The perceived and actual difficulties of Hispanic refugees in finding work in Windsor (Ontario).

Jean-Holger Kroes
University of Windsor

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THE PERCEIVED AND ACTUAL DIFFICULTIES OF HISPANIC REFUGEES IN FINDING WORK IN WINDSOR

by

Jean-Holgêr Kroes

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
Through the Faculty of Business Administration
in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the degree of
Master of Business Administration
at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
1992

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ABSTRACT

The present study surveys Hispanic refugee status seekers in Windsor, Ontario in regard to their work and education history as well as their views on events surrounding their job search to determine the perceived and actual difficulties in securing work. Discrimination, English language knowledge and restrictive work permits are the problems defined by the refugees themselves. Ignorance of the Canadian hiring and employment process, lack of knowledge on how the restrictive work permits can be overcome and the implications of welfare payments on the mental state of the Hispanics are discussed as the actual difficulties. Recommendations include better education of employers and refugees in regards to the respective cultures, and a language training program at the work place. A community work program to restore the refugees' dignity while helping with their integration into society and thus reducing potential for discrimination are also discussed.
DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my wife and my daughter for their strong moral support throughout the sometimes trying times of my study, and to my parents. All of them made me understand the importance of understanding others.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people to thank for their help in bringing forward this study. The list begins with my advisor, Dr. Julian Cattaneo, the reader Dr. Jang Singh and the external reader Prof. Bruce Burton. Their support and understanding at the crucial times were invaluable.

In Windsor, help in finding background information, support data and contacts came from Mr. Michael Casasola, Sr. Elizabeth Milier and Sr. Theresa Mahoney of the Windsor Refugee Office, the staff at the Canada Employment and Immigration Centre. I would also like to thank my friend, Mr. Miguel Gil for his help with translating and Mr. Espedito Quaglia for proof reading the Spanish translation of the questionnaire. Not to be forgotten are my assistant in the interviewing process, Graciela Espinosa, and of course all the people who answered the survey questionnaire.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the great help in supplying materials from Ottawa: Mr. Derrick Thomas at Employment and Immigration Canada as well as the office of Mr. Steven Langdon, M.P.

To all and anyone on whose help I relied, my sincere thanks.

June 1992

Jean-Holgër Kroes
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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED

CDN  Canada or Canadian
CEC  Canada Employment Centre
CPO  Case Presenting Office (or Officer)
DRS  Demographic Review Secretariat
ECC  Economic Council of Canada
EIC  Employment and Immigration Canada
ESL  English as a second language
FSL  French as a second language
GNP  Gross national product
IPPD Immigration Policy and Program Development
IRB  Immigration and Refugee Board
ISAP  Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program
SIN  Social insurance number
USINS United States Immigration and Naturalization Service
WCB  Workers' Compensation Board
WRO  Windsor Refugee Office
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A number of government studies recently have touched on the difficulties of immigrants coming from Central America in settling and adjusting to the Canadian society. None were actually and consciously dealing with the border claimants for refugee status. I believe that this is so because the Canadian government has no direct or very little involvement in the support of these refugees, in comparison to the sponsored refugees who arrive basically with their refugee status and landed immigrant status in hand.

These latter are the responsibility of the Canadian government for up to one year. This is the reason that the government also sponsors them into English as a Second Language (ESL) or French as a Second Language (FSL) courses, helps them with special settlement and adaptation workers and pays them a weekly income out of the government coffers. (It appears that this latter income is similar in amount to the local welfare payment.)
Because different conditions exist for sponsored refugees and border-crossing refugee status claimants, I decided to look at the conditions the border claimants were facing in finding work. For this purpose, this study will differentiate between refugees claiming Convention refugee status upon setting foot on Canadian soil for the first time, and sponsored refugees. The former will be called "refugees" in this study, while the latter group will be referred to as "sponsored refugees".

We are in many ways blessed with a regular arrival in our area of refugees arriving from Central America. These people, though they often have endured many hardships in their home countries, such as persecution, imprisonment and even torture, are the winners. They had the courage not to bow under to a regime or some form of persecution and to abandon all or most of their worldly goods in order to reach a new, a different and unknown country. They have the courage to start a new life and the will to endure an often new learning process in a new country and thus to make a new life for themselves.

What does it feel like to be a new arrival in Canada, in Windsor in particular? What are the difficulties such a person, male or female, encounters in finding work? And finally, are there ways that the entrance into the
workforce, into actual employment, can be made easier for these people to the benefit of both the future employer as well as the newly arrived employee? These are the questions this paper hopes to address through interviews, discussions and observations of a group of recent arrivals in Windsor.

In particular, I will be using a group of refugees who have arrived within the last three years here in Windsor. Similar to the approach of Gertrud Neuwirth for her 1989 study on the settlement of Salvadoreans in the Ottawa and Toronto area, I shall be interviewing the subjects selected for the purpose of this study. However, the subjects shall be predominantly border-crossing refugee status claimants - a group assumed to be less privileged than those sponsored refugees studied by Neuwirth.

There are two reasons for this. First, we have a smaller number of government sponsored refugees arriving in Windsor than those arriving at the border and claiming refugee status. It is safe to assume that this is so because the government-sponsored refugees usually arrive by plane and land in Toronto where they then try to settle. Refugees claiming Convention refugee status at the border often have left their country in a hurry, not having had time to go through the lengthy process of applying for a visa or refugee recognition at a Canadian embassy abroad.
These people then found their way, often clandestinely, through Mexico and the United States to arrive in Canada's southernmost city. Often they endured additional hardships, discrimination and persecution on their way. Finally, they arrived in Windsor after a stay at the Windsor-Detroit Refugee Coalition or one of the other support organizations along the way to the Canadian border.
CHAPTER II
BACKGROUND

Windsor has again become a major refugee railroad station. Where years ago the slaves from the South entered Canada via the Underground Railroad to seek refuge in our country, they came mostly through Windsor via Detroit.

Today, many Central American refugee seekers have chosen the same route, stopping over in Detroit before seeking asylum in Canada at the Windsor-Detroit Tunnel or the Ambassador Bridge Immigration inspection posts.

These refugee status claimants are people who, in their home country, did not want to wait for the outcome of a refugee status application at the Canadian Embassy there, but rather found reasons to leave so compelling that they could not afford to wait any longer. These reasons included torture, imprisonment for their political views, rape, threats of violence or punishment for uncommitted crimes and many other forms of persecution. They did not feel that they could avail themselves of the local authorities to help them, since often these authorities were the perpetrators of
this persecution. So the people abandoned almost everything: house and home, cars, jobs, friends and very often even the closest family. Only seldom were they accompanied by their spouses and children for fear of being too conspicuous. Often they left without even advising their parents or siblings that they were leaving, or whereto, for fear of endangering those they loved and trusted.

Most often their way brought them through Mexico and the United States to Canada. Sometimes they were able to find temporary shelter on the way, maybe even some illegal work, but more often the threat of being caught in the country illegally and of being deported back into the home country drove them on, searching for a safe haven along the road. There are a number of private or charitable shelter organizations dispersed over the U.S., where a person from Central America might find temporary refuge, and often also some advice.

More often than not, that advice was to seek asylum in Canada, for the United States Immigration and Naturalization Services (USINS) was considering most Central American governments as friendly (Obi, 1984), and therefore would turn asylum seekers back into the hell from where they came. Even the recently signed peace agreement between the
rightist government and the leftist guerrillas in El Salvador is not able to alleviate their fears (Hyland, '92) of prison, torture and often death or "disappearance", a fate even worth than death since no one would know what happened to the disappeared person and even a decent funeral was denied. There would be no welcome of laughter or smiles, but only more fear, and hardly ever the option to run a second time.

Often these asylum seekers would end up at the Windsor-Detroit Coalition for Refugees shelter in Detroit. This is a shelter housed in the former Basilian seminary of St. Anne's Church on Lafayette Bvd. in Detroit, just below the Ambassador Bridge. This shelter is open to refugees of all nationalities. However, because of the director's connections to the Hispanic community it has become a "specialist" centre for Hispanic refugees.

At their first arrival at the Canadian border, the refugee status seekers are given a time at which to appear with a translator to make their refugee claim. Then they are turned back with a paper identifying them as refugee seekers in Canada. They stay in Detroit with the protection of that paper, now having given up their anonymity, their hidden (and protected) existence. Now the USINS knows their
whereabouts, they cannot run any further under the cover of darkness, namelessness and street smarts.

Across the river they can see what they perceive as freedom, the goal they have been seeking for many days, sometimes even for endless years. They are looking forward to a peaceful existence, a stable life with regular income, a well paying job. Seldom do they know what awaits them once they cross the border and face the Immigration Officer, the life of uncertainty once they are released from that border inquiry office (ECC, 1991).

Unlike their compatriots who had the time and money to apply for refugee status from without Canada, these refugee status seekers have yet to receive any standing in Canada. They are only applicants or refugee status claimants with very little protection. Those who had applied at an embassy and received their refugee status from that office arrive in Canada as government-sponsored refugees, a status very similar if not equal to being a landed immigrant. And though both types of refugees had the same motives, fears and reasons to seek refuge in Canada, the one arriving at the border is at a definite disadvantage.

One of the disadvantages is that unlike their compatriots who have their refugee status certified by a
Canadian embassy outside Canada, the newly arrived refugee claimant will not be permitted to work upon arrival. Instead they will have to wait until the initial hearing (credible basis hearing) is over and they have been advised that it was determined that there is a credible basis to their claim. At that time, a restricted work permit can be issued until medical clearance has been given by the Ministry of Health which allows the refugee to work in most areas. The medical examination usually only takes place after the second hearing.

For government-sponsored refugees (those who had been determined to be Convention refugees at a Canadian embassy abroad) things are different. Here, the medical examination was done abroad and their health certificate was issued before arrival. Accordingly, these refugees are then treated like landed immigrants once they arrive in Canada. This also means that they can apply immediately for a social insurance card, and there are no restrictions attached such as the limited work permit. This increases the job selection possibilities over non-sponsored refugees.

In addition, the sponsored refugee is supported by the sponsors for a period of up to one year. This includes up to six months of English or French as a second language (ESL or FSL) training while receiving support payments which are
similar to unemployment insurance payments. There is also assistance through support agents from the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) who are there to aid in job search, housing search and to help in the adjustment to a new culture. However, as has been found in surveys (Neuwirth, 1989; Samuel, 1987), this assistance is not always as efficient and helpful as originally presented to the refugees. Often the recently arrived refugees are left with the impression that these agents are trying more to aid the government than to fulfil their commitment to the refugees as what the latter have been advised of the Immigrant Settlement Assistant Program's mandate (Neuwirth, 1989).
CHAPTER III
PURPOSE OF STUDY

This paper intends to examine first of all whether there is a difference between actual and perceived difficulties in finding work for Hispanic refugee status claimants in the Windsor area.

Secondly, if such differences exist, it intends to identify the perceived and the actual difficulties as indicated by the respondents. It will explore the differences and their implications for the job search by the refugees. The study will also compare the found difficulties with the difficulties experienced by the Salvadoreans in the Neuwirth (1989) study.

Finally, this paper will discuss the perceived and actual difficulties in detail in order to identify possible solutions for the respondents either as a whole or in particular.
Objective

It is the objective of this study to create a greater awareness of the difficulties many refugees in general, and Hispanic refugees in particular, are experiencing in finding work in our city. As well, it is hoped that the findings will encourage and enable the responsible government agencies to adjust applicable policies and/or assistance programs to meet the needs of all refugees, and in particular of the Hispanic refugees in our area.

It is hoped that in identifying the difficulties as perceived by the Hispanic refugee applicant group, the results may be compared to those of similar studies of other groups. Such a comparison then would either be able to identify the need for separate programs for different refugee groups or establish the sufficiency of existing programs. If separate programs are judged necessary, it is the objective of this paper to identify the areas in which changes or adjustments may be necessary for this particular refugee group through the identification of the difficulties, though the required changes will need to be determined in a further study.

It is intended that the study will sensitize the reader to the plights of newly arrived refugee status seekers as
well as recognized refugees in their quest to make Canada, and Windsor in particular, their new home.

Finally, it is the intent of this paper to become a tool in helping employers prepare to receive and fairly evaluate job applicants from the Hispanic community, thus opening new opportunities for both employer and applicant.
CHAPTER IV
PRELIMINARY RESEARCH

The literature consulted in the preparation of this study focused mainly on studies done on similar topics or in relation to social adaptation of refugees and immigrants. Primary attention was given to studies published by the Immigration Policy Branch of the Ministry of Employment and Immigration because they were more recent and pertinent to the topic of refugees.

However, it was consistently found that the refugees surveyed were the sponsored ones. It is the writer's assumption that the reason for this is that the government has more at stake in these people, the government or other sponsors being responsible for their well being, for them finding work and for them learning one of the official languages as well as paying them a small income (Neuwirth, 1989).

This is not the case with refugees making their claim upon entry at the border crossing points or the airport upon arrival in Canada. These claimants become a burden to the
municipal governments, since they are not allowed to work until they have successfully passed the credible basis hearing. At this time, they will receive upon application a very limited work permit. It is a limited work permit because the Social Insurance Number starts with a "9", indicating to everybody that the holder of that number is only here on probation, or temporarily (Carrey, 1992).

The initial number "9" in the Social Insurance Number means that prior to the refugee receiving permission to work, the prospective employer has to write a request to Employment Canada specifying that the refugee has been offered a job, what type of job, for how long, and why no Canadians were hired for it (Carrey, 1992; LAW, 1987). Under the regulations of the Immigration Law the refugee may not change employer without notifying and being granted permission by the immigration authorities.

The restricted permit also means that the holder of the permit is not allowed to work in any employment where he or she comes in contact with food ready for consumption (preparation of foods), medical supplies, and the like.

For these jobs, a medical certificate has to be supplied by the Ministry of Health, which is usually only available after a person has been determined to be a
Convention refugee, after the second and more intense hearing in one of the larger IRB (Immigration and Refugee Board) centres. For Windsor refugee status claimants, this hearing is held in Toronto usually two to four months after the credible basis hearing in Windsor. In other words, there is only a very limited number of job openings for these people, even in the lower paying jobs.

Sometimes, the refugee status seeker may submit to a medical exam early, in order to be allowed to work in otherwise restricted jobs. The seeker is then taking another risk, that his or her case may be lost in months of paper shuffling and sometimes exaggerated bureaucracy (comment of local immigration lawyer and also of a refugee).

Even after receiving a provisional social insurance number and card, it often takes quite a while before these refugee claimants actually do find work. In addition, they attempt to learn our official language (English) in night courses. Unlike the sponsored refugees studied by Neuwirth (1989), these people have to spend time looking for work or even working before they can afford to go to the ESL classes.

There are often children involved who need tending to, and although the welfare payments do cover day-care, a
newcomer is usually unaware of this availability, especially since such services are not always part of the social background of the refugee claimants (Taiana & Elliott, 1990). If the refugee is working at minimum wages, the welfare payments and the corresponding assistance with day care are not available, again making it more difficult for the refugee to attend classes.

Most of the preliminary research was directed at establishing an approximate number of border inquiry refugee status seekers. It appeared at various stages of the initial exploration of the project that no definite numbers of Hispanic population existed in regard to the subjects of this research, the Hispanic refugee status claimants who remain living in Windsor. Since these refugee status seekers are not regularly aided by the various agencies as are the sponsored refugees, it was difficult to determine an approximate number. Some agencies, such as the City of Windsor Social Services Department, refused outright to indicate any sort of breakdown, claiming confidentiality.

The number of approximately 200 local newcomers of Hispanic origin was determined as follows. The IRB publishes statistics (see Appendix C) on a regular basis of the number of hearings held, the number of various applicants, the rejection numbers and the numbers of those
proceeding to a second hearing as well as those who were successful there. These statistics are broken down by country of origin of the applicants. From this, a percentage was calculated for the Hispanic refugee status seekers in Canada. This number was compared with information supplied by the local support agency for sponsored refugees, and a percentage adjustment was made to arrive at a percentage for local Hispanic applicants. The result was then compared with the contacts made by the Windsor Refugee Office, a church-based support and assistance agency for refugees applying at the border for asylum, to arrive at a final percentage for local Hispanic refugee seekers.

The local Immigration office supplied some 1990 statistics on the number of border inquiries. From this number, the percentage arrived at earlier was taken and thus an approximate number of local Hispanics who have recently arrived was determined.

Since a fair number of Hispanics are known to be fairly regular church goers (Windsor Refugee Office), contact was made with the local Hispanic Catholic community to establish contact with potential respondents for the survey. An Anglican cleric working with refugees was also consulted,
though no substantiated data was available from this source at the time of the preliminary research.

The original data leading to the assumed number of recent Hispanics was based on 1990 statistics. Political changes within the United States in regard to El Salvador had some effect on the number of applicants in Windsor as well as the number of claimants determined to be Convention refugees. A higher number of negative decisions at the second level hearing was handed out in 1991 for Salvadoreans and other Central Americans (IRB statistics for 1991) who make the majority of Hispanics in the Windsor area. The Canadian government appears to prefer to leave it to the US government to deal with the high number of Hispanics coming through that by returning refused asylum seekers to the last country prior to entering Canada. As well, according to the Hispanic grapevine some offices of the IRB are more lenient than others, and thus some refugees have moved away from Windsor to other IRB jurisdictions in the hopes of better and/or faster hearing results.

Other Data and Sources

In order to arrive at a general number of a potential population for the purpose of this study, local agencies
were approached for their available data. Some of these agencies deal only with the non-sponsored refugees.

The Windsor Refugee Office is the major supplier of data in this respect. Sister Elizabeth Miller, the person in charge of this centre, has a very close contact with the refugee community and a fair representation of all refugees may be assumed in the data supplied. A table of breakdown of Central American refugee seekers (border applicants, not sponsored) helped by the Windsor Refugee Office during 1990 (see Appendix B) offers an overview of available data in regards to the subjects of our study.

In using these data, only adults were considered, because these are the usual applicants as found in data supplied by the IRB, Immigration Canada and ISAP (Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program). Further, only adults are subjects of the present study.

The ISAP office provided some background similar to findings in previous studies (Neuwirth, 1989; Thomas 1990) which pertained to sponsored refugees only. For this reason, only a breakdown of origins was used from these data in order to help establish an approximate number of local Hispanic refugee status seekers. In Appendix C, a table is given showing the breakdown of data available from the ISAP
office. The local Immigration office was able to supply exact data regarding the number of border-crossing applicants in the Windsor area. The writer was also referred to the IRB reports for data, and to a lesser degree to the ISAP office.

