PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES IN NEW REFUGEE-IMMIGRANTS AS A TEMPORARY AND TRANSITIONAL DISPLAY OF COPING ADAPTIVE PROCESSES

By

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We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

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Abstract

A majority of refugee-immigrants experience a variety of psychological difficulties during their resettlement in a new country. Using a sentence completion method, this study tested a hypothesis that in a majority of refugee-immigrants the manifested difficulties were of temporary and transitional character. Eighty subjects completed 51-item Incomplete Sentence Blank questionnaires: 20 Canadian-born individuals, 20 refugee-immigrants living 1-3 years in Canada, 20 refugee-immigrants living 5-7 years in Canada, and 20 refugee-immigrants living in Canada over 8 years. All refugee-immigrants were of Czechoslovakian origin. Sample groups were matched in sex, age, and education of subjects. The questionnaire was designed to reflect different levels of satisfaction with self, others, and the whole environment. The responses were quantified and evaluated blindly by three independent judges; the higher score was expressing the higher subject's dissatisfaction. Analysis of variance and consequent multiple comparisons showed that the mean score of the sample of refugee-immigrants living in Canada 1-3 years was significantly higher than the mean scores of all other investigated samples; the differences in mean scores between other samples were not significant. In all sample groups, t-tests did not indicate significant differences in scoring between females and males. Fifty-one analyses of variance and multiple comparisons identified separate questionnaire items on which "new" immigrants scored significantly higher than all or some of other sample groups. These items highlighted the adaptive nature of difficulties experienced by the majority of "new" immigrants. Three brief case studies supported these results. Other related findings included suspicious attitudes found mainly in new immigrants, comments on questionnaire forms differentiating between samples, and the topic of "refugee dreams". All findings seem to indicate that for the
majority of new refugee-immigrants the psychological difficulties experienced during their resettlement are of temporary and transitional character, a natural expression of their coping adaptive struggles in a new environment.
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Chapter One

Introduction

Identification of the Problem

Canada, as a multicultural country whose citizens come from different nations, open to immigration from the whole world, has to deal with many problems connected with the resettlement of persons. One of these problems is a specific state of mind and behavior often displayed by new immigrants during a certain period of their resettlement. This specific state of mind has many features common to the majority of immigrants from different countries, and its consequences are apparently disturbing for both the new immigrants and members of the "host" population. It is questionable how much this state of mind and attendant behavior are understood, either by the immigrant or by the host population. It is also questionable to what extent this "disturbance" per se limits the understanding of resettlement problems, and obscures their solution.

A typical situation occurs when a group of newcomers which is obviously different arrives, and, for many reasons, does not fit into the new environment. The interactional strains between the newcomers and the host population lead to many misunderstandings which, as misunderstandings often do, lead to the radical conclusion that "They must be crazy!" While immigrants usually question their own sanity as well as the sanity of their new environment, members of the host population can apply firmly established standards of normality from their culture. Thus, their questions are more directed and often can be summarized as "Is the rest of the world crazy?", or "Do they ship us their most psychologically unstable individuals?"

At a somewhat more sophisticated level, these questions are reflected in some
professional theories concerned with immigration problems. Also, respectable medical diagnoses, when applied to problems of new immigrants, usually refer to a deficit: in the broadest sense, a "deficit in normality" when compared to accepted standards of normality in the host culture, that is, a deviation from normality. However, is not this deviation to be expected? Moreover, even if the majority of immigrants exhibited the strangest possible behavior from the point of view of the "normal" host population, what does the behavior of this majority point to? And finally, would the majority of the "normal" host population display different behavior and experience different thoughts and emotions from the majority of immigrants, were they exposed to similar circumstances?

Another important dimension to be considered is the time frame. In the eyes of an uninvolved member of the host population, there is a continuum of immigrants displaying strange and scarcely comprehensible ideas and behavior, not in keeping with the accepted standards of normality in the host population. This perception of a continuum is probably based on the repetition and frequency with which this "strange" state of mind and behavior is manifested, to a varying degree, by the thousands of immigrants entering the country each year. However, when viewed individually, the majority of individual immigrants appears to suffer from this perceived "psychological disturbance" only temporarily; after a certain period of time the majority of immigrants appears to be well-adapted to the new environment. Moreover, they themselves often begin to view more recent immigrants to the country as strange, different, and probably "psychologically disturbed".

The temporary character of this "disturbance" seems to point to immigration per se as a complex and stressful process, capable of unbalancing otherwise psychologically stable individuals. Together with its temporary nature, the
universality of response in the majority of immigrants to the powerful experience of displacement seems to point to a different explanation than that of a "psychological disturbance". The "strange" state of mind and behavior, exhibited by the majority of immigrants for a certain period after their displacement, can be viewed as adaptive coping behavior aimed at self-preservation, at regaining psychological balance, and finally, at fitting into the new environment. In the long run, for the majority of immigrants this form of adaptive behavior seems to work. However, in the process of regaining the balance there are stages at which the newly and only partially-acquired balance is costly, painful, unfortunate in its consequences, and probably postpones the next adaptive step.

If we accept this point of view, the specific state of mind and behavior of new immigrants can be perceived and treated as a predictable crisis. Moreover, accepting this point of view can give a better understanding of the messages conveyed by this adaptive behavior which is often interpreted as "symptomatic". Also, this approach can offer a means to speed up the process of adaptation and alleviate and limit some painful problems connected with it.

The research problem of this study then is:
To what extent are psychological difficulties, manifested by a majority of immigrants and often interpreted as mental disorder, a temporary and transitional display of adaptive coping mechanisms?

**Significance of the Study**

By shifting the focus to the temporary character and predictability of the crisis in new immigrants and stressing the adaptive nature of the crisis as a coping process, the study may be helpful directly to new immigrants. The awareness of the emotional turmoil of the "psychological arrival" as being predictable and
"normal", as well as only temporary can help to reduce the stress of this stage experienced by many new immigrants. In the period following "psychological arrival", many new immigrants are deeply dissatisfied and unhappy, questioning their own sanity as well as the sanity of their new environment.

Unfortunately, some professionals, while helping immigrants in dealing with these common problems, actually share their doubts in regard to their sanity, approaching new immigrants from a "deficit" point of view, that is, as mentally disturbed individuals. Others may be simply overwhelmed by the deep yet somewhat not easily comprehensible displays of mourning, anger, negativism, dissatisfaction and withdrawal, so often observed in new immigrants. Armed with a better knowledge of coping processes involved, professionals can try to help new immigrants to find new, more effective and less painful coping strategies.

Naturally, coping struggles of new immigrants influence the host population. The seemingly unwarranted dissatisfaction, anger, isolation and lack of interest in the immigrants' new environment are often perceived by the "hosts" as ungratefulness or sheer insanity, and met with equal anger, dissatisfaction, isolation and lack of interest on the part of the hosts. This situation is unpleasant for both sides. The mutual misunderstanding and mistrust do not contribute to the finding of new, more satisfying and livable solutions. For immigrants, this attitude can postpone and complicate the next adaptive step. In the host population, this mutual mistrust and misunderstanding can lead to very undesirable and disturbing social phenomena, such as prejudice and racism. Thus, this work would like to contribute to a better understanding of immigration problems by the general public.

The conditions of emigration, immigration, and resettlement can be viewed as a unique laboratory, testing human adaptive capabilities. By contributing to a
better understanding of coping struggles in refugee-immigrants, this work would also be a modest contribution to a better understanding of the miracles of adaptation in general.

Definition of Terms

The Immigrant (Refugee-Immigrant).
In this study this term is to be understood primarily to mean a refugee, that is a person who left a country more or less illegally (or was pressured to do so), usually with no or very limited personal belongings, and who has no (or limited and remote) chances of returning to the country of origin.

Psychological Balance.
Psychological balance is to be understood as a level of content with 1. one's self, 2. others, and 3. the "whole world". Psychological balance is expressed as an equilibrium between criticism, discontent and dissatisfaction with some aspects of one's self and one's human and social environment on one hand, and agreement and satisfaction with other aspects of the same on the other hand. Psychological imbalance represents a low level of adaptation to one's human and social environment. Expressed thought contents lack equilibrium; they chiefly express dissatisfaction and discontent, and they are viewed as compensatory statements. An individual mainly expresses self-depreciating feelings of incompetence, uselessness and hopelessness, or striking ideas of grandiosity. Other people are viewed as distant, unloving and uncaring, not understanding, hostile, and also incompetent. The world is a cold, unjust and hostile place to live in; everybody is out to get somebody, and "especially me". Nobody and nothing can be trusted. The
present "now" is miserable, and the future is probably even bleaker; things will "never ever" pick up. Perception of the past is distorted, usually idealized. Thought forms are often absolute and rigid, connected with many "shoulds", "musts" and "oughts" imposed on the self, others and the world and formulated as demands which "must" be met immediately. Expressed criticism is angry and destructive, containing blame and generalizations. Generalizations are common, and the prevalent feeling is that of "catastrophe" and blame of self, others and the environment for the "total failure".

The described emotional and thought contents, usually also expressed in behavior, have been observed in many immigrants. The observed dissatisfaction and emotional turmoil quite closely fit the picture of an emotional disturbance, as described by Ellis (1979, 1984). Thus, many of Ellis' criteria were followed to identify, classify and systemize difficulties manifested by subjects of this study.

However, it has been the basic stance of this work that the manifested difficulties, at least in a majority of refugee-immigrants, have had a substantially different meaning, etiology and consequences than that of mental disturbance and Ellis' concepts of "irrational beliefs" and "low frustration tolerance". To signify this difference and express the author's understanding of the meaning of psychological difficulties in new refugee-immigrants, the term "psychological balance" has been introduced.

The term "psychological balance" is not supposed to express some mechanical equilibrium or a ratio between the individual's satisfactions and dissatisfactions with one's self, others, and the environment. The psychological balance is rather viewed as a systemic term, expressing the individual's interactions with others and the environment, and delineating the individual's position within the world. In this sense, the term is close to Mechanic's (1974) notion of a congruent, multi-
level, person-environment fit, expressing the individual's comfortable adaptation to the human, cultural, social and physical environment.

The term "psychological balance" has been introduced in this work mostly because of an inability to find any more suitable description, by which to express the author's view of the investigated problem. Appropriateness of this somewhat tentatively introduced term was explored during the work on this study, and examined again in Chapter Six (Discussion, p. 99).
Chapter Two
Rationale and Review of the Literature

The Traditional Approaches

The emotional, and often also physical, hardship usually connected with displacement and immigration, is a well-known phenomenon. The emotional suffering observed among the majority of immigrants during a certain period after their arrival to the new country has drawn the attention of many researchers and mental health professionals. Various research reports refer to this phenomenon by different names, for example "cultural deprivation" (Feuerstein et al., 1976), "social displacement syndrome" (Tyhurst, 1951, 1977), "uprooting" (Mostwin, 1976), and many others. But all of these labels stress only one (although important) facet of this complex syndrome.

The occurrence of this syndrome among new immigrants appears to be almost universal, and the range of its symptoms is very broad. The majority of studies described symptoms ranging from mild emotional discomfort to severe depression, delusions of reference, and paranoia. Some works suggested higher incidence of schizophrenia in certain groups of immigrants (Cochrane, 1977) and even elevated suicide rates among immigrants (Myers and Neal, 1978). Walsh (1979) demonstrated elevated levels of blood pressure among immigrants. Generally, all research studies agree that morbidity among immigrants is significantly higher than in the population of the host country.

At this point it might be worthwhile to stress that:

a) Many research studies, conducted by mental health professionals, were based on observations of populations seeking professional mental help; and

b) In attempts to understand and systemize the hardships, emotional
sufferings and obviously deviant behavior as compared with standards of the host population, many research studies have been regarding their subjects as mentally ill and thus, associating their findings with some kind of diagnosis. In other words, these studies have been operating from a "deficit" approach, pointing at what could be possibly wrong with new immigrants.

There is no intention here to discredit these studies, but rather to draw attention to certain limitations, ways of thinking and connected and associated vocabulary in theories which were based on generalizations arising from such research reports.

Three main theories have been put forward to explain the relationship between migration and psychological disturbance or mental illness (Murphy, 1973). They are:

1. that immigrants may be drawn from populations with rates of mental illness different from those of the host population they join;
2. that the process of migration itself affects the mental health of migrants; and
3. that there is a selection for migration on the basis of factors related to mental illness.

