Guatemalan, Hispanic, Middle Eastern, Armenian, Kurdish, Punjabi, Vietnamese, Iraqi, Chinese and Polish.
- Thirteen youth were born in El Salvador, 8 in Afghanistan, 6 in Iraq, 5 in Somalia, 4 in Azerbaijan, and 4 in Vietnam. Other countries of birth include Poland, Pakistan and Guatemala.

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A pre-arrival comparison reveals that there are a number of differences between the two groups. On average, respondents from the former Yugoslavia were one year younger than youth from other countries. Calgary is the most popular destination city for all refugee youth in my sample, followed by Edmonton. About 25% of all refugee youth were destined to mid-sized urban centres in Alberta.

Measurement

The following three chapters focus on the education and integration experiences, current educational status, and occupational aspirations of refugee youth, respectively. Given the complexity of the construction of the dependent variables used in Chapters 5 and 6 (current educational status and occupational aspirations), the full details for these are provided in the chapters as they are needed. This section details a number of other variables used throughout the thesis. These variables, essentially dependent variables in Chapter 4 and independent variables in Chapters 5 and 6, are separated into four groups: individual ascribed characteristics, socioeconomic status measures, familial factors, and individual attained characteristics. This modeling of variables recognizes that there are different types of factors involved in the ability of refugee youth to successfully integrate in Canadian society.

Individual ascribed characteristics are those over which the respondent has no control such as age, gender and ethnic background. These are factors the respondents are "born with" but they have significant social repercussions. For instance, it is well established that being born female entails different life chances in Canadian society than being born male. These differences can be seen in such outcomes as lower average incomes. As explained in Chapter 5, a number of different *socioeconomic status measures* were considered in the development of the multivariate analyses of educational status. Social class has implications for family life style and access to finances. For example, the greater the income, the better chance of attaining post-secondary education. *Familial factors* are those variables associated directly with the particular youth's family, including the number of months in Canada, parental health,

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and difficulties helping parents adjust to life in Canada. Thus, months in Canada should have a positive influence on the integration of refugee youth. However, the amount of time spent in Canada is out of the control of youth and is therefore classified as a familial influence. Finally, *individual achieved characteristics* are those over which the refugee youth have some control, albeit with some social influences outside their power. These include English language ability, grade placement upon arrival, and personal health.

Individual Ascribed Characteristics

A major independent variable in this analysis is ethnicity (Yugoslavian=1, other ethnic backgrounds=0). The integration and immigration literature are unequivocal in concluding that ethnicity has both negative and positive influences on various aspects of social life. Due to the small size of this sample, ethnicity could not be studied in great detail, but former Yugoslavs will be contrasted with other refugees.

Age (in years) and gender (0=female, 1=male) are important benchmark variables in the analysis. Age and gender differences in educational attainment, occupational aspirations, and to a certain extent, fitting into Canadian society have been documented by various authors (Gaskell, 1992; Looker and Lowe, 1996; Geller, 1996; Jones and Wallace, 1992). Additionally, age is an important developmental factor to consider in the integration of refugee youth. Age differences in the adaptation of refugee youth in their new circumstances have been documented by Ahearn, Loughry and Ager (2000) and Garbarino and Kostelney (1996), among others.

Socioeconomic Status

A number of family-related socioeconomic status measures are used as possible independent variables in Chapters 5 and 6. Parents' highest level of schooling is an important consideration given its influence on the academic achievements of children. Perron (1996) found that mother's and father's highest level of schooling had a

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significant effect on the educational aspirations of high school students who lived in Montreal. Geller (1996) also finds a correlation between parents' level of education and the educational and occupational aspirations of young women in Toronto and Regina. These are indications that the reproduction of socioeconomic status is alive and well in Canada. For the purposes of this analysis, parents' highest level of schooling is measured as the highest education of both parents (1=at least one parent with university degree, 0=both parents with less than university degree). Just over one-third (36%) have at least one parent with university education, while the parents of the remaining 64% do not have post-secondary training.

Family income is another important influence on educational status. Curtis, Livingstone and Smaller (1992), among others, show how youth are streamed into academic and non-academic tracks in the school system and find a correlation between the type of academic stream and the income of the family. Here, family income is measured as the total income before taxes and deductions for the entire household (1=<$20,000, 2=$20,000-29,999, 3=$30,000-39,999, 4=$40,000-49,999, 5=$50,000-59,999, 6=$60,000 or more). The largest group of refugee youth lives in families where the total income is less than $20,000 (36%), while 23% of the families earn between $20,000 and $29,999, and 21% earn between $30,000 and $39,999 per year. Only 8% of refugee youth live in families earning between $40,000 and $49,999, while 9% live in families earning over $50,000 per year.

Familial Factors

Time spent in Canada is measured as the number of months since arrival in the country, and was obtained from the landing records used to initially track the refugee respondents. To be eligible for this study, respondents must have arrived in Canada between January 1992 and December 1997. Therefore, the maximum number of months in Canada for a respondent at the time of the interview was 60. In the immigration literature, findings suggest that as time in Canada increases, the integration of immigrants and refugees should also increase. It would also be expected

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that refugee youth who have been in Canada for longer periods of time would be more integrated in terms of doing better in school and having higher aspirations.

The experience of a refugee camp[13] is a focus of much of the settlement literature (Ahearn and Athey, 1991; Reynolds, 1993; Raymond and Raymond, 2000; Ahearn, Loughry and Ager, 1999). The youth questionnaire did not have a question on refugee camp experience, but the adult questionnaire asked about refugee camp experience and length of time spent in a camp. The question to parents was "*did you spend any time in a refugee camp prior to your arrival in Canada*? Parents' answers were linked to the youth respondents and recoded in the following manner (1=yes, one or both parents in refugee camp; 0=neither parent in refugee camp).

Parental health may also impact the school experiences of refugee youth. When parents are sick, often their children suffer as well (Ahearn, et al., 1999: 220; Laor Wolmer, Mayes, Gershon, Weizman and Cohen, 1997). While the impact of sick parents has been shown to be more detrimental to children under the age of five years (Laor, et al., 1997), there remains a positive association between parental health and the well-being of adolescents. The consequences of poor parental health for youth are great, especially when they are expected to take on the role of pseudo-parents themselves. Parental health as measured in this study, is an index of both physical and mental health of both parents or, single parent when a second parent is not present (Alpha=0.7596). Adult respondents were asked to rate their physical and mental health one year after arrival on a number of questions including stress, psychological well-being and physical health over the past year (1=poor health, 5=excellent health).

The refugee youth survey instrument asks "*have you ever had to help your parents adjust to life in Canada (i.e. translation, accessing social or employment services)*. If yes, "*some young refugees have said that they feel a lot of pressure or conflict when*

[13] While the majority of the literature focuses on the negative experiences of refugee camp life, there is a small literature on positive experiences of refugee camp exposure, particularly for young refugees (Isajiw, Boshyk, and Senkus, 1992). This research also applies to an earlier era, namely post-World War II refugees.

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they have to help their parents with translation or other adult matters. Other young refugees don't see this to be a problem for them. How about you? How do/did you feel when you had to help your parents in this way?" The variable is coded in the following manner for the bivariate and multivariate analysis in subsequent chapters (0=no difficulty, 1=difficulty). Refugee youth have a better chance of succeeding in education when "their families are stable, have adjusted well to a new country and provide their children with support, encouragement and love" (Ahearn et. al, 1999: 230). Thus, this variable seeks to measure the positive and negative aspects of helping parents. Some refugee youth found that helping their parents did not cause them any stress or unhappiness, while others found helping their parents was very stressful.

Size of community has implications for the integration of refugees and other newcomers, most importantly for the existence and availability of culture-specific services. English language instruction and translation services are usually more abundant in larger urban centres than in smaller centres. However, this availability is coupled with increased waiting lists due to larger proportions of newcomers in large urban centres. For this reason, availability of services may be a problem in the smaller places. Furthermore, immigrants and refugees tend to congregate in larger cities.[14] There is a good chance that a community of similar culture would be available in larger centres rather than in smaller centres. This variable has policy implications. If culturally relevant services are not available in smaller centres, and this has an effect on the educational experiences of youth, it would suggest that additional funding should be provided to service organizations in smaller urban centres. In the following chapters, a binary measure distinguishing between large cities (e.g., Edmonton and Calgary) and smaller centres is used to measure size of community. Another take on this issue would be to destine everyone to large centres.

[14] According to the 1996 Census of Canada, the cities with the most immigrants in Canada are: Toronto with 1,820,628 immigrants representing 43% of its total population; Vancouver with 658,656 immigrants or 36.3% of the population, and Hamilton with 147,888 immigrants representing 23.9% of its population (Statistics Canada, 1998).

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Recent evidence suggests that family composition is another important influence on the educational status of youth. A recent study by the United States Department of Education finds that the academic performance of students in reading, arithmetic, and general knowledge is greater for children living in two-parent homes than for children living in single parented homes (West, Dentin, and Germino-Hauskin, 2000). This relationship remains even when home language use is considered. Children in two-parent families in homes that do not use English still outperform children from single-parented families where English is the home language. Does this happen with refugee youth? This variable is used in the subsequent analyses. Family composition is measured in this study by a question that asks about the people living in the household (2=two parents, 1=one parent, 0=no parents). Only 5.5% of youth respondents arrived in Canada alone, while 23% came with one parent, and the majority (71%) arrived with both parents.

Differential effects of sponsorship are only beginning to be investigated in the refugee literature. This research aims to identify differences, if they exist, between refugees who are sponsored by the government versus those who are sponsored by private individuals or organizations. It may be the case that refugees who have more personal connections in the community through private sponsors, will have an easier time integrating than those who are government sponsored and do not have the benefit of inter-personal support from sponsors. The variable has two values (1=government sponsored, 0=privately sponsored). The majority of refugee youth were government sponsored (59%) while the remainder (41%) were privately sponsored.

Individual Achieved Characteristics

Recent research suggests that lack of English is the number one cause of academic failure for refugees and immigrants (Huang, 2000; West et al., 2000; Watt and Roessingh, 1994). Those without language problems are more likely to successfully integrate and also do better at school and in subsequent employment. Several English language ability indicators are examined in Chapter 4. Respondents were asked to rate

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their ability to read, write, and speak English on a five point scale (1=basic, 5=very advanced). An index of English language ability was subsequently created from three questions (Alpha=0.8718), and used as an independent variable in Chapters 5 and 6.

The effects of mental health on the integration of refugees have also been debated. Berry, Kim, Minde and Mok (1987) find that refugees and First Nations peoples experience higher levels of psychosomatic stress than do other migrants and ethnic groups, primarily due to ethnic discrimination. Responses to four questions: *"In the past month, how healthy have you been psychologically?* And, *how happy or sad have you felt in the past month?"* with the same questions asked about psychological health and happiness during the first year in Canada, are examined in Chapter 4, along with a number of other measures of the psychological state of refugee youth. In addition, an index of mental health status was constructed from four of these measures (Alpha=0.7628) and used as an independent variable in Chapters 5 and 6.

The variable "grade placement upon arrival" has not been systematically examined in the immigration literature. However, it is reasonable to suspect that students' perceptions of appropriateness of grade placement upon arrival would be an important indicator of educational success. Several measures of the appropriateness of grade placement are discussed in the next chapter. The first is a self-report measure. The survey question asked "*do you think the grade you were placed in (when you arrived in Canada) was the right grade for you to be in?* Respondents indicating their grade level as too low were categorized with those stating their grade assignment was "just right" (0=grade too high, 1= grade just right or grade too low), since the variable is used to measure of the negative effect of grade placements that are too high. In addition, a second variable was constructed comparing the age of refugee youth to the typical age of students in the grade in which they were placed. A third "appropriate grade placement variable" compared the grade the individual had been in his/her home country to the grade in which they were placed in Canada.

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Chapter 4: Educational and Integration Experiences of Refugee Youth

"Although at first you'll feel isolated, in time, you will make friends." A 20 year-old female from Vietnam on her advice to other refugees.

"(I love) my friends, and math. I love this school. I've always wanted to go there. There are people from my background so it is easier to make friends. The teachers are really nice." A 16 year old female from Bosnia-Hercegovina on why she likes school in Canada.

Introduction

Canada is a nation that embraces multiplicity. It is a nation of two official languages, three territories, ten provinces and a plurality of cultural and linguistic groups. These characteristics help define Canada as a nation of many. While the federal government has dealt with diversity by instituting multicultural policies as a protective mechanism against discrimination, this legislation has often proven to be more about celebrating song and dance issues than about protecting the rights of minority groups (Kallen, 1995). Thus, for some refugees, Canada is a haven. To many others, it is a place of uncertainty and intolerance. For adult refugees, the labour market is the major arena where hopes are either met or dashed. For refugee youth, the school is the primary institution within which integration can occur. Educational experiences and "fitting in" to Canadian society are paramount to their overall integration.

This chapter describes various aspects of the lives of refugee youth in Canada to help better understand the multifaceted aspects of integration. Specifically, I examine some of the pre-arrival experiences of refugee youth, including refugee camp experience. The physical and mental health of refugee youth upon arrival in Canada, their ESL participation, their self-rated English language ability, their education prior to their arrival, and their subsequent educational experiences in Canada will also be described. I then go on to discuss their relationships with family and peers in Canada, and selected aspects of "fitting in" in Canada. For each of these subjects, possible

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differences by sex and ethnicity are explored. Thus, in a general way and using a variety of different measures, I begin to answer the broader question that guides this thesis, namely, how integrated are refugee youth in Canada?

The rationale for why these subjects are discussed in relation to the concept of integration is simple. Young refugees, no less than their parents, arrive in Canada with social, cultural, linguistic, and educational experiences that influence their integration into their new society. To better understand this complex process of integration, we must examine their experiences prior to and after their arrival in Canada. Pre-arrival experiences include time spent in a refugee camp, time spent in a country of asylum, and year of arrival. Post-arrival factors include health, English language ability, education, relations with family and peers, and feelings about integrating into Canada. Some of these issues, such as refugee camp experience, provide useful background information that may influence the findings in other chapters. Other issues, such as English language ability, are more directly related to the process of integration. Thus, this chapter not only highlights specific integration experiences, but also provides further general information about refugee youth in Canada.

What are the pre-arrival experiences of refugee youth?

While the primary purpose of the Resettlement of Refugees in Alberta project was not to investigate the traumatic experiences sometimes associated with being a refugee, some questions about prior experiences were necessary to gauge their impact on the resettlement experiences of refugees in Canada. It has been suggested that young refugees undergo a number of critical changes during their resettlement period and this can affect their mental health and their happiness. "Adolescents and young adults face developmental demands and maturational identity crises at the same time that they encounter new situational demands and cultural identity crises" (The Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, 1988: 6). The combination of fleeing a war situation, growing up, and adjusting to a new context may be overwhelming for some refugee youth.

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Table 4.1 reveals that just under one-third (31%) of all refugee youth in this study have spent some time in a refugee camp prior to their arrival in Canada. There are no significant sex differences; females (29%) were as likely as males (31%) to have spent time in a refugee camp. However, Yugoslavian refugees (37%) were slightly more likely than other youth (24%) to have had this potentially traumatic experience.

Table 4.1
Refugee Youth Experiences Prior to Arrival by Sex and Ethnicity

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
Ever spent time in a refugee camp?						
Yes	29%	32%	24%	37%	28	31%
No	71%	68%	76%	63%	63	69%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
Spent time in a secondary country of asylum?**						
Yes	81%	66%	71%	73%	62	72%
No	19%	34%	29%	27%	24	28%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	86	100%
Year of Arrival						
1992-1993	22%	26%	47%	2%	22	24%
1994-1995	41%	34%	20%	54%	34	37%
1996-1998^	37%	40%	33%	43%	35	38%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%

Note:
* Chi-square significant at 0.10 for sex.
** Chi-square significant at 0.001 for ethnicity.
# Information for this question is provided by parents. The total does not equal 91 because there are 5 youth without parents.
^ Only one respondent arrived in 1998.

There are no reliable figures available on the number of youth in refugee camps world-wide. The UNHCR (2000) estimates that there were 1,733,150 youth between the ages of 0 and 17 years old in refugee camps in 1999. They represented 46% of all persons in refugee camps. However, UNHCR acknowledges that it is extremely difficult to obtain accurate data.

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Research findings are mixed as to the effect of refugee camp experience on the well-being of refugee youth. Some contend there is no negative effect for refugee children as long as their parents have good coping mechanisms themselves (Ahearn, Loughry and Ager, 1999: 220). Others argue the opposite, that life in refugee camps is permanently scarring for children and youth (Raymond and Raymond, 2000: UNICEF, 1999). Harrell-Bond (1999: 138), in her discussions of the effect of refugee camp experiences, concludes that the impact on youth is virtually unknown. Thus, the findings in Chapters 5 and 6 regarding the impact of refugee camp experience on youth's current educational status and occupational aspirations may shed some light on this issue.

The majority of refugee youth (72%) have spent some time in at least one country of asylum before coming to Canada (Table 4.1). Males (34%) were more likely than females (19%) to have come directly to Canada without stopping in a temporary country of asylum. This difference is significant.[1] However, there is no difference by ethnicity. Yugoslavian youth (73%) are just as likely as youth from other countries (71%) to have spent time in an asylum country prior to their arrival. To give a global perspective on this phenomenon, according to the UNHCR (2000), there were 2,220,040 asylum seekers in 38 temporary countries in 1999.

Three quarters of the refugee youth in this study, virtually all Yugoslavian, arrived between 1994 and 1998, and only 24% of my sample arrived during 1992-1993. Almost half of the youth from other countries (47%) arrived in the years 1992 and 1993. This difference is highly significant in the Chi-square test ($p<0.001$). This is likely due to the large numbers of Yugoslavian refugees entering Canada after 1994 and the increased difficulty of tracking refugees who had been in Canada longer than 4 years. There is very little difference in time of arrival by gender, as we might expect.

[1] Chi-square is significant ($p<0.10$) for sex.

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In summary, three out of four refugee youth in this study had spent time in an asylum country before coming to Canada. One-third had lived in a refugee camp. In subsequent chapters, the impact of these experiences will be examined further.

What is the health status of refugee youth in Canada?

Public concern is often expressed regarding the health of refugees, especially with the rising cost of healthcare. Assessments of the health of refugee youth surveyed in this study are made on the basis of responses to four relevant questions. (1) "When you first came to Canada, how healthy were you physically?" Four response categories were provided, "very unhealthy", "unhealthy", "somewhat healthy", and "very healthy". (2) "When you first came to Canada, how did you feel psychologically?" The same four response categories were provided. (3) When you first came to Canada, how stressful was your life?" The response categories were "very stressful", "somewhat stressful", "not very stressful", and "not at all stressful". (4) "In the first year, how happy or sad did you feel?" The response categories provided were "very sad", "somewhat sad", "both sad and happy", "somewhat happy", and "very happy".

The research literature suggests that mental health problems may be wide spread among refugee youth. For example, Hodes (1998: 793) reports that serious psychiatric disorders are present in 40 to 50% of refugee children entering the United States. So, how healthy were the refugee youth on arrival in Canada? The majority (76%) indicated that they were physically "very healthy" upon arrival in Canada (Table 4.2). This finding may reflect the vigorous health testing that refugee applicants must undergo before they are admitted to the country. A further 19% of refugee youth said that they were somewhat healthy. Only five percent said that they were physically unhealthy (four percent) or very unhealthy (one percent) when they arrived in Canada. There were no significant gender differences observed in self-reported health upon arrival. Similarly, ethnic differences were not significant.

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Table 4.2
Health of Refugee Youth Upon Arrival in Canada by Sex and Ethnicity

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
When you first came to Canada, how healthy were you physically?						
very unhealthy	2%	0%	0%	2%	1	1%
unhealthy	7%	2%	4%	4%	4	4%
somewhat healthy	17%	20%	22%	15%	17	19%
very healthy	73%	78%	73%	78%	69	76%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
When you first came to Canada, how did you feel psychologically?						
very unhealthy	7%	2%	0%	9%	4	4%
unhealthy	10%	8%	7%	11%	8	9%
somewhat healthy	15%	28%	22%	22%	20	22%
very healthy	68%	62%	71%	59%	59	65%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
When you first came to Canada, how stressful was your life?						
very stressful	39%	22%	33%	26%	27	30%
somewhat stressful	32%	38%	40%	30%	32	35%
not very stressful	17%	20%	13%	24%	17	19%
not at all stressful	12%	20%	13%	20%	15	16%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
In the first year, how happy or sad did you feel?						
very sad	7%	6%	4%	9%	6	7%
somewhat sad	12%	8%	9%	11%	9	10%
both sad and happy	34%	30%	24%	39%	29	32%
somewhat happy	27%	32%	31%	28%	27	30%
very happy	20%	24%	31%	13%	20	22%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%

Given the traumatic experience many of these youth may have faced in becoming refugees, we are further interested in their psychological health. According to Beiser (1999), post-traumatic stress disorder and depression are the two most prevalent mental disorders found among refugees, particularly adolescents and the elderly. In response to the question "when you first came to Canada, how did you feel psychologically?," 65% of the refugee youth said they were "very healthy". Another 22% answered "somewhat healthy", while 13% said they were either unhealthy or very unhealthy. Again, there were no significant gender differences. However,

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ethnicity was significantly related to psychological health upon arrival. Yugoslavian youth were more likely to answer "very unhealthy" (9% versus 0%). In turn, they were less likely to indicate they were "very healthy" (59% versus 71%). It is important to note, however, that Yugoslavian youth had arrived more recently than many of the other refugees, and there may be a recency effect in terms of the youth's recollection of their state of mind at the time of arrival.

Self-reported stress is another measure of adjustment upon arrival. Thirty percent of all refugee youth indicated that their lives were very stressful upon arrival, and another 35% said they felt somewhat stressed. There are significant gender differences in responses to this measure. Almost 40% of females indicated they felt very stressed when they arrived, compared to 22% of males. Conversely, only 12% of females indicated that they were not at all stressed, compared to 20% of males. The results of this survey are consistent with the Canadian Task Force Report (1988) revealing that a large proportion of immigrant and refugee youth experience high levels of stress upon arrival.

Refugee youth were also asked how happy or sad they felt during their first year after they arrived in Canada. A slim majority (52%) felt somewhat or very happy in their first year, 32% indicated they were both happy and sad, 10% were somewhat sad and 7% were very sad. By way of comparison, Bibby and Posterski (1992: 156) surveyed Canadian-born students and reported that 9 out of 10 students are "very happy". While the questions asked in the two studies are not directly comparable, it does appear that refugee youth, in their first year in Canada, are not as happy as Canadian youth, in general. Once again, gender differences in self-reported happiness were not significant. However, youth from the former Yugoslavia (39%) were more likely (24%) to report mixed feelings of happiness and sadness in their first year, and were less likely (13%) to indicate they were very happy.

To assess how they felt later on in their resettlement experience and to see if their physical and mental health had improved since their arrival, refugee youth were also

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asked about their physical and mental health in the past month (Table 4.3). The questions asked were identical to the ones reported above. With reference to physical and mental health, there is not much change observed between the two points in time. However, levels of stress had declined. Specifically, 64% of refugee youth reported they had little stress or were stress-free at the time of the interview, compared to only 35% upon arrival. Their levels of happiness also increased over time. Forty-six percent of refugee youth reported that they were somewhat happy and 32% reported that they were very happy, up from 30% and 22% respectively on arrival. These findings echo those of Beiser (1988, 1999) whose study of Southeast Asian refugees showed that, as time in Canada increased, severity of stress decreased.

There were some interesting differences based on ethnicity in the physical and mental health of these refugee youth in 1998. Youth from other countries were less likely (58%) than youth from the former Yugoslavia (85%) to say they were physically very healthy at the time of the interview. Youth from other countries (18%) were also much more likely than Yugoslavian youth (2%) to report their lives as being very stressful. Yugoslavian youth (46%) were more likely to indicate that their lives were not at all stressful at the time of the interview. Thus, on the whole, Yugoslavian youth were happier (39%) than youth from other countries (24%).

There are two gender differences in terms of the youth's perception of their mental health in the past month. Males (14%) were somewhat more likely than females (5%) to report their lives as currently very stressful. However, females (37%) were more likely than males (28%) to say they were very happy in the past month. Beiser (1999) suggests that though most refugees' mental health improves with time, improvements do not affect everyone equally. "Pockets of people within the refugee population stayed depressed" (Beiser, 1999: 83). For males, especially those who are just beyond high school age and about to enter the workforce, depression and other mental health problems may be a factor if finding a job becomes difficult.

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Table 4.3
Health of Refugee Youth in Past Month by Sex and Ethnicity

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
In the past month, how healthy have you felt physically?						
very unhealthy	0%	2%	0%	2%	1	1%
unhealthy	7%	2%	4%	4%	4	4%
somewhat healthy	20%	26%	38%	9%	21	23%
very healthy	73%	70%	58%	85%	65	71%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
How healthy did you feel psychologically?						
unhealthy	2%	2%	2%	2%	2	2%
somewhat healthy	29%	26%	38%	17%	25	27%
very healthy	68%	72%	60%	80%	64	70%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
In the past month, how stressful has your life been?						
very stressful	5%	14%	18%	2%	9	10%
somewhat stressful	24%	26%	27%	24%	23	25%
neutral	2%	0%	2%	0%	1	
not very stressful	34%	26%	31%	28%	27	30%
not at all stressful	34%	34%	22%	46%	31	34%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
Overall, how happy or sad have you felt in the past month?						
very sad	5%	2%	7%	0%	3	3%
somewhat sad	5%	2%	2%	4%	3	3%
both sad and happy	27%	6%	13%	17%	14	15%
somewhat happy	27%	62%	53%	39%	42	46%
very happy	37%	28%	24%	39%	29	32%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%

In short, upon their arrival in Canada, most refugee youth were generally in good health. This is probably due to medical screening prior to their arrival. In other words, unhealthy youth would not be chosen to come to Canada by officials screening potential refugees. Many refugee youth indicated that they were very stressed and not very happy on arrival. Over the next year, however, their stress levels frequently decreased, and their happiness increased. There were few gender differences in the physical and mental health of refugees, but there were notable ethnicity differences. In particular, Yugoslavian youth tended to report better health and more happiness.

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What is the English language proficiency of refugee youth, and what are their experiences with ESL in Canada?

In Chapter 3, I commented briefly on the first language of the respondents. To better understand the integration of young refugees into Canadian society, it is important to have an assessment of their ability to speak English. English (or French) language fluency is clearly important for functioning in Canadian society. Without a strong grounding in a heritage language refugee youth may have limited employment and educational opportunities. Furthermore, research has shown that language is one of the most important factors influencing integration (Kosaka, 1993). Hence, this section examines participation in ESL classes, evaluation of the efficacy of ESL courses, and current self-reported English language ability.

How much ESL training do refugee youth receive, and how useful is it?

Figure 4.4 shows that almost all refugee youth in the sample (84%) took some ESL courses after arriving in Canada. Males (88%) were slightly more likely than females (80%) to have taken these courses. There was no significant difference in ESL participation between Yugoslavian youth and youth from other countries. However, when the proportion of refugee youth who were enrolled in ESL classes at the time of the interview is examined, significant sex and ethnicity differences emerge. While 20% of all refugee youth were still taking ESL, 24% of males and only 15% of females were still enrolled. Only 13% of Yugoslavian youth were still enrolled compared to 27% of other youth.[2] A possible explanation for this finding is the effect of time of arrival, where those youth arriving in 1996-1997 would be more likely to be taking ESL. However, as Table 4.1 shows, almost 50% of youth from other countries had arrived in 1992-1993. Only 33% of youth from other countries came in the 1996-1997 period, compared to almost half (43%) of youth from the former Yugoslavia. Therefore, time of arrival cannot explain the difference in ESL participation between youth from the former Yugoslavia and youth from other countries. A more likely

[2] Chi-square is significant ($p<0.10$) for ethnicity.

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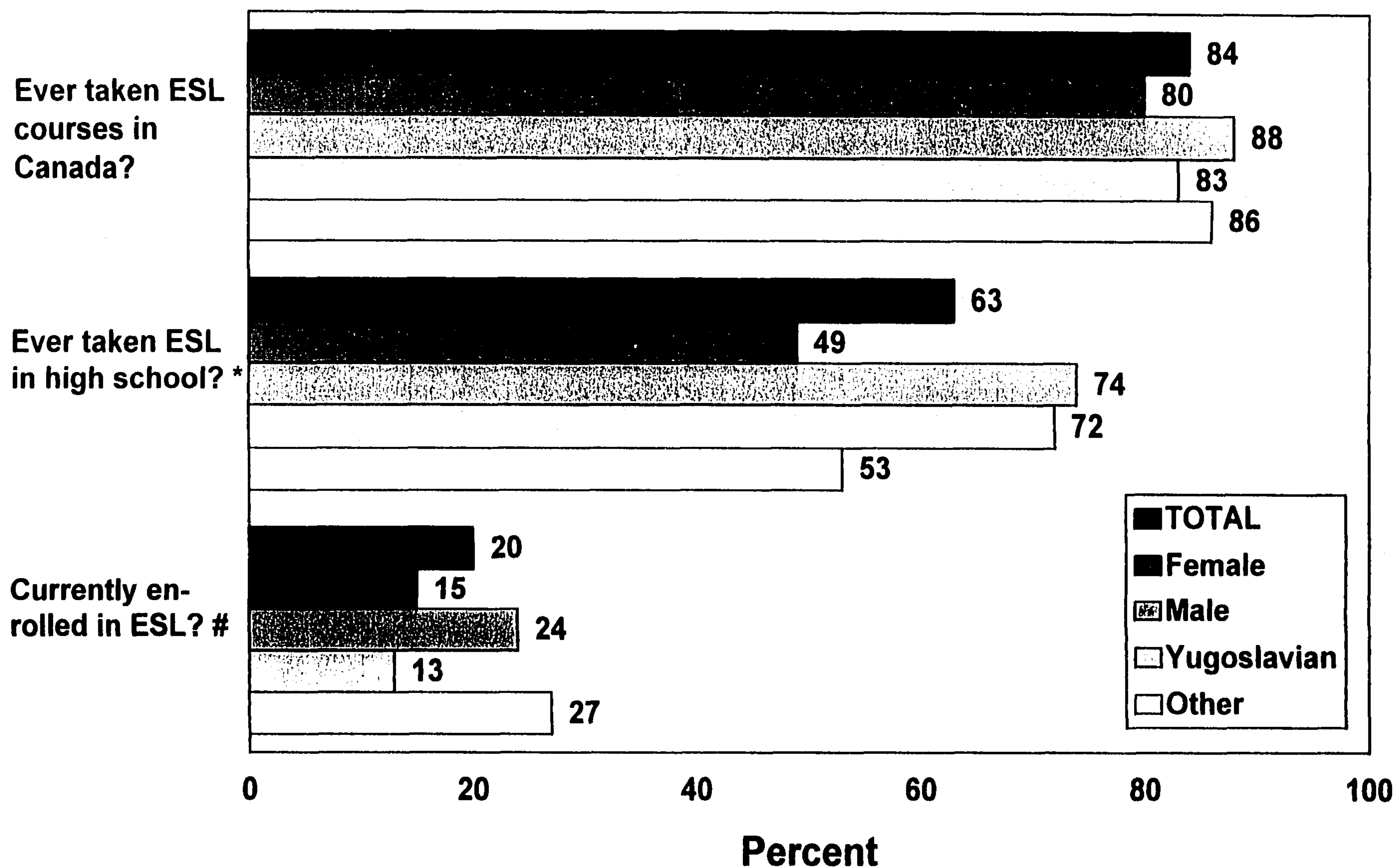
Figure 4.4 ESL Participation by Sex and Ethnicity



*** N = 91 refugee youth**
*** Chi-square tests: sex ($p < 0.01$), ethnicity ($p < 0.05$)**
 # Chi-square tests: ethnicity ($p < 0.10$)

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explanation is that Yugoslavian youth already had greater familiarity with English when they arrived in Canada.

For refugee youth, ESL participation takes place mainly in the high school system (Figure 4.4). However, it is apparent that some ESL classes were taken elsewhere. This might have been in elementary or junior high school for youth who arrived in the 1992/1993 period.

