AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE ESTONIAN REFUGEE INTELLECTUAL IN MONTREAL

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Tilu-Mai Groenberg was born October 25, 1937 in Tallinn, Estonia. She received the Bachelor of Arts degree from McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, in 1959.

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INTRODUCTION

The problem of the study here reported was to investigate the psychological and social adjustment of the Estonian refugee intellectual in Montreal, and to determine what variables influence his adjustment. Its purpose was to discover some of the more important situations to which the Estonian refugee intellectual in Montreal has had to adjust in settling in Canada, his attitudes and feelings regarding this, and some of the ways in which the adjustment has been made.

To become a refugee is an interruption and frustration of natural expectations in the normal process along the life curve. This is a common factor that faces all refugees in one way or another.

Margaret Mead at a meeting of the World Federation for Mental Health in 1958 said:

> We know of no human society where there were no refugees. (...) Right through human history we have had to solve difficulties in one place by giving shelter and sanctuary in another. (...) Those countries which have specialized in taking in those who have been thrust out or had to flee from their homes - Switzerland, Israel, Australia, Canada, the United States (...) are becoming, on a magnified scale, part of the tradition of sanctuary once afforded by the single altar, or single spot to which the hunted could flee.[1]

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1 World Federation for Mental Health, Uprooting and Resettlement, Report of the Eleventh Annual Meeting, London, 1960, p. 149.

In 1947 the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, spoke as follows about the aims of the Canadian post-war immigration policy:

> The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration. (...) Among other considerations it should take account of the urgent problem of resettlement of persons who are displaced and homeless, as an aftermath of the world conflict.[2]

Canada has maintained these aims, and as a result, approximately a quarter of a million refugees were admitted to this country between 1946 and 1957.

It is an important and timely problem to study how this large segment of the population has adjusted to life in Canada.

The first part of the thesis is concerned with a review of the literature on the adjustment of refugees. This review reveals that there have been few recent attempts to study the psychological and social adjustment of refugees who have arrived as immigrants in Canada after World War II.

Then follows a description of the design of the study, emphasizing the exploratory method. It gives definitions of terms, the principles used in the selection of the sample, and a description of the tool which was used in the study. It also explains the analysis of the results,

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2 Idem, p. 107.

and gives personal and identifying data about the subjects and their families.

The results of this study are then presented. They begin with a description of the migration of the subjects, especially their experiences in connection with leaving Estonia, and their immigration to Canada. The adjustment of the subjects is then described, with emphasis on their general adjustment problems, their work, and their recreative activities. Finally, their self-identification with ethnic groups is explained, especially their attitudes towards Canadians, and their relations with Canadians and with fellow Estonian refugees.

The information acquired by this study is then discussed in the following chapter in the same order in which it was presented.

Some implications for subsequent research are indicated, and in the appendices the questionnaire, the answers, and a description of the national background of the Estonian refugees are given.

CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

J. G. Stoessinger writes that "psychological probings concerning the refugee constitute an excursion into what is still largely "terra incognita"".[1] This statement seems to give an accurate picture of the relatively undiscovered field of refugee psychology, and it is for this reason that the present study is necessarily at an exploratory level.

Relatively few recent studies have been made of the psychological and social adjustment of immigrants to Canada, and even fewer investigations have been conducted of the adjustment problems of refugees who have arrived as immigrants since World War II. It seems that much of the literature on the refugees is either of an emotional nature, or statistical with little attempt at analysis. However, in research even the warmest sympathy must be combined with objectivity if it is to yield some useful results.

Only some of the more recent studies and writings on refugees were selected for this review, and they will be discussed under the following headings:

1. The Refugee Problem.

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1 J.G. Stoessinger, The Refugee and the World Community, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1956, p. 189.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2. Studies of Various Groups of Refugees.

3. Studies of Baltic Refugees.

1. The Refugee Problem.

Concerning the importance of the refugee problem, an introduction to a study by Jones and Lambert points out that the displacement and migration of people has been a significant feature of many countries after World War II:

> The social relationships of immigrants in the communities in which they are settled present problems of extraordinary importance to social scientists as well as to community leaders. (...) Approximately one in nine persons in Canada is a post-war immigrant.[2]

Elfan Rees writes:

> Far too little attention has been paid to the mental health aspect of the refugee problem. It was heartening therefore that the World Federation for Mental Health devoted the whole of its time at its annual meeting in 195[illegible] to this problem. (...) The long-term effects of having been a refugee will always in our time call for the concern and compassion of the community.[3]

A. Stearns in her study on refugees writes:

> We have advanced the view that there is a psychology of the uprooted - independent of their

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2 F. Jones and W. E. Lambert, "Attitudes toward Immigrants in a Canadian Community", in Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 4, issue of Winter 1959, p. 537.

3 Elfan Rees, We Strangers and Afraid, New York, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1959, p. ...

> respective ethnic and national origin; that to study these psychological data is of utmost importance both for the uprooted individual and for the host country which gave him sanctuary.[4]

She stresses the value of autobiographical material as a method of studying the refugee:

> It is a conviction with us that in no other way may we piece together the mosaic of the newcomer's psychology. (...) There is hardly a better way (even if there might be a more efficient way of doing it) to get first hand information about
> a. what had hurt them in the past;
> b. what continues to disturb their peace now;
> c. what hurts them in the behavior of others here, in their new environment.[5]

Taft and Robbins point out that:

> This is the age of the refugee, the century of the rootless man. Expelled from one place and unwelcome in another, the European refugee is the tragic product of war, of totalitarianism, of the crisis of the nation-state system. He is the man of three parts instead of two - body, soul, and passport. (...)
> The European refugee's path is erratic, a drifting traumatic journey from "one international waiting room" to another.[6]

2. Studies of Various Groups of Refugees.

Studies by Tyhurst, Strotzka, and Olsson led to various results.

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4 A. Stearns, L'intellectuel européen et le problème de son intégration culturelle au Canada, Ph.D. thesis presented to the Faculté des Lettres of the University of Montreal, Quebec, 1954, p. 111.

5 Idem, p. 111.

6 D. R. Taft and R. Robbins, International Migrations, New York, Ronald, 1955, p. 109.

Tyhurst[7] studied a group of 70 normal refugees and a group of 48 refugees who were psychiatric patients. In a discussion of the interpretation of the findings she presents an outline of the psychosocial dynamics of immigration and displacement, and gives particular emphasis to the factor of social mobility.

> Social mobility is the central social dynamic for the understanding of both the various determining factors and the reactions of migrants. It operates horizontally as the individual moves from one culture to another, and vertically, as the individual moves from one social class to another.[8]

Tyhurst emphasizes that significant differences exist between the nature of mobility in the refugee and in the ordinary immigrant. These differences exaggerate the consequences of mobility in the refugee, and make it a more severe psychological experience for him. Tyhurst has outlined the differences as follows:

1. Motivation to emigrate.
2. Increased degree of vertical mobility.
3. Repeated horizontal and vertical mobility.
4. Destruction of, or crucial changes in culture of origin.
5. Mobility under chaotic circumstances.
6. Exposure to severe stresses.[9]

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7 L. Tyhurst, "Displacement and Migration, a Study in Social Psychiatry", in American Journal of Psychiatry, Vol. 107, February 1951, p. 561-568.

8 Idem, p. 565.

9 Idem, p. 567.

In discussing the above differences in mobility between the refugee and the ordinary immigrant, the author states that the migrant's motivation to emigrate will have an important influence on his attitude toward the country to which he immigrates. Tyhurst points out that in contrast to the motivation of the immigrant who has left his country voluntarily, "the motivation of the refugee to migrate is negative rather than positive - he is oriented primarily in terms of leaving."[10]

Concerning the increased degree of vertical mobility of the refugee, the above study points out that the ordinary immigrant who moves horizontally usually retains his social status, whereas the refugee does not. "Vertical mobility from one social class to another represents a more severe displacement in western culture than does horizontal mobility."[11]

Tyhurst also emphasizes that the refugee has experienced either repeated horizontal and vertical mobility or the equivalent - the occupation of his maternal country by different cultural groups. The Baltic countries which were highly developed culturally and whose recorded history dates back to Tacitus, have been "occupied in

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10 Idem, p. 507.

11 Idem, p. 507

succession since World War II by the Russians, the Germans, and again by the Russians."[12] This type of situation, Tyhurst notes, would certainly further emphasize the psychological consequences of mobility.

Discussing the destruction of the culture of origin, the above study notes that the voluntary immigrant has the advantage of being oriented into the new culture by members of his own ethnic group who are already partially integrated in the new country. The refugee, however, has no physical ties with his country.

> And, in addition to this physical rootlessness, there is also the psychological rootlessness - the awareness that the social norms and values he believed in at home have been destroyed, whether or not he actually witnessed the destruction.[13]

Finally, Tyhurst's study reports that the chaotic circumstances under which the refugee's mobility has taken place, and the severe stresses to which he has been exposed, must influence him considerably.

H. Strotzka[14] studied refugees in several countries and found that the following factors influence their process

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12 Idem, p. 567.

13 Idem, p. 567.

14 United Nations, The Social and Economic Aspects of Refugee Integration, Report of a European Seminar Organized by the European Office of the Technical Assistance Office of the United Nations, Stockholm, 1960, p. 73-81.

of adjustment. First, there are differences in cultural background. Strotzka states that adjustment is easy only if there are no definite differences between the country of origin and the country of asylum with respect to the system of values and the social structure. In agreement with Tyhurst's study referred to above, Strotzka notes that social mobility also plays an important role. For example, a highly skilled worker who finds a better paid position with higher social prestige in the new country will after a short period consider himself as adjusted, in contrast to someone who cannot find at least the same social position as in his home country. He reports further that language problems also have a definite influence on the result of adjustment. Age and sex have also to be considered. In addition, it makes a great difference to his capacity for adjustment if the refugee is alone or within a family unit. The same author also points out that from the psychological viewpoint, adjustment can be considered as successful only if the refugee himself feels satisfied.

Strotzka notes that the main complaints of the refugees who came to his notice during the study concerned lower social status and lack of acceptance in the new society. The removal from a known area into an unknown one, he writes, requires courage, intelligence and initiative in meeting new economic conditions and establishing new social ties.

Like all other human actions and experiences, mobility has ambivalent aspects, as it may either create conflicts or solve them. The answer to the new conflicts, Strotzka feels, cannot be passive adjustment, as mere conformity will never contribute to a creative and satisfying existence.

Olsson[15], who studied the refugee in Sweden, points out that a negative factor in the adjustment process of the refugee is the abruptly broken contact with relatives. Once the refugee himself is in safety abroad, he is worried about members of his family left behind with whom he cannot communicate.

Olsson also notes that the fact that a refugee as a rule brings with him neither capital nor possessions and this is a handicap to his adjustment. "It has been our experience in Sweden that employment is of the greatest importance to the adjustment of refugees."[16] Olsson reports that Sweden has a special form of unemployment relief for the intellectual worker, known as "archives work" by means of which the refugees come into contact with scientific institutions and in many cases are able to pursue their scholarly interest. A few university chairs have been created for refugees, and numerous refugee scientists have

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15 Idem, p. 90-96.

16 Idem, p. 92.

been employed by state institutions in Sweden. Olsson also reports that the intellectual workers most difficult to place are former lawyers, civil servants, and teachers, while specialists in the natural and applied sciences are usually able to find positions in their respective fields.

3. Studies of Baltic Refugees.

H. Foster[17] conducted a study in 1950 on the social adjustment of Baltic newcomers in British Columbia. This group of refugees was studied by means of tests, interviews, systematic field observations, and a questionnaire. The interviews and field observations were used concurrently throughout the study. The questionnaire which was used towards the end of the study was administered to sixty-two refugees from the Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Results of the investigation showed that "Some of the tension-situations to which the refugees had to adjust arouse out of difficulties encountered in understanding the Canadian culture and in connection with interpreting their own culture to Canadians."[18] The two problems which seemed

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17 H. Foster, A Study of the Social Adjustment of Baltic Newcomers in British Columbia and an Evaluation of the Methods and Techniques Used, Master's thesis presented to the Department of Philosophy and Psychology of the University of British Columbia, British Columbia, 1950, 136 p.

18 Idem, p. 1.

to be of great concern to the refugees

> were those arising out of the Russian occupation of their homeland, which resulted in the deportation of friends and relatives; and the separation of families due to the preference given to single adults under the Canadian immigration policy and its administration.[19]

In 1948 Bakis[20] conducted a study on the psychological adjustment of refugees in Germany. In that study a questionnaire was used, consisting of thirty questions of various types. The questionnaire was distributed among 1,700 Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, and Ukrainians who had been living in the refugee camps for nine years. About 30 per cent of the questionnaires were returned, and revealed a disturbed emotional balance among the refugees.

The writer of the present investigation undertook this study in order to obtain more information on the variables which influence the adjustment of immigrants of refugee background in Canada. Although this problem is of considerable importance for this country, it has not been widely investigated. The specific purpose of the study was to discover what problems are created when the members of a

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19 Idem, p. 1.

20 E. Bakis, "A Study of Displaced Persons" in the Yearbook of the Estonian Learned Society in America, Vol. 1, 1954, p. 51.

particular European national group whose families have lived for generations within their own country and society, are suddenly forced to migrate, and having no opportunity to return to their homeland, try to adjust to life in Canada.

CHAPTER II

DESIGN

In order to find the answers to the research problem an exploratory study was undertaken. A review of the literature shows, as was pointed out earlier, that there have been few recent studies of the adjustment of Estonian refugees who have arrived here as immigrants after World War II. This study, therefore, dealt with the broad pattern of psychological and social adjustment, rather than with any particular aspect of it.

R. H. Shevenell writes that "the purpose of an exploratory survey is to become acquainted with a situation in an objective, detailed and precise manner."[1]

According to Sellitz, the purpose of exploratory studies is "to gain familiarity with a phenomenon or to achieve new insights into it, often in order to formulate a more precise research problem or to develop hypotheses. (...) The major emphasis is on discovery of ideas and insight."[2]

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1 R. H. Shevenell, Research and Theses, Ottawa, University Press, 195[illegible], p. 29.

2 C. Sellitz, M. Jahoda, et al, Research Methods in Social Relations, New York, Holt, 1960, p. 50.

The writer of the present study wishes to investigate the psychological and social adjustment of refugees in a subsequent, more highly-structured study for the Doctorate. Hence the main reason for conducting the present study at an exploratory level is "to clarify concepts, and establish priorities for further research."[3]

The design of the study is described in this chapter in the following sequence: definitions of terms, the principles used in the selection of the sample, a description of the tool used in the study, the analysis of the results, and personal and identifying data about the subjects and their families.

1. Definitions of Terms.

a) Refugee and Immigrant.

The term "refugee" may be defined as follows:

> The essential quality of a refugee may be said to be that he has left his country of regular residence, of which he may or may not be a national, as a result of political events in that country which render his continued residence impossible or intolerable, and has taken refuge in another country or, if already absent from his home, is unwilling or unable to return without danger to life and liberty.[4]

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3 Idem, p. 51.

4 J. H. Simpson, The Refugee Problem, Report of a Survey, London, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1939, p. 4.

The term "immigrant" refers to a person who leaves his country of origin voluntarily and takes up residence in a new country. He may, however, return to his homeland without any danger to his life.

A fundamental difference therefore exists between the immigrant and the refugee. The immigrant who has a nationality, is usually not forced to migrate, although he may feel compelled to do so, mostly through economic necessity. But the link with his family, his country and his national community is not broken. This link always exists, and the immigrant always knows that if he is not satisfied in the country to which he goes, he can return to his country of origin, where he can again find human relationships which he had temporarily disrupted, but which had not been destroyed. The refugee, however, has been forced to migrate, and he cannot return.

The refugees who were studied in this survey were also immigrants in the sense that they had voluntarily decided to settle in Canada, but not in the sense that it was safe for them to return to their homeland.

b) Canadian and Estonian.

Although nearly all the subjects were Canadian citizens, in this study they are always referred to as Estonians or as Estonian refugees to distinguish them from

native Canadians. Those referred to as Canadians, are native-born, permanent Canadian residents who are not recent European immigrants, or refugees of World War II.

c) Psychological and Social Adjustment.

In this study the term "psychological and social adjustment" is used to cover the whole range of changes in attitudes, and emotional and overt changes which were mentioned by the refugees as ways in which they had tried to adjust to situations as they had found them in Canada. The situations considered are social in that they involve interrelations with Canadians and with fellow Estonian refugees. The concept of adjustment thus implies the establishment of a workable arrangement between personal needs and social conditions.