A major tool in the establishment of local data was the Immigration and Refugee Board News Release, February 1991. (See Appendix C). This is an update of periodically issued progress reports on the hearing outcomes of Convention refugee status-seeking people arriving at the border crossings where they made their claim. An analysis of these data allowed again a fair estimate of local numbers of Hispanic border-crossing refugees. In calculating the proportional numbers, only those data pertaining to successful first hearing (credible basis) applicants were used. The reason for this is that the second hearing usually is delayed by two or three months, giving the claimants a chance to look for and find work in their place of settlement. That at times the hearing may be delayed for a variety of reasons was also taken into consideration.

In cases of negative decisions at the second level, the refugee determination hearing at the IRB in Toronto, an application for leave to appeal is usually filed with the Federal Court of Appeal, bringing the time for a decision
often to close to one year before action is taken on removal of the unfortunate refugee status applicant. During this time, the refugee status seeker again has some time to apply for and find employment.

Calculation of the population

Most of the data supplied in the documents found in the appendix is presented here for a calculation of the relevant data.

The IRB tables represent only the Convention refugee claimants who made their claim upon arriving in Canada. These people did not have status prior to landing in Canada. Those served by the ISAP offices held landed immigrant status. Therefore, the ISAP data was only used as verification for percentages in the distribution of the origins of the refugees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>no.</th>
<th>%</th>
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<td>Quebec</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.C.</td>
<td>1,518</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>20,240</td>
<td>100.00*</td>
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</table>

*incl. balance in remaining provinces.
Table 2

Origin breakdown of Hispanic refugees in 1990

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<th>From</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Estimate</th>
<th>Actual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>Windsor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Chile</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
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<td>.01</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* El Salvador</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>9.06</td>
<td>1016</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Guatemala</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Honduras</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Nicaragua</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>122</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Undefined</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBTOTAL:</td>
<td>2859</td>
<td>14.11</td>
<td>1584</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of World</td>
<td>202622</td>
<td>85.99</td>
<td>112608</td>
<td>1516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td>205481</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>114192</td>
<td>1731</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* denotes nationalities found in Windsor, Ont.
**adjusted (see note below)

The above computations are based on the percentages known from the Windsor Refugee Office data and the breakdown by country from the IRB credible basis hearing results (positive results only). The Windsor figures were supplied by the Manager for St. Clair Region for Immigration and constitute the arrivals at the Windsor/ Detroit border points. The data pertain to completed credible basis hearings only, not considering incomplete or abandoned claims, as well as negative decisions or decisions being appealed. Because the negative decision rate 1990 was less than 2% as is obtained from the IRB data for 1990 (Appendix C), no adjustments were made for cases with negative decision. It is assumed that these are offset by other refugees arriving from other points in Canada and by claims made by children or juveniles not accompanied by parents.

Re: ** The stateless figure was given as a total of 76 arrivals. Using the 14.1% figure for the total percentage of Hispanics from the IRB table, the number of 11 arrivals claiming statelessness and being of Hispanic origin was computed. (Often refugees claim a false nationality or statelessness in order to avoid being returned to their country of origin if caught on the way to Canada.)
Accordingly, an approximate number of 200 to 220 refugees of Hispanic origin are estimated to arrive and stay in the Windsor area each year.

This number is considerably smaller than that of those Hispanics in Toronto or Ottawa from which a sample of fifteen each was studied by Neuwirth (1989).
CHAPTER V
LITERATURE REVIEW

A wide variety of studies have been done about immigrants and refugees and their settlement in Canada. However, in contrast to the present study, those studies were done on refugees who were sponsored by the Canadian government, or on other sponsored refugees. The phenomenon of refugees arriving at our borders or inland immigration stations such as airports claiming refugee status is a relatively recent one (Casasola, 1989; Samuels, 1987; Obi, 1984).

Further, in studies about the integration of other refugee groups, very little emphasis is placed on the topic of the present study, the difficulties encountered in finding work, whether they are perceived or actual. One study about a different refugee group was found particularly valuable.

_Uprooting, Loss and Adaptation_ by Chan and Indra (1987) covers a comparable time frame to that of the first refugees from the Hispanic group. The focus object of this study are
the Indochinese refugees in Canada. I consider it comparable because both groups, the one of Chan and Indra (1987) and that of my study, come from countries which are very much war torn and both groups have been submitted to similar torture, persecution, uprooting, and hardships on their way to Canada (Chan & Indra, 1987; Neuwirth, 1989; Obi, 1984). There is also the similarity of dealing with people obviously dissimilar from the Caucasian-type established immigrant base present in Canada (Li, 1988).

Studies about European groups such as the Italians (Potestio & Pucci, 1988), British, Swiss, or Germans was ruled out because of the strong resemblance to existing groups in Canada, including those with French and Anglo-Saxon backgrounds. Instead, I preferred a group which was quite dissimilar in their skin colour and other physical features, and which came from a strong family oriented culture (Chan, 1987), and who had a minor exposure to one or both of our national languages: Most of the Indochinese were at one time exposed to French, British and/or American cultures through various military occupations and attempts at colonization. The Salvadorans were subject to some American influence because of the U.S. aid and involvement.
Methodologies

While Samuel (1987) used information from Statistics Canada to arrive at his findings, Taiana and Elliott (1990) relied on existing literature such as Chan and Indra's, and Neuwirth used a small number of direct interviews in her exploratory study, doing two surveys - one in Toronto and one in Ottawa, Ontario.

Samuel (1987) does not give any data about the number of subjects surveyed in this particular study. Further, the study covers two time periods in particular, namely a relatively successful time of economic upswing in the latter part of the seventies, and then again the early eighties, a period of recession. This latter period is comparable to our economic situation at present.

Taiana and Elliott (1990) used a survey of existing articles, books and other literature to come to their conclusions. A major part of their study was based on an unpublished study done in 1989 by Louis E. Monzon for Canada Employment and Immigration. Further, Taiana and Elliott designed a questionnaire for the purpose of testing "the validity of the spheres of life", but not to do any new or original research (Taiana & Elliott, 1990).
Gertrud Neuwirth (1989) used in-depth interviews with open ended questions on a small sample of refugees in Toronto and Ottawa. She interviewed fifteen Hispanic subjects of various social standing in Toronto, and fifteen more in Ottawa for her study. They all were government-sponsored refugees who were in Canada for no less than six months. There were ten women and twenty men in total. In using an in-depth interpretive analysis, she attempted to overcome the sample’s limitation.

The study by Neuwirth (1989) most closely focuses on the difficulties Hispanic refugees may encounter in their new life in Canada, their adaptation and integration, and especially problems in regard to finding work or at work. Among the major difficulties cited by her research subjects were discrimination at work or finding work, language proficiency and a lack of Canadian experience. These were the same problems also discussed by Samuel (1987), as well as pointed out by Li (1989).

Discrimination

Discrimination was particularly prominent in the problems indicated by the Hispanic as well as Indochinese refugees. It was exhibited in the form of harassment,
employers or colleagues disbelieving statements made by the subjects, prejudice against the subjects, pressuring the refugees into accepting jobs lower than they were qualified for, and requirement of Canadian experience even for menial jobs (Neuwirth, 1989; Samuel, 1987).

The latter in particular is a very distressing attitude of employers, virtually approaching direct discrimination on the base of nationality or origin, since it is impossible for a newly arrived immigrant or refugee to have "Canadian" experience (Neuwirth, 1989).

Thomas (1990) states that there is no evidence that the refugees or newly arrived immigrants displace native-born workers, and that it appears that the immigrants create more jobs. This is confirmed by other studies on immigrants (ECC, 1991; Samuel, 1987).

However, recent press articles indicate that the refugees and immigrants are accused by the people at large as a cause of the major unemployment of native-born workers, an accusation made during the early period of the Indochinese refugee settlement (Obi, 1984; Samuel, 1987), not as severe but potentially similar to the situation in the newly united Germany, where major and violent unrest directed against refugees was reported recently, blaming

Thomas' statement also appears to be supported by the vast amount of discrimination implied by the disadvantages mentioned by the respondents of the studies at hand (ECC, 1991; Neuwirth, 1989; Samuel, 1987). A similar situation was reported by Obi (1984).

Underemployment and exploitation are also indicated as some of the trials and tribulations refugees and immigrants have to endure in their worklife. They encounter it even in the most model countries and regardless of occupation or entrepreneurship (Basok, 1990, 1992).

Nothing or little is mentioned in the studied material of the hardships endured and embossed in the mind of the refugees as they are trying to make a living in a new world. These are hidden by other forms of discrimination and adjustment difficulties endured in societal adjustments (Chan, 1987). Like in Neuwirth (1989), a connection is drawn between the importance of working life and society life, indicating that the latter suffers if the former is not going well.
Language

There is some effort made by the Canadian government to alleviate the language problem to some extent: The recent changes in the Immigrant Language Training Policy (IPPD, 1992) allow for language training more concentrated towards the needs of the work environment in addition to everyday life-skills needs in English or French.

However, these programs are only useful as long as the immigrants or refugees are allowed to continue attending these courses rather than being pressured into low paying jobs (Neuwirth, 1989; Samuel, 1987) in order to make them contributing members of the community fast. Presently, only 28% of the newcomers to this country are able to take advantage of the regular English as a second language (ESL) courses, after having attained landed immigrant status (IPPD, 1992).

It is in the worklife surroundings where a nation where immigrants or refugees finally settle, as well as these newcomers will benefit most from a solid base of the new language (CEC, 1991; Chiswick, 1991).

Because they are lacking a solid base in the dominant language, that is the language spoken in the country
selected by the refugees for a new home, the refugees will form an enclave where they feel comfortable within their language skills and hence live within this enclave (Neuwirth, 1989; Chiswick, 1991).

Chiswick (1991) indicated a similarity between the Canadian and U.S. census results (Canada 1981) in regards to the Hispanic community and their earnings. He also studied the income of illegal aliens apprehended by the U.S. Immigration and Nationalization Service in comparison to their language skills and found a correlation between income and English speaking and reading skills (Chiswick, 1991).

In 1989, a report was published by the Task Force on Access to Professions and Trades (Cummings, 1989). Here again, language was cited as one of the major barriers to admittance into better paying jobs for immigrants.

Language integration was also emphasized at a series of hearings done in various cities across Canada beginning November 27, 1989 in Edmonton, and ending in Vancouver on March 15, 1990, after visiting Ottawa, Montréal, Regina, Toronto and Halifax to investigate the public view on immigration and refugee policies (EIC, September 1990). Employers and school officials alike stressed the importance of better training of the refugees, immigrants and their
children in our official languages, in order to be able to prepare all for a better life within Canadian society.

The recently published Ministry of Employment and Immigration, News Release, January 7, 1992 "Language Training Policy", with the related documents attached: "Innovations in Training", "New Immigrant Language Training Policy" and "Questions and Answers on Immigrant Language Training" dated January, 1992, was considered in view of possible language problems in finding work. Some of these concerns are reflected in the questionnaire.

A new program is to be implemented beginning in June 1992 but it requires co-operation and financial involvement of the provinces and municipalities (IPPD, 1992). This in itself may prove a major stumbling block in view of the present financial condition of province and municipalities at the present time, and the provinces’ requirement under the BNA Act to provide assistance in the language training (Samuel, 1987).

Further, the New Immigrant Language Training Policy as outlined by the Immigration Policy and Program Development (1991) states that only 20 percent of the funds available for language training will be made available for the new program aimed at increasing the English (or French) work-
related language skills of the foreign work force, where probably the highest benefits could be gained from specialized language training (Neuwirth, 1989).

Employment Restrictions

In another study done for Employment and Immigration we find a table of comparison of sectors of employment (Taiana & Elliott, 1990). Though this study is undated, its publication in the latter part of 1990 can be established based on dates indicated in the bibliography.

Taiana and Elliott (1990) provide us with a table of employment sectors (Table 3) from which it is easily visible that for Salvadoreans, the three Fs, farming, fishing and forestry, are the major field of employment. Where there is a 40% of the workforce is employed in this area in El Salvador, only 5% of our Canadian workforce finds work in this area. On the other hand, Canadians are more likely to find work in the service sector, in particular the public service sector.

Table 3 gives us a quick overview of where people in El Salvador and in Canada are employed. With the exceptions of agriculture, forestry, fishing and services, the general
areas of employment are the same in both countries. On the other hand, 33.8% of the Canadian workforce is employed in the service sector, where Salvadorans usually only find 15.7% of their employment (Taiana & Elliott, 1990).

Taiana and Elliott explain that the farming and agricultural work done in El Salvador is very unlike that of Canada. The main difference is a more family and manual labour oriented work on a small hacienda, in comparison to the large operations and production orientation in Canada's farming, fishing and forestry operations (Taiana & Elliott, 1990). No indication is given to the extent or actual type of service sector, though it may be safe to assume that most of the service sector would encompass administration (government) and health sectors as well as banking, insurance, retail, and so forth.

Table 3

Employment sectors in El Salvador and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>El Salvador</th>
<th>Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture/Forestry/Fishing</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining/Quarrying</td>
<td>.2%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing/Construction</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity/Gas Water</td>
<td>.6%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade/Hotels/Restaurants</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation/Communications</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance/Real Estate</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>.7%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 (based on 1985 figures used by Talana & Elliott, 1990) then shows that a high number of potential jobs would not be available to Salvadoran refugees: We offer very little farming, fishing and forestry jobs, while many of the service jobs are restricted to Canadians (government and its administrative jobs) or to residents with no restrictions on workplace selection based on medical clearance and the S.I. number (Carrey, 1992).

Immigration Canada indicates in its second Annual Report to Parliament that it will "ensure that an increasing number of immigrants are selected because of the skills they bring to Canada" (EIC, 1991). This does not address the refugee status seekers, and very little is said about the actual work necessary to be done to integrate these people into the demanding world of a workplace in a foreign land with all the limitations imposed by employers, government and fellow workers. Ignoring this very real segment of today's population, we are ignoring a substantial share of soon-to-be immigrants.

In the 1990 Annual report (EIC, 1990b) outlining the Immigration Plan, the importance of bringing in people with trade skills is emphasized, as is the need to improve the language training for immigrants. However, little is said and done about the implementation of such programs (ECC,
1991) in regard to refugees who could easily become the skilled labour force of the future (Oziewicz, 1992b).

Assessment, Training and Retraining

It was stated by Chiswick (1991) that most immigrants needed retraining in trades if such were learned in other countries. This is an allusion to the comments often heard by the interviewers of the Salvadorans in Ottawa and Toronto, that constantly the need of "Canadian experience" was required (Neuwirth, 1989; Samuel, 1987).

Cummings (1989) mentioned a failure to assess the immigrants' and refugees' prior learning by educational authorities and stated that this failure was tantamount to negating all prior learning of those trying to find work. He stated that the process of assessing prior learning, be it in skilled trades or in other formal education, is unstandardized and spotty in Canada. This leaves those who want to take advantage of such a testing process of their prior skills and learning at a definite disadvantage (Cummings, 1989). As a result, a foreigner is often required to repeat a training process which was previously successfully taken in his or her home country (Cummings, 1989).
Often, refugees and immigrants are not even aware of the possibility of having their skills assessed by professionals and staff at Canada Employment Centres. Cummings (1989) further blames the lack of sufficient funding for the lack of adequate retraining of people needing retraining in their trades or fields. Like Chiswick (1991), Cummings (1989) stresses the need for proper training in the official language as a prerequisite for full participation in the workforce. Language proficiency then leads to the possibility of retraining those who require upgrading their skills to meet our Canadian requirements.

Cummings (1989) underlines the need for retraining foreign-trained people but in the same stroke of the pen he also acknowledges the need for funding which is not available from the provincial or federal governments. The retraining process would have to start with a proper assessment of prior training and current skills held by the refugees. The subjects of the Neuwirth study (1989) concur with these findings and lament the loss and/or unacceptability of their original skill and training.

Such restrictive requirements could become very harmful to our economy and competitiveness in regard to an increasingly older Canadian labour force and increasingly younger work force of other nationalities. We are slowly
eliminating our trained and skilled labour force without replenishing this valuable resource (DRS, 1989). Even in the forecast for 1996 to 2006, the replenishment of the available labour force between 15 and 24 years will be far below that of those retiring from the general work force, underlining the need for other sources, such as refugees and immigrants (Bryden, 1991) and their offspring.

We encounter again the need for better adaptation of those who are coming to us in need of help in order to enable them to help us at a date in the near future (Burke, 1991). They and their children will be the driving force of the future, as the visible minorities (immigrants) are the educated force of today (Kapica, 1991).

The value of this future workforce is underlined if one considers the fact that refugees and immigrants overall rely less on unemployment benefits and welfare payments than do Canadians (ECC, 1991). It should therefore be of importance to eliminate some of the limitations which are imposed on the refugees in order to make their entry into the workforce easier.

In spite of the need for a new and trainable labour force, the Economic Council of Canada also laments the cost of admitting the immigrants and refugees into our country,
even after praising the lower social benefits usage and the fact that a higher percentage of refugees and immigrants than Canadian citizens become self-employed (ECC, 1991), therefore being taxpayers and often employers themselves (Basok, 1989). This apparent contradiction is just as confusing to the subjects of our two major studies (Neuwirth, 1989; Taiana & Elliott, 1990).

Work Search and Work Place

The Taiana and Elliott study (1990) also describes the different attitudes towards employees of the Canadian and Salvadoran cultures, pointing out that the Central American people tend to come from a high context society, in contrast to the low context society we have in Canada (Taiana & Elliott, 1990). The implications from this can be applied to the work search process.

The latter is described as being drastically different in El Salvador from our traditional way of hiring here in Canada. Where we rely much on written information such as CVs and long application forms, Salvadoreans are used to oral applications and interviews on a very informal basis. If there exists some doubts about the applicant's ability, the latter will perform directly in front of the potential
employer to show what he or she can do (Taiana & Elliott, 1990). The employees' relationship with their employer will be a paternalistic one, where the employer often becomes extended family. The result is a loyal liaison between worker and employer which often overcomes or ignores productive shortcomings (Taiana & Elliott, 1990).

A work environment restricted by health regulations, unions, bureaucracy and the like are little known to the average Salvadoran, who accepts more readily a physically hard job. Only the literate and well educated Salvadorans will usually resort to letter writing or written applications in finding work (Taiana & Elliott, 1990). It is also pointed out that only two percent of the Salvadorans have the opportunity to receive a post-secondary education (Taiana & Elliott, 1990). In our degree-minded society, this then becomes a definite handicap.

Lastly, Taiana and Elliott (1990) indicate the difficulties Salvadorans have in understanding the Canadian workplace and work mentality of their co-workers. Where they are used to a family-like attitude, where one can rely on neighbours, friends, or co-workers to assist when help is needed, they find the situation in Canada very competitive and protective. They complain that work in this country is
very production and profit oriented, unlike what they are used to in El Salvador, especially in the less urbanized areas (Taiana & Elliott, 1990; Neuwirth, 1989). This attitude is also extended on the employer and employee relationship.