There is a significant difference between males and females in their attendance in ESL courses during high school (Figure 4.4). Specifically, males (74%) were more likely than females (49%) to have taken ESL courses in high school.[3] Female sample members reported a longer duration (31 months) in ESL courses compared to males (26 months) (results not shown in figure). Thus, though fewer females took ESL courses, those who did were in ESL courses for a longer duration. Yugoslavian youth reported a shorter duration in ESL (25 months) compared to youth from other countries (32 months). Again, this may indicate that more of the refugee youth from the former Yugoslavia had some prior experience with English.

ESL courses were mainly organized as "pull-out" courses (79%) where ESL students were removed from their regular classes for a couple of hours during the school day[4] (Table 4.5). This meant that the majority of ESL students were still a part of the "regular" class. The other 21% of refugee youth took their ESL full-time in separate classes, or received extra help from a teaching aide while in the regular classroom. Females (85%) were more likely than males (76%) to have taken their ESL as "pull-out" courses, as were youth from other countries (88%) compared to youth from the former Yugoslavia (73%).

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[3] Chi-square is significant ($p<0.01$) for sex.
[4] Of the 76 respondents who took ESL courses in Canada, 19 did not take these courses in high school and are thus excluded from further analysis.

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Table 4.5
Type and Assessment of ESL Education by Sex and Ethnicity

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
Organization of ESL classes						
Pull-out (of regular classes)	85%	76%	88%	73%	45	79%
Full-time ESL and other^	15%	24%	13%	27%	12	21%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	57	100%
Have ESL classes helped you?*						
Yes	82%	86%	92%	24%	64	84%
No	18%	14%	8%	76%	12	16%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	76	100%
Do you think teachers treat ESL students differently?						
Yes	40%	35%	38%	36%	21	37%
No	60%	65%	63%	64%	36	63%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	57	100%
Do you think other students treat ESL students differently?**						
Yes	55%	54%	67%	45%	31	54%
No	45%	46%	33%	55%	26	46%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	57	100%

Note:
^ Other includes full-time ESL and extra help from aide in regular class.
* Chi square significant at P=0.06 for ethnicity.
** Chi-square significant at P=0.09 for ethnicity.

The refugee youth were asked to assess the efficacy of their ESL training in Canada. The majority (84%) indicated that ESL training had helped them (Table 4.5).[5] There were no differences based on sex, but there were differences by ethnicity. Youth from the former Yugoslavia (24%) were more likely than youth from other countries (8%) to say that ESL did not help them. As already suggested, it could be that some of the youth from the former Yugoslavia had some background in speaking English, making them less likely to find ESL training in Canada particularly useful.

When asked specifically about their ESL experiences, sample members offered many positive comments. One student said, "they [the teachers] help me a lot. They

[5] Chi-square significant (p<0.10) for ethnicity.

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challenge me and without discrimination". However, there were negative comments as well. One 15 year-old male student from Croatia said: "I did not feel as though I learned anything useful during the 6 months I was in ESL. I felt we were encouraged to play more than learn. I already knew what I learned". A 16 year-old female respondent from El Salvador suggested that the ESL classes should focus more on "conversation speaking not only reading from books".

Furthermore, there were different opinions about who would make the "best" ESL teachers. Some students preferred that their ESL teachers speak their language as well, in the hope that they would be able to help them with grammar. Others, however, suggested that ESL teachers should not speak the same language so that the new students would be forced to speak in English. "Bosnian translators would hold you back from learning English fast. (You) are better off to just dive into English right away".

When asked if they thought that teachers treated ESL students differently from other students, 37% of refugee youth replied affirmatively (Table 4.5). There were no sex or ethnicity differences in responses to this question. When asked specifically how teachers treated them differently, half of those who said "yes" noted that the teachers gave them more help than they did non-ESL students.[6] Only two students felt that their teachers were less helpful to ESL students. This positive assessment of ESL teachers is in contrast to the findings by Derwing, DeCorby, Ichikawa, and Jamieson (1999) who interviewed students who had left high school before graduating. Some of them felt that ESL teachers did not spend enough time with them and did not challenge them adequately.

Just over half (54%) of refugee youth, females and males alike, felt that other students treat ESL students differently (Table 4.5). However, youth from other countries (67%) were more likely than youth from the former Yugoslavia (45%) to feel this way,[7]

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[6] Results not reported in tabular format.
[7] Chi-square significant ($p<0.10$) for ethnicity.

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perhaps because a larger proportion of the former would have been members of visible minority groups and, as already noted, may have been less proficient in English.

Many refugee youth said that other students made fun of their accents. One student from El Salvador suggested that "they tell you bad things and you don't know what it means". Another student, aged 15 from Bosnia-Hercegovina indicated that other students do not mix well with ESL students. "Students wouldn't really talk to those enrolled in ESL. Probably they thought they didn't understand. As soon as I finished ESL, I made friends". One-third of all refugee youth reported that students teased or bullied ESL students. [8] This finding was also observed in the Derwing et al. survey where some respondents suggested that there was a stigma attached to being an ESL student. As one person said:

> *Sometimes, you know, sometimes a new person from a different country is treated like they're, you know, less. Like they don't have any intelligence, any knowledge of anything* (Derwing et al., 1999: 538).

How proficient in English are refugee youth?

As a way of determining the English language ability of refugee youth in this study, respondents were asked to assess their own skill level in reading, writing, and speaking English (Table 4.6). Most rated their reading skills as advanced (44%) or very advanced (25%). However, 23% of the respondents had lower self-ratings of their reading ability. Females were slightly more likely than males to rate their reading skill poorly (9% versus 4% respectively). Youth from other countries were also more likely (9%) to have low self-ratings in reading compared to youth from the former Yugoslavia (4%). While the percentage of female and male subjects rating their reading ability as very advanced was much the same, youth from the former

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[8] Results not reported in tabular format.

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Yugoslavia were much more likely to rate their reading level in English as very advanced (33%) compared to youth from other countries (20%).[9]

Table 4.6
Self-Report of Current English Language Ability by Sex and Ethnicity

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
Level of reading skills (in English)*						
Basic (1)	7%	2%	7%	2%	4	4%
(2)	2%	2%	2%	2%	2	2%
(3)	15%	30%	33%	13%	21	23%
(4)	46%	42%	38%	50%	40	44%
Very advanced (5)	29%	24%	20%	33%	24	26%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
Level of writing skills (in English)**						
Basic (1)	5%	2%	7%	2%	3	3%
(2)	7%	12%	9%	9%	9	10%
(3)	22%	36%	47%	13%	27	30%
(4)	51%	36%	29%	57%	39	43%
Very advanced (5)	15%	14%	9%	20%	13	14%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
Level of speaking skills (in English)***						
Basic (1)	7%	2%	7%	2%	4	4%
(2)	2%	2%	4%	0%	2	2%
(3)	12%	22%	20%	15%	16	18%
(4)	46%	48%	51%	43%	43	47%
Very advanced (5)	32%	26%	18%	39%	26	29%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%

Notes:
* Chi-square significant at P=0.10 for ethnicity.
** Chi-square significant at P=0.004 for ethnicity.
*** Chi-square significant at P=0.10 for ethnicity.

Refugee youth were not as positive about their writing ability in English. Only 14% of all refugee youth felt their writing skills in English were very advanced, with 43% indicating they felt their skills were advanced. Thirteen percent of all refugee youth felt their writing ability in English was poor (scores of '1' or '2'). Female respondents were somewhat more positive than males with respect to their English writing ability. Specifically, 51% of females ranked their writing abilities as moderately high (4) compared to only 36% of males. There were also large significant differences by

[9] Chi-square is significant for ethnicity, for reading skills ($p<0.10$) and for writing skills ($p<0.01$).

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ethnicity.[10] Youth from the former Yugoslavia were much more likely to rate their English writing ability as very advanced (20%) or moderately so (57%) compared to youth from other countries (9% and 29% in these categories respectively).

Compared to reading and writing skills, refugee youth were slightly more likely to indicate that they were very advanced speakers of English (29%). In addition, females (32%) were slightly more likely than males (26%) to feel their speaking skills were advanced. Similarly, youth from the former Yugoslavia (39%) were more likely than youth from other countries (18%) to rank their speaking skills as very advanced.

The respondents were also asked to gauge their English language abilities in terms of future job opportunities. Specifically, they were asked if they thought their English reading, writing, and speaking skills might limit their future job opportunities (Figure 4.7). Two-thirds of all refugee youth felt their reading skills would affect their future job opportunities. There were no sex differences in response to this question. However, Yugoslavian youth (74%) were more likely than youth from other countries (56%) to feel that their reading skills may limit their future job opportunities,[11] despite the fact that overall, they rated their reading abilities more highly than did the other refugee youth.

When asked about the influence of their English writing skills on their future job opportunities, 54% of all refugee youth felt they may not obtain good jobs because of their poor writing skills. Again, youth from the former Yugoslavia (65%) were more likely than youth from elsewhere (42%) to feel that their poor writing skills in English would limit their future job opportunities. This pattern was repeated when sample members were asked about English speaking skills and future job opportunities. About two-thirds of all youth felt their poor speaking skills would limit their future job

[10] Chi-square for ethnicity is significant ($p<0.10$).
[11] Chi-square for ethnicity significant ($p<0.10$).

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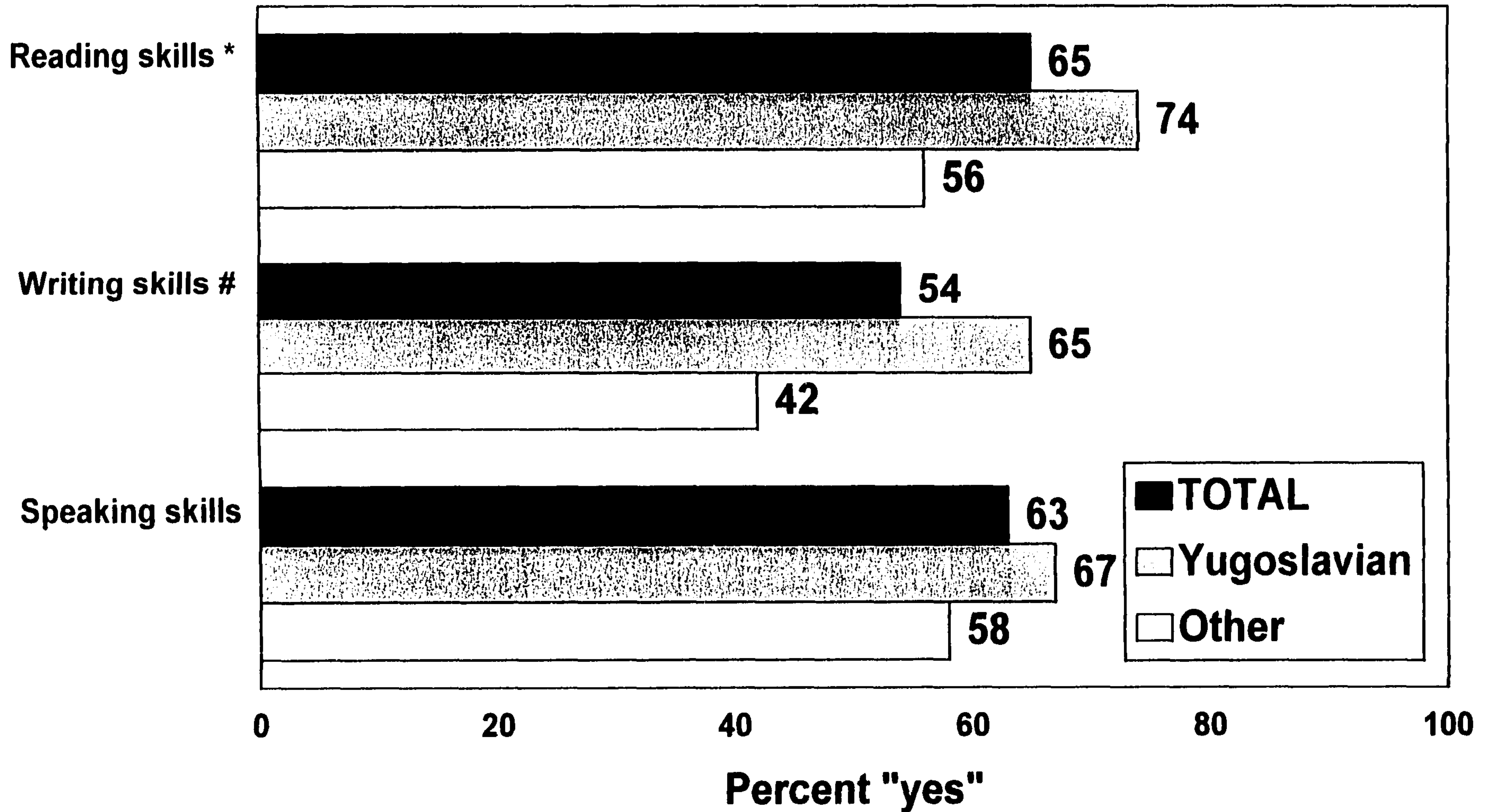
Figure 4.7 Job Opportunities Limited by Current Self-reported English Language Ability by Ethnicity

"Do you think your .... may limit your job opportunities?"



N = 91 refugee youth
*** Chi-square test ($p < 0.10$)**
 # Chi-square test ($p < 0.05$)

possibilities, with 67% of Yugoslavian youth and 58% of youth from other countries feeling this way.[1]

In summary, refugee youth were reasonably positive about their English language ability, especially rating their speaking skills as somewhat higher than their reading and writing skills. While youth from the former Yugoslavia were more likely to give themselves high scores in their ability to speak, write and read English, they were also more likely to say that their English language abilities would limit their future job prospects. Also, there were significant ethnicity differences in ESL participation and ESL evaluation. Youth from other countries were twice as likely as youth from the former Yugoslavia to be enrolled in ESL courses at the time of the interview, and tended to stay longer in an ESL class. Refugee youth from other countries were also more likely to feel that ESL courses had helped them to learn English, and at the same time, they were more likely to feel that other students treated them differently.

What are the educational experiences of refugee youth prior to and upon arrival in Canada?

Education plays a pivotal role in the lives of all youth. For refugees, educational experiences play an even more critical part in their overall integration process. This section examines the education levels of refugee youth prior to arriving in Canada as well as their experiences on entering the Canadian school system. A more detailed analysis of the determinants of refugee youth success in the Canadian school system is presented in Chapter 5.

What are the education experiences of refugee youth prior to their arrival to Canada?

Refugee youth were asked to report their highest grade of schooling completed prior to their arrival in Canada (Table 4.8). The largest proportion (40%) fell in the grade 7 to 9 category, with another 34% having completed grades 4 to 6. Only 7% arrived in

[1] Chi-square for ethnicity significant ($p<0.05$).

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Canada with grade 3 or less, while 19% arrived with grade 10 or higher. Only two youth had never been to school prior to their arrival in Canada.

Sex differences were found in association with prior educational attainment. Over half of male refugees (51%) arrived having completed grades 7 to 9, while only 27% of females had this grade level. In turn, 27% of females arrived with grade 10 or higher education, compared to only 12% of males. There were also significant ethnicity differences.[2] Youth from the former Yugoslavia (28%) were more likely than youth from other countries (9%) to arrive with grade 10 or higher, or to have completed between grades 7 and 9 (46% versus 35% respectively). Thus, youth from other countries were more likely to arrive with less education. Some of these differences may be due to age, an issue examined below.

Table 4.8
Highest Grade of Schooling Completed Prior to Arrival in Canada by Sex and Ethnicity

	Sex		Ethnicity*		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
Grades 1-3	8%	6%	12%	2%	6	7%
Grades 4-6	38%	31%	44%	24%	30	34%
Grades 7-9	27%	51%	35%	46%	36	40%
Grades 10-12	27%	12%	9%	28%	17	19%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%
Total N	(40)	(49)	(43)	(46)	89	

Note:
* Chi-square significant at P=0.05 for ethnicity.

To inform the analysis of educational attainment in Canada, refugee youth were asked if they had experienced difficulty in school before they came to Canada (results not shown in table). Thirteen percent of all refugee youth indicated they had had some difficulty in school in their home country, most of these (11 out of 12) being youth from other countries. Youth were also asked if they enjoyed school before arriving in Canada. Only 9% indicated that they had not enjoyed school. Thus, only a small minority of refugee youth reported problems in school or disliking school in their home country.

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How appropriate was grade placement upon arrival in Canada?

The majority (93%) of refugee youth in this sample had attended school in Canada. There were no significant sex differences, but 98% of respondents from the former Yugoslavia had attended school here, compared to only 89% of youth from other countries (results not presented in table). To obtain a sense of how far behind refugee youth might currently be in school, Table 4.9 examines their grade assignment upon arrival by their age at arrival. The shaded cells indicate that the grade placement was appropriate for their age (i.e., this is roughly the age at which the majority of Canadian-born students enter this grade).

All respondents entering Canada at age 10 and 11 years were placed in the "appropriate" grade according to their age. Almost one-third (29%) of those entering at age 12 were placed in grade 5, while the rest were placed in Grade 6 (43%) and Grade 7 (29%), grades appropriate to their age. While over 70% of youth arriving at age 14 and at age 16 were placed in a grade appropriate for their age, only 50% of those arriving at age 15 were appropriately placed in grades 9 or 10. Overall, a significant number of the youth were placed in grades appropriate for their age upon arrival in Canada.

Table 4.9
Grade Assigned at Arrival by Age at Arrival

	Age 10 &11	Age 12	Age 13	Age 14	Age 15	Age 16	Age 17	Age 18-21	Total N	Total %
Grade 3-5*	50%	29%	7%						7	8%
Grade 6	50%	43%	21%	7%	17%				13	15%
Grade 7		29%	36%	14%	0%				9	11%
Grade 8			21%	43%	33%			11%	14	16%
Grade 9			14%	36%	17%	27%			12	14%
Grade 10					33%	36%	40%	67%	18	21%
Grade 11						36%	60%	22%	12	14%
Total N	8	7	14	14	12	11	10	9	85	100%

Note:
The table does not include the six respondents who have never attended school in Canada. Shaded areas indicate that the grade assignment is appropriate for their age.
* Includes only one respondent entering grade 3.

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Figure 4.10 provides a more concise picture of this pattern, showing a breakdown of grade placements that were "age appropriate" and grade placements that were low in terms of age by sex and ethnicity. Overall grade placement upon arrival was "age appropriate" for 62% of refugee youth, while 38% were placed in grades low for their age. Forty percent of males compared to 35% of females were placed in grades low for their age, though this gender difference was not significant. There were no ethnic differences. Altogether, just over one-third of refugee youth were placed in grades low for their age.

In addition to a consideration of the basic criteria of age, refugee youth were asked to reflect on the appropriateness of their grade placement upon arrival. Figure 4.11 shows that the majority of refugee youth (70%) felt their grade placement upon arrival was "just right" (neither too easy nor too difficult). Almost 20% felt that they would have been better at a higher grade because the work was too easy, while 11% felt that they should have been placed in a lower grade because the work was too difficult. Overall though, the sample members' self-assessments are roughly similar to the assessment of the age-appropriateness of their grade placement.

There were no differences based on sex, but there were significant differences by ethnicity (Figure 4.11).[3] Whereas 26% of youth from the former Yugoslavia felt their grade placement would have been better at a higher grade, only 12% of youth from other countries felt this way. Conversely, only 2% of refugee youth from the former Yugoslavia felt their grade placement was too high but 21% of youth from other countries felt this way. Thus, youth from the former Yugoslavia were much more likely to feel they had been placed in a grade too low for their abilities. Given the possible similarities between the school system in Canada and Yugoslavia, these differences are not surprising.

Appropriate grade placement is important for future success in school. If the grade placement is too high, this could lead to problems in understanding course material.

[3] Chi-square for ethnicity is significant ($p<0.01$).

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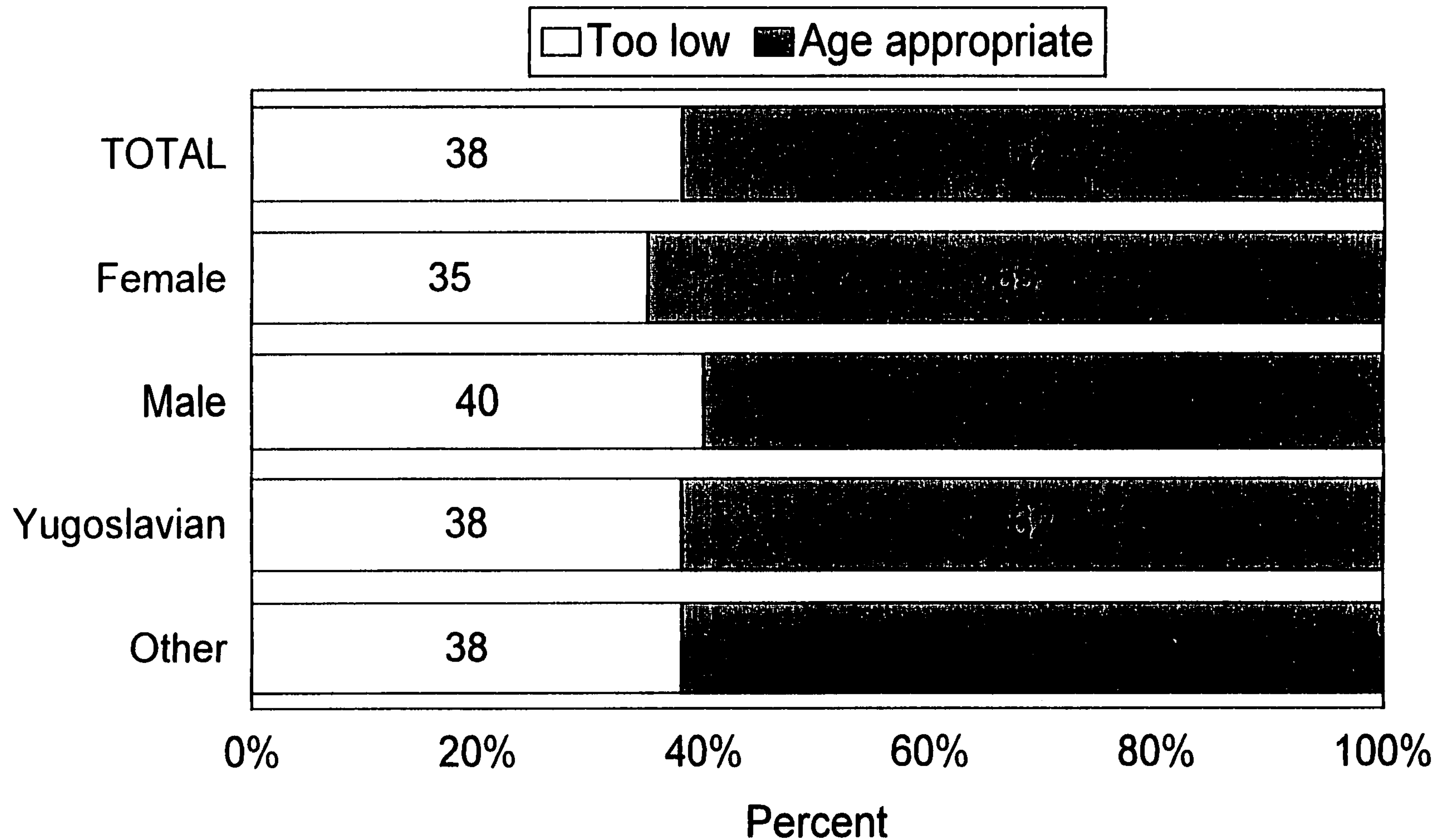
*Figure 4.10 Age-appropriate Grade Assignment by Sex and Ethnicity **



*** N = 85 refugee youth (six respondents who did not attend high school in Canada are excluded from this analysis). "Age-appropriate grade assignment is determined on the basis of the typical age of Canadian-born youth entering a particular grade.**

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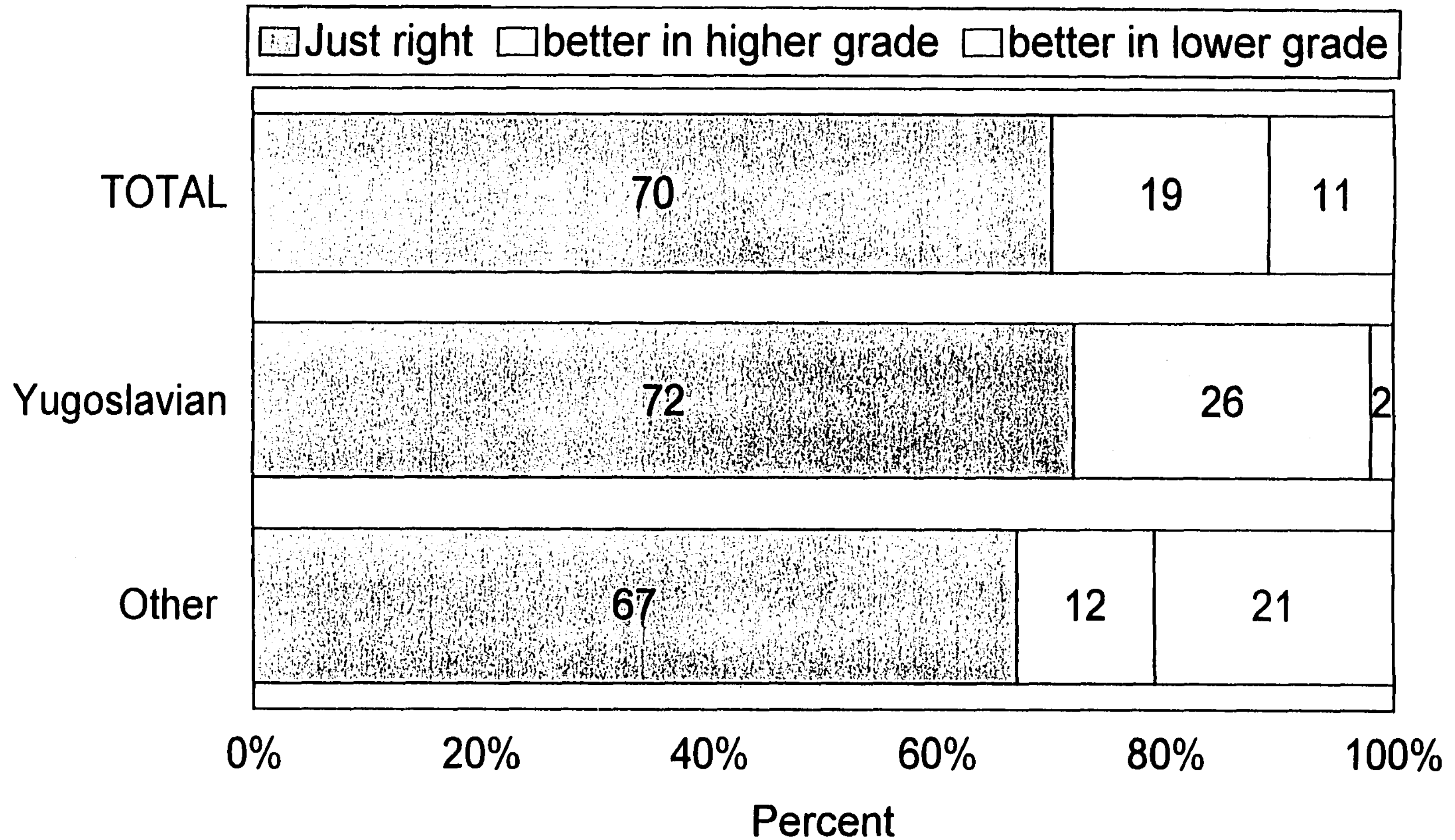
*Figure 4.11 Self-assessment of Appropriateness of Grade Assignment by Ethnicity **



*** N = 85 refugee youth (six respondents who did not attend high school in Canada are excluded from this analysis). Respondents were asked: "Do you think you were placed in the correct grade upon arrival (in Canada)? Ethnic differences are statistically significant (chi-square test; $p < 0.01$).**

Grade placements that are too low may jeopardize the possibility of the respondent completing high school.

To assess the current educational status of refugee youth, Table 4.12 compares the current grade for refugee youth still in high school with their age at the time of the interview. The shaded cells indicate that the age and grade level of the respondent correspond to the average Canadian-born student. Fifty percent of refugee youth aged 15 were in grade 9 and thirty percent were in grade ten. Twenty percent of those aged 15 were in grade 8, a year behind where they might be for their age. Of the 16 year-olds, 85% were in grade 10 or 11, while 16% were in grades lower for their age. The pattern is similar for 17 year olds where 18% were in grade 10, one year behind where they should be for their age. Seventy percent of refugee youth who were 18 years old were in grade 12. Of the respondents who were still in high school at age 19 were behind where they should have been for their age.

Thus, on arrival, 38% of the refugee youth were "behind" in terms of age, compared to typical Canadian-born students. However, Table 4.12 also shows that many were able to "catch-up" by the time they were interviewed. The majority of those aged 15 to 18 were now in the correct grade for their age. This suggests that the educational performance of many refugee youth in Canada may not be as problematic as other researchers have suggested. Furthermore, Table 4.12 also indicates that the majority of refugee youth will complete their high school education by their 19th birthdays. For example, 80% of 15 year olds are "on-track" to complete their high school education by the time they turn 19.

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Table 4.12
Current Grade by Age, Refugee Youth

	Age 15	Age 16	Age 17	Age 18	Age 19**	Total N	Total %
Grade 8	20%	5%	0%	0%	0%	3	5%
Grade 9	50%	11%	0%	0%	13%	8	14%
Grade 10	30%	32%	18%	10%	13%	13	22%
Grade 11	0%	53%	36%	20%	13%	17	29%
Grade 12*	0%	0%	45%	70%	63%	17	29%
Total N	10	19	11	10	8	58	100%
% still in high school^	100%	100%	92%	83%	67%		64%

Note:
Shaded blocks indicate that grade level matches the appropriate age, according to Alberta Learning (1998) standards.
* Includes one respondent in Grade 13, currently living in Ontario.
** Includes one respondent aged 21 years.
^ Only one 21 year old respondent remains in high school. The other 20, 21, and 22 year old respondents are no longer in high school (N=25).

How well are refugee youth currently doing in school?

Enjoyment of high school is an important predictor of secondary school completion according to the school-to-work transition literature. Students who do not enjoy school are more likely to drop out in comparison to those who enjoy school. Of the refugee youth in this sample who attended school in Canada, 91% reported that they enjoyed their educational experience (Table 4.13). There was no difference by gender, though youth from other countries (98%) were more likely than youth from the former Yugoslavia (84%) to say they enjoyed high school.[4] Refugee youth were also asked if they had difficulty in high school in Canada; 44% indicated that they had. Males (50%) were more likely than females (35%) to say that they had experienced difficulty, as were youth from other countries (53%) compared to youth from the former Yugoslavia (36%). However, only three refugee youth had dropped out of school in Canada.

[4] Chi-square is significant ($p<0.10$) for ethnicity.

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Table 4.13
Enjoyment of and Difficulties in School in Canada By Sex and Ethnicity

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
Have you enjoyed high school here in Canada?*						
Yes	92%	90%	98%	84%	77	91%
No	8%	10%	3%	16%	8	9%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	85	100%
Total N	(37)	(48)	(40)	(45)		
Have you had difficulty in high school here in Canada?**						
Yes	35%	50%	53%	36%	37	44%
No	65%	50%	48%	64%	48	56%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	85	100%
Total N	(37)	(48)	(40)	(45)		

Notes:
* Chi-square significant at P=0.031 for ethnicity.
** Chi-square significant at P=0.08 for sex and P=0.07 for ethnicity.

Sample members were asked to report their average marks in their last term at school in order to quantify how well they were doing at school (Table 4.14). Seventy percent of all refugee youth reported average marks of Bs or higher. Females had higher average marks than males.[5] Males were more likely to report Ds (8%) or Cs (36%) in their last school term. Females were more likely to report As (35%) or Bs (49%). This reflects findings by Frideres (2000) that females have higher grades than males.[6] Youth from the former Yugoslavia reported higher average grades than did youth from elsewhere, and[7] thirty-eight percent said their grades were primarily "As" in their last school term compared to only 10% of youth from other countries. This ethnicity difference could reflect the fact that youth from the former Yugoslavia had greater knowledge of English upon arrival in Canada. It might also be associated with the possibility that the Yugoslavian school systems are more similar to the Canadian system, giving these youth an advantage over youth from elsewhere.