2. The Sample.

The sample, which consisted of thirty-seven male and thirteen female subjects, was drawn from a group of 155 Estonian refugees in Montreal, all of whom were forty years old or older, who obtained most of their university training in Estonia, and who immigrated to Canada and settled in Montreal approximately ten to fifteen years ago. Though these were the only criteria used in the selection of the sample, a more detailed description of the subjects could be

given after the questionnaire had been verbally administered.[5]

The Estonian refugee intellectuals in Montreal were chosen for this study because of the following reasons:

a) The adjustment of the Estonian refugees in Canada is a new problem for this country. The Estonians have not immigrated to Canada in large numbers in previous years. The Estonian Yearbook of Statistics[6] shows that between 1924 and 1935 the following number of Estonians immigrated to Canada:

Year	Estonian Emigrants
1924	39
1925	23
1926	-
1927	-
1928	115
1929	141
1930	97
1931	6
1932	5
1933	4
1934	2
1935	3

Consequently, an Estonian minority group hardly existed in Canada before the end of World War II. However, since the war the adjustment of the Estonian refugees has

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5 A more detailed description of the subjects will be found in Section 5 of this chapter, pages 23-26.

6 Bureau Central de Statistique de l'Estonie, Estonie En Chiffres, Résumé Rétrospectif de 1920-1935, Tallinn, Le Bureau, 1937, p. 47.

become an essential problem for this country because an Estonian minority group has now been established.

b) The Estonian refugees, like the rest of the Baltic refugees, differ from refugees from most other countries because the Baltic states are the only countries which after having been occupied by the communists were almost immediately constitutionally annexed to the Soviet Union.[7] It seems, therefore, unlikely that the Baltic refugees will be able to return to their respective homelands during their lifetime. These refugees have only one choice: to adjust in the country where they have settled.

c) This particular sample was selected because it made it possible to study a variety of problems which are involved in adjustment.

d) This sample was available for study.

3. The Tool.

To discover and identify the problems of adjustment of the Estonian refugees in Montreal, the method of the oral questionnaire was selected. The questionnaire had to be constructed for the purposes of the study. The sources of the questions were the results of the previous research,

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7 A national background of the Estonian refugees will be found in Appendix 2, pages 153-159.

and the writer's observations on problems frequently discussed in Estonian communities in Canada.

The questionnaire[8] contains 122 items which deal with the following general topics:

1. Personal and Identifying Data

   A. About the subject.
   B. About the subject's family.

2. Migration

   A. Experiences in connection with leaving Estonia.
   B. Immigration to Canada.

3. Adjustment

   A. General adjustment problems.
   B. Work and income.
   C. Recreative activities.

4. Self-Identification with Ethnic Groups

   A. Attitudes towards Canadians.
   B. Relations with Canadians and with fellow Estonian refugees.

Approximately 80 per cent of the items in the questionnaire consist of fixed-response questions requiring "yes" or "no" answers, or answers in terms of fixed categories. The remaining questions are of the open-end type.

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8 A list of the questions will be found in Appendix 1, p. 106-153.

The questions were written according to a guide for questionnaire construction which also suggested the order in which the questions were presented to the subjects.[9] The questions have been systematized in Appendix 1, however, they were presented to the subjects in the following order of question numbers: 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 108, 44, 65, 43, 53, 48, 51, 52 a), 52 b), 109 a), 109 b), 92, 93 a), 93 b), 110 a), 110 b), 111, 122 a), 122 b), 122 c), 97, 98, 100, 99, 101, 102, 103, 112, 113 a), 113 b), 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 54, 55, 56, 57, 62, 63, 107, 74, 76, 79 a), 79 b), 78, 77, 75, 39, 89, 90, 91, 64 a), 64 b), 70, 104, 105, 106, 94, 95, 96, 41, 42, 38, 72, 71, 58, 59, 60, 61, 66, 67, 34, 35, 36, 37 a), 37 b), 68, 69, 50, 4, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 8, 10, 73 a), 73 b), 73 c), 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 22, 27 a), 27 b), 30, 31, 32, 28 a), 28 b), 28 c), 29, 17, 18, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 40, 85 a), 85 b), 86, 87, 88, 33, 45 a), 45 b), 46, 47 a), 47 b), 49, 120, 121.

The questionnaire was pre-tested, and minor changes were made in the wording of a few questions. The subjects in this pre-test showed interest in the study and their response was very cooperative.

Before the interviewing was begun, the author contacted prominent members of the Estonian Society in

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9 Sellitz, Jahoda, et al., Op. Cit., p. 546.

Montreal, and explained the purpose of the study to them. This procedure was followed in order to avoid any apprehensive suspicion by the subjects.

It was decided to administer the questionnaire by means of personal interviews instead of using mail questionnaires because previous studies have shown that in surveys where questionnaires are mailed to a random sample of the population, the proportion of returns has been low.

The writer telephoned each subject individually to arrange an interview, which was given in the subject's home. The interview consisted of the administration of the questionnaire, and lasted approximately two hours for each subject. It was a standardized interview in which all questions were asked exactly as they were worded, and in the same order as they were placed on the questionnaire.

Lindzey states the following arguments in support of the standardized interview:

1. It incorporates a basic principle of measurement: that of making information comparable from case to case.
2. It is more reliable.
3. It minimizes errors of question wording.[10]

The interviews were conducted in Estonian in order to establish a better rapport, and because many refugees

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10 G. Lindzey, Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 1, Cambridge, Addison-Wesley, 1954, p. 451.

can express themselves more fluently in their mother tongue than in English or French. An Estonian translation of the questionnaire was therefore used.

Previous studies have shown that methods and techniques which ensure the anonymity of the subjects have been most successful in securing the cooperation of the refugees. The subjects were therefore assured that their names would not be disclosed in the study.

All subjects responded to the study with interest; they were cooperative, and the rapport with each subject was excellent. The subjects became especially talkative when asked about the experiences during their escapes from Estonia, their adjustment problems in Canada, their work, and their attitudes towards Canadians. Several interviews lasted for almost five hours. It seemed to the writer that the interviews provided an outlet for anxieties for several refugees who had had especially trying experiences during the war. Many said that they often pondered over some of the questions asked during the interviews, but that they had rarely or never discussed them previously.

Although only one-third of the questions were of the open-end type, most subjects elaborated extensively on their responses. They were seldom interrupted by the interviewer because of the exploratory nature of the study, and because many subjects by their elaborations gave further

information to the problem of the study. The replies which are quoted as examples in the following chapter contain the original elaborations of the subjects.

The cooperative attitude of the subjects continued even for a few months after all the interviews had been conducted, when it was necessary for statistical purposes to mail an additional question to each subject during the tabulation of the data. Seventy-two per cent of the subjects then returned their replies within two days after the letters were mailed out, and all the remaining subjects sent their answers shortly afterwards, without any further reminders from the writer of this study.

4. Analysis of the Results.

After the data from all the interviews had been gathered, they were categorized, coded and tabulated. The analysis of the 6,100 responses was done in Estonian. The coding process was automatic for 80 per cent of the replies which were fixed-response type of answers, and for which the respondent himself indicated the specific category in which he was placed. The remaining 20 per cent open-ended responses were placed in categories, the basic classification principle of which was based on the research problem.

In the analysis, the data of percentages were broken down into subclassifications which were compared and then

correlated.

5. Personal and Identifying Data About the Subjects and Their Families.

A. The Subjects.

All subjects, except one who did not wish to disclose age, ranged in age as follows:

Age	Percentage
Sixty and above	20
Fifty to fifty-nine	52
Forty to forty-nine	20

Most of the subjects (80 per cent) and their parents (94 per cent) were born in Estonia. Only 14 per cent of the subjects were born outside their homeland, and 6 per cent reported that one of their parents was not born in Estonia.

Concerning marital status, 88 per cent were married, 10 per cent were widowed, and 2 per cent were separated. Most (80 per cent) had been married in Estonia; only 20 per cent were married in exile. All subjects, except those who were widowed or separated, had been married for the following number of years:

Number of years	Percentage
Forty and longer	6
Thirty-five to thirty-nine	6
Thirty to thirty-four	12
Twenty-five to twenty-nine	16
Twenty to twenty-four	24
Fifteen to nineteen	12
Ten to fourteen	10
Nine and less	4

Most of the subjects (44 per cent) received their university training at the University of Tartu, Estonia. One-third (32 per cent) studied at the Technical University in Tallinn, Estonia, and 18 per cent received their degrees from foreign universities. The remaining 6 per cent of the sample studied at various Estonian colleges.

The subjects had majored in the following courses:

Course	Percentage
Engineering, Civil or Mechanical	30
Law	20
Electrical Engineering	10
Architecture	10
Economics	8
Pharmacy	8
Forestry	4
Other	10

The following is a distribution of the number of years they studied at university or college:

Number of years	Percentage
Eleven to thirteen	2
Eight to ten	18
Five to seven	46
Two to four	34

Almost all subjects (90 per cent) were university graduates. Only 10 per cent did not graduate.

Nearly four-fifths (78 per cent) studied English at school in Estonia, for the following number of years:

Number of Years	Percentage
Eight and more	10
Seven	3
Six	6
Five	36
Four	10
Three and less	8

The remaining subjects (22 per cent) did not stud/ English in Estonia.

In exile, 70 per cent of the subjects had again studied English before coming to Canada, for the following number of years:

Number of Years	Percentage
Seven to eight	2
Five to six	-
Three to four	14
One to two	28
Less than one	26

An additional 6 per cent said that they were sufficiently fluent in English already in Estonia. The remaining 24 per cent of the subjects had not studied English in exile before coming to Canada.

After their arrival in Canada, 30 per cent studied English by taking courses. The others said that they had learned the language either by daily conversation (26 per cent), by reading books and newspapers (1[illegible] per cent), or by listening to the radio and watching television (8 per cent). Some subjects (12 per cent) said they had not studied English here, and [illegible] per cent knew English well on

arrival in Canada.

Over half (54 per cent) had studied French at school in Estonia for the following number of years:

Number of years	Percentage
Eight and more	14
Seven	6
Six	10
Five	4
Four	2
Three and less	18

Another 46 per cent had not studied French in Estonia.

In exile, 14 per cent of the subjects had studied French before immigrating to Canada.

Nearly half the subjects (42 per cent) had studied French in Canada, and had learned the language by taking courses (18 per cent), by daily conversation (12 per cent), by reading books and newspapers (8 per cent), or by listening to the radio and watching television (4 per cent).

Concerning their medical history, 26 per cent reported having had serious diseases, more than two-thirds of which had occurred in Canada. Also, 38 per cent of the subjects said that they had been hospitalized in exile.

B. The Families of the Subjects.

a) The Spouse.

(The results presented below do not include the data concerning the spouses of subjects who were widowed or separated. All the percentages reported in this section therefore amount to 88 per cent.)

The wives and husbands of the subjects, except one whose age was not disclosed, ranged in age as follows:

Age	Percentage
Sixty and above	10
Fifty to fifty-nine	40
Forty to forty-nine	32
Thirty-nine and below	4

Most spouses (80 per cent) and their parents (84 per cent) were born in Estonia. The remaining spouses (8 per cent) and their parents (4 per cent) were born outside their homeland.

Concerning their educational background, 24 per cent were university or college graduates, and 6 per cent had attended university without graduating. The others were either high school graduates (44 per cent), or had enrolled in various additional courses after completing high school (14 per cent).

Most spouses (66 per cent) had worked in their homeland, and the following were their occupations while in Estonia:

Occupation	Percentage
Professional	26
Office clerk	24
Sales clerk	10
Other	6

The remaining spouses (22 per cent) did not work in Estonia. After their arrival in Canada, however, 72 per cent had to start working. At the time of the study, 50 per cent of the subjects' spouses were still employed, 13 per cent had worked only for a short time here, and 4 per cent had stopped working recently.

The following were the occupations of the spouses in Canada:

Occupation	Percentage
Office clerk	32
Technical profession	12
Skilled worker	8
Sales clerk	4
Nurse	4
Part-time work and other	12

The rest of the spouses (16 per cent) had never worked in Canada.

b) The Children.

Nearly three-fourths (72 per cent) of the subjects had children. Table I. - Distribution of the Number of Children of Estonian Refugees by Age and Sex, Born in Various Countries - (page 30) indicates that there was an approximately equal number of children of either sex, and

that most of the fifty-three children were born in Estonia. Concerning the education of the children, it can be seen from Table II. - Distribution of the Number of Children of Estonian Refugees by Levels of Education and Countries in Which Studies Were Made - (page 31) that from a total of fifty-three children, forty-two had graduated from high school, and thirty-two of the latter had entered university. The majority of the children had been educated in Canadian schools.

The university graduates held the following degrees:

Degree	Number
Ph. D.	2
M.A. or M.Sc.	2
B.A. or B.Sc.	11

Thirty-one children lived at home, and of those who lived away from home, seventeen were married and five were single. Twelve children were married to fellow Estonian refugees, and five were married to members of other nationalities.

Table I.-

Distribution of the Number of Children of Estonian Refugees by Age and Sex, Born in Various Countries.

	Country of Birth						
	Estonia		Other European Countries		Canada		
Age	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total
22 and above	15	15	--	--	--	--	30
13 - 21	6	6	2	4	--	--	18
12 and below	--	--	1	1	3	--	5
Total	21	21	3	5	3	--	53

Table II.-

Distribution of the Number of Children of Estonian Refugees by Levels of Education and Countries in Which Studies Were Made.

Country	Elementary Schools	High Schools	Universities
Graduates	49	42	11
Estonia	7	3	--
Sweden	6	1	--
Germany	3	2	--
France	3	--	--
Canada	30	36	11
Students			
Canada	4	6	17
Post-graduate Students			
Canada	--	--	4
Total	53	48	32

CHAPTER III

PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

This chapter presents the results which were obtained from the interviews.

It begins with a description of the migration of the subjects, with emphasis given to their experiences in connection with leaving Estonia, and their immigration to Canada. Their adjustment in Canada is then described, with particular reference to their general adjustment problems, their work, and recreative activities. Finally, their self-identification with ethnic groups is explained, especially their attitudes towards Canadians, and their relations with Canadians and with fellow Estonian refugees.

1. Migration.

A. Experiences in Connection with Leaving Estonia.

The majority of the subjects (86 per cent) had left Estonia in 1944, but some subjects (14 per cent) left in 1943.

When asked whether they wished to describe briefly their escape to the free world, many subjects described in detail how they had left Estonia. For most, the escape had involved very difficult experiences and personal tragedy. The reasons why they had decided to flee was typically expressed by one subject:

> My decision was that it's better to drown in the Baltic Sea than be sent to Siberia and die there slowly.

The following examples of replies illustrate the severe experiences which most persons underwent during their escape:

> We came in a small fishing boat with thirty-two people on board. It was meant to carry just six people. And we were caught in a storm.

> I came in a small sail-boat which was caught in a storm, and it took us eleven days, instead of a normal one day trip to get to Sweden.

> We had all kinds of experiences on the sea, and the Russian planes tried to fire at our boat, but they didn't hit us.

> We came in a small fishing boat. There were twenty to twenty-five people in the boat. The Russians were after us all the time. Then a storm began and our boat was filled with water, and we got the feeling that the end was near... At night we were afraid of the Russian submarines, and in the morning their planes came up from the horizon and fired at us, but they didn't hit us. They fired three times at us. We saw another ship with refugees hit and sank.

> I came in a German ship which was on its way to Germany, whose captain and crew were all Germans. But there was also an Estonian captain on board among the refugees. And so we had mutiny on board. But no bullets were fired. We got the German captain drunk, and while one of our Estonian girls entertained him, the Estonian captain took over the command of the ship, and steered it to Sweden.

> We began our escape in a truck. I put my wife and child in the front, and I hid myself in the back of the truck. We drove to ---[1] , and then we

---

1 Names of cities and some countries have been omitted to retain the anonymity of the subjects.

walked towards the coast. But we had to wait there for five days because we couldn't get a boat. And then, finally, we escaped to --- in a small motor boat. My only child died in the boat on our way there, we couldn't get a doctor; she was six months old. Things didn't go so well for me for a while after that.

We got away when the communist tanks were right behind us. It was a narrow escape. We were lucky to get away. When we arrived in Finland we were told that we would have to leave immediately because the Russians were there too. Then we got an old boat and left Finland. Soon after we left, a storm began, and it carried us northwards. Then there was a group of communists on board who wanted to steer the ship back towards the coast. One man on board committed suicide because of that. He died slowly for five hours. The trip lasted for thirty-six hours. The women and children were below deck. They were in agony down there because they couldn't see what was going on... All at once we saw lights shining from the shore, and the Swedish coast-guard came to greet us. It was a nice surprise to see that the store windows were lighted in the city... The rough and rocky landscape of the North affected me strangely. I have never felt such loneliness.

The saddest and most depressing part was when a ship sank with 3,500 wounded, women and children on board. I saw how it sank, we were in the ship right behind it. It was hit by bombs from Russian planes. In seventeen minutes everything was gone, not a drop of anything was left of the ship. Those who dared, 257 out of 3,500, jumped and were brought to safety. The water was calm and the scene of those small children whose dead bodies were floating... Then we came to --- . But when the Russians arrived there we had to flee again. Then we began to walk; for a month we fled on foot, my mother, my child, and I. My baby was only a few months old then. We slept outdoors all the time. We had a wagon and then someone gave us a horse in exchange for a suitcase. That made it easier... Then we arrived in --- , and I got a job there. I weighed eighty-six pounds when we arrived there. I was so starved and so weak then that I didn't have any strength to walk. We were near an American military camp then, and I went to their dining-door and asked for food. Then a soldier came to the door

and asked me how many we were. Three, I replied. Then the soldier returned with three parcels of food.