Where in El Salvador a close relationship much based on loyalty exists, we offer them in Canada a cooler, less personal relationship than they expect, often caused by the size of the enterprise (Taiana & Elliott, 1990). Often, the Salvadoreans see the Canadian company as a well oiled machine, producing well, running smoothly, but also being as hard and void of feeling, governed by a myriad of rules and regulations on all levels (Taiana & Elliott, 1990; Neuwirth, 1989).

Finding a job in the field of work which they held in El Salvador (or other countries of Central America) becomes next to impossible, we are told by Taiana and Elliott (1990). This is not only because of a lack of certification of completing apprenticeships in trades existing in those countries, but also because the successful job search is mostly done with the assistance of contacts and connections, resources rather scarce for a newcomer to Canada (Neuwirth, 1989). For the same reasons, advancement into higher positions, especially through change of employer, is also
made virtually impossible for Hispanic refugees prior to receiving permanent resident status here (Taiana & Elliott, 1990).

In addition, we know from existing studies (Chan & Indra, 1987; Neuwirth, 1989; Taiana & Elliott, 1990) that the pressure from insensitive employment counsellors to take any job, no matter how meaningless and inappropriate, further increases the distance between the new applicant and meaningful work. Additional difficulties arise with the fact that the work they find at low wages forces the refugee to do additional work in order to pay for daily expenses, making it virtually impossible to further much needed language proficiency (Neuwirth, 1989; Taiana & Elliott, 1990).

These shortcomings, as well as others like subtle discrimination, are still very much alive in Canadian society, as was found by the Academic Advisory Panel (Anctil, 1989). This panel was composed of four members from academia and members of the Policy, Research and Settlement departments of CEIC. They discussed the Canadian society's capability to integrate with the many different immigrants and refugees and the latter's adaptation into Canadian society.
The panel found that the education should not be only one-sided, but rather that we as Canadians need also a broader education in regard to the many ethnic differences and values brought by the immigrants and refugees upon their arrival in order to help them better integrate into our society (Anctil, 1989). Education, the panel stated, was necessary at all levels, from pre-school aged children to the oldest citizen, from public servants in Immigration or police forces to the average employer in order to soothe the troublesome attitudes which are emerging in ours as in every society at times of economical hardship as we are enduring it at this time.

In the same vein, the panel also indicated that immigrants needed to be educated regarding our everyday life, our work habits and attitudes, in order to facilitate an easier integration through better understanding (Anctil, 1989). The panel further stated that the vast variety of immigrants made a universal in-depth education about all ethnics virtually impossible (Anctil, 1989).

Samuel (1987) indicates that the privately sponsored Indochinese groups found work faster than the government sponsored groups thanks to the active intervention of the sponsors. In the case of Hispanics, their reliance on friends and relatives also has helped in the job search and
finding work, though the results often were effective underemployment (Basok, 1989, 1990; Neuwirth, 1989; Taiana & Elliott, 1990).

Overview

The available literature indicates a multiplicity of problems for refugees and immigrants in general, many of which may well be attributed to our target group as well. They include discrimination, language deficiencies and social hardships emanating from cultural differences. In the present study, we are examining if the mentioned difficulties finding work are similar to those perceived by our respondents.

The studies by Neuwirth (1989) and Taiana and Elliott (1990) will prove most valuable because of their reflection on the Salvadorean culture itself, offering examples of differences which will most likely be causes of misunderstanding between the Canadian and the Salvadorean people. Samuel (1987) indicates as well that there are many similarities experienced by the subjects of his survey, as they were discernible from the data available to him from Statistics Canada.
CHAPTER VI
METHODOLOGY

The study focuses on the work force in the Hispanic refugee status seeking community because of the large influx of Central Americans within the last few years in comparison to the late seventies and early eighties. In the immediate past, the influx of Hispanics has lessened to some extent due to the U.S. government’s moratorium on repatriation of Salvadoreans.

As well, this has caused the Canadian officials at the Refugee Division of the IRB to be more severe in their decisions to refuse refugee status to the people of the nationalities in question, as is indicated by comparison of the IRB News Releases from earlier and later times (IRB, 1990, 1991 and 1992). It can be anticipated that once the moratorium ends at the close of June 1992, a renewed wave of Salvadoreans will arrive at the Canadian borders.

Because the reasons surrounding the departure and flight from their homeland are sensitive, extra precautions were taken not to touch this subject in the questionnaire.
This will be discussed further in the section of limitations.

Sampling and Demographics

The sample for this study is a convenience sample. Neuwirth (1989) indicated that the most effective selection of information of the nature needed for our type of study could be obtained through interviews of a small sample of the target population. The interviews or questionnaires have to be in Spanish if the English knowledge of the respondents is insufficient (Neuwirth, 1989).

Because the target population is not a very tight-knit group, I decided on the convenience sample approach. The newer arrival of refugees made a random selection from a larger population impossible, since this population could not be sufficiently located and identified.

Though no particular selection of the respondents was made, it turned out that the sample was in its composition similar to that of Neuwirth in age, marital status and gender. In addition, the origin of the respondents was not purposely chosen. The distribution of the origins happened without selective influence in the process of approaching
the subjects, yet it is surprisingly representative of the
different Hispanic nationalities we find in Windsor (Table
2). Similarly, the other aspects of the sample, such as
gender, marital status and age also match Neuwirth's samples
(1989).

In order to find a good cross section of recently
arrived refugee status seekers, the sample was drawn from
different areas known to be frequented by Hispanics, such as
church groups, the Immigration office (CEIC) or the Windsor
Refugee Office and the Anglican counterpart to the latter.
Some potential subjects were contacted at St. Clair College
where ESL courses are being offered. Still other subjects
were approached at the employment centre.

There, the subjects for this survey were chosen from
these groups of Hispanic immigrants and refugees by
underlining the fact that I was looking for persons who did
not have permanent resident status.

The groups were then told of the study and its purpose
and people willing to participate were asked to indicate
this to the writer and his assistant. Twenty-five
questionnaires were handed out and a return rate of about
75% was anticipated, based on the fact that in the specific
groups, only a relatively small number of present refugee
status seekers and border-inquiry refugee seekers were available.

Because some of the potential respondents may not have writing skills in either their mother tongue nor in English, an assistant of Chilean nationality was asked to help in the interviewing process. This person was selected because of her nationality, it being no threat to the Central American respondents in that the latter often dare not confide to other compatriots because of fears of reprisal from undercover agents of the original regime they have escaped.

There have been two cases in the Salvadorean community where it has been alleged that deaths which had occurred in the late eighties were caused by undercover agents of that country's former government. I was warned about this by my Salvadorean advisor who is now a permanent resident and who also suggested the use of an outsider (non-Salvadorean) as assistant.

Some subjects did not want to answer the questionnaire if it was or could be seen or observed by fellow Hispanics of their own community, which confirmed my advisor's warnings.
The selected assistant has excellent interpersonal and interviewing skills, having worked in the social field in Chile before being forced to flee that country. Being a refugee herself, she also has an understanding of the plight of refugees which gives her more credibility with the respondents. This selection of an assistant proved very successful, since more respondents turned to her and the writer than to other intermediaries used to introduce the writer to the various groups.

Subjects/respondents

Of the respondents, four claimed to be government sponsored refugees. Their information was considered as control data as well as to compare that information with the studies done by Neuwirth (1989). Border-crossing refugee seekers responded in seventeen cases, bringing the total of usable responses to twenty one.

Thirteen of the respondents were male, eight female. Eliminating the sponsored refugees, we find a ratio of 11:6, which compares closely to the Neuwirth Study (1989) where a male to female ratio of 2:1 was given. The subjects of this study can be grouped according to their age as follows:
Two, or 9.5 % of the respondents, indicated that they spoke English very well to excellent, which is borne out by the number of questionnaires returned in English and Spanish or English only, as well as by the observations of this writer who considered that the knowledge of English was generally overstated by Canadian standards.

Eleven or 52 % felt that they had a good or adequate knowledge of that language, while only little knowledge was claimed by 38 % and no knowledge of English was indicated by none of the respondents. The number of returned questionnaires in the English version did not confirm the claim for excellent or very good English knowledge in
writing or reading, as was proven by the spelling and understanding of the questions.

In contrast, the findings for Spanish were as follows: all respondents claimed to have excellent or very good knowledge, though this again was not supported in all cases by the spelling or syntax of the answers.

French was spoken partially or well by 3 respondents (14.2 %) who also claimed to read and write this language well.

Five respondents claimed knowledge of different Hispanic dialects, but no one also claimed knowledge of other languages. The people knowing more than one or two languages other than their mother tongue and English were of special interest to the researcher because of the implication of language knowledge and adaptability to specialized vocabulary in the professional field.

Limitations

The study itself is restricted to Hispanic subjects. Because of cultural differences, it should not be assumed that the findings therein can be used unrestrictedly for
other nationalities or cultures as well, even though some aspects could have similar implications for refugee status seekers of different nationalities.

The sample itself is a convenience sample. However, it was interesting to see that the make-up of the sample was very much like that of Neuwirth (1989) in regards to size and gender, although the Salvadoran community (target population) is much larger in Toronto and in Ottawa than is our Windsor target population. An age break-down of the sample was not provided by Neuwirth (1989). However, the overall similarity in the samples in regard to size, gender and professions permits the assumption that the results of our study may be considered reasonably representative of the population.

Table 5
Sample Comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Neuwirth study</th>
<th>Present study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>20 M, 10 F</td>
<td>13 M, 8 F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>73 %</td>
<td>57 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age range</td>
<td>20 to over 50</td>
<td>under 20 to 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional range</td>
<td>wide variety</td>
<td>wide variety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some post secondary</td>
<td>40 %</td>
<td>57 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Our study focuses on a sample of a population in Windsor only. It is quite conceivable, as was already indicated in Neuwirth (1989) that sufficient differences
exist between different cities such as Toronto and Ottawa. It is therefore assumed that our sample will show some differences from the Neuwirth samples (1989).

In the sampling process, it is conceivable that some members of the population were ignored because they may not be frequenting the particular social groups in which the sampling took place. I attempted to reach out to such groups by making the questionnaires available at various offices and also to reach subjects through the Windsor Refugee Office and at the Canada Employment and Immigration office.

Likewise, there is a possibility that some of the population was not available for being part of the potential sample by reason of mere absence caused by work schedules and other events at the time of the survey.

Though all precautions have been taken to avoid and eliminate any type of fear of repercussion due to political persecution, the possibility still exists that some refugee status seekers declined to participate in the survey for fear of negatively influencing their hearing outcome or the process of their permanent resident application.
Likewise, it is also conceivable that some refugees still in the hearing process may have thought to positively influence their chances of being recognized as Convention refugees. For these reasons, it was stressed in the cover letter to the survey that there is no connection between this survey and either their refugee status hearings or their original reasons for coming to Canada.

For these reasons, the questionnaire was designed to be as general and as innocuous as possible. We remain neutral in the approach to languages (i.e. specific dialects were not mentioned, only dialects in general), nationality (optional answers) or reasons for departure from their homeland. The latter are totally missing from the questionnaire even though they may have an influence on the job search or landing a job.

Questionnaire and implications

The questionnaire was designed following Nauwirth's study (1989). The questions were designed not to touch the private life and experiences of the respondents with the exception of work-related issues.
Once designed, the questionnaire was translated into Spanish. Then it was administered to a Salvadorean family and their opinion was used to adjust the text. Subsequently the questionnaire was verified by a different translator through back-translation into English.

Using the Neuwirth (1989) study as example, the questionnaire touches on five specific areas. It starts with the respondents' education, then moves on to the knowledge of our country prior to leaving their home country. The next area is the present life information, where it is attempted to establish some indication of the respondents' ability to acclimatise and of the respondent's initiative. This is followed by questions regarding the actual or past work of the respondents here in Canada. The last section deals with the subjects language ability as well as other demographic information. Space is also provided for comments pertaining to the matters dealt with in the questionnaire. In the literature studied, no sample questionnaires were provided, however, Neuwirth (1989) and Taiana and Elliott (1990) did provide some guidance in their papers.

The questionnaire was set up in this manner to take into consideration possible fears of disclosure, fears of being too personal at the beginning. Instead the subjects
are slowly led from the original education and upbringing in a consecutive manner to work experience outside Canada, work experience inside Canada, evaluation of the present situation, and finally to some disclosure of themselves. Various portions of the different sections act also as control questions for prior statements (Zikmund, 1991).

Educational Background of Respondents

Q. A1 Did you learn a trade in your home country? If yes, what trade(s) did you learn? Was this a formal training program?

In asking the respondent if he or she learned a trade in the home country, and what type of trade, it is hoped to find out what type of advantage the respondent might have over either compatriots or Canadians without a trade. It is further hoped that this would be an indicator for possible future direction in the job search. As well, the answers to this question will aid in combination with questions later on in determining if the applicant is looking for jobs in his or her former profession or if the applicant tends to move in other directions, possibly encouraged by compatriots. The indication of a formal training program would permit the assumption that the applicant has a good potential for employment within that trade in Canada.
However, it is to be noted that no formal certificates of training or apprenticeship completed are available in countries like El Salvador (Taiana & Elliott, 1989). Thus we may imply that the respondent answering affirmatively to this question is likely to encounter some incredulity at the job interview.

Therefore this question will possibly discover some actual difficulty of which the respondent is not aware: an assessment by the potential employer of the respondent's credibility on the basis of claims for education which cannot be substantiated according to Canadian standards.

Q. A2. Have you learned a trade or specific skills outside of your home country? Which? Where did you learn these skills? How long did your training last? was it a formal training program?

If a trade was learned after leaving the home country or during a previous stay outside the home country, a strong ability to adapt to foreign regulations and cultures could be suggested. These qualities would be assets in a job search in Canada. The follow-up questions simply qualify the profession as a actual and valuable one or a trade not used or known in Canada.
Q. A3  What formal education do you have? (Public school - high school - technical or vocational school - university - other school of higher learning)

The third question focuses on the formal education of the respondent. A higher level of education could also count as indicator that the respondent may be willing to reeducate or return to school for furtherance of the existing knowledge.

Q. A4  Through which countries did you come before you entered Canada?

The number of countries through which the respondents made their way to Canada serves as lead-in to and as control for the following questions. A higher number of countries would also be an indicator of potential adaptability (taking into account the length stayed), especially if the respondents worked in those countries for any length of time.

The response to this question can also be a tip-off to possible sponsored refugees: a direct arrival from their home country, or the elimination of the United States as last country travelled through would indicate that the recent arrivals had a visa to enter Canada.
Q. A5

Did you work in any of these countries?

Explain for how long and in what capacities.

At this point, the possibility of limitations imposed by being illegally in a particular country has to be taken into consideration as well. The next question again assesses the versatility of the respondent, but also acts as confirmation for this section.

Q. A6

What jobs have you had in your life outside Canada? How long did they last? Give details on type and length.

Trying to work in a foreign country, even if one is just there temporarily, and especially under difficult conditions such as the generally experienced discrimination (Basok, 1990; Chiswick, 1987), requires stamina and perseverance in the will to survive. The same qualities are usually exhibited by refugees once they settle down in their country of destination (Taiana & Elliott, 1990; Samuel, 1987).

Thus this section becomes an indicator of the respondents' overall ability to help themselves, their general adaptability to adverse situations and also of their potential in the Canadian job market.
Perception of Canada prior to arriving

This section looks at the respondent’s knowledge of Canada prior to departure from the home country as well as shortly thereafter. Here it is investigated if the respondent had sufficient knowledge of our country to realize what the conditions were like, or if the refugee status seekers came more or less with a dream of an El Dorado in their minds.

Q. 81 When did you first hear about Canada? Were you still in your home country?

Thus the first question looks at the approximate age at which the respondent first heard about Canada. If the respondents were very young at that time, memory may have gilded the conditions, or, on the other hand, time may have painted over potential drawbacks stated at that time. If the subject has actually forgotten when he or she heard for the first time about Canada, selective memory may somewhat prevent negative information from being recalled.

If the subjects were already on the road, the recent bad experiences one may assume being the cause of the travel would again paint a rosier picture of our country. Thus,
the first two questions will advise us to what extent the replies will need to be screened, if at all.

Q. B2 What did you hear about working in Canada before entering this country?

The question focuses on what was heard at that time, or rather, on what the respondent remembers hearing at that time. This information can be an indicator to possible disillusionment and subsequent poor job finding attitudes if the original information was very positive. The latter question about possible advice may confirm this theory.

Q. B3 Did you have acquaintances, friends or relatives here in Canada before you arrived? Did you communicate with them prior to arriving here? Where did they work and as what?

In the third question of this section we are looking at the other possible sources of information about Canada. These sources may be considered to be more objective than the first ones in the home country or on the road to Canada in regard to work information.
Based on experiences of other researchers in this area (Neuwirth, 1989; Taiana & Elliott, 1990; Thomas, 1990) it may be expected that the respondents would also search for employment in the same field where their advisors (friends and relatives in Canada) have found employment. Their own field of training, if it was different, would become a second choice (Taiana & Elliott, 1990). As well one may make an assumption that there was some expectancy of the friend or relative arranging for employment, a custom and possibility in many home countries (Taiana & Elliott, 1990), but not necessarily in Canada.

This section then gives us some clues about the mental state of the newly arrived refugees. They may have been overly hopeful and optimistic in their expectations, an attitude difficult to regain once they find their hopes shattered by the inability to work first imposed through our laws (lack of work permit) and later the lack of availability of work in their preferred fields.

The respondent's present work life

Section C examines the ways in which the respondents have adapted to the Canadian life and work environment. It starts with a simple question about time already spent here
in Windsor and surroundings and what they might have discovered in our city.

Q. C1: How long have you been here in Windsor? What have you seen of our city?

However, this question will also discover if the respondents are innovative in their job search, if they travel around the city to see potential places to apply. A long list of sights seen would also imply that they have seen some of the factories or other potential places of employment. On the other hand, a short list of just the respondents' neighbourhood could indicate a low incentive to find places where to apply.

In evaluating the possible answers to this question, consideration has been given to the fact that the subject may not have been here long or may lack private transportation - bus routes would also show many potential places where to inquire for employment since they service low income residential areas as well as agglomerations of employers in large and small industries.

Q. C2: How long have you been eligible to work (have you had a work permit)?
The second question looks at the legal aspects of work. If the respondent has been eligible to work for a long time but has not seen much of the city, there may be some other factor involved, such as language, shyness or the like, preventing the respondent from applying for work. The answers to this question should be considered together with the answers to question 7 of this section pertaining to the reasons employers give for not hiring.

Q. C3 At this time, are you working? How did you look (are you looking) for work?

This question examines the actual work of the subjects, and ways by which they found this work. The answers to this question can be combined with those of the first section to establish some measure of innovativeness and initiative of the individual in finding work. In addition these answers may offer some valuable advice for less fortunate compatriots.