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[5] Chi-square is significant ($p<0.05$) for sex.
[6] Frideres (2000) calculates average grades by using an index of grades obtained in social studies, English and math. He also points out that there are no significant differences in his index between immigrant and non-immigrant students.
[7] Chi-square is significant ($p<0.01$) for ethnicity.

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Table 4.14
Average Marks in Last School Term by Sex and Ethnicity

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
Mostly Ds	3%	8%	10%	2%	5	6%
Mostly Cs	14%	33%	35%	16%	21	25%
Mostly Bs	49%	42%	45%	44%	38	45%
Mostly As	35%	17%	10%	38%	21	25%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%
Total N	(37)	(48)	(40)	(45)	85	

Note:
* Chi-square is significant at P=0.028 for sex.
** Chi-square is significant at P=0.006 for ethnicity.

Parental influences on education are an important factor in predicting high school completion and post-secondary attainment. According to Anisef et al., (2000: 164) parental expectations play a large role in the development of the educational expectations and occupational aspirations of their children. "Even if they are not well educated, they (parents) come to hope and sometimes expect that their children and their grandchildren will achieve more than they do" (Brice, 1982: 127; c.f. Anisef et al., 2000: 164). Refugee youth in this study were asked how important completing high school and post-secondary education would be for themselves and how important it would be to their parents.[8] Less than 5% of all refugee youth felt it is not important to finish high school or to complete post-secondary education (results not shown in table). Even fewer indicated that their parents felt this way. Thus, refugee youth see education, both secondary and post-secondary, as important parts of their lives. They also recognize the value their parents place on education.

The value refugee youth themselves place on post-secondary educational attainment is further evidenced by the number of refugee youth in my sample who planned to undertake post-secondary education in Canada. Table 4.15 shows that of the 27 respondents no longer in high school, 67% have entered post-secondary education. Females (79%) were more likely than males (54%) to have continued on to post-

[8] Results not reported in tabular format.

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secondary education. In addition, youth from the former Yugoslavia (73%) were more likely than youth from other countries (58%) to have continued their education.

Table 4.15
Post-Secondary Education (for those not in high school) by Sex and Ethnicity

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
Post-secondary education participation since leaving high school?						
Yes	79%	54%	58%	73%	18	67%
No	21%	46%	42%	27%	9	33%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	27	100%
Total N	(14)	(13)	(12)	(15)		
Type of Post-secondary education						
Community College	18%	57%	57%	18%	6	33%
Technical School	27%	14%	0%	36%	4	22%
University	55%	29%	43%	45%	8	44%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	18	100%
	(11)	(7)	(7)	(11)		

University is the most popular post-secondary choice (44%), followed by community college (33%) and technical school (22%). Males (57%) are more likely than females (18%) to attend community college, but females are more likely to attend university (55% versus 29%) or technical school (27% versus 14%). The majority of youth from other countries (57%) choose to attend community college or university (43%), while youth from the former Yugoslavia were more likely to attend technical school (36%) or university (45%).

When compared to Canadian-born youth in Alberta, refugee youth were more likely to be attending high school (64%) or to be enrolled in post-secondary education (55%). Considering all youth of equivalent age in Alberta, only 64%[9] are currently enrolled in high school and only 49% are enrolled in post-secondary education (Statistics Canada,

[9] This 58% refers to the proportion of all Grade 12 students who finished their high school education within four years of starting Grade 9. The high school completion rate for the Alberta population is 73%.

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1998; Alberta Learning, 2000).[10] Thus, most refugee youth say that education is important to them, and also demonstrate the value they place on education with their actions. The findings of my study are reflected in Anisef et al.'s (2000) study of Ontario high school students. It reveals that immigrants are more likely than Canadian-born students to obtain a university degree or to attend some other type of post-secondary education.

In short, this study of refugee youth shows that while some are having difficulties in the Canadian school system, the majority of these youth are doing fairly well. There is some evidence that youth from the former Yugoslavia are doing better in school than youth from other countries. However, this finding may reflect the greater English language proficiency and stronger educational backgrounds of Yugoslavian youth.

What kinds of relationships do refugee youth have with their family and peers?

Relationships with family and peers are important in the lives of all youth. For example, in a study of Canadian students, Bibby and Posterski (1992) found that friendship is the most important goal of teenagers. For refugee youth, relationships with family and with peers also play an important part in the integration process. According to the Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees (1988), a large number of studies emphasize the importance of relationships with family and with members of one's own cultural group as buffers to mitigate the effects of pre-migration and post-migration stress. Relationships with other immigrants and with Canadian-born students are believed to help encourage understanding of and successful integration into a new society (The Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, 1988b: 68).

In relation to the above, respondents in this study were asked how much free time they spent with students from their own cultural background (Table 4.16). The refugee

[10] Results are tabulated on the basis of the number of youth aged 15-19 still in high school and the number of youth aged 18-21 enrolled in post-secondary education (Statistics Canada, 1998; Alberta Education, 1998).

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youth were evenly split between the three response categories. About one third indicated they spent a lot of time with students from the same cultural background, another third said they spent only some time, and the rest said they spent hardly any time with students from the same cultural background. There were no notable differences by sex or ethnicity in responses to this question.

Refugee youth were then asked how much time they spent with other immigrant and refugee students. Just over half said they spent some time with these students, while 31% said they spent a lot of time with immigrant and refugee students and 18% said they spent hardly anytime (Table 4.16). Males (56%) were more likely than females (46%) to indicate they spent only some time with immigrant and refugee students. As well, youth from the former Yugoslavia (56%) were more likely than youth from other countries (48%) to spend some time with other immigrant and refugee students.

Finally, respondents were asked to estimate how much free time they spent with Canadian-born students. Forty-five percent said that they spent hardly any time with Canadian-born students. One third said they spent only some of the time with Canadian-born students and 19% said they spent a lot of time with these students. There were no differences by ethnicity, however, females (27%) were more likely than males (13%) to say they spent a lot of time with Canadian-born students.[11] They (54%) were also more likely than males (38%) to spent hardly any time with Canadian-born students.

Relationships outside of school and/or work were also examined in this study (Table 4.17). Interestingly, one-third of refugee youth said that they never spent time with family and relatives. Presumably, they were ignoring the day-to-day interaction with family members that must have occurred. Females indicated spending more time with family and relatives than did their male counterparts. Youth from other countries were also more likely to spend time with family and relatives than were youth from the

[11] Chi-square is significant ($p<0.01$) level for sex.

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Table 4.16
Relationships with other Students in School by Sex and Ethnicity

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
At school, during your free time, how much time did you spend with students from your own cultural background?						
A lot of time	38%	29%	33%	33%	28	33%
Only some of the time	27%	33%	35%	27%	26	31%
Hardly any time	35%	38%	33%	40%	31	36%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	85	100%
During your free time at school, how much time did you spend with other immigrant or refugee students?						
A lot of time	32%	29%	33%	29%	26	31%
Only some of the time	46%	56%	48%	56%	44	52%
Hardly any time	22%	15%	20%	16%	15	18%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	85	100%
During your free time at school, how much time did you spend with Canadian-born students?*						
A lot of time	27%	13%	18%	20%	16	19%
Only some of the time	19%	50%	40%	33%	31	36%
Hardly any time	54%	38%	43%	47%	38	45%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	85	100%

Note:
* Chi-square is significant at P=0.01 level for sex.

former Yugoslavia.[12] This could be a product of the recent arrival of youth from the former Yugoslavia when compared to youth from other countries. Table 4.1 shows that Yugoslavian youth were more likely to have arrived in Canada in 1994/95, whereas youth from other countries were more likely to have arrived in 1992/1993.

In regard to relationships outside of school, about one-third of refugee youth said they sometimes spent time with friends from their home country, and another third said

[12] Chi-square is significant ($p<0.05$) for ethnicity.

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Table 4.17
Relationships with Family and Others Outside of School by Sex and Ethnicity

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
Not counting at school or at a job: how often in the past few months have you spent time with family and relatives?						
Never	26%	35%	22%	40%	22	31%
Sometimes	13%	25%	28%	11%	14	20%
Often	29%	20%	25%	23%	17	24%
Daily	23%	18%	25%	14%	14	20%
No response	10%	3%	0%	11%	4	6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	71	100%
Not counting at school or at a job: how often in the past few months have you spent time with friends from home country?						
Never	15%	10%	17%	9%	11	12%
Sometimes	34%	36%	40%	33%	32	35%
Often	32%	36%	33%	37%	31	34%
Daily	20%	18%	10%	22%	17	19%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
Not counting at school or at a job: how often in the past few months have you spent time with other immigrants?						
Never	27%	26%	36%	17%	24	26%
Sometimes	44%	44%	36%	52%	40	44%
Often	24%	24%	20%	28%	22	24%
Daily	5%	6%	9%	2%	5	5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
Not counting at school or at a job: how often in the past few months have you spent time with other Canadian friends?						
Never	17%	16%	20%	14%	15	16%
Sometimes	29%	42%	31%	37%	33	36%
Often	32%	18%	29%	21%	22	24%
Daily	22%	24%	20%	28%	21	23%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%

Note:
*Chi-square is significant at P=0.05 for ethnicity.
**Chi-square is significant at P=0.08 for ethnicity.

they often spent time with these friends (Table 4.17). Only 12% said they never spent time with people from their home country, while 19% said they spent time daily with

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such friends. There were no significant differences by sex or ethnicity in responses to this question.

Almost 50% of refugee youth said they spent some time with other immigrants outside of school. One quarter indicated they often spent time with other immigrants, although only 5% said they spent time daily with other immigrants. Youth from other countries (36%) were more likely to indicate that they never spent time with other immigrants compared to youth from the former Yugoslavia (17%).[13] There were no differences between females and males in response to this question.

Spending time with Canadian-born friends is believed to have a positive impact on secondary school completion for immigrant and refugee youth. For example, the Derwing et al. (1999: 543) study found that the ESL students who completed high school were more likely to develop friendships with Canadian-born English-speaking students, making this a factor for successful high school completion. ESL students without Canadian-born friends were less likely to finish high school. When asked about how much time they spent with Canadian-born friends, 36% of refugee youth said that they sometimes spent time with them (Table 4.17). One quarter often spent time with Canadian friends, and 23% said they spent time daily with Canadian-born friends. Females (32%) were more likely than males (18%) to say they often spent time with Canadian-born friends. In addition, youth from the former Yugoslavia (28%) were slightly more likely than youth from other countries (20%) to say they spent time daily with Canadian-born friends.

In sum, a majority of the refugee youth in my sample indicated that they spent a considerable amount of time with family and friends from the same cultural background. A somewhat smaller proportion of sample members reported spending a considerable amount of time with Canadian-born friends. There were some sex and ethnicity differences, particularly in relation to spending time with family and other immigrants. Youth from other countries were more likely to spend time with family

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[13] Chi-square is significant at ($p<0.10$) for ethnicity.

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members and other immigrants than were youth from the former Yugoslavia. Additionally, female refugee youth were more likely than males to spend their free time at school with Canadian-born friends.

So how should we interpret these findings with respect to our broader question about the integration into Canadian society of refugee youth? Does the fact that refugee youth spend somewhat more time with other refugee and immigrant youth, compared to Canadian-born youth, mean that they are not fully integrated into Canadian society? The answer is not necessarily. Presumably, if refugee youth spent no time with Canadian-born friends and acquaintances, we would wonder whether they were really integrating into Canadian society. Alternatively, if they spent no time with members of their own cultural or ethnic group, we would wonder if they were perhaps somewhat alienated. However, they spend somewhat more, but not a lot more time, with members of their own cultural/ethnic group, or with other immigrants, we should probably conclude that these individuals are reasonably well integrated into Canada's multicultural society.

How do refugee youth subjectively assess their overall integration experiences in Canada?

Successful adjustment to a new society is an important aspect of growing up for refugee youth. Unfortunately, not much is known about their integration experiences. The previous discussion of educational experiences and of relationships with family and friends addressed this issue indirectly. This section focuses more directly on refugee youth's integration.

What are the main concerns of refugee youth?

Perceptions of "fitting in" can be seen as a measure of how refugee youth locate themselves in their new society. In other words, "fitting in" is a subjective indicator of integration. The study participants were asked two questions about how they thought

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they fit in into their new society. The first question asked “Do you think you ‘fit in’ at school?”[1] Of the 85 refugee youth attending or who had attended high school in Canada, only 14% felt they “fit in”. While many Canadian-born youth probably do not feel like they fit in at school, this is still a remarkably low percentage. There was no significant difference by ethnicity, but females (22%) were much more likely than males (8%) to feel like they “fit in” at school.

Refugee youth were also asked if they were concerned about “fitting in” to Canadian society. Most were quite concerned about fitting in, with 29% indicating they were “very concerned” (Table 4.18). Another 27% were “concerned” (a score of 4 on this measure). The same question was asked of their parents, 29% of whom said they were “very concerned” (Abu-Laban et al., 1999). Table 4.18 reveals sex differences among the responses of the refugee youth; males (36%) were more likely to be concerned about fitting in than were females (20%). Furthermore, youth from other countries (36%) were more likely to be concerned than youth from the former Yugoslavia (22%). These findings were echoed in the survey of refugee adults, in which adults from the former Yugoslavia were less likely to be concerned about fitting in than were adults from other countries (Abu-Laban et al., 1999).

[1] Results are not presented in tabular format.

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Table 4.18
Refugee Youth Concerns by Sex and Ethnicity

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
How much are you concerned about fitting in in Canadian society?						
Not at all concerned (1)	10%	14%	7%	17%	11	12%
(2)	15%	8%	9%	13%	10	11%
(3)	22%	20%	22%	20%	19	21%
(4)	34%	22%	27%	28%	25	27%
Very Concerned (5)	20%	36%	36%	22%	26	29%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
Total N	(41)	(50)	(45)	(46)		
How much are you concerned about your future in Canada?						
Not at all concerned (1)	10%	4%	5%	9%	6	7%
(2)	10%	4%	9%	4%	6	7%
(3)	7%	12%	5%	15%	9	10%
(4)	15%	20%	18%	17%	16	18%
Very Concerned (5)	59%	59%	64%	54%	53	59%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	90	100%
Total N	(41)	(49)	(44)	(46)		
How much are you concerned about past experiences and bad memories before coming to Canada?						
Not at all concerned (1)	40%	28%	36%	30%	30	33%
(2)	10%	14%	9%	15%	11	12%
(3)	8%	30%	14%	26%	18	20%
(4)	10%	16%	18%	9%	12	13%
Very Concerned (5)	33%	12%	23%	20%	19	21%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	90	100%
Total N	(40)	(50)	(44)	(46)		

Participants were also asked how much they were concerned about their "future in Canada" (Table 4.18). The majority (59%) said they were "very concerned". To some extent, this is an expected finding, as many youth, regardless of where they were born, are concerned about their futures. Teenagers are particularly concerned as they begin the transition to adulthood and to independence where they are forced to make many choices. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that 3 out of 5 refugee youth were "very concerned" about their future in Canada.[2] Adults in the Resettlement of Refugees

[2] Bibby and Posterski (1992: 94) report that concerns about the future have increased for Canadian youth in the 1990s. Unfortunately, their questions are not directly comparable to my own.

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survey were equally concerned. Over 50% of adults surveyed indicated that they were very concerned about their future in Canada. They were, however, even more concerned about their children's future than their own. When asked if they were concerned about their children's future, 63% indicated they were "very concerned" while another 14% were "concerned".

There are no important sex differences in how concerned refugee youth are about their future in Canada, but youth from other countries (64%) are slightly more likely than youth from the former Yugoslavia (54%) to be "very concerned" about their future in Canada. Again this finding is reflected in the comparable adult survey; adults from the former Yugoslavia were less likely to be concerned about their future in Canada than were adult refugees from other countries (Abu-Laban, et al., 1999).

There is a large body of research suggesting that past experiences can have negative effects on various aspects of the lives of refugees in their new homes. Is this the case for refugee youth? The answer is, not generally. One third of refugee youth said they were "not at all concerned" about past experiences and bad memories (Table 4.18). Just 21% said they were "very concerned" about past experiences and bad memories. Further, female refugee youth (39%) were more likely to be "very concerned" than were males (12%). Are the past experiences of females more traumatic than the experiences of males? We do not know and this data set does not allow this question to be addressed. There were no differences by ethnicity in response to this question.

Did refugee youth experience racism or discrimination in Canada?

Refugee youth were asked whether they had experienced discrimination or racism since they arrived in Canada (results not in table). One third (31%) reported at least one incident of discrimination although females (27%) were less likely than males (34%) to have had this experience. Furthermore, 49% of youth from other countries, compared to only 13% of youth from the former Yugoslavia had experienced some

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form of discrimination since their arrival in Canada.[3] This finding is not surprising as almost all youth from "other countries" would be members of visible minority groups and thus more likely to be subject to racism and discrimination.

What impact does being obliged to help parents have on the integration of refugee youth?

Part of the resettlement process for many refugee youth involves helping their parents adapt to the new society. This situation often results in a role-reversal, where youth become pseudo-parents. With this role reversal in becoming parents, youth are expected to take on major adult responsibilities, especially given that youth often learn the language of the new society faster than the parents (Isajiw, 1999: 103; Ahearn and Athey, 1991; Ahearn, Loughrey, and Ager, 1999; Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, 1988). This means that they may be helping their parents in translating sensitive information such as financial, health and employment records, information that many other youth never have about their parents.

Almost 90% of the participants in my study reported that they have had to help their parents adjust to life in Canada (Table 4.19). These youth were then asked how they felt when helping their parents. A large majority (77%) said they had no problems with helping. Only 23% said they had problems. These youth found that helping their parents adjust was stressful for them and strained relationships with their parents. Youth from other countries (29%) were slightly more likely than Yugoslavian youth (20%) to indicate that they had problems helping. The majority of youth helped their parents by translating English at banks, schools, physicians' and dentists' offices. Other important areas they provided help to their parents included assistance with banking, learning the new culture, emotional support, and in some cases, monetary support.

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[3] Chi-square is significant ($p<0.001$) for ethnicity.

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Table 4.19
Helping Parents Adjust to Life in Canada by Sex and Ethnicity

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
Have you ever had to help your parents adjust to life in Canada?						
Yes	88%	86%	87%	87%	78	87%
No	13%	14%	13%	13%	12	13%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	90	100%
How did you feel when you had to help your parents?						
Had problems helping	23%	23%	29%	20%	18	23%
Happy to help parents	77%	77%	71%	80%	60	77%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	78	100%
Total N	(35)	(43)	(38)	(40)		

How do refugee youth feel about cultural maintenance and familiarity with Canadian culture?

Keeping one's culture and also being familiar with Canadian culture are important integration issues for all newcomer youth. The majority of refugee youth (71%) indicated that keeping their own culture was "very important" to them (Table 4.20). There were no sex differences, although youth from other countries (87%) were more likely than youth from the former Yugoslavia (57%) to say that keeping their culture was extremely important to them.[4] The same pattern was found when youth were asked about their parents' opinions. Eighty percent of all refugee youth said that their parents felt it was very important to keep their own culture. Youth from the former Yugoslavia were less likely to answer this way (60%) than were youth from other countries (95%).[5]

A similar question was asked about the importance of being familiar with Canadian culture (Table 4.20). Being familiar with Canadian culture was not seen as important as keeping one's own culture. Just over 50% of all refugee youth said that it is very important to be familiar with Canadian culture. Females (66%) were more likely than

[4] Chi-square is significant ($p<0.05$) for ethnicity.
[5] Chi-square is significant ($p<0.05$) for ethnicity.

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Table 4.20
Importance of Keeping Own Culture and Being Familiar with Canadian Culture by Sex and Eth

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
Importance of maintaining your own culture to:						
*You**						
Not at all important (1)	2%	0%	0%	2%	1	1%
(2)	2%	2%	0%	4%	2	2%
(3)	10%	10%	4%	15%	9	10%
(4)	15%	16%	9%	22%	14	15%
Very Important (5)	71%	72%	87%	57%	65	71%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
Total N	(41)	(50)	(45)	(46)		
*Your parents***						
(2)	3%	2%	0%	5%	2	2%
(3)	10%	7%	2%	14%	7	8%
(4)	8%	11%	2%	16%	8	9%
Very Important (5)	80%	80%	95%	66%	69	80%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	86	100%
Total N	(40)	(46)	(42)	(44)		
Importance of being familiar with Canadian culture to:						
*You****						
(2)	0%	10%	7%	4%	5	5%
(3)	10%	12%	11%	11%	10	11%
(4)	24%	30%	20%	35%	25	27%
Very Important (5)	66%	48%	62%	50%	51	56%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
Total N	(41)	(50)	(45)	(46)		
Your parents						
Not at all important (1)	8%	4%	8%	5%	5	6%
(2)	3%	2%	3%	2%	2	2%
(3)	15%	24%	23%	18%	17	20%
(4)	38%	44%	35%	48%	35	42%
Very Important (5)	36%	24%	33%	27%	25	30%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	84	100%
Total N	(39)	(45)	(40)	(44)		

Note:
* Chi-square is significant at P=0.02 for ethnicity.
** Chi-square is significant at P=0.02 for ethnicity.
*** Chi-square is significant at P=0.10 for ethnicity.

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males (48%) to answer this way, as were youth from other countries (62%).[6] Only 30% of the refugee youth in this study felt that their parents considered being familiar with Canadian culture to be very important.

How do refugee youth view the issue of multiculturalism? Refugee youth were asked a series of questions about their feelings on how cultural groups get along with one another in Canada and on heritage language preservation (Table 4.21). Almost 90% of refugee youth agreed or strongly agreed that it is good for ethnic groups in Canada to keep their first (heritage) language (scoring 4 or 5 on the 5-point scale). Females (80%) were more likely to strongly agree with this statement, as were youth from other countries (78%).

When the study participants were asked if people who come to Canada should change their ways to become more like average Canadians, their responses were mixed. Nearly 10% of all refugee youth strongly agree that newcomers should change to become more like other Canadians. However, 18% strongly disagree with this statement. Youth from other countries (22%) were more likely than youth from the former Yugoslavia (13%) to feel that they should not change to become more like Canadians. Females (22%) were also more likely than males (14%) to feel that they should not have to change their way of life to be more like average Canadians.

Forty percent of all refugee youth strongly agreed that having many different cultural groups is good for Canada. Less than 5% of all refugee youth disagreed. There were no differences by sex or ethnicity. Most refugee youth (64%) would like to keep their own cultural traditions. Females (71%) were more likely than males (58%) to strongly agree that their cultural traditions are important to preserve. More youth from other countries (73%) strongly agreed that keeping cultural traditions is important when compared to youth from the former Yugoslavia (54%). Very few youth felt that having many different cultural groups in Canada makes it difficult to develop a sense of unity among Canadians. Only 5% of refugee youth strongly agreed with this statement.

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[6] Chi-square is significant ($p<0.10$) for ethnicity.

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Table 4.21
Feelings on How Cultural Groups Get Along in Canada by Sex and Ethnicity

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
It's good for ethnic groups in Canada to keep their first (heritage) language.						
(2)	2%	2%	0%	4%	2	2%
(3)	5%	12%	2%	15%	8	9%
(4)	12%	26%	20%	20%	18	20%
Strongly agree (5)	80%	60%	78%	61%	63	69%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
People who come to Canada should change their ways to become more like average Canadians.						
Strongly disagree (1)	22%	14%	22%	13%	16	18%
(2)	22%	22%	20%	24%	20	22%
(3)	29%	32%	27%	35%	28	31%
(4)	17%	24%	22%	20%	19	21%
Strongly agree (5)	10%	8%	9%	9%	8	9%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
Having many different cultural groups is good for Canada.						
Strongly disagree (1)	0%	2%	0%	2%	1	1%
(2)	3%	6%	4%	4%	4	4%
(3)	15%	22%	13%	24%	17	19%
(4)	40%	32%	40%	31%	32	36%
Strongly agree (5)	43%	38%	42%	38%	36	40%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	90	100%
I would like to keep cultural traditions from my home country.						
(2)	2%	0%	0%	2%	1	1%
(3)	10%	18%	11%	17%	13	14%
(4)	17%	24%	16%	26%	19	21%
Strongly agree (5)	71%	58%	73%	54%	58	64%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%
Having many different cultural groups in Canada makes it difficult to develop a sense of unity among Canadians.						
Strongly disagree (1)	44%	30%	38%	35%	33	36%
(2)	17%	18%	13%	22%	16	18%
(3)	20%	24%	31%	13%	20	22%
(4)	17%	20%	13%	24%	17	19%
Strongly agree (5)	2%	8%	4%	7%	5	5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%

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Feelings on How Cultural Groups Get Along in Canada by Sex and Ethnicity (continued)

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
I feel that there are too many immigrants coming to Canada.*						
Strongly disagree (1)	27%	28%	34%	20%	24	27%
(2)	29%	19%	16%	32%	21	24%
(3)	17%	17%	9%	25%	15	17%
(4)	20%	21%	25%	16%	18	20%
Strongly agree (5)	7%	15%	16%	7%	10	11%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	88	100%
Being in a multicultural society is one of the things I like best about Canada.*						
Strongly disagree (1)	0%	6%	2%	4%	3	3%
(2)	5%	8%	7%	7%	6	7%
(3)	17%	24%	18%	24%	19	21%
(4)	37%	18%	20%	33%	24	26%
Strongly agree (5)	41%	44%	53%	33%	39	43%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%

Note:
* Chi-square is significant at P=0.08 for ethnicity.
** Chi-square is significant at P= 0.07 for ethnicity.
*** Chi-square is significant at P=0.10 for sex.

The majority of refugee youth disagreed with the statement that there are too many immigrants coming to Canada. Twenty-seven percent strongly disagreed and 24% disagreed. On the other end of the scale, 11% strongly agree and 20% agree that too many immigrants are being let into Canada. Males (15%) were more likely than females (7%) to strongly agree that too many immigrants are coming to Canada. Youth from other countries (16%) were also more likely to strongly agree that there are too many immigrants coming to Canada.

The majority of refugee youth also feel that being in a multicultural society is one of the best things about Canada. Over 75% strongly agreed or agreed to this statement. Females (78%) were more likely than males (62%) to feel that a multicultural society is one of the best things about living in Canada. Youth from other countries (73%) were also more likely than youth from the former Yugoslavia (66%) to feel that multiculturalism is one of the best things about living in Canada.

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In summary, the majority of refugee youth support multicultural initiatives in Canada. They feel that protection of cultural groups in Canada is one of the best things about living here. It is therefore not surprising that they also feel that it is important to maintain their own culture. In addition to cultural maintenance, refugee youth, for the most part, feel it is important to be familiar with Canadian culture. While it may seem that the two positions are at odds with one another, this is not the case. Integration means learning about a new culture while maintaining one's heritage culture. This balancing of old lives with new ones is what distinguishes integration from assimilation. And, this definition of integration can be found in some of the comments made by respondents. A 19 year-old female from Bosnia-Hercegovina said, "I would be Canadian. I will be partly Bosnian and partly (mostly) Canadian always."

Do refugee youth feel like "real" Canadians?

When asked if they felt like "real" Canadians, only 12% of refugee youth strongly agreed with this statement, while another 22% agreed (Table 4.22). Fifteen percent strongly disagreed while another 21% disagreed. Females were less likely to feel like real Canadians than males. Only 17% of females agreed and 10% strongly agreed to this statement, compared to 14% of males strongly agreeing and 26% agreeing. Youth from other countries (20%) were more likely to strongly agree with this statement; only 4% of youth from the former Yugoslavia strongly agreed. This finding could be connected to the fact that youth from the former Yugoslavia are more recent arrivals to Canada when compared to youth from other countries.

Do refugee youth plan to become Canadian citizens?

The majority of immigrants who come to Canada become Canadian citizens. According to the 1996 Census of Canada (Statistics Canada, 1998), 70.1% of immigrants have Canadian citizenship. Within some immigrant groups, over 90% have Canadian citizenship. Acquisition of citizenship is also an important issue for

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Table 4.22
I Feel like a "real Canadian" by Sex and Ethnicity

	Sex		Ethnicity		Total	
	Female	Male	Other	Yugoslavian	N	%
I feel like a real Canadian						
Strongly disagree (1)	17%	14%	13%	17%	14	15%
(2)	27%	16%	20%	22%	19	21%
(3)	29%	30%	27%	33%	27	30%
(4)	17%	26%	20%	24%	20	22%
Strongly agree (5)	10%	14%	20%	4%	11	12%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	91	100%

many refugee youth. Figure 4.23 shows that the majority of refugee youth (60%) in this study plan to apply for Canadian citizenship sometime in the future. In fact, 13% were already Canadian citizens, and 24% had applied for citizenship. This is remarkable since most had not been in Canada long enough to be eligible for citizenship at the time of the interview. The importance of obtaining Canadian citizenship is clear in the words of a 20 year-old Afghani male when he said "*you become a real Canadian when you get your citizenship.*" Only two of the 91 respondents indicated that they definitely did not plan to become Canadian citizens.

When asked what Canadian citizenship meant to them, refugee youth frequently provided instrumental reasons.[7] One-third (33.7%) of all responses to this question mentioned obtaining a Canadian passport and the ease in travel it provides (Table 4.24). The next most common answer was more subjective, with 21.2% of the answers indicating that youth would be proud to belong to a country like Canada. Another 9.6% indicated that Canadian citizenship would bring more human rights, while 6.7% suggested that they would enjoy the peace and freedom that accompanies Canadian citizenship.

[7] There were 91 respondents with 114 different responses. The values in Table 4.25 are calculated using the number of responses rather than the number of respondents.

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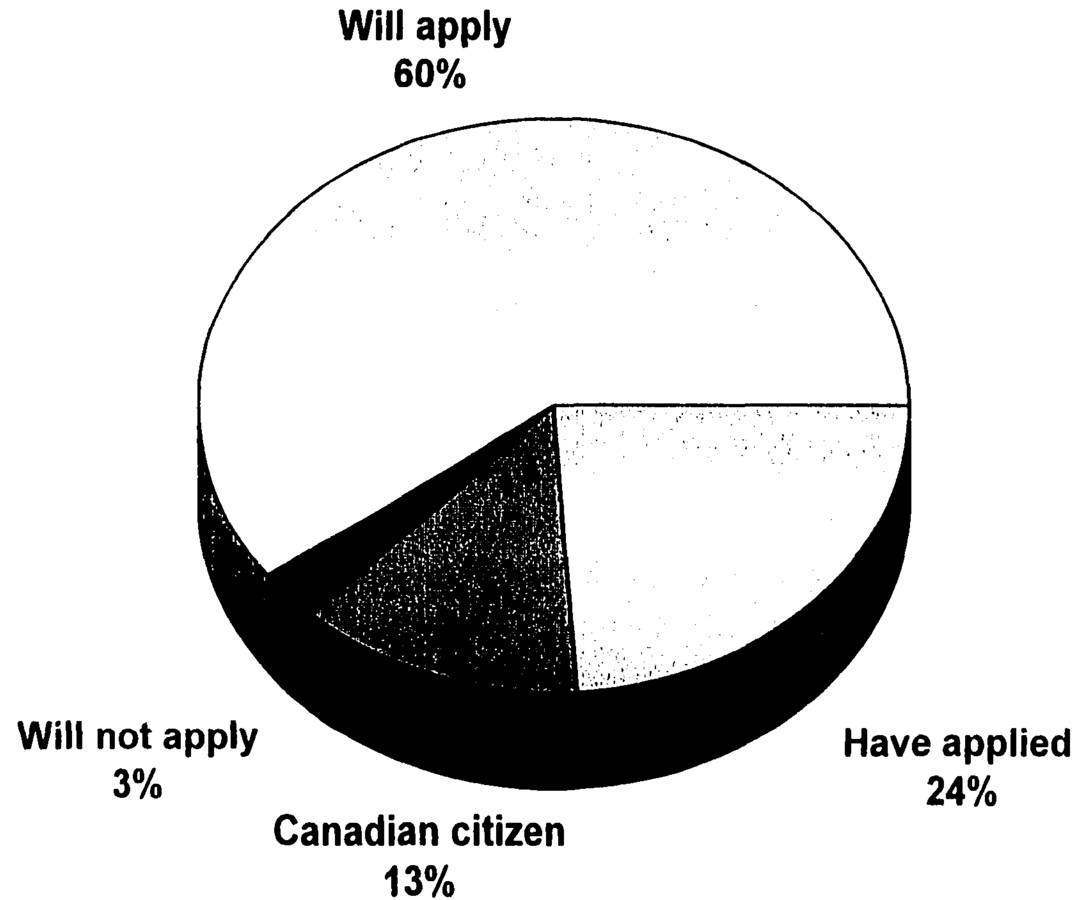
*Figure 4.23 Formal Citizenship Status of Refugee Youth **



*** Respondents were asked "Are you a Canadian citizen?" If not, they were asked "Do you plan on taking out Canadian citizenship in the future?"**

Table 4.24
Instrumental and Subjective Meanings of Citizens
What does Canadian citizenship mean to you?