The first of these hypotheses requires evidence on the rates of mental illness in the home populations from which immigrants are drawn. Eysenck and Eysenck (1983) point to different levels of "neuroticism" in different countries. They note that "...mean levels of neuroticism are generally low in the advanced Western democracies as compared with values elsewhere" (p. 59). Accepting this hypothesis would explain the usual temporary nature of immigrants' psychological difficulties as a function of assimilation into a new, "less neurotic" environment. However, this theory does not look at systemic issues, such as coping behavior
patterns in the "neurotic" environment of countries of origin. Moreover, the Eysenks' theory depends on a specific, probably culturally based interpretation and perception of "mental illness" (in our example, that of "neuroticism"). However, there are many examples of psychological difficulties in immigrants, attributable - quite to the contrary - to a move from a lesser to a more stressful, intolerant, and generally, "neurotic" environment, for example, from the Caribbean to the advanced Western democracies (Schwartz, 1985). Thus, a systematic collection of data on rates of mental illness in countries of origin would be not only technically almost impossible, but also meaningless from the point of view of generalization. Finally, this theory does not account for the elevated rates of mental disturbance among many different migrants within one country, a phenomenon typical in North America (Rakoff, 1984). This particular phenomenon would appear to support the third of the above hypotheses, which cites the tendency of self-selection for immigration in individuals with dispositions for psychological instability and disturbance.

Cochrane (1977) suggests differential selection for migration: when migration is relatively easy, the less stable members of a population self-select for migration, but where migration is relatively difficult only the most stable individuals will actually migrate. He notes that

...it may be those who have failed to adjust or be successful in their home environment who self-select to migrate. They would then bring their psychological problems with them. (p. 33)

Cochrane's interesting notion mainly stresses achievement of economic success and acceptable living standards in the country of origin, and does not take into account factors stemming from today's politically divided and polarized world. He supports his hypothesis with findings of a relatively low incidence of
mental illness among Asian immigrants to England (Cochrane, 1977; Cochrane, Hashmi & Stopes-Roe, 1977), although they probably have to make the most difficult adjustments in terms of language and culture. He maintains that a possible mediating variable accounting for this negative relationship between magnitude of adjustment and mental illness might be the degree of improvement in living standards upon taking up residence in England. A similar theme appears in other studies, though often in a more subtle and general form, like "personal satisfaction with circumstances since migration" noted by Scott and Stumpf (1984).

However, the abundance of literature on North America's experience with Asian refugees shows otherwise: they do not suffer any less than immigrants of other origins (Nguyen, 1981, 1982, and many others). For example, Chan and Lam (1983) concluded that: "Their mourning over what was lost or left behind in Vietnam seems to have interfered with their adaptation to life in Canada" (p. 1). Chan and Lam obviously did not have material losses in mind: they referred instead to relatives left behind in Vietnam. Apparently, any improvement in economic living standards could not make up for these losses. However, it is possible that these refugees, for specific cultural reasons, did not seek professional help or did so less often than immigrants of different ethnic backgrounds. Shon and Ja (1985) maintain that

...the process of entering treatment is not an easy one for Asian Americans. Mental health resources are used only as a last resort... Asian Americans generally seek treatment only when all else has failed. (p. 221)

The notion of "problem individuals' self-selection for migration" may appear to have a different value for researchers who follow different approaches. Researchers concerned with rates of admission to mental hospitals (which was the
case in Cochrane's study) deal predominantly with individuals who could not cope due to the severity and duration of their disturbances. They became part of a study owing to the simple fact that they had received psychiatric help, often involuntarily. First, as previously noted, the utilization of mental health services is different among immigrants of different ethnic backgrounds (McGoldrick et al., 1985). Second, in the population defined as "mental patients", there may be a substantial proportion of individuals whose mental instability was present in their countries of origin, the very reason which contributed to self-selection for emigration. These individuals probably entered and burdened the statistics of the host country instead of the statistics of the country of origin. However, the proportion of these individuals in the population of mental patients is probably much higher than in populations coping with the stresses of immigration on their own.

A survey-oriented study is dependent on the subjects' willingness to cooperate. A researcher can hypothesize that a refusal to co-operate, based on marked suspicion, delusions of reference or persecution, among other things can point to individuals whose problems somewhat exceed mean levels of psychological difficulties usually attributed directly to immigration. These people obviously differ from other samples by the very fact of their refusal to co-operate based on a form of ideation which can be considered pathological. Thus, one can hypothesize that these people will differ in the severity and duration of their difficulties. A variable that may account for this difference might be the degree of psychological instability which contributed to self-selection for migration, which has been brought to the new country, and which keeps aggravating the lives of these individuals in the new environment. Nevertheless, these individuals represent a minority in immigrant samples.
Thus, the theory of "self-selection" does not explain the phenomenon of psychological difficulties in all immigrants. Personality features, connected with psychological instability or mental disorder, and leading to self-selection for migration, can probably be held accountable only for variations in severity or duration of psychological difficulties, or for that proportion of immigrants who never adjust to the new environment.

Moreover, the category "immigrants" is, perhaps, somewhat too broad, including people with various reasons for migration and substantially different conditions of emigration, immigration, and resettlement. There might be included not only habitual "movers" or "runners", but also executives transferred to another country, as well as refugees fleeing their countries in order to save their lives, carrying nothing more then the shirts on their backs.

Diamant and Zitka (1987) compared two groups of naturalized Canadians; one came from Czechoslovakia, and the other from the Netherlands. The immigrants from Czechoslovakia left their country illegally, often after negative experiences with the authorities, and they could not return to Czechoslovakia even for a brief visit. In contrast, the Dutch immigrants freely, and often repeatedly traveled between Canada and the Netherlands, both before emigrating (trying to decide whether to move or not), and after they decided to emigrate to Canada. Some of the Dutch immigrants even planned to retire to their original country. In other respects, both groups were matched in age, education, sex, length of residence in Canada, absence of a pre-immigration psychiatric treatment or psychiatric difficulties, and employment. In interviews, the people of Czechoslovakian origin were suspicious, worried, and generally less optimistic and open than the Dutch immigrants. On the STAI (States, Traits, Anxiety Inventory), the Czech refugee-immigrants scored significantly higher on "State
Anxiety" and "Trait Anxiety" than the Dutch immigrants, while the average scores of the Dutch-born group corresponded to norms for normal American adults. Thus, applying the theory of self-selection for migration separately to different categories of immigrants would probably reveal the strengths and limitations of this theory.

Is it the process of migration itself, therefore, which affects the psychological balance of migrants? In the above noted interview, V. Rakoff (1984) said that "Immigration is like a brain stroke...", referring to the immigrants' need to re-learn basic life skills. Especially when considering a category of refugees, which is the main focus of this paper, immigration could be compared to experiments inducing symptoms of mental disturbance by depriving subjects of their basic needs. Of the "Criteria of normality proposed in the psychological literature" by W.A. Scott (1968), each appears to be affected by the fact and conditions of immigration.

Many authors stress the reactive nature of the refugee-immigrants' psychological and social turmoil by comparing it with other mechanisms of coping with significant changes in life - the situation of bereavement, coping with life cycle changes, such as adolescence, aging, retirement, dying, and so on. Chan and Lam (1983) maintain that:

Conceptually speaking, central to the refugee experience is the sense of loss and grief similar to that suffered by persons bereaved of a spouse and an immediate family member, an emotional state well delineated and characterized in literature about widowhood and natural disasters (p. 2).

1 Scott (1968) suggests such criteria as general adaptive capacity, capacity for self-gratification, competence in interpersonal roles, intellectual capacity, wholesome attitudes toward people, productivity, autonomy, mature integration, favorable attitudes toward self, and emotional and motivational control. These frame categories are further sub-divided into more subtle criteria.
However, Walsh (1979) finds that "Surely few life changes are as total in scope as the twin process of immigration and assimilation" (p. 258). Similarly, Tyhurst (1981) referring to the same parallel with significant life changes, says:

However, the nature of the refugee stresses and the exacting conditions that are imposed on the refugee by the profound and drastic disruptions of his life-line, and the intensity of the pressures that infringe upon his life-space, make future comparison futile (pp. 4-5).

Tyhurst (1977) also finds that the most relevant information, fitting the experience of refugees comes from

...those who studied persons exposed to massive violence and who have been situated in the field - the military psychiatrist, the researcher - victim of the concentration camp, the worker on the scene of civilian disaster, etc. (p. 327).

The comparison may appear to be somewhat exaggerated, yet it points at the totality, depth of impact, and uniqueness of a specific experience believed to be linked to a specific life situation - in this case, that of immigration and the process of resettlement.

Tyhurst (1981) distinguishes between physical arrival in a new country, and the period of psychological arrival. During the former refugees appear to be in good spirits. Although sometimes slightly confused, they are energetic, and their interpersonal and social relationships are focused on the fulfillment of immediate needs. They often experience a deep feeling of relief: they have been removed from threatening, insecure and unsafe conditions (e.g. in refugee camps). The period of useless and powerless waiting has seemingly ended, and their hopes of becoming masters of their own destiny and planners of their future have been raised again.
The psychological arrival usually comes approximately 2-3 months later. At this point, a refugee's feelings of nostalgia, hopelessness and helplessness usually become intensified. Facing increased pressure to take charge, to plan for the future, to gain independence and regain autonomy - the immigrant is faced with some basic problems: language deficiency, a non-existent or unsatisfactory job, lack of friends, inability to utilize previous education and experience (often connected with a loss of social status), confusion with different customs, habits and values in the new environment, and so on. While many refugees believe that they have to prove to themselves, relatives, and friends left behind that their radical decision to emigrate was a correct one, actually there is not much at present to support this notion. Refugees inevitably encounter a new period of waiting, with all its attendant insecurity and powerlessness. Even the seeming security of social assistance does not change it: this is not what refugees have strived for, and often the welfare cheque is perceived as a demeaning handout, confirming their incompetence. If a new immigrant gets a job, it is usually at entry level, almost always below the level of his or her previous training, experience, and intellectual capacity. Thus, the refugees feel rejected, invalidated, and generally dissatisfied: they are everything but masters of their own destiny that they expected to be.

As Adler (1984) observed in his unpublished study, the general signs of dissatisfaction are usually compounded by feelings of anger, blame and "unfairness", along with a considerable amount of criticism and marked intolerance. These criticisms cover almost every aspect of the new - perceived as rejecting - environment. They are usually expressed with many rigid "musts", "shoulds" and "oughts", and they are usually joined with many demands (often regarding how the immigrant should be treated differently and more fairly). In its turn, this attitude does not aid the immigrant in settling and being accepted in the
new environment. Tyhurst (1981) writes:

Profound misunderstandings of the meaning of the refugee's state of mind and lack of awareness of the predictable crisis of "psychological arrival" often infuses the relationships among refugees and helpers with feelings of hostility and mistrust. Criticism of the refugee's ungratefulness, laziness and disinterest in the country that opened their doors are characteristic (p. 8).

In the refugee's mind it often creates a vicious circle. Lack of acceptance (at a point when it is so badly needed) increases self-depreciation, detached self preoccupation, feelings of unhappiness and alienation, attitudes of blame, demands and hostility, connected with improper and "irrational" generalization.

In its outer manifestations, the whole emotional turmoil quite closely fits the picture of an emotional disturbance, as described by Ellis (1979, 1984). Probably this similarity in outer manifestations contributes to the perception and interpretation of the refugee's emotional turmoil as a mental disorder. However, taking these psychological difficulties at their face value and fitting them to a culturally-rooted theory of mental disturbance probably obscures the real meaning of the refugee's state of mind and behavior. Consequently, this approach appears to support the theory of self-selection for migration. Yet, this approach can explain psychological difficulties in only a limited proportion of immigrants. The usually temporary character of difficulties in the majority of immigrants can be hardly explained from this theory at all. Moreover, it is questionable whether rationality and adaptiveness are always isomorphic (Mahoney & Arnkoff, 1978).

According to Tyhurst (1977), the characteristic symptom-cluster consists of the following: 1. a spectrum of "paranoid behavior", ranging from mild suspicion to paranoid trends; 2. generalized hypochondriasis with a tendency to shift complaints from one bodily system to the next; 3. states of anxiety and depression;
and 4. disturbances of sleep pattern. Interestingly, while Tyhurst made her observations in Vancouver, Canada, Häfner, Moschel and Ozek (1977) came up with very similar observations, studying "psychological disturbances" in Turkish guest-workers in Germany. They concluded that symptoms were not culture-specific and would appear among members of any cultural group after immigration. Pintér (1978), examining psychological problems of Hungarian and Czech refugees in Switzerland, observed similar sets of symptoms, with a high prevalence of delusions of reference in a culturally alien environment.

Regardless of the probable accuracy of these observations, do these "symptoms" really belong to the domain of psychiatric diagnosis? Tyhurst (1977) admits that the...

...traditional classificatory approach to diagnosis has little meaning. The patients are unresponsive to traditional physical therapies particularly to E.C.T., insulin and medication. Many respond with alarm to drugs which produce sudden shift in reactivity or mood. Series of paradoxical responses to sedatives, hypnotics and amphetamines were [sic ] noted among the D.P. patients (p.324).

The Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders (American Psychiatric Association, 1984, pp. 299-302) recognizes Adjustment Disorder as "a maladaptive reaction to an identifiable psychosocial stressor." The maladaptive nature of a reaction is indicated by either of the following: 1. Impairment in social or occupational functioning, and 2. Symptoms that are in excess of a normal and expectable reaction to the stressor. The reactive nature of refugee-immigrant psychological difficulties seems to be obvious from the timing of the onset of difficulties, as well as from investigation of Axis V. (i.e. of the level of previous adaptive functioning). Impairment in social or occupational functioning also seems to be obvious. Finally, we must ask what distinguishes an "excessive" from a
"normal and expectable" reaction. The majority of refugee-immigrants displays similar "symptoms", and it might be argued that probably any population would manifest similar difficulties under identical conditions. The universality of "symptoms", together with the usually temporary character of psychological difficulties in the majority of refugee-immigrants, seems to suggest that these difficulties are more likely a manifestation of a coping adaptive process than the expression of a maladaptive reaction to a stressor. Again, the diagnosis of Adjustment Disorder can probably be applied only to that minority of immigrants which manifests difficulties in excess of these displayed by the majority under identical conditions and circumstances.

The theories of "self-selection for migration" or "immigrants being drawn from populations with rates of mental illness different from those of the host population" can explain psychological difficulties only in a certain proportion of immigrants. They also may explain an excessive severity or some special kinds of difficulties. The theory of a reactive character of psychological difficulties, linked to a specific event of displacement, appears to be the most plausible for a majority of refugee-immigrants. Again, the universality in incidence and forms of manifestation, together with the temporary character of psychological difficulties in a majority of refugee-immigrants, seems to point to the peculiar impact of immigration on psychological well-being.

Most likely, the act of immigration, a powerful experience full of complex stressors, is capable of temporarily unbalancing "normal", otherwise psychologically well-balanced, individuals. The degree and duration of psychological difficulties may be influenced by the personality features of individual immigrants. However, for the majority of refugee-immigrants the period of psychological turmoil appears to be correlated with length of residence
in the new country, that is, it is a function of the time needed for adjustment and adaptation. The very fact of adaptation, regardless of the objective stress of immigration, may even point to extraordinary psychological resourcefulness in the majority of refugee-immigrants. Therefore, the period of psychological difficulties can be viewed as a process of regaining balance, a process of adaptation.

The Strains of Coping and Adaptation

White (1974) paraphrases Shakespeare when he says that "when the sea was calm all boats alike show'd mastership in floating; only in a storm were they obliged to cope" (p. 48). He goes on to describe the relationship between coping and adaptation:

It is clear that we tend to speak of coping when we have in mind a fairly drastic change or problem that defies familiar ways of behaving, requires the production of new behavior, and very likely gives rise to uncomfortable affects like anxiety, despair, guilt, shame, or grief, the relief of which forms part of needed adaptation. Coping refers to adaptation under relatively difficult conditions (pp. 48-49).

New refugee-immigrants obviously do face "fairly drastic change" in their lives, in conditions which call for the utilization of all coping skills and strategies available. However, the specifics of immigration put the immigrants' coping skills under additional strains: a new immigrant is usually without the powerful source of support provided by culture and its institutions in the new environment.

Generally, culture is the adaptive mechanism in man for dealing with the diverse conditions in which he lives (Goldschmidt, 1974), and "...cultural institutions are adaptive to diverse circumstances..." (p.29). At the same time it means that the individual must learn to cope not only with diverse exterior circumstances, but also with the diverse institutional mechanisms that are present...
in these circumstances. Nevertheless, Goldschmidt (1974) maintains that:

...culture provides socially acceptable means for the individual to cope with the institutions themselves, in such a way that he can, despite personal inadequacy and social stigma, maintain his ego intact, though not all cultures in all circumstances provide such mechanisms... (p.29).

This conclusion was based on observations of coping patterns displayed by mental retardates. Goldschmidt also observed an interesting strategy of "ego-maintenance", manifested by mentally retarded subjects when they perceived their own culture as turning against them, slapping on them a devastating stigma (by the standards of this culture) and officially certifying them as mentally incompetent: "...the individual encapsulates the reality into a specific and explainable deficiency, or denies by projecting blame, so that he may keep his ego intact" (p.27).

Firstly, it is questionable whether the new environment has the built-in mechanisms of cultural institutions which would meet specific needs of the newly arrived refugee-immigrants, and at the same time help them to cope with these institutions. Secondly, these institutions may be accessible in differing degrees to new immigrants, considering not only their usual language deficiency, but chiefly their unfamiliarity with the cultural structure of the new environment. The cultural (or culturally-social) institutions, which serve as a coping safeguard to members of the home population, are often of little help to immigrants, and may even be perceived as another threat or burden they have to learn to cope with. At the same time, the familiar means of adaptive cultural support, ranging from cultural institutions to a personal social network in the old country, are left far behind. Thus, the immigrant's coping and adaptive abilities are usually tested under conditions of existential loneliness and nakedness, often never experienced
When a new immigrant says "Nobody likes me here", a statement which usually serves as a red flag to any counsellor, in the immigrant's case it is probably an accurate description of reality: who could possibly like him if nobody knows him? Similarly, who could possibly appreciate an immigrant's past education, achievements, experience, and so forth, without any knowledge of them? Moreover, even such value-laden qualities as intelligence can be hardly recognized without the means of conveying or demonstrating it in the new environment. Thus, the prevalent feeling among many immigrants is that of being invalidated.

In an immigrant's daily life, the feeling of ego-threatening invalidation can assume anecdotal, even somewhat bizarre forms:

P.G., aged 36 at the time of arrival in Canada, originally a professional engineer, remembers: "After a day of unsuccessful apartment hunting, I sat down on a bench in the park. I was watching a group of retarded kids, playing around. One of them approached me and asked me about something. My knowledge of English was very limited; I couldn't understand, so I replied with an apologetic smile. The kid returned to his peers, importantly explaining something to them and pointing in my direction. With a strange knot in my stomach, all of a sudden I realized that my present level of functioning was far below theirs; I couldn't understand or convey the simplest thought in this environment!"

The author of this paper, 34 at the time of arrival, had a similar experience. Hungry for some intellectual challenge, he participated in a chess tournament. To his big surprise, opponents with comparably equal ratings of their strength played such reckless openings that he immediately collected three easy victories. Somewhat puzzled with the incongruency between his opponents' ratings and the way they played, he managed to ask the last opponent about it. The opponent was angry - he felt deceived. He gave an honest (yet shocking) answer: "C'mon, you can't even speak English properly!" Interestingly, the author of
this paper found it of utmost importance not only to win the tournament, but also to do so with a perfect score. The incident took place during his first year of life in Canada, and its meaning and perceived importance went far beyond the reality of the chess tournament.

In both examples, the common feature of difficulty with English is not important. It can be - and often also is - replaced in daily life with other factors, for example with a refusal to recognize an immigrant's past education or experience. The really important common feature is the immigrant's feeling of invalidation, threatening his basic self-concept and autonomy. The need to protect one's ego gives rise to anger, directed either inside and formulated as a self-depreciatory statement, or outside, against the perceived "cause" or originator of the threat. In praxis, the two directions can be simultaneous or can fluctuate.

Thus, the immigrant faces a culture, represented here by the human, social and institutional environments, which is perhaps sometimes openly hostile, but mainly indifferent. However, even if the culture is totally, boldly and objectively indifferent, it is perceived as hostile, for it has failed in its adaptive function, as previously described by Goldschmidt (1974; also see pages 20-21 of this paper).

Mechanic (1974), who perceives adaptation as a process of achieving a congruent multi-level person - environment fit, sees an important condition of successful adaptation as:

...the ability of persons to maintain psychological comfort [which] will depend not only on their intrapsychic resources, but also - and perhaps more importantly - on the social supports available or absent in the environment. Men depend on others for justification and admiration, and few men can survive without support from some segment of their fellows (pp. 33-34).

It is characteristic of any system that there is interaction among its various parts, so that changes in one part are likely to have considerable consequences in
at least several other parts. A system, furthermore, tends to maintain itself as intact as possible and thus displays fairly extensive rebalancing processes when injured or deformed. White (1974) sees adaptation as compromise: "...adaptation does not mean either a total triumph over the environment or a total surrender to it, but rather a striving toward acceptable compromise." (p.52). Besides maintaining homeostasis, White attributes to the adaptive compromise in living systems its striving for growth and autonomy.

Thus, the refugee, facing an environment perceived as hostile because of the threat to his ego, basic self-concept and autonomy, utilizes a variety of coping adaptive strategies to compensate for the feeling of invalidation, to protect his or her ego, and to aid in achieving a more livable compromise with the environment.

It is necessary to stress that there is "an unwitting tendency to think of adaptive behavior in a dichotomy of good or bad" (White, 1974, p.49). Adaptation is a balancing process, which means it is inconceivable separated from its time frame, and its goal is the achievement of a satisfactory "goodness of fit" between the person and the environment (French, Rodgers, and Cobb, 1974). This is also the only criterion of "goodness" of the adaptive process. As time progresses, the demands on adaptive behavior are continually changing, and, as a result, adaptive strategies have to be flexible and change, too. In other words, what can be a successful coping strategy under certain circumstances can become hindering and postponing in the next adaptive step. Moreover, for any adaptive move there is a "price" to be paid, in the form of invested physical and emotional energy, feelings of anxiety, despair, grief, and so forth, to which the person has also to adjust. So, the individual often has to "balance the balancing", most likely by adjusting the pace or the depth of adaptation, or by finding alternative coping strategies. L.B.
Murphy (1974) observed that the coping process is equally based on active efforts as well as defensive mechanisms, and that "coping efforts may be successful or unsuccessful, or unsuccessful at one time and successful at another time" (p.77).

Thus, manifested behavior and emotional turmoils in new immigrants, traditionally labeled as "symptoms", can be viewed as coping adaptive strategies. The temporary social withdrawal observed in many immigrants may be as useful a coping strategy as any other. "When dangers are real and information incomplete, it is in no sense adaptive to march boldly forward," wrote White (1974). "Described not inappropriately in military metaphors, adaptation often calls for delay, strategic retreat, regrouping of forces, abandoning of untenable positions, seeking fresh intelligence, and deploying new weapons." (p.50). "Fear and flight are adaptive," concludes White (p.55); they may create conditions in which one faces reality from a position of strength rather than from one of weakness. Immigrants may temporary and partially withdraw from the environment until their information is complete enough to start interacting with it at a more favorable level, that is, until they are ready to start achieving mastery of their environment.

Similarly, a certain lack of trust in new immigrants has often been labeled as a "paranoid tendency" (Tyhurst, 1977; Pintér, 1978; and many others). It is important to realize that the "home population" with its language, customs and cultural institutions, is foreign to the immigrant. Dealing cautiously with a stranger, until information is available and trust can be tested, seems to be a reasonable coping strategy. Moreover, some mistrust appears to be mutual, and refugees especially have no or limited means of satisfying the "proofs of trust" that have been developed in the host culture (e.g. references, steady residence and employment, past credits, school transcripts, etc.).
Referring to Goldschmidt's observation of the strategy of "encapsulating reality into a specific explainable deficiency" (Goldschmidt, 1974, p. 27), the "generalized hypochondriasis with a tendency to shift complaints from one bodily system to the next" (Tyhurst, 1981, p. 4) can be explained. It is probably more acceptable to be physically ill than incompetent and rejected. Denial and projection of blame may be another self-preserving strategies.

Objectively inappropriate generalizations, often displayed by new immigrants, can be understood as steps in learning, as attempts to systemize a flow of incomplete, yet vital information.

Men pace themselves; they selectively seek information in relation to their needs for developing solutions on the one hand and for protecting their "selves" on the other... (Mechanic, 1974, p. 35).

Rigidity and intolerance in immigrants can be explained similarly. Firstly, they cannot process all the information they receive immediately, and they have to maintain an individually acceptable pace of adaptation. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly "No adaptive strategy that is careless of the level of self-esteem is likely to be any good." (White, 1974, p. 61). Thus, for some time immigrants can stubbornly insist on upholding certain old values and beliefs in an environment which appears to be discrediting them, while values of the new environment remain somewhat unclear. Perhaps, maintaining autonomy is more important at this point than an "objective" interpretation of reality.