Q. C4 Do you have contacts in the trade industry of your trade?

Q. C5 Has anyone helped you to find work?

Questions four and five examine the outside help the respondent may have taken advantage of in finding work. One
may look at these answers also as influential indicators if
the employment is in a substantially lower category than the
subject's past history would indicate, based on the
information drawn from Taiana (Taiana & Elliott, 1990).

Q. C6   Does your spouse work? Is his (her) work
related to her (his) past experience? How do
you feel about him (her) working and you not
being able to find work?

Often there may be psychological barriers to a
respondent's finding work. A typical barrier may be a
feeling of inferiority because of the spouse's more
successful undertakings. Question six addresses this aspect
of negative influence.

Q. C7   If you are applying for work and you are not
successful, what are the reasons given by the
potential employer(s)?

This next question offers the subjects to indicate some
comments made to them by potential employers in regard to
negative replies to applications. Some clues will be given
as to the manner in which the employment request was made.
This will be confirmed to some extent by the questions about
the advice the subject would give to other job seekers.
However, one also has to consider that the present job situation is, and has been for some time now, very difficult for new arrivals.

Q. C8 What do you see as the biggest difficulty in finding a job you could keep for a period of time?

The eighth question of this section addresses possible difficulties, as they are perceived by the respondents, in finding work for any length of time. This information may coincide with that of the previous question. It may also be the first indicator that the respondents are not addressing the right problems in the right manner. An answer of "no existing problems" at a time when the subject has not been working for some time would indicate an attitude problem or a communication problem. Either one needs investigating. It may also be the result of being still ineligible to work by reason of a missing work permit.

Q. C9 Would you consider taking a job for a short time, a temporary job?

In asking whether the respondents would be willing to take employment for a short time, we can establish the willingness to work: In other words, either confirm or
refute an attitude problem. Here, I am relying heavily on the honest reply of the respondents. Though Neuwirth (1989) and Samuel (1987) suggest that refugees often are pressed into lower job categories than they deserve, and that it would be preferable to aim higher for jobs more compatible with the original training and education, one must also consider the present job market and adjust one's expectations accordingly. Hence, under the present conditions, a positive answer and attitude towards short term work would be a valuable indicator of the subject's willingness to work.

Q. C10 If you are presently working and looking back, what would you say was your biggest handicap?

Question ten asks the respondent their own assessment of their situation prior to getting a job. In spite of being self-assessed this could be the indicator of actual problems, not of the perceived ones of question eight. This information will be confirmed in the next question which acts also as a control question for this section.

Q. C11 What would be the single most important advice to give to your fellow job seeker?
This question is given to offer additional information about the difficulties the respondent may have encountered. It can also reveal special skills the subject may have used in finding work.

Though there is no guarantee that the answers to this section will give accurate information of the perceived and actual problems encountered by the refugees, we may at least find good indicators and directions towards potential or actual problems. In combination with the information drawn from the literature and the present research, conclusive statements can be made about actual and perceived difficulties and problems encountered in the search for work.

Examination of present work

Here the subject is asked to look at his or her work life in Canada. In reflecting upon the recent past and work held, it is hoped that the respondent will uncover further features which may have had a negative influence on the search for meaningful and satisfying employment.

Q. 01 Have you had any jobs here in Canada? What type and how long?
The first question is then a qualifying question for the following one. The general type of work in Canada will again offer some experience background in comparison to earlier Central American and North American work experience. The ensuing self assessment may permit to establish whether the earlier work experience was actually helpful or at least not a hindrance. In particular, attention is given to language, it being one of the major problems identified for sponsored refugees (Neuwirth, 1989). The question of competency will establish a correlation between previous experience (i.e. in the home country) and locally required experience.

Q. D2 If you answered positively to the previous question, what was your occupation? Did you feel competent for it? Did you know the necessary vocabulary?

In progressively asking the respondents to identify perceived obstacles and difficulties, and then to focus in what they think are actual problems, it is attempted to attain a certain amount of objectivity by the subject. Though it is admitted that these questions will still elicit answers of difficulties as they were perceived, they are at least indicators of potential actual problems.
Q. D3  What do you think was the greatest hurdle in attaining that last job (placement)?

This next question again focuses on the perceived and now the potentially actual problem in attaining a job placement. It should be compared to earlier statements and thus will establish a certain amount of actuality in regards to being a problem in finding work.

Q. D4  What do you feel to be an actual difficulty in getting a good job?

The final question in this section examines the two problem types, perceived and actual, by asking for an actual difficulty. In asking for "actual" difficulties, it is hoped that the respondent will reflect more thoroughly on their answer, though the response will still be one of perceived difficulties. It is a control question for this and the previous section. It also serves to establish to what extent the respondent has actually thought about the job finding process, especially if the subject is ready to move into a better position.

In requesting the subject to make a differentiation between actual and perceived difficulty in this section, it is also hoped that the respondents will become more aware of
their surroundings in the world of job seekers. Through this awareness, subsequent job search should become somewhat easier.

Personal Information

The final section of the questionnaire is dedicated to the demographics of the survey. In order to reduce the subjects' fear of identification and subsequent refusal to answer the questionnaire, this section was placed at the end. It is also kept relatively impersonal, such as to family status (which was revealed in question C6), education (section A), or origin. Much emphasis is put on language knowledge and the ability to pick up languages.

Q. E1 What is your country of origin? (OPTIONAL)

The first question is for demographic control only. It is expected that a number of respondents will not answer it in order to maintain a certain amount of anonymity (one may also call it security).

Q. E2 What languages do you speak (read and write)? Please circle the appropriate for each language: English, French, Spanish, Hispanic dialects, other.
The ability to speak several languages may result in a greater facility to communicate in general, which would enhance employment possibilities in fields where communication is necessary. The ability to communicate will also aid in maintaining a job under difficult circumstances due to the ability to clarify potentially harmful situations.

Reading and writing skills are indicators that the respondent will be able to understand written instructions, as these are often given in more demanding jobs. These skills combined with the knowledge of different languages are indicators for greater potential in the job world at a higher level.

In view of the limited use of writing skills in finding jobs in El Salvador or other Central American countries (Talana & Elliott, 1990), where illiteracy is more common than in Canada, the ability to read and write in a foreign language, i.e. English, represents an added advantage in finding work here in Canada (Neuwirth, 1989; Samuel, 1987).

Q. E3 Your gender (M or F)?

The question of gender is straightforward and needs no explanation. There is the potential for a problem of
psychological nature if the respondent is a female job holder, where the male partner has no success in finding work, due to the Central American culture (Taiana & Elliott, 1990).

Q. E4 Your approximate age group?

Age will establish some indication of potential difficulties through either possible lack of experience (being too young) or posing too high a perceived risk to the employer by being too old and requiring too much attention for retraining, strain on work schedules due to absenteeism and other superficial reasons. As well, the age will also confirm some of the other questions such as work experience or education. However, it has to be considered that dates and time frames do not carry the same importance for the Hispanic people as they do for Canadians (Taiana & Elliott, 1990). Hence some minor discrepancies have to be accepted.

Q. E5 Are you a government-sponsored refugee?

In order not to discourage any potential respondent, no subject was refused the right to answer the questionnaire. In spite of the initial indication that the research was directed at the non-sponsored refugee, it was anticipated that a number of sponsored refugees would respond as well.
Question number 5 would separate these respondents and allow their responses to be used as confirmation for the Neuwirth (1989), Taiana and Elliott (1990), and Thomas (1990) studies. As well, they would act as control group for comparison with the non-sponsored group.

The optional information of the employer's name in question E6 permits us to establish some idea of the subjects' relationship with the present employer. If the previous information is somewhat negative, the name would indicate that the situation at this employer leaves to be desired, that some investigation should be made into the employer's behaviour. It would be some sort of a cry for help which can be answered through personal discussion with the respondent after the interview or at a later date as was offered in the cover letter to the questionnaire.

On the other hand, if the prior information is in a more positive vein, then the name may well be an indication that the respondent is actually quite well settled in his or her work and well at ease.

The final word in E7 is left to the respondents to offer their words of advice, comments and complaints. These final words may be not only a confirmation of what was said earlier in the responses, but also a statement in regard to
the overall attitude of the respondents to their new found life in Windsor.
CHAPTER VII
ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The results were very interesting. Comments by the respondents ranged from thankfulness that someone took some interest in the matter to being happy to have an outlet for their frustrations in their search for meaningful work. In general, the respondents alluded to feelings of frustration and powerlessness as well as some incomprehension of the Canadian work system. Many comments made by the respondents after I collected the questionnaires from them confirmed the conditions outlined by Taiana and Elliott (1990).

The respondents had the choice of either filling out the questionnaire by themselves, or to be interviewed in either Spanish or in English. Most of the respondents chose to fill out the questionnaires by themselves. Those who were interviewed had special meetings arranged to accommodate them. In total, 25 questionnaires were handed out and 21 completed questionnaires were returned. Of these, six were answered in interviews.
Of the questionnaires filled out without help, 14 were received in Spanish. One respondent answered all of the questionnaire in English. Five interviews were conducted in Spanish only, and one used both languages.

General Findings

It was found that the men were generally less educated than the women. However, they had more work experience and had worked more and in different fields on their road to Canada.

We found a wide variety of professions exercised by men and women. In the assessment of prior training, one has to consider that there is no formal apprenticeship for a trade in much of Central America, such as can be found in Europe or in Canada. One learns a trade by just doing it in the presence of somebody who has done that kind of work for a while. There are no examinations, no certificates (Taiana & Elliott, 1990; Neuwirth, 1989). If you do the job well, you remain in that trade, if you do not succeed, you change.

Thus it is possible for some respondents to indicate three or four trades and claim them all to be the result of "formal" training. Professions ranged from cobbler, cement
mason, general painter, to teacher, aircraft mechanic, welder and agronomist for the men, and from computer program management technician, sewing machine operator and secretary to social assistant, decorator, cosmetologist or even public accountant and auditor for the women. The higher education of the females is reflected in the better jobs they held in their home country.

More than half of the respondents had heard about Canada prior to leaving their home country. The others learned about Canada on their flight, and on the basis of what they heard decided to find refuge here.

The difficulties and problems experienced by the respondents in their job search were often the same as those cited by Neuwirth (1989) and Taiana and Elliott (1990). Among others, discrimination, language proficiency and lack of Canadian experience were cited.

Not all respondents were in possession of their work permit. This obviously prohibited them from being part of the work force. Some had already put out feelers for potential work places.

Those who had found work did not all work in the field of their original or intermediate training or profession.
Those with higher training were less successful in finding work in their respective fields than those with a more general training. This again conforms to the findings of the Neuwirth study (1989).

The majority of the respondents were from El Salvador. The number of respondents from other Central-American countries corresponds closely with the break-down calculated for the origins of nationalities present here in Windsor.

The break-down of gender also conforms closely to that indicated by Neuwirth (1989) in her study. Thus, even though the sample was a small convenience sample, we may say with some confidence that the results are representative of the target population.

The respondents

The total returned questionnaires amounted to 21, or 84%. Of these, 4 were government-sponsored refugees. The information of the four government-sponsored refugees was used to compare with the Neuwirth (1989) and Taiana and Elliott (1990) studies, and thus to offer a broader base for comparison pertaining to Windsor subjects.
Most of the respondents came from El Salvador. It is known that one of the respondents was from Nicaragua; however, no one claimed that nationality in the optional responses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undisclosed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the sponsored respondents were Salvadoreans. Three had spent between three and six years here in Windsor and one has been in Windsor for just one year. All of the sponsored refugees in this survey were married.

Of the 21 respondents, nine, or 42.8%, claimed not to have a spouse. The break-down here between males and females was that only two of the females claimed not to have spouses, while seven of the males claimed to be unattached.
Table 7

Marital status of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married, spouse working</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married, spouse not working</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unattached</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One respondent indicated while handing back her responses that she felt she was a threat to her husband's ego not only by having a job after he was forced to abandon a job with a local stamping plant, but also by the fact that she was earning more in her position than he was ever able to command while being employed in Canada. This was a complete reversal of the situation in their homeland. The respondent further indicated that she felt that this actually put more pressure on her husband who was trying to find work. It was also putting a severe strain on the marriage itself.

The spousal reaction to working respondents was not always as drastic as indicated in Table 8. Only two of the four women whose husbands did not have work expressed a strong view that their husbands felt "badly" or "disappointed" about their working, a third one expressed in a negative tone that her husband might feel uncomfortable
about her working. Another one expressed that she would feel better if he had a job in his field as well. None stated that she felt outright that the husband’s employment was actually impeded by them having a job. One of the men expressed the opposite, as a matter of fact, saying that he was relieved and "content" because it was enabling her to reach her goals.

Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spousal reaction</th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive reaction</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral reaction</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative reaction</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reaction indicated</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taiana (Taiana & Elliott, 1990) explained that because of the civil war and work requirements, education is quite irregular in El Salvador. Typically, it might take a male nine years to finish a six year primary school program because his schooling was interrupted at various times either by work or military service. This was also explained by one male interviewee of our study. The interruptions are not as severe for the females. Because of the construction
of our question, the only indicator for completion of a school program is a diploma. Tables 9 and 10 show the education profile of the respondents. Often the respondents attended a vocational school as well as university or another post-secondary institution.

The female respondents of our study were better educated than their male counterparts. While the women indicated on the average 2.0 years of university or 2.8 years of post secondary education, the men showed only .92 years of university or 1.9 years of post secondary education. This calculation is based on the total number of respondents. The Neuwirth study (1989) also showed that the female respondents were better educated than the male respondents.

**Table 9**

**Average education profile of male respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>attended %</th>
<th>avg.no. years</th>
<th>rec'd diploma %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical/Vocational</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University /degree</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other post secondary</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All but three of the female refugees (62.5%) had two years or more of university education (see also table 10).
One had only one year of university and two of the eight (25%) had no university education. However, one of these two women had taken a three year cosmetologist program and in addition upgraded that at a college in Quebec with a further 6 month-course.

| Table 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Average education profile of female respondents** |
| **attended %** | **avg.no. years** | **rec'd diploma %** |
| Primary school | 8 | 100 | 6.8 | 7 | 87.5 |
| Secondary school | 8 | 100 | 4.1 | 7 | 87.5 |
| Technical/Vocational | 4 | 50 | 2.8 | 3 | 37.5 |
| University /degree | 6 | 75 | 2.7 | 3 | 37.5 |
| Other post secondary | 3 | 37.5 | 2.2 | 3 | 37.5 |

In contrast, of the 13 male refugees only four or 30.8% had some university education. Of these, one fellow had only four months of university courses to his credit. One other claims to have gone to polytechnical college; however, he failed to indicate any time spent there. Fifty percent, or 4 of the eight men eligible to work, are working at this time. Of those four, only one has a university education of four years in business administration.

Of the other respondents with some university schooling only two are eligible for work, i.e. have a work permit.
Thus it is difficult to establish whether the higher education becomes an impediment in our country or not, especially since of the eligible men, the ones with less education seem to fare better in obtaining jobs: Three are holding jobs within their original trade or a job very closely related to it. In addition these jobs are much more related to their original education than that of the university educated respondent who is employed as general labourer.

Statistics Canada (1979) supplies us data showing by enrolment statistics for 1977-78 that the average Ontario resident has approximately .238 years of university education. This is based on the assumption that undergraduate studies consist of three years, and graduate studies consist of 6 years of studies and that all studies are completed. Table 11 forms the basis to this calculation.

Table 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>No. Enrolled</th>
<th>% Ass'd Dur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary schools</td>
<td>1,337,050</td>
<td>61.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary schools</td>
<td>675,599</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ. undergraduate</td>
<td>141,466</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ. graduate</td>
<td>17,756</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total enrolled</td>
<td>2,171,871</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

86
Though we can see that Ontarians have generally a higher number of students enrolled in university, 7.1% versus 2% in El Salvador (Taiana & Elliott, 1990), the sample of our study is better educated, i.e. had more university education than the average Ontarian. The latter arrives only at about 3 months of university education, where we counted .92 years for the males, and for the females just over two years of university education.

Looking at the employment record, that is the number or percentage of our sample who are working, it appears that the higher education represents a handicap rather than an advantage in the job search in one's profession or field for male refugees. Seven of sixteen, or 43.8% of our sample, are presently working, while the Windsor unemployment rate hovers at about 20%, depending on the sources.

The examples of the two male better-educated sponsored refugees of our group seem to bear this statement out, since neither one has ended up working in his original field (banking industry and accounting for one respondent, and agronomy for the other one respectively). On the other hand, all of the working university-educated females hold positions relatively closely related to their education.
Although females usually take a secondary role in education in El Salvador (Taiana & Elliott, 1990), we found that the females usually had more education than the male respondents. I would suggest that this is because the female respondents who fled their country were in less traditional positions which posed a threat to someone. However, the nature of our questionnaire did not permit an investigation deeper into this matter.

Seven of the respondents spoke more than English and Spanish. One female and one male spoke also French, both adequately according to their own evaluations. Based on their comments in the questionnaires, their work search habits and their previous jobs, and in one case, the education, both of these respondents appear to be outgoing. One is working at this time in a field closely related to her original training, yet in a new and expanding capacity. The other has found a job directly in his field of expertise.

There are five respondents, one female and four males, who are also quite fluent in a Hispanic dialect, i.e. a language or dialect specific to a particular region of their home country. No specific definitions of the dialects were given or asked in the questionnaire to avoid possible identification of the respondents. However, none of the
respondents indicated a fluency in the last option, "other languages", leaving me to believe that the indicated dialects were not Amerindian languages.

Table 12
Language proficiency of the respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>none M</th>
<th>none F</th>
<th>some M</th>
<th>some F</th>
<th>well M</th>
<th>well F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRENCH*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read:</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write:</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak:</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPANISH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIALECTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read:</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write:</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak:</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* one male resident failed to respond for this language

Of the five people in question, four actually have a job at this time. The fifth one, a female, is at home raising her family and is not actively involved in the job search at this moment. With the exception of one case, the jobs are relatively closely related to the original training.
Respondents' professional background

The respondents were from a good cross section of working life. Aside from the preferred professionals sponsored by the government (2 banking officials, 1 education official, and the farmer), we found a social assistant, a data programming technician working on her 6 year university program, one accountant and one bookkeeper, the latter being also an aviation mechanic, two secretaries, a teacher, various construction workers for inside and out, general labourers and two people who were cosmeticians.

Six women and six men said that they had participated in a formal training program. This may mean anything between a very informal verbal agreement between an older person and the trainee to teach the latter whatever he or she can pick up to an actual training program such as for teachers, accountants, or agronomists.