	N	%
Peace and freedom	7	6.7%
Proud to belong	22	21.2%
Learn the language	1	1.0%
To be accepting of othe	2	1.9%
To have rights	10	9.6%
Better Jobs	5	4.8%
Canadian passport	35	33.7%
Just a piece of paper	2	1.9%
Not returning home	1	1.0%
Nothing	5	4.8%
Other reasons	7	6.7%
Don't know	5	4.8%
No response	2	1.9%
Total	104	100.0%

Note:
Respondents could provide more than one answer to this question. As a result, the total N refers to the number of answers.

Summary and Discussion

This chapter has covered a wide variety of issues having varying degrees of impact on the integration of refugee youth. For these youth, integration into Canadian society, the transition from school-to-work, and the transition to adulthood are simultaneous, making their experiences quite unique and possibly more difficult.

Some of the pre-migration factors experienced by refugee youth, particularly refugee camp experience, may have indirect effects on their subsequent settlement experiences. Health is another factor that indirectly affects integration. Being blessed with good health is not necessarily an indication of greater integration, but it can aid in other aspects of integration. Poor health may adversely affect school performance that would, in turn, have a negative effect on future educational endeavors. Refugee youth

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in my sample reported that they were in relatively good physical and psychological health when they first arrived in Canada. At the time of interview, however, many still felt stressed and unhappy. Yet, after their first year in Canada, their stress levels decreased and their happiness increased, an indication of integration.

Some of the other indicators discussed in this chapter such as English language ability have more tangible consequences for integration. Not only does language proficiency have a positive effect on educational performance, it is also an important tool for communication within the larger society. Those who lack adequate communication skills may feel more isolated and less integrated than those who can use English successfully. When asked to rate their English language speaking, reading, and writing ability, refugee youth were reasonably positive, rating their speaking skills somewhat higher than their reading and writing skills. Youth from the former Yugoslavia tended to rate their English language abilities higher compared to youth from other countries. However, when they were asked how their English ability would affect future job opportunities, youth from the former Yugoslavia were somewhat more negative in their responses, perhaps a more realistic awareness that their proficiency was not equal to that of native-English speakers.

Educational experiences play a significant role in the integration of refugee youth. School is the first place where many are introduced to Canadian culture. What happens to refugee youth when they first arrive has an impact on how well they will do later on in their school careers. For example, refugee youth who are placed in lower than age-appropriate grades may feel out of place, and stand a chance of not being able to complete their secondary education by the provincially mandated age of 19. The latter has occupational implications since those without high school diplomas find it more difficult to find secure and rewarding employment in the future. Furthermore, those who are having difficulties in school may also not complete their secondary education.

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Almost 40% of the youth in my sample were placed in age-inappropriate grades when they entered the Canadian school system. However, many of these individuals had been able to "catch up" by the time they were interviewed, suggesting that some level of integration was occurring. Refugee youth from the former Yugoslavia were generally doing better at school than their counterparts from other countries. Yugoslavian youth had higher average grades, were more likely to be satisfied with their grade placement upon arrival, and were less likely to have experienced difficulties in high school while in Canada. Gender differences were minimal in school performance. Overall, these education findings suggest that, for at least a small majority of refugee youth, integration into the Canadian school system is occurring.

Those with good family ties and a set of friends are more likely to be happy in their surroundings and therefore feel more integrated. The choice of Canadian-born friends over those from one's home country is not an indication of successful integration. Rather, the existence of friendships in general can provide networks through which refugee youth can feel like a part of a group and consequently, a part of society. For the most part, refugee youth in the sample had good relationships with friends, both from their home country and from Canada, in school and outside of school. They also appeared to have satisfactory relationships with family members. Thus, with respect to relationships, the survey data point to successful integration.

The latter part of the chapter focused on more subjective measures of integration, including personal assessments of "fitting in" to Canadian society. Integration cannot be understood by examining school experiences alone. Refugee youth who are "successful" in school may not necessarily feel integrated into Canadian society, although we would expect the two phenomena to be related. Some of the measures in this section, such as "fitting into Canadian society", are more direct indicators of integration than are others. Only a small minority of the youth in my sample felt that they fit in at school. A small majority of refugee youth was either concerned or very concerned about fitting into Canadian society, and over 70% were concerned about their future in Canada. The high proportion of refugee youth who are concerned about

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these issues does not necessarily indicate that they do not feel integrated. The fact that they are concerned about these issues is likely an indication that they care about fitting in. Nevertheless, these data suggest that a considerable number of refugee youth still see themselves as outsiders in Canada, at least to a certain extent.

Questions about the value of multiculturalism in Canada are less directly relevant when discussing integration, but are important in understanding how refugee youth feel about Canada. The majority of refugee youth feel that keeping their own culture is important, while somewhat fewer stated that being familiar with Canadian culture was important. As a group, the refugee youth appeared to support the principles of multiculturalism. Finally a direct measure of integration is acquisition of Canadian citizenship. Virtually all refugee youth plan to or have already applied to become Canadian citizens. Thus, these survey results indicate that integration is occurring among refugee youth. And their vision of Canada is of a multicultural society. If members of the host society share this multicultural vision, the integration experiences will probably be successful for most refugee youth.

Overall, there are some gender and ethnicity differences in the integration experiences of refugee youth. Females, for instance, are more likely to spend time at school with Canadian-born students, and are also more likely to feel like they fit in at school. However, the ethnic differences on many of these integration measures are more pronounced. For instance, refugee youth from the former Yugoslavia spent a shorter period of time in ESL training, an indication that many may have had some knowledge of English prior to their arrival in Canada. They were also less likely to be enrolled in ESL at the time of the interview, and were less likely to say that ESL courses helped them. Their success is reflected in their educational experiences. They are less likely to be placed two or more grades behind once they arrived in Canada. This means that fewer youth from the former Yugoslavia would have to worry about finishing their high school diplomas before the age cap pushes them out of school.

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While the analysis presented in this chapter is largely descriptive, it has permitted us to draw some important conclusions about the integration of refugee youth. It also provides an essential backdrop for the more intensive multivariate analyses of educational status and occupational aspirations that follow. The next chapter looks at the factors that influence the educational success of refugee youth in Canada. Success in the secondary and post-secondary systems is a necessary precondition for success in the adult labour market. Thus, an analysis of educational activity and success of refugee youth provides a partial look at the future integration of refugee youth into Canadian society.

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Chapter 5: Determinants of Educational Success Among Refugee Youth

"It was a good opportunity for me because if I was still back home, I would not be able to go to school," a twenty-one year old female from Afghanistan on being able to attend school in Canada.

"I thought that some of my marks would be a lot higher. Some teachers don't value my work as they would if I were a "Canadian," a sixteen year-old female from El Salvador when asked about her experiences in high school in Canada.

"Wow! It's hard. I don't understand. My first day (of) class, you know, I was screwing up. I was crying. I was going "I'm so silly" and I was crying," excerpt of a quotation from a respondent interviewed by Watt and Roessingh (1996: 202).

Introduction

Education, more than any other single factor, has the capacity to foster development, awaken talents, empower people and protect their rights. At the societal level, investing in education is the surest, most direct way a country can promote its own economic and social welfare and lay the foundation for a democratic society (UNICEF, 2000: 47). At the individual level, success in the education system is a precondition for employment success in later life. Thus, by determining how well refugee youth are doing in the Canadian school system, we are answering, in part, the question of how well refugee youth are integrating into Canadian society. We are also beginning to see how well integrated they will be in the future as adults.

Chapter four revealed that most of the refugee youth in the sample had attended school in their home country, and most continued their education in Canada. Most had taken some ESL courses in Canada, and a substantial number were still enrolled in ESL when they were interviewed. While reasonably positive about their English language

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ability, most recognized they had some problems in this area. On arrival in Canada, a significant number of these refugee youth were assigned to grades inappropriate for their age. Nevertheless, there was no evidence that these youth experienced widespread failure in the Canadian school system, nor of a high degree of alienation from the education system.

In this chapter, I continue to examine the educational status of refugee youth in Canada, and the factors that influence their success in the education system. Some of these factors are unique to the refugee experience (e.g., time spent in a refugee camp or being placed in an age-inappropriate grade). Others, such as parents' socioeconomic status, are factors that have been shown to be important in a wide range of school-work transition studies.

Operationalizing Educational Status

In the previous chapter, I described the educational activity in Canada of refugee youth by focusing on their grade placement, English language ability, grades, and post-secondary activity. It is apparent that, while many of my sample members were doing reasonably well in the Canadian school system, some were clearly experiencing difficulties. In this chapter, I present a more detailed multivariate analysis of the determinants of educational success for refugee youth.

The dependent variable, educational status, is constructed from a number of the educational experience variables discussed in chapter 4. "Educational status" is composed of three categories, based on respondents' answers to the following nine questions: *Have you ever attended high school in Canada? Are you still attending high school? What grade are you in? What is the highest grade you have completed? Since leaving high school, have you taken any post-secondary education or training courses? Are you still enrolled in post-secondary classes? Have you obtained a diploma or degree (post-secondary) of some kind? Have you had difficulty in high*

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school here in Canada? What was your average (marks) in your last full year at high school?

The first category, "on-track for higher education," contains two groups of students. One group has already completed high school and has completed, or is currently enrolled, in some sort of post-secondary education. Members of the second group are currently attending high school, are at the correct grade assignment, and have not experienced any difficulties in high school in Canada. Correct grade assignment refers to the fit between age and grade level. For example, most grade ten students are between the ages of 15 and 16. If the respondent was18 years old at the time of the interview but only in grade ten, that individual would be in an inappropriate grade and would be assigned to a lower category in my educational status measure.

The second category, "high school only", includes three groups of students. These students will likely finish high school, are in an appropriate grade for their age, but are unlikely to go on to post-secondary education for various reasons. Members of the first group currently attend high school, but indicate difficulty in high school or have low grades (Ds or lower). This group also includes students who are currently enrolled in ESL. These students are usually enrolled in remedial or "catch-up" classes that are not recognized for entry into post-secondary education. The second group consists of individuals who have finished high school, but have not obtained any post-secondary education and have no intention to do so. The third group is respondents who have never attended high school or a post-secondary institution in Canada and have no intention to upgrade or return to formal schooling.

The third category, "behind/dropped out," contains two groups of students: those who have dropped out of school in Canada, and those who are currently in high school but at a grade inappropriate for their age. Post-secondary education is an almost impossible goal for this group unless they return to high school to upgrade. These students are most at risk of becoming unemployed or working in low-level, low- wage and insecure jobs as adults.

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Students who are "on-track to obtain the credits necessary for post-secondary education are assigned a value of 3. Those who are in the "high school only" category (in the right grade for their age but experiencing difficulty in school and not planning on pursuing post-secondary education) are assigned a value of 2. Sample members who are behind or who have dropped out of high school are assigned a value of 1.

Table 5.1 demonstrates that a small majority (53%) of refugee youth are "on track" in educational streams leading to post-secondary education. This is a finding which, at first glance, appears to contradict the literature which suggests that most refugee youth are doing poorly in school. About 27% of the sample (N=25) are in the "high school only" category, while 20% (N=18) are behind or have dropped out.

Table 5.1
Educational Status by Various Characteristics of Refugee Youth, 1992-1997

	On-track		High school only		Behind or dropout		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Females	24	59%	11	27%	6	15%	41	100%
Males	24	48%	14	28%	12	24%	50	100%
Yugoslavians	31	67%	10	22%	5	11%	46	100%
Non-Yugoslavian	17	38%	15	33%	13	29%	45	100%
Parents in refugee camp	12	43%	7	25%	9	32%	28	100%
Parents not in refugee camp	36	57%	18	29%	9	14%	63	100%
Total	48	53%	25	27%	18	20%	91	100%
Mean age		17.2		19.6		18.2	18.0	
Mean months in Canada		35		30		32	30	

To some extent, the demographic characteristics of these three groups are very similar. While "on-track" youth have been in Canada slightly longer (an average of 35 months) than have those in the other two categories (30 and 32 months, respectively), the differences are not statistically significant (Table 5.1). This is contrary to the suggestion in the immigration literature that states the longer the time immigrants and refugees spend in the country, the more likely they will integrate successfully into

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various aspects of Canadian life including schooling. "On-track" refugee youth are also somewhat younger than their counterparts in the other two educational status categories, but the age differences are not statistically significant. However, a multivariate analysis might reveal other variables that can influence this relationship.

Women (59%) are slightly more likely than men (48%) to be in the "on-track" category (Table 5.1). Refugees from the former Yugoslavia are much more likely to be in the "on-track" category (67%) compared to those from other countries (38%). Only 43% of those students who have spent time in refugee camps are in the "on-track" category compared to 57% of those who had not been in a refugee camp. These comparisons suggest that there is a difference between the characteristics of those who are doing well at school and those who are having more difficulty or who have dropped out.

These bivariate findings appear to support our current understanding of refugees integration. Women, regardless of immigrant status, are slightly more likely than men to do well in school (Statistics Canada and Canadian Council of Ministers of Education, 2000: 174). That youth from the former Yugoslavia outnumber those from other countries in the highest track may be a reflection of their greater proficiency in English and greater familiarity with a "western" school system, as noted in chapter 4. Additionally, this ethnicity difference may also have something to do with the predominantly visible minority status of non-Yugoslav refugee youth. Members of non-white groups frequently do not fare as well in the education system because they face institutional racism (Davies and Guppy, 1998), a Eurocentric curriculum (Solomon, 1992; Yon 1991), and an assimilationist culture in school (Henry, et. al, 1995; Dei, 1998; Li, 1988). Finally, Table 5.1 also shows that refugee camp experience has a negative impact on educational performance. Research conducted by the United Nations (1999a, 1999b) and UNICEF (2000) indicates that refugee camp experience is highly detrimental to future educational performance.

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The Determinants of Educational Success for Refugee Youth

The following multiple regression analysis incorporates a range of individual factors, family influences, and general demographic characteristics in order to explain how they impact "educational status." Most of these variables were previously introduced in Chapter 3. In a sense, this multivariate model uses variables suggested by the theories outlined in the school-to-work transition literature and the immigration literature to explain the educational attainment of refugee youth, it is not an attempt to test these theories. The former places most of its emphasis on the impacts of socio-economic status (and to a lesser extent, enjoyment of school) on educational success. In contrast, the immigration literature emphasizes the detrimental effects of pre- and post-migration refugee experiences (e.g., time spent in a refugee camp; inappropriate grade placements in Canada; English language deficiencies).

Table 5.2 displays the standardized regression coefficients (betas) for a multiple regression equation with educational status as the dependent variable. Together, the 16 independent variables account for 39% of the variance in educational status (adjusted $R^2 = 0.25$). Only grade placement upon arrival (beta=0.258**), number of months in Canada (beta=0.279**) and ethnicity (beta=0.292**) have statistically significant effects on educational status, when the effects of other variables are controlled for in the equation.

Respondents who felt their grade placement was appropriate for their age and previous educational experience when they began school in Canada are more likely to be *on-track.* Those respondents who felt their grade placement was too high are more likely to experience problems in school, and fall into the *high school only* or *behind/dropped-out* categories. Thus, appropriate grade placement, an issue addressed in the immigration literature, does appear to have an effect on the educational performance of refugee youth. Those with problems in school will be less likely to obtain their high school diplomas, or to obtain the post-secondary education that would help them get better jobs and incomes in the future.

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Table 5.2
Determinants of Educational Success for Refugee Youth

Individual Factors	Beta	Family Influences	Beta
School enjoyment	-0.083	**Urban residence**	**^0.193**
English language ability	0.018	Sponsorship type	-0.097
Grade placement upon arrival	****0.258**	Family composition	-0.077
Refugee camp experience	-0.006	Parents' highest level of schooling	0.149
Difficulty helping parents adjust	-0.14	Family income	0.095
Months in Canada	****0.279**	**Parents' health**	**^0.172**
Ethnicity	****0.292**		
Gender	-0.064		
Mental health	0.022		
Age	-0.077		

R^2 = 0.386
Adjusted R^2 = 0.253
N=91

** Significant at P=0.01
^ Significant at P=0.10

Contrary to the non-significant bivariate relationships displayed in Table 5.1, number of months in Canada does have a significant effect on educational status (beta=0.279**). When the other variables are controlled for in the multiple regression model, as time in Canada increases, so does the likelihood that respondents will be *on-track* in their high school and post-secondary education. This finding supports the immigration literature that suggests the longer newcomers are in Canada, the more likely they are to succeed in the education institution and in other aspects of social life.

Ethnicity has the strongest influence on educational status (beta=0.292**). Controlling on other relevant variables, youth from the former Yugoslavia are more likely to be *on-track* compared to their counterparts from other countries. Mainstream absorption theory, a staple of the immigration literature, would suggest that since the cultural practices and race of most former Yugoslavian youth are similar to that of mainstream (white) Canadians, we would expect to find them doing better in school. Alternatively, youth from "different" cultures and races are less likely to be doing well at school. This may be due to the greater English proficiency of Yugoslavian youth, and their greater familiarity with a "western" school system. However, this finding may also reflect institutional racism, systematic discrimination, and the less subtle and more

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personal forms of racism including polite racism and subliminal racism (Fleras and Elliot, 1996: 84). In addition, cultural practices may also play a role in determining the educational success of particular groups. In this case, it could be that the culture of the former Yugoslavian youth is more similar to the mainstream Canadian culture which dominates the practices in Canadian classrooms. For this reason, this group may have an easier time integrating and succeeding in school.

While they are not as statistically significant[1] as the other three main effects described above, two family influence variables also affect the educational status of refugee youth. The net effect of urban residence (beta=0.193^) suggests that refugees living in the larger centres of Edmonton and Calgary are more likely to be on-track than refugees living in smaller centres. Mainstream absorption theory suggests that there are more culturally-relevant services available in the larger centres to aid immigrants in the integration process. Larger centres are also more likely to have ethnic communities with people from the same country, which could provide additional support networks for youth. Similarly, the service workers in larger urban centres may have had more experience with youth from diverse backgrounds. This could also improve integration in general and school performance in particular.

Parental health is the only other variable that has a small significant net effect on educational status (beta=0.172^). Youth with parents who are ill are less likely to be *on-track* than youth with healthy parents. Again, underclass absorption theory might predict that immigrant and refugee youth having parents with physical or mental health problems would experience problems in other aspects of their lives, including school. In this case, there is a link between the health of parents and the success of their children.

The remaining individual factors and family influences do not have statistically significant effects on the educational status of refugee youth. Borrowing a phrase from Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902), these could be

[1] Statistical significance is defined at the $p<0.10$ level.

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considered to be the "hounds that did not bark." One example of a hound that did not bark is English language ability. A preoccupation of much educational literature on immigrant and refugee youth is a concern for language acquisition (Huang, 2000). Common sense and empirical research suggest that youth who do not learn to speak English are not likely to do well in school. The present data, however, do not support this. With a beta of only 0.018, self-reported English language ability has only a marginal and non-significant effect on educational status.

It is possible that the self-report measure of English language ability is at fault. If the respondents had taken an English test at the time of the interview and I had used their performance on this test as my measure of English language ability, the results may have indicated a stronger effect of English language ability on school performance. Alternatively, and more likely, the correlation between ethnicity and English language ability may be responsible for this finding. As we observed in Chapter 4, Yugoslavian youth are more proficient in English. Once ethnicity is controlled in this multiple regression equation (Table 5.2), English language ability is of little predictive consequence. Regardless, this non-finding suggests that other factors are more important in understanding the educational performance of refugee youth.

Two other "hounds that did not bark" are variables central to the school-to-work transition literature. In this literature, the educational credentials of parents and family income should have a great influence on the educational performance of youth (Curtis, Livingstone and Smaller, 1992; Porter, Porter and Blishen, 1979; West, et. al., 2000). It is well established that the children of more affluent and more educated parents tend to do better in school. However, the beta for parents' (combined) education is 0.149 and for family income, it is 0.095. This indicates that parental SES has little influence on the educational performance of their children when compared to the strength of other indicators.[2] On further reflection, these finding are not surprising when applied to the experiences of immigrants and refugees. A hallmark problem of many

[2] With betas close to the line of significance, I decided to create an index of the parents' education and family income to see if the combined effect would be significant. The result was that the R^2 declined and the index had no significant effect on the dependent variable.

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newcomers is the failure to have their educational qualifications recognized by Canadian employers. Normally, education is linked to skills, and better paid employment would naturally follow (Salamon, 1991; Packer, 1991), but this is not the case for refugees. This results in many highly educated refugees working at low-wage, low-skill employment for which they are overqualified (Basran and Zong, 1998; Krahn, Derwing, Mulder and Wilkinson, 2000). Thus, the relationship between parents' education and family income and educational status is not as strong for refugees as it is for other youth. However, even if SES is not transmitted via income, it is still expected that parents would pass on to their children their values and expectations of better education. The analysis of the determinants of the occupational aspirations of refugee youth is covered in the next chapter.

Family composition also has no effect on the educational status of refugee youth. A recent study by the United States Department of Education found that the academic performance of students in reading, arithmetic, and general knowledge is greater for children living in two-parent homes than for children living in single-parented homes, even after taking language ability into account (West, et. al., 2000). One reason why family composition may not have had a significant influence on education status in my study is that it is correlated with the ethnicity variable (r=0.368**). Almost 90% of youth from the former Yugoslavia live with two parents, while only 53% of youth from other countries live similarly. Thus, controlling on ethnicity, family composition has a negligible effect on educational status.

The remaining individual factors (school enjoyment, helping parents adjust to Canada, gender, mental health, age, and refugee camp experience) all have non-significant net effects on the educational status of refugee youth. Again, some of these variables are central to explanations of youth integration and transition. For instance, school enjoyment (beta=-0.083), according to the school-to-work transition literature, should have a strong positive effect on educational status. Here the effect is small and negative. For these refugee youth, enjoyment of school in Canada simply has little

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effect on education status, while other factors more strongly influence educational performance.

Gender is a central concern of all social science research. Recent studies indicate that women generally out-perform men at academic tasks (Statistics Canada and Canadian Council of Ministers of Education, 2000: 75), enough so that the Ministers of Education have suggested that male students need special attention in the classroom. It appears that for refugees, gender does not play a significant role in educational status. Despite the bivariate cross-tabulations (Table 5.1) indicating that female students are less likely than males to be in the behind/dropped out category (15% female versus 24% male), once other variables are controlled, gender loses its effect. Other factors such as time in Canada and ethnicity have a more salient effect on the educational success of refugee youth.

According to underclass absorption theory, difficulty in helping parents adjust to life in Canada should also have a negative effect on education status. The idea behind this is that problems at home usually lead to problems at school (Ahearn and Athey, 1991). But the beta for this variable is small, negative and non-significant (beta=-0.140). However, if my sample had been larger, this variable might have had a significant net effect on educational status, in the predicted direction.

A plethora of psychological literature on refugee youth suggests that their mental health has a significant impact on their educational performance and on other aspects of their lives (Ahearn and Athey, 1991; Ready, 1991; Hodes, 1998). The findings here simply suggest that the effect of mental health on educational performance is not as great as has been previously predicted. This may indicate that adolescent refugees, for the most part, are more resilient than the literature leads us to believe. In addition, other studies may not have controlled on all the variables included in this analysis.

The negative impact of spending time in a refugee camp is of great interest to researchers and non-governmental organizations (UNICEF 2000; United Nations,

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1999; Human Rights Watch, 1999). The United Nations estimates that of approximately 50 million forcibly displaced people, about 30% are between the ages of 10 and 24 years (United Nations Youth Information Network, 1999). Post-refugee camp experience can affect the mental health of adolescents in various ways, ranging from "depression, apathy, delinquent behaviour or aggressive acts to situational mental disturbances, drug abuse and suicide, which in many cases, may also be a reflection of the high level of anxiety and despair within the refugee community as a whole" (UNHCR, 1994). In a 1992/3 survey of Burmese refugees in Thailand, youth in refugee camps experienced an average of 30 trauma events (United Nations, 1999), including interrogation, imprisonment, threats of deportation and torture. These experiences can have adverse effects on the mental and physical health of refugee youth, which may carry over into their resettlement and schooling experiences.

Yet the results of the current analysis indicate that refugee camp experience has no direct effect on the educational status of refugee youth. Upon consideration of this finding, it was hypothesized that refugee camp experience could have an interaction effect with the ethnicity variable as the experience of life in refugee camps differs from country to country (see for example Hukanovic, 1993; Cale Feldman, Princa and Senjkovic, 1993; Kelly, 2000; Human Rights Watch, 1999). A cross-product term (ethnicity by refugee camp experience) was added to the list of independent variables (see Table 5.3) and revealed a significant net effect (beta=0.182). Thus, Yugoslav youth who had not been in a refugee camp were most likely to be successful in school. In contrast, non-Yugoslav youth who had been in a refugee camp were least likely to be successful. The strength of the other variables in the equation did not change. The policy implications of this finding are that educators and counselors involved with refugee youth should be made aware of their previous refugee camp experience, particularly for the most disadvantaged groups of refugee youth.

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Table 5.3
Determinants of Educational Status for Refugee Youth
with cross-product term ethnicity x refugee camp experience

Individual Factors	Beta	Family Influences	Beta
School enjoyment	-0.079	**Urban residence**	***0.211**
English language ability	0.061	Sponsorship type	-0.071
Grade placement upon arrival	****0.285**	Family composition	0.021
Difficulty helping parents adjust	-0.121	Parents' highest level of schooling	0.066
Months in Canada	***0.233**	Family income	0.081
Ethnicity x refugee camp exp.	**^0.182**	**Parents' health**	**^0.172**
Gender	-0.056		
Mental health	0.008		
Age	-0.086		

Ethnicity x refugee camp exp. (4=Yugoslav, no camp experience, 2=Yugoslav with camp experience or other refugee without camp experience, 1=other refugee with camp experience).

R2 = 0.356
Adjusted R2 = 0.227
N=91

** Significant at P=0.01
* Significant at P=0.05
^ Significant at P=0.10

Summary and Policy Implications

These findings show that that the school-to-work transition literature, as well as the immigration and integration literatures, require some rethinking in order to account for the influences on educational outcome that are specific to refugee youth. There is also evidence to suggest that these theories can be used in conjunction with one another to better explain the experiences of refugee youth. Grade placement upon arrival, number of months in Canada, ethnicity, urban residence, parents' health and, to a certain extent, refugee camp experience all influence the educational performance of refugee youth in Canada. These influences are specific to the integration, immigrant and school-to-work transitions literature, but are rarely seen together.

Ethnicity remains a highly significant predictor of the educational performance of refugee youth. Youth from the former Yugoslavia are more likely than youth from other countries to be in a position to continue on to post-secondary education. The implication of this finding is that programs that target other groups might help them

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better adjust to the Canadian school system. School programs should be sensitive to variations within the broad category of "refugee" to better help those in need. As noted several times, the superior performance of Yugoslavian youth may be due to their advanced English language ability and, perhaps, to their greater familiarity with our type of school system. On a more negative note, the better performance of Yugoslavian youth, most of whom are white, might also mean that the continued existence of discrimination in the Canadian education system cannot be ruled out. Schooling practices and curriculum need to address this problem.

Time in Canada also has a positive influence on educational performance, which is supported by the integration literature that states as time in the new country increases, so does the integration of newcomers. This has important policy implications, especially in regard to the age cap policy of Alberta Education. Youth with gaps in their schooling are unlikely to be able to finish high school before the prescribed age of 19 years. In these instances, exceptions to this restrictive policy should be considered.

Tied to this is the finding that grade placement upon arrival is crucial to educational success. Educators need to devise better methods that will help place refugee youth into grades suitable for their age and education abilities. Educators often have to "guess" the appropriate grade. Some sort of standard testing procedure might help alleviate this problem, as would additional teacher education about refugees. Or, perhaps more simply, additional discussion with refugee youth and their parents before grade placement occurs might lead to a more appropriate grade placement.

Residence in a large urban setting has a positive effect on the educational performance of refugees. This is probably linked to the availability of language instruction and culturally-specific services for newcomers. However, additional research would better uncover this link. Furthermore, labour market opportunities for adults may encourage better educated refugees to seek employment in the larger cities. This would mean that

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their children would accompany them. This may be an additional reason that refugee youth in larger centres perform better in the educational system.

Finally, parental health has a positive impact on the educational performances of refugees. Healthy parents are more likely to have healthy children who, it appears, do better in school. Hence, the well-being of the entire family should be an important consideration in helping new refugee families adjust. This includes both physical and psychological health, and extends beyond the school into the labour market where parents require additional services to assist them in finding suitable employment with adequate wages. This would go a long way in helping refugee youth and their families better cope with their new lives in Canada.

Overall, the findings in this chapter are fairly positive, showing at least half of the refugee youth in this study succeeding in the Canadian school system. For the most part, they are in classes that lead to post-secondary education. Thus, in this sense, they seem to have successfully integrated into Canadian society. Despite this positive finding, however, this study also indicates that many refugee youth require additional resources and consideration in their education so that they are better able to take advantage of post-secondary educational opportunities that lead to better employment outcomes.

The implications of these findings are particularly relevant in the broader Canadian context. Of the 137,715 refugees arriving in Canada between 1992 and 1996, 31% were aged 19 and under (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1999: 12), meaning that education is an important aspect of consideration. Only recently has the issue of refugee youth and education garnered attention from the government. Bill C-487 which would amend the *Canada Student Financial Assistance Act* to make Convention refugees eligible for student loans has just been tabled in the Canadian parliament, in recognition that refugee youth do not have equal opportunities in post-secondary education. While a step in the right direction, additional focus on the secondary and

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elementary school experiences of refugees is needed in order that the 40% of refugee youth having problems in school are not left behind.

The next chapter examines if and how current educational status and the other variables relevant to this study influence the occupational aspirations of refugee youth. Higher levels of education generally lead to better employment. While I lack the data needed to study employment outcomes, as only a few members of my sample have entered the labour market, there is merit in examining occupational aspirations of refugee youth to see if their educational status will at least provide them with a good chance of reaching their career goals.

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Chapter 6: Preparing for Work: The Occupational Aspirations of Refugee Youth

> *"Probably every single young person in this country would like to go abroad (for work), because this place is offering us nothing" Ivana Francic, a 17 year-old Serbian teenager living in Belgrade* (Gee, 2000: A12).

Introduction

Virtually all teenagers, regardless of circumstances, want to leave their homes as part of obtaining independence, although not all want to leave their home country. But refugee youth are different. They have completed one part of this transition journey by fleeing to a new country that may give them a chance at a better life including better employment opportunities. But how do they fare in the Canadian labour market?

Most of the youth in my sample are too young to allow me to study their occupational outcomes. In fact, many were still in school and some were working in student jobs. Hence, it is not possible to determine how they will ultimately fare in the Canadian labour market. So why look at occupational aspirations? Because the school-to-work transition research literature shows that high occupational aspirations tend to translate, in time, into high occupational status (Krahn and Lowe, 1997). Youth who aim high tend to obtain more post-secondary education and, on average, better jobs. Thus, by examining the occupational aspirations of refugee youth, we can see whether these young people are "on-track" for better jobs. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to explore one small piece of their transition into adulthood, their occupational aspirations. In so doing, we have yet another opportunity to address the broader question of how well refugee youth are integrating into Canadian society.

Little is known about refugee youth once they have left the secondary education system. The previous two chapters discussed the educational experiences and attainment of newly arrived refugees. We saw that just over half of refugee youth are

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"on-track" in educational programs that lead to post-secondary possibilities. The other half, however, is struggling with obstacles such as learning English, catching up on years of missed schooling, and learning a new culture. Many youth may be impeded by other factors including helping their parents adjust to Canada, coping with past events associated with war and the loss of parents and/or family members, and the existence of discrimination in the education system. How do these factors influence the occupational aspirations and goals of refugee youth?