Dwelling on the past and idealizing the past, characteristics often displayed by immigrants, have probably similar roots. Chan and Lam (1983), referring to Zwingmann's concept of "nostalgic illusion" of a "symbolic return to one's real or imagined past which affords optimal gratification", maintain:
...the past is systematically and, sometimes, unconsciously idealized, humanized and glorified, while the present is ignored and overlooked, and the future devaluated. A nostalgic illusion of this kind has protective utility in that it serves to help maintain affective continuity and psychological equilibrium while the victim of mishaps is experiencing crisis of loss and adaptation to deprivations and uprooting (p.2).

According to Mechanic (1974), a serious misconception appears to run throughout the stress literature - the notion that successful adaptation requires an accurate perception of reality.

We all maintain our sense of self-respect and energy for action through perceptions that enhance our self-importance and self-esteem, and we maintain our sanity by suppressing the tremendous vulnerability we all experience in relation to the risks of real world (pp. 37-38).

Mechanic finds that most people tend to rate themselves and their qualities somewhat higher than their fellows would rate them, and the human social contract allows for this distortion, serving individual self-interest.

However, immigrants usually feel excluded from such a social contract, and perhaps, the more they feel invalidated and robbed of their sense of self-importance and self-esteem by the rejecting environment, the more they compensate, often by means of harsh and rigid criticism of the environment, displays of grandiosity and intolerance.

Even such a defense as denial can be temporarily utilized for reducing discomfort, pain and suffering, until the individual is ready to deal effectively with reality. The only criterion for evaluating the adaptive effectiveness of defensive processes is the extent to which such defenses facilitate coping and mastery.

The temporary character of various coping strategies is a crucially important factor. Thus, for example, individuals can temporarily escape anxiety and
discomfort by lowering their motivation and aspirations. However, the majority of immigrants is usually highly motivated to achieve the final adjustment to and mastery of the new environment. "As motivation increases, the consequences of failing to achieve mastery also increase, and the level of motivation is frequently an important prerequisite of experiencing psychological discomfort." (Mechanic, 1974, p.33)

As pointed out before, adaptation is not a single short-term change; it is a complex set of changing conditions that have a history and a future, and which happens within a system, affecting all its parts. Thus, some coping strategies can appear to be postponing adaptation; some strategies are objectively creating new problems to which an immigrant has to find new solutions. Some strategies aggravate the relationship with the environment, which has previously been only perceived as hostile. Mechanic (1974) maintains that: "Adaptation itself creates new demands on man that require still further adaptations in a continuing spiral" (p.35). Immediate priorities probably dictate which problem the immigrant deals with first, even at the price of creating a new, but maybe a less urgent problem, which can be solved later.

Superficially, this process may be reminiscent of "vicious circles" in which people find some pseudo-solutions to their problems and then stubbornly insist on those solutions, even though they are self-defeating and harmful. These mechanisms may be considered maladaptive and, perhaps, approached as a mental disorder.  

2A somewhat different view is offered by Watzlawick (1987), even though he is referring to family systems: "We can see that these families are clinging, as we all do, to adaptive behaviors that at one time were evidently quite appropriate, useful and effective, except that by doing more of the same as the environmental conditions changed, people then get into very serious problems" (p.56).
However, immigrants' coping strategies are usually moving in spirals, not in circles. The success of these strategies can only be judged by their achieving or not achieving their goal, that is, adaptation to the new environment, within a reasonable time and with a "reasonable" amount of suffering. Apparently, after a certain time period the majority of immigrants does achieve a comfortable "fit" with the new environment, and the old strategies - painful in nature - can be abandoned. The "reasonable" time and amount of suffering can be deduced from variables manifested by the majority of immigrants. The adaptation as a "goodness of fit" to the new environment can be tested by comparison with a sample of "home populations", as well as by the durability of adaptive changes in immigrants.

Summary

Three main theories striving to explain the relationship between migration and psychological disturbance or mental illness were critically reviewed. Although each of these theories can probably explain some aspects of the difficulties in immigrants to a certain extent, testing that extent would be far beyond the scope of this paper. The presented thesis attempts to contribute to a better understanding of one of these theories, claiming that the process of migration itself affects the well-being of migrants. Of the three, this theory appears to be the most plausible in explaining the psychological difficulties in the majority of refugee-immigrants. Findings of a temporary character of these difficulties in the majority of immigrants would be probably the main support for this theory.

The view that labels psychological difficulties in the majority of refugee-immigrants as a mental illness is disputed. The review of the literature on adaptation appears to suggest a reasonable explanation for many difficulties usually experienced by refugee-immigrants. These difficulties can be viewed as an
expression or a natural consequence of immigrants' coping adaptive struggles in a new human, social, cultural and physical environment. More specific understanding of problems usually encountered by new refugee-immigrants would allow a closer scrutiny of the extent to which these problems are explainable from this point of view, that is, as an expression of coping and adaptation.
Chapter Three
Methodology

Hypotheses

Previous research (Adler, 1984), observations and discussions with many immigrants at different stages of their resettlement, has made it apparent that for a majority of immigrants the emotional turmoil and deep dissatisfaction with self, others, and the whole environment seemed connected only with a certain period following their immigration to Canada. After that period, the majority of immigrants reported feeling much better, and their claim was obviously supported by their expressed thoughts, emotions, behavior, and overall appearance. The majority of immigrants suggested that this substantial change in their satisfaction occurred between the third and fifth year of their living in Canada. Moreover, many individuals claimed that this change happened for them somewhat suddenly, even though they were not able to describe what actually happened. They maintained that problems which a while ago appeared to be overwhelming, insurmountable and causing sleepless nights all of a sudden became manageable. People started appreciating them and their company, they resumed their hobbies or found new ones, and so on. (No one actually suggested that the weather had also improved, but some claims were quite close to it). Even more surprisingly, some immigrants who had lived in Canada over 5 years and obviously were not very satisfied (maintaining many attitudes typical for new immigrants), also reported that their problems at least alleviated around their fourth year of living in Canada.

Can these claims be substantiated and explained in the research? Watzlawick (1988) wrote about a sudden jump from an increased quantity to a different quality.
He mainly explored negative effects of such a transformation, based on "doing more of the same" (pp. 25-30). Could it be that coping struggles of the majority of refugee-immigrants are not "doing more of the same", but rather an evolving adaptive process (probably in series of cumulative little steps) which in consequences leads to a relatively sudden change in quality, this time in a favorable direction? Is it possible to explore, identify and explain the main areas of immigrants' experience contributing to their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with themselves, others, and their whole environment? In other words, what makes the contrasting difference between new immigrants at their initial stages of adaptation, and well adapted individuals who feel comfortably fitting with self, others, and the environment?

This study was designed to test the following hypotheses:

1. The mean level of psychological imbalance in immigrants 1-3 years after arrival is significantly higher than in a comparable sample of the Canadian-born population.

2. The mean level of psychological imbalance in immigrants residing 5-7 years in Canada is significantly lower than in immigrants 1-3 years after their arrival.

3. The mean level of psychological imbalance or balance in immigrants residing over 8 years in Canada is identical to that of a comparable sample of the Canadian-born population.

Design of the Study

The present study was designed as a survey oriented research, with a goal to investigate variables stemming from the outlined Hypotheses. These
variables have been concerned with the impact of immigration and resettlement on psychological balance of immigrants, the relationship between the length of residence in Canada and difficulties experienced by the immigrants (i.e. a temporary character of the impact of emigration, immigration, and resettlement), and the nature of dissatisfaction experienced by new immigrants. Thus, the independent variable was the immigrants' length of residence in Canada.

The study compared and examined two dependent variables, the level of psychological balance as measured by the Incomplete Sentence Blank (ISB) questionnaire, and homogeneity of sample groups in responses to separate ISB questionnaire items.

Possible intervening variables were controlled with the following strategies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible intervening variables</th>
<th>Control strategies</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex of respondents (in both control and immigrant groups) (organismic)</td>
<td>Equal representation of both sexes, statistical test of significance of possible differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of respondents (in control and immigrant groups) (organismic)</td>
<td>Matching respondent groups by age: Control and immigrants 1-3 years in Canada groups: X age early 30's; Immigrants 5-7 years in Canada: X age mid or late 30's; Immigrants over 8 years in Canada X age 40's 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3The research literature does not suggest any relationship between the
Education of respondents

Matching respondent groups by (approximately similar) levels of education, i.e. approx. 50% of highschool education and 50% of college and university education, spread equally across the sexes.

Differences in cultural background of immigrant respondents

Homogenization of respondent groups by limitation to one country of origin

Subjects

The data to be examined were gathered from 80 volunteer subjects [N=80], equally split between the sexes. All participants lived in the area of Greater Vancouver, British Columbia. To control possible intervening variables, subjects were matched in sex, age, and education. All subjects in immigrant samples came to Canada from Czechoslovakia.

The "control group" A consisted of 20 Canadian-born subjects (n=20), 10 males and 10 females. They were randomly picked from a pool of 208 individuals: the author approached 20 of his personal acquaintances and asked each of them to provide him with 10 names of possible respondents meeting the requirements of control strategies. Thus, the selection aimed for an average age of early 30s, with approximately 50% high-school and 50% college and university educated respondent's age and his/her way of responding to the Incomplete Sentence Blank questionnaire. However, developmental psychologists suggest that there is a correlation between age and human flexibility and adaptability. Our matching attempts to reflect this notion.
subjects (equally distributed across the sexes).

The response from Canadian-born subjects was very encouraging: from 220 contacted individuals only 12 refused co-operation, reportedly because of being "too busy" or "disliking questionnaires". They were not included in the pool. All of the 20 randomly selected subjects filled out the questionnaires and returned them to the author.

Financial constraints precluded the collection of a country wide representative sample of the Canadian-born population. However, the purpose of this group was seen more as informative than representative, and results from this sample were treated with the necessary caution.

The three groups of refugee-immigrants of Czechoslovakian origin were selected from subjects at various stages of their resettlement in Canada:

- Group B: immigrants living between 1-3 years in Canada. The group consisted of 10 males and 10 females (n=20), with an average age of early 30s, educated as above in the group of Canadian-born subjects,

- Group C: immigrants living between 5-7 years in Canada. This group also included 10 males and 10 females (n=20), on average in their mid to late 30s, educated as above in the group of Canadian-born subjects, and

- Group D: immigrants living over 8 years in Canada. Again, this group consisted of 10 males and 10 females (n=20), who were on average over 40 years old. Their education was the same as outlined in the previously described groups.

To improve representativeness in the immigrant samples, a maximum of four of the author's personal acquaintances for each group were asked to co-operate; then, persons recommended by these acquaintances were contacted, and if 1. they were willing to co-operate, and 2. they were of suitable sex, age and education to fit representativeness requirements of the group, they were accepted.
until the groups were filled. In all immigrant groups, the potential subjects' unwillingness to co-operate was respected; yet, reasons such as suspicions were recorded.

All immigrants living in Canada over 5 years (i.e. subjects included in groups C and D) were asked 1. whether or not they experienced some substantial difficulties in their lives during the initial 5 years of resettlement in Canada, and 2. whether at present they felt better, the same, or worse than during that period. All of them answered the first question positively. To the second question, all of them claimed feeling better as compared with that initial period, even though some of them (three individuals) did not appear very happy; they admitted to still experiencing some difficulties which they attributed to emigration, immigration, and resettlement.

The Instrument

Review of the Status and Use of the Sentence Completion Method

The sentence completion method has quite a long tradition, although the technique was first used to measure intellectual variables (e.g. by Ebbinghaus, Kelley, or Traube in early 1900's). In recent years the sentence completion method has been used primarily as a device for personality assessment.

The essence of the method is to present a subject with a sentence stem or fragment which the subject is asked to complete. Unlike some other projective methods, the possibilities of projecting one's idiography into partially completed sentences are more limited. However, Exner (1973) holds:

...idiographic information concerning needs, presses, conflicts, etc. can be gleaned from quantification of sentence completion responses. It seems equally true that some ambiguity exists in the incomplete sentence stem, thereby permitting projection to occur (p.437).
A broad variety of studies have used "custom" questionnaires to assess several attitudes, to predict achievement for specialized groups, to examine adjustment, and so on. However, there have been several attempts to construct and present standard forms, the most rigorous of which has probably been that of Rotter and his associates (1950).

Goldberg (1965) examined the validity of the sentence completion method from the point of view of the "level hypothesis". He concluded that "...deep levels are not necessarily better predictions of various validity criteria than less deep levels" (p. 16). This conclusion was supported by a controlled study made by Murstein and Wolf (1970), comparing results of a group of "normals" and group of psychiatric patients on five projective techniques. They found that the correlation of projection and pathology across tests for both groups was highly consistent.

Wagner and Wagner (1981) argued that sentence completion was an expression of a generally intellectualized "Facade Self" (FS), as opposed to the "Introspective Self" (IS), representing the individual's more covert "inner living".