Table 13 shows the different countries which were on the respondents' route to Canada. Twelve of the seventeen refugee status seekers did work in various capacities on their way here. Some of them picked up more skills on the way, often in the United States, where they were able to work illegally on occasion (Table 14). Thus the farmer/agronomist learned some of the tool and die trade in
the U.S., respondent number seventeen had a course in
automotive painting in California, the accountant went to
university there to take a six months English course,
somebody else learned how to be a shipper/receiver and our
aircraft mechanic (learned in Belize and Guatemala) learned
to be a mail sorter in the U.S.; the hardware sales person
learned to be a cook on his way.

Table 13
Countries on itinerary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belize</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of those who learned a trade or acquired a skill en
route, 5 men and four women learned a new trade or skill.
Not all respondents did work in the countries they crossed,
and some of the respondents picked up more than one new
trade. Four of the men and two women did not have a trade
or skill when they left their home country. Table 13 shows
where and how many of the respondents learned their trades
or skills.
Table 14

Place of training and skills acquisition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home country training</td>
<td>9 69.2%</td>
<td>6 75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No training in home c.</td>
<td>4 30.8%</td>
<td>2 25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training on escape route</td>
<td>6 46.2%</td>
<td>4 50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No of respondents</td>
<td>13 100.0%</td>
<td>8 100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Did these trades and skills help these people find work here in Windsor? Three of the five men who picked up significantly different trades on their escape route now do have employment in Windsor; they are the farmer, the mail sorter and the car painter.

The latter had not learned a trade in his home country, but indicated through his responses that he escaped through Belize and the USA, and that he learned to paint cars in California in a six months period which was not a formal training. He also stated that he worked for over twenty years in that field before coming to Canada. This could mean that he also has extensive North American experience, including some time in Quebec where he worked for six months before coming to Windsor.
Table 15

Jobs held en route by refugees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farm worker</td>
<td>Baby sitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipper receiver</td>
<td>Data processor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car painter</td>
<td>Grocery packer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter's help</td>
<td>Housekeeper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lathe operator</td>
<td>Public relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>Hostess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car jockey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aviation mechanic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gas bar attendant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramic tile mason</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dish washer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various jobs (not detailed)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fellow who was a mail sorter in the U.S. is now again a machine operator in Canada, which is a job related to his original training in mechanics. The former agronomist is also holding a job now as machine operator; a job he was sent to by the local Immigration case worker.

The respondent who had learned the trade of cook in the U.S. has not yet been issued a work permit, and therefore he is not permitted to work yet. However, this fellow also shows extraordinary inventiveness by asking potential employers to write to Immigration Canada and ask to issue him a permit to work.
Table 16

Average no. of jobs and time held

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of refugees who worked</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outside Canada</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of jobs held</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avg. length worked per job</td>
<td>32.5 mos.</td>
<td>8.4 mos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.4 mos.*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* does not include car painter's 20 yr. claim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the respondents who learned a skill after he left his home country mentioned a particular predicament as a difficulty: that any day that one is dependent on welfare or other assistance makes it harder to obtain work because of the stigma which is automatically attached to receiving assistance from any source.

Of the four females eligible to work, only one is presently employed and her work is somewhat related to her original education as well as to her occupation in one job on the way to Canada. However, a conclusion similar to that about work abroad of the male respondents is not possible at this time.
Prior knowledge of Canada

In this section, the previous exposure to information about Canada is examined, to see if there are mis- or preconceptions which could influence the work search behaviour of the respondents.

All of the respondents had heard about Canada prior to coming here or being close by (i.e. Detroit). Of the 21 respondents, 13 or 61.9 percent were still in their home country when they heard for the first time about our country. Eight heard about Canada while they were still in school (i.e. childhood or young adult years). For the others, the time lies back between three and eight years, bringing the date to their age of 25 to 30 years at the time of hearing about our country.

The elapsed time could cause some fading of the quality of the information, as the result of selective memory. As well, there is a change in the local situation here in Canada which unhappily was on the negative side. Thus it may be assumed that these people entered Canada with a more positive outlook for treatment and work expectancy than would have been actually a fair perception at the date of their arrival. Because of this disappointment, one may then also assume that there was or is a negative factor, if not
openly then at least subconsciously, influencing the job
seekers' attitudes.

Table 17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Childhood</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Adult</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 10 yrs. ago</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to 4.99 yrs.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less than 2 yrs.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While Table 17 does not indicate if the time period
lapsed would actually fall within an earlier period, i.e.
the childhood, comparison with the age groups indicated by
the respondents verified the tabulation.

Table 18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In home country</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On escape route</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thirteen of the respondents had heard already of Canada
while they were still in their home country. Eight of them,
two of them women, were still in their young adult years,
some even remembered hearing about Canada while in early
grade school (Table 17).

Six of the eleven men also were still in their home
country at the time. They received their first news about
Canada at an earlier age than the females, more in the early
to mid-twenties and less than three years back for the
adults. Accordingly, some of the information may have been
clouded with time and imagination. Because of the strife in
their home country, much of the information these people
heard about Canada may have been exaggerated or contaminated
by selective memory.

Some of the information these people retained about
Canada did in effect cause them to be disappointed. They
were told of a land of plenty, where there was lots of work
and opportunity. They also heard about a country where
there was peace, space and work. Sometimes they were told
that they would have to learn English - but not to what
extent.

The fact that they were promised by Canadian government
officials that they could work in their learned professions
or that the education would be credited was indicated by two
of the sponsored refugees (one male and female each). Their
comments when I picked up the questionnaires indicated that
this did not happen. The other two sponsored refugees are a little more restrained in their memories, one claiming that he was told that there would be more opportunity in the larger cities (he is from a banking background) than in the smaller ones, while the other woman said that she was actually advised that she might have to work at a lesser level than in her home country. However, the expectations persisted.

Table 19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative and communications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations, friends in Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communicated with them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total respondents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the women and five of the men had friends or relatives in Canada. Only two, both women, did not communicate with their friends or relatives. Nine of these Canadian contacts had steady jobs, in some cases in good positions. Only two cases of being on welfare or not working were reported.

However, the information given by the respondents about what they heard about Canada leaves no doubt that they were
disappointed in general when they came to Canada. They were
told such things as that there was plenty of work, lots of
opportunity, though in two out of fifteen cases, some words
of restriction were given, such as not to expect to be
working in the same position immediately, or not to expect
to get full credit for the studies done thus far.

The responses also reveal some disappointment about the
job scarcity and the discrimination the respondents
encounter when arriving. None indicated that they had any
idea about our system of processing refugees or immigrants,
that they were going to be prohibited from working or
looking for work for some time or that they would then be
issued a very limited work permit, cutting away all those
marvellous opportunities they had heard about.

The positive outlook in general was also supported by
those friends and relatives living in Canada who were
consulted prior to coming here: generally they had secure
jobs and often in relatively good positions (only in two
cases was a no-job situation described).

By inference, this would indicate that there would be a
similar job opportunity for the new refugee who is still
only used to the "buddy system" of introduction and the
extended family system provided by the job in Central America (Taiana and Elliott, 1990).

Upon arrival, the newcomer is then told that he or she may not work, that the system they are used to is not working (in spite of the fact that it did most of the time on their escape route on the underground job market). Then they are exposed to the system of charity and assistance of Canadian government agencies at various levels, including often discriminating employment office employees, or overzealous hearing officers (refugee status claimant in personal interview). The negative effect is not quantifiable from this study, but it does exist.

The effect on the morale and subsequently on the work search may be hard to conceive, yet it cannot be denied that there is such an effect. The often demoralized tone of the responses to questions about what they had heard about Canada and later about what they do and the advice they are giving their compatriots (C3, C6 and C11) are the indicators of this.

Interestingly enough, the sponsored refugees did not fare much better. They had received their information from the horse's mouth, the Canadian consular offices. There they were told of some possible hardships, but not always.
Two of the respondents remember only the positive image they had conceived at the time, only to find the hardships imposed by the employers and society to be that much harsher as they were not expected at all. The experience for these people is the same here in Windsor as in Toronto or Ottawa (Neuwirth, 1989).

Most of the respondents indicated that the information received was in general fairly objective at the time. Often, they had received it from friends and relatives already in the country holding a job, which again gave birth to a positive attitude.

In short, though the information may have been correct at the time, it created expectations that caused the refugees to be very disappointed in the long run when they could not find work even after their most exhausting efforts. One respondent filled out 189 applications resulting in only one offer for part-time work.

Work on the way to Canada

On their flight from the home country and on the way to a safe haven, the women did not always work, but when they
worked, they appeared to be able to secure jobs more likely in their field and closer related to their education. One may assume that there also was more pressure on the males to earn legally or clandestinely than there was on the females, with the result that they were more likely to take the next available job rather than to seek a job more closely related to their field. Most of the refugees (15), four women and 11 men, worked in the countries they passed on their way to Canada.

Table 20

Work related to original trade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male %</th>
<th>Female %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before arriving in Canada</td>
<td>3 33.3</td>
<td>3 50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Canada: to original trade</td>
<td>3 33.3</td>
<td>4 66.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not related to original trade</td>
<td>2 22.2</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not presently employed</td>
<td>4 44.5</td>
<td>2 33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present holders of work permit</td>
<td>9 100.0</td>
<td>6 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the information given by the respondents regarding their work on the way to Canada, it becomes apparent that their work experience did not harm their chances for obtaining employment. In a few cases, as that of the agronomist and the automotive painter, the experience actually enhanced their chances leading to employment in Canada. The same is
the case of the aviation mechanic. He is holding employment related to the newly acquired skills at this time.

**Table 21**

Work en route and presently in Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked en route</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Work search.

While we, in the earlier section, were looking at the information a respondent had received from others about the general situation in Canada, and his or her possible perception of that information, we are looking at the information a refugee gathers now in person not just about life in general but much more centred around the immediate world and concerns.

The average time that all the responding refugees have been here in Windsor is 1.5 years. Discounting the group of four sponsored refugees or landed immigrants, this time is
eleven months and ten days. The residiency for the sponsored refugees of our sample is three years and ten and a half months.

The average time that those refugees who have received their work permit held these was one year, three months and five days. Five refugees did not have a permit, and one had only received his less than a week prior to completing the questionnaire. Two others were the owners of the coveted paper for only one month. Only five of the permit holders are actually working, though at least two indicated that theirs was only a part-time job.

In examining the time a refugee has spent in Windsor and the things the newcomer has seen, we may be able to draw some conclusions about the individual enterprising spirit the person possesses, the inventiveness and observatory capacity. We may also be able to see to what extent the person can see beyond the limited horizon of a new environment.

The length which the non-sponsored refugees have spent in Windsor ranged from one month to three years. The sponsored refugees had been here from one to six years. The survey of time since arrival and time in possession of a work permit indicates that a minimum of three months goes by
before the refuge-seekers receive their first, restricted work permit. A check with Canada Immigration (Windsor CPO Unit) indicated that there are no statistics available to confirm or refute this. During this time they are given welfare and they are occupied with the preparations for their hearings. At the same time they are also usually looking for a more stable place to live and they have a chance to roam about the city on all their little errands.

Table 22
Waiting period for work permit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Working</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 month</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 3 months</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 to 6 months</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 12 months</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 2 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years and more</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have no permit yet</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The observations range from a positive "pretty parks, buildings and the river" to a negative "scarcity of work" or "much unemployment". Others indicated as well a relief, letting a little their hair down in regards to past experience in their home country or other places of persecution, when they talked about "the tranquillity", "the quiet" or the "security" for their children (Positive social
conditions in table 23). These mentions of the relative peace and quiet are similar to those of their sponsored counterparts in the earlier study in Toronto and Ottawa (Neuwirth, 1989). They are indications of the trauma and persecution these people must have left behind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Potential employers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative social conditions</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscape, buildings</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive social conditions</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative employment conditions</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some respondents gave more than one answer.

With the exception of two, the women commented on the quietness or tranquillity of the city and pointed out the many parks and other positive aspects of the city. In two cases, the tranquility was coupled with a statement about the unemployment.

One sponsored refugee had a more practical attitude looking at many banks and factories, the places of employment for her (in her home country) and her husband (here), and one other woman had a more negative attitude of stating that she saw "that in all the factories they have no
work and where they have work they deny entrance to immigrants". This is the accountant who is still looking for work.

The males' responses were usually more practical or even negative. Of the working males, we received the following answers:

That work is very scarce... and if an employer agrees to an interview and sees that there is a problem with English or that one is Hispanic negates the application (aviation mechanic).

Industry, cars, vegetable growing, farms and greenhouses in Leamington (The mason had just finished working in the greenhouses for close to a year.)

Security for my sons (car painter).

The many factories (welder).

Of those eligible to work but not actually working the following responses were received:

I have seen in Windsor many problems, for example, here, if a person does not speak English, they cannot
communicate and there is a lack of assistance in Spanish (teacher).

Much unemployment (farm worker).

Windsor is a pretty city and I like it because it is close to Detroit (shipping receiver).

The responses made by the males were less optimistic. One has to consider that their desperation may be a reflection of their long and fruitless job search. Only a cross reference with the comments at the end of the questionnaire and also with the section D questions will allow further development of this attitude survey.

The respondents share a wealth of different job search techniques, some of them obviously successful. One of the most often made comments was to persist, not to be discouraged and to continue looking. Most still rely on the system of looking for friends or compatriots to guide them to a job, as is the custom in Central America (Taiana & Elliott, 1990). A few had contacts in trade places and actually found work with the help of their friends or contacts.
Table 24

Trade contacts used in job search

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having trade contacts</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relied on contacts when searching for work</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having trade contacts</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relied on contacts when searching for work</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sponsored refugees are relying more on government agencies such as the Employment Centre or the official ISAP or Immigration agents to help them. Only one of the other refugees makes use of those agencies. However, two of the job seekers were looking for work in anticipation of receiving their work permit soon, asking potential employers to send a letter to Employment Canada asking for permission to employ them (a futile cause until the work permit is issued).

How are the people looking for work? We had a variety of methods described, from the bread and butter variety of going to the factories and applying indiscriminately, to the method which had worked so well back at home, of asking friends and relatives. There were only two of the respondents, one male and one female, both with good university education, who resorted to résumé writing and sending
out large numbers of applications. This is very much as described by Taiana and Elliott (1990) about the people of El Salvador, where only the well educated may resort to letter writing and resume supplying in order to find work. Only the female was successful in finding a part-time job which does pay relatively well letting her sustain herself with fairly few working hours.

Most respondents had to walk to potential employers because the bus fares are, compared to their home country, very expensive. It was then surprising to see that three of the refugees applied for work in many places although they had no work permit. One is the innovative hardware salesman who is asking employers to write to Immigration Canada to issue a special permit ahead of their normal course of procedure, and the other is the teacher. A third was the female decorator. If either one works before receiving a work permit, they almost guarantee their own removal from Canada before they reach a hearing to determine their refugee status.

Table 25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct applications</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referrals</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General search</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In table 25, direct applications include on site interviews and applications, telephone inquiries and directed search. Referrals include ads, employment agency referrals and contacts through friends and acquaintances. General search contains all other means.

Nine of the job seekers use their friends, employment agencies and other referral methods. The direct application approach, visiting the shops and asking for an application to fill out, calling, going for on site interviews is used by six respondents. Only one uses the Canada employment centre while two make use of employment agencies, and the ads in the Windsor Star are used by three people. Some job seekers use more than one method, others indicated that they were not permitted to work, therefore they were not yet looking (two persons). But there were also two women who were not looking though they were eligible, with no indication of a reason. One male also had just received his permit and had not yet put the gears into motion.

The employers' reasons for refusing employment are indicative of difficulties encountered by the refugees as they apply to find work. One of the major reasons given to the applicants was a lack of knowledge in the English language, a second one the knowledge of the trade. Twelve
of the nineteen respondents were told that English was a major problem in their not being hired.

Table 26

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons given by employers for not hiring</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.) Lay-offs waiting to be recalled</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of work permit</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal:</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.) Lacking Canadian experience</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not permanent resident (9 SIN)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union approval required</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination (against refugees)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refusal to let demonstrate skills</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal:</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.) Insufficient English</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insufficient skills</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not requiring applicant's skills</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long waiting list</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not hiring</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree required</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will call</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outright refusal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy and politics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal:</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>62.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100.1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em><em>---------</em> rounded</em>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total no. of respondents                   | 12    | 7       | 19    |     

In the above table, reasons which are legitimate (a) in view of the general economy and circumstances were considered "admissible" reasons and were given a total of five times. Reasons which reflect discrimination and which
appear to be aimed at the refugees only or "inadmissible reasons" (b) were given eleven times, while reasons in a grey area (c), which can be interpreted both ways, were given 26 times. This means that the potential for discrimination may be as high as 37 times out of 42 incidences, or in 88.1 percent of cases. Looking at these figures positively, discrimination could be as low as in 26.2% of the cases. However, requiring strong English knowledge may not always be necessary for specific jobs.

Neuwirth (1989) found in her study an incidence of direct documented discrimination in eighty percent of the answers, leading me to believe that our results are comparable. Discrimination therefore is a problem the refugees must learn to cope with until we, the Canadians, are able to eliminate or at least reduce it.

Unhappily, being still only refugees and not landed immigrants or residents, they feel they do not have the same rights of recourse as the residents have. Many other employer statements hid the discrimination issue by claiming the need of union approval, politics, the economy and a number of other things as the reasons for not hiring the respondents, regardless of gender.
Often the applicants offered to demonstrate that they could do the job but even this was refused, understandably so because of Canadian safety regulations, Workers' Compensation Board regulations, union difficulties, and so forth.

Perceived difficulties and problems

The respondents then were asked to rate what they perceived to be the difficulty in getting a job, to see if they agreed with the employers or if they felt that there was another reason behind not getting a job.

Table 27

Perceived difficulties in finding work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Canadian experience</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Experience/training</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy/recession</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of language</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarcity of work</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lay-offs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of documentation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination (residency)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No problems perceived</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of respondents</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Some respondents gave more than one answer.
Not as many respondents thought that they were really experiencing difficulties in finding work. It is quite conceivable that they considered the economic situation normal and therefore the hardship in finding work was considered normal. The employers had stated in ten cases reasons related to the economy such as long waiting lists, not hiring, lay-offs waiting to be recalled, etc. In comparison, only one respondent cited it as a reason for not finding work in Windsor.

Lack of English was cited predominantly by the refugees as they considered their problem areas. This finding also coincides with the employers' reasons. Whereas the employers only indicated once (according to the respondents) that there was a degree or proof of performance needed, two of the respondents felt that the lack of such proof actually prevented them from getting a job.

Not being able to prove their education or past performance was cited 11.1% of the difficulties mentioned. This includes not being credited for university or other course work. Again, this was confirmed by refugees in the Neuwirth (1989) study but it was not quantified. In her study, one refugee code-named Mario complains of not being given credit for his experience and knowledge of electrics and electronics. He was cited just as one example among
several incidences. This inability to prove one's education or training will become problematic, especially if the refugees are unable to request copies of existing documentation from their homeland for fear of renewed persecution.