The last chapter showed that some of the factors having strong influences on the school-to-work transitions of Canadian-born youth, such as parents' education, family income, family composition, school enjoyment, and personal health have no apparent effect on the educational status of refugee youth. Furthermore, the findings provide no evidence that ability to speak English, or helping parents adjust, have any effect on educational status.

Why do the school-to-work transition and the immigration literatures largely fail to explain the educational status of refugees? It could be that refugees are so different from Canadian-born and other immigrants that new theories of integration and school-to-work transitions must be developed to help enhance our understanding of this group. I am not so sure I accept this proposition. While refugee youth are different from immigrant and Canadian-born youth, in many ways they are the same. While interviewing two young women from the former Yugoslavia, I recognized the photos of rock groups that covered their walls. Occasionally, our interview was punctuated by phone calls from friends and I would catch snippets of conversations about boys and school. When talking to a young man from Afghanistan, we spoke about his after-school soccer team. These are activities that are the same as those of Canadian-born youth. This interviewing experience was not unanticipated, as there are some aspects of youth culture that are universal.

Rather than leading to a new theoretical approach, the present analysis contributes to the immigration and transitions literature. Much of the immigration literature deals

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with the influences of the family on the decision to migrate. For immigrants, one of the major reasons for family migration is to provide a better life for themselves and their children (Isajiw, 1999). Similarly, in the school-to-work transition literature, the influence of parents is great. Encouraging children to do well in school and providing a home environment that fosters a love for learning can have positive influences on the school performance of children (Chu and Braddock, 2000: 106). Furthermore, the occupation of parents, according to the school-to-work transition literature, has a great effect on the aspirations of their children (Curtis, Livingstone and Smaller, 1992: 8-10; Krahn and Lowe, 1998).

This chapter examines the influence of family, particularly the socioeconomic status of the family, and the influence of parents' occupational aspirations on the aspirations of refugee youth. It begins with an examination of the occupational aspirations held by refugee youth in my sample. Data from the 1996 Alberta High School Graduate Survey are used to provide comparable information on immigrant youth and Canadian-born youth.[1] A more detailed examination of the influences on occupational aspirations, controlling for the effects of other factors such as time in Canada, age, refugee camp experience, ethnicity, and gender, is presented at the end of the chapter.

Some Preliminary Hypotheses

What do refugee youth want from their new lives in Canada? This is a question rarely asked. It is simply assumed that refugee youth settle and become "Canadian", desiring the same lives as native-born youth. Due to the paucity of research in this area, a number of preliminary hypotheses will guide this research. Most of them, quite literally, are informed speculations, based on my understanding of refugee youth. Some are guided by the literature on school to work transitions.

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[1] The 1996 Alberta High School Graduate Survey surveyed 2,681 12th Grade students in 58 high schools across the province. The Alberta High School Graduate survey contained information for Grade 12 students, mostly between the ages of 16 and 18, while my youth sample has a slightly longer age range, from 15 to 21 years. However, most of the youth in my sample are in school and are therefore relatively comparable to the respondents in the Alberta High School Graduate Survey.

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My core assumption is that refugee youth will have low occupational aspirations. Given their experiences as former refugees, my hypothesis is that I expect youth in my sample to have lower expectations about their careers than Canadian-born students or immigrant students. There is an abundance of literature that suggests that refugee youth have a higher propensity towards various mental health problems (Ahearn and Athey, 1991; Beiser and Edwards, 1994). Because mental health problems may impact negatively on aspirations, and due to the higher incidence of mental health problems amongst the refugee population, it might mean that refugee youth, as a group, would have lower aspirations than other youth.

While predicting lower occupational aspirations among refugee youth, I would expect the influences on their aspirations to be quite similar to what has been previously observed in Canadian research. Like the aspirations held by Canadian-born youth, it is expected that educational status should positively influence the occupational aspirations of refugees. Students doing better in school should have higher aspirations, on average, than those who are not doing well. Given the results in Chapter 5, indicating that refugees from the former Yugoslavia are typically doing better in school, it is not a stretch to postulate that youth from the former Yugoslavia should have higher occupational aspirations than refugee youth from elsewhere.

Family influences on occupational aspirations have been well documented (see Anisef et al., 2000; Theissen and Looker, 1999). The expectations held by parents for their children are generally fairly similar to those held by their children. Hence, another hypothesis is that the aspirations of refugee parents should be similar to those of their children. It has also been documented that youth will often aspire to occupations that are similar, or at least of similar socioeconomic status, to the occupations of their parents. For example, a youth whose father is a physician may aspire to become a physician herself, or aspire to an occupation in a similar field (Hagan, Dinovitzer and Parker, 1997). In the case of refugees however, I postulate this relationship to be slightly different. Many refugees face difficulties practicing their trades and professions in Canada. Once a physician in Afghanistan, a parent may work as a lab

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assistant in Canada because their credentials obtained in Afghanistan are not recognized (Krahn, Derwing, Mulder and Wilkinson, 2000). For this reason, I hypothesize that the occupation that refugee parents held in their home country would have a larger influence on the occupational aspirations of their children than their present occupation in Canada.

Two remaining hypotheses are derived directly from the school-to-work transition literature and its strong emphasis on the influence of class background on occupational aspirations. First, I would predict that parents' education should positively affect the occupational aspirations of youth. That is, the higher the parents' education, the higher their children's aspirations. More specifically, I would expect that youth with at least one university educated parent would have higher aspirations than youth without university educated parents. Second, and following the same line of reasoning, family income should also positively influence aspirations; the higher the income, the higher the aspiration.

The Occupational Aspirations of Refugee Youth

Specific Career Goals

When asked about their occupational aspirations,[2] the most prevalent choices among refugee youth are physician (9%), engineer (11%), and computer programmer/systems analyst (7%).[3] Refugee youth are slightly more likely to prefer these occupations when compared to immigrant and Canadian-born youth. In the 1996 Alberta High School Graduate Survey, the most popular career choices for Canadian-born youth were teacher (6.0%), engineer (5.6%), and physician (4.1%) (Lowe, Krahn and Bowlby, 1997: 49). For immigrant youth in the Alberta High School Graduate Survey, the most popular occupational choices were engineer (9.0%), accountant (6.4%), and physician (4.6%). It appears that physician and occupations in engineering are popular among all

[2] Youth were asked "*what kind of job or career do you want eventually*?"

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three groups, but the proportion of refugees preferring these occupations is somewhat higher than for immigrants and the Canadian-born.

While these differences are not large, we might still ask why the occupational aspirations of refugees differ from the aspirations of immigrants and Canadian-born youth in this regard. It could be that refugee youth may not be aware of all the occupations that are available to them in Canada. I do not place much stock in this argument, as evidence from my survey, when compared to that from the Alberta High School Graduate Survey, suggests that refugees aspire to a wide range of different and very specific occupations. Hence, a further look at the specific career goals of refugee youth, compared to immigrant and native-born youth, could be useful.

For instance, accounting is an occupation preferred by a larger proportion of immigrants than the other groups (6.4%). This may be a function of more accountants, compared to other professions, being accepted as immigrants to Canada. Because youth frequently follow in their parents' footsteps, more immigrant youth may aspire to careers in accounting. The same phenomenon may explain the higher number of aspiring engineers in the refugee sample.

Teaching was not a popular profession for refugees (2.2%), and to a lesser extent, immigrants (4.3%), but was chosen by 6.1% of Canadian-born students. Why is teacher the number one occupational aspiration of Alberta youth, yet much less popular among refugee youth? There are two possible explanations. First, teachers are often the first people to have extended personal contact with refugee youth. The demographic characteristics of the 'average' teacher in Canada are white and middle class, something that does not resonate with the majority of refugees who arrive in Canada. At least upon first arrival, many refugees are poor and about half are not white, characteristics that are very different from the average teacher. Furthermore, refugee youth may not view teaching as something they can aspire to because the

[3] This calculation is based on the total number of youth in the sample. Eleven refugee youth stated they were unsure of their future occupational plans, representing 12% of the total sample, slightly higher than the average "unsure" response in the Alberta High School Graduate Survey (9%).

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values held by teachers probably do not match their own. Research suggests that children from non-mainstream cultures are not attracted to teaching as the culture of teaching is one that generally does not encourage a recognition of diversity (Coelho et al., 1990; Grundy, 1994). Instead, it is a profession that encourages adoption of mainstream values. The teaching profession is trying to make changes that would attract teachers from non-mainstream cultures and to institute a multicultural curriculum, but it is a slow process. As a result, refugee youth may be less likely to aspire to the teaching profession.

Another reason teaching may not be an attractive profession for refugee youth may be related to the selection process for refugees to Canada. While Canada does not "select" refugees per se, Canada is a desirable destination. Refugees who were highly educated and affluent in their home countries have a better chance of gaining entry to Canada as they possess skills that are more likely in demand. Teachers, though educated, are not likely to be wealthy enough to be able to escape their country of origin. Hence, fewer refugee youth would be exposed to teachers who are members of their own ethnic communities in Canada. In addition, teachers are some of the first professionals to be persecuted in any wars (Richardson, 1998). Because of their influence on youth, many are abducted, tortured and killed. In Cambodia, it is estimated that 70% of teachers were killed within the first four years of the conflict. In Algeria, 174 teachers were murdered in 1994 alone (Richardson, 1999 speaking notes). As a result, refugee youth might not see teaching as a desirable profession.

Professional or Other Careers

It is easier to compare the occupational aspirations of refugees and Canadian-born students using a less detailed coding scheme based on the 1981 Standard Occupational Classification (SOC).[4] Table 6.1 shows the occupational aspirations of the refugees in

[4] SOC codes are used instead of the newer National Occupational Classification codes (NOC) because the Alberta High School Graduate Survey coded occupational aspirations as SOC codes.

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my study compared to immigrant and Canadian-born youth in the Alberta High School Graduate Survey. The SOC codes have been collapsed into 16 categories.

Table 6.1
Occupational Aspirations of Refugee Youth, Immigrant Youth and Canadian-born Youth

	Refugee sample		1996 Alberta High School Graduate Survey			
			Immigrants		Canadian-born	
Occupational Aspirations	N	%	N	%	N	%
Managerial	3	3%	34	12%	63	5%
Science/Engineering/Math	21	23%	57	21%	177	13%
Social Sciences	6	7%	23	8%	120	9%
Religion					6	< 1%
Teaching	2	2%	14	5%	90	7%
Medicine/Health	14	15%	35	13%	198	15%
Artistic/Literary/Recreational	16	18%	25	9%	153	11%
Clerical	4	4%	5	2%	20	1%
Sales			1	< 1%	11	1%
Service	3	3%	15	5%	107	8%
Primary			1	< 1%	28	2%
Mining/Oil			3	1%	2	< 1%
Manufacturing/Processing	6	7%	9	3%	62	5%
Construction	3	3%	1	< 1%	23	2%
Transportation/Communication	2	2%	2	1%	15	1%
Homemaker					3	< 1%
No response			21	8%	130	10%
Don't know, good job	11	12%	29	11%	141	10%
Total	91	100%	275	100%	1349	100%

Note:
Some columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Table 6.1 shows that almost one quarter of the refugee youth in the study aspire to occupations in the sciences, engineering or math (23%). This is similar to the proportion of immigrants in the 1996 Alberta High School Survey who aspired to such occupations (21%), but both figures are much higher than the proportion of Canadian-born students aspiring to this group of occupations (13%). This finding counters some previous research. In the United States, Ginorio and Grignon (2000: 153) report that ethnic minority junior high and senior high school students aspire to careers involving mathematics and sciences at lower rates than their white classmates. The difference between the U.S. study and my own may be due to the fact that the minority youth in

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the U.S. study were probably native-born, with lower socioeconomic backgrounds. In contrast, many refugees and immigrant youth are children of well-educated, professional parents.

Table 6.1 also shows that immigrants are the most likely to aspire to work as managers (12%) compared to Canadian-born (5%) and refugee youth (3%). About the same proportion of refugees, immigrants and Canadian-born students want to work in the medicine and health fields. Fifteen percent of refugees and Canadian-born students aspire to these occupations, as do 13% of immigrants. Medicine and health fields are the most popular choices of Canadian-born students, but are only the second most popular choice for immigrants and the third most popular choice for refugees.

As already noted, refugees stand out in their aversion to teaching. While 7% of all Canadian-born students aspire to be teachers as do 5% of immigrants, only 2% of refugees want to be tachers. More refugees aspire to careers in the artistic, literary and recreational fields (18%) than do immigrants (9%) or Canadian-born youth (11%). An explanation of these differences is not immediately apparent. Refugees are more likely to aspire to clerical occupations (4%) compared to immigrants (2%) or Canadian-born (1%). They are much less likely to aspire towards service occupations (3%) compared to immigrants (5%) and Canadian-born (8%). However, manufacturing occupations appear to be more attractive to refugees (7%) than to immigrants (3%) and the Canadian-born (5%).

In some ways, refugee and immigrant students have similar aspirations. They are most likely to prefer occupations in the science, engineering or math fields, more so than Canadian-born students. Yet at times, refugee youth are similar to Canadian-born students and different from immigrants. For example, their interests in managerial occupations are equal to Canadian-born youth but lower than immigrants' interest in these occupations. They are unique as a larger percentage want to work in the artistic, literary and recreational fields, and very few of them desire to teach.

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Manager/Professional or Other Careers?

If we further collapse the data so that managerial/professional occupations are compared to all other occupations, we can see few important differences between the three groups (Table 6.2). Sixty-eight per cent of refugees and 68% of immigrants aspire to professional/managerial occupations, compared to 60% of Canadian-born students. In contrast, 20% of refugees and 20% of Canadian-born respondents aspire to other lower status occupations, compared to 13% of the immigrants.

Table 6.2
Youth Aspirations (Binary) for Refugee, Immigrant and Canadian-born Youth

			1996 Alberta High School Graduate Survey			
	Refugees		Immigrants		Canadian-born	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Occupational aspirations						
Professional/Managerial	62	68%	188	68%	807	60%
Other	18	20%	36	13%	268	20%
NR/Don't know/ good job	11	12%	51	19%	271	20%
Total	91	100%	275	100%	1346*	100%

* Excludes three respondents aspiring to become homemakers.

Thus, returning to the core hypothesis of this chapter, there is no evidence that refugee youth, as a group, have lower occupational aspirations than Canadian-born youth. A comparison to yet another Canadian study makes the same point. Thiessen and Looker (1999: 177) note that the occupations of choice for their sample of youth from Nova Scotia were overwhelmingly in the managerial and professional fields. However, their figures are still lower than those reported by the refugees in my study. Thiessen and Looker (1999: 180) find that only 56% of the youth in their survey indicate a preference for occupations in the managerial and professional sector.[5]

[5] Thiessen and Looker's calculations do not include respondents who did not know what kind of occupation they would like to pursue. This would further decrease the percentage of their sample aspiring towards managerial/professional occupations.

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Surprisingly, refugee youth are the most likely to know the kind of occupation they wish to pursue as adults. Table 6.2 reveals that only 12% of refugees, compared to 19% of immigrants and 20% of Canadian-born students do not know what they would like to do when they 'grow-up' (or simply provide a general answer like "a good job"). This is interesting since refugees have spent the least amount of time in Canada compared to the other groups, including immigrants. Given the previous uncertainty in their lives, it is somewhat surprising that they have such definite occupational goals. Alternatively, it could be this very uncertainty that leads refugee youth to aspire to definite goals at an early age as a way of coping and getting on with their lives.

Occupational Aspirations by Educational Status and Ethnicity

There is some disagreement in the research literature as to whether occupational aspirations differ between white and non-white students. Some research indicates that white students may aspire to higher occupations than those aspired to by visible minority students (Ginorio and Grignon, 2000; Schnieder, 2000). However, Bibby and Posterski (1992: 111) find few differences in occupational aspirations of Canadian youth regardless of ethnic differences. MacLeod (1995) suggests that socioeconomic status needs to be taken into account. Minority students of low socioeconomic backgrounds may have higher aspirations than white students of similar socioeconomic status.

Educational status also plays a role in occupational aspirations, especially as youth get older. Youth having difficulty in school are more likely to have lower aspirations than those who are on-track at school, probably due to the realization that their academic abilities would prevent them from attaining high-status employment. What do the data from the refugee survey indicate?

A bivariate analysis (Table 6.3 "total" column) shows that refugee youth from the former Yugoslavia have slightly higher aspirations than refugee youth from elsewhere. Specifically, 74% of Yugoslavian refugee youth aspired to managerial/professional

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Table 6.3
Refugee Youth Aspirations (Binary) by Educational Status and Ethnicity

	Behind/ dropped out		High school only		On-track		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-Yugoslavian								
Professional/Managerial	6	46%	11	73%	11	65%	28	62%
Other	2	15%	3	20%	3	18%	8	18%
NR/Don't know/good job	5	38%	1	7%	3	18%	9	20%
Total	13	100%	15	100%	17	100%	45	100%
Yugoslavian								
Professional/Managerial	3	60%	6	60%	25	81%	34	74%
Other	1	20%	3	30%	0	0%	4	9%
NR/Don't know/good job	1	20%	1	10%	6	19%	8	17%
Total	5	100%	10	100%	31	100%	46	100%
Total Refugee Youth								
Professional/Managerial	9	50%	17	68%	36	75%	62	68%
Other	3	17%	6	24%	3	6%	12	13%
NR/Don't know/good job	6	33%	2	8%	9	19%	17	19%
Total	18	100%	25	100%	48	100%	91	100%

Note:
Some columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

occupations compared to only 62% of the other refugee youth. A more detailed analysis (results not shown in table) shows that there is little difference by ethnicity in the percentage of youth aspiring to occupations in science/engineering/math, social sciences/teaching, and medicine/health. But there is a large difference for the artistic/literature/recreation occupations. Over 20% of Yugoslavian refugee youth indicated an interest in pursuing occupations in this field while only 13% of non-Yugoslav youth had similar desires. Fewer Yugoslavs aspired to careers in the clerical/service occupations (4%) and in the manufacturing/construction/transport occupations (4%) compared to non-Yugoslavian youth (11% and 20% respectively).

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When educational status is taken into account (Table 5.3), we see the highest proportion of professional/managerial aspirations (81%) among Yugoslavian refugee youth who are "on-track" in their education. The lowest proportion of high status aspirations (46%) is observed for non-Yugoslavians who are "behind" in terms of their educational status. Thus, there is evidence of an interaction effect between ethnicity and educational status.

Parents' Aspirations and Youth's Aspirations

Earlier I predicted that the influence of other variables on the occupational aspirations of refugee youth should be similar to what has been observed in research on Canadian-born youth. One critical influence on the occupational aspirations of Canadian-born youth is the occupational aspirations of their parents. Table 6.4 shows how closely mothers' occupational aspirations matched those of their children in my study. The shaded areas show where the occupational aspirations of the parents match those of their children. In total, over 40% of mothers (31 out of 81) reported occupational aspirations similar to their children. Fathers' occupational aspirations were just as good predictors of their children's aspirations (Table 6.5), with 38% matching.

Thus, at a bivariate level, the occupational aspirations of parents and youth tend to match[6]. What kinds of occupations did parents want for their children? Overwhelmingly, mothers wanted their children to have occupations in science/engineering/math (25%) or in medicine/health (29%). Fathers, on the other hand, were more likely to want to see their children in the managerial/social science/teaching field (19%) or in the science/engineering/math fields (19%). Some mothers and fathers were unsure of their occupational aspirations for their children. Slightly over 20% of mothers and 32% of fathers were unsure of their occupational aspirations for their children, compared to only 12% of youth who were unsure about their own future occupation.

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[6] These figures, and others reported in this paragraph, are based only on mothers or fathers who were interviewed.

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Table 6.4
Refugee Youth's Aspirations by Mother's Aspirations for Youth

	Mother's Aspirations for Youth															
	Managerial/ Social Sciences/ Teaching		Science/ Engineering/ Math		Medicine/ Health		Artistic/ Lit/Rec		Manufacture/ Construction Transport		Parent not interviewed		Unsure		Total	
Youth's Aspirations	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%			N	%	N	%
Managerial/Social Sciences/Teaching	4	36%	1	5%	3	14%					1	7%	2	13%	11	12%
Science/Engineer/Math	1	9%	11	58%	2	9%					3	20%	4	25%	21	23%
Medicine/Health	3	27%	1	5%	7	32%							3	19%	14	15%
Art/Literature/Recreation			2	11%	4	18%	5	100%			2	13%	3	19%	16	18%
Clerical/Sales/Service					2	9%					4	27%	1	6%	7	8%
Manufacture/Construction/ Transport			2	11%	1	5%			2	67%	5	33%	1	6%	11	12%
NR/don't know/any job	3	27%	2	11%	3	14%			1	33%			2	13%	11	12%
Total	11	100%	19	100%	22	100%	5	100%	3	100%	15	100%	16	100%	91	100%

Note:
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Table 6.5
Refugee Youth's Aspirations by Father's Aspirations for Youth

	Father's Aspirations for Youth																	
	Managerial Social Sciences/ Teaching		Science/ Engineer/ Math		Medicine/ Health		Artistic/ Lit/Rec		Clerical/ Sales/ Service		Manufacture/ Construction/ Transport		Parent not interviewed		Unsure		Total	
Youth's Aspirations	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Managerial/Social Sciences/Teaching	5	42%	1	8%	1	11%							4	14%			11	12%
Science/Engineer/Math	1	8%	7	58%					1	50%			5	17%	7	35%	21	23%
Medicine/Health	3	25%	1	8%	4	44%							3	10%	3	15%	14	15%
Art/Literary/Recreation	1	8%	2	17%			1	100%	1	50%			7	24%	5	25%	17	19%
Clerical/Sales/Service	1	8%											3	10%	2	10%	6	7%
Manufacture/ Construction/Transport					1	11%					5	83%	4	14%	1	5%	11	12%
NR/don't know/any job	1	8%	1	8%	3	33%					1	17%	3	10%	2	10%	11	12%
Total	12	100%	12	100%	9	100%	1	100%	2	100%	6	100%	29	100%	20	100%	91	100%

Note:
Some columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Preparing for a Multivariate Analysis

The multivariate analysis of the determinants of educational status in Chapter 5 proved to be useful. A similar analysis of the effects of individual and family influences on refugee youth's occupational aspirations would probably also be beneficial. However, the survey data had to be adjusted in several ways before such an analysis could be conducted. This next section describes the methods used to create the "youth occupational aspirations" and the "combined household occupational aspirations" variables, and also comments on how a measure of family socioeconomic status was chosen.

Quantifying the Occupational Aspirations of Youth

The dependent variable in the following multivariate analysis is the occupational aspirations of refugee youth. Respondents were asked *what kind of job or career do you want eventually?* For the most part, the youths provided specific occupational aspirations. For the purposes of this analysis, only the first occupational choice was noted. Eleven respondents did not know what kind of occupation they desired. These cases were removed from the analysis.

To satisfy the condition of multiple regression that the dependent variable be at least interval or ratio level, the occupational aspirations of youth were converted into a prestige score. The first step of this conversion was from nominal level responses (e.g., engineer, physician) into the Standard Occupation Code used by Statistics Canada. This translation assigns a four-digit code to almost every imaginable occupation in Canada (Blishen, Carroll and Moore, 1987). The next step was to convert the SOC codes into Blishen scores. The Blishen score is a uni-dimensional socioeconomic index designed to measure occupational prestige (Blishen, Carroll and Moore, 1987). This would allow refugee youth's occupational aspirations to be used as an interval level dependent variable in the path analysis.

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Creating the Combined Household Aspirations Measure

Parents were asked to indicate the kinds of occupations they hoped their son(s) or daughter(s) would achieve as adults. Interviewers asked: *what kind of job or occupation do you hope each of your children enters?* Parents were instructed to answer for each of their children, starting with the oldest child. This question was the third in a series of questions asking *what level of education do you want each of your children to receive?* and *do you think he/she will achieve this level of education*? The majority of parents wanted their children to go to university and expected their children to attain this level of education. Their responses to the questions about occupational aspirations were not as clear-cut. While almost all parents provided answers (84% of mothers and 68% of fathers responded), some of their answers were unspecific. For instance, a number of parents just wanted their children to "have a satisfying good job" or to have a job of their own choosing (18% of mothers and 22% of fathers). The parents who were not interviewed or did not provide a specific occupational aspirations were excluded from the analysis as their answers could not be translated to Blishen scores. This left 70 youth for whom data on parents' aspirations were available.

The occupational aspirations reported by parents were also converted into SOC codes and then to Blishen scores. The scores for mothers and fathers for each child were then averaged to provide a "total household aspiration" score for each youth. In cases with only one parent reporting, the single Blishen score was used.[7] The aspirations held by mothers and fathers for their child were not radically different from one another, as evidenced by the high correlation between mothers' aspirations and fathers' aspirations (r=0.537).

[7] Data from fathers were not available for 44 cases, while data from mothers were missing in 15 cases.

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Other Independent Variables

All other independent variables in this path analysis have already been described in previous chapters. Two variables used in Chapter 5 have been removed from the present analysis: city size and type of sponsorship. City size was removed due to its sizable correlation with combined household aspirations (r = 0.447). This high correlation is likely due to the propensity of highly educated parents (i.e., those with university degrees) to move to larger centres in an attempt to better utilize their education. Sponsorship type is removed from the analysis due to its large correlation with combined household aspirations (r = -0.589). If these variables had been kept in the analysis, multicolinearity problems might have been encountered.

Selecting a Socioeconomic Status Indicator

A number of path models, each with different indicators for family socioeconomic status were analysed and compared. Five different socioeconomic indicators were tested. *Parents' education* compared households where at least one family member had a university degree with households without university educated parents (1=university educated, 0=no parents with university education). *Family income* is the total yearly income for the entire household before taxes (1=<$20,000, 2=$20,000-29,999, 3=$30,000-39,999, 4=$40,000-49,999, 5=$50,000-59,999, 6=+$60,000). *Pre-arrival household Blishen score*, a measurement of socioeconomic status before the family arrived in Canada, was compiled by converting the pre-arrival occupations of both mother and father into Blishen scores and then calculating the average household Blishen score. Where only one parent's occupation was available, that occupation was used for the combined Blishen score. The *post-arrival Blishen score* was calculated the same way, but using the current occupations of both mother and father. *Change in Blishen score* is measured by subtracting the pre-arrival average Blishen score for the household from the post-arrival Blishen score of the household. This variable could have positive values where Blishen scores increased after arriving to Canada, was zero

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for households not experiencing a change, and was negative for households experiencing a reduction in socioeconomic status upon arrival to Canada.

After comparing the five alternative models, the path model using university-educated parents as the socioeconomic indicator was chosen for detailed examination because of a large possible sample size and fewer high correlations with other important independent variables. Table 6.6 provides a correlation matrix linking the youth occupational aspirations measure and the alternative socioeconomic variables.

The prediction that parents' aspirations have a strong positive influence on the occupational aspirations of refugee youth is supported. The correlation between mother's aspirations and youth's aspirations is 0.35. The influence of father's aspirations on youth is even greater at 0.57. As explained earlier, in the following path analysis, mother's and father's aspirations are combined to provide a household aspirations measure, and this too has a large positive effect on youth aspirations (r = 0.41). What was not expected was the negligible impact of parents' occupation prior to arriving in Canada on their children's aspirations. The correlation between father's occupation prior to arrival in Canada and youth aspirations was only 0.05, while the correlation for mother's prior occupation was negative and only 0.08. When mother's current occupation is examined, the correlation is 0.12, while for father's current occupation, the correlation is 0.19. This is contrary to my hypothesis that parents' occupations in their home country would have a greater influence on occupational aspirations compared to their current occupation. It would be expected that due to problems of foreign credential recognition in Canada, the influence of parents' occupation in their home country would be a better predictor of youth aspirations than would their current occupation. Apparently, this is not the case.

Nonetheless, parents' education has a small positive correlation with youth occupational aspirations (r=0.18). Due to the recency of their arrival in Canada, it is unlikely that the parents have obtained much further education in Canada, so this is a measure of human capital that parents brought to Canada. It should also be noted that

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Table 6.6
Correlation Matrix of Socioeconomic Status and Occupational Aspirations Indicators

	YOUTHSES	MASPSES	DASPSES	HHASPSES	M32SES	D32SES	PRE.SES	M36SES	D36SES	POST.SES	CHANGE	UNIVP	Q100
Youth occupational aspirations (YOUTHSES)	1.00	**0.35	**0.57	**0.41	-0.08	0.05	0.01	0.12	0.19	0.10	0.02	0.18	0.02
Mother's occupational aspirations (MASPSES)		1.00	**0.54	**0.95	-0.01	0.03	0.13	-0.09	-0.22	-0.10	0.11	-0.04	0.23
Father's occupational aspirations (DASPSES)			1.00	**0.91	0.02	0.15	0.15	-0.23	0.04	-0.09	0.30	0.11	-0.09
Combined household aspirations (HHASPSES)				1.00	0.12	0.16	0.25	-0.13	-0.08	-0.06	0.25	0.07	*0.25
Mother's occupation prior to arrival (M32SES)					1.00	**0.60	**0.90	0.19	0.14	0.19	**0.67	**0.60	0.27
Father's occupation prior to arrival (D32SES)						1.00	**0.90	**0.41	0.21	*0.33	**0.58	**0.49	0.13
Pre-arrival SES (PRE.SES)							1.00	**0.37	0.19	*0.31	**0.73	**0.52	0.22
Mother's occupation in Canada (M36SES)								1.00	**0.71	**0.87	*-0.35	**0.41	*0.31
Father's occupation in Canada (D36SES)									1.00	**0.92	**0.48	0.25	**0.69
Post-arrival SES (POST.SES)										1.00	**0.42	**0.39	**0.53
Change in SES (CHANGE)											1.00	0.20	-0.21
University educated parents (UNIVP)												1.00	0.12
Family income (Q100)													1.00

Note:
The full correlation matrix is located in the appendix.
* Signficant at 0.05
** Signifcant at 0.01

parents' education has high correlations with occupations prior to arrival in Canada. The correlation for mother's prior occupation is 0.60. For father's prior occupation, it is 0.49. The correlations are somewhat lower for parents' current occupations as well (mother's current occupation=0.52, father's occupation=0.41). These relatively high zero-order relations necessitate the removal of measures of parental occupations from the path analysis and further validate the decision to use the university-educated parent(s) variable as the socioeconomic status measure.

It was also postulated that the change in socioeconomic status upon arrival, usually indicating a decrease in income and occupational status, would have a negative impact on youth aspirations. However, there was no significant correlation between youth aspirations and change in socioeconomic status (Table 6.6). Finally, total family income has only a small correlation with youth aspirations (0.20).

Factors Influencing the Occupational Aspirations of Refugee Youth

According to the school-to-work transition literature, the influence of parental socioeconomic status impacts greatly on the occupational aspirations of youth. But there are other family factors that might influence the occupational goals of youth. The following path analysis examines a number of these family influences. Number of months in Canada, refugee camp experience, parental health, difficulty helping parents adjust, and family composition are classified as familial factors, but there are two other family factors that might also influence occupational aspirations. The first is the effect of parents' occupational aspirations for their children. The second is the family's socioeconomic status as measured by university-educated parents.