The subjects were also questioned on their most unforgettable experience during their escape and during the war. More than two-thirds of the subjects (63 per cent) said that they had had terrifying and unforgettable experiences. One subject did not wish to describe these experiences because they had been too painful.

The following are examples of their answers:

Everyday was difficult, how to keep oneself alive.

The departure... I was on the last ship. It had a capacity for 150 people and there were 800 people on board. People were screaming on the shore but they couldn't get on our ship.

Russian planes fired at our boat, and it burned during our escape across the sea.

Russian planes were firing at our ship, and I was ready to leave my youngest child on the burning ship, and jump into the sea with the older one because he could swim.

The arrest by the Russians in 19-- in --- , my husband and I were both arrested. We sat in the communist prison for almost two months. We went through terrible experiences there. My husband was taken to Siberia, I escaped...

All the surrounding buildings were destroyed, but our house wasn't hit. The Lord must have watched over us so that we were left alive.

The fate of my people shook me more than my own fate.

Leaving my homeland, and understanding the seriousness of that moment.

Nearly all subjects (90 per cent) lost members of their families and other relatives or close friends in the war. One subject did not wish to reply to this question because of the severity of the experiences, and 8 per cent reported that they had not lost anyone. Several subjects said that they had lost all, or most of their relatives and friends in the war. Some examples of replies are the following:

> Most of my friends were taken to Siberia where death was waiting for them. People were locked into freight trains and they weren't given any food or water. They sang, "We will remain true to our home - land", as the train carried them off to Siberia... All the homes in our neighborhood were hit by bombs.

> I don't want to talk too much about it... I lost all my friends and relatives.

In spite of the experiences they had suffered, 64 per cent said that life had never seemed meaningless to them during the war. Many said that faith had helped them in their most difficult moments. Several subjects replied as follows:

> There was too much to do in order to get food during the war and there wasn't simply enough time to think about life goals.

> I have suffered, but life has never seemed meaningless to me. I have always had trust in our Lord.

> I have suffered, I have sat in communist prisons, but all this has given me more purpose in my life, and more meaning.

> The communists were pursuing us all the time; during the war I would leave for work in the morning,

> and I never knew whether I'd be alive to return home in the evening. But there was always a purpose towards which to strive.
>
> A bomb struck our house and I was wounded. My head was bleeding. The first thought that came to my mind was "Is this my last moment?" But the next thought was, "Who knows what still lies ahead for me in life..."
>
> The more badly things went for me, the more I wanted to live.

The remaining subjects (34 per cent) said that life had seemed meaningless to them at times. They added that they had faced death several times during the war, and that their most difficult moments in life had been spent in communist prisons where they had almost starved to death, or when they were hiding in the woods from communists who were pursuing them. Several women said that life had seemed meaningless to them when they had been alone with their sick children, or had heard that their husbands had been killed by the communists or lost in the war.

The following are some examples of their answers:

> Everything was lost when the Reds occupied Estonia.
>
> The times and conditions which followed after the Russian army had crossed the border and occupied our country could not be accepted by anyone who had lived as a free individual, enjoying freedom of rights. All these rights were destroyed, and one became like a hunted animal, always afraid that he might be caught.
>
> The communists were after me, and they wanted to send me to Siberia. I then remembered the picture of Christ which hung in my daughter's room, and I prayed, "Thy will be done."

The most difficult moment was when the communists were following me, and hiding in the woods was very difficult.

The two years right after the end of the war were the most difficult ones. It was hard to do anything to help oneself. At times the situation was hopeless.

Almost all subjects (94 per cent) agreed that the war had interrupted or ended their plans in life. Only 6 per cent replied that it had not interrupted anything of major importance to them.

Many whose plans had been interrupted or ended by the war, replied as follows:

The war destroyed my country, and my life, and my chance to work, and everything.

The war put an end to my goals and plans in life, and it destroyed 100 per cent of my possessions. One's duties in life are different here. One just lives here, and one doesn't have a goal.

The war has destroyed everything. My husband was arrested and he is lost, and I am a refugee.

I was in the prime of my life when the war broke out. I had to go to war as soon as I received my degree in Engineering. Eleven years of my life were just thrown away.

I had to start all over again in a new environment, and I didn't have the same privileges any longer which I had had in our own country.

Everything went well for me in Estonia. I was satisfied with my occupation, my salary was good, the prospects for the future were bright, and the work was interesting. But it was impossible to find a job in this line of work in exile, because the work I did at home was so much related to Estonian conditions. And so I had to learn a new occupation.

> Everything was going well before the war. Then I had to flee to Sweden, and I had to start again from the very beginning. I had to adjust in one country, and then in another country. This adjustment is the most difficult problem; learning the language, and so on.

> The war ended one episode of my life, and threw me into a new situation. I had to discard the plans and goals I had made. The first thing I had to do was to forget the past.

Most subjects (84 per cent) replied that they had lost everything of financial value during the war. The rest (16 per cent) said that they had not lost any valuable material possessions, because they had not owned much before the war. The following are examples of their answers:

> I lost everything I owned. I was well off in Estonia, and I had a good income.

> I lost everything, except the clothes I wore.

> All my worldly possessions.

> The only thing I had when I left was a suitcase.

> Everything, except my family.

> My house and my factory.

> Three thousand volumes of books.

The following were the most frequently mentioned items which the subjects had lost during the war: houses, farms, business enterprises, shares, inheritance, furniture, cars, life insurance, and books. Many subjects said that their greatest loss had been their jobs because they had not been able to work within their own professions after the war.

The subjects were then questioned on how the experiences of the war were still affecting them.

When asked whether their daily thoughts were concentrated mainly on the present, the past, or the future, they replied as follows:

Answer	Percentage
Past	8
Present	36
Future	12
Equally on past, present, future	18
Equally on present and future	18
Equally on past and future	6
Equally on past and present	2

More than four-fifths (84 per cent) reported having dreamed about war in exile. More than half the subjects (52 per cent) said that they still frequently dreamt about war, or that they had somehow returned to Estonia and were very much afraid that the communists would arrest them and not permit them to return to Canada.

The subjects agreed almost unanimously (92 per cent) that Estonia would some day be liberated from the communist occupation. They did not believe, however, that this would happen during their lifetime. Most agreed, nevertheless, that communism would not last forever. Only 6 per cent believed that Estonia would not be liberated, and 2 per cent replied that Estonian liberation was very doubtful. The following are some examples of their replies:

Yes, of course, it will be freed from communism!

I definitely believe that there will be an end to communism.

The time will come when Estonia will be liberated. I feel that this type of regime cannot last forever.

Yes, definitely, but no one knows when. That dictatorship will do a lot of harm before our homeland will be freed from communism.

Some day, yes, but my eyes will not see it. I don't believe that communism will remain forever, but it may last a very long time yet.

It's hard to say when, but anything could happen. Just as the communist occupation was unforeseen, it may similarly happen suddenly that Estonia will be liberated.

It definitely will be liberated, but it's a matter of time... perhaps 100 years. I'm not an optimist for the short range of time. Communism will definitely disappear, very definitely.

Communism is a contradiction of man's nature, and therefore it cannot remain forever... Its existence depends on terrorism, but even terrorists will one day be fatigued of terrorism, and therefore Estonia will some day be freed. But I don't know when this will happen. It may take very long, or it may not... I know of no dictatorship in history that has lasted for centuries.

B. Immigration to Canada.

Almost half the subjects (46 per cent) had decided to immigrate to Canada because they hoped to find here more political security against the communist threat than in Europe. More than one-tenth (12 per cent) came to Canada because their relatives were living here. The Canadian climate was a decisive factor for 10 per cent in settling

here. One-tenth of the subjects said that they had come to Canada because they believed that the opportunities to find employment were better here than in other countries, and 8 per cent stated that they really had wanted to immigrate to the United States, but had received their immigration visas earlier to Canada. Of the remaining 8 per cent of the subjects, some said that they had come to Canada because they wanted adventure, and one subject came here to get a change of scene.

Most subjects (60 per cent) came from Sweden. Approximately one-fourth (24 per cent) said that they had come from refugee camps in Germany, 8 per cent came from England, and the remaining 8 per cent came from other countries.

The years of their arrival in Canada ranged as follows:

Year	Percentage
1948	16
1949	14
1950	[illegible]
1951	46
1952	8
Shortly after 1952	10

Approximately one-third (30 per cent) said that they had lived elsewhere in Canada from about one to somewhat more than three years before they had settled in Montreal: more than one-tenth (14 per cent) had lived in Ontario, [illegible] per cent elsewhere in the Province of Quebec, and 10 per cent

had lived in other provinces.

A number of subjects said that they had decided to settle in Montreal because it was a bilingual city (16 per cent). The rest had come to Montreal because their friends were there (34 per cent), because they had found a job in Montreal (22 per cent), because of no specific reason (14 per cent), or because they wanted to stay near their children who were accepted at one of the city's several universities (4 per cent). Finally, 10 per cent came for several of the above reasons.

The majority of the subjects (92 per cent) lived in Montreal from nine to fourteen years at the time of the study, and the remaining 8 per cent had lived there somewhat less than nine years. Nearly all (96 per cent) said that they planned to remain in Montreal. Only 4 per cent said that they wanted to move, mainly because they did not like the climate in Montreal.

The question about district of residence in Montreal revealed that 70 per cent lived in the western section of the city, 14 per cent lived in the central area, another 14 per cent lived in the northern part, and 2 per cent lived in the eastern section of Montreal island.

However, although nearly all subjects planned to remain in Montreal under normal circumstances, the majority (70 per cent) stated that they would return to Estonia in

the event of the liberation of their homeland. Most added that they would also remain in Estonia because they felt that their real home was there, and that there they could more easily apply their various abilities. Several subjects replied, however, that although Estonia would be liberated, they would only return there for a visit. They explained that their principal reason for not wanting to remain there was that most of their former friends and relatives would probably be dead by the time of the liberation and they might feel strange in their homeland. Others said that although they would return to Estonia, their decision to stay there would be influenced by the attitude of their children who might decide to remain in Canada. Some remaining subjects (12 per cent) said that they would decide about their return at the time of the liberation of Estonia, and a final 18 per cent stated that they would remain in Canada because they felt that they were too old to return to their homeland.

2. Adjustment.

A. General Adjustment Problems.

When asked whether they believed that the Estonian refugee intellectual had adjustment problems after his arrival in Canada, all subjects agreed that the refugees had several problems in adjustment.

More than half (54 per cent) believed that the biggest problem of the refugees had been their inability to speak English and French fluently. However, 28 per cent gave major emphasis to the problems of finding jobs in their own professions, and added that the language problem was of secondary importance. The other subjects felt that the biggest problems had been advancing age (6 per cent), and the fact that the country and the people were quite unfamiliar to the refugees (6 per cent).

The following are some examples of their answers:

> We didn't have any adjustment problems. However, I'm sure that many people had difficulties, for example, with the language.
>
> I definitely had adjustment problems, at least for a few years.
>
> Yes, there were very many problems, because the American way of life was different from the European one. The United States and Canada are immigration countries, and plenty of fortune-seekers have come here. And the Canadians couldn't understand our kind of immigrants. There were also problems, of course, because of the language.
>
> It all depended on their professions. All the Estonian intellectuals whose professions were in the technical fields, for example, the engineers, did not have any major problems in adjusting here. All those who had studied the humanities had to choose another profession, they really had serious adjustment problems.
>
> Canadians were suspicious of us, even in my own professional field, and they didn't know what we were capable of. I know from my own experience. At first when I went to look for a job, they asked me whether I was really familiar with the Canadian system of measuring. When I said yes, they sort of mistrusted me. Later, they learned to know what I

was worth. There were no problems in some professions, for example, the engineers. But the physicians, for example, they still have problems. They don't have the right to practice here without additional training.

At the age of forty or fifty one had to start all over again.

Work is the main problem in adjustment. Every family had their critical moments in the beginning because we were so concerned about the type of work we would get, and how they would trust us there. As soon as the Estonians were able to find work, the adjustment came by itself. I think that this process of adjustment has been fast enough. One is forced to adjust if he can't retreat. The process of adjustment would have been much longer if there were any opportunity to turn back to our homeland.

Problems with the language, and with finding the right job. No one of my age can speak the language too well. Our social life takes place mostly among our own people, and that's enough for me. I don't think that the manners and everything here are so different that it's impossible for us to accept them. What would happen, for example, if we had to live among the Moslems? That would be difficult.

The majority (80 per cent) believed that the Estonian refugee intellectuals still had adjustment problems. Approximately half the subjects (52 per cent) believed that these problems were mainly caused by the fact that the refugees had not completely mastered the language. Other outstanding problems which they believed still existed were fear of losing jobs because of advancing age, and difficulties in social relations with Canadians. Several subjects (12 per cent) believed that the age of the refugees was a major problem in their adjustment, and that they were too old to adjust. In addition, 8 per cent said that the major obstacle

to the refugees' adjustment was the fact that they had been brought up in a different culture and that Canada still was quite unfamiliar to them. Finally, 20 per cent believed that the adjustment problems of the Estonian refugee intellectual had disappeared meanwhile, and added that if the problems still existed one should no longer struggle to adjust oneself, but should adopt a passive attitude to the situation.

The following are some examples of their replies:

> There were difficulties in the beginning. There are problems now, too. One has been brought up in different surroundings, and that causes the problems.
>
> I doubt whether these problems still exist because so much time has passed in the meantime, and our folks have more or less peacefully settled down.
>
> Canadians consider themselves to be better than we are. You're always a second-class citizen, and you have to submit yourself to them. I do, at least.
>
> Those Estonians who might not have been able to adjust are simply too awkward, I don't know anybody like that. The adjustment continues all the time, but no one has any problems.
>
> It's all right as long as you have a job, but if you get fired, then you are in trouble. Because at work there's so much competition, and the refugee doesn't have the necessary recommendations, whereas Canadians have them ever since their childhood.
>
> Yes, it's still this matter of being discriminated against. The bosses prefer members of their own nationality, and an Estonian is looked upon as though he were a coloured. The English give first choice to their own people. We're second-class citizens. And when people get fired, the foreigners are the first ones who have to go. And there's not sufficient social security. When you lose your job,

you virtually lose your right to receive a pension.

We have to learn the language if we want to get rid of the problems.

The language handicap will stay with us until the end of our lives, and we have to accept it as something which can't be helped. But the adjustment problems haven't cause to exist after two or three years. There are exceptions, though.

I am sure that these adjustment problems still exist, especially problems with the language. These are all old people, and then it's not possible any longer to learn a new language. The accent will always remain and one can't remember a new language as well, and the problem will remain forever.

Yes, so much depends on the language. Especially among the men there are many who have difficulties with the language.

We will never adjust completely anyway, and we don't even try to adjust any longer! Adjustment can't take place over-night. And we aren't even willing to adjust so fast, and we don't even like to adjust. We just want to accept and understand Canadians.

It all depends on how far you want them to extend the problems of adjustment. If you mean by it that we should try to behave like Canadians and be like them, etc., I could never do it. I could never get that far, that hockey would be my major interest. Also, I'm not interested in driving, fishing and those kinds of things. I have other interests. Yes, it's possible that I don't move around in Canadian circles to meet people who share my interests ... I was a member of a well-known international club in Estonia, and, of course, I would like to join that club here too, but why should I go there if I can't speak the language fluently? I'm sure that I would find people then who would share my interests ... but then there are financial problems and language difficulties.

Yes, the problems we still have are many, but many have been solved by now. Europeans and Americans are simply different, and we can't change this difference. But I don't take these differences too seriously any longer. These problems still exist,

especially problems with the language.

> We live in a country which itself is in a constant process of adjustment. Our adjustment now means that we have to become used to everything here.
>
> The Estonians have now probably sort of resigned themselves to their fate, this problem doesn't bother them any longer. The adjustment problem still exists among the middle-aged and among the older people too. The forty-year-olds have adjusted, but it's still a problem for the fifty-year-olds.

The subjects were then asked whether they had problems after their arrival in Canada in any of the following areas: family, occupation and work, economic conditions, health, emotional problems, social relations, the international political situation, or other problems. They were also asked which still worried them and which they believed were directly related to the fact that they were refugees. Most subjects (76 per cent) replied that they still had problems in these areas. As is seen from Table III.- Distribution in Percentages of Problems of Estonian Refugees in Montreal (page 50) - they added other problem areas, such as old age, social relations with Canadians, and loneliness. Most of the subjects explained also that language difficulties were one of their biggest problems in work and in social relations with Canadians. Another problem in the area of occupation and work was their inability to work in their own professions. The percentages in Table III add up to more than 76 per cent because many subjects mentioned more than one problem which they felt of importance.

Table III.-

Distribution in Percentages of Problems of Estonian Refugees in Montreal.