The IS can influence behavior but only via the FS... It should be noted that, while the IS lends depth, complexity, and sophistication to the personality, it is not absolutely necessary for psychological survival. On the other hand, without a workable FS, the individual could not function rationally in the world (p.7).

Moos in his review of "Psychological techniques in the assessment of adaptive behavior" (1974) recognized the sentence-completion technique as a useful tool, appreciating its comparability across investigated subjects and its efficiency of data handling (pp. 349-350). Moos gave examples of different uses of the sentence-completion techniques in assessments of coping behavior, for example, in predicting the rapidity of recovery from surgery. Other examples demonstrated the discriminatory ability of this technique, for example, the ability to differentiate
between alcoholics and "normals", and between drunk and sober conditions in each group.

Wagner and Wagner (1981), referring to Goldberg's (1965) review, concluded that the Incomplete Sentences Blank (ISB) "has been shown to be a 'valid' test" (p. 31). This conclusion nicely fitted their own opinion that "...some overall score derived from the ISB reflects the subject's view of his own social behavior and tends to correlate with how he is seen by others" (p. 31).

In fact, Goldberg investigated claims of the status of the sentence completion method. He held that the claims of the test or that of the projective technique may vary with the psychometric criteria used and with the specific sentence completion method. Referring to the Anastasi's definition of a psychological test, he wisely left the question open, although he slightly favored the expression "the projective device". His opinion of "validity" referred to the method of eliciting information from a sufficient "depth" of a person's psychological organization. The fact that the material elicited by the sentence completion was coming from a personality level closer to awareness than material elicited by other tests was often held as a drawback of the sentence completion. Even though Goldberg resourcefully defended the validity of the sentence completion method from this point of view, the whole problem connected with the "level hypothesis" might be irrelevant, apparently reflecting the knowledge, attitudes, and probably the misconceptions of those times. The "patient" was usually seen as the psychologist's opponent because of attempts to hide and protect "deep levels of psychological organization", while the "expert" psychologist or psychiatrist was determined to get "down to the bottom", to the "depth" of the problem and the patient's psychological organization. Reaching this "depth" was an indicator of the success of the testing or psychotherapy, and a proof of the professional "expertise".
Twenty years later, Haley (1987) criticized this misconception connected with taking a metaphor literally and treating a hypothetical entity (for example, such as "ego") as a physical entity.

It was suggested, as part of an old tradition, that the important entities for therapy within the human being were vertically spaced. That is, the conscious was up at the top, and the unconscious was down below. With that analogy one could speak of bringing something up into consciousness or putting something down into unconscious. It was also possible to give deep interpretations because one knew that the important area was down there in the roots, not up here in the superficial surface. One could, as a polemic, say that the other person's therapy was shallow, while one's own therapy was deep (p.25).

The nonsense of "deep" and "shallow" reasoning would be immediately apparent if the "up" and "down" metaphors were replaced by, for example, "right" and "left" metaphors. Moreover, contemporary views are willing to acknowledge the client as probably the best "expert" on him- or herself, to work with the material which the client is willing and ready to bring up at a given point in time, and to take this material seriously.

Thus, it could be considered a major strength of the sentence completion method that a researcher works with responses given to fairly ambiguous stimuli, reflecting emotional and thought contents which people feel free to give at a given point in time. It can be helpful to stress to subjects that there are no "good" or "bad" responses. However, there is no need to doubt validity of these responses, that is, that people express the emotional and thought contents which they want to express, and that these contents are valid and meaningful.

Rotter and Rafferty (1950) gave a long list of advantages of the sentence completion method. For this study, the sentence completion method was chosen mainly because of the following:
- The ability to gain access to people's emotional and thought contents which are believed to be valid, meaningfully reflecting people's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with self, others, and the whole world;

- Flexibility of the method. Maintaining the ambiguity of sentence stems so as to permit projection, the questionnaire can be designed and organized to suit and cover specific areas of research interest;

- Simple administration of the questionnaire (either to individuals or groups);

- Simple quantification of obtained responses, the reliability of which can be checked by utilizing two or more independent judges for blind scoring of questionnaires;

- The non-threatening nature of the method - a feature especially appreciated when establishing mutual trust may be a problem, for example, when working with refugee-immigrants;

- The questionnaire can be prepared and administered in any language the investigator is comfortable with (and can secure independent judges for); thus, immigrants can respond in their native language;

- The method has a long tradition and many studies suggest its validity and reliability.

**Reliability and Validity**

Rotter and Rafferty (1950) divided items on their Incomplete Sentences Blank (ISB) questionnaire into halves deemed as nearly equivalent as possible. This yielded a corrected split-half reliability (i.e. internal consistency) of .84 when based on the records of 124 male college students, and .83 when based on the records of 71 female students.
The inter-scorer reliability for two scorers trained by the authors was .91 for 50 male records, and .96 for 50 female records. Further evidence of inter-scorer reliability was obtained by comparing scores given by one of the author-trained scorers and a clinical psychologist whose only knowledge of ISB came from reading a manual. The correlation between their sets of scores was .90.

The ISB was validated on groups of subjects which did not include any of the cases used in developing the scoring principles and scoring manuals. Scoring was done "blindly": the scorer did not know whether the test blank was obtained from a supposedly maladjusted or adjusted subject. The subjects included 82 females and 124 males who were classified as either adjusted or maladjusted by their class instructors, by advanced clinical psychology students, by their own action of self-referrals to the psychological clinic for treatment, or by the vocational advisors who referred them for professional counselling. According to the source of the "adjusted" or "maladjusted" judgement, subjects were divided into groups. Distinct differentiation in scores between supposedly adjusted and maladjusted cases was found. Not surprisingly, the weakest correlation between the ISB scores and the classification of "adjusted" versus "maladjusted" was found in the group where "adjustment vs. maladjustment" was judged by class instructors. Yet, even there the correlation coefficients were .50 and .62 for females and males, respectively. An agreed upon cutting score of 135 points on ISB correctly identified 78% of the "adjusted" and 59% of the "maladjusted" cases. In other groups, the correlation was much higher and the cutting score of 135 correctly identified 75 - 80% of those rated as "maladjusted" by sources other than observations of untrained class instructors.

Rohde (1957) came to similar conclusions. She based her standardization on 680 ninth-grade students; 512 from New York City School and 168 from Fort Lee
High School in New Jersey. Interestingly, about 30% of the subjects were of American-born parentage. About two thirds of those who had foreign-born parents were of Irish, Italian, Spanish or German descent. The remaining third was divided among descendants from Czechoslovakia, England, France, Holland, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Puerto Rico, Russia, Scotland, Sweden, and Yugoslavia (p. 107). From this population Rohde drew random samples, excluding students who had difficulty in comprehending the stimuli: recent immigrants and those with IQ below 80. Thus, the final samples included 50 girls and 50 boys from New York, and 80 students from Fort Lee (42 boys and 38 girls).

Determining inter-scorer reliability by trials with various numbers of independent judges on various numbers of scored questionnaires, the percentage of total agreement between judges was between 78% - 95%. Also, 21 girls and 32 boys from the Fort Lee School were retested eight months after the first experiment. The correlation between tests for girls was .80, and for boys .76.

The validity of this test was scrutinized by comparing ISB scores with judgements of various combinations of teachers' ratings. They were rating students' behavior patterns and personality variables in a four-page questionnaire. The ISB scores were also compared with interviews and the "Guidance Record Data". The average correlation between 66 variables measured by ISB and rated by teachers was .78 for girls and .82 for boys, that is, of respectable statistical significance. Rotter and Rafferty (1950) as well as Rohde (1957) offer ample references to other validation studies, suggesting reasonable validity and reliability of the sentence completion method.
Design of the Questionnaire

In a preliminary study conducted in 1984, Adler tried to find the most suitable design for the sentence completion questionnaire, expressing his theoretical views on problems connected with immigration, and yielding quantifiable information about the level of subject's psychological balance or imbalance. After many discussions with experts and volunteers, and after trial runs, he came up with the design presented in Appendix C, C.1 (the questionnaire was prepared in both English and Czech languages).

The questionnaire uses approximately 2/3 of the sentence stems designed by Rohde (1957) and Exner (1973) respectively. Also, 25 stems are identical with Rotter's design. Approximately 1/3 of the total of 51 stems were designed in order to cover the area of the particular interest. The stems were chosen and designed to focus on perception of 1. "I", 2. "You" or "Others", and 3. "The world" or "Environment", with 17 stems for each (sometimes naturally overlapping) focus. In the questionnaire, the stems were distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Stem's number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I&quot;</td>
<td>1, 4, 7, 10, 13, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 37, 40, 43, 46, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;You&quot;</td>
<td>2, 5, 8, 11, 14, 17, 20, 23, 26, 29, 32, 35, 38, 41, 44, 47, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;World&quot;</td>
<td>3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, 24, 27, 30, 33, 36, 39, 42, 45, 48, 51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In preliminary trials, the questionnaire yielded quantifiable information, discriminating between:

i) a group of "normal", Canadian-born volunteers (n=20), and a group of immigrants (n=20) who had lived between 2-4 years in Canada;
ii) a group of immigrants resident in Canada from 2 - 4 years and a group of immigrants resident in Canada over 10 years.

Quantification of Collected Data

The scoring system was adapted from that of Rotter and Rafferty (1950), designed to reflect adaptive versus maladaptive patterns. However, due to substantial differences in the questionnaire design as well as in the underlying theory (as compared to the 38-year-old Rotter and Rafferty's "Manual"), it was found necessary to introduce some changes in scoring and develop a new scoring manual (Appendix D - "Representative Scoring Samples"). The need for these extensive changes was obvious from the following:

- Rotter and Rafferty's questionnaire contains 40 items, while the presented ISB questionnaire contains 51 sentence stems (Appendix C, C.1). Only 25 items are identical in both questionnaires.
- Rotter and Rafferty's scoring sometimes reflected political, social or cultural beliefs of their times which could, however, be argued as consistent with their theoretical approach. The focus of this paper is on a presumable equilibrium between consent and satisfaction with one's self, others, and the whole world on one hand, and disagreement and dissatisfaction with the same on the other hand. Thus, the expressed dissatisfaction or disconsent - no matter how politically or socially acceptable and justified - should be
scored as a "conflict response". For example, for the stem 29. "What pains me..." in the Scoring Manual for Females (p. 82), Rotter and Rafferty score responses like "race prejudice; (political viewpoints)" as neutral.

- The separate scoring manuals for males and females are probably also an expression of the social, political and cultural beliefs of Rotter and Rafferty's times and their theoretical approaches. For example, how is it possible to justify that identical answers to the previously quoted identical stem number 29. "What pains me..." are in the manual for males (p.65) scored by Rotter and Rafferty as "C 1", that is, "conflict responses" (while in the manual for females these responses were scored as neutral)?

Thus, the sentence completions were scored from examples shown in the "Representative Scoring Samples" (Appendix D), and in accordance with the "Scoring principles" (p.46), by assigning a numerical weight from 0 to 6 for each sentence completion and totalling the weights to obtain the overall score. Also, the Rotter and Rafferty's division of responses to "conflict", "neutral", and "positive" was retained, with 3 levels of "conflict" and 3 levels of "positive" responses. However, the scoring manual was changed to the "Representative Scoring Samples" as presented in Appendix D, in order to cover all 51 questionnaire items and express the theoretical views of this paper. The "Representative Scoring Samples" manual was based on responses of 20 Canadian-born subjects and 40 immigrants at various stages of their resettlement. In the preliminary study (Adler, 1984), these subjects responded to an ISB questionnaire identical to that used in this thesis (Appendix C). Based on that experience, as well as to express the author's theoretical views and beliefs, the manual "Representative Scoring Samples" was developed and used for scoring both sexes indiscriminately.
Scoring Principles

Conflict Responses, "C".

The C score represents responses expressing self-depreciation or ideas of grandiosity, feelings of uselessness and hopelessness, lack of energy and inability to cope, somatic and psychosomatic complaints, avoidance and escape (e.g. "At home...is the only escape."), little or lack of tolerance of other people and their beliefs, negative feelings directed towards the self, other people or groups, blame, destructive and angry criticism, inappropriate generalizations, drives to beat the system, "shoulds", "musts" and "oughts" and, generally, feelings that one's self, other people and conditions are unbearable and would "never ever" pick up again. Dwelling on one's past fits C scoring.

Some "conflict responses" have been elicited by stimuli which presuppose a negative reply (e.g. "I hate... my father, catholics, etc."). Nevertheless, these can also be completed with neutral (N) responses (e.g. "I hate... long winter rains"), or positive (P) responses (e.g. "I hate... actually nobody or nothing"). On the other hand, there are C responses which consist of twisted answers, for example "I like... to be alone" or "I am best when... people don't threaten me".