The path model also includes several individual ascribed characteristics (age, gender, and ethnicity), along with a variety of individual achieved characteristics (English language ability, youth mental health, enjoyed school, an appropriate grade placement). Finally, educational status, the dependent variable in the previous chapter, is included as an intervening variable in this path analysis

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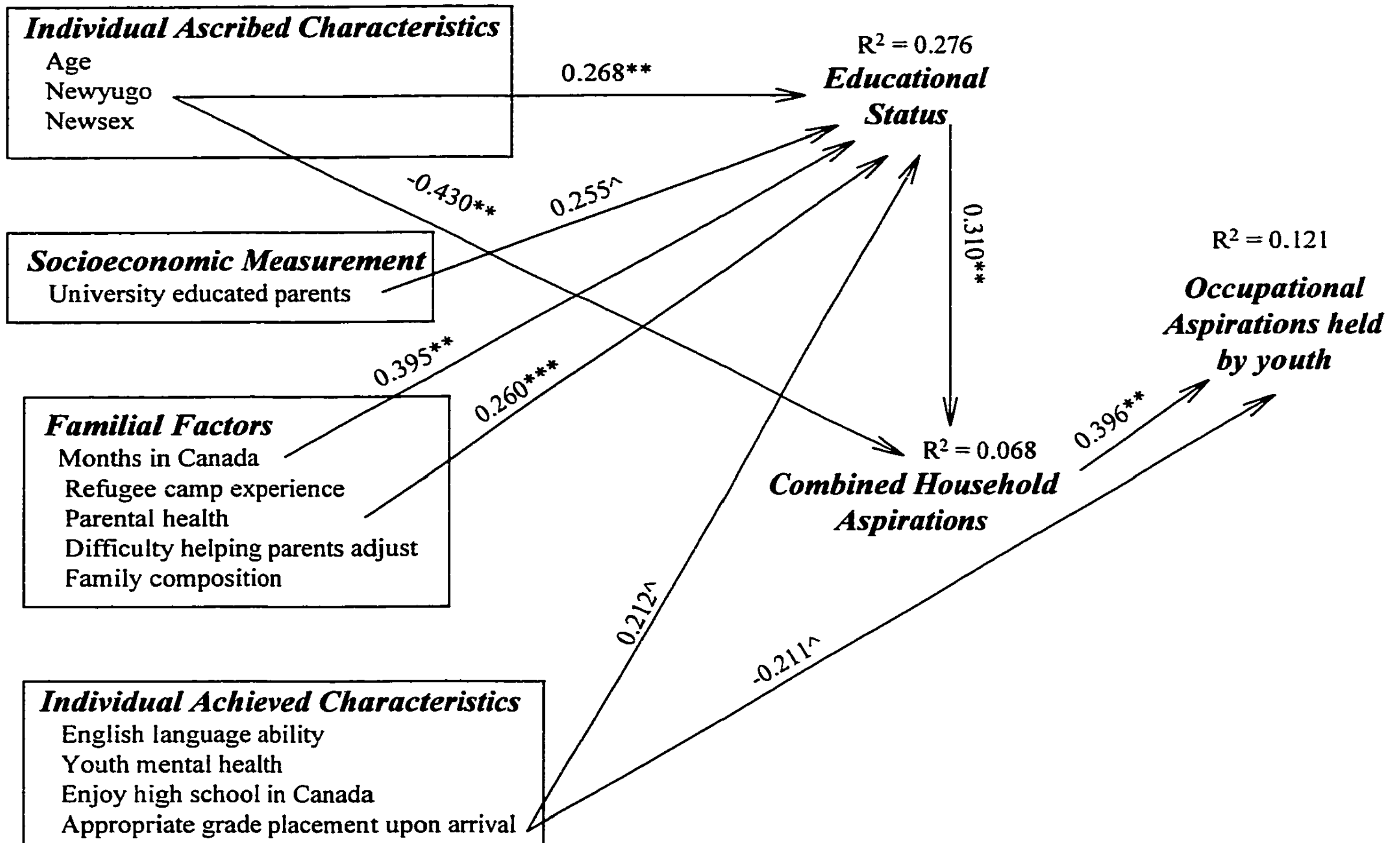
Figure 6.7 Path Analysis of Occupational Aspirations held by Refugee Youth*



* Only statistically significant ($p \le 0.10$) paths are shown, although the effects of all variables shown are controlled in the three regression equations.

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Figure 6.7 displays a path model testing for the effects of a range of exogenous variables and several intervening variables (educational status and combined household aspirations) on the occupational aspirations of refugee youth. The number of respondents in this analysis is 70.[8] Only statistically significant paths are shown in Figure 6.7, although all variables were included in the calculations (see Table 6.8).

Figure 6.7 shows that there are only two statistically significant direct effects on the occupational aspirations of refugee youth. There is a strong positive effect of combined household aspirations on the dependent variable (path coefficient = 0.396) when all other variables are controlled. This is the strongest single influence on the occupational aspirations of refugee youth and indicates that parents have a strong impact on their children's occupational aspirations. There is a relatively weak negative effect of grade placement upon arrival on youths' occupational aspirations. Controlling on all other variables in the analysis, youth who were placed in grades they felt were too high or too difficult for them when they first arrived in Canada reported higher aspirations than youth who felt their initial grade placement was too low or just right (path coefficient = 0.211). This finding is somewhat perplexing, and contrary to what I predicted.

Controlling for other variables in the model, youth who were on-track in high school (the "educational status" intervening variable) are more likely to have parents with high occupational aspirations for them (path coefficient=0.310). Furthermore, Yugoslavian parents have lower aspirations for their children than do parents from elsewhere (path coefficient = -0.430). As a result, there is a considerable indirect effect of being Yugoslavian on youth's aspirations (-0.430 X 0.396 = -0.170). Indirectly, through combined household aspirations, refugee youth from the former Yugoslavia have lower occupational expectations than do youth from elsewhere. However, there is another smaller positive indirect effect of being Yugoslavian through the educational status variable (0.268 x 0.310 x 0.396 = 0.0329). Thus,

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[8] 21 respondents were omitted due to incomplete information on occupational aspirations provided by both the youth and/or their parents.

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Table 6.8
Exogenous and Endogenous Factors Influencing Occupational Aspirations of Refugee Youth
Standardized beta co-efficients for socioeconomic status measurement: university-educated parents

	Educational Status	Parents' combined aspirations	Youth's aspirations
Individual Ascribed Characteristics			
Age	0.075	0.159	0.042
Yugoslavian	**0.268	**-0.430	0.157
Gender (male=1)	-0.081	-0.173	-0.102
Socioeconomic status measurement			
University Educated Parents	^0.255	-0.015	0.189
Familial Factors			
Months in Canada	**0.395	-0.133	0.138
Refugee Camp Experience	0.060	0.120	0.089
Parental Health	**0.260	0.080	0.017
Difficulty Helping Parents Adjust	-0.139	-0.012	0.146
Family Composition	0.117	-0.150	0.047
Individual Achieved Characteristics			
English Language Ability	0.006	0.008	-0.044
Youth Mental Health	0.039	-0.123	-0.104
Enjoy High School in Canada	-0.039	-0.035	0.044
Appropriate Grade Placement	^0.212	-0.029	^-0.211
Educational Status	n/a	**0.310	0.099
Household Combined Aspirations	n/a	n/a	**0.396
N	70	70	70
Adjusted R^2	0.276	0.068	0.121
Standard Error of the Estimate	0.69	20.12	17.87

** P=0.01
* P=0.05
^ P=0.10

ethnicity (in this case being Yugoslavian) has two indirect effects on the aspirations of refugee youth, in the opposite directions, although the latter is much weaker.

There are four other weak indirect effects on occupational aspirations that flow through the educational status variable. The socioeconomic status measure (university-educated parents) has a moderate size positive relationship with educational status

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(path coefficient = 0.255), leading to an indirect effect on the occupational aspirations of youth (0.255 x 0.310 x 0.396 = 0.0313). The indirect effect of time spent in Canada is slightly greater (0.395 x 0.310 x 0.396 = 0.0484). Parental health has a positive influence on educational status and hence, an indirect effect on occupational aspirations (path coefficient = 0.032). Finally, grade placement upon arrival continues to have a positive indirect effect on occupational aspirations (path coefficient = 0.026). The alternative socioeconomic measures were considered in separate path analyses, but yielded similar results to the above (see Tables 6.9, 6.10, 6.11, and 6.12 in Appendix).

Perhaps equally interesting are the variables having no effect on the occupational aspirations of youth. Of the individual ascribed characteristics, only the Yugoslav variable has any effect on occupational aspirations. Sex and age of respondent have no effect on the occupational aspirations of refugee youth. The non-effect for gender is in contrast to the findings of several other authors. For example, Thiessen and Looker (1999: 112) find that women are more likely to aspire to professional occupations while men are more likely to desire occupations in skilled crafts and trades. Varpalotai (1996), Geller (1996), Irwin (1995) and Looker (1993) also find gender differences in occupational aspirations that are not found here. Once other variables are controlled in my sample, there are no gender differences in occupational aspirations among refugee youth.

Of the familial factors, refugee camp experience, helping parents adjust, and family composition have no effect on occupational aspirations. This, too, appears to contradict the research literature. Family composition, in a recent American survey, is one of the strongest correlates of educational performance and consequently of occupational outcomes (West, Denton and Germino-Hauskin, 2000).[9] Difficulties helping parents adjust have also been discussed as a major factor influencing the positive outcomes of refugee youth (Ahearn and Athey, 1991; Huyck and Fields,

[9] However, Perron (1996) disputes the claim that family composition has any effect on educational status and occupational aspirations. In his longitudinal study of the aspirations of high school students

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1981). Those who do not have difficulty helping their parents adjust to Canada, and those who do not have to help their parents adjust at all, usually have fewer problems elsewhere in their lives, including in school (Ahearn and Athey, 1991; Ahearn, Loughry and Ager, 1999). And, refugee camp experience is supposed to be an extremely detrimental factor affecting subsequent life chances of refugee youth (Huyck and Fields, 1981; Ahearn, Lougren and Ager, 1999; UNICEF 2000; UN, 2000). However, this was not a factor in the present analysis of occupational aspirations.

Of the individual achieved characteristics, only grade placement on arrival had significant direct and indirect effects on the occupational aspirations held by refugee youth. Surprisingly, English language ability had no bearing on educational status or on occupational aspirations, despite the research suggesting that language acquisition is paramount to doing well in the resettlement country (Malcom and Anderson, 2000: 55; Chu and Braddock, 2000: 105). The mental health status of youth also has no effect on occupational aspirations. McGrath (1996: 195) finds a positive influence between well-being and the propensity to aspire to professional occupations through participation in post-secondary education, but it is not the strongest predictor of aspirations. Additionally, in his study of adult Vietnamese refugees, Beiser (1999) found that well-being was associated with better employment and increased life satisfaction. Finally, enjoyment of high school in Canada has no effect on occupational aspirations, even though both stress and enjoyment of school have been found to affect the occupational aspirations of youth in Canada, Scotland and Germany (King and Peart, 1996: 167-168).

Summary and Conclusion

Contrary to the core hypothesis in the other chapter, the occupational aspirations of refugee youth are not lower than those of Canadian-born youth. While they differ in

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in Montreal, other factors, namely parents' aspirations and grades in school account for most of the variation in the occupational aspirations of youth.

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specifics (e.g., refugee youth are less likely to want to be teachers), the overall pattern is much the same. Thus, in a sense, refugee youth appear to be integrated into Canadian society.

There are seven variables with statistically significant direct or indirect effects on the occupational aspirations held by refugee youth. Aspirations of parents have for their children have the strongest direct effect on the occupational aspirations of youth. This finding concurs with research on Canadian-born students (Thiessen and Looker, 1999: 112; Krahn and Lowe, 1993: 120), and shows how families play a role in shaping their children's future. Previous research has also shown that students who are doing well in school tend to have higher occupational aspirations. The outcome is that those with higher levels of education tend, in time, to have higher status occupations due to differences in educational opportunity and attainment (Krahn and Lowe, 1993: 119). But in this study, educational status is only indirectly related to the aspirations of refugee youth via household aspirations. Thus, the linkages are not as strong. Generally, we find that social origin, educational attainment and occupational achievement are related, with occupational aspirations playing an important intervening role. However, in this study, social origins are only indirectly related to occupational aspirations of refugee youth. Hence, the linkages are not as strong as would be expected from a Canadian-born sample. Perhaps this is a result of the more recent arrival of refugee youth in Canada, and the relative downward mobility of many of their parents.

Appropriate grade placement upon arrival does have a direct effect on the occupational aspirations of refugee youth. However, as already noted, the direction of the relationship is opposite to what was expected. Youth who had been appropriately placed in school have lower aspirations. While an explanation of this unusual finding is not easily found, it again suggests that the occupational aspirations of refugee youth are not as tightly linked to school experiences as one might expect.

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Number of months in Canada has a small positive indirect effect on the occupational aspirations of refugee youth. According to the literature, refugees and immigrants who are in Canada longer are more likely to be adjusted to society (Isajiw, 1999), although a recent study of the adjustment of Russian immigrant youth to Finnish society failed to find such an effect (Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind, 2000: 511). The results of my analysis reveal that time in Canada does play a small role in determining the occupational aspirations of refugee youth, at least indirectly. If we accept that higher aspirations are at least a partial indicator of integration, this finding does suggest that time in Canada has a positive effect.

In this study, parents who are physically and mentally healthy have children with higher aspirations, but again the effects are indirect and weak. Nevertheless, if we accept that higher aspirations are a sign of faster integration, they warrant some discussion. Edwards and Beiser (1994) find that family support not only reduces the incidence of mental disorders in refugee youth, but also functions as a buffer between themselves and their new society. "Refugee children cope better with these stresses when their families are stable, have adjusted well to a new country, and provide their children with support, encouragement and love" (Ahearn, Loughry and Ager, 1999: 230).

Ethnicity also is an indirect determinant of the occupational aspirations of refugee youth. However, the pattern is weak and mixed. Yugoslavian youth are more likely to be on track in school, and hence, have higher aspirations. But the parents of Yugoslavian youth have lower aspirations for their children, controlling on other variables. Hence, this indirect effect on youth aspirations is negative. In contrast, the direct and indirect effects observed in my path analysis are stronger. Nevertheless, in the bigger picture, ethnicity does matter. Yugoslavian youth are much more likely to be on track for higher education. While occupational aspirations seem somewhat unconnected, being on-track for higher education is likely, in the long run, to lead to more positive occupational outcomes since post-secondary credentials are extremely important for labour market success.

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MacLeod's (1995) findings reiterate the influence of ethnicity; the white "Hallway Hangers" with low aspirations remained in the same economic status with low income employment, or more likely, no job at all. Although the "Brothers" were extremely optimistic as teenagers in 1984, seven years later, they had accomplished no more than their white peers. In his study of young Black men and women living in Toronto, James (1990) found that aspirations were high for all youth, regardless of their educational attainment. James (1993: 8) visited the 22 respondents seven years later and found that 3 had obtained their high school diplomas and went straight to work, 10 had obtained some post-secondary education and were now working, 8 were currently in post-secondary education, but only one was unemployed. However, all had faced the realities of racism and discrimination in the labour market and had scaled back their previous aspirations in light of these experiences. Will this happen to the refugee youth in my study? This is a question I must leave for future research.

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Chapter 7: Conclusion

"*Being a refugee, I have really lived and experienced life*" A statement from a 16 year old male from Pakistan at the conclusion of the interview.

Introduction

This thesis has examined many different aspects of the lives of refugee youth in Canada. Whether focusing on physical and mental health, English language ability, friends and family, self-assessed feelings of integration, educational success, or occupational aspirations, the goal was to present as holistic a view of the integration of refugee youth into Canadian society as possible. In this chapter I outline the main findings of the study as well as its theoretical and policy implications. I also propose a future research agenda for studying refugee youth.

How Well are Refugee Youth Integrating into Canadian Society?

A number of diverse issues that directly or indirectly influence the integration of refugee youth into Canadian society were examined in Chapter 4. Pre-arrival experiences and physical and mental health provide useful background information to better understand the integration experiences of refugee youth. In turn, English language ability on arrival, ESL experiences, relationships with family and peers, and subjective assessments of "fitting in" to Canadian society provide more direct measures of integration.

Few refugees arrive in Canada directly from their home country. About one-third of the youth in my sample had spent time in a refugee camp. Just over two-thirds had spent time in a country of asylum before arriving in Canada. These pre-arrival factors are important contextual information that can assist us in understanding the phenomenon of integration. They may also help explain educational and occupational success in Canada.

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At the time they entered Canada, the refugee youth included in this study were, for the most part, physically and mentally healthy. Youth from the former Yugoslavia were less likely than other refugee youth to comment positively on their psychological health on arrival. However, youth from other countries were more likely to report high levels of stress. Yet stress levels and mental health problems decreased over time in both groups, as indicated by responses to questions about their health one year after they had arrived.

Subjective assessments of integration among refugee youth tell a somewhat different story. When asked if they feel like "real Canadians", 34% "agreed" or "strongly agreed", while 36% "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed" with this statement. Just over half of all refugee youth admitted that they were concerned about "fitting in" to Canadian society. A full 70% were concerned about their future in Canada. Thus, a significant minority (or majority, depending on the question) of refugee youth expressed some concerns or reservations about how well they were integrating into Canadian society. The fact that they were concerned indicates that they desire to "fit in." But, at the same time, not all are sure that they are successfully doing so.

When asked for their perspectives on multiculturalism, and whether they wanted to retain significant parts of their own culture, most refugee youth expressed strong commitment to the principles of multiculturalism. Not surprisingly then, most also insisted that they wanted to maintain essential elements of their own culture. Perhaps the difficulties they were experiencing in being "Canadian" and still being "other" led to their concerns about fitting in at school and, more broadly, into Canadian society. As a final indication of their desire to fit into (multicultural) Canadian society and to acquire a new identity, almost all of the sample members stated that they wanted to take out Canadian citizenship.

Friends and family play an important role in integration. A majority of refugee youth regularly spend time with both family and friends. The survey findings indicate that

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refugee youth have a variety of friends, both within their own ethnic communities and outside these communities, again an indication of healthy social relations and possibly successful integration. If refugee youth were spending all their time with other youth from the same ethnic community, we would be tempted to say that they are not integrated. If they were spending all their time with Canadian-born students, we might think they were alienated from their own community. Instead, the data reveal that they have a mixture of friends and are, thus, relatively well integrated into Canadian society.

Over 70% of all refugee youth in this study reported their skills in reading and speaking English as being good to very advanced. Fewer refugee youth (57%) were this confident about their writing skills in English. These measures, taken together, reveal a confidence in speaking English and provide an indication of successful communication ability, an important aspect of integration. There was some reservation, however, when refugee youth were asked to consider how their skills in English might influence future careers. The majority felt that their English language skills would negatively influence their future job opportunities, though youth from the former Yugoslavia rate their English language skills as higher and felt less likely that language skills would negatively influence their future job opportunities. They recognized that although their English language ability is good in everyday communication, it may not be good enough "on the job". There were significant ethnic differences in English language abilities. Youth from the former Yugoslavia spent a shorter time in ESL courses, an indication that many may have had knowledge of English prior to their arrival in Canada.

School is one of the primary sites of integration for refugee youth. For this reason, what happens to them when they first arrive in the school system is crucial to their future educational experiences, as well as their future integration. Grade placement upon arrival is one significant factor. Refugee youth who are placed in lower than age-appropriate grades may feel "out of place" if they are significantly older than the other students. Furthermore, these youth may not be able to complete their high school

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education before the provincially mandated age-cap forces them out. This study showed that 36% of refugee youth were initially placed in age-inappropriate grades. However, by the time they were interviewed, a slightly smaller number (only 21%) were still behind in school, in terms of age. Overall, the survey results suggest that a small majority of refugee youth were doing reasonably well in school, according to self-report.

Yugoslavian youth were more likely to be satisfied with their grade placement, to have higher grades, and were less likely to indicate that they had difficulty at high school than their counterparts from other countries. There were few gender differences, with the exception that females were more likely to have higher average grades compared to males.

Chapters 5 and 6 examined two specific and highly relevant aspects of integration: educational success and occupational aspirations. The results in Chapter 5 confirm the preliminary conclusions from Chapter 4 regarding the success of refugee youth in the Canadian school system. Just over half the sample was on-track for post-secondary education, a figure closely comparable to that for Canadian-born youth (Butlin, 1999). This appears to contradict many of the widely held beliefs about refugees. Much of the existing research portrays them as experiencing considerable difficulties in the education system. But, despite the fact that half of the sample is on-track for post-secondary education, there is still a sizable minority of refugee youth who are not doing well, especially when compared to the 70% of Canadian-born students who are on track for post-secondary education. These young people report moderate to extreme difficulty in school and will not likely obtain the credits necessary to receive a high school diploma. Without this accreditation, most post-secondary education is not possible, and these young people will be less likely to advance to higher skilled, higher paid employment in the future. Additionally, failure to complete high school has implications for successful integration as an adult. Youth who do not obtain high school diplomas are not eligible for securing employment that would provide them with a satisfactory quality of life as adults.

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The multivariate analysis of educational status in Chapter 5 revealed a number of factors that influence how well refugee youth do in school. Grade placement upon arrival, number of months in Canada, ethnicity, urban residence, and parental health all had significant effects on the educational status of refugee youth. Of these factors, ethnicity had the greatest influence, and its significance remained in tests for interaction. Yugoslavian youth, most of them white, were more likely to be on track for higher education. This may be an indication of similarities between the school systems in Canada and Yugoslavia which would give this group of refugee youth an advantage in the Canadian school system. However, there may be an additional factor influencing their greater success in school. Most youth from the former Yugoslavia are white, while most of the other refugee youth in this study were members of visible minority groups. This stark difference reminds us of the extent to which race and ethnicity continue to affect the life chances of new arrivals in Canada.

What is equally interesting and somewhat surprising is that a number of factors predicted by the literature to be important, did not have any effect on the educational status of refugee youth. These factors include self-reported English language ability, socioeconomic status, mental health, and enjoyment of high school. The theoretical literature requires adjustment in order to account for these "hounds which did not bark". In other words, some of the conclusions drawn about Canadian-born youth in the school-work transition literature may not apply to refugee youth. And some of the conclusions in the immigration literature about adult refugees may not apply to young refugees.

In many ways, however, refugee youth are similar to Canadian-born youth. In fact, they may be more integrated than the literature on adult refugees would lead us to believe. The analysis in Chapter 6 shows that the occupational aspirations held by refugee youth are largely similar to those held by immigrant and Canadian-born youth. Physician and engineer were among the top occupational aspirations of both refugee and Canadian-born youth. However, there were some differences in the aspirations of

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refugee youth. For example, they were more likely to suggest computer programmer/systems analyst as a top occupational choice than were Canadian-born youth. Notably absent from the occupational aspirations of refugees was the teaching profession. Nevertheless, the high occupational aspirations of refugee youth do indicate that, in this respect, most appear to be relatively well integrated into Canadian society.

Chapter 6 also revealed a strong positive effect of parents' aspirations on the aspirations of their children. This is an expected finding. What was not expected was the relative absence of other strong direct effects on the aspirations of refugee youth. For example, how well refugee youth were doing in school was not related to their aspirations. Perhaps because of their recent arrival in Canada, and because of the unsettled lives they have led, the occupational aspirations of refugee youth are not as tightly linked to background factors as they are for Canadian-born youth.

One common thread throughout the analysis chapters is the effect of ethnicity. Ethnic status has a direct effect on many indicators of integration as well as educational status, and several indirect effects on occupational aspirations. For instance, youth from the former Yugoslavia are more likely to be on-track for post-secondary education than are youth from elsewhere. This could be detrimental to long term occupational outcomes for non-Yugoslavian youth who are disproportionately represented in the lower educational tracks. In addition, refugee youth from Yugoslavia were less likely to report having experienced discrimination, compared to the (visible minority) refugee youth from other countries.

So, ultimately, what is the answer to the core question in this dissertation about how well refugee youth are integrated into Canadian society? It should be apparent that a quantitative response to this question is not feasible at this stage of methodological development. Instead, a considered qualitative response, with a number of qualifications, is the only possibility. Compared to the stereotype (in the popular media but also frequently found in the research literature) that portrays refugee youth

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as typically maladjusted, and often fitting poorly into Canadian society, these survey results provide a much more positive response. A majority of the sample were doing reasonably well in school, on track for post-secondary education. Most reported good health, and their self-reports of stress had declined. Most reported frequent and satisfying relationships with family and friends. Almost all had high occupational aspirations, and almost all wanted to take out Canadian citizenship.

However, a large majority were concerned that they did not fit in at school. Similarly, more that half stated that they were concerned about fitting into Canadian society and worried about their future in Canada. Thus, from a subjective perspective, there are some lingering self-doubts about reaching the goal of easy integration. Looking at more objective indicators, a large minority of the refugee youth in this study were not on track for higher education. Hence, their high occupational aspirations might not be fulfilled, and the possibility of a secure and satisfying adult career was limited. For these young people, complete integration into Canadian society was less likely.

Thus, to the extent that a single answer to this central question is possible, it may be that a majority, although not a large majority, of refugee youth appear to be reasonably well integrated into Canadian society. At the same time, because of the difficulties they are experiencing in the education system, a minority of refugee youth appear to be less well integrated and, as adults, may continue to find themselves in this position. Finally, it appears that visible minority refugee youth may face additional barriers to equal participation in Canadian society and, in this sense, may be somewhat less integrated.

Theoretical Implications

One of the broadest conclusions of this thesis is that the school-to-work transitions, integration, and race and ethnic relations literatures do not, on their own, fully account for the experiences of refugee youth. For example, few of the variables found to be important in the school-to-work transitions literature help explain the educational

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status of refugee youth. Similarly, many of the factors presumed to be important for successful integration of refugee adults into Canadian society were of little consequence in this study. But together, the different theoretical perspectives do help provide a more holistic picture.

In other words, the integration, race and ethnicity, and school-to-work transition literatures need to be changed in order to provide insight to the lives of refugee youth. For example, the multiple regression analysis of the educational status of refugee youth presented in Chapter 5 showed that ethnicity, time in Canada, grade placement upon arrival, residence in a large urban setting, and parental health all have positive influences. While these findings are not surprising, what was equally important in the analysis were the variables that did not have an impact. Perceived English language ability, school enjoyment, helping parents adjust to life in Canada, gender, mental health, age, and refugee camp experience did not have significant effects on educational performance. These results indicate that the current literature on school-to-work transitions and integration may not be sufficiently cognizant of the unique experiences of refugee youth in Canada.

English language ability[1], the stresses resulting from helping parents adjust to life in Canada, mental health, and refugee camp experiences are four factors that current integration research suggests irreversibly influence the lives of refugee youth. Yet our results show that these factors need to be reconsidered, and that the relationship between these and other influences on educational status are more complex than previously conceptualized. For instance, to speak of English language deficiencies without considering other relevant factors such as similarities or differences between school systems in different countries may not accurately portray the educational experiences and status of refugee youth.

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[1] Taken together, the combined measures of self-reports of English language ability and perceptions of how this ability affects labour market chances may offer insights into employment experiences that objective measures cannot. Whether or not refugees believe they are proficient at English (which may be based on objective ESL scores), they remain less certain about how their perceived proficiency will be received by prospective employers. This may be a realistic assessment considering that the parents of

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There are also different factors influencing the occupational aspirations of refugee youth when compared to Canadian-born youth. Aspirations for refugee youth appear to be less connected to standard school-to-work transition variables than would be suggested by the current transition literature, which often does not take into account the unique experiences of groups other than middle class white Canadian-born youth. As already suggested, refugee youth differ from Canadian-born in several critical ways. Their recent arrival in Canada, the downward occupational mobility experienced by many of their parents, and a conflicted sense of identity (feeling "Canadian" and "other") could be important factors.

In addition to the fact that the integration, race and ethnicity, and school-to-work transitions literature need to be reworked to better account for the unique experiences of refugee youth, these literatures need to resist the urge to label refugee youth. That is, some of the assumed differences between refugee and Canadian-born youth may be exaggerated. While there is a need to recognize the difficult experiences of refugee youth, there is also a need to recognize that these youth are also progressing through some of the same stages to adulthood as are other Canadian-born youth. Thus, while their experiences as former refugees differentiate refugee youth from immigrant and Canadian-born youth, there also needs to be recognition, that once settled in Canada, they are in many respects just youth. The similar levels of occupational aspirations are just one example from this study.

As already suggested, one way to address the deficiencies within the integration, race and ethnicity, and school-to-work transition literatures is to use all the theories when studying the experiences of refugee youth. Yet there is something missing if only these three literatures are combined. The addition of the citizenship literature could help provide a more rounded picture of refugee youth. Within this newly emerging literature is a realization that citizenship is more than just political participation and

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these youth have experienced employment discrimination based on English language ability (Abu-Laban et al., 1998).

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voting. Citizenship, ideally defined, also involves being able to participate equally in all aspects of society. This perspective recognizes that there are structural barriers making it difficult for certain groups of people to participate equally and to succeed in the realms of education and employment. Thinking about school-to-work and youth-to-adult transitions, and about integration from this broader citizenship perspective, can provide a more holistic way of understanding refugee youth and youth in general.

To recap, there are four main theoretical implications arising from this study. First, the integration, school-to-work transitions, and race and ethnic relations literatures do not, on their own, provide sufficient explanations of the experiences of refugee youth. But when used together, these different perspectives provide a much more holistic picture. Second, labeling refugee youth as deficient because of educational gaps, language deficiencies, or other social and psychological problems does not present an accurate picture of their settlement experiences in Canada. In fact, in many ways, refugee youth are quite similar to other youth.

Third, the integration and race and ethnicity literatures tend to focus on the circumstances of adult refugees and not on the issues specifically related to youth. As this study has shown, this can lead to inaccurate portrayals of the experiences of refugee youth in Canada. Finally, an emergent perspective on citizenship may serve as a synthesizing perspective, linking the other literatures and thus presenting a more inclusive portrayal of refugee youth. While the purpose of this thesis is not to try to integrate the three perspectives into the citizenship literature, it strongly suggests that this theoretical body should be applied to the study of refugee youth in future studies so that refugee youth can be better understood.

Policy Implications

One important and specific policy implication arising from the results presented in Chapters 4 and 5 is the high school age cap of Alberta Education, which is also used by most other provinces in Canada. The policy is that students reaching the age of 19

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years on or before September 1 can complete only one more year of free public secondary education. If they have not graduated at the end of that year, they must pay tuition to finish their high school education in other settings. While finishing high school in a different location where other students are closer in age may be beneficial, the financial hardship that it entails may discourage many refugee youth (who are behind in school for their age) from completing high school. Given the findings of this analysis that some refugee youth may not complete high school in time, this age cap has important implications for their occupational and socioeconomic outcomes as adults.

Removal of the age cap policy would especially benefit those youth arriving in Canada in their late teens. Those arriving as older teens are the least likely to complete their high school education "on time". The proposed policy change would give these newcomers extra time to complete their high school education without the financial burden, either in conventional high schools, or through the provision of funding to attend adult institutions. Thus, more refugee and immigrant youth would obtain the diploma and credits required for post-secondary education. In turn, additional education would lead to better, more secure employment as adults.

English language ability was one of the several variables that showed significant ethnic differences (although perceived English language ability did not have a significant influence on educational status in Chapter 5). Youth from other countries were more likely to rate their ability in speaking, writing and reading English lower than youth from the former Yugoslavia. However, both groups, when asked about how their English language abilities might influence their future job opportunities, felt that their English ability would be a negative factor. ESL has generally been found to be successful, especially given that fewer than 3 in 10 refugees have any knowledge of English prior to their arrival in Canada. Yet more than 5 in 10 eventually complete high school, suggesting that they must have acquired some mastery of English. However, perhaps ESL should be more specifically targeted in the school system. This might mean more ESL training for some groups and more integrated teaching within

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the "regular" classroom for others. Thus, the finding in Chapter 5 of no effect of perceived English language ability on educational status in no way suggests that ESL should be discontinued.

Grade placement upon arrival has proven to be an important indicator of educational success in this study. This finding suggests that more attention should be given to the appropriate grade level placement of all newcomer youth. As well, continued monitoring, up to a year after arrival, would help separate refugee youth with English language difficulties from those experiencing additional difficulties in other subject areas. That way, those requiring only additional English language training would not be needlessly held behind in other areas. In turn, more refugee and immigrant youth would probably finish high school, perhaps even before the statutory deadline.

The fact that residence in a large urban centre has a positive influence on educational status is not necessarily an indication that all immigrants and refugees need to be destined to Canada's larger metropolitan areas. Instead, it suggests that the services made available to newcomers need to be expanded in smaller urban centres. Better access to adequate English language and job training in smaller urban centres could improve opportunities for newcomers. Specialized programs targeting youth, like homework programs currently offered in some larger centres, may help refugee youth in smaller communities.

Parental health is a strong indicator of both the educational performance and occupational aspirations of refugee youth. Government policies that help adult newcomers cope both physically and mentally with their new surroundings are necessary in their own right, but would also have positive impacts on their children. For example, some new initiatives in the area of multicultural nursing have shown a positive impact on the pre-and post-natal health of mothers within immigrant visible minority groups (Acharya, 1996). Initiatives of this type may further help newcomers adapt to life in Canada. Such programs may help alleviate fears that some newcomers may experience when exposed to "western" medical practices.