Problem Area	Percentage
International political situation	52
Occupation and work, including language difficulties	32
Economic condition	30
Family	22
Old age	18
Social relations with Canadians, including language difficulties	10
Social relations with fellow Estonian refugees	10
Loneliness	10
Emotional problems	8

Of the remaining 24 per cent who denied having had any of the above problems, two subjects said that they considered themselves to be immigrants instead of refugees, and that their only worry was that the outcome of the separatist movement in the Province of Quebec might affect their work.

The following were some remarks which were made about the international political situation which was a source of worry to more than half the subjects:

> I wish that the international political situation would change, and that it would provide for the liberation of our homeland from the communist regime. And I wish this would happen rather soon, and not in the distant future.
>
> All international efforts were made to restore freedom to countries once occupied by Nazi Germany, and war trials are still proceeding towards this purpose, but nothing has been done to restore freedom to countries still occupied by Soviet Russia.
>
> My Canadian friends don't understand the seriousness of the international political situation, and I start to argue with them at times.
>
> It upsets me when Russian artists come to Canada with their concerts and ballets. That really makes me think... My biggest problem is that people will somehow understand the danger of communism without having to go through wars.
>
> It's the situation of the free world that worries me. I don't know where I should flee from here.
>
> It has made me so angry at times, and this worry has already started to affect my health. You can't solve these problems with war now.
>
> The international political situation is one of my biggest problems, and we have to stay far away from the communists if we want to live peacefully.

When asked whether some of the problems listed above had worsened, lessened, or remained about the same while they had been in Canada, 14 per cent said that their problems had worsened, and 16 per cent reported that their problems had lessened meanwhile. Another 14 per cent said that some of their problems had lessened, whereas others had become worse, and the remaining 3% per cent stated that their problems had remained about the same.

The majority (66 per cent) had themselves tried to solve their problems. Many said that they did not consider it necessary to ask for help to solve their problems because the international political situation, for example, could not be solved by anyone. However, 10 per cent replied that the church and the Estonian organizations had helped them with their problems.

In a comparison between the adjustment problems of Estonian refugees at different educational levels, it was revealed that 84 per cent of the subjects believed that refugees with elementary or high school education had problems which differed from those of the intellectuals. It was believed that it had been easier for the less-educated refugees to find work in their own professions, but that it had also been more difficult for them to learn English. However, 12 per cent believed that all refugees, regardless of the level of their education had the following similar adjustment problems: language difficulties, insufficient

familiarity with the Canadian way of life, economic insecurity connected with old age, and problems related to their work. The final 4 per cent said that they were uncertain whether or not any differences existed in the adjustment problems of refugees from differing educational levels.

When asked to compare the adjustment problems of Estonian refugees in Canada with the problems of Estonian refugees in other countries, 40 per cent replied that refugees had similar problems anywhere. However, 26 per cent said that it had been easier to adjust in Sweden because they felt that the Swedes and the Estonians were similar in many ways. They added that it had been easier for the refugees to find jobs in their professions in Sweden and that there they did not have to worry about their old age because of Swedish social security plans.

Some remaining subjects (14 per cent) believed that Canada, the United States, and Australia presented similar adjustment problems for refugees because they were immigration countries. These subjects also added that Canada presented good opportunities for adjustment because comparatively many Canadians were newcomers in the country, and consequently were therefore not hostile toward other newcomers.

Several subjects (8 per cent) believed that it was easier to adjust in Europe than on the North American

continent, and 4 per cent replied that it was very difficult to adjust in England. Another 4 per cent said that it was difficult to adjust in Germany, and 2 per cent said that it was easier to adjust in the United States than in Canada. One subject replied that it was difficult to adjust in France.

Many subjects (70 per cent) said that they felt strange in Canada. It was revealed that 40 per cent felt strange because the country and the people were still unfamiliar to them. Several (14 per cent) remarked that they would never feel at home here because they were too old, and because they had been forced to leave their homeland. Some subjects (6 per cent) said that the Canadian climate was strange to them. Others (10 per cent) replied that they felt especially out of their environment on specific days or seasons, for example, on Sundays, in the spring, on St. John the Baptist Day, or at Christmas which brought back happy memories of their homeland.

The following are some of the replies:

On Sunday mornings when we all go to church...

> I always feel strange here because everything here is so different from my native land. I miss my friends and relatives, and the whole atmosphere is different.

> My new home is Canada, but it still isn't like my real home. Of course, I immigrated here, but in a certain sense I don't feel I came voluntarily. Something is missing. My real home is still there...

> I'm beginning to get used to it now, but I don't believe that it's possible that this will ever be my

> home. And the reasons are that all the time I live as if in two different societies: first, the Estonian ethnic group with their parties, songs, and gatherings, and then there's a different society, the Canadian, with their different way of life and thought.
>
> Ten years is a fairly short time. It takes more than that to feel at home here.
>
> I don't feel strange as an individual, but I will forever feel strange as a member of this society. For example, I don't feel strange in a bus, or in a streetcar, but it doesn't interest me at all whether or not Canada will get its only flag.
>
> I have always felt strange in Canada. However, I don't feel it as much any longer, one gets used to the fact that he is always among strangers. Still, I can't say that I feel as though I were a real Canadian because the work I do doesn't benefit my own native people. I work like a mercenary and I get paid for it. I have to work because I can't live otherwise. This is not my native land and they're not my native people... I don't think about it every day, but that doesn't mean that I get rid of this feeling. It's all covered up, but it's there all the time...

Almost one-third (30 per cent) replied that they had never felt strange in Canada, mostly because there were so many different nationalities here, and also because they had already become used to everything.

The following are some of their replies:

> There are no reasons for feeling strange here. This has already become my home.
>
> No, I don't feel strange. At times I feel as though I had lived here all my life.
>
> You can't feel strange here because there are so many different nationalities in Canada. There are very few native Canadians, for example, where I work.
>
> No, I can't say that I feel strange here because I don't associate at all with Canadians, as there are

so many Estonians here with whom I associate instead.

> I came to Canada of my own free will; therefore, when I decided to come here, I also took all the risks associated with it. I have never felt strange. I felt strange in Sweden because I was a refugee there. I've felt like an equal to others in Canada from the very beginning.

> Montreal is something intermediate. It isn't home, and it's not a strange place either, but it's like a rooming-house where all are strangers. There are so many different nationalities in this city that one never feels strange here, and instead feels as though he were one of many guests in an hotel.

The majority of the subjects (80 per cent) said that they did not regret that they had immigrated to Canada; they felt satisfied here. Some said in addition that they liked Canada and did not know of a better place to live. Others added that they had good jobs, or that they were refugees and had to live somewhere. Several subjects (14 per cent) said that soon after their arrival in Canada they had regretted immigrating here, but that had passed and they had become satisfied meanwhile. Of the remaining subjects, 16 per cent replied that they still at times regretted having come to Canada. They added that they were already middle-aged when they arrived here, and that they had been unable to find work in their own professions. These, they felt, were the main reasons for their regret. The final 4 per cent of the sample said that they were disappointed by Canada, and were unhappy that they had come here.

Concerning their adjustment in Canada, 72 per cent believed that they had adjusted. Some added that they tried to overlook the differences between themselves and Canadians and that the time which had intervened had helped them to adjust. A few said that they had adjusted because they felt satisfied here.

Some remaining subjects (20 per cent) remarked that they had more or less adjusted here and did not consider complete adjustment possible. However, 8 per cent felt that they did not belong here, and that they had therefore not adjusted.

The following are examples of some replies:

> I have adjusted in Canada, however, it's hard to say to what extent. Perhaps I've adjusted quite well. Life forces one to adjust.
>
> I have adjusted, but I should like to adjust more. This is not a 100 per cent adjustment.
>
> In general, I have adjusted. However, I wouldn't like to go so far that I would want to look exactly like a Canadian. I feel that Canadians do many things in a way which I feel is wrong.
>
> I have adjusted. I feel that I belong here among all the rest. When I visit my neighbor, for example, he is exactly like me.
>
> I feel that I've been adjusted ever since I arrived here. I have travelled so much in the world that it's not hard for me to adjust. Adjustment means that we select everything that suits us, and neglect that which we don't like.
>
> I have come to the conclusion that all people are different, and I take them as they are. And I don't try to change the world according to the way I would like to see it. Perhaps you call this

adjustment?

The majority of the subjects (74 per cent) said that they had not made any particular efforts to adjust.

Some examples of their replies are the following:

> I never took any actual steps to adjust here. It has come by itself. Perhaps I've had more luck than some of the others. I have never forced myself to adjust.

> If a person lives in a society for a long period of time, then he simply adjusts without having to force himself. People adjust to all kinds of situations, even when they have to go from a better situation to a worse one. In the German refugee camps, for example, where we all had a very difficult time, we even got used to that. Finally, when we left the camp and came here, it was easier then, of course, to adjust here.

> The main thing is to realize that it's necessary to adjust, even for the sake of the history of our own people. Maladjustment is a drawback in everyday life.

The other subjects (26 per cent) said that they had taken definite steps to adjust here, such as learning the language, and becoming acquainted with Canadians.

When asked what they thought about their future in Canada, 40 per cent replied that it did not worry them because they had a definite source of income, and would receive a pension for their retirement. Some remaining subjects (22 per cent) felt that they were old and did not have much future left, others (16 per cent) said that they would try to live and work quietly, and 12 per cent stated that they did not know what to say about their future. Finally, 4

per cent said that they would enroll in university courses to learn a new profession, and the remaining subjects (6 per cent) gave various replies.

When asked whether they were worried about their future in Canada, 32 per cent replied that their future was of great concern to them because they feared that they would lose their jobs, and would not receive pension from their employers. The other subjects (68 per cent) said that the future did not worry them.

Most subjects (88 per cent) said that they yearned for their homeland, and that they would be homesick until the end of thier lives.

Many said that they were especially homesick whenever they thought about their relatives who were still in Estonia. Some added that although they were homesick, they were continually aware of the tragedy of the current situation in Estonia.

The following are some of their replies:

> If circumstances would permit, I would be the first one to return to Estonia. My wife and I would return even if the land were bare.
>
> But what's the use of yearning! I can't go back there, I'd be hanged!
>
> It's as though a part of me were missing. When a person is homesick, he feels as though he were unhappy all the time because a part of you has remained useless.
>
> My roots and my friends are there, and so many old memories, it can't be helped. I will probably be

homesick until the end of my life.

> I don't feel as homesick any longer. A kind of resignation has taken place, an acceptance of the situation.

> I yearn for the pine forest and the sandy beach, and for the song of the birds, and the nightingale. Canadian birds are unmusical.

Several subjects (12 per cent) replied that they were not homesick, mainly because the land which they had left no longer existed. For example, one subject replied as follows:

> We shouldn't forget that we can't be homesick if we remember the way we had to flee from Estonia, and how we had to hide ourselves, how people were taken to Siberia, how some were imprisoned, how violent were those acts of terror! This disturbs your yearning for home.

When asked about their goals in life, most subjects (78 per cent) believed that they shared goals in life with other Estonian refugees. Many added that their common goal was to preserve the Estonian nationalism in exile. A few said that they shared with others the goal of securing their economic condition, and 10 per cent replied that they were unfamiliar with the life goals of fellow refugees, and were therefore unable to answer the question. The remaining 12 per cent said that their goals in life differed from those of other Estonian refugees.

The following are some examples of their replies:

> I share with others the goal that I want to preserve our Estonian nationalism so that it won't disappear.

> Everybody has the same goals in life. They all have the goal of trying to manage on their low incomes, and I don't believe that any of them want to get wealthy.

The question on their purposes in life revealed that life had the following meanings for the subjects: to live and work peacefully (30 per cent), to raise and educate their children (20 per cent), to work for the preservation of Estonian nationalism in exile (18 per cent), and to secure their economic condition (2 per cent). Some remaining subjects (6 per cent) said that they did not know their purpose in life, and 18 per cent gave various replies.

B. Work and Income.

Table IV.- Distribution in Percentages of Occupations of Subjects While in Estonia, Sweden, and Canada - (page 62), shows a comparison of the occupations of the subjects before and after World War II. In that table the percentages listed under the column "Sweden" add up to 60 per cent which equals the percentage of subjects who immigrated to Canada from Sweden.

Of the 24 per cent of the subjects who had lived as refugees in Germany, some had worked in part-time jobs, as engineers, clerks, or skilled workers, and others were unemployed in the refugee camps. Some subjects (10 per cent) immigrated to Canada from countries other than Sweden or Germany, and worked there mostly as skilled workers.

Table IV.-

Distribution in Percentages of Occupations of Estonian Refugees in Montreal While in Estonia, Sweden and Canada.

Occupation	Estonia	Sweden	Canada
Lawyer	16	--	--
Pharmacist	8	2	8
Architect	4	4	4
Engineer	20	22	36
Other professional	12	--	--
Executive	18	2	2
Business owner	6	--	--
Clerk	4	14	24
Draftsman	--	8	14
Other	10	8	8
Unemployed	2	--	4

Table IV also indicates that all the pharmacists, architects, and engineers were working in their own professions in Canada, but that the lawyers and other professionals had not found work in their professions in exile.

Most subjects (74 per cent) had found work easily in Canada. Some added that it had been easy to find jobs in the technical field. However, others said that although they found work easily, they had been unable to find jobs in their own professions.

The following are some examples of their replies:

> It wasn't too dificult, but I was partly lucky. Those who have technical training find it easier here.

> I had no difficulties. No one in the technical field had any difficulties. Of course, I'm not satisfied with my job...

> It wasn't hard to find a general type of work. It was hard to find a job in my own profession.

Some subjects who had executive positions or administrative positions in Estonia replied as follows:

> It was very easy. I started to work as a baker almost as soon as I had arrived here.

> It was very easy to find work. My first job was in a factory and I stayed there for several years.

> I was glad to accept any kind of work, because I took it with a sense of humour, and I have never been disappointed or bitter because of my work. I didn't find it hard to get a job, I was satisfied with any type of work. I was a night-cleaner, and another night-cleaner in the crew was a refugee of my former profession. We always joked about the whole situation.

A final 22 per cent said that it had been difficult for them to find work in Canada, mainly because they were too old when they arrived here, and had not been able to speak the language fluently. Some of them explained as follows:

> It was quite hard because of my age.
>
> It was hard. For example, I was told in Canada for the first time in my life that I was too old. I was only forty-five then. It was very, very difficult.

When asked to rate the work they were doing in Canada, and compare it with the jobs they had, or probably would have had, if their homeland had not been invaded by the communists, 76 per cent replied that they had, and would have had much higher positions, under normal circumstances, in Estonia than in Canada.

The following are some of their replies:

> My former profession now belongs to history, it was so long ago, it's like childhood. It's been completed, and I don't know it any longer.
>
> Under normal circumstances, I would now be receiving my pension. I would have been an executive in Estonia, and here I have to be content with a second or third rate job. It's away below my abilities.
>
> It can't even be compared. I worked there independently in my own profession; now I'm an underpaid clerk and twenty-year-old girls are my bosses.
>
> It can't be compared at all. I would never have been doing this type of work in Estonia. I would have worked there in my own profession, and this work is merely mechanical and I can't even use my university training.

> I had reached the peak of my career at home. But here, I had to start all over again at the very bottom.
>
> The work I do here is like a student's summer job.
>
> It's very difficult to answer that. I did creative work at home. Here I'm just a slave. I can't be my own boss here.
>
> I do approximately the same type of work which I did before I left my homeland. I would now have had a much higher position there, but here I do the type of work I did thirty years ago.

Several subjects (16 per cent) believed that if the war had not taken place they would have been doing approximately the same type of work in Estonia as in Canada. Some replied, for example, as follows:

> I was successful in my work already in Estonia. Under the circumstances, I can't complain about my present situation. I came here as a foreigner and I can't really expect to get any further than I have already.
>
> I have never wanted an important job, not even in Estonia.

The remaining subjects (6 per cent) said that their work in Canada was more interesting than it had been in Estonia. This, for example, was the reply of one subject:

> The opportunities for advancement were very limited in Estonia. From the point of view of an engineer, we couldn't specialize too much.

When asked how they felt about their work, 34 per cent replied that they were very contented with it because their work was interesting and offered variety. Some subjects answered as follows:

I'm very satisfied with my work.

I am very content. My supervisor wrote in a report of evaluation about me that I'm their most satisfactory employee.

Many subjects (42 per cent) said that they were satisfied at work, either because they worked in their own professions, or had become accustomed to the work. However, many added that they wished they had better and more interesting jobs. Several subjects (18 per cent) were unhappy with their work because they could not work in their own professions, 2 per cent were completely dissatisfied with their jobs, and 4 per cent were unemployed.

These are some of their answers:

The only meaning my job has for me, is that I have to earn something in order to support myself. Had this been Estonia, I would have dared to look for another job. But now...

I have to work and support myself, and I do the work as such, but it's nothing creative.

The work I do here can't even be compared with what I did in Estonia. I had to start here with an underpaid job, and there's a certain limit beyond which I can't get, and now I've reached that limit. First of all, there are language difficulties. Another thing is that some of us started to work here when we were rather old, and we can also feel that a certain preference is shown when people are promoted. The English are always promoted.