Responses range from C 1 to C3 according to the severity of the conflict or dissatisfaction expressed. The general direction is from a mild and generalized dissatisfaction, to harsh criticism of the self, others and the environment, up to fears of losing one's sanity and suicidal or homicidal thoughts. The numerical weights for the conflict responses are C1 = 4, C2 = 5, and C3 = 6.

Positive Responses, "P".

The P score represents responses which clearly express admiration, undemanding consent, satisfaction, adjustment, acceptance, activity, and
generally, positive feelings about the self, others, and the environment. Here, too, one finds twisted responses: to the stimuli which suggest a negative reply the subject gives a positive one, for example, "I can't... be in two places at one time". Good natured humor or jokes are also scored "P".

Responses range from P1 to P3 depending on the degree of satisfaction expressed in the statement. The general direction is from a quiet consent, to expressions of warmth and admiration, up to emotional expressions of love, beliefs that something is no doubt the best, and replies full of optimism. The numerical weights for the positive responses are P1 = 2, P2 = 1, and P3 = 0.

Neutral Responses, "N".

N, or neutral, responses are those not falling clearly into either of above (C or P) categories, or where doubt exists about appropriate scoring. They are generally on a simple descriptive level and easily identified, for example, "My father... is alive". Evasive responses, stereotypes, catch phrases, song titles, and the expression of common cultural clichés are usually scored as neutral, as well as definitions or essentially meaningless completions.

Common sense has to be used with ambivalent answers. The vast majority of them belong to the neutral category, for example, "At home... it's sometimes fun, sometimes not". Similarly, "My father... is good but has some weaknesses" falls into N category.

The focus is supposed to be on the response rather than on the whole sentence. As in any other category, the assessor's moral views or ethical beliefs should be eliminated from scoring as much as possible. So, "My father... doesn't interest me" falls into the neutral category.

As a rule of thumb, the N score was given whenever the scorer was in doubt. All the N responses are scored as 3.
Omission Responses.

Omission responses are designated as those for which no answer is given or for which the thought is incomplete. Omissions and fragments are not scored. After the remainder of responses has been scored, these unevaluated items are prorated by the formula

\[
\left( \frac{51}{51 - \text{number of omissions}} \right) \times \text{total score.}
\]

However, if there are more than 20 omissions, the paper is considered unscorable for all practical purposes.

Other Considerations.

Each response should be scored and evaluated independently of all others, except when there is a clear-cut reference to a previous statement. (For example, 34. "I wish... an earthquake cleared their heads", referring to 33. "Canada is... a country of brutal people").

Qualifications may change the weighting of the response by one or more points, in both directions. For example, "People...are all right, but I can't usually tolerate them for too long" would be classified as a conflict response, even though it would have been a positive response without the qualification. Similarly, "The future... is uncertain, but I think I'm a survivor" would be classified as a positive response due to the qualification.

Examples are not given for extreme weights (0 or 6) in some items, usually because extreme responses to those items are rare. These weights may be assigned, however, if clearly warranted.

In cases where the response is unusually long, it should be given an
additional point in the direction of C (unless it has already been rated C3 = 6). (The rationale, based on long experience and many clinical trials, has been explained in Rotter and Rafferty, 1950, p.20).

The "unusually long response" is generally over 10 words. The exception to this rule concerns neutral responses, for example, common quotations, stereotypes or song titles: they are always scored N, regardless of length.

Representative Scoring Samples (Appendix D) serve as guides to be followed as closely as possible. Where it is impossible to find an example for a given response, one may look for a similar response to another item, e.g. "Men usually..." can give similar examples as "Most women..." If the response is so atypical that any similar example cannot be found, the general scoring principles should be applied.

Independent Scoring by Three Judges

The questionnaires were independently scored by three judges:

- A Czech-born psychiatrist, not previously familiar with the sentence completion method, but experienced with other psychometric, including projective, techniques;
- A Czech-born psychologist, fairly familiar with the sentence completion method as well as experienced with many standardized and nonstandardized psychometric techniques; and
- the author of this paper.

Since 75% of the questionnaires were answered in the Czech (sometimes Slovak) language, it was important that all three judges were proficient in both
Czech and English. While the author scored questionnaires as he received them, the other independent judges did their scoring "blindly", that is, the headings of questionnaires (containing personal data such as age, education, and length of residence in Canada) were covered. Also, neither of the independent judges knew the author's scoring, and they did not discuss their scoring either with the author or between themselves. They were both only briefly instructed about the underlying theory and hypotheses, and they received extensive instructions regarding the scoring system and criteria, including a copy of the "Representative Scoring Samples" manual.

**Administration of Questionnaires**

For practical reasons, the questionnaires were distributed and answered individually and privately. Subjects received identical instructions about the purpose of the study and how to treat the questionnaire. These instructions were also stated in the heading of the questionnaire (Appendix C, C.1). Whenever possible, it was stressed again that there were no "good" or "bad" responses to the questionnaire items.

The questionnaires were identified only by sex, age, education and years in Canada. Every participant had the option of mailing the answered questionnaire in an addressed and postage-paid envelope (to protect anonymity).

Every participant was offered an opportunity to discuss the study or the completed questionnaire retrospectively, if he or she chose to do so. When immigrants living in Canada over 5 years received the questionnaire, they were also asked 1. whether or not they experienced substantial difficulties during the initial period of their resettlement in Canada, and 2. whether at present they felt better, the same, or worse than during that period (see p.35, "Subjects").
Methods of Analysis of the Data

a. Correlations between scores obtained by the author and two other independent judges were calculated (utilizing Pearson's product-moment correlation method). If the average correlation were .60 - .80, the scores entering further analyses had to be averaged. However, with an inter-scorer correlation of .80 or higher, the author's sets of scores only were to be analyzed.

b. The variance in mean scores for the four involved groups was analyzed by one-way ANOVA. When the null hypothesis has been rejected (i.e. the mean score of at least one group was significantly different from those of other groups), the Scheffé method of multiple comparisons was utilized in order to identify the different group(s).

c. The difference in scoring between sexes within groups was analyzed: one-tailed t-test for independent samples was calculated in each group to detect possible differences in scoring between sexes.

d. The structure of responses and, thus, scores on separate questionnaire items were analyzed, comparing the mean scores on separate questionnaire items in each group. The analysis utilized 51 one-way ANOVA's, followed by Duncan's multiple comparisons, in order to detect significant differences \( (p < .05) \) in responses to separate questionnaire items between groups.

e. The number of refusals to co-operate, based clearly on suspicions, was recorded in each group.
Chapter Four

Results

Inter-Scorer Correlation Between the Three Independent Judges

The absolute differences in scores given by the three independent judges were very low (Table VI, Appendix A). On all tests, the mean difference of scoring differences between the three judges was 2.03 score points. In separate sample groups, the mean differences on scores between the three judges were only slightly larger, spread between 0.70 - 3.65 score points (Table VI.A, Appendix A).

The agreement between the three judges on scoring of separate questionnaire items was not analyzed. Probably, the disagreement on classification of separate items would be somewhat larger than on the final questionnaire scores. Similarly, the inter-scorer correlation would be probably slightly lower, if it had been based on differences in scoring of separate items.

However, the inter-scorer correlation, based on the final questionnaire scores, was .98 for each of the three comparisons between judges, that is, $r_{X,Y} = .98$, $r_{X,Z} = .98$, and $r_{Y,Z} = .98$ (Table VII, Appendix A), where r's were Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficients. These unusually high correlations were, nevertheless, consistent with Rohde's (1957) and Rotter and Rafferty's (1950) claims of reliability. Rohde (p. 109) stated that "there was over 95 per cent agreement between at least two judges on all items", and Rotter and Rafferty (p.7) claimed the inter-scorer reliability of .96 for 50 female records. Since the agreement between the three judges was very high, the author decided to use only his own sets of data for the further analysis.
Scores Obtained on ISB Questionnaires by Separate Groups

The distribution of mean scores among the four investigated groups A, B, C and D (each n = 20) is shown in Table I.

Table I - Summary results of all groups (N = 80)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Months in Canada</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Canadian-born</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>7.50</td>
<td>143.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. 1-3 years in Canada</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>180.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. 5-7 years in Canada</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>148.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. over 8 years in Canada</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>9.44</td>
<td>147.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the group B of immigrants residing between 1-3 years in Canada scored higher than all three remaining groups. The distribution of mean scores among the four investigated groups has been graphically expressed in Figure 2 (Appendix B). Tables VIII.A (VIII.A 1; VIII.A 2), VIII.B (VIII.B 1; VIII.B 2), VIII.C (VIII.C 1; VIII.C 2), and VIII.D (VIII.D 1; VIII.D 2), all to be found in Appendix A, express not only the inner distribution of obtained scores within separate groups, but also the matching of subjects in sex, education, and age within and between the groups.

Also, Tables VIII.A 1-VIII.A 2, VIII.B 1-VIII.B 2, VIII.C 1-VIII.C 2, and VIII.D 1-VIII.D 2 show differences in mean scores between females and males in each group. Except in the group of Canadian-born subjects, in all three immigrant groups (B, C, and D) females scored somewhat higher than males (around 10 points...
higher on average). The one-tailed t-test for independent samples was calculated for each group to determine the significance of the difference in mean scores between males and females. In all four groups (A, B, C, and D), the t-test suggested that the differences in mean scores between females and males were not significant, at a level of significance .05 (p < .05).

Thus, in respect to the research hypotheses, the major question was whether or not the elevated mean score in group B was significantly different than mean scores found in the three remaining groups, and whether or not the mean scores of these remaining groups (A, C, and D) were statistically homogeneous.

The difference in mean scores between the four investigated groups (A, B, C, and D) was analyzed by the one-way ANOVA. As apparent from the Summary Table (Table II), analysis of variance suggested that at least one sample was coming from a population with a different mean from those of other samples, at a significance level of .01.

Table II - Summary Table of the ANOVA-analysis of the Four Investigated Groups (A, B, C, and D)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Conditions</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17264.2</td>
<td>5754.73</td>
<td>24.79</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>17643.3</td>
<td>232.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>34907.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Scheffè's method of "a posteriori" multiple comparisons was utilized, producing the following picture of significant versus nonsignificant differences in means between the concerned groups (Table III).
Table III - Summary Table of the Scheffe's Multiple Comparisons of Differences in Means Between the Groups A, B, C, and D

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comparison between</th>
<th>$F'_\text{ob}$</th>
<th>Significance *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$X_A$ vs. $X_B$</td>
<td>57.23</td>
<td>significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_A$ vs. $X_C$</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
<td>not significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_A$ vs. $X_D$</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
<td>not significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_B$ vs. $X_C$</td>
<td>44.39</td>
<td>significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_B$ vs. $X_D$</td>
<td>45.64</td>
<td>significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_C$ vs. $X_D$</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
<td>not significant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $F_{.05}(1,38 \text{ df}) = 4.10$
  $F_{.01}(1,38 \text{ df}) = 7.35$

Multiple comparisons quite clearly pointed at the group B as not being homogeneous with the all three remaining groups A, C, and D. This observation was tested by the Scheffe test. The calculated $F'_\text{ob}$ was 73.88, while the critical values were $F_{.05}(3,76 \text{ df}) = 8.22$, and $F_{.01}(3,76 \text{ df}) = 12.24$.

In other words, the analysis of variance, consequent multiple comparisons, and the Scheffe test indicated that there was a significant difference between the mean score achieved in the group B (of immigrants residing in Canada between 1-3 years) and mean scores in groups A, C, and D, at a significance level of .01. At the same time, the tests indicated that the differences in mean scores between groups A, C, and D were not statistically significant ($p < .01$).

The Differences Between the Groups in Response to Separate Questionnaire Items

The difference between groups in mean scores obtained on separate ISB questionnaire items can be gleaned from Tables IV (p. 58), IX (Appendix A).
Figure 1 - The general pattern of group B scoring significantly higher on a particular questionnaire item than all three remaining groups A, C, and D.

Fifty one ANOVA's were calculated, and the significance of differences in mean scores between groups was tested by Duncan's method of multiple comparisons, at a level of significance .05. The main focus was on the questionnaire items obtained from group B (of immigrants residing in Canada 1-3 years) which showed significantly higher scores that those from all three remaining groups A, C, and D.
These differences, graphically expressed in Figure 1, have been found in responses to 10 questionnaire items, that is, in 19.6% of all items. Included were responses to questionnaire stems numbers 1, 7, 8, 13, 20, 24, 32, 33, 43, and 48, that is, 4 items focusing on "I", 3 items focusing on "You" or "Others", and 3 items focusing on the "World" or "Environment". Specifically, these sentence stems were

- focusing on "I":

- focusing on "Others":
  8. "Love..."; 20. "At home..."; and 32. "No one...";

- focusing on the "World":

A tendency to this pattern was observable in many other responses; however, the difference in mean scores was not significant (Table IX, Appendix A). In three other cases (i.e. 5.9%, items number 5, 12, and 34), mean scores obtained from group B were significantly higher than in groups C and D only. On two items (18 and 49), the mean scores of groups B and C were significantly higher than in groups A and D.