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Finally, as noted earlier in this thesis, convention refugees are ineligible for student loans through the *Canada Student Financial Assistance Act* (Brouwer, 2000). The rationale behind denying refugees the opportunity to apply for such loans is that many are already repaying their travel and administrative loans associated with their arrival to Canada. Hence, it appears to be assumed that they are a "bad risk" for repaying a student loan. This is a highly discriminatory assumption. Given the need for financial assistance among refugees, and the obvious value to them of post-secondary training, they should be equally eligible for student loans. Otherwise, many will be relegated to low skilled, low wage employment as adults.

Future Research

A number of critically important research questions about the transition experiences of refugee youth could not be answered with the data collected in this study. Perhaps most important, what are the long-term educational and occupational outcomes for refugee youth in Canada? Do they reach their goals? What happens to the occupational aspirations of refugee youth if they do not reach their goals? The answers to such questions require a longitudinal study that follows the transition pathways of newly arrived refugee youth. This type of research design would also help us to understand the transition paths of other immigrant groups such as the 1.5 generation theorized by Boyd and Grieco (1998). Specifically, are the long-term outcomes for refugee and immigrant youth influenced by their age at arrival? Though my study included an "age at arrival" variable, the key outcome variables could not be measured since my study is limited by its one-shot survey design. There is a large debate within the current immigration literature about whether age at arrival does have significant impact on the educational outcomes of immigrant youth, but none of the relevant studies have been able to examine their adult occupational or socioeconomic status outcomes. Thus, a longitudinal study would be a natural next step in research on refugee and immigrant youth.

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While some of the emergent research tries to focus on the two-way process of integration, few studies really make an effort to include measures of how the host society reacts to the introduction of newcomers. Studies that incorporate the experiences of newcomers as well as an examination of how the Canadian-born respond to and interact with newcomers, would shed light on the host society experience of integration. Such studies could also be conducted in schools to examine how refugee, immigrant and Canadian-born students interact with and treat each other. Furthermore, an examination of teacher attitudes toward newcomers could also be very beneficial. Such studies could help us interpret the findings in this study about refugee youth feeling concerned about fitting into Canadian society.

This study highlights some of the unique aspects of the educational experiences of refugee youth. There are other groups of youth who have been previously ignored in the school-to-work transitions literature. Immigrant, Aboriginal, and lower socioeconomic status youth are critically under-represented in the research on school-to-work and youth-to-adulthood transitions (Krahn, 1996). This omission was clearly evident when I embarked on this research project. I could find only a few studies on ethnic minorities, only one study using an immigrant status variable to examine school experiences, and no systematic investigation of refugee youth growing up. Many of the findings and methods used in this study could be useful in future research on these largely ignored groups.

The newly emerging literature on citizenship, broadly defined, could also be engaged to better understand the transition experiences of all youth. Citizenship, in this sense, encompasses more than just political participation and voting. This new approach uses citizenship as an inclusive concept to focus on what it really means to be an equal citizen in society. Studies using this perspective include crucial measurements such as economic self-sufficiency, occupational status, independence from parents, and degree of participation in society (Jones and Wallace, 1992). Such variables are intended to provide a measure of how much freedom and opportunity youth really have in society. In other words, they measure the extent to which youth are able to participate as "full-

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citizens". Additional studies, using designs like that of my study, but including a broader array of questions, would be very useful for studying the school-to-work and youth-to-adulthood experiences of Canadian youth, including those born in other countries.

One major finding of this study was the importance of ethnicity in determining the educational status and occupational aspirations of refugee youth. Youth from the former Yugoslavia were more likely to be in the "on-track" to post-secondary education category than were youth from elsewhere. Why is this so? One possible reason might be that because the education systems in the former Yugoslavia are more similar to the Canadian system gives Yugoslavian youth a "head start". Another reason could be due to discrimination against non-white students in the education system. There have been a number of studies suggesting that such discrimination occurs. However, none, with the exception of Kapreilian-Churchill (1996), have focused specifically on the effects of discrimination on refugee youth. More research in this area, perhaps employing qualitative designs, could be very useful in further highlighting the factors that separate discrimination from those that are influenced by other factors.

Furthermore, the effects of discrimination on educational status are difficult to separate from other factors that also influence educational attainment. For instance, is there something about the education received prior to their arrival in Canada that provides youth from the former Yugoslavia a "head start" in their education in Canada? There may be merit in investigating this question. Education systems differ from country to country. Some may better prepare students for education in Canada. Or, are refugee youth from the former Yugoslavia less likely to have experienced gaps in their education? Questions regarding the number of months of schooling missed were not asked of the refugee youth in my sample. However, these would be important issues for future studies of refugee youth.

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The results of my research reveal that, contrary to the integration literature, past trauma and current stress do not seem to have a significant impact on health, educational status, or occupational aspirations. Why not? According to the literature, these experiences should have serious detrimental effects. Witnessing the violent death of a parent or relative must surely be a life-altering experience. However, such experiences do not appear to have an effect on the outcome variables examined in this study. A more qualitative research project examining the coping and adaptation skills of refugee youth might help us to better understand the psycho-social processes involved in migration and flight from war.

Finally, returning to the core topic of this thesis, the dearth of information on refugee youth should be enough to encourage future researchers to continue to focus on the school-to-work and youth-to-adulthood transitions of refugee youth to better understand their position and future prospects in Canadian society. The research questions need to be broadened beyond investigations of English language ability, psychological health problems and prior traumas, to include the current lives of refugee youth once they have arrived in Canada. They should include investigations into gender, race, ethnicity, and differences in social class and human capital. Until we can get beyond single-issue studies, our understanding of the integration experiences of refugee youth will be seriously hampered.

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Appendix

Contents

The Settlement Experiences of Refugees in Alberta: Youth Questionnaire
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The Settlement Experience of Refugees in Alberta

A study being conducted for Citizenship and Immigration Canada

by the

Population Research Laboratory
Department of Sociology, University of Alberta

YOUTH QUESTIONNAIRE (Form B-2) 29/07/97

Questionnaire Number: [ ]

Enter Start time of interview here: ______________ [a.m.] / [p.m.]

Enter End time of interview here: ______________ [a.m.] / [p.m.]

Interview Time: ______________

Date: ______________

Name of Interviewee: ____

(*Last Name*) (*First Name*)

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We will begin the interview with some questions about yourself and your family, and about when you first came to Canada.

1. Sex: **[DO NOT ASK]**

   Female 1
   Male 2

2. When were you born?____________________ (day/month/year)

3. What language did you first learn as a child? ____________________________________

4a. Do you speak any other languages?

   No 1
   Yes .... 2 → → 4b. What languages? ________________________________

   ____

5. What language do you speak most often at home? ___________________________

6. What language do your parents most often speak at home?

   ____

7. What is your ethnic origin (*cultural heritage*)? _____________________________

8. In what country were you born? _____________________________________

9. When did you leave that country? _______________ (mo/yr)

10. How long have you lived in this community *(current city/town)*? _________(months)

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11a. Did you come to Canada by yourself?

Yes 2
No .... 1 → → 11b. Who are you living with right now?

Parent(s) 1
Siblings 2
Other relatives 3
Other (specify)_____________ 4

Now I have some questions about your school experiences.

12a. Did you go to school before you came to Canada?

No .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 13]**
Yes .... 2 → → 12b. What is the highest level/grade of school you completed before coming to Canada? ____________

12c. Did you have difficulty in school before coming to Canada?

No .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 12e]**
Yes .... 2 → → 12d. Can you tell me about how you had difficulty in school? **[PROBE]**

____

12e. Overall, did you enjoy school in *(home country)*?

No............ 1
Yes........... 2

The next questions are about your school experiences here in Canada.

13. Have you ever attended school in Canada?

No............ 1 **[GO TO Q. 43]**
Yes........... 2

14a. Did you ever change schools in Canada?

No 2
Yes .... 1 → → 14b. Why did you change schools? ________________________

15. What grade were you placed in when you arrived in Canada? ______________

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16a. Do you think that was the right grade for you to be in?

No............ 1 → → 16b. Why not? ______________________________
Yes........... 2
____

17a. Did you ever consider dropping out of (high) school here in Canada?

No .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 18]**
Yes .... 2 → → 17b. Why did you think about dropping out of (high) school?

____

17c. Did you drop out of school?

No .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 18]**
Yes 2

17d. Are you glad you left?

No .... 1 → 17e. Why not? ______________________________

____

Yes ...... 2 → 17f. Why? ______________________________

____

17g. Did you ever go back to (high) school *(high school, college, or elsewhere)*?

Yes ......2 → 17h. Why did you return to (high) school?

____

______________________________ **[GO TO Q. 18]**

No ...... 1 → 17i. What was the highest grade you completed?
__________________ (*highest grade*)

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17j. Do you plan to finish high school some time in the future?

No .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 19]**
Yes ....2 **[GO TO Q. 19]**

18a. Are you still attending (high) school?

Yes .... 2 → → 18b. What grade are you in? _____________ *(current grade)*
[GO TO Q. 20]

No .... 1 → → 18c. What was the highest grade you completed?

___________ *(highest grade)*
[IF GR. 12 COMPLETED, GO TO Q. 19]

18d. Do you plan to finish high school some time in the future?

No 1
Yes 2

19a. Since leaving high school, have you taken any post-secondary education or training courses *(not including high school completion)*?

No .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 20]**
Yes .... 2 → → 19b. Was this in a technical school, a community college or a university?

Alberta Vocational College 1
Community college 2
Technical school (*Nait, Sait*) 3
University 4
Other (specify) _____________ 5

19c. Are you still enrolled/taking courses?

No 1
Yes 2

19d. What kind of program are/were you in? *(e.g., welding, early childhood education, engineering, biology)*

____

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19e. Have you obtained a diploma or degree of some kind?

Yes .... 2 → 19d. What kind of diploma or degree?
No 1

____

Now, let's talk about your <u>experiences in high school</u> (even if you are not currently attending).

20a. Have you enjoyed high school here in Canada?

Yes........... 2 → → 20b. Could you please tell me why?____________________________

____

No .... 1 → → 20c. Why have you not enjoyed high school? __________________

____

21a. Have you had difficulty in high school here in Canada?

No .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 22]**
Yes........... 2 → → 21b. Did you have difficulty with specific courses (*math, science, English, etc.*)?

No 1
Yes .... 2 → 21c. Which courses?

____

21d. Did you have difficulty in other ways *(not in your courses)* in high school?

No 1
Yes ......2 → 21e. Can you tell me about that?

____

22. Have you skipped classes frequently in the past year? *(did you skip classes frequently when you were in high school?)*

No 1
Yes 2

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23. What was your average (*grades, marks*) in your last school term?

mostly A's (80%+) 1
mostly B's (79-70%) 2
mostly C's (69-60%) 3
mostly D's (59-50%) 4
mostly F's (under 50%) 5

24a. Do/did you think most of your classes are/were useful in preparing you for further education?

Yes............ 2
No .... 1 → → 24b. Why not?

____

25a. Do/did you think your classes will be/were helpful in finding employment?

Yes............ 2
No .... 1 → → 25b. Why not?

____

26a. Do/did you think your classes help/helped you better understand Canada?

Yes............ 2
No .... 1 → → 27b. Why not?

____

27a. Do/did you get along with most of your teachers?

Yes............ 2
No........... 1→ → 27b. Why not? ______________________________

____

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28a. Are/were your teachers available and willing to help you when you needed it?

Yes............ 2
No........... 1→ → 28b. Why do you think they were not available and willing to help?

____

29a. Do you think your teachers treat(ed) you differently than <u>other students</u> (*different from Canadian-born students*)?

No 1
Yes .... 2 → → 29b. How did they treat you differently?

____

30a. Do you think that <u>your ability to speak English</u> had an effect on the way (some) <u>teachers</u> treat(ed) you?

No 1
Yes .... 2 → → 30b. Can you tell me about that?

____

31a. Do you think <u>your accent</u> had an effect on the way teachers treated you?

No 1
Yes .... 2 → → 31b. Can you tell me about that?

____

32a. Do you think you "fit in" at school?

Yes 2
No .... 1 → → 32b. Why not?

____

33. At school, during your free time, how much time do/did you spend with students from <u>your own cultural background</u>. Would you say it was: **[READ]**

A lot of time 3
Only some time ... 2
Hardly any time ... 1

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34. During your free time at school, how much time do/did you spend with <u>other immigrant or refugee students</u> (*not the same cultural background as you*)? Would you say it was: **[READ]**

A lot of time 3
Only some time ... 2
Hardly any time ... 1

35. During your free time at school, how much time do/did you spend with <u>Canadian-born students</u>? Would you say it was: **[READ]**

A lot of time 3
Only some time ... 2
Hardly any time ... 1

35a. In your school, do you think that studets form different cultrual backgrounds get/got along well with each other?

No .... 1→ → 35b. Why not?

____

Yes .... 2 → → 35c. Why?

____

36. Overall, what are/were the things you <u>like(d) most about the students</u> in high school here in Canada?

____

37. What are/were the things you <u>like(d) least</u> about the students?

____

38. Overall, what are/were the things you <u>like(d) most about your teachers</u> here in Canada?

____

39. What are/were the things you <u>like(d) least</u> about your teachers?

____

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40. Overall, what are/were the things you like(d) most about high school here in Canada?

____

41. What are/were the things you like(d) least about high school?

____

42. During your time in high school here in Canada, have you/did you ever go to talk to a guidance counselor?

No .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 43]**
Yes .... 2 → → 42b. Why did you go to talk to a guidance counselor?

____

42c. Was your discussion with the guidance counselor useful?

No .... 1 → 42d. Why not? _______________________________

____

Yes ...... 2 → 42e. How was it useful? ________________________

____

43a. Have you taken any English as a Second Language (ESL) courses here in Canada?

No............ 1 **[GO TO Q. 48]**
Yes .... 2 → → 43b. Are you still enrolled in ESL classes?

No............. 1
Yes 2

44. How long have you taken/did you take ESL? ________________(months)

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45a. Do/did you take ESL while attending regular high school?

No .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 46]**
Yes .... 2 → → 45b. How is/were the ESL classes organized? Were/are they: **[READ and EXPLAIN]**

Pullout (*short time each day with ESL teacher*)? 1
Full-time ESL? 2
Extra help from aide in regular class? 3
Other (please specify) ______________________________ ..4

45c. In ESL classes, do/did you learn the same subjects as students in regular class? *(i.e. English, math, social studies, etc.)*

Don't know 8
Same subjects 2
Different subjects ..1 → 45d. What do/did you learn about?

____

____

45e. Do/did you think teachers treat ESL students differently?

No 1
Yes .... 2 → → 45f. How do/did they treat them differently?

____

____

45g. Do/did you think other students treat ESL students differently?

No 1
Yes .... 2 → → 45h. How do/did they treat them differently?

____

____

46a. Do you think ESL helped you?

Yes........... 2 → → 46b. How?______________________________________

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No.............. 1 → → 46c. Why not? ______________________________

47. How do you think schools could best help students like you learn English?

____

Here are some more questions about education, how important it is to you and to other people you know. Please use the responses on this card.

48. How important is/was completing high school to: **[CARD A]**

	Not at all important				Very Important	Don't know
a. you?	1	2	3	4	5	8
b. your parents?	1	2	3	4	5	8
c. your close friends?	1	2	3	4	5	8
d. **[IF APPLICABLE]** your teachers?	1	2	3	4	5	8

49. How important is going to university, NAIT or getting some other type of post-secondary education to: **[CARD A]**

	Not at all important				Very Important	Don't know
a. you?	1	2	3	4	5	8
b. your parents?	1	2	3	4	5	8
c. your close friends?	1	2	3	4	5	8
d. **[IF APPLICABLE]** your teachers?	1	2	3	4	5	8

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Now, I'm going to ask you to rate your own reading, writing and other abilities.

50. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being very basic and 5 being very advanced, at what level do you rate: **[CARD B]**

	Basic				Very Advanced	DK
a. your reading skills (in English)?	1	2	3	4	5	8
b. your writing skills (in English)?	1	2	3	4	5	8
c. your mathematical skills?	1	2	3	4	5	8
d. your speaking skills (in English)?	1	2	3	4	5	8
e. your learning skills?	1	2	3	4	5	8
f. your team work skills?	1	2	3	4	5	8

51. Do you feel your reading skills may limit your job opportunities?

No 1
Yes...................... 2
Don't know......... 8

52. Do you feel your writing skills may limit your job opportunities?

No 1
Yes...................... 2
Don't know......... 8

53. Do you feel your speaking skills may limit your job opportunities?

No 1
Yes...................... 2
Don't know......... 8

54. Do you feel your math skills may limit your job opportunities?

No 1
Yes...................... 2
Don't know......... 8

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Now, I would like you to think about your future education and career plans.

55a. Do you hope to get any further education or training in Canada?

No .... 1 → → 55b. Why not? ______________________

______________________ [GO TO Q. 56]

Yes .... 2 → → 55c. What kind of education or training would you like to get?

55d. Do you expect to achieve this level of education?

No .... 1 → 55e. Why not? ______________________
Yes.............. 2

____

56a. What kind of job or career do you want eventually?

____

56b. Do you expect to achieve this career ambition? *(Clarify if necessary)*

No .... 1 → 56c. Why not? ______________________
Yes.............. 2

57. In the future, would you like to be self-employed?

Don't know 8
No 1
Yes .... 2 → → 57b. What kind of business would you like to own?

____

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The next questions about work and education are often asked of Canadian-born youth. We are interested in how you might answer.

58. For each of the following statements, please tell me how strongly you disagree or agree using a scale where 1 means "strongly disagree" and 5 means "strongly agree." **[CARD C]**

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree	Don't know
a. I'd do just about any kind of work if it was a steady job.	1	2	3	4	5	8
b. If someone has worked hard in school, they deserve a good job.	1	2	3	4	5	8
c. Post-secondary education is getting too expensive me.	1	2	3	4	5	8
d. Programs in technical schools lead to good jobs.	1	2	3	4	5	8
e. I expect to go back to school more than once in my lifetime.	1	2	3	4	5	8
f. I need a university degree to get a good job	1	2	3	4	5	8
g. I expect to change jobs many times in my career.	1	2	3	4	5	8

The next questions are about your work experiences, in Canada.

59a. Have you *ever* had a paying job in Canada?

No .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 61]**
Yes ...... 2 → → 59b. In total, how many paying jobs have you had in Canada?

____________(no. of jobs in Canada)

59c. What was the first job you had in Canada?

____

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60a. Do you have a paying job right now?

No .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 61]**
Yes .... 2 → → 60b. How many hours per week do you usually work? ____________

60c. What is your hourly rate of pay? ______________($/hour)

60d. Have you had any wage increases since you started?

No 1
Yes 2

60e. Is this job permanent or is it temporary (*has a specific end date*)?

Permanent 1
Temporary 2

60f. What is your job? (*what do you do in your job?*)

____

60g. How did you get this job? ______________________________

60h. How long have you had this job? _______________(months)

60i. What are the most satisfying aspects of your job?
____ **[GO TO Q. 62]**

61a. Are you looking for a job right now (*i.e., currently unemployed*)?

No .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 62]**
Yes. ...... 2 → → 61b. For how many months have you been looking for a job?

__________(no. of months unemployed)

61c. What kind of difficulties are you having finding a job?

____

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Now, I would like to ask you about some other parts of your life. I will begin with your ideas on marriage and having children.

62. Are you married, or have you ever been married (*current marital status*)? **[DO NOT READ]**

Married (and living with spouse) .... 1 **[go to Q. 64]**
Married, spouse in different location .... 2 **[go to Q. 64]**
Common-law relationship 3
Separated/divorced (and not living with partner) 4
Widowed (and not living with partner) 5
Single (and not living with partner) 6
Engaged .... 7 **[GO TO Q. 63c]**

63a. Do you think that you will get married someday?

Don't know ..... 8 **[GO TO Q. 64]**
Yes 2
No .... 1 → → 63b. Why not?

______________________________________ **[GO TO Q. 65]**

63c. How old do you think you will be when you get married?

__________ (years of age)

63d. Do you think you will marry someone from the same cultural background as you?

No .... 1 → → 63e. Why not? ______________________________

Yes .... 2 → → 63f. Why?______________________________

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64. How important is it to you and to other people in your life that you marry someone from the same cultural background as you? **[CARD A]**

	Not at all important				Very Important	Don't know	Not Applicable
a. How important is it to you?	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
b. to your mother?	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
c. to your father?	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
d. to your close friends	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
e. to your legal guardian?	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

65a. Do you have any children?

No .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 66]**
Yes .... 2 → → 65b. How many? ______________________

65c. Did you plan when to start having children?

No 1
Yes 2

65f. How many children do you eventually expect to have?

______________________ **[GO TO Q. 67]**

66a. **[IF R HAS NO CHILDREN]** Do you expect to have children someday?

No.................. 1 **[GO TO Q. 67]**

Yes .... 2 → → 66b. What age do you think you will be when you have your first child?

________ (years of age)

66c. How many children do you eventually expect to have?

____

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Now, I would like you to think more generally about marriage and having children.

67. Most people think some things are more important than others in their decisions about when to get married. (*Even if you don't plan to get married*), how important do you think each of the following is before getting married? Please answer on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means "not at all important" and 5 means "very important." **[CARD A]**

	Not at all important				Very Important	Don't know
a. Having a good job	1	2	3	4	5	8
b. Your partner having a good job	1	2	3	4	5	8
c. Finishing your education	1	2	3	4	5	8
d. Your partner finishing his/her education	1	2	3	4	5	8
e. Being able to buy a house or afford accommodation	1	2	3	4	5	8
f. Having your parents' (guardian's) approval	1	2	3	4	5	8
g. Having some savings put aside	1	2	3	4	5	8
h. Getting settled in Canada	1	2	3	4	5	8
i. Finding the right community to settle in	1	2	3	4	5	8

68. Now thinking about having children, (*even if you don't plan to have children*) how important do you think each of the following is before having children? Please answer on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means "not at all important" and 5 means "very important." **[CARD A]**

	Not at all important				Very Important	Don't know
a. Having a good job	1	2	3	4	5	8
b. Your partner having a good job	1	2	3	4	5	8
c. Finishing your education	1	2	3	4	5	8

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d. Your partner finishing his/her education	1	2	3	4	5	8
e. Being able to buy a house or afford accommodation	1	2	3	4	5	8
f. Having your parents' approval	1	2	3	4	5	8
g. Having some savings put aside	1	2	3	4	5	8
h. Getting settled in Canada	1	2	3	4	5	8
i. Finding the right community to settle in	1	2	3	4	5	8

Now, I would like to ask opinions on a number of different ideas about jobs and families.

69. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements, using a scale where 1 means "strongly disagree" and 5 means "strongly agree." How much do you agree or disagree that: **[CARD C]**

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree	Don't know
a. Young people should expect to live at home with their parents until they have been working for a few years.	1	2	3	4	5	8
b. You are not really an adult until you have left home.	1	2	3	4	5	8
c. If women with children have to work, it is better for them to work part-time	1	2	3	4	5	8
d. It is acceptable for fathers to stay at home and raise children while their mother works.	1	2	3	4	5	8
e. A husband should be mainly responsible for earning the living for a family.	1	2	3	4	5	8
f. Grandparents or other relatives should look after children while their parents work.	1	2	3	4	5	8
g. A wife should be mainly responsible for raising the children in a family.	1	2	3	4	5	8
h. There should be more provision for child care so that women with young children can work.	1	2	3	4	5	8

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Now I would like to change the topic and ask about your settlement experiences in Canada.

70a. Is (*name of community*) the first community in Canada you and your family have lived in?

Yes .... 2 **[GO TO Q. 71]**
No ...... 1 → → 70b. What was the name of the first community you lived in?

____

70c. Did you want to leave ______________ (*name of first community*)?

No .... 1 → 70d. Why not? ______________________________

Yes ...... 2 → 70e. Why? ______________________________

71a. **[IF R's PARENTS LIVE IN CANADA]** Have you ever had to help your parents adjust to life in Canada? *(e.g., in translation, accessing services, explaining things)*

No 1
Yes ...... 2 → → 71b. How have you helped them?______________________________

71c. Some young refugees have said that they feel a lot of pressure or conflict when they have to help their parents with translation or other adult matters. Other young refugees don't see this to be a problem for them. How about you? How do/did you feel when you had to help your parents in this way? **[PROBE]**

____

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72. For each of the following, please tell me how important you think they are for settling in and living successfully in Canada. Please answer on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means "not at all important" and 5 means "very important." **[CARD A]**

	Not at all important				Very Important	Don't know
a. Learning to speak English	1	2	3	4	5	8
b. Finding a good job	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**8**
c. Having relatives close by	1	2	3	4	5	8
d. Having friends from the same cultural background	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**8**
e. Being welcomed by the people who live here	1	2	3	4	5	8
f. Making Canadian friends	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**8**
g. Having your own place of worship	1	2	3	4	5	8

73. Now I would like to ask you a few questions about keeping your culture. Using the same scale, how important is keeping your culture to: **[CARD A]**

	Not at all important				Very Important	Don't know
a. you?	1	2	3	4	5	8
b. your parents?	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**8**
c. your close friends?	1	2	3	4	5	8
d. your guardian(s)?	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**8**

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74. Using the same scale, how important is being familiar with Canadian culture to: **[CARD A]**

	Not at all important				Very Important	Don't know	Not Applicable
a. you?	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
b. your parents?	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
c. your close friends?	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
d. your guardian(s)?	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

75. Different people are concerned (worry) about different things when they settle in a new country. How much are you concerned with each of the following issues? Please answer on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means "not at all concerned" and 5 means "very concerned." **[CARD D]**

	Not at all Concerned				Very Concerned	NA
a. Money *(personal/family income)*?	1	2	3	4	5	
b. Finding or keeping a job?	1	2	3	4	5	
c. Learning English?	1	2	3	4	5	
d. Your future here in Canada?	1	2	3	4	5	
e. **[IF APPLICABLE]** Getting married?	1	2	3	4	5	9
f. Friends or relatives back home?	1	2	3	4	5	
g. Your own health?	1	2	3	4	5	
h. "Fitting in" in Canadian society?	1	2	3	4	5	
i. Past experiences and bad memories (*before coming to Canada*)	1	2	3	4	5	

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76a. Are there other people from (*home country*) living in this city?

Don't know .... 8 **[GO TO Q. 77]**
No. .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 77]**
Yes 2

76b. Do the people from (*home country*) organize social events such as dinners, dances or other group activities?

No .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 77]**
Yes ...... 2 → → 76c. Do you attend? **[READ]**

Often 3
Sometimes, or 2
Never? 1

Now I would like to ask you some questions about your city and how it might compare to other cities in Canada.

77. Please respond to the following statements using a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means "strongly disagree" and 5 means "strongly agree." **[CARD A]**

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree	Don't know
a. (*name of city*) is a good place in which to live.	1	2	3	4	5	8
b. There are good job opportunities here for me.	1	2	3	4	5	8
c. (*name of city*) is a good place in which to raise a family.	1	2	3	4	5	8
d. The people in (*name of city*) are very friendly and welcoming.	1	2	3	4	5	8
e. I would rather live in a bigger city than here	1	2	3	4	5	8
f. I think that people are probably more friendly and welcoming in other places.	1	2	3	4	5	8
g. I would rather live in a smaller city than here	1	2	3	4	5	8

78. What would you say is the best thing about living there? **[PROBE]**

____

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79. What is the worst thing about living here? **[PROBE]**

____

The next questions ask about how different cultural groups get along together in Canada.

80. Please respond to each of the following statements using the agree-disagree scale we used earlier, with 1 meaning "strongly disagree" and 5 meaning "strongly agree." How much do you agree or disagree that: **[CARD C]**

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
a. It's good for ethnic groups in Canada to keep their first *(heritage)* language(s).	1	2	3	4	5
b. People who come to Canada should change their ways to be more like average Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5
c. Having many different cultural groups is good for Canada.	1	2	3	4	5
d. I would like to keep cultural traditions from my home country.	1	2	3	4	5
e. Having many different cultural groups in Canada makes it difficult to develop a sense of unity among Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5
f. I feel like a real Canadian.	1	2	3	4	5
g. I feel that there are too many immigrants coming to Canada.	1	2	3	4	5
h. Being in a multicultural society is one of the things I like best about living in Canada.	1	2	3	4	5

81a. Since you arrived in Canada, have you ever experienced discrimination or racism?

No .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 82]**
Yes .... 2 → → 81b. How often has this happened? Would you say: **[READ]**

Once or twice, ... 1
Several times, or 2
Very often? 3

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81c. Can you tell me about what happened? **[PROBE]**

____

Now let's change the topic to leisure activities, the kinds of things you do when you are not working or looking after household duties.

82a. **[IF R IS STILL A HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT]** Do you participate in non-course related (*extracurricular*) activities at school? (*sports, drama, choir, chess club, school dances, etc.*)

No. …….. 1 **[GO TO Q. 83]**
Yes …….. 2 → → 82b. What kinds of (*non-course related*) activities?
[Ask Q. 82c for each activity mentioned]
82c. How often per month, on average?

(1) ____________________ → → ___________ (no. of times/month)

(2) ____________________ → → ___________ (no. of times/month)

(3) ____________________ → → ___________ (no. of times/month)

83a. Not counting what you do in school, do you participate in any (other) sports or recreational activities? (*soccer, bowling, tennis*)
No. …….. 1 **[GO TO Q. 84]**
Yes …….. 2 → → 83b. What kinds of sports or recreational activities?
[Ask Q. 83c for each activity mentioned]
83c. How often per month, on average?

(1) ____________________ → → ___________ (no. of times/month)

(2) ____________________ → → ___________ (no. of times/month)

(3) ____________________ → → ___________ (no. of times/month)

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84a. Do you go out for other activities such as eating out, going to a club, watching sports or going to a concert? **[PROBE]**

No. .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 85]**
Yes .... 2 → → 84b. What kinds of activities?
[Ask Q. 84c for each activity mentioned]
84c. How often per month, on average?

(1) ____________________ → → ___________ (no. of times/month)

(2) ____________________ → → ___________ (no. of times/month)

(3) ____________________ → → ___________ (no. of times/month)

85. What kinds of things do you do at home for recreation or entertainment, when you have free time? Anything else? **[PROBE]**

(1) ____

(2) ____

(3) ____

86a. Do you participate in any volunteer activities in the community or your cultural group (*include voluntary activities for religious organizations, coaching or helping sports activities)*

No. .... 1 **[GO TO Q. 87]**
Yes .... 2 → → 86b. What kinds of volunteer activity?
[Ask Q. 86c for each activity mentioned]

86c. How often per month, on average?

(1) ____________________ → → ___________ (no. of times/month)

(2) ____________________ → → ___________ (no. of times/month)

(3) ____________________ → → ___________ (no. of times/month)

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87a. Do you follow what is happening in the news <u>here in Canada</u>? (*political/ economic issues*)

No 1
Yes .... 2 → → 87b. How do you find out what is happening?

____

88. For you personally, is religion (spirituality) important? Would you say it is: **[READ]**

Very important 4
Somewhat important............ 3
Not very important 2
Not at all important 1

89a. Do you attend some place of worship *(church, mosque)* on a regular basis?

No ..... 1 **[GO TO Q. 90]**
Yes .... 2 → → 89b. What kind of place of worship (*type of religious organization*)

____

89c. About how often do you attend? Would you say: **[READ]**

Several times a week 1
Every week, ... 2
Once or twice a month, ... 3
Every several months, or 4
Once or twice a year? 5

90. Not counting at school or at a job, how often, in the past few months, have you spent time with the following people? Would you say never, sometimes, often, or daily? **[CARD F]**

	Never	Some-times	Often	Daily
a. Family and relatives? (*outside your household*)	1	2	3	4
b. Friends from (*home country*)?	1	2	3	4
c. Other immigrants (*from a different culture*)	1	2	3	4
d. Other Canadian friends?	1	2	3	4
e. Neighbours?	1	2	3	4

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The next questions ask about your health, and about how you feel about life in general, when you first came to Canada.

91. When you first came to Canada, how healthy did you feel physically? Did you feel: **[READ]**

very healthy, ... 4
somewhat healthy, ... 3
unhealthy, or 2
or very unhealthy? 1

92. How healthy did you feel psychologically (*mentally*)? Did you feel: **[READ]**

very healthy, ... 4
somewhat healthy, ... 3
unhealthy, or 2
or very unhealthy? 1

93. When you first came to Canada, how stressful was your life? Would you say: **[READ]**

very stressful, ... 4
somewhat stressful, ... 3
not very stressful, or...... 2
or not at all stressful? 1

94a. In the first year, how happy or sad did you feel? Would you say you felt: **[READ]**

very happy, ... 5 **[GO TO Q. 95]**
somewhat happy, ... 4 **[GO TO Q. 95]**
both sad and happy, ... 3 → → 94b. Can you tell me about it? **[PROBE]**
somewhat sad, or .... 2 → →
very sad? .... 1 → → ________________________________

____

Now let's talk about your health and feelings in the past month.