More than half the subjects (54 per cent) reported that they had certain problems in carrying out their work, such as language difficulties, and the inability to work independently. They felt that they were obliged to submit themselves to their supervisors who often, in their opinion,

were less educated than themselves.

Almost another half of the subjects (42 per cent) said that they had no problems related to their work, many because they had become used to the work, and a few because they had supervisory jobs.

The majority of the subjects (68 per cent) said that if they had the opportunity and sufficient authority, they would reorganize or change certain work methods in their jobs to make the work more effective. They felt that tasks were frequently unevenly distributed among the workers, and that often too many people all worked at the same task. It was also believed that many offices had much unnecessary red tape. Many subjects added that they were unable to apply their various abilities in their work, and that this was a source of frustration for them.

The question on their opinions about the Canadian labour-market from the point of view of the employee, revealed that it was believed that the work was unstable and people easily lost their jobs (50 per cent), and that there was insufficient social security in Canada (24 per cent). The remaining 6 per cent of the subjects gave various replies.

Concerning the Canadian labour-market from the point of view of the employer, 28 per cent of the subjects believed that there was abundance of labourers, and 6 per cent felt that Canada had extensive natural resources for the expansion

of industry. Other opinions were: high mechanization (4 per cent), easy financing conditions (4 per cent), lack of good specialists (6 per cent), lack of systematic planning (4 per cent), and keen competition (6 per cent). Various replies were given by 8 per cent of the subjects, and 34 per cent were unable to answer the question.

Several questions were also asked about the income of the subjects. The answers revealed that 68 per cent of the subjects had saved enough money during the seven years they had been away from their homeland, so that they were able to come to Canada at their own expense. The other subjects (32 per cent) had come partly with the help of a refugee organization, and partly by aid of relatives.

Almost half the subjects (42 per cent) had stayed with friends after their arrival in Canada for the following lengths of time:

Length of time	Percentage
One year and longer	2
Five to eleven months	2
Three to four months	4
One to two months	12
Two to three weeks	18
Less than two weeks	4

The homes of the subjects were not over-crowded because only 3 per cent reported that there were other relatives who lived with them besides members of their own families.

Most subjects (62 per cent) were homeowners. The others (38 per cent) lived in rented apartments. This

situation had been almost the reverse in Estonia where only 28 per cent owned their homes, and the remaining subjects (72 per cent) had rented apartments. The majority of the homeowners (36 per cent) had bought their houses in 1954, 18 per cent between 1955 and 1959, and 8 per cent had bought them in 1960 and later.

Summer cottages were owned by 38 per cent of the subjects, and most of these (28 per cent) had been bought between 1955 and 1959. More than one-fourth (26 per cent) owned both city homes and summer cottages, and 16 per cent owned other real estate. Several subjects (18 per cent) did not own any real estate.

More than half the subjects (52 per cent) owned cars.

When asked how they usually spent their summer vacations nearly all (80 per cent) replied that they had always been able to afford to spend their holidays away from the city.

Finally, 84 per cent rated their economic condition as satisfactory, 12 per cent rated it as good, and 4 per cent as poor.

C. Recreative Activities.

Most subjects (72 per cent) said that they had spent their spare time differently in Estonia. They explained that their interests had changed as they had become older,

and that they had more spare time in Estonia where the working day ended earlier and the commuting distances were shorter. They also added that there had been more cultural activities, more opportunities to participate in sports, and a broader scale of social activities in Estonia.

The following are some examples of their replies:

> There's less spare time here than we had in Estonia because the working day ended earlier there. Lunch hours and commuting take more time here. And it was easier to spend your spare time in Estonia.

> One could afford to have spare time in Estonia. But here there's no spare time left for anything if we're working.

When asked how they would use their spare time if they had more of it, the subjects replied that they would read more (36 per cent), do more travelling (24 per cent), participate more in various sports (12 per cent), take up studies (10 per cent), attend more concerts and theatre performances (8 per cent), paint more (4 per cent), or work more for the benefit of the Estonian society (6 per cent).

Less than half the subjects (42 per cent) said that they had been about as active in social activities in Estonia as in Canada. Some others (34 per cent) said that they had been socially more active in Estonia, and 24 per cent were more active in Canada. Those who had been socially more active in Estonia believed that the main reason for it was that they had been much younger in their homeland, as well as that they had less spare time in Canada

because the working day was longer here and that there had been more social activities in Estonia. Those who were socially more active in Canada explained that they felt responsible for preserving the Estonian nationalism in exile and hence considered it their duty to participate in Estonian social activities.

When asked whether they had ever made plans for their future while they had been in Canada, 70 per cent replied that they had made several such plans at various times. Approximately half the subjects (48 per cent) had planned to supplement their education, 24 per cent had made plans to change their jobs, or occupations, and 20 per cent had planned to move. The percentages reported here add up to more than 70 per cent because some subjects had made several plans.

The majority (46 per cent) had carried out their plans, but 24 per cent had not done so. Several subjects (14 per cent) reported that they still had some plans for the future.

3. Self-Identification with Ethnic Groups.

A. Attitudes Towards Canadians.

When asked about the attitudes of Canadians towards Estonian refugees, the majority of the subjects (70 per cent) felt Canadians were benevolent and kind towards the Estonian

refugees. Several subjects explained in addition that at work Canadians felt that the Estonians were conscientious and industrious workers. It was believed by 10 per cent that there was no difference between the attitudes of Canadians towards the Estonian refugees and their attitudes towards other Canadian immigrants. A few subjects (4 per cent) said that Canadians had various attitudes towards the refugees, with much depending on their own level of education. Some subjects (10 per cent) believed that Canadians did not fully understand the Estonian refugees, and that both had difficulties in getting along with each other. Finally, 6 per cent were unable to answer the question.

The following are examples of various replies:

> Their attitudes are very friendly, everything I have heard is good. And they have no reason to have anything against the Estonians because everyone, except the Indians, is of fairly recent immigrant origin in this country.

> The industriousness of the Estonians is highly valued by Canadians and they are very content with us, and try to get us to work for them.

> Those Canadians whom I have met, understand the reason why we have come here, that we were forced to come because of World War II.

> My general impression is that they have a friendly feeling towards us. However, I doubt whether they think more highly of us than of the Latvians, for example, I doubt that.

> They regard us as Europeans, they don't regard us especially as Estonian refugees. It doesn't interest them too much where we have come from.

> I feel that I'm not a refugee any longer. It seems that Canadians have favourable attitudes towards the Estonians.

When asked to compare the personality characteristics of Canadians and Estonian refugees, 36 per cent of the subjects believed that Canadians were friendly, but added that their friendship was formal. Others (32 per cent) felt that Estonian refugees and Canadians were both equally friendly. The final 32 per cent of the subjects had a variety of attitudes, ranging from opinions that it was easy to get along with English-Canadians to the opinion that French-Canadians were friendlier than the Estonian refugees themselves. Some replied that Canadians had no typical personality characteristics because they were an international mixture of people.

The following are some examples of their answers:

> There are different types of Canadians, and there are different kinds of people among the Estonians too. There are both friendly and unfriendly people among Canadians, and it's the same among the Estonians.

> Canadians can be divided into many different ethnic groups, and they can be divided also according to their level of education. If we would compare ourselves with Italians, we would certainly find differences between them and us. But to generalize about Canadians and Estonians, if they belong to the same social class, I would not say that there's much difference between them.

> It's difficult to compare them because the French and the English Canadians, in general, are different from us. As northern people the Estonians are much more reserved than Canadians, and form friendships much more slowly. For example, all

> our neighbours brought us cakes all at once just as soon as we had moved here. You couldn't imagine that this would happen in Estonia. The northener is reserved and his temperament is slower... If someone was your friend, he was your friend for life. Here your friends are where you live. For example, here you leave your friends when you move. It was different in the northern countries. I haven't had any negative experiences with Canadians.

When asked to compare the family life of Canadians to that of the Estonian refugees, 24 per cent replied that they were not sufficiently acquainted with the family life of Canadians in order to be able to answer the question. Other subjects (18 per cent) said also that they were rather unfamiliar with the family life of Canadians, but added that it seemed to them that Canadian parents were more liberal than Estonian parents in bringing up their children. Some subjects (12 per cent) were of the opinion that Estonian family members kept together more closely than did the members of Canadian families. However, 8 per cent felt that the family life of Canadians and of the Estonian refugees was very similar. The remaining subjects (38 per cent) gave various opinions. Some said that more Estonian than Canadian wives usually had to work, and others believed that Canadian family members were more affectionate towards each other, that French-Canadians spent more time with their families than did the Estonian refugees, that Canadian wives were more directive in their family matters than were Estonian wives, and that life in the Canadian family was

more carefree.

When asked to compare the social life of Canadians and Estonian refugees, 50 per cent replied that they were unable to answer the question because they were not sufficiently acquainted with the social life of Canadians. However, 12 per cent replied that the Estonians served more food and alcohol at their parties than did the Canadians. On the contrary, 8 per cent were of the opinion that Canadians consumed more alcohol than did the Estonians. It was felt by 14 per cent that Canadians spent most of their social life in various clubs and organizations, whereas the Estonians usually met in each others' homes. A few subjects (6 per cent) observed that the social life of Canadians centered around their own neighbourhoods, but that the refugees frequently travelled long distances in order to meet each other.

Concerning interest in education, 80 per cent of the subjects believed that the Estonians set higher value on education than did the Canadians. However, 16 per cent said that Canadians and Estonians valued education equally highly, and 4 per cent stated that they could not answer the question.

The following are examples of their replies:

> Perhaps we try harder because we have lost so much. We need education in order to get back on our feet. In war you may lose all you have, but you can never lose your education.

> I can't see any difference. If you compare the percentages, it's a fact that the Estonians are better educated than the Canadians. But as regards their interests, they value education as much as we do.
>
> Since the beginning of 1870, the Estonians have done everything possible to give education to their children, and to educate themselves. Our country wasn't rich, we didn't have any natural resources, and the only way to get ahead in life was through education. I come from a farm where they were of the attitude that if parents were able to educate their children, they had given them everything. About ten to fifteen years ago the situation was completely different in Canada. This is a very rich country, and they had a rather passive attitude towards education, because it's possible to get ahead here without much education. It's different now, however, their attitude towards higher education has changed noticeably.

When comparing the cultural interests of the two ethnic groups, 68 per cent believed that Estonians had a wider range of cultural interests than did the JCanadians. However, 22 per cent observed that there was no difference between Canadians and the Estonian refugees regarding their cultural interests. They explained that there were different people among all nationalities and that cultural interests of people varied according to the level of their education and according to their social status. Several added that there were enough cultural activities in Montreal for those who wished to participate in them. Some remaining subjects (8 per cent) did not know how to answer the question, and 2 per cent believed that Canadians had more cultural interests than did the Estonian refugees.

The subjects agreed almost unanimously (96 per cent) that Canadians had very little interest in international politics. They added that the Estonian refugees had suffered seriously under communism, and that Canadians lacked interest in international politics because this country had not suffered during the war as had Europe. They stated that the refugees had lost their homes, and many had lost even their families as a direct result of international political situation , thus giving them an acute awareness of the problem involved. The subjects felt that many Canadians did not realize the dangers of communism.

The following are some examples of their replies:

> I think that Canadians have no idea of what communism really is. And it's impossible for them to know it. If they had lived under the rule of communism as we had to, it would have opened their eyes.
>
> Canadians don't realize what's happening in the world. The situation which exists in Estonia is much more tragic than they realize. What is being done there today is a brutal crime!
>
> Yes, in that respect we are much wiser than most Canadians. We have seen communism with our own eyes, but you can't expect trouble before somebody steps on your feet.
>
> Canadians are very near-sighted in this respect. They are too simple-minded. We have received more political education than they, and we think more and observe more because of our experiences.
>
> The Estonians are much more interested in international politics than are the Canadians because their lives have depended on such politics. Because they have had to go through many hardships, they have always

> observed with necessary interest the politics of the countries where they have lived. Canadians lack this interest, and they don't realize what communism can do to the western world."

Concerning their attitudes towards Canadians soon after their arrival in Canada, 76 per cent replied that they had in certain respects not fully understood Canadians when they had first encountered them. The majority of the subjects (64 per cent) felt that the misapprehension had been caused by their ignorance of local conditions, by the fact that Canadians had not completely understood their refugee background, and by their language difficulties. Most refugees (66 per cent) reported, however, that these misunderstandings which they had in the beginning had disappeared meanwhile. Finally, several subjects (24 per cent) said that they had never misapprehended Canadians.

B. Relations with Canadians and with Fellow Estonian Refugees.

When asked whether they considered themselves primarily as Estonians, Canadians, as both, or as neither, 84 per cent replied that they considered themselves as Estonians. They explained that although they were officially Canadian citizens, they had been born in Estonia and would never change their ethnic background. Many said in addition, that they were proud to be Estonians, and that they considered themselves as refugees who had come solely to seek shelter

in Canada. Some remaining subjects (6 per cent) felt that they were both Estonians and Canadians, and another 6 per cent said that they were Estonian-Canadians. Finally, 2 per cent considered themselves as Canadians, and another 2 per cent felt that they were neither Estonian nor Canadian.

The following are some of the replies:

> I consider myself an Estonian, although I'm also a Canadian citizen. I have been brought up to be an Estonian and I can't change myself anymore.
>
> As an Estonian. I was born and raised as such. It's sort of natural.
>
> I have been an Estonian, and I will remain as such. Changing one's nationality is generally not the right thing to do.
>
> I consider myself an Estonian because I'm Estonian by birth. I've come to seek shelter in this country, just as a traveller who asks for shelter. I work, but this is not my home. I don't feel that this is my home here.
>
> I am an Estonian only, not primarily. According to Estonian custom, one cannot consider himself to belong to two nationalities. It's not necessary to be a citizen here. It's only easier to travel if you are a citizen.
>
> I feel so good when somebody asks me something about Estonia, it makes me feel proud.
>
> It doesn't matter whether I consider myself to be Estonian or not because I'm an Estonian anyway. I was born an Estonian and I can't help it.
>
> The Estonians have always made a clear difference between nationality and citizenship. First, the old Vikings came to conquer us, then came the Germans, and it took them twenty years to conquer us, then came the Polish, then came the Russians, and in 1610 Estonia was put under the Swedish crown. But even then, we were still Estonians, although we were

> Swedish citizens. Then the Russians came again, and we had to change ourselves to become Russian citizens, but we still considered ourselves as Estonians, and even the Russians themselves had to accept it.
>
> We have French-Canadians and English-Canadians here, and so we could also have Estonian-Canadians because I love my culture and language as much as they love theirs.
>
> I am proud to be an Estonian. It's better than to be a new-Canadian. The Irish are by themselves, and the Italians are by themselves in Canada, then why couldn't the Estonians be by themselves here?
>
> I consider myself to be both, an Estonian and a Canadian. To be a citizen, one has to be a Canadian.
>
> As none of these, I can't consider myself a Canadian because Canadians don't consider me a Canadian.
>
> I am an Estonian. Period!

Nearly all subjects (96 per cent) spoke Estonian at home; the rest (4 per cent) said that they spoke partly Estonian and partly English.

The subjects belonged to the following number of Estonian groups or organizations:

Organizations	Percentage
Six and more	4
Five	10
Four	12
Three	48
Two	14
One	12

The number of hours per month which each subject spent in the above organizations ranged as follows:

Hours per Month	Percentages
Sixteen and more	10
Thirteen to fifteen	8
Ten to twelve	14
Seven to nine	18
Four to six	24
One to three	22
Less than one	4

The majority (86 per cent) said that they were interested in interpreting the Estonian culture to Canadians. Those who denied such an interest (14 per cent) explained that Canadians did not seem to be particularly interested in the Estonian problems. More than half (54 per cent) felt that the Estonian organizations to which they belonged had helped them to interpret their culture to Canadians.

The following are some examples of their replies:

> It's not an easy task to interpret the culture of a small nation.

> Each nationality itself should be interested in the culture of every other nationality. We are interested in the people who live here, we want to know about them. And we believe that since Canada permitted us to come here, they are also interested in us.

Approximately two-thirds of the subjects (64 per cent) belonged to Canadian organizations, most of which were professional groups.

When asked about the nationality of their friends 86 per cent replied that nearly all their friends were Estonians. Some remaining subjects (12 per cent) said that their friends were of many different nationalities, and 2

per cent said that most of their friends were Canadians.

Table V.- Distribution in Percentages of the Number of Canadian and Estonian Homes Visited by the Estonian Refugees in Montreal - (page 83), shows that Estonian homes were visited more frequently than Canadian homes.

The majority (73 per cent) said that they felt more at ease and more at home among fellow Estonians than among Canadians. They added that they were bothered by language difficulties when they were with Canadians. The remaining subjects (22 per cent) said that they felt equally at ease both among Estonians and Canadians.