Interestingly, group A scored significantly higher than two other groups on 4 items (number 2, 9, 25, and 34), and significantly higher than one group on 1 item (number 8). Group C scored significantly higher than two other groups once (item 49), and significantly higher than one group 8 times. Group D scored significantly higher than one other group 8 times. Mean scores of responses to 14 items (27.5%) indicated homogeneity of groups, that is, there were no significant differences in responses between all four groups.
Table IV - The distribution of significantly higher scores on separate questionnaire items between groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Sum of questionnaire items with significantly higher scores than in other 3 groups</th>
<th>Sum of items with significantly higher scores than in 2 groups only</th>
<th>Sum of items with significantly higher scores than in 1 group only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group A</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group B</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group C</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group D</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The actual mean scores of individual groups on separate questionnaire items have been expressed graphically in Figure 4, Appendix B.
Three Brief Case Studies

These three brief case studies are expected to illustrate the theoretical discussion introduced in the Review of the literature (Chapter Two), offer a more informal view of Results presented in the previous chapter, and set up a stage for a meaningful Discussion which can be based not only on statistical results but also supported by this more broadly expressed human experience of subjects of this study.

All three cases were chosen mainly because they appeared to be typical. In the case of Eva B., who has been living in Canada for less than 3 years, all of her dissatisfactions, difficulties and problems were quite representative of problems usually expressed by the majority of refugee-immigrants at the same stage of resettlement in a new country. Observations, discussions, and clinical experience lead the author to expect hearing very similar problems from a majority of refugee-immigrants at this particular stage of their resettlement, though physical circumstances and details might be different. Actually, very similar dissatisfactions and problems were expressed on ISB questionnaires by the majority of refugee-immigrants living 1-3 years in Canada, and were reflected in their elevated scores in this study. Similarly, the experience of Jiri S., who has been living in Canada for 10 years, appeared to be in agreement with the experience of the majority of refugee-immigrants at the same stage of resettlement, which was also reflected in results of this study.

Ivan K. represents a minority. Yet, his experience appeared to be typical for at least some proportion of this minority. In this study were also found
occasional high scores in groups where they "should not" be. His case stresses again that probably all three theories reviewed in this study (p.9) can explain some aspects of difficulties in some refugee-immigrants to a certain extent, but testing this extent to which these may be present has been far beyond the scope of this study.

1. Eva B., living in Canada for 2 years and 10 months, a 32-year-old married female, mother of an 8-year-old son, graduate of the Typographical College with almost 10 years of related work experience in Czechoslovakia.

Eva is bitter and dissatisfied, questioning whether her decision to leave Czechoslovakia was a good one. She feels depressed and doubts her own abilities; consequently she is angry. She cannot find a job in her profession. She admits that typographical technology in Canada is more advanced than in Czechoslovakia and, thus, far beyond her experience. Yet, she maintains that her more basic training should be to her advantage: while Canadian workers are "ignorants" who just happen to know which button to push, she has the understanding of the processes involved and would learn to push the proper buttons fast. She is willing to work hard, but cannot get a fair chance. If she had one, she would "show them all" how to work. Meanwhile, she is taking odd cleaning and care-taking jobs. When her supervisor instructs her as what to do and how, Eva is infuriated: she believes that she has at least enough brains for this kind of work, without being instructed in detail. Eva also believes that her supervisor is picking on her, exaggerating every imperfection in her work, while she lets her Canadian co-workers get away with the same. Eva feels totally invalidated and embarrassed: she keeps her odd cleaning jobs in secret from her mother, friends and former co-workers in Czechoslovakia with whom she regularly exchanges letters. She is afraid that they would laugh at her.
She is angry with her husband who works in his profession and earns a decent salary: Eva feels that he has unjustly gained an upper hand in their family, and he cannot understand what she is going through. Eva hates feeling dependent on him and unequal with him. However, she is also angry with her Czech friends in Canada, who, in her opinion, hold decent jobs. She believes that all of them received their positions by means of help from some influential friends (or by some shady, not very legal moves), while nobody is willing to help her. Moreover, Eva feels in competition with her compatriots living in Canada: whenever she hears about their successes, she takes these as a proof of her own inferiority and failure.

Her sleeping pattern is disturbed; during long sleepless hours she usually thinks about her mother and friends in Czechoslovakia. She feels very guilty that she left her divorced and now ailing mother alone. Her dreams are set in Czechoslovakia. These dreams are repetitive and very anxious: Eva feels that she does not belong to her original environment any more, she has to face punishment, and she cannot leave for Canada again, though she has left her son and her husband there.

Eva suffers from bouts of home-sickness. When she feels really bad, she plays with an idea of returning to Czechoslovakia, no matter what. She insists that her son reads daily from a Czech textbook of elementary reading, and she is very upset when her son sometimes mixes English words into Czech or makes errors in the Czech language. Yet, she sometimes has to ask him for a help in English, and she

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4In ISB questionnaire, Eva completed the relevant stems as follows: "Sometimes I feel...terribly home-sick, badly missing my mother and friends", "I can't...imagine that I'll never visit my homeland again", "At home...is still in Czechoslovakia". Also, on many other stems she dwelt on the past.
feels uncomfortable about this.

Eva's English is still imperfect, but sufficient for a fairly advanced exchange of thoughts and feelings. However, she feels embarrassed about speaking in English, and she isolates herself from English speaking people. She deliberately tries to spend a lot of time alone, at home, walking alone, or in other solitary activities. She has lost interest in many of her previous hobbies, including reading. She claims that she cannot concentrate. Also, she has lost interest in sex.

Although her family is comparably financially secure, she constantly worries in this regard. Even though she has a very limited number of Canadian acquaintances, she has a very low opinion of "Canadians": they are cold, uncaring, inconsiderate, uncultured and uneducated. She has also many misgivings in regard to Canadian external and internal policies.

Eva does not believe that her situation can ever improve, and that she could feel secure and at home in Canada. She claims that she has never suffered with any significant psychological difficulties before. Her husband confirms that she has always been an active, enthusiastic, cheerful and optimistic person; according to him, a stable mood used to be her characteristic feature. He maintains that she has become a different person since the immigration. Eva believes that he has completely changed since the immigration, namely becoming insensitive, uncaring and bossy.

2. Jiri S., living in Canada for 10 years, 40 year old married male, father of 2, employed, electronic technician.

Jiri came to Canada married, with a 4-year-old son and 2-year old daughter. Unfortunately, he had not finished his Engineering degree in Czechoslovakia: he left University one year before completion (i.e. after 4th year) and started earning his living as an electronics technician. Completing his degree in Canada was one
of his big dreams.

However, his start in Canada was quite precarious. Although he came with a fair knowledge of English, he could not find any job for a while, and then he finally started repairing household appliances for slightly more than the minimum wage. His wife was virtually unemployable: she could not speak English and, thus, she could not utilize her office clerk skills. Moreover, she had to stay at home with the children, which slowed her learning of English, limited her socializing, and made her unhappy. Jiri felt personally responsible for the well-being of his family; since he could not provide for them as he would have liked to, he felt that he was a failure. He landed a second, somewhat better paid, job. Working long hours in two jobs aggravated relations with his wife. Also, it made his dreams about re-entering the university unrealistic. He was lucky that he snatched his official transcript when leaving Czechoslovakia, and that a Canadian university was willing to recognize many of his credits. To enjoy this privilege, he had to enter the University by a certain deadline, which he was unable to meet. He also felt that his knowledge was fading away, and together with it his chances of ever continuing in his studies.

Jiri was an avid mountaineer, skier and outdoorsman in Czechoslovakia, and these activities meant a lot to him. He felt particularly bad about moving to Canada, an outdoorsman's paradise, and having to give up all of his favorite activities.

Jiri could not find any friends among Canadians, and he felt isolated. He saw his future in Canada as very bleak; worst of all, he remembered that he could not share his doubts, worries and anxieties with anybody, even not with his wife: he did not want to upset her even more.

Jiri maintains that all of a sudden things started picking up. He is still not
quite sure what was responsible for this. Thus, he refers to it as "our string of bad luck broke from then on". Many of those changes happened around their fourth year in Canada.

Jiri found an interesting, steady and well paid job as an electronics technician, in which he quite soon started feeling comfortable, and he has been progressing since. His wife completed some courses and became a part-time drafts person. Her mood substantially improved, as well as the mood of the whole family. They took their first holiday trip, met a Canadian family of similar age there, and gradually became close friends. Through them they made new friends; Jiri maintains that some of them have been as good and close friends as those left behind in Czechoslovakia. Jiri has not finished his engineering degree; however, he feels content with it, does a lot of professional reading on his own, and suggests that finishing his degree could be a great project for his retirement. Although he has never taken mountaineering up again, he does hiking and skiing with his family, and he has discovered fishing and hunting as new hobbies.

At present Jiri feels happy and content. He does not deny having "some problems as probably everybody or every family has", but he believes that he is better equipped than others to deal with them. The only thing he regrets is his period of unhappiness after his arrival in Canada: he believes that it was unnecessary, he does not understand why he was so particularly unhappy at that time, he blames himself for "having a negative attitude" then, and he maintains that if he had to go through it again, he would manage all his problems differently and much better. He believes that his decision to immigrate to Canada was "the luckiest one in his life". Interestingly, Jiri criticises more recent immigrants to Canada, referring to them as a "bunch of spoiled softies": they are not starving, they have roofs over their heads - and still they keep complaining.
3. Ivan K., living in Canada for 8 years, 34-year-old single male, employed electronics engineer.

Ivan left Czechoslovakia after completing his engineering degree in electronics and working for 2 years in a related field. He left Czechoslovakia because of his general dissatisfaction with the political atmosphere there, and particularly because he realized that he would not be able to advance in his career unless he joined the Communist party.

In Canada, he has worked in many jobs, ranging from a labourer in the beginning, to a professional engineering job with a major company, which he has been holding for almost 4 years now. Also, he is close to completion of his Master's degree in electronics at UBC.

During his first 4 years in Canada, Ivan suffered from depressions, feelings of isolation, alienation, and hopelessness. He felt invalidated because he could not find an appropriate job, could not find new friends, nor he could establish a satisfactory sexual relationship. According to Ivan, his difficulties were somewhat alleviated around his fourth year in Canada, when he finally found a rewarding professional job.

However, Ivan is still dissatisfied at present. He still feels isolated; his friends are mainly immigrants to Canada from other countries. Ivan admits that the usual theme of discussions with them is their common dissatisfaction with their lives in Canada and with Canada in general. Ivan views Canadians as generally cold, selfish and uncaring. These features are even more pronounced in Canadian women, aggravated by their inability to make a commitment in a sexual relationship. Thus, Ivan also fears to make a commitment; according to him, Canadian women are always ready to take an advantage of him. He has no meaningful sexual relationship, although he reportedly misses one. He does not enjoy sex in his
casual relationships.

At work, Ivan often feels watched by his superiors, and not recognized for his contributions. He believes that his chances to advance are minimal since he is a foreigner. Ivan still feels like an alien in Canada. He feels that he does not belong here and never will. Moreover, he will "never get used to this feeling". Ivan denies having any psychological difficulties before leaving Czechoslovakia, namely those connected with isolation, feelings of alienation, and inability to establish a relationship.

Ivan grew up in a small village close to Prague. He was always somewhat shy and academically inclined at school, which was, in his understanding, a reason why he had only a limited number of friends. He was accepted at a high school located in a nearby town (acceptance to high schools is selective in Czechoslovakia). Interestingly, his parents were opposed to his attendance at high school, reportedly because of "not knowing what it could be good for". Only when a local teacher intervened, stressing Ivan's talents, did they agree.

Thus, Ivan started commuting between his village and the town twice a day, by bus at 6:30 a.m. and back at 5:00 p.m. One way took almost an hour, and Ivan usually started doing his homework before his afternoon trip back, and then finished it at home. Although he was interested, he could not join the high school drama theater nor the athletic club. He did not date girls from his school, did not participate in school dances, nor in the parties of his school-mates. Since these were activities his classmates were usually talking about, Ivan felt excluded and different.