Comparing tables 26 and 27, we see that the employers had indicated in about 7% of the cases the need for being a permanent resident or having a SIN starting with a different number. Only one of the respondents (5.6%) considered this a problem. This respondent stated that she was told by a potential employer that all work is given to permanent residents and that because she is not a resident yet she could not apply. The fact that this small sample includes employers with this attitude indicates that this type of discrimination poses a serious problem for refugees when they are looking for work.

In Table 27, the "Canadian experience" was not combined with general experience, since the "Canadian" part of experience is a discriminatory demand of the employers. Canadian experience was only mentioned once. Skills are the results of experience or learning, not of a certain nationality. Thus this requirement of Canadian experience again becomes evidence of a certain bias or discrimination towards our subjects.
Competence and a lack of knowledge in a given professional field were each cited once as well. The need of proof of performance, a certificate or diploma is also one of the reasons for job refusals (11.1%). Canadian employers do not rely on a more or less thorough demonstration of skills, rather they need to see the paper. For the Hispanic refugees this becomes a real handicap because they are not beneficiaries of all types of certificates and diplomas. As well, the need for resumés was lamented. Said one respondent: "In the first place, they want a resumé, then they don't promise to give you a job" (shipper/receiver).

Table 28
Perceived handicaps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males %</th>
<th>Females %</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not knowing Cdn work culture</td>
<td>2 25</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not knowing enough English</td>
<td>2 25</td>
<td>3 75</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not having resident status</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>1 25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of contacts</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>1 25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No proof of work or Cdn experience</td>
<td>3 37.5</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Indirectly) being foreigner</td>
<td>2 25</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (not related)</td>
<td>2 25</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian international Politics</td>
<td>1 12.5</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>141.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. of respondents: 8 100.0, 4 100, 12 100.0

It is confusing that 12 people responded to the question asking for handicaps perceived during the search.
for their present job, while only seven persons were actually working at the time they answered the questionnaire. However, four of the presently unemployed respondents who answered this question had previously held jobs in Canada on which they may have based their responses.

Five persons (41.7%) indicated in their responses to this question that their poor English knowledge represented a handicap. Later in the questionnaire, looking and asking for the actual difficulties, we are told by eleven of the 19 respondents who answered that question (57.9%) that a lack of English language capabilities represent a major difficulty. The latter question (D4) asked for the major difficulty in finding a good job. This indicates that the respondents think that it necessary to know some English to find a job, but to land a good job, English proficiency becomes considerably more important.

In order to assess their willingness to work the respondents were asked about their willingness to work in temporary employment. Surprisingly, three males refused although they were not holding a job at this time. One gave as a reason that he would not be any further ahead after the job ran out. Another did not know the meaning of "temporary work". Still another one thought it too inconvenient, thinking he might lose out on a regular or full-time job by
accepting a temporary one. Not knowing our Canadian work and employment culture then could indicate a problem here.

Table 29
Willingness to take temporary work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>76.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I felt that if the refugees were asked to give advice to their peers, they would probably give the advice they felt they should have had in their job search. This was another way of revealing their perception of possible difficulties. Indeed, the advice section surpassed in quantity and volume the responses regarding perceived difficulties or handicaps: Twenty out of twenty one (95.2%) respondents answered the advice question, while only twelve (57.1%) responded to the question for perceived difficulties, and eighteen (85.7%) indicated perceived handicaps. This is a rather normal reaction, since one is often unable to see or admit a certain handicap, yet it is easy to see somebody else's handicap even if it is also one's own.
Thus the transported wishful thinking or retrospective "geez, I wish I had..." lamentations included a number of very astute observations. They also included some very down to earth advice for their peers on job search.

Table 30
Advice to fellow job seekers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By:</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have patience</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase English knowledge</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be persistent where applying</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analyze situation &amp; react</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepare better</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have confidence in yourself</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wait for gvt. programs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use time by studying(trade,etc)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress properly</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do volunteer work (=experience)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make lots of contacts</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have perseverance, continue</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accept what is offered</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be able to display capability</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>215.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many respondents gave more than one answer.

Five respondents each advised to study English, to increase their knowledge in this and the professional field. Many said that it was important to persist, to continue looking even when there seemed to be nothing out there. They said that it was important to reach as many employers as possible and to leave the applications with them. They
advised to follow through looking for work until one found some and not to lessen the struggle of the job search, even if it meant additional walking. They were fully aware of the morale of the job searchers, for they said not to give up hope, not to get depressed.

Other advice included to dress cleanly and correctly. Or to go and get involved, to do volunteer work in order to gain Canadian experience and to make valuable contacts. Somebody else suggested to take any job that came, because "it is better to work for little than to have nothing".

Another respondent suggests that the applicants should be able to demonstrate their capability in order to convince prospective employers, and another advised future bosses "to submit those who come and look for work at their factories to a test..." with specialists in the field of the applicant's knowledge in order to establish one's capability "practice can then be learned over time". Still another suggests taking advantage of Canadian facilities and to continue educating oneself. This individual obviously had found out about some of the many programs of skills development and adult education which are available here.

One of the sponsored refugees suggested to hold out and be prepared to wait for the government to come out with a
program to create work by encouraging foreign or local investment. This person, who has a banking and accounting background, had just lost his job in a factory after five years of continuous work.

Their advice became more or less a confirmation of their perceptions of the problem areas, often going one step beyond the mere analysis of a problem. They indicated that one needed to be persistent, to increase the command of the language, not to get downhearted or depressed. There are indications of the spirit to fight for a chance, of struggling and of never giving up. Encouragement to live as they have lived for so many years in the past: to seek a better life somehow, for the price of their work they now have peace and tranquillity. The work will come eventually, with the persistence they will be able to demonstrate their ability, once given a chance.

Respondents' perceptions of difficulties and problems

In this section I had asked the respondents to examine their present work situation and thus to have a second look at what they felt were actual problems opposed to what they might have considered as difficulties at an earlier stage.
The respondents did not feel that there were specific hurdles or obstacles in getting the particular job they are holding at this time. Two respondents presently without work assessed their obstacles as having been on welfare for a good length of time, and having no influential contacts.

As difficulties the subjects recognized lack of language capability, lack of professional or technical knowledge, lack of Canadian experience and also some discrimination. By far, the importance of solid command of the English language is the leader.

Focusing on the jobs held presently by some of the eligible refugees, we examine how successful these are in finding work in their respective fields. This also gives us an opportunity to look at the problem evaluations of these persons and compare them with the problems of those who do not find work quite as easily. Doing this, some of the more obvious difficulties can be established.

Seven of the eligible refugees, two women and five men, had jobs at one time or other here in Canada. All but one male respondent indicated that they held or had held jobs related to their specific fields. Only the welder worked in a field removed from his profession, namely as a general labourer. The sole female to be working had held volunteer
jobs prior to finding paying employment. However, she indicated that this had enabled her to make excellent contacts and to practice for Canadian experience. As well, she exposed herself to more of the English language by having to converse with many different Windsorites at the blood clinic while maintaining contact with other Hispanics at the church refugee office.

Table 31

Previous work in Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked in Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of those stating that they have not yet worked in Canada, three were issued their work permits within less than one month prior to responding to the survey.

According to the earlier study done in Toronto and Ottawa, there is pressure applied by government agents such as CIC and Immigration to accept job offers which do not necessarily meet the needs of the applicant or serve his or her best interests (Neuwirth, 1989). This pressure to take
just about any job may be even greater for the sponsored refugees than for those who arrived and applied at our border since the latter are usually less reliant on those government agencies. This we saw from the respondents' replies on how they were looking for work.

A similar pressure comes from within the refugee, however, in form of the need for money, the satisfaction of being working again, or peer or spousal pressure to find work. These too, are difficulties the refugees have to learn to cope with.

The stigma of our welfare system has a particularly strong effect on those who have a higher education and accordingly are looking for some more demanding and more rewarding work. Here self-esteem is damaged in males and females alike. This becomes evident in their responses about perceived difficulties and advice they give to their fellow job seekers.

From this point of view, the result of the present survey was very encouraging. The aviation mechanic who had been a mail sorter and machine operator as well, occupies again a job as machine operator. The social assistant is now working as dietitian and assistant in a nursing home,
enabling her to work towards eventually studying in the nursing field.

The cement mason who had also learned to work in the U.S. as a carpenter is now working in an enterprise which recycles the whisky barrels from Hiram Walker's. He has realized that needs for his cement mason's skills were not much in demand since houses here are built of wood.

The automotive painter has landed again a job doing just that. Only the accountant has ended up as a general labourer. Reiterating an earlier statement, we see here that the higher education seems to become a handicap for the male refugee who seeks of a job in his field. All of the seven working respondents claimed not to have any difficulty with competency, i.e. they all checked off that they felt they were competent for the job.

They also all indicated that they did not have any problems with the vocabulary, in other words, that they knew the required vocabulary. However, as indicated earlier, it is conceivable that this was interpreted to mean the vocabulary in their own language (i.e. Spanish) for the job, rather than the English vocabulary for the job in Canada. Thus no conclusion is drawn on this point at this moment, though it would be safe to assume that there was at least
some minor discrepancy since one working respondent indicated he had no English language knowledge, and one other indicated his knowledge to be small in all three categories.

As Table 32 indicates, there appears more tendency to work in non education-related or training related fields for the higher educated males, i.e. those who have some university education, while those with less education seem to be more likely able to find work in their related fields. On the other hand, seeing the small number of working respondents and considering that 9 respondents of our sample (42.9%) have a university education and were eligible to work at the time of the survey, we can find that the higher education has helped some respondents in securing work, even though it may not be training or education-related work.

**Table 32**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High ed.</td>
<td>Low ed.</td>
<td>High ed.</td>
<td>Low ed. Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work related to training or post second. education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work not related</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No work</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the table above, we see that eligible women with post secondary education were more likely to have a job. It also shows that eligible men seem to have a better chance of finding work if they have secondary education. However, the results also showed that none of the refugees had a job in the field of their post secondary education with the exception of one female. However, the number of cases is too small to draw any solid conclusions.

The respondents had a chance to assess the actual hurdles in getting a good job in question D3. Very few did supply their views on this question, possibly assuming that earlier questions already addressed this matter.

However, a few comments were registered. One respondent cited the lack of any influential contacts which could give him an "in" according to the old country style job search (Taiana & Elliott, 1990).

Another felt that the interview was the greatest hurdle. This is a major concern for many people of any race or nationality, and though it was a major concern for this person, no special difficulty apart from items mentioned otherwise (language, discrimination, etc.) should be considered as a generally applicable problem for the Hispanics. The particular respondent had indicated average
or adequate English capabilities in all three categories, but also very good to excellent dialect knowledge.

This leads us to believe the applicant may have been of Amerind culture and race, increasing dramatically the potential that he was subjected to discrimination on the basis of colour and race. This then would prove a definite obstacle to overcome, not just here in Canada but almost anywhere in the world. If a respondent perceives discrimination by others, this in itself could become a psychological obstacle which he or she needs to overcome in order to be successful in the job search.

Finally there was a very realistic barrier perceived by a respondent who had not had a job for a good length of time: it was the fact that he had been already on welfare for fifteen months. Where this is definitely an alarm signal to any employer (why can't this fellow get a job?) it is also a very demoralizing influence on the respondent who wants to find some work. This fellow had been employed as shipper/receiver for two and one half years in the U.S. and also had spent a total of 18 years (possibly intermittently) in primary and secondary education in his home country and abroad. Based on the age group, employment was relatively recent prior to his arrival in Canada. He has had a work permit for over one and one half years and he had indicated
in his interview that he had been granted refugee status. Thus one may assume that the work in the U.S.A. was performed illegally. However, it was work which, at the time, brought in some means of supporting his young family.

To be that long out of work would be very demoralizing for any person but in particular for a Hispanic who is not used to the Canadian support system for the unemployed (Taiana & Elliott, 1990), and he would need counselling at this time to develop a better outlook for his future and possibly to assist him through proper job search training.

The comments on difficulties were far more generous and specific. I had hoped to establish different levels of severity in using the words hurdle (obstáculo) and difficulty (dificultad), and it appears that some of the respondents had picked up on the difference, since few responded to the previous question whereas they replied generously to my request for difficulty definitions.

All respondents answered this question, often very extensively. Only one respondent, the cobbler, was straightforward and said "I don’t know". Two respondents cited the recession and lack of jobs or too many applicants as the main difficulties. However, since these are general
conditions which everybody has to cope with, they should not be considered as problems peculiar to our respondents.

| Table 33
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceived as actual difficulties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>By:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.) Lack of English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of work permit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.) Discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of recognition of edn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of (Cdn) experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of proof of performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.) Lack of Canadian education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of profess'1 knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal shortcomings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too much competition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of preparation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recession/Economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents could indicate more than one reason

In the above table, the replies were categorized into three different groups and labelled "a", "b" and "c". Group "a" represents difficulties which are reasonably applicable to the refugees of our survey. The difficulties marked as category "b" are of a discriminating nature and should not exist, whereas those marked "c" are difficulties of a
general nature which would be applicable to any person living in Canada. For example, anybody with poor presentation abilities would have some difficulty finding work which required a job interview. Similarly, the recession and its effects (such as unemployment) would affect everybody looking for work in Canada.

Seven respondents mentioned that they felt that discrimination and related behaviour or requirements were the major actual difficulties. They are touching upon a problem which will be very hard to deal with, first, because it is so widespread, and second, because it is very hard to change people's attitudes, which one has to do in order to overcome discrimination.

There is one other major item on the list of 13 refugees: The knowledge of English. More males believe that they will need better ability in this language than the females, which is consistent with the education levels but does not correlate with the statements made of English knowledge in the next question.

Thus we have specific difficulties for the refugees, and they are in this case generic applying to any refugee status seeker: the lack of a work permit and knowledge of English. With the exception of the effects of the
recession and hence also a greater competition, the
difficulties cited are related to the specific individuals,
such as poor ability to present oneself, lack of
professional knowledge or a lack of a basic education.

The respondents' comments

Similar to the respondents in Neuwirth’s study, our
respondents also recognized the importance of the need to
help the Hispanic community in their search for work which
in turn would enable them to lead a better life.

There were comments of thankfulness and comments of
good wishes for all involved. Suggestions were made to start
orientation programmes for the refugees. Since no specific
orientation area was given, it is assumed that it would
entail the area of search for employment.

The subject of discrimination resurfaced strongly in
the comments section, where some respondents stated that
even in the schools there was strong discrimination against
the children from Central America. This persecution came
from the children's schoolmates according to the two
mothers. Other comments reflected those made by sponsored
refugees in Toronto and Ottawa (Neuwirth, 1989). They
included the need for better preparation, the need to get
papers (diplomas) certified in Canada and incidences of
discrimination. The discrimination took the form of verbal and physical abuse as well as that experienced by respondents at the hand of employers who do many things to avoid hiring these. There are also calls for better orientation programs or training facilities to provide Canadian experience.

Still others used this section to advise their compatriots to study English and to work hard at learning a useful trade, to take advantage of our Canadian institutions and benefits to further their education. One of the comments most reflecting the attitudes and experiences of the respondents was the following:

I found that the English they call basic here is much [too] advanced. To think that I came here with [what I thought was solid] knowledge... I would rather work for money than to receive money free [welfare].

Evaluation

In the evaluation of the study we have used the criteria of work and what type of work a respondent held as an indicator of success. This is a method similar to one
used by Samuel (1987) who took salary as a sign of
economical integration and success. I measured success
merely by the absence or presence of work, provided the
respondent was eligible to work. A job closely related to
one’s original training or education represents some strong
measure of success, while no job or holding some totally
unrelated work to previous education and training would
indicate a lesser amount of success.

In the latter case, some degree of subjective judgement
had to be made to take into consideration whether a job
would be of advantage or even required over one related to
the respondent’s original training. The case of the cement
mason who now works in a barrel processing plant is a
typical case in point: Because our residential houses are
built of wood and not of concrete walls, he would be hard
pressed to find that type of work.

The degree of success in finding work also indicates
the absence of problems, difficulties or just obstacles in
the job search. Lack of success then could indicate the
presence of problems, difficulties and obstacles which have
to be overcome. In the previous chapter, we have examined
the problem areas as they were perceived by the respondents.
Section A suggests that for males of our sample, a university education represents a handicap rather than an advantage, while it appears that the contrary is true for the women. It also appears that women are more likely to find work in the field of their original training. There is no immediate indication of the reason for this, but their more intensive professional background, the resulting self-confidence and the greater self-respect all may be factors.

Neuwirth mentions in her study (1989) that "most respondents answered that they expected to do the same work in Canada", indicating that misconceptions and false expectations were held by the respondents before coming to Canada.

This section has also shown that the practical work experience of men abroad does enhance their chances of finding work in Canada. This is true for men and women. Again, our numbers are too small to conclusively state that this would hold true for all refugees. However, the indications for our small sample indicate that the chances of finding work increase with having worked on the way between the home country and Canada, even if it was illegal work.
Section B gives the first indication of disappointment about a lack of communication and lack of knowledge of our system in general and of the necessary procedures. The inferred and believed to be true news (as seen on TV, heard from teachers or even the Canadian consulate) about Canada were generally positive, whereas the actual situation is far less encouraging.

Thus ignorance of our hiring system becomes a major cause of concern: Believing that jobs are waiting for them the refugees are disappointed not to be allowed to work. It is a negative influence on the morale they have to cope with, additional unexpected stress when finally looking for work as was indicated by the various answers given in the examination of the difficulties they encountered.

The respondents could only voice their disappointment indirectly, I had not asked about this directly. The disappointment is implied in answers to what they have seen in Windsor, the answers given to the search description, employer reasons, perceived handicaps and difficulties, and their advice in Section C.

Having asked the respondents to be honest in their answers, having been available for questions during the interviews and afterwards, we must assume that the
information given was fairly true. Therefore we may assume that the self perception is fairly accurate, as is the overall assessment of the employers.

Clearly, the lack of English emerges as a major difficulty. This is confirmed also by Neuwirth (1989) who found nineteen of twenty-six subjects of her study recognizing the need for better training in in-the-field English vocabulary (or the language of the land, for that matter). The language survey of our study showed that only one third seemed to have adequate or better knowledge of the language. Therefore, it would be safe to assume that there is still a need for better language knowledge.

Discrimination rates second as problem, followed by lack of either general work experience or Canadian experience in particular. Discrimination including the lack of "Canadian experience" was a problem in Neuwirth (1989).