The following are some examples of their replies:

> To tell you honestly, I feel more at home among my own people because then I know what I'm talking about.
>
> I feel more at home among Estonians. It's probably due to the fact that my knowledge of the language is poor and I can't express myself freely... Perhaps that is the main reason.
>
> Of course, among the Estonians regarding the language. Our topics of discussion are more similar.
>
> I feel more at ease and at home among the Estonians because I can express my thoughts freely the way I am used to. I can't express myself as well on cultural topics in English, and I feel inferior because of that.
>
> Canadian society doesn't bother me, but my language is a hindrance for me. I can't express myself as freely when in a Canadian group.
>
> It doesn't make any difference who I am with.
>
> It all depends on the type of people I'm with. I can adjust well to all kinds of situations and I

Table V.-

Distribution in Percentages of the Number of Canadian and Estonian Homes Visited by the Estonian Refugees in Montreal.

Number of Homes	Canadian	Estonian
5 to 6 per Month	--	8
3 to 4 per Month	2	18
1 to 2 per Month	16	58
5 to 6 per Year	6	2
3 to 4 per Year	2	4
1 to 2 per Year	16	--
Less than 1 per Year	6	--
No Visits At All	52	10

> like all kinds of people. I'm brave, and even if I make mistakes in the language, it doesn't matter because I forget that easily when I'm among interesting people.

When asked whether they preferred to work with Estonians or Canadians, 48 per cent replied that it did not matter to them with whom they worked. Many explained that they considered the personality characteristics of their working companions to be more important than their nationality, and that at work the work itself was of main significance. Some remaining subjects (28 per cent) said that if they had the opportunity to choose, they would prefer to work with Estonians because they were able to understand them better. Others (22 per cent) preferred to work with Canadians.

Concerning the nationality of their neighbours, 38 per cent said that it was unimportant to them whether their neighbours were Canadians or Estonians. Other subjects (32 per cent) preferred Estonians for their neighbours, mainly because they felt that they had more in common with their fellow refugees. However, 28 per cent preferred Canadians for their neighbours, explaining that Canadians would give them more privacy. The remaining 2 per cent could not decide whom they preferred for their neighbours, and left the question unanswered.

When asked whom they preferred for their friends, 78 per cent replied that they preferred Estonians, chiefly because of common interests, background and language. It

was felt by 22 per cent that nationality was unimportant in friendship.

In addition, 80 per cent of the subjects preferred Estonians for their family members, and 86 per cent also preferred Estonians for their spouses.

Nine-tenths of the subjects were Canadian subjects. The following distribution shows when they obtained their citizenship:

Year	Percentage
1961	2
1960	--
1959	6
1958	10
1957	26
1956	30
1955	12
1954	4

The majority (82 per cent) had voted in the last provincial and federal elections, and 58 per cent had voted in the last municipal election.

This chapter has presented a description of the 6,100 answers which were obtained from the subjects in this study. The answers threw more light on the adjustment problems of the Estonian refugees in Montreal, and suggested several variables which have influenced their adjustment. The results of this study will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

This chapter discusses the results obtained from the study, generally in the order in which they were previously presented. It begins with a few remarks about the attitudes of the subjects towards the study, and the description of the sample. Then follows a discussion of the migration of the subjects, and their adjustment in Canada. The subjects' self-identification with ethnic groups is discussed finally.

The purpose of this investigation was to discover the problems which result when the members of a national group whose families have lived in their own society for generations, are suddenly forced to leave their homeland, and have to settle down in a different environment without any opportunity to return to their homeland. The interest of the subjects in the study and their cooperation indicated the timeliness of the problem investigated. It appeared during the interviews that the subjects were eager to discuss the questions they were asked because several remarked that although they had pondered over some of these questions, they had rarely or never discussed them previously. Several subjects also asked whether they could contact the writer after the conclusion of the study, in order to discuss the final results of the investigation.

Age had been one of the criteria which was used in the selection of the sample, and several results suggested that approaching middle age of the subjects on their arrival in Canada was a very important factor in their adjustment. During the course of the investigation it was revealed that nearly all subjects shared some characteristics which originally had not been used as criteria for their inclusion in the sample. Thus, not only had the majority of the subjects and their parents been born in Estonia, but also the subjects' spouses and their parents were nearly all of Estonian origin. This indicated that the sample was fully representative of the Estonian population.

The adjustment problems of the subjects seemed to originate from the sudden departure from the homeland and the extraordinary circumstances connected with it. The experiences during the migration were mainly related to the losses suffered during the war and during the escape. More than two-thirds (68 per cent) of the subjects had terrifying and unforgetable experiences during the war, and the escape from Estonia had involved personal tragedy for many more. Nearly all (92 per cent) had lost members of families, close friends, and other relatives. Several subjects had lost all their relatives and friends. In addition, the war had interrupted and ended the plans and goals in life of most subjects. All had lost their material possessions.

However, in spite of their losses, life had never seemed meaningless to the majority of the subjects. Several said that the more difficult their experiences had been, the more they had wanted to live. Many said that faith had helped them in their most difficult moments.

Thus, the forced nature of the migration and the experiences which the subjects had undergone during the war appeared to be the major basic variables which influenced their adjustment. Many subjects emphasized that they were continually aware that they would have to remain in Canada for the rest of their lives because Estonia would probably not be liberated during their life time.

Nearly half the subjects (46 per cent) had immigrated to Canada in order to be farther from the communist empire. Most had come here from Sweden in 1951 when the Korean war began to threaten world peace. However, the international political situation remained as their major concern also in Canada.

Many subjects had decided to settle in Montreal because some of their Estonian friends were already there. It seemed that these friends had an important role in introducing the subjects to their new environment. Several subjects remarked throughout the interviews that they liked the bilingual atmosphere in Montreal, and that it had been their main reason for settling there.

Most subjects lived in the newer residential sections of the Montreal island, and none lived in the slum areas. The majority liked Montreal and planned to remain there. Nevertheless, most said that in the event of the liberation of Estonia, they would return to their homeland, mainly because they felt that they were trained for jobs which involved more responsibility and that here they used their abilities only partially. This seemed to be an important factor which influenced the extent of their adjustment.

The subjects were asked several questions on the adjustment problems of fellow Estonian refugees, and their own problems. All subjects agreed that the Estonian refugee intellectual had adjustment problems after his arrival in Canada. The most significant problems were believed to be the following , in order of importance:

1. Language - inability to speak the language.
2. Work - difficulty and for many, inability to find work in own profession.
3. Age - too old to adjust.
4. Unfamiliar environment - the country and the people were different.

A significant result was that 29 per cent of the subjects thought that all adjustment problems had disappeared while the refugees had been in Canada. However, those who believed that the problems still existed, listed them in the

following order of importance:

1. Language - inability to master the language fluently.
2. Work - fear of losing one's job because of advancing age.
3. Social relations with Canadians.
4. Age - too old to adjust.
5. Unfamiliar environment - the country and the people were still quite unfamiliar.

Although most subjects had studied English and French for several years before immigrating to Canada, it seemed that this preparation though helpful, was not sufficient. Their inability to speak these languages fluently was still one of their main adjustment problems at the time of the study. The subjects explained that the refugees' main concern was that they would never master the language fluently.

In addition, although they were still dissatisfied at not being able to work in their own professions, the fear of losing their present jobs had become a more important problem meanwhile because they lacked sufficient economic security for old age. The area of social relations with Canadians had become another new problem in the meanwhile as well. Several subjects remarked that language and economic difficulties were their major obstacles in the latter area.

Nearly one-fourth (24 per cent) of the subjects said that they had never had any problems in Canada which were directly caused by the fact that they were refugees. No outstanding differences could be found between these particular subjects and those who admitted having such problems, with respect to the following variables: age, sex, occupational mobility, experiences and losses suffered during the war, and economic condition in Canada.

Those subjects who believed that their problems were directly caused by the fact that they were refugees, listed them in the following order of importance:

1. International political situation.
2. Occupation and work - including the language difficulties.
3. Economic condition.
4. Family.
5. Old age.
6. Health.
7. Social relations with Canadians, including language difficulties.
8. Social relations with fellow Estonian refugees.
9. Loneliness.
10. Emotional problems.

Although several of these problems may also be applied to Canadians, and most could be usual problems of immigrants

in general, the problem which was placed first by the subjects seems to be typical of war refugees. It may be assumed that to state that the international political situation was their major problem was another way of saying that what still concerned them most, and what they would never forgive or forget, was that they had been forced to leave their homeland, and had no present opportunity of returning there. An almost fanatical belief in the western way of democracy was the predominant feature of political views expressed by the subjects.

Although most subjects rated their economic condition as satisfactory, it still continued to be a problem for many, especially in connection with their old age. Loneliness was the major problem of those who had lost all their relatives and friends in the war.

It is significant to note that most of the subjects had themselves tried to solve their problems.

Most agreed that the less-educated Estonian refugees in Canada had different adjustment problems from those of the refugee intellectuals because it had been easier for the former to find work in their own occupations. However, they agreed that the less-educated refugees had more difficulties in learning the language. It appeared again therefore, that language and work were two of the main problems in adjustment of all the subjects.

Concerning the adjustment problems of Estonian refugees in other countries, 40 per cent agreed that refugees everywhere had similar adjustment problems. However, it was felt by 26 per cent that it was probably easier to adjust in Sweden where most refugees could find employment in their own professions, and where there were fewer problems concerning old age, because of a comprehensive social security plan.

Most subjects had never regretted that they had come to Canada, because they felt satisfied here. Nevertheless, they still felt strange in Canada, and said that they would never feel at home here because they were too old to forget their homeland.

When asked whether or not they believed that they had adjusted, 72 per cent replied that they had adjusted, 20 per cent said that they had more or less adjusted, and only 8 per cent felt that they had not adjusted. It appeared from the results that they meant that they were satisfied here when they said that they had adjusted. Nevertheless, they yearned for their homeland and said that they would remain homesick for the rest of their lives. One subject typically expressed, "I have adjusted, but this is not my real home."

Worry about their future seemed to be entirely linked with concern about economic security in old age.

The answers of the subjects regarding their work and income seemed to suggest that the occupational mobility of

most subjects had proceeded considerably downward. As a result there had also been a downward mobility in social status. Several subjects said that although they very much wanted to meet Canadians who had the same social status which they themselves had in Estonia, they found this hard to do because of language and economic difficulties. The downward occupational mobility was thus another variable which influenced their adjustment.

Although the majority had found work in their own professions in Canada, others had been forced to learn new occupations here and elsewhere in exile. For example, all subjects who were former lawyers were working in other occupations here. Subjects who were engineers, architects, and pharmacists had found work in their own professions.

It is interesting to note that in spite of their downward occupational mobility, most subjects said that they felt contented at work.

Nevertheless, 54 per cent had the following problems in their work:

1. Language - inability to master the language fluently.
2. Profession - inability to work in own profession.

The language difficulties appeared even among those who were well satisfied with their work, and it was also the main concern of those who held executive positions.

The downward occupational mobility of the subjects was clearly expressed when they said that if they had the necessary authority and the opportunity they would change or reorganize certain work methods in their jobs in order to make the work more effective. Many added that they were unable to apply their various abilities in their work, and that this was a source of frustration to them.

When discussing some aspects of the Canadian labour market, 50 per cent felt that working conditions were unstable here and that people could lose their jobs very easily. In addition, it was felt by 24 per cent that there was insufficient social security in Canada. It seemed that both of these problems concerned the subjects because they were frequently mentioned during the interviews.

Concerning the economic condition of the subjects before their arrival in Canada, 66 per cent had gathered enough savings during the seven years that they had been away from their homeland so that they were able to come to Canada at their own expense.

It seemed that in Canada the subjects had made considerable achievements economically. Only 18 per cent owned no real estate, and most of the 62 per cent of the subjects who were homeowners had bought their homes within the first five years after their arrival here.

Finally, in spite of the fact that nineteen years ago the subjects had left their homeland with bare hands, and most had come to Canada without any significant means some ten years ago, 84 per cent considered their economic condition as satisfactory, 12 per cent as being good, and only 4 per cent considered it poor. It may be assumed that their satisfactory economic condition was an important variable which helped towards their adjustment.

Most subjects had spent their spare time differently in Estonia because of the following reasons:

1. Age - they were younger in Estonia.
2. Working day - the working day ended earlier and distances were shorter; consequently, there was believed to be more spare time in Estonia.
3. Cultural activities - there were believed to be more cultural activities in Estonia.
4. Social activities - there was believed to be a broader area for social activities in Estonia.

It seems that a significant factor which was conducive to their adjustment was that nearly all subjects felt that Canadians were friendly towards them. They said that all their contacts with Canadians had been pleasant.

Many subjects said that they were not sufficiently acquainted with Canadian family life and social life to be able to compare Canadians in these respects with the Estonian

refugees, and it seemed that most of their encounters with Canadians had been in the area of work.

It is significant to note that although 76 per cent of the subjects reported that they had not completely understood Canadians shortly after their arrival here, these misunderstandings had generally disappeared meanwhile.

It was felt by the majority that Canadians were less interested in education than were the Estonian refugees. Many remarked that education had been and was still their most valued possession, and their only wealth which the war had not destroyed.

Nearly all subjects (92 per cent) and 24 per cent of the subjects' spouses were university graduates, also 76 per cent of the children who were high school graduates had enrolled in Canadian universities, and nearly half of the latter had already received their degrees.

The subjects showed a strong reaction when they were asked to compare their own interest in international politics with that of Canadians. Nearly all (96 per cent) believed that average Canadians showed little or no interest in the international political situation. Looking for reasons for this difference, many said that they had been forced to leave their homeland because of the international political situation but that because Canadians had never had to suffer under its rule they were unaware of the real dangers of communism.

It is significant to note that although the majority of the subjects were Canadianscitizens, they still considered themselves to be Estonians. In addition, 96 per cent spoke Estonian at home. Most also belonged to an average of three Estonian organizations, and spent an average of three to nine hours per month in them.

It is also interesting that although 48 per cent said that they would prefer to work with Canadians, and only 32 per cent preferred Estonians for their neighbours, the majority nevertheless preferred Estonians for their friends, for members of their families, and for their spouses.

They reported, in addition, that most of their friends were Estonian refugees, that they visited Estonian homes more frequently than Canadian homes, and that they felt more at ease among Estonians. It seems that the friendly attitude of Canadians, and activities within their own refugee community had in many respects helped them to adjust by making them feel more at home here.

Finally, a large percentage of the subjects had voted in the Canadian elections, believing it to be their duty to respect and support democratic liberties of this country. Several subjects said that firm convictions for democratic freedom and liberty had nearly cost them their lives, and that these were the main values they appreciated in Canada.

The above discussion of the results of this study has outlined certain variables which have been influential in the psychological and social adjustment of the Estonian refugee intellectuals in Montreal. A summary of this study follows in the next chapter.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The results of this study showed that several basic variables have influenced the psychological and social adjustment of the Estonian refugee intellectuals in Montreal.

One of the most significant variables was the motivation to emigrate. The subjects had been forced to leave their homeland and foresaw no probability of returning home during their lifetimes. They felt that the circumstances which compelled them to remain in Canada also decreased their motivation towards adjustment.

The losses and sufferings experienced by most subjects during the war and during their escape, constituted another important basic variable. More than two-thirds (68 per cent) had difficult and unforgetable experiences in the war, and many subjects had faced death several times during their escape. Nearly all (92 per cent) had lost members of families, other relatives, and close friends. In addition, the war had interrupted and ended the life plans of most subjects, and all had lost their material possessions.

Age was one of the criteria used in the selection of the sample and the results showed that it was also one of the major factors in adjustment. After arrival in Canada the refugees found that age was a problem when looking for employment in their own professions. During the time that the

refugees had been in Canada age had become the prime cause for their fear of losing their jobs. Due to lack of sufficient economic security, old age was considered to be of major concern for the future. Age was also believed to be one of the disadvantages in mastering the language fluently, and in adjusting completely to the new way of life.

Another important variable was the downward occupational mobility. Approximately one-third of the subjects worked in their own professions in Canada, and the majority felt that their jobs here were significantly lower in status or in utilizing their abilities than the work they had done in Estonia.

Although all subjects felt that the Estonian refugee intellectual had adjustment problems after his arrival in Canada, approximately one-fourth believed, however, that all these problems had disappeared meanwhile.

Of major significance according to many subjects, in helping them to adjust and feel more at home in Canada, was the friendly attitude of Canadians, in addition to the Estonian community's knowledge of their needs.

However, many aspects of the Canadian environment still appeared unfamiliar to them, and closer social contacts with Canadians were lacking, chiefly because of language difficulties.

More than three-fourths (76 per cent) of the subjects had problems which they believed were directly caused by the fact that they were refugees, and listed them in the following order of importance: international political situation; occupation and work, including language difficulty; economic condition; family; old age; health; social relations with Canadians, including language difficulty; social relations with fellow Estonian refugees; loneliness; and emotional problems.