95. In the past month, how healthy have you felt physically? Would you say: **[READ]**

very healthy, ... 4
somewhat healthy, ... 3
unhealthy, or 2
or very unhealthy? 1

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96. In the past month, how healthy have you felt psychologically (*mentally*)? Would you say: **[READ]**

very healthy, ... 4
somewhat healthy, ... 3
unhealthy, or 2
or very unhealthy? 1

97. In the past month, how stressful has your life been? Would you say: **[READ]**

very stressful, ... 4
somewhat stressful, ... 3
not very stressful, or...... 2
or not at all stressful? 1

98a. Overall, how happy or sad have you felt in the past month? Would you say: **[READ]**

very happy, ... 5 **[GO TO Q. 99]**
somewhat happy, ... 4 **[GO TO Q. 99]**
both sad and happy............ 3 → → 98b.Can you tell me about it? **[PROBE]**
somewhat sad, or .... 2 → →
very sad? .... 1 → → ____

____

99. **[IF R IS STILL A STUDENT]** If you had a serious problem at your school, who could you talk to about it, if you wanted to?

____

100. If a serious health problem (for you or your family) came up, who could you talk to about it, if you wanted to?

____

101. If you had a serious personal problem, who could you talk to about it, if you wanted to?

____

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Let's change the topic now and talk about Canadian citizenship.

102a. Are you a Canadian citizen, or have you and your parents applied?

Not a citizen .... 1 → → 102b. Do you plan to apply for Canadian citizenship some day?
Have applied 2
Canadian citizen 3

No 1
Yes 2

103. What does being a Canadian citizen mean to you? **[PROBE]**

____

____

Let's finish with a few questions about the experiences of refugee youth, and any advice you might give new refugees coming to Canada.

104. What advice would you give other refugees coming to Canada about how to integrate successfully into Canadian society? Anything else? **[PROBE]**

(1) ____

____

(2) ____

____

105. What advice would you give to Canadians about helping refugees adjust to life in Canada? Anything else? **[PROBE]**

(1) ____

____

(2) ____

____

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106. Is there anything else about your experiences before or after coming to Canada that you want to talk about? **[PROBE; anything else?]**

____

____

____

That was my last question. Thank you very much for taking the time to be interviewed about your experiences as a refugee in Canada. Your answers have been very helpful.

As I said when we started, your name will never appear with any of your answers. Since we are interviewing several hundred other refugees across the province, it will never be possible for anyone to find out who said what.

[GIVE RESPONDENT $20 for expenses, issue receipt]
POST-INTERVIEW QUESTIONS and LOCATING RESPONDENTS INFORMATION

End time of interview:________________

Database Number: ____________

Date of Arrival in Canada (day/month/year): ____________
(from original database):

Contact Information:
[Record all contacts (date/person contacted/address and/or phone number/outcome]

1. ____

____

2. ____

____

3. ____

____

4. ____

____

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Date Interview Completed (day/month/year): ____________

Location of Interview: ____________

Interview Length: (minutes) ____________

Name of Interviewer: ____________

Name of Interpreter: ____________

Interview Assessment:

Very easy to complete 1
Somewhat easy 2
Somewhat difficult .... 3 → Why was interview difficult?
Very difficult .... 4 → ____________

____

If interpreter required:

Interpretation appeared to
be very successful 1
... somewhat successful .. 2
... somewhat difficult .... 3 → Why was interpretation difficult?
... very difficult .... 4 → ____________

____

Were other family members present during interview?

No 1
Yes .... 2 →Did this create difficulties? No 1
Yes 2

[IF YES] Why did their presence create difficulties?

____

Date: ____________

The Settlement Experience of Refugees in Alberta

$20.00 RESPONDENT COMPENSATION RECEIVED

____________ ____________

Respondent Interviewer

$20.00 TRANSLATOR COMPENSATION RECEIVED

____________ ____________

Translator Interviewer

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Scaled Response Question Sheets Translated into Other Languages

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English

Card 'A'
Questions: 22d, 45, 47

Not at all helpful				Very helpful
1	2	3	4	5

Card 'B'
Questions: 51, 62

Not at all Important				Very Important
1	2	3	4	5

Card 'C'
Questions: 54

Not at all Concerned				Very Concerned
1	2	3	4	5

Card 'D'
Questions: 62

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree of Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

Card 'E'
Questions: 85

Never	Sometimes	Often	Daily
1	2	3	4

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Card 'F'
Questions: 86e

Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
1	2	3	4

Card 'G'
Questions: 87, 88, 91, 92,

Very Healthy	Healthy	Unhealthy	Very Unhealthy
1	2	3	4

Card 'H'
Questions: 89

Very Stressful	Somewhat Stressful	Not Very Stressful	Not at All Stressful
1	2	3	4

Card 'I'
Questions: 90a

Very Happy	Somewhat Happy	Both Sad & Happy	Somewhat Sad	Very Sad
1	2	3	4	5

Card 'J'
Question: 100

<10,000 1
$10,000 - $19,999 2
$20,000 - $29,999 3
$30,000 - $39,999 4
$40,000 - $49,999 5
$50,000 - $59,999 6
$50,000 - $59,000 6
$60,000 - $69,000 7
$70,000 - $79,999 8
$80,000 - $89,999 9
$90,000 - $99,999 10
$100,000 or more 11

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بطاقة 'أ'
أسئلة: (d)٢٢، ٤٥، ٤٧

'CARD A'

غير مفيد أبداً	غير مفيد جداً	نوعاً ما مفيد	مفيد	مفيد كثيراً

١..........٢..........٣......٤..........٥

بطاقة 'ب'
أسئلة: ٥١، ٦٢

'CARD B'

مهم كثيراً	ليس مهم أبداً

١..........٢......٣.......٤..........٥

بطاقة 'ت'
أسئلة: ٥٤

'CARD C'

مهتم كثيراً	ليس مهتم أبداً

١........٢.........٣......٤........٥

بطاقة 'ث'
أسئلة: ٦٢، ٦٣، ٦٩

'CARD D'

يوافق بشدة	يوافق	لم يوافق ولا يوافق	لم يوافق	لم يوافق بشدة

١..........٢........٣........٤........٥

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'CARD E'

بطاقة 'ج'
أسئلة: ٨٥

يومياً غالباً أحياناً أبداً

٤.........٣...........٢...........١

'CARD F'

بطاقة 'ح'
أسئلة: ٨٦(e)

راض كثيراً راض غير راض غير راض كثيراً

٤..........٣.............٢...........١

'CARD G'

بطاقة 'خ'
أسئلة: ٨٧، ٨٨، ٩١، ٩٢

غير صحي جداً غير صحي صحي صحي كثيراً

١..........٢.............٣.........٤

'CARD H'

بطاقة 'د'
أسئلة: ٨٩

لا ضغط أبداً ليس كثير الضغط قليل الضغط كثير الضغط

١..............٢.............٣..........٤

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Bosnian

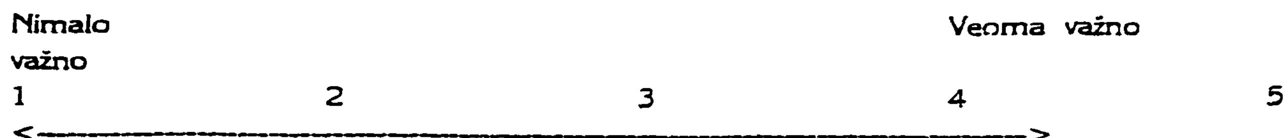
CARD A (with questions 44-45 or 46-47)

Da li ste dobili usluge?

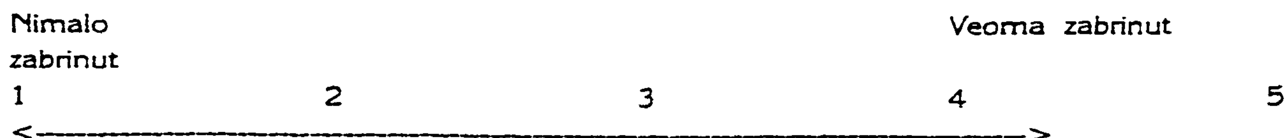
Da	1
Ne	2
Ovo se ne odnosi na mene	3 ➔

➔ Koliko su usluge korisne? (ocijenite prema sljedećoj skali)

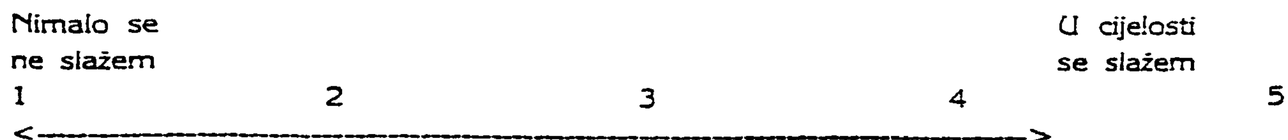
CARD B (with question 52)



CARD C (with question 54)



CARD D (with question 62 or 63)



CARD E (with question 85)

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CARD F

vrlo nezadovoljan/zadovoljna	1
nezadovoljan/zadovoljna	2
zadovoljan/zadovoljna	3
vrlo zadovoljan/zadovoljna	4

CARD G

vrlo zdrav/zdrava	4
donekle zdrav/zdrava	3
donekle bolestan/bolesna	2
vrlo bolestan/bolesna	1

CARD H

Vrlo stresan	4
Donekle stresan	3
Ne baš tako stresan	2
Nimalo stresan	1

CARD I

Vrlo sretan/sretna	5
Donekle sretan/sretna	4
I sretan/sretna i tužan/tužna	3
Donekle tužan/tužna	2
Vrlo tužan/tužna	1

CARD J

manje od 10.000 dolara	1
10.000 - 19.999 dolara	2
20.000 - 29.999 dolara	3
30.000 - 39.999 dolara	4
40.000 - 49.999 dolara	5
50.000 - 59.999 dolara	6
60.000 - 69.999 dolara	7
70.000 - 79.999 dolara	8
80.000 - 89.999 dolara	9
90.000 - 99.999 dolara	10
100.000 ili više	11

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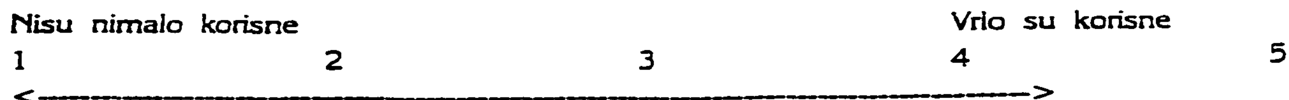
CARD A (with questions 44-45 or 46-47)

Da li ste dobili usluge?

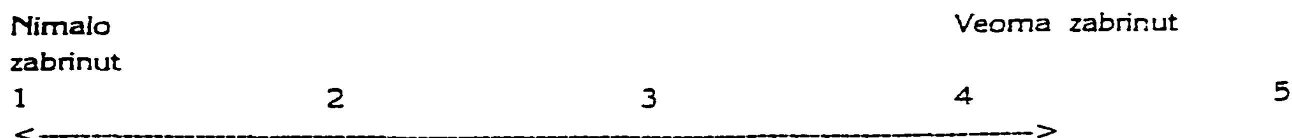
Da	1
Ne	2
Ovo se ne odnosi na mene	3 ➔

➔ Koliko su usluge korisne? (ocijenite prema sljedećoj skali)

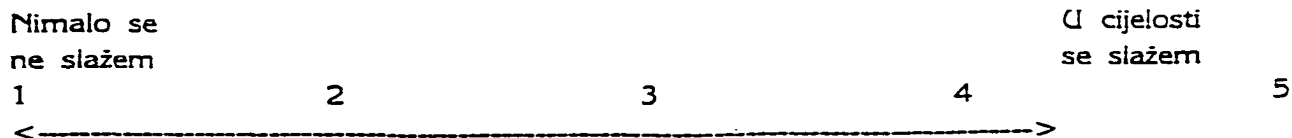


CARD B (with question 52)

CARD C (with question 54)



CARD D (with question 62 or 63)



CARD E (with question 85)

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CARD F

vrlo nezadovoljan/zadovoljna	1
nezadovoljan/zadovoljna	2
zadovoljan/zadovoljna	3
vrlo zadovoljan/zadovoljna	4

CARD G

vrlo zdrav/zdrava	4
donekle zdrav/zdrava	3
donekle bolestan/bolesna	2
vrlo bolestan/bolesna	1

CARD H

Vrlo stresan	4
Donekle stresan	3
Ne baš tako stresan	2
Nimalo stresan	1

CARD I

Vrlo sretan/sretna	5
Donekle sretan/sretna	4
I sretan/sretna i tužan/tužna	3
Donekle tužan/tužna	2
Vrlo tužan/tužna	1

CARD J

manje od 10.000 dolara	1
10.000 - 19.999 dolara	2
20.000 - 29.999 dolara	3
30.000 - 39.999 dolara	4
40.000 - 49.999 dolara	5
50.000 - 59.999 dolara	6
60.000 - 69.999 dolara	7
70.000 - 79.999 dolara	8
80.000 - 89.999 dolara	9
90.000 - 99.999 dolara	10
100.000 ili više	11

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Serbian

CARD A (with questions 44-45 or 46-47)

Да ли сте добили услуге?

Да	1	
Не	2	
Ово се не односи на мене	3	➔

➔ Колико су услуге корисне? (оцените према следећој скали)

Нису нимало корисне				Врло су корисне
1	2	3	4	5

<-->

CARD B (with question 52)

Нимало важно				Веома важно
1	2	3	4	5

<-->

CARD C (with question 54)

Нимало забринут				Веома забринут
1	2	3	4	5

<-->

CARD D (with question 62 or 63)

Нимало се не слажем				У целости се слажем
1	2	3	4	5

<-->

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CARD E (with question 85)

Никад	Понекад	Често	Сваки дан
1	2	3	4

CARD F

врло незадовољан/задовољна	1
незадовољан/задовољна	2
задовољан/задовољна	3
врло задовољан/задовољна	4

CARD G

врло здрав/здрава	4
донекле здрав/здрава	3
донекле болестан/болесна	2
врло болестан/болесна	1

CARD H

Врло стресан	4
Донекле стресан	3
Не баш тако стресан	2
Нимало стресан	1

CARD I

Врло срећан/срећна	5
Донекле срећан/срећна	4
И срећан/срећна и тужан/тужна	3
Донекле тужан/тужна	2
Врло тужан/тужна	1

CARD J

мање од 10.000 долара	1
10.000 - 19.999 долара	2
20.000 - 29.999 долара	3
30.000 - 39.999 долара	4
40.000 - 49.999 долара	5
50.000 - 59.999 долара	6
60.000 - 69.999 долара	7
70.000 - 79.999 долара	8
80.000 - 89.999 долара	9
90.000 - 99.999 долара	10
100.000 или више	11

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Serbo-Croatian

CARD A (with questions 44-45 or 46-47)

Da li ste dobili usluge?

Da	1
Ne	2
Ovo se ne odnosi na mene	3 ➔

➔ Koliko su usluge korisne? (ocijenite prema sljedećoj skali)

Nisu nimalo korisne			Vrlo su korisne	
1	2	3	4	5

<-->

CARD B (with question 52)

Nimalo važno			Veoma važno	
1	2	3	4	5

<-->

CARD C (with question 54)

Nimalo zabrinut			Veoma zabrinut	
1	2	3	4	5

<-->

CARD D (with question 62 or 63)

Nimalo se ne slažem				U cijelosti se slažem
1	2	3	4	5

<-->

CARD E (with question 85)

Nikad	Ponekad	Često	Svaki dan
1	2	3	4

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CARD F

vrlo nezadovoljan/zadovoljna	1
nezadovoljan/zadovoljna	2
zadovoljan/zadovoljna	3
vrlo zadovoljan/zadovoljna	4

CARD G

vrlo zdrav/zdrava	4
donekle zdrav/zdrava	3
donekle bolestan/bolesna	2
vrlo bolestan/bolesna	1

CARD H

Vrlo stresan	4
Donekle stresan	3
Ne baš tako stresan	2
Nimalo stresan	1

CARD I

Vrlo sretan/sretna	5
Donekle sretan/sretna	4
I sretan/sretna i tužan/tužna	3
Donekle tužan/tužna	2
Vrlo tužan/tužna	1

CARD J

manje od 10.000 dolara	1
10.000 - 19.999 dolara	2
20.000 - 29.999 dolara	3
30.000 - 39.999 dolara	4
40.000 - 49.999 dolara	5
50.000 - 59.999 dolara	6
60.000 - 69.999 dolara	7
70.000 - 79.999 dolara	8
80.000 - 89.999 dolara	9
90.000 - 99.999 dolara	10
100.000 ili više	11

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Somali

Card 'A'
Su - aalo: 22d, 45, 47,

Aad buu ii caawiyay	Wuu I caawiyay	Xoogaa buu/bay I caawiyay	Wax aad ah ima caawin	Waz uu I caawiyay majiro
1	2	3	4	5

Card 'B'
Su - aalo: 51, 62

Mihiim ma aha haba yaraatee				Aad ayay u mihimsantahay
1	2	3	4	5

Card 'C'
Su - aalo: 54

Waxba igama galin haba yaraatee				Daan aad ah baan ka leeyahay
1	2	3	4	5

Card 'D'
Su - aalo: 62

Aad iyo aad baan uga soo jorjeedaa	Waan kasoo horjeedaa	Kumana raacsani kamana soo horjeedo	Waan ku raacsanay	Aad baan ugu raacanay
1	2	3	4	5

Card 'E'
Su - aalo: 85

Waligay/abidkey	Marmar	Badanaa	Maalinkasta
1	2	3	4

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Card 'F'
Su - aalo: 86e

Kuma qancin habaharatee	Kuma qancin	Waan ku qancay	Aad baan ugu qancay
1	2	3	4

Card 'G'
Su - aalo: 87, 88, 91, 92,

Aad baan u caafimaad qubaa	Waan caafimaat qabaa	Ma caafimaad qabto	Aad baan u caafimaat xumay
1	2	3	4

Card 'H'
Su - aalo: 89

Aad bya u kadeed (walaac) badantahay	Xoogaa bay kadeed badentahay	Aad uma kadeed badna	Wax kadeed ah maleh habayaraatee
1	2	3	4

Card 'I'
Su - aalo: 90a, 94a

Aad baan ugu farazsanahay	saas uguma sii faraxsani	Waan ka xumahay waanan ku faraxsanahay	Aad baan uga xumahay

1 .... 2............... 3 .... 4 5

Card 'J'
Su - aalo: 100

<10,000 1 ......$50,000 - $59,000		6	
$10,000 - $19,999	2	$60,000 - $69,000	7
$20,000 - $29,999	3	$70,000 - $79,999	8
$30,000 - $39,999	4	$80,000 - $89,999	9
$40,000 - $49,999	5	$90,000 - $99,999	10
$50,000 - $59,999	6	$100,000 or more	11

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Spanish

Tarajeta "A"
Pregunta: 22d, 45 et 47

Muy Util Util Algo Util No Muy Util No Util de Ninguna Manera

5................... 4..................3.........................2.......................................1

Tarajeta: "B"
Preguntas: 51, 52

No importante de Ninguna Manera Muy Importante

1...................2...................3...................4...................5

Tarajeta: "C"
Pregunta: 54

No preocupado de Ninguna Manera Muy preocupado

1...................2...................3...................4...................5

Tarajeta: "D"
Preguntas: 62, 63, 69

No Estar de Acuerdo Acuerdo Fuertemente Fuertemente	No Estar de Acuerdo	Ni Estar de Acuerdo Ni No Estar de Acuerdo	Estar de Acuerdo	Estar de

1.............................2........................3.............................4..........................5

Tarajeta: "E"
Pregunta: 85

Jamas A Veces A Menudo Cada Dia

1.............................2........................3.............................4..........................5

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Tarajeta: "F"
Pregunta: 86e

Muy insatisfecho Insatisfecho Satisfecho Muy Satisfecho

1..............................2..........................3..............................4...........................5

Tarajeta: "G"
Preguntas: 87, 88, 91, 92

Muy Saludable Saludable Insalubre Muy Insalubre

4...3..................................2.....................................1

Tarajeta: "H"
Pregunta: 89

Muy Estresante Algo Estresante No Muy Estresante No Estresante de Ninguna Manera

4...3..................................2.....................................1

Tarajeta: "I"
Preguntas: 90a, 94a

Muy contento Algo Contento Tanto Triste Como Contento Algo Triste Muy Triste

5.................... 4 ....3...................................2.........................1

Tarajeta: "J"
Pregunta: 100

Menos de $10.000.......1
$10.000 - $19.999.......2
$20.000 - $29.999.......3
$30.000 - $39.999.......4
$40.000 - $49.999.......5
$50.000 - $59.999.......6
$60.000 - $69.999.......7
$70.000 - $79.999.......8
$80.000 - $89.999.......9
$90.000 - $99.999.......10
$100.000 o mas 11

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Vietnamese

Thẻ 'A'

Câu hỏi số: 22d. 45, 47

Rất hữu ích	Hữu ích	Hơi hữu ích	Không hữu ích	Hoàn toàn không hữu ích
5	4	3	2	1

Thẻ 'B'

Câu hỏi số: 51 52

Hoàn toàn không quan trọng	Rất quan trọng	không biết
1	5	8

Thẻ 'C'

Câu hỏi số: 54

Hoàn toàn không quan tâm đến	Rất quan tâm đến
1	5

Thẻ 'D'

Câu hỏi số: 62, 63, 69

Hoàn toàn không đồng ý	Rất đồng ý	không biết
1	5	8

Thẻ 'F'

Câu hỏi số: 86e

Hoàn toàn không bằng lòng	Không bằng lòng	Bằng lòng	Rất bằng lòng
1	2	3	4

Thẻ 'G'

Câu hỏi số: 87, 88, 91, 92

Rất tốt	Tốt	Yếu kém	Rất yếu kém
4	3	2	1

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Thẻ 'H'

Câu hỏi số: 89 (Về mặt tâm thần)

Rất khó khăn	Hòi khó khăn	Không khó khăn lắm	Hoàn toàn không khó khăn
4	3	2	1

Thẻ 'I'

Câu hỏi số: 90a, 94a

Rất vui vẻ bằng lòng	Hởi vui vẻ bằng lòng	Vừa buồn vừa vui	Hởi buồn	Rất buồn
5	4	3	2	1

Thẻ 'J'

Câu hỏi số: 100

Dưới $10 000	1	từ $50 000 đến $59 999	6
Từ $10 000 đến $19 999	2	từ $60 000 đến $69 999	7
Từ $20 000 đến $29 999	3	từ $70 000 đến $79 999	8
Từ $30 000 đến $39 999	4	từ $80 000 đến $89 999	9
Từ $40 000 đến $49 999	5	từ $90 000 đến $99 999	10
		$100 000 trở lên	11

Thẻ 'E'

Câu hỏi số: 85 (Ước)

Không gặp mặt	Thỉnh thoảng gặp	Thường gặp	Gặp hằng ngày
1	2	3	4

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Cantonese

'A' 卡

第 224, 45, 47 條問題

非常有用	有用	還算可以	不大有用	絕對沒有用
5	4	3	2	1

'B' 卡

第 51, 52 條問題

絕對不重用				非常重要
1	2	3	4	5

'C' 卡

第 54 條問題

絕對不担心				非常担心
1	2	3	4	5

'D' 卡

第 62 條問題, 63, 69

絕對不同意	不同意	沒有意見	同意	非常同意
1	2	3	4	5

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'E' 卡

第 85 條問題

沒有見面	間或有見面	常常見面	每一天都見面
1	2	3	4

'F' 卡

第 86e 條問題

絕對不滿意	不滿意	滿意	非常滿意
1	2	3	4

'G' 卡

第 87, 88, 91, 92 條問題

非常健康	相當健康	衰弱	很衰弱
4	3	2	1

'H' 卡

第 89 條問題

心理壓力非常大	心理壓力大	心理壓力不大	沒有任何心理壓力
4	3	2	1

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'I' 卡

第 90a 條問題 94a

非常愉快滿意	相當愉快	有時愉快有時苦惱	相當苦惱	非常苦惱
5	4	3	2	1

'J' 卡

第 100 條問題

低過 $10 000	1	$60 000 – $69 999	7
$10 000 – $19 999	2	$70 000 – $79 999	8
$20 000 – $29 999	3	$80 000 – $89 999	9
$30 000 – $39 999	4	$90 000 – $99 999	10
$40 000 – $49 999	5	$100 000 或以上	11
$50 000 – $59 999	6		

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Appendix Table 5.1
Correlation Matrix of Dependent and Independent Variables

	YSES	HHASP SES	NLEVEL2	NEW AGE	YUGO	SEX	UNIVP	Y10A	REF CAMP	HEALTH	NEW Y71C	NEWQ3	NEW ENG2	YMENTAL	TEST 16B	Y20A
Youth aspirations (YSES)	1.00	**0.41	*0.25	0.11	0.06	-0.21	0.15	0.10	0.06	0.01	0.05	0.15	0.07	-0.16	-0.11	-0.05
Household aspirations (HHASPSES)		1.00	0.20	*0.25	*-0.26	-0.11	0.07	0.04	-0.06	0.02	-0.10	-0.01	-0.03	-0.16	-0.03	-0.11
Educational status (NLEVEL2)			1.00	-0.04	*0.29	-0.19	**0.34	0.17	-0.08	0.18	-0.10	**0.33	0.13	-0.15	*0.26	-0.10
Age (NEWAGE)				1.00	-0.17	-0.01	-0.04	0.07	-0.07	*-0.29	-0.08	-0.22	-0.01	**-0.34	0.06	*-0.29
Ethnicity (YUGO)					1.00	-0.18	0.03	*-0.27	*0.27	0.08	0.10	**0.38	*0.31	-0.15	0.19	-0.17
Sex (SEX)						1.00	-0.12	0.08	0.01	0.05	0.00	-0.19	*-0.26	0.18	-0.23	0.11
SES (UNIVP)							1.00	-0.18	**-0.39	*0.25	-0.05	**0.34	0.20	0.01	**0.36	-0.03
Months in Canada (Y10a)								1.00	-0.03	**-0.33	-0.11	-0.20	-0.12	-0.12	-0.17	0.15
Refugee camp (REFCAMP)									1.00	**-0.32	0.07	*0.24	0.07	0.03	-0.16	-0.04
Parents' health (HEALTH)										1.00	0.23	0.14	0.04	0.18	0.17	0.04
Difficulty helping parents (NEWY71C)											1.00	-0.10	0.14	**0.33	0.14	0.13
Family composition (NEWQ3)												1.00	0.09	-0.20	0.21	-0.18
English language ability (NEWENG2)													1.00	0.06	0.15	0.00
Youth mental health (YMENTAL)														1.00	-0.06	**0.33
Appropriate grade placement (TEST16B)															1.00	-0.07
Enjoy high school (Y20A)																1.00

Appendix Table 6.9
Exogenous and Endogenous Factors Influencing Occupational Aspirations of Refugee Youth
Standardized beta co-efficients for socioeconomic status measurement: family income

	Educational Status	Parents' combined aspirations	Youth's aspirations
Individual Ascribed Characteristics			
age	0.073	0.012	0.074
Yugoslavian	^0.249	**-0.416	0.134
gender	-0.060	-0.146	-0.106
Socioeconomic measurement			
family income	0.097	0.210	-0.140
Familial Factors			
months in Canada	**0.356	-0.159	0.128
refugee camp experience	-0.039	0.178	-0.038
parental health	^0.241	0.052	0.021
difficulty helping parents adjust	-0.169	-0.060	0.177
family composition	^0.219	-0.060	0.154
Individual Achieved Characteristics			
English language ability	0.062	0.011	-0.011
youth mental health	0.066	-0.133	-0.740
enjoy high school in Canada	-0.044	-0.062	0.069
appropriate grade placement	**0.249	0.000	^-0.221
Educational Status	n/a	*0.281	0.151
Household combined aspirations	n/a	n/a	**0.424
N	70	70	70
Adjusted R^2	0.239	0.111	0.114
Standard error of the estimate	0.71	19.66	17.94

** P=0.01
* P=0.05
^ P=0.10

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Appendix Table 6.10
Exogenous and Endogenous Factors Influencing Occupational Aspirations of Refugee Youth
Standardized beta co-efficients for socioeconomic status measurement: pre-arrival combined Blishen score

	Educational Status	Parents' combined aspirations	Youth's aspirations
Individual Ascribed Characteristics			
age	0.093	0.161	0.043
Yugoslavian	**0.321	-0.277	0.068
gender	-0.104	^-0.233	-0.052
Socioeconomic measurement			
pre-arrival combined Blishen score	0.199	**0.361	-0.196
Familial Factors			
months in Canada	**0.384	-0.089	0.088
refugee camp experience	0.004	0.244	-0.070
parental health	^0.263	0.107	-0.014
difficulty helping parents adjust	-0.222	-0.153	0.222
family composition	0.136	-0.195	0.223
Individual Achieved Characteristics			
English language ability	-0.002	-0.104	0.052
youth mental health	0.066	-0.129	-0.075
enjoy high school in Canada	-0.045	-0.060	0.065
appropriate grade placement	^0.240	-0.011	-0.211
Educational Status	n/a	0.247	0.161
Household combined aspirations	n/a	n/a	**0.442
N	60	60	60
Adjusted R^2	0.229	0.117	0.081
Standard error of the estimate	0.71	19.59	18.28

** P=0.01
* P=0.05
^ P=0.10

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Appendix Table 6.11
Exogenous and Endogenous Factors Influencing Occupational Aspirations of Refugee Youth
Standardized beta co-efficients for socioeconomic status measurement: Post arrival Blishen score

	Educational Status	Parents' combined aspirations	Youth's aspirations
Individual Ascribed Characteristics			
age	0.059	0.167	0.091
Yugoslavian	^0.279	**-0.443	0.057
gender	-0.090	-0.167	-0.069
Socioeconomic measurement			
post arrival change in Blishen score	^-0.240	0.074	^0.306
Familial Factors			
months in Canada	**0.386	-0.142	0.053
refugee camp experience	-0.161	0.158	0.133
parental health	^0.276	0.071	-0.040
difficulty helping parents adjust	-0.156	-0.007	0.167
family composition	0.246	-0.028	0.098
Individual Achieved Characteristics			
English language ability	0.073	0.000	-0.029
youth mental health	0.118	-0.141	-0.153
enjoy high school in Canada	-0.036	-0.034	0.057
appropriate grade placement	^0.241	-0.036	-0.228
Educational Status	n/a	^0.328	0.238
Household combined aspirations	n/a	n/a	**0.373
N	50	50	50
Adjusted R^2	0.214	-0.026	0.082
Standard error of the estimate	0.72	21.12	18.26

** P=0.01
* P=0.05
^ P=0.10

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AppendixTable 6.12
Exogenous and Endogenous Factors Influencing Occupational Aspirations of Refugee Youth
Standardized beta co-efficients for socioeconomic status measurement: change in combined Blishen score

	Educational Status	Parents' combined aspirations	Youth's aspirations
Individual Ascribed Characteristics			
age	0.072	0.165	0.048
Yugoslavian	*0.357	^0.278	0.660
gender	-0.083	-0.089	0.084
			-0.064
Socioeconomic measurement			
current combined Blishen score	**0.306	*0.301	-0.115
Familial Factors			
months in Canada	**0.358	0.040	0.111
refugee camp experience	-0.088	0.022	-0.001
parental health	^0.278	0.165	-0.028
difficulty helping parents adjust	-0.182	0.091	0.174
family composition	0.097	-0.081	0.172
Individual Achieved Characteristics			
English language ability	-0.014	-0.005	0.017
youth mental health	0.089	-0.081	-0.091
enjoy high school in Canada	-0.077	-0.199	0.069
appropriate grade placement	0.206	0.067	-0.195
Educational Status	n/a	0.053	0.174
Household combined aspirations	n/a	n/a	**0.416
N	50	50	50
Adjusted R^2	0.276	0.261	0
Standard error of the estimate	0.69	17.91	19.05

** P=0.01
* P=0.05
^ P=0.10

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