Not knowing the Canadian work culture was one of the less recognized difficulties. Nonetheless, we had one refugee make the important observation that one should dress correctly. Another one indicates the importance of preparation, and the fact that it was impossible to demonstrate their skills was reported by still another respondent. Finally, we have seen the respondent who was
indignant that he had to supply a résumé without being promised a job, clearly a misunderstanding of our local work and job search culture. Neuwirth (1989) recorded similar incidents, again not quantified. However, the cultural differences and possible resulting misconceptions were explained in Taiana and Elliott (1990).

In section D, I made the assumption that there is a correlation between language ability in an increasing number of languages and the ability to apply for work successfully. The data reveal that 3 of the 5 eligible refugees with language skills in more than two languages are holding a job at this time while four of ten eligible refugees with knowledge of two languages or less are presently holding jobs.

The fact that some of the refugees have only been eligible for a period of one month was not considered, since this condition applied to both groups. I considered that the respondents did have the opportunity to do some preliminary search prior to receiving their work permit, and many were exposed to potential employment areas (see: "what has been seen of our city").

The small sample (n) of ten and five in table 34 indicates that our finding has to be treated with caution:
With an alpha of 0.01 and \( \chi^2 \) being 0.53, the hypothesis that knowing more than two languages helps finding work is not supported. In other words, there is a relationship, but it is weak.

**Table 34**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Skills and work</th>
<th>2 languages or less</th>
<th>More than 2 languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have a job</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not have work</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eligible to work</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Does not include one pregnant woman not intending to work.

The refugees themselves mentioned difficulties which they had perceived as major barriers to finding work as they perceived them: The recession, unemployment, the language, Canadian experience and discrimination. The recession and resulting unemployment are items affecting everybody, not just the Hispanic refugees. They are also areas beyond the refugees' or the employers' immediate control.
Then there are difficulties which the respondents did not seem to perceive. They are often results of their ignorance of our culture or administrative system and by not taking advantage of the resources offered. These difficulties include the ignorance of the process of granting refugee status, ignorance of educational evaluation services available, a lack of knowledge of the actual job situation prior to arriving or prior to beginning their job search, and the more psychological effects of the negative job search or prolonged stay on welfare.

One will understand this implication when one reads comments made by other refugees who say: "In order to find the work we need to maintain our families"... "worthy, just and with dignity" or "I am a person who has always worked and who wants to work". These comments all reflect a culture which does not recognize welfare (Taitana & Elliott, 1990) a culture which is very hard to lose even in our society. As a result we find these work applicants becoming depressed, eventually affecting their morale and their attitude towards our system.
CHAPTER VIII
RECOMMENDATIONS

There are some ways of reducing, if not totally eliminating, many of the difficulties we discovered in this study (table 35). Some items involve the refugee only marginally, such as educating the employers. Others involve society at large, as well as a number of organizations. But these proposals would also reduce our costs in the long run and benefit the government, the refugees and the employers equally.

These programs would require some adjustment on the part of the IRB in the system of processing refugees. Some additional cost may also occur to the Immigration Department or other agencies for the dissemination of information regarding the culture of the refugees to the employers. However, this cost is recouperable through income taxes from the working refugees. Active learning would require a major time investment by the refugees. The extent of this depends on the intensity of the refugees' effort and on their ability to learn work-related aspects of the English language, and also the Canadian culture in regard to work.
### Table 35

**Perceived and actual difficulties for Hispanic refugees**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERCEIVED &amp; ACTUAL</th>
<th>POSSIBLE SOLUTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of language knowledge, especially work related vocabulary.</td>
<td>Intensive language courses, preferably at work place after hiring on potential job; or in job related areas of college to explain and expose to job related vocabulary. Increased ESL course availability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination</td>
<td>Hard to solve immediately. Long-term solution could involve integrating refugees with other refugees into service clubs and community service areas to let refugees show their worth... Extensive education is required country wide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of proof of performance</td>
<td>To assess each refugee desiring to work at an educational centre where the refugee will be able to demonstrate his or her skills for assessment and a Canadian document will be issued.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not knowing Canadian work culture</td>
<td>A workshop held regularly either by Cdn volunteers or adaptation agencies in the language of the refugee outlining differences in work culture between home country and Canada; assistance in preparation for work search in Canada.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not having resident status (in regard to types of work the person may seek and be given)</td>
<td>To get medical clearance early; the government to reduce restrictions of areas where candidate can apply with a &quot;g&quot; SIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare a.) on morale b.) permanent residence c.) employers</td>
<td>a: get refugees involved in community service work. b,c: aid in job search</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, the refugees can do something on their own in regard to the language problem. In this chapter, we also look at possible ways of reducing the other two difficulties perceived by the refugees, lack of Canadian experience and discrimination. The latter is still a major actual problem which is present, it is sad to say, in all of the aspects of society.

**Table 3.6**

**Actual difficulties not perceived by respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTUAL DIFFICULTY</th>
<th>SOLUTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ignorance of actual job situation</td>
<td>No possible total solution; partial remedy is possible through dissemination of regularly updated information to known shelters in the USA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignorance of refugee status seeking process and available services other than legal services</td>
<td>Dissemination of available services bulletins in refugees' language via Immigration Dept. and law offices, work shops arranged by agencies,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effect of negative job search on morale caused by variety of factors.</td>
<td>Better preparation of refugees through workshops and training sessions which could be offered by agencies and employment agencies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.6 above shows some of the difficulties the refugees did not see themselves. These and most of the difficulties experienced by the refugees as they were
reported to us could be solved through dissemination of information either by written information updates or even through workshops. The written information would be sent to a number of different receivers, according to the contents, as will be discussed later on below.

Language education

Recommendation #1:

To institute training programs in the English language at the workplace specifically geared to the workplace where the refugees are employed. Financing of such programs should be subsidized by the governments (i.e. Employment Canada) who will profit in the long run through reduced welfare and support payments. The courses should be developed jointly by language teaching specialists with input of refugees and employers to specify the needs. Refugees of different nationalities and language background could be taught at the same time as in the counselling learning system. Involvement of a group of employers on a rotating basis providing their facilities for the training of their refugee employees is encouraged. The cost which would only require the teachers' salaries, should eventually be recuperated through reduced welfare and unemployment paid to refugees.
In regard to work-related language knowledge, specific English courses within the employing company would be ideal, teaching the refugees the vocabulary of the trade right within the environment. Courses offered at our colleges are too much oriented towards everyday needs of a language, often ignoring the fact that the communication needs are very important within a company where instructions have to be written or read, reports be made out and requests to be filed. It would be far more advantageous for the employers and the teaching body to address the problem on site and hold the language courses at the company, using the equipment as props as they teach classes of 10 to 20 students.

I recognize that a number of practical aspects in this ideal situation need addressing. There is the fact that the teacher would be required to join the students at the work site, and that the locale might change at intervals. Not all the employers have the physical facilities to entertain such a project either, though I see the work area as a classroom, since many work-related words can be explained by using the equipment as props. However, the workplace surroundings will, one hopes, trigger recall of questions which have occurred to the refugee during the previous work period.
Employers who lack the facility may be required to support the program in other ways (i.e. transportation, supplies) in exchange for having their employees participate in the program in another company's facility.

A few companies could co-operate in the funding of the teachers and thus also apply to government sources for support, then possibly rotate the site on a regular basis to benefit everybody. Through specially designed courses such as the counselling-learning system developed by Charles A. Curran (Curran, 1968), the refugees would receive a more specific and job-related vocabulary. (Locally, Fr. Roland Janisse has conducted general language workshops using this system. For more information contact the author.) The firms would be able to control the areas of need in the language and would not lose much valuable time of their employees to far-away night courses, and the government would benefit from better educated and more productive workers who pay taxes and increase our GNP. In addition, a major problem in the job search and the integration of refugees would be solved.

But it is a difficulty which can be overcome by application of the respondents and some will power. Language skills can be acquired through schooling and participation. They can be enhanced by reducing the social
actually real impediments in the search for work. One
distinct problem was the lack of English knowledge.
Discriminatory behaviour on the part of the employers and
the refugees' ignorance of their rights in regards to the
immigration process and the education system were two more
distinct difficulties in the job search cycle.

Using the work history of the refugees as an indicator
of their ability to adapt, we were able to assess the
respondents' common strengths and weaknesses and from there
establish areas of needs and potentials.

This in turn allowed the writer to formulate a number
of recommendations which included better education of
refugees and employers in regards to cultural differences
and how these can best be exploited to benefit mutually the
involved parties. The recommendations included also a
proposal for better integration of the refugees into the
society and the work force through community work as a form
of repaying the welfare support. Finally, a work oriented
language training system for in-house training was proposed
to address the English language needs. All the proposed
recommendations were made keeping the financial situation of
all involved, including the governments, in mind.
contact with members of one's own nationality and increasing contact with members of the host nationality. A side effect of the latter solution would be that these refugees would be exposed more to contacts in the field and thus be able to help their compatriots and friends in finding work. They would also learn to rely more on systems and procedures more common to our culture.

Recommendation #2:

To establish a program where the refugees receiving welfare or other assistance are strongly encouraged to perform community work (i.e. through service clubs) in order to "earn" the assistance. The community work should entail among other activities meeting a great number of people from different countries (other refugees) and many Canadians. This would permit the establishment of closer community ties, building of contacts needed in the Central American culture, and a great exposure to English-speaking people (increasing the general language capability). At the same time the community is helped by increased production in the social sector (i.e service club work, community projects) and the assistance payments are reduced over time while the refugee has the benefit of "working" for the assistance received. A possible further benefit would be a reduction of discriminatory attitudes in the
community at large stemming from the visible
participation of the refugees in the community
including their input of work into the community pro-
jects.

In another ideal situation, active participation in
local service organizations could be encouraged and thus a
benefit be put back into the community which is supporting
the refugee in question. The refugee thus would not only be
more exposed to English, but hopefully also feel less
obliged by the welfare or charity he or she receives.

In addition there would be further benefits: In working
on community projects, the newcomer learns about community
involvement here in Canada and can bring their experience in
foreign community work to us. He or she will also benefit
by being involved in the community with other people from
different countries and from Canada where thus a better
integration into the community is enabled, and new contacts
for possible later use in job search or socializing are
established. Also, the refugee is thus welcomed into the
community more easily and this in turn reduces the potential
for discrimination.

This program, while teaching English through community
exposure, would likely enable some of the job seekers to
find work better suited to them instead of what is suited
the friend they used as contact (Neuwirth, 1989; Taiana and
Elliott, 1990). While the new activity would take up some
time, sufficient contact would be retained with friends or
relatives.

Information dissemination to refugees

Recommendation #3:

To routinely instruct newly arrived refugees in our
present educational system in regard to trades and
certification of their skills. To also educate these
refugees more thoroughly in the processing of their
claims for Convention refugee status, and the restric-
tions imposed thereby and ways to alleviate some of the
restrictions (Health and work limitations). This
should be done through pamphlets in the refugees'
language distributed at time of entry into the country
for the first hearing. Renewed instruction could
follow through support agencies (i.e. Windsor Refugee
Office).

Information on our refugee determination procedure, our
education system and our work culture (anything pertaining
to the common hiring and selection process) should be given
to the refugees at time of entry into Canada, but no later
than at the end of the first hearing, at which time they become eligible to apply for a work permit.

Some of the information regarding the official refugee status determination process is given to the refugees by their lawyers. Information on what awaits the newcomer in regard to mental aspects pertaining to his refugee status claim (i.e. waiting periods, stress of not being able to work, even discriminatory practices by local residents and potential employers), or education and training evaluation aspects is only given to the refugees if their lawyer has access to this information, speaks the refugees’ language, and thinks of advising the clients of these matters.

Information on the general job situation and what potential refugees can expect in general, could be disseminated by brief updated news releases to known shelters in USA, especially to those most commonly frequented by Hispanic refugees. Let the Underground Railroad handle something like "underground newsletters" on the verbal return trip: To establish an information dissemination system or grapevine via shelter organizations on the most common routes from Central America to Canada. The means could be simple regular messages using the pyramid sales approach, where the cost of dissemination is
distributed equally to most centres who are interested in helping these refugees.

Locally, the information could be compiled and edited by volunteer organizations or agencies like the Windsor Refugee Office. The job could also be done by a committee involving government agencies, lawyers and many other organizations who are working with refugees on a regular basis. They all profit in the long run from better informed clients through time savings, reduced costs and less frustration caused by clients’ ignorance.

Regarding past education and training, there are some evaluation services available through the Ministry of Education (provincial) or Employment Canada (federal). As we saw from the responses received, most refugees are not aware of these services.

Hence the need of educating the refugees of these available services, but also a need of an evaluation system for all foreigners, to allow them to compete fairly for jobs, but also to let them display their ability and to invest in our country, the country they have chosen as a new home. This information should again be made available to the refugees upon their arrival in Canada, either through the CEIC offices, at the border, or through their lawyer or
even Legal Aid, where they usually apply for assistance in getting a lawyer assigned to their case (Casasola, 1989).

One of the refugees zeroed in on the fact that one needed an official document from some Canadian institution showing an assessment of one's knowledge and capability, a document which indeed would become a door opener for many job applicants. Better education of the newly arriving refugee claimants by volunteer groups, indirectly involved agencies similar to ISAP or the refugee's lawyer regarding available services would solve this hurdle.

Refugees could also be offered routinely an aptitude and ability exam at one point shortly after having passed the credible basis hearing. Administered by the Ministry of Education or the Skills Development Branch, the expense of such exams would easily be recuperated through savings in welfare payments or later on in unemployment insurance savings. One could expect the federal government to share the costs with the provincial government, since both are benefitting from the savings in the long run.

Information dissemination to employers

Recommendation #4:

To educate potential employers of refugees in the culture of the refugee applying for work by
dissemination of educative material about the refugee's home country and culture pointing out the potential advantages in hiring these people. The refugees could be given the material at the time they receive their first work permit at the Employment and Immigration office. The literature should also routinely be made available to employers using the services of Employment Canada.

Information on the country of origin of the refugees, habits and typical cultural differences could be consolidated into pamphlets and made available to the immigrants to take to potential employers. This would enable the employers to assess the applicants' capabilities better. This information should include differences in hiring and employment methods, typical professions or other idiosyncrasies which would enable the employer to understand the applicants better.

Here, I see local organizations of the refugees' nationality as compiler of this information, or the Multicultural Council possibly together with the refugee group. The information could be packaged into brochures and either distributed to potential employers (those which may and want to employ SIN "9" card holders) either by mail or through the applying refugee. It is hoped that this would
create added awareness in the employers about the potential benefits the refugees may bring to the Canadian company. In this brochure, some information on the earlier proposed language training program could be included, as well as information about other possible grants available for training assistance from government sources or help from local organizations.

The cost for this program could be defrayed by the Minister of Employment and Immigration, the Multicultural Council and the refugees' organization. There would be benefits for the employers and the job applicants, but our government would also profit through reduced support payments to and income tax received from the newly employed refugees.

This leaves us with the question of how to educate personnel directors or all those who are involved in hiring refugees. Regular workshops are one option, and circulars or brief excerpts or abstracts by sources of authority would be another good means, to be carried by the refugee at the time of job search. The importance lies in the need to educate local people about the great potential, the knowledge and the experience the refugees bring into our country and of the potential added value they can bring into a firm.
It is understandable that it would be very difficult for a personnel manager of a larger company to ask an applicant to perform a specific task when applying for a job. It should be possible, however, to supply the personnel managers with information about the Central American system of education, in particular in regard to trades, and to encourage them to offer those refugees who claim that they can perform a specific job, a short time of probation within the company under the scrutiny of the respective supervisor. This is a proposal which should probably be instituted as an option for any employee, foreign or Canadian, since it offers an employer better assessment of skills an employee claims to have.

Regarding Discrimination

Recommendation #5:

To encourage closer contact of refugees with the community (similar to recommendation #2) and the employers by means of workshops and dissemination of informational materials to the employers (see recommendation #3). To establish assessment centres for the refugees to establish and certify their skills and training assessment.
Another topic of education would be discrimination. It is a problem which was evident through the various answers of our respondents. As was indicated earlier, this is one major problem which cannot be corrected overnight. It requires a long and continuous education program not restricted only to firms and their management, but to people of all standings and social areas.

However, since the problem is so far-reaching, one has to start somewhere, and one should start where the greatest benefit could be obtained, which is the workplace. The benefits would affect not only our particular refugees, but many other people who have come to Canada not only as refugees but also as immigrants.

There is some sort of discrimination by the governments in the recognition or lack of some of educational documents. This discrimination can be overcome by administering ability and capability tests to the refugees, or by issuing them equivalency documents for their diplomas, etc.

In the same vein, there is the matter of experience, or "Canadian experience" requirements employers impose on the refugees. This also should be considered as discrimination.
Admittedly, we have in Canada different regulations from those in other countries, especially pertaining to buildings, electricity, etc., which people working in those fields have to know and obey. A person should not be required to start at point zero in any of these fields if that person has a number of years of experience in that specific trade or profession in another country. We can discourage that type of discrimination by enabling the refugees to be assessed of their knowledge and experience (e.g. by CEIC) and issuing equivalency certificates which could reduce the need of Canadian experience.

It is possible to lessen the difficulty of restricted employment by administering the medical examination earlier. Though it is not encouraged by local Immigration offices, it is possible to do so. Medical clearance would allow the job seekers access to a much wider variety of jobs, including all food processing jobs such as in restaurants or canning plants, mushroom and other farms, hospitals, medical facilities, and many more.

Other aspects
Recommendation #5:
To open up available employment areas by allowing early medical exams and thus eliminating many of the SIN "9" restrictions of employing refugees.
it goes beyond the scope of this paper to expand on the values and virtues of the increased and active work force composed of refugees, but one has to note the potential of added income for the government in the form of taxes and savings, the increased output of production, the higher volume of goods consumed and subsequently the improvement of the economy.

Not considered is the fact that often immigrants and refugees alike end up having their own business. It has been estimated that one immigrant supports up to nine employees within our Canadian system (ECC, 1991). As well, DeVoretz and Hussein Akbari (1987) have studied immigrants' and refugees' incomes based on Statistics Canada data, and show that the influence of refugees and immigrants on the Canadian labour force and wages is a positive one.

A good educational program and some leniency by the government regulating bodies (Immigration, Health and Welfare) would eliminate many hardship-causing problems for the refugees and increase their chances of finding work by about fifty-five percent. This figure is based on employment information provided by Taiana and Elliott (1990) and shown in table 3 and the following calculation: At present, some employment is restricted to the refugees on the basis of their not having medical clearance. It
includes medical areas, food processing and restaurants, farming and so forth. Assuming the present unrestricted potential employment area of mining, manufacturing/ construction, utilities, transportation, and financial areas amounting to about 42% of the Canadian total employment, and adding to that ten percent of the remaining sectors as being available because they are not totally restricted, we arrive at a total of about 48 percent. In opening up the service areas not requiring Canadian citizenship or resident status (approximately 25% of total employment), we arrive at possible employment areas of 75%, an increase of 56% over the earlier figure.