This study has also shown that many subjects were desirous and capable of making useful suggestions concerning several aspects of Canadian life. Much energy, based on experience, would be lost and unnecessary misunderstanding would result if no interest were shown in the constructive attitudes of new-Canadians. On the basis of the results of this investigation, the writer would like to recommend Federal and Provincial authorities to keep closer contact with the various refugee communities in Canada, so that the refugees could apply their abilities for the benefit of Canadian society and thereby become well-adjusted Canadian citizens. To this end, the writer of this study feels that the use of psychologists in this delicate field is to be highly recommended.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE AND ANSWERS

I. Personal and Identifying Data.

A. The Subjects.

1. What is your approximate age range?

Age	Percentage
Sixty and above	26
Fifty to fifty-nine	52
Forty to forty-nine	20
Did not wish to answer	2

2. Where were you born?

Country	Percentage
Estonia	86
Elsewhere	14

3. Where were your parents born?

Country	Percentage
Estonia	94
Elsewhere	6

4. What is your marital status?

Marital status	Percentage
Married	88
Widowed	10
Separated	2
Single	--

5. Where were you married?

Country	Percentage
Estonia	80
In exile	20

6. How many years have you been married?

Number of years	Percentage
Forty and longer	6
Thirty-five to thirty-nine	6
Thirty to thirty-four	12
Twenty-five to twenty-nine	16
Twenty-to twenty-four	24
Fifteen to nineteen	12
Ten to fourteen	10
Nine and less	2

7. Where did you graduate from university?

University or College	Percentage
University of Tartu	44
Technical University of Tallinn	32
Estonian colleges	6
Foreign university	18

8. In which course did you major at university or college?

Course	Percentage
Engineering, Civil or Mechanical	30
Law	20
Electrical engineering	10
Pharmacy	8
Architecture	10
Economics	8
Forestry	4
Other	10

9. How many years did you attend university or college?

Number of years	Percentage
Eleven to thirteen	2
Eight to ten	18
Five to seven	46
Two to four	34

10. If you graduated from university, what degree did you receive?

Degree	Percentage
M. Eng.	4
B. L.	20
B. Eng.	30
B. Sc. Pharmacy	8
B. Architecture	6
B. Commerce	4
B. Forestry	4
Other	10
Did not graduate	8

11. How long did you study English before coming to Canada?

a) in Estonia?

Number of years	Percentage
Eight and more	10
Seven	8
Six	6
Five	36
Four	10
Three and less	8
Did not study	22

12. How long did you study English before coming to Canada?

b) in exile?

Number of years	Percentage
Seven to eight	2
Five to six	--
Three to four	14
One to two	28
Less than one	26
Did not study	24
Did not study, knew English well in Estonia	6

13. How did you study English in Canada?

Means of studying	Percentage
By taking courses	30
Daily conversation	26
Books, newspapers	18
Radio, television	8
Did not study	12
Did not study, knew English well previously	6

14. How long did you study French before coming to Canada?

a) in Estonia?

Number of years	Percentage
Eight and more	14
Seven	6
Six	10
Five	4
Four	2
Three and less	18
Did not study	46

15. How long did you study French before coming to Canada?

b) in exile?

Number of years	Percentage
Seven to eight	2
Five to six	6
Three to four	2
One to two	--
Less than one	4
Did not study	86

16. How did you study French in Canada?

Means of studying	Percentage
By taking courses	18
Daily conversation	12
Books, newspapers	8
Radio, television	4
Did not study	58

17. Have you had any serious diseases in Canada and/or elsewhere?

Serious diseases	Percentage
In Canada	16
Elsewhere	10
Never had serious diseases	74

18. Have you been hospitalized in exile?

Hospitalized	Percentage
Yes	38
No	62

B. The Families of the Subjects.

a. The Spouse.

19. What is her (his) approximate age range?

Age	Percentage
Sixty and above	10
Fifty to fifty-nine	40
Forty to forty-nine	34
Thirty-nine and below	4
Did not wish to answer	2

20. Where was she (he) born?

Country	Percentage
Estonia	80
Elsewhere	8

21. Where were her (his) parents born?

Country	Percentage
Estonia	84
Elsewhere	4

22. What is her (his) education?

Education	Percentage
University or college graduate	24
Attended university without graduating	6
High school graduate plus additional courses	14
High school graduate	44

23. Did she (he) work in Estonia?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	66
No	22

24. If she (he) worked in Estonia, what was her (his) occupation?

Occupation	Percentage
Office clerk	24
Professional	26
Sales clerk	10
Other	6
Did not work	22

25. Has she (he) been working since your arrival in Canada?

Answer	Percentage
Yes, and is still working	50
Yes, but worked only for first 2 years after arrival	18
Yes, but stopped working recently	4
No	10

26. What is her (his occupation here?

Occupation	Percentage
Office clerk	32
Technical profession	12
Craftsman	8
Sales clerk	4
Nurse	4
Part-time work, and other	12
Has never worked here	16

b. The Children.

27. a) Number of children by age and sex?

Age	M	F	Total
22 and above	15	15	30
13 to 21	8	10	18
12 and below	4	1	5
Total	27	26	53

b) Where were they born?

Country	Number
Estonia	42
Canada	3
Other European countries	8

28. a) Where did your children graduate from elementary school?

Country	Number
Estonia	7
Sweden	6
Germany	3
France	3
Canada	30

b) Where did your children graduate from high school?

Country	Number
Estonia	3
Sweden	1
Germany	2
Canada	36

28. c) Where did your children graduate from university?

Country	Number
Canada	15
Other countries	--

29. If your children are university graduates, what degrees do they have?

Degrees	Number
Ph.D.	2
M.A. or M.Sc.	2
B.A. or B.Sc.	11

30. Number of children who are still studying in various Canadian schools and universities.

School	Number
Elementary school	4
High School	6
University undergraduates	17
Post-graduate students	4

31. Do your children live with you or do they live away from home?

Answer	Number
Live at home	31
Married and live away from home	17
Single and live away from home	5

32. If your children are married, what are the nationalities of their wives or husbands?

Nationality	Number
Estonian	12
Other nationalities	5
Single	36

II. Migration.

A. Experiences in Connection with Leaving Estonia.

33. When did you leave Estonia?

Year	Percentage
1944	86
1943	14

34. Would you like to describe briefly your escape to the free world?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	98
No	2

35. Did you have any terrifying and unforgetable experiences during the war or during your escape?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	68
No	32

36. If you had terrifying and unforgetable experiences during the war or during your escape, would you like to mention what kind of experiences these were?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	66
No	2
Did not have such experiences	32

37. Optional.

a) Did you lose any members of your family, other relatives, or close friends during the war because of arrests, deportations, bombing, disease, or by other means?

b) Would you like to answer the above question or were these experiences so difficult that you don't wish to talk about them?

a) Answer	Percentage
Yes	90
No	8
b) Yes, would like to answer	98
No, don't wish to answer	2

38. Did you ever have sufferings during the war when life seemed meaningless and without a purpose?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	34
No	64
Don't wish to answer	2

39. How had things been going for you before the last World War, and did the war interrupt or end any of your plans in life?

Answer	Percentage
Things had been going well and the war interrupted or ended plans in life	94
Things had been going well and the war did not interrupt or end plans in life	6

40. What did you lose financially as a result of the war?

Answer	Percentage
Everything	84
Not so much	16

41. In your present daily life are your thoughts concentrated mostly on the past, the present, or on the future?

Answer	Percentage
Past	8
Present	36
Future	12
Equally; past, present, future	18
Equally; present and future	18
Equally; past and future	6
Equally; present and past	2

42. Have you had dreams in exile about war or that the communists were pursuing you?

Dreams	Percentage
Yes	84
No	16

43. Do you believe that Estonia will be liberated from the communist occupation?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	92
Doubtful	2
No	6

B. Immigration to Canada.

44. Why did you decide to immigrate to Canada?

Reason	Percentage
Hoped to find here more political security against communist threat	46
Liked the Canadian climate	16
Relatives were living here	12
Opportunities to find employment were better here	10
Received visa earlier to Canada than to U.S.	8
Other reasons	8

45. a) From which country did you immigrate to Canada?

Country	Percentage
Sweden	60
Germany	24
England	8
Other countries	8

b) When did you arrive in Canada?

Year	Percentage
1948	16
1949	14
1950	6
1951	46
1952	8
Shortly after 1952	10

46. Did you live elsewhere in Canada before settling in Montreal?

Answer	Percentage
No	70
Yes	30

47. If you lived elsewhere in Canada before settling in Montreal, where did you live and for how long

a) Where?

Province	Percentage
Ontario	14
Manitoba	4
Alberta	4
Newfoundland	2
Elsewhere in Quebec	6

b) How long?

Time in Years	Percentage
Seven and longer	4
Four to six	4
One to three	18
Less than one	4

48. Why did you settle in Montreal?

Reason	Percentage
Friends were there	34
Found a job there	22
It was a bilingual city	1[illegible]
No specific reason	14
Children accepted at one of Montreal's universities	4
Several of the above	10

49. How long have you lived in Montreal?

Number of years	Percentage
Fourteen	1[illegible]
Thirteen	6
Twelve	1[illegible]
Eleven	46
Ten	4
Nine	3
Eight	8

50. In what district do you live in Montreal?

District	Percentage
Western section	70
Northern section	14
Central area	14
Eastern section	2

51. Do you plan to stay in Montreal?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	96
No	4

52. If you don't plan to stay in Montreal, where do you plan to move to and why?

a) Where?

Answer	Percentage
Don't know	4

b) Why?

Answer	Percentage
Don't like the climate in Montreal	4

53. Would you return to Estonia if Estonia were to be liberated?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	70
Would remain in Canada	18
Don't know	1

III. Adjustment.

A. General Problems.

54. Do you believe that the Estonian refugee intellectual had adjustment problems after his arrival in Canada?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	100

55. If you believe that the Estonian refugee intellectual had adjustment problems after his arrival in Canada, what in your opinion were some of their problems?

Problem	Percentage
Inability to speak English or French fluently	54
Difficulty finding jobs in their own professions	28
Advancing age	6
Canada and Canadians were strange	6
Various other problems	6

56. Do you believe that the Estonian refugee intellectual still has adjustment problems?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	80
No	20

57. If you believe that the Estonian refugee intellectual still has adjustment problems, what in your opinion are some of these problems?

Problem	Percentage
Not having mastered the language; fear of losing job because of advancing age; difficulties in social relations with Canadians	52
Age, too old to adjust	12
Canada and Canadians are still quite unfamiliar	8
Various other problems	8

58. Have you had any problems in Canada which still worry you and which you believe are directly related to the fact that you are a refugee?

Problems	Percentage
Yes	76
No	24

59. If you have had problems in Canada which still worry you and which you believe are directly related to the fact that you are a refugee, in which of the following areas are these problems?

Problem area	Percentage
International political situation	52
Occupation and work, including language difficulties	32
Economic condition	30
Family	22
Old age	13
Health	16
Social relations with Canadians, includes language difficulties	10
Social relations with fellow Estonian refugees	10
Loneliness	10
Emotional problems	3

(The above percentages total more than 7c per cent because many subjects mentioned more than one problem.)

60. If you have had problems in Canada which still worry you, and which you believe are directly related to the fact that you are a refugee, have any of these problems worsened, lessened, or remained about the same while you have lived here?

Answer	Percentage
Worsened	14
Lessened	16
Remained about the same	32
Some worsened, some lessened, some about the same	14
Had no problems	24

61. If you have had problems in Canada which still worry you, and which you believe are directly related to the fact that you are a refugee, have you tried or are you trying to solve these problems alone or with help from outside, such as the church, or social agencies?

Answer	Percentage
Alone	66
With help from outside	10
Had no problems	24

62. Do you believe that Estonian refugees with elementary or high school education had different adjustment problems from the refugee intellectuals?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	84
No	12
Don't know	4

63. Do you believe that the adjustment problems of Estonian refugees in the rest of the free world are similar to or different from the problems of the Estonian refugees in Canada?

Answer	Percentage
Different	60
Same	40

64. a) Do you at times feel strange here?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	70
No	30

64. b) If you feel strange here at times, what do you believe are some of the reasons why you feel this way?

Reasons - Yes	Percentage
The country and people are still strange	40
Will never feel at home here because was too old when arrived and I was forced to leave homeland	14
Feel strange on specific days or seasons	10
Different climate here	6
Reasons - No	
Have become used to every thing here and so many nationalities here	20
Don't know	10

65. Are you satisfied with your decision of having immigrated to Canada, or have you at times regretted it? If so, why?

Answer	Percentage
Satisfied and no regrets	30
Now regrets at times	16
Now regrets very much	4

66. Do you feel that you have now adjusted, or are you maladjusted to life in Canada?

Answer	Percentage
Adjusted	72
More or less adjusted	20
Maladjusted	8

67. Did you do anything specific to adjust here?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	26
Adjustment came of itself	74

68. How do you feel about your future in Canada?

Answer	Percentage
Not worried about future	40
Feels old and that there is not much future left	22
Tries to live and work quietly	16
Plans to enroll in various university courses to learn a new profession	4
Various replies	6
Don't know	12

69. Are you worried about your future in Canada?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	32
No	68

70. Have you ever been homesick in Canada?

Answer	Percentage
Yes, and still feels homesick	88
No	12

71. Do you feel that you share life goals with most other Estonian refugees?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	78
No	12
Don't know	10

72. What is your purpose in life?

Answer	Percentage
To live and work peacefully	36
To raise and educate their children	20
To work for the preservation of Estonian nationalism in exile	18
Secure their economic condition	2
Various other replies	18
Don't know	6

B. Work and Income.

73. a) What was your occupation in Estonia, and what type of work did you do there?

Occupation	Percentage
Lawyer	16
Pharmacist	8
Architect	4
Engineer	20
Other professional	12
Executive	18
Business owner	6
Clerk	4
Draftsman	--
Other	10
Unemployed	2

b) What was your occupation in Sweden, and what type of work did you do there?

Occupation	Percentage
Lawyer	--
Pharmacist	2
Architect	4
Engineer	22
Other professional	--
Executive	-2
Business owner	--
Clerk	14
Draftsman	8
Other	8
Unemployed	--

(The percentages in 73. b) add up to 60 per cent because only 60 per cent of the subjects immigrated to Canada from Sweden.)

73. c) What is your occupation in Canada and what type of work are you doing here?

Occupation	Percentage
Lawyer	--
Pharmacist	8
Architect	4
Engineer	36
Other professional	--
Executive	2
Business owner	--
Clerk	24
Draftsman	14
Other	8
Do not work - unemployed	4

74. Did you find it easy or difficult to find work in Canada?

Answer	Percentage
Was easy to find general types of work, but difficult to find in own profession	74
Difficult to find any tpye of work	22
Did not look for work	4

75. How would you rate your present job compared with the work you did in your homeland, or which you presumably now would be doing there under normal conditions?

Rating	Percentage
In Estonianhad, and would now have had, a much higher position than here	76
Did same type of work in Estonia as here.	16
Have a more interesting job here than had in Estonia	6
Unemployed	4

76. How do you feel about your work now?

Answer	Percentage
Very contented	34
Satisfied	42
Unhappy	18
Completely dissatisfied	2
Unemployed	4

77. Do you have any particular problems which prevent you from doing your work the way you would like, e.g. difficulties in completing the required tasks, language difficulties, etc.?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	54
No	42
Does not work	4

78. If you had the opportunity and sufficient authority would you reorganize certain work methods in your job so that the work would become more effective?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	68
No	28
Does not work	4

79. a) What in your opinion are the strengths and weaknesses of the Canadian labour-market from the point of view of the employee?

Answer	Percentage
The salaries are high	20
People lose their jobs too easily	50
Insufficient social security	24
Other views	6

b) What in your opinion are the strengths and weaknesses of the Canadian labour-market from the point of view of the employer?

Answer	Percentage
Abundance of workers	28
Large natural resources for industrial expansion	6
High mechanization	4
Easy financing	4
Lack of good specialists	6
Lack of systematic planning	4
Keen competition	6
Other views	8
Don't know	34

80. Did you come to Canada with the assistance of a refugee organization, church, relatives, or on your own savings?

Answer	Percentage
On own savings	68
Partly by aid of refugee organizations and partly on own savings	6
By aid of refugee organization	20
Partly by aid of refugee organizations and partly by aid of relatives	2
By aid of relatives	4

81. Did you stay with friends after your arrival in Canada? If so, for how long?

Answer	Percentage
No	58
Yes	42
One year and longer	2
Five to eleven months	2
Three to four months	4
One to two months	12
Two to three weeks	18
Less than two weeks	4

82. Do other relatives besides members of your immediate family live with you?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	8
No	92

83. Are you a homeowner, do you rent an apartment, or room?

Answer	Percentage
Homeowner	62
Rents apartment	38
Rents room	--

84. Were you a homeowner in Estonia or did you rent an apartment or room?

Answer	Percentage
Homeowner	28
Rented apartment	72
Rented room	--

85. a) Do you own a house, a summer cottage, and/or other real estate in Canada?

Answer	Percentage
A house and a summer cottage	26
A house	30
A house and other real estate	6
A summer cottage	10
A summer cottage and other real estate	2
Other real estate	8
No real estate at all	18

85. b) If you own a house and/or a summer cottage, when did you buy them?

Year house was bought	Percentage
1954	36
1955 - 1959	18
1960 and later	8
Year cottage was bought	
1955 - 1959	28
1960 and later	10

86. Do you have a car?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	52
No	48

87. Have you had a vacation trip every year while you have been Canada?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	80
No	20

88. How do you rate your economic condition in Canada?

Answer	Percentage
Good	12
Satisfactory	84
Poor	4

C. Recreative Activities.

89. Do you spend your spare time in about the same manner as you spent it in Estonia?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	28
No	72

90. If you spend your spare time differently from the way you spent it in Estonia, what in your opinion are some of the reasons for this difference?

Reasons	Percentage
Interests have changed because of age	26
More spare time in Estonia because working day was ending earlier there	24
More spare time in Estonia because the distances for commuting were closer	14
There were more cultural activities than here	12
There were more opportunities for sports participation in Estonia	10
There was a broader scale of social activities in Estonia than here	10

(The above percentages add up to more than 28 per cent because many subjects mentioned more than one reason.)

91. If you had more spare time how would you spend it?

Answer	Percentage
Read more	36
Travel more	24
Participate more in sports	12
Take up studies	10
Work more for benefit of the Estonian society	6
Paint more	4
Attend more concerts and theatre performances	8

92. Were you less active or more active in social activities in Estonia than in Canada, or were you about as active there as here?

Answer	Percentage
As active in Canada as in Estonia	42
More active in Estonia	34
More active in Canada	24

93. If you were more active or less active in social activities in Estonia, what do you believe are some of the reasons for this difference?

a) Socially more active in Estonia.

Reason	Percentage
Age difference, was much younger in Estonia	22
More spare time in Estonia because working day was shorter there	6
There were more social activities in Estonia	6

93. b) Socially more active in Canada.

Reasons	Percentage
Feel responsibility to participate in Estonian activities in Canada in order to preserve Estonian nationalism in exile	16
There is more spare time here because was too busy with career in Estonia	2
Estonian social activities here provide only means for meeting fellow Estonian refugees	2
Other reasons	4

94. During the time that you've been in Canada, did you ever plan to move, change your occupation, improve your education, or have you made other plans?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	70
No	30

95. If you planned to move, change your occupation, improve your education, or if you have made other plans since residing in Canada, did you carry out these plans?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	46
No	24
Had no plans	30

96. If you planned to move, change your occupation, improve your education, or if you have made other plans since you have been in Canada, and you did not carry out your plans, do they still exist?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	14
No	10

4. Self-Identification with Ethnic Groups.

A. Attitudes towards Canadians.

97. What in your opinion are the attitudes of Canadians towards the Estonian refugees in Canada?

Attitudes	Percentage
Canadians have benevolent and kind attitudes towards the Estonian refugees	70
Their attitudes towards Estonian refugees is the same as towards other immigrants	10
Their attitudes vary, and depend on the level of their education	4
Canadians don't fully understand the Estonian refugees	10
Don't know	6

98. Compare the personality characteristics of Canadians and Estonian refugees.

Characteristics	Percentage
Canadians are friendly but their friendship is formal	36
They are equally friendly	32
Canadians are friendlier than Estonians	6
French-Canadians are friendlier than Estonians	4
Varied opinions	20
Don't know	2

99. Compare the family life of Canadians and Estonian refugees.

Family life	Percentage
Not sufficiently acquainted with Canadian family life but feel Canadian parents are more liberal in bringing up their children.	18
Estonian family members keep together more closely than the members of Canadian families	12
The family life of Canadians and of Estonian refugees is very similar	8
Various answers	38
Unable to answer because of unfamiliarity with Canadian family life	24

100. Compare the social life of Canadians and Estonian refugees.

Social life	Percentage
Canadians spend social time mostly in clubs and organizations; Estonians usually meet in homes	14
Estonians serve more food and drink at parties	12
Canadians consume more alcohol at parties	8
Social life of Canadians center around their neighbourhoods; Estonians frequently travel long distances to meet	6
Various opinions	10
Unable to answer because of unfamiliarity with Canadian social life	50

101. How would you compare Canadians and Estonian refugees with respect to their interest in education?

Answer	Percentage
Estonian refugees value education more highly	80
Canadians and Estonians value education equally	16
Don't know	4

102. How would you compare the cultural interests of Canadians and of Estonian refugees?

Cultural interests	Percentage
Estonians have a wider range of cultural interests	68
No difference between Estonians and Canadians in this respect	22
Canadians have more cultural interestsf	2
Don't know	8

103. How would you compare Canadians and Estonian refugees with respect to their interest in international politics?

Answer	Percentage
Canadians have very little interest	96
Don't know	4

104. After your arrival in Canada, did you have any misapprehensions about the attitudes, behavior, and manner of life of Canadians, and did the Canadians seem strange to you?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	76
No	24

105. If you had certain misapprehensions about the attitudes, behavior, and manner of life of Canadians after your arrival in Canada, have these misapprehensions increased, decreased, or remained about the same?

Answer	Percentage
Increased	--
Decreased	66
Remained the same	10

106. If you had certain misapprehensions about the attitudes, behavior, and manner of life of Canadians after your arrival in Canada, do you feel that these misunderstandings were caused by:

	Percentage
Ignorance of local conditions; and Canadians did not fully understand your refugee background, including the Language difficulties	64
Various causes	12
Had no misunderstandings.	24

B. Relations with Canadians and with Fellow Estonian Refugees.

107. Do you consider yourself primarily as an Estonian, as a Canadian, as both, or as neither of these?

Nationality	Percentage
Estonian	84
Canadian	2
Both Canadian and Estonian	6
Estonian-Canadian	6
Neither Estonian nor Canadian	2

108. What language do you speak at home: English, French, or Estonian?

Language	Percentage
Estonian	96
Partly Estonian and Partly English	4

109. a) How many Estonian groups or organizations do you belong to?

Number	Percentage
Six and more	4
Five	10
Four	12
Three	48
Two	14
One	12

109. b) How many hours per month do you spend in these organizations?

Hours per month	Percentage
Sixteen and more	10
Thirteen to fifteen	3
Ten to twelve	14
Seven to nine	18
Four to six	24
One to three	22
Less than one	4

110. a) Are you interested in interpreting the Estonian culture to Canadians?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	86
No	14

b) Have these groups or organizations to which you belong helped you to interpret the Estonian culture to Canadians?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	54
Yes, to a certain extent	4
No	28
Not interested	14

111. Do you belong to Canadian groups or organizations?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	64
No	36

112. What is the nationality of most of your friends?

Nationality	Percentage
Estonian	86
Canadian	2
Many nationalities	8
Refugees of other nationalities	4

113. How many Canadian and Estonian homes do you generally vist each month?

a) Canadian homes.

Homes	Percentage
5 - 6 per month	--
3 - 4 per month	2
1 - 2 per month	16
5 - 6 per year	6
3 - 4 per year	2
1 - 2 per year	16
Less than 1 per year	6
No visits at all	52

b) Estonian homes.

Homes	Percentages
5 - 6 per month	3
3 - 4 per month	18
1 - 2 per month	58
5 - 6 per year	2
3 - 4 per year	4
1 - 2 per year	--
Less than 1 per year	--
No visits at all	10

114. Do you feel more at ease and at home among Canadians or among fellow Estonian refugees, or do you feel equally at ease among both?

Answer	Percentage
Estonians	78
Equally at ease among both	22

115. Would you prefer to have a Canadian, an Estonian, or anyone as a fellow worker?

Answer	Percentage
Anyone	48
Estonian	28
Canadian	22
Don't know	2

116. Would you prefer to have a Canadian, an Estonian, or anyone for your neighbour?

Answer	Percentage
Estonian	32
Canadian	23
Anyone	33
Don't know	2

117. Would you prefer a Canadian, an Estonian, or anyone for your friend?

Answer	Percentage
Estonian	78
Anyone	22

118. Would you prefer a Canadian, an Estonian, or anyone as a member of your family?

Answer	Percentage
Estonian	80
Anyone	16
Don't know	4

119. Would you prefer a Canadian, an Estonian, or anyone as your spouse?

Answer	Percentage
Estonian	86
Canadian	2
Anyone	6
Don't know	6

120. Are you a Canadian citizen?

Answer	Percentage
Yes	90
No	10

121. If you are a Canadian citizen, when did you obtain your citizenship?

Year	Percentage
1961	2
1960	--
1959	6
1958	10
1957	26
1956	30
1955	12
1954	4

122. If you are a Canadian citizen, did you vote in the last Canadian elections?

a) Municipal.

Answer	Percentage
Yes	58
No	32

b) Provincial.

Answer	Percentage
Yes	82
No	8

c) Federal.

Answer	Percentage
Yes	82
No	8

APPENDIX 2

NATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE ESTONIAN REFUGEES

For more than three thousand years, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have existed on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. While being separate and distinct nations, they are popularly referred to as the Baltic States because of this geographical location.

The Baltic States at various times in history have been conquered by the Germans, the Swedes, and the Russians. Estonia and Latvia enjoyed their independence as nations up to the thirteenth century. At that time Estonia and Latvia were conquered by the Knights of the Sword, a militant Germanic order. And later, as a result of the Great Northern War at the beginning of the eighteenth century between Sweden and Russia, Estonia and large parts of Latvia fell under Russian domination. Lithuania had lost its independence in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

In the middle of World War I it became evident to patriots of the Baltic States that neither Russia nor Germany could win a decisive victory. It also was apparent that the czarist Russian Empire was disintegrating from within. Consequently, many committees and councils, advocating the independence of the Baltic States, sprang up in various centers of Europe and in the United States. Private

American organizations made substantial contributions to the cause of independence for Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

On February 16, 1918, Lithuania officially declared its national independence. On February 24, 1918, Estonia declared its national independence, and on November 11, 1918 Latvia took similar measures. In the chaos which followed the defeat of Germany in World War I, a newly established Russian Red Army invaded and attempted to destroy the newly established independent states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Relatively small armies of the three respective Baltic States, poorly equipped, but under determined leadership and motivated by the great inspiration of national independence, succeeded in defeating the large Red Russian Army. By the end of 1919, all of the Baltic lands were cleared of the Red Russian invaders.

In 1920, all three of the Baltic States entered into peace treaties with the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic. In all of these treaties the Russians recognized the complete independence and sovereignty of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, renouncing forever any claims, territorial or otherwise, in the Baltic States.

These young independent nations were then faced with a gigantic task of reconstruction. They had suffered great devastation as a consequence of wars and invasions by large foreign armies over a period of years. Within five years

each of the three Baltic States had reached and surpassed their pre-1914 standards of living. This achievement was practically without loans or any foreign aid.

During the period of national independence notable accomplishments in education, literature, the arts and sciences echoed the spirited renaissance. In the field of education alone, among the countries of Europe the percentage of students in universities in 1939 was second only to that of Switzerland.

Politically and constitutionally, the Baltic peoples had proven their ability to rule themselves competently and effectively. However, like all the smaller nations of Central Europe and Eastern Europe, the Baltic States could not escape from the diplomatic and military pressures of the dictators Hitler and Stalin. An official government report from Washington, originating from the Select Committee of the House of Repreeentatives of the United States of America, comes to the following conclusions:

> (I) The evidence is overwhelming and conclusive that Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were forcibly occupied and illegally annexed by the USSR. Any claims by the USSR that the elections conducted by them in July, 1940 were free and voluntary or that the resolutions adopted by the resulting parliaments petitioning for recognition as a Soviet Republic were legal are false and without foundation in fact.
>
> (II) That the continued military and political occupation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia by the USSR is a major cause of the dangerous world

tensions which now beset mankind and therefore constitutes a serious threat to the peace.[1]

Soon after the occupation of the country the Soviet NKVD personnel started the terrorization and annihilation of the Estonian people. Physical torture and brainwashing were used on prisoners. Thousands of people were plainly murdered. Mass deportation of the population, the transfer of large groups of the native population to remote regions of the Soviet Union to forced labor was an essential part of Estonia's sovietization. During a single night (June 14, 1941) about ten thousand men, women, and children were arrested and sent in freight trains to slave-labor camps in Siberia and northern Russia.

In the autumn of 1944 an exodus took place when about sixty-five thousand refugees left Estonia. Now, after almost twenty years in exile, the migration of Estonians from one country to another has ceased. Several Estonian colonies of a permanent character have been established in Europe, North America, and Australia. At present the number of Estonians, almost all refugees, living in different countries throughout the world is the following: Canada, 13,000; the

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U.S. Government Printing Office, Third Interim Report of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression, Washington, House of Representatives, Eighty-Third Congress, 1954, p. 8.

United States, 14,000; Australia, 6,000; the United Kingdom, 3,500; Sweden, 22,000; Germany, 3,500; and other countries in the free world, 3,000.

There was a relatively great number of intellectuals and politically experienced leaders among the refugees, and they have been chiefly responsible for a rapidly expanding Estonian community in the free world.

Many countries including the United States, Great Britain, Canada, West Germany, Norway, Denmark, and Spain have never recognized the occupation and forced annexation of Estonia by the Soviet Union. Consequently, in these countries either the ministers or diplomatic representatives of the Republic of Estonia are still authorized representatives of their state and protectors of its interests.

At present there are about six hundred Estonian organizations in the free world, 230 of which are in North America. They include cultural, religious, political, professional, social, and other organizations.

During the years 1944-60 about 950 Estonian books have been published in the free world, 170 of them in Canada. At present the number of young Estonians studying at various universities in the free world is more than one thousand.

Estonian central organizations in Canada are located in Toronto, and other Estonian groups are active in five

provinces, mainly in the cities of Montreal, Ottawa, Hamilton, St. Catherines, London, Kitchner, Port Arthur, Sault Ste. Marie, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary, and Vancouver.

APPENDIX 3

ABSTRACT OF

An Exploratory Study of the Psychological and Social Adjustment of the Estonian Refugee Intellectual in Montreal[1]

The problem of this study was to investigate the psychological and social adjustment of the Estonian refugee intellectual in Montreal, and to determine what variables influence his adjustment. Its purpose was to discover some of the more important situations in which the refugee intellectual has had to adjust in settling in Canada, his attitudes and feelings regarding this, and some of the ways in which the adjustment has been made.

Relatively few recent studies have been made of the psychological and social adjustment of immigrants to Canada, and there have been even fewer investigations on the adjustment problems of refugees who have arrived as immigrants in Canada since World War II. This study was therefore conducted at an exploratory level, and dealt with the broad pattern of psychological and social adjustment, rather than with any particular aspect of it.

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1 Tiiu-Mai Groenberg, master's thesis presented to the School of Psychology of the University of Ottawa, Ontario, July 1963, viii-163 p.

The sample which was studied consisted of thirty-seven male and thirteen female subjects, who were forty years and older, who obtained most of their university training in Estonia, and who immigrated to Canada and settled in Montreal approximately ten to fifteen years ago.

Each subject was given a standardized interview during which a questionnaire containing 122 items was administered. The subjects were questioned on the following general topics:

1. Personal and Identifying Data about the Subjects and their Families.

2. Migration: Experiences in Connection with Leaving Estonia and Immigration to Canada.

3. Adjustment: General Adjustment Problems; Work; and Recreative Activities.

4. Self-Identification with Ethnic Groups: Attitudes towards Canadians, and Relations with Canadians and with Fellow Estonian Refugees.

The results of the study showed that the following basic variables were conducive to the psychological and social adjustment of the refugees:

1. Friendly attitudes of Canadians towards the subjects.

2. Belonging to the Estonian community in Canada.

The following basic variables were found to interfere with the process of adjustment:

1. Motivation to emigrate.

2. Losses and experiences suffered during the war and during the escape.

3. Age.

4. Downward occupational mobility.

All subjects believed that the following had been the most important adjustment problems which had faced the Estonian refugee intellectual after his arrival here:

1. Language: Inability to speak the language fluently.

2. Work: Inability and/or difficulty to find work in own profession.

3. Age: Too old to adjust.

4. Unfamiliar environment: The country and the people were different.

Approximately one-fourth of the subjects believed that the above problems had disappeared meanwhile. The remaining subjects, who believed that adjustment problems still existed, listed them in the following order of importance:

1. Language: Inability to master the language fluently.

2. Work: A continual fear of losing one's job

because of advancing age.

3. Social relations with Canadians.

4. Age: Too old to adjust.

5. Unfamiliar environment: The country and the people were still quite unfamiliar.

Three-fourths of the subjects had problems in the following areas which they believed were directly caused by the fact that they were refugees: International political situation; occupation and work, including language difficulties; economic condition; family; old age; health; social relations with Canadians, including language difficulties; social relations with fellow Estonian refugees; loneliness; and emotional problems.

A major suggestion emerging from this study is that federal and provincial authorities could keep closer contact with the various refugee communities in Canada, preferably using psychologists for this purpose, so that refugees could apply many of their latent abilities for the benefit of Canadian society, and would thereby become well-adjusted Canadian citizens.