This still would leave government and some of the administrative service jobs (i.e. federal government, Canada Post, police, etc.) restricted to Canadians and permanent residents out of bounds, but would now encourage the refugees to look into many areas of service work which presently are completely unavailable. Such a move would to a great extent negate the detrimental effect of the SIN beginning with a nine as well.

Such a move and the other proposals described above, could eliminate many of the difficulties described in this paper and thus greatly alleviate the problems experienced by the Hispanic refugees in finding work.
CHAPTER IX
CONCLUSION

Our study has shown a number of problems and difficulties as perceived by the Hispanic refugees during our April 1992 survey. The difficulties included the lack of English language knowledge, the recession and subsequent unemployment, discrimination, lack of knowledge of the immigration process, restrictive work permits and lack of the knowledge of the education as well as of the employment process.

We also analyzed the work background of our typical Hispanic refugees, thus discovering some of their strengths and some of the hidden problems which the refugees did not recognize. Some of these were the difference between the Central American system and the Canadian system of education, work and employment - work cultures. Ignoring these differences causes extra stress and hardship for the refugees.

Analyzing the work history we were able to define which difficulties were only perceived as such and which ones were
APPENDIX A

Thank you for considering answering the following questionnaire. My name is JEAN H. KROES and I am completing my Master's Degree studies at the University of Windsor, Faculty of Business Administration. In this programme, I am writing a thesis about difficulties and problem situations arising during the work search of Hispanic Refugees. It addresses the NON GOVERNMENT SPONSORED REFUGEES in particular. Your help in filling out the questionnaire is very valuable and much appreciated.

1. The questionnaire will help me establish what these problems or difficulties are for Hispanic refugees in the Windsor Area. In identifying these, I hope to be able to show the need for programmes and remedies which can then be suggested to the proper government agencies and institutions. Eventually, better conditions for future refugees are an expected result.

2. Because of the importance for the final result, better conditions for future refugees, I need you to be honest and open in your answers. If you do not feel comfortable in answering a question, please note so and move to the next question without answering the difficult question. Your participation is totally voluntary, you have no obligation to participate.

ALSO NOTE THAT ALL YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE TREATED TOTALLY CONFIDENTIAL. PLEASE DO NOT MARK YOUR NAME ANYWHERE.

3. In answering this questionnaire, you are giving me your consent to use the answers you provide for the purpose of my study. In some questions, you have the option to give further information which could help in subsequent studies involving employers.

4. Participating will take about half an hour of your time. In maintaining the answers to this questionnaire confidential, there is no risk to you. There will be no immediate benefit to you or fellow refugees. If you wish, I will discuss your particular situation with you in a confidential surrounding, with the goal of improving our particular situation.

5. If you wish to have me fill out the form with you, I or my assistant will gladly do so. Please contact me.

6. All answered questionnaires will be destroyed by July 31, 1992, or upon completion of my thesis.

Again, thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any additional questions, please contact me or my assistant.

Jean H. Kroes

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QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Did you learn a trade in your home country?  Yes  No
   If yes, what trade(s) did you learn? __________________________
   __________________________
   __________________________
   Was this a formal training program?  Yes  No

2. Have you learned a trade or specific skills outside of your home country?
   Yes  No
   Which? __________________________
   Where did you learn these skills? __________________________
   How long did your training last? __________________________
   Was it a formal training program?  Yes  No

3. What formal education do you have?
   Public school/grade school  ____ years  Diploma __________
   High school  ____ years  Diploma __________
   Technical school (Vocational)  ____ years  Diploma __________
   University (degree or years) __________________________
   Other school of higher learning. __________________________

4. Through which countries did you come before you entered Canada?  __________________________
   __________________________
   __________________________

QUESTIONNAIRE
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5. Did you work in any of these countries? Yes ___ No ___
   Explain for how long and in what capacities.
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________

6. What jobs have you had in your life outside Canada? How long did they last? Please give details on type of work and length.
   Type of work: ___________________________ Length: ___________________________
   Type of work: ___________________________ Length: ___________________________
   Type of work: ___________________________ Length: ___________________________
   Type of work: ___________________________ Length: ___________________________

B> Next, I need to know about what you knew before coming to Canada.

1. When did you first hear about Canada? ___________________________
   Were you still in your home Country? Yes ___ No ___

2. What did you hear about working in Canada before entering this country?
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
QUESTIONNAIRE

3. Did you have acquaintances, friends or relatives here in Canada before you arrived?  
   Yes __  No __

   Did you communicate with them prior to arriving here?  
   Yes __  No __

   Where did they work and as what? __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________

C> Now I am interested in your present life, what you are doing now in regards to work.

1. How long have you been here in Windsor?  ______________
   What have you seen of our city?  ________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________

2. How long have you been eligible to work (have you had a work permit)?
   __________________________________________

3. At this time, are you working?  Yes __  No __
   How did you look (are you looking) for work?
   __________________________________________
QUESTIONNAIRE

4. Do you have contacts in the trade industry of your trade?  
   Yes ___  No ___

5. Has anyone helped you to find work?  
   Yes ___  No ___

6. Does your spouse work?  
   Yes ___  No ___  No spouse ___
   Is her (his) work related to her (his) past experience?  
   Yes ___  No ___
   How do you feel about him (her) working and you not being able to find work?  
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________

7. If you are applying for work and you are not successful, what are reasons given by the potential employer(s)?
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________

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8. What do you see as the biggest difficulty in finding a job you could keep for a period of time?

9. Would you consider taking a job for a short time, a temporary job?
   Yes  No

10. If you are presently working and looking back, what would you say was your biggest handicap?

11. What would be the single most important advice be to give to your fellow job seekers?

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. The next questions deal with your work and you.
   Have you had any jobs here in Canada? What type and how long? ____________
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________

2. If you answered positively to the previous question, what was your occupation? Did you feel competent for it? Did you know the necessary vocabulary? __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________

3. What do you think was the greatest hurdle in attaining that last job (placement)? __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________
4. What do you feel to be an actual difficulty in getting a good job?

Finally, just a few questions regarding yourself.

1. What is your country of origin? (OPTIONAL.)

2. What languages do you speak? (Please circle the appropriate word for each language under Read, Write, and Speak)
   a. English:
      Read: none little adequate very well excellent
      Write: none little adequate very well excellent
      Speak: none little adequate very well excellent
   b. French:
      Read: none little adequate very well excellent
      Write: none little adequate very well excellent
      Speak: none little adequate very well excellent
   c. Spanish:
      Read: none little adequate very well excellent
      Write: none little adequate very well excellent
      Speak: none little adequate very well excellent

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QUESTIONNAIRE

Question 2 continued

d.) Hispanic Dialects:
   Read: none little adequate very well excellent
   Write: none little adequate very well excellent
   Speak: none little adequate very well excellent

e.) Other: _______________________________________
   Read: none little adequate very well excellent
   Write: none little adequate very well excellent
   Speak: none little adequate very well excellent

3. Your Gender: Male ___ Female ___

4. Your approximate age group:
   under 20 years ___ 21 to 25 years ___
   26 to 30 years ___ 31 to 35 years ___
   36 to 40 years ___ 41 to 45 years ___
   46 to 50 years ___ over 50 years ___

5. Are you a government sponsored refugee? Yes ___ No ___

6. Employer's Name (OPTIONAL) ____________________________

Below is space for you, if you would like to make comments:

___________________________________________

Thank you once again!
GRACIAS por contestar al siguiente cuestionario. Mi nombre es JEAN (Juan) H. KROES y me encuentro finalizando mis estudios de Maestría en la Facultad de Administración de Empresas de la Universidad de Windsor. En este programa me encuentro escribiendo una tesis sobre las dificultades y situaciones problemáticas que se han dado durante la búsqueda de empleo de los Refugiados Hispanos. En particular, me refiero a los REFUGIADOS QUE NO ESTAN PATROCINADOS POR EL GOBIERNO. La ayuda de usted al llenar este cuestionario es muy valiosa y altamente apreciada.

1. El cuestionario me ayudará a establecer cuáles son los problemas y dificultades de los refugiados Hispanos en el área de Windsor. Al identificarlos, espero poder mostrar la necesidad de programas y medidas que podrán ser sugeridas a las agencias e instituciones gubernamentales correspondientes.

2. Debido a la importancia del resultado final, es decir, mejores condiciones para futuros refugiados, Yo necesito que Ud. sea honesto y amplio en sus respuestas. Si Ud. no se siente confortable al responder a alguna de las preguntas, por favor expreselo y continúe con la siguiente pregunta. Su participación es totalmente voluntaria, usted no tiene ninguna obligación en ella.

NOTE TAMBIEN QUE TODAS SUS RESPUESTAS SERAN TRATADAS EN FORMA TOTALMENTE CONFIDENCIAL. POR FAVOR NO ESCRIBA SU NOMBRE.

3. Al contestar a este cuestionario usted me está dando su consentimiento para utilizar las respuestas que usted me brinda para mi estudio. En algunas preguntas, usted tiene la opción de dar información adicional que podría ayudar en estudios posteriores relacionados con los patrones.

4. Su participación tomará aproximadamente media hora de su tiempo. Con el mantener las respuestas a este cuestionario confidenciales, no existirá riesgo para usted. No habrá beneficio inmediato para uds. o sus amigos refugiados. Si Ud. desea, podrá hablarle de su situación particular en un ambiente confidencial afín de mejorar su situación particular.

5. Si Ud. desea que yo o mi ayudante le ayudemos a llenar el formulario, será un placer hacerlo. Por favor pongase en contacto conmigo.

6. Todos los cuestionarios serán destruidos el 30 de Julio de 1992, al completar mi tesis.

Nuevamente, muchísimas gracias por su ayuda. Si Ud. tiene preguntas adicionales por favor póngase en contacto conmigo o con mi asistente.

Jean H. Kroes
Cuestionario

A> Primero quisiera saber algo sobre su educación, y el trabajo que ud. conoce.

1. Aprendió ud. un oficio en su país de origen?  
   Sí____ No____
   Si su respuesta es afirmativa, que oficio(s) aprendió?  ______________
   Tomó para ello un programa formal de entrenamiento?  Sí____ No____

2. Ha aprendido ud. un oficio o entrenamiento específico afuera de su país de origen?  Sí____ No____
   Cuál?  ______________
   Dónde tomó ud. éste entrenamiento?  __________________________
   Cuánto tiempo duró su entrenamiento?  __________________________
   Fué éste un programa de entrenamiento formal?  Sí____ No____

3. Qué educación formal recibió ud.?  
   Escuela Primaria  _____ años Diploma ___
   Escuela Secundaria  _____ años Diploma ___
   Escuela Técnica (Vocacional)  _____ años Diploma ___
   Universidad (título o años)  ________________________
   Otra escuela de educación superior  ________________________

4. Por cuáles países pasó ud. antes de entrar en el Canadá?  
   ______________________
   ______________________
   ______________________

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5. Trabajó ud. en alguno de estos países? 
   Si____ No____
   Explique por cuánto tiempo y en qué posición?
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________

6. Qué trabajos ha tenido ud. en su vida fuera del Canadá? Cuánto tiempo
   duraron? Por favor, proporcione detalles del tipo de trabajo y por
   cuánto tiempo?
   tipo de trabajo________________________ tiempo:____________________
   tipo de trabajo________________________ tiempo:____________________
   tipo de trabajo________________________ tiempo:____________________
   tipo de trabajo________________________ tiempo:____________________

B> A continuación, necesito saber algo sobre lo que ud. sabía
   del Canadá antes de venir.

1. Cuándo escuchó ud hablar del Canadá por primera vez?____________________
   Estaba ud. todavía en su país de origen? Sí____ No____

2. Que supo ud. del trabajo en el Canadá antes de ingresar a este país?
   ______________________________________
   ______________________________________
   ______________________________________
Cuestionario

3. Tenía ud. conocidos, amigos o familiares aquí en el Canadá antes de su llegada?  
   Sí___ No___

   Se comunicó ud. con ellos antes de llegar aquí?  
   Sí___ No___

   En qué lugar trabajaban ellos y en qué cargo y en qué tipo de trabajo?

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Cuestionario

4. Tiene ud. contactos en el campo de su oficio? Si____ No____

5. Le ha ayudado a ud. alguien encontrar trabajo? Si____ No____

6. Trabaja su esposa/o? Si____ No____ No tengo esposa/o________

Se relaciona el trabajo de él (ella) con el trabajo hecho en el pasado? Si____ No____

Cómo se siente ud. por el hecho de que él (ella) está trabajando y ud. no ha podido encontrar trabajo? ____________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

7. Si ud. solicita trabajo y no lo encuentra, cuáles son las razones que le dá el patrón (patrones) potencial? ____________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

176
Cuestionario

8. Cuál es la mayor dificultad que ud. ve para encontrar un trabajo que ud. pudiera mantener por algún periodo de tiempo?

__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

9. Consideraría ud. tomar un trabajo por un corto período de tiempo (trabajo temporal)?
   Si____ No____

10. Si usted está trabajando actualmente y mirara retrospectivamente cuál cree ud. que fue su peor dificultad en conseguir un trabajo?
    __________________________________________________________________________
    __________________________________________________________________________
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11. Cuál sería el consejo más importante que ud. daría a sus compañeros que andan en busca de trabajo?
    __________________________________________________________________________
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Cuestionario

D> La siguiente preguntas tienen que ver con su trabajo y ud.

1. Ha tenido ud. algún trabajo aquí en el Canadá? Qué tipo y por cuánto tiempo?

2. Si ud. contestó a la pregunta anterior afirmativamente, cuál fue su ocupación? Se sintió ud. competente? Conocía ud. el vocabulario necesario?

3. Cuál piensa ud. que fue el obstáculo mayor para lograr el último trabajo?

4. Cuál piensa ud. que sea una dificultad real para obtener un buen trabajo?
Finalmente, unas pocas preguntas con respecto a su persona.

1. Cuál es su país de origen? (OPTATIVO)

2. Que idiomas habla ud.? (Por favor ponga un círculo alrededor de la respuesta adecuada para cada idioma bajo, lee, escribe y habla)

a.) Inglés
   Lee: nada poco regular bien muy bien excelente
   Escribe: nada poco regular bien muy bien excelente
   Habla: nada poco regular bien muy bien excelente

b.) Francés
   Lee: nada poco regular bien muy bien excelente
   Escribe: nada poco regular bien muy bien excelente
   Habla: nada poco regular bien muy bien excelente

c.) Español
   Lee: nada poco regular bien muy bien excelente
   Escribe: nada poco regular bien muy bien excelente
   Habla: nada poco regular bien muy bien excelente

d.) Dialectos Hispanos
   Lee: nada poco regular bien muy bien excelente
   Escribe: nada poco regular bien muy bien excelente
   Habla: nada poco regular bien muy bien excelente

e.) Otros
   Lee: nada poco regular bien muy bien excelente
   Escribe: nada poco regular bien muy bien excelente
   Habla: nada poco regular bien muy bien excelente
Cuestionario

3. Su género:  
   Masculino ____  Femenino ____

4. Su grupo de edad aproximada:
   menor de 20 años ____  de 21 a 25 años ____
   de 26 a 30 años ____  de 31 a 35 años ____
   de 36 a 40 años ____  de 41 a 45 años ____
   de 46 a 50 años ____  mayor de 50 años ____

5. Es ud. un refugiado patrocinado por el gobierno?  
   Sí ____  No ____

6. Nombre de su patrón (OPTATIVO) ______________________

7. Abajo hay espacio para que ud. haga comentarios si así lo desea: _______________________
   _______________________
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Nuevamente, Muchas Gracias!
APPENDIX B

WINDSOR REFUGEE OFFICE

Total number of persons assisted by the Windsor Refugee Office during 1990: 239 Adults and [213 Children]

Number (percentage) of Hispanic refugees from

Chile: 1 (.418%)
El Salvador: 36 [28] (15.06%) & [13.15%]
Guatemala: 10 [5] (4.18%) & [2.3%]
Honduras: 2 (.837%)
Nicaragua: 4 (1.67%)

TOTAL: 53 [33] (22.17%) & [15.49%]

2. The figures presented are those of claimants entering Canada in Windsor and remaining in Windsor during 1990.

For computation of the Windsor estimates based on the IRB data, only the adult factors are used, since parents are usually claiming their children in their application.

"Deadfile" = Refugees who have moved from Windsor; not included in our calculations.
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**DEADFIL EL SALVADOR**

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APPENDIX C

Table of breakdown of Refugees aided by the ISAP - Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program supplied by the Windsor Office, courtesy of Iole Ladipalo - data for 1990 by country of origin.


Number (percentage) of Hispanic refugees

from El Salvador: 28 (9.2 %)
Guatemala: 6 (2%)
Nicaragua: 15 (4.9%)
TOTAL: 49 (16.1%)

It should be noted that these refugees were considered Convention refugees, prior to coming to Canada, by a Canadian government agency abroad (i.e. consulate or embassy).

Since this process is very time consuming and exhausting, very few Central American refugees are able to take advantage of it, since most have to leave their home country at extremely short notice. Because of lack of funds to sustain them for long periods of time and/or their fear of being discovered and returned to their home country, few will apply at a consulate on their way to Canada to apply for refugee status.
Information from the Immigration office, Windsor

Number of Hispanic refugee status claimants arriving at Windsor and St. Clair Region border points in 1990.

From

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IRB - IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE BOARD

IRB News release excerpts:


The following pages offer the break-down of refugee status claimants entering all of Canada. In our study we are concerned with those passing the first hearing.

The statistic summary for 1991 was provided to demonstrate the drop in admissions of Hispanics to Canada partially caused by the US moratorium on deportations of Salvadoreans.
## IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE BOARD
CONVENTION REFUGEE DETERMINATION DIVISION

### STATISTICAL SUMMARY
January 1, 1990 - December 31, 1990

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**"Not Stated" refers to claims whose country of alleged persecution was not cited when their claims were received."**
## IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE BOARD
### CONVENTION REFUGEE DETERMINATION DIVISION

### STATISTICAL SUMMARY


### Initial Hearing Stage vs. Full Hearing Stage

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BIBLIOGRAPHY


VITA AUCTORIS

Jean H. Kroes was born on January 8, 1947 in Bevensen, Germany and was raised near Vevey, Vaud, Switzerland. He completed an apprenticeship as tool and die maker, became technical draughtsman and merchant before he emigrated to Windsor, Ontario in 1968. His experiences as new immigrant were left embedded in his memory throughout his working and university career and became catalyst for the present study.

In 1973 he graduated from the University of Windsor with a B.A. honours in French and German literature with a communication Arts minor. He is currently a candidate for the Masters degree in Business Administration at the University of Windsor and hopes to graduate from there in Fall 1992.