He also grew to feel alienated from his original village friends. They were also talking about activities in which he did not participate, and they were planning activities in which he could not participate. Since he did not have much time to
spend with his village friends, some of them accused him of being arrogant. The girl Ivan hoped to date started dating his friend who was more readily available. Thus, Ivan felt excluded also in his home environment. He felt that he did not belong anywhere; as a result, he intensified his academic efforts in order to be eligible for a university in Prague. He believed that living in Prague would change his entire life; he would start with a clean slate, find new friends and, perhaps, even a girl-friend.

He did extremely well at the high school, was accepted at a university in Prague, but his life did not change that much. His colleagues dated, drank beer, played sports, attended concerts and theatres - all activities in which he felt a novice, and by which he was embarrassed. Thus, he started isolating himself again. According to Ivan, he had a few female friends, but they preferred staying in a friendly rather than a sexual relationship with him, often using him as a confidant. Reportedly, they considered him "very nice but terribly naive". Again, Ivan felt alienated and unable to fit into his new environment. He concentrated on studying very hard, since he believed that it would help him to get an attractive job in Prague. The life of a young professional with a good job in the capital would be quite different from his not very exciting student's life.

He graduated from the university as a top student and was offered a prestigious job. However, he found his new colleagues very pragmatic, traditional and careful, not readily accepting his freshly acquired knowledge from university. Most of them were married or involved in serious relationships, and thus, they had different interests from Ivan's. He worked extremely hard to establish himself. Due to his long working hours, his promising sexual relationship broke off. Yet, Ivan discovered that due to complex back-stage interactions in his prestigious job, he had no chances of advancing unless he joined the Communist party. Alone,
angry and disillusioned, he decided to leave Czechoslovakia illegally and immigrate to Canada for a fresh start.

At the end of the interview, in which the interviewer remained strictly neutral, Ivan stated: "Gee, I have never thought about it this way. Do you think that I'm repeating something in my life?" Nevertheless, since Ivan's Master's degree in Electronics is presently close to completion, he has already started inquiring about a possible relocation to Australia. He believes that with his good knowledge of English and the advanced degree from a well-recognized university, his start there should be much easier than before in Canada. Actually, he is looking forward to that fresh start.

Other Related Findings

The Number of Refusals to Participate in the Project, Based on Suspicions.

The project was briefly explained to all potential participants. The author always stressed that there were no "correct" ("good") or "bad" ways of answering the questionnaire and offered full anonymity to all potential participants. Whenever the author encountered clearly expressed suspicions on the participant's side, he assumed a strictly neutral position. Thus, some potential participants did accept the questionnaire, but apparently did not mail it back. However, these were not included into this category. Table V includes only those who clearly expressed their suspicions, and consequently refused their participation.

These findings put the author in a difficult position. Unfortunately, the design of this study did not provide the means for a clear distinction between "suspicious" and "not suspicious" subjects, nor did it delineate control strategies for possible intervening variables in this regard. Thus, these findings have been
Table V - Number of refusals to participate in the project, based on suspicions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number of Refusals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canadian-born respondents</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Immigrants living 1-3 years in Canada</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Immigrants living 5-7 years in Canada</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Immigrants living over 8 years in Canada</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

left open to many critical questions. For example, could it be that some of those subjects who accepted the questionnaire but never mailed it back were even more suspicious than the subjects who expressed their suspicion directly? What would be a proportion of those who were so suspicious that they even feared to express it, and those who simply responded by not responding, a phenomenon which troubles every survey-oriented study? With the presented research design, these questions cannot be answered either way. Consequently, these findings cannot be supported with a meaningful statistical analysis.

On the other hand, suspicions expressed by those seven subjects in group B and one subject in group D were so alarming that the author could not simply disregard them. Moreover, these suspicions appeared to be an extreme expression of a trait which was also supposed to be tapped by this study. It posed an interesting problem: could it be that some subjects who suffered the most from the rigors of emigration, immigration, and resettlement, did not enter this study exactly because of the extremity of their difficulties? Furthermore, a certain level of suspicion was clearly observed in many immigrant subjects, who also often
directly expressed it, but did agree to participate in this study. Although not supported by statistical data, these suspicious attitudes were observed predominantly in immigrant subjects living in Canada between 1-3 years. Generally, the observations of suspicious attitudes among immigrants were in agreement with findings of many research reports (Tyhurst, 1981; Diamant and Zitka, 1987; and many others).

Even though the design of this study did not foresee a possible difficulty posed by an extreme manifestation of suspicions and thus, did not allow for a meaningful statistical analysis of this variable, it was deemed to be important at least to record the number of such manifestations. Also, the extreme suspicion, leading to the refusal to participate in the project, clearly underscored the important role of general but less extreme suspicions manifested by many refugee-immigrants. An attempt to understand its meaning is made in Discussion (Chapter Six, p.84).

Comments on Questionnaire Forms.

The questionnaire form provided a space for the respondent's comments, headed by the somewhat ambiguous encouragement "Write below anything that seems important to you..." (Appendix C). Although curious, the author did not expect to glean much information from this section of the questionnaire; quite frankly, the section was included mainly because it was also a part of well-established designs. However, many respondents obviously welcomed the opportunity to express their comments or expand on their thoughts. Exactly 34 respondents, or 42.5% of all respondents, chose to volunteer their comments.

5This number was quite equally spread between groups: from each group A, B, and C, 8 respondents volunteered their comments. In group D, 10 people decided to give their comments.
When evaluating individual questionnaires, it was impossible to overlook a marked difference in comments coming from groups A, C, and D, on the one hand, and comments from group B on the other hand.

From the group of Canadian-born respondents and both groups of immigrants residing in Canada over 5 years, comments mainly expressed a hierarchy of personal values, likes, dislikes and interests, personal goals, or social and political concerns (for example, regarding peace, environment and habitat, justice, etc.). Some respondents expressed their satisfaction with answering the questionnaire since it gave them an opportunity to "stop and think about themselves"; some respondents addressed the author with expressions of interest in the project and wishes of good luck. The only critical comment was more of a joke: "...I have discovered a new law: the Questionnaires Equation. Simply put, double the time given you by the student in his request to complete the form. This, though, does not detract from the enjoyment of discovering what I have to say..."

In sharp contrast, comments of immigrants living in Canada between 1-3 years were often a continuation of complaints expressed previously in responses to questionnaire stems, stressing how nobody could really understand their problems, suffering and state of mind, and doubting that the questionnaire would shed any more light to this area. Based on this, some respondents criticized the questionnaire's design and method. Some respondents from this group expressed their concerns about possible misinterpretation of their answers; they were worried about a possible unfavorable impression they would make and, thus, gave instructions how the author "should understand and interpret" their responses.

This contrasting difference in comments probably does not need any further explanation. This difference points in the same direction as other findings of this work and appears to be supporting these findings.
The "Refugee Dreams".

Many refugees, both those included in this study and those in informal discussions, reported that their anxious and disturbing "refugee dreams" usually terminated around the fourth year after their immigration. Refugees often volunteered this information with a great deal of urgency, leaving no doubt about the importance of its meaning.

To the sentence stem 46. "My dreams..." in the ISB questionnaire, eight immigrant subjects living in Canada 1-3 years responded with direct references to their "refugee dreams" (eg. "My dreams...are still those haunting 'refugee' ones", or "...are those 'refugee' ones only occasionally by now"). Four others from this group mentioned the topic in their comments on ISB questionnaire forms. In the group of immigrants living between 5-7 years in Canada, only two subjects responded to the stem 46. "My dreams..." by mentioning the "refugee dreams", though one of them did so in a negative way (i.e. "My dreams...thanks goodness I don't have those 'refugee dreams' any more."). No one in the group of immigrants living over 8 years in Canada ever mentioned the "refugee dreams".

Interestingly, all immigrant subjects who did refer to refugee dreams either in their responses to the stem 46. "My dreams..." or in their comments on questionnaire forms, as well as those who stressed this topic in their conversation with the author, did so with a clear assumption that everybody knew what they were talking about, and that their "refugee dreams" were a generally well known phenomenon. Many of them even considered the presence, absence, or frequency of these dreams a most important indicator of their progress in resettlement in Canada. However, to the author's best knowledge, not much attention has been paid to this phenomenon in professional literature.
In popular literature, "refugee dreams" were described, for example, by E.M. Remarque in his novel about refugees before World War II. Or, to give more recent examples, by J. Skvorecky or M. Navratilova; both of them based their descriptions on their own relatively recent experience.

The anxious "refugee dreams" usually have simple but very persistent content: for some unclear and often ridiculous reason, the refugee goes back to his country of origin. There he gets trapped and cannot leave the country anymore. His spouse and children are usually left in the new country. Often the trapped refugee has to suffer consequences in his country of origin. These consequences are much worse than merely legal. He feels that he does not belong there anymore, that things have changed beyond his recognition and understanding, and that friends - to have a glass of wine with them was one of "reasons" for his return - keep their safe distance from him.

Chan and Lam (1983) paid attention to similar dreams in their Vietnamese-Chinese refugee respondents. Chan and Lam subscribed to the general psychoanalytical theory of dream as a representation of the fulfillment or attempted fulfillment of wishes. They stressed that dreams reveal the dreamer's conflict and internal struggles which in turn give birth to fears and anxieties in the conscious mind.

In spite of the fact that many of our respondents have been in Canada for a year on the average, they reported that they rarely had dreams that took place in settings outside of their familiar environment in Vietnam (p. 7).

Chan and Lam attempted to connect the severity of anxiety in dreams with circumstances such as the presence of all family members in Canada (as opposed to having some relatives left behind in Vietnam or refugee camps), or with
dreamer's violent traumatizing experiences in the past. Although they observed some variations in the level of anxiety in the dreams of their respondents, the setting of the dream and its basic plot was very similar in all respondents, regardless of their circumstances. Chan and Lam concluded:

> It seems to us that the dream contents as told by our respondents in general reveals a predominant and overwhelming preoccupation with the past, whether the past refers to life in general in Vietnam before or after the 1975 fall, or to the boat journey and the sojourn in refugee camps (p.8).

Unfortunately, regardless of their proclaimed subscription to the psychoanalytical theory, Chan and Lam did not offer any analysis of presented dreams, nor their interpretations.

Paris (1978) presented such an analysis, based on five cases of adult exiles, and conceptualized his analysis as a separation-individuation conflict. He drew a parallel with a toddler, who, following periods of exploration, needs to "psychologically refuel" by periodically returning to the mother prior to feeling comfortable in leaving her for extended periods. The manifest sociopolitical reasons for immigration, according to Paris, could be an outer expression based on the same symbolic logic as that of separation-individuation conflict. Returning home, whether in reality or in fantasy, offers the immigrant the necessary rapprochement and reconciliation with parents or their symbolic equivalent, the nation. The importance of this rapprochement and reconciliation is made obvious by exiles who are not permitted to do so, and thus, suffer from various forms of guilt and feelings of loss of psychological support.

Such an interpretation, taken metaphorically, can have some bearing on the dreams of refugees of Czechoslovakian origin. The cultural tradition in Slavonic countries tends to paternalise the nation, which could be illustrated by old
Slavonic fairy-tales. Moreover, the contemporary political indoctrination, influencing individuals since their early childhood, also tends to personalise and paternalise the native country and nation. Leaving the native country is officially viewed as a betrayal. Thus, the component of guilt can play an important role in refugees from these countries.

Yet, it is probably not a pure coincidence that the majority of refugee-immigrants cease having the anxious "refugee dreams" approximately at the same time as they start feeling more comfortable fitting into the new environment. In the author's opinion, viewing the "refugee dreams" as one of the coping mechanisms in complex adaptive processes would be an interesting hypothesis for further research. However, testing this hypothesis is beyond the scope of this paper.
Chapter Six
Discussion and Conclusion

The Temporary Character of Psychological Difficulties in the Majority of Refugee-Immigrants

One of the major findings of this study points to the temporary character of psychological difficulties in the majority of refugee-immigrants. This finding is generally not that surprising, regardless of some previously quoted studies (e.g. Cochrane, 1977). For the majority of refugee-immigrants, the psychological imbalance appears to be clearly linked to stressful experiences of immigration and resettlement. The reactive nature of psychological difficulties in refugee-immigrants has been stressed in many other studies, for example by Tyhurst (1977, 1981), Chan and Lam (1983), and others. The temporary character of psychological difficulties in the majority of new refugee-immigrants, expressed in Figure 2 (Appendix B), appears to be a main support for the theory of reactive nature of these difficulties. Indeed, the process of emigration, immigration, and resettlement is such an overwhelming experience and disruption in one's life-line that it would be more strange if this experience did not reflect on the individual's well-being, perception of self, others, the whole world, and the individual's position in the world.

Nevertheless, the theory of self-selection for migration cannot be totally discarded. Careful examination of detailed results in Tables VIII.C 1, VIII.C 2, VIII.D 1 and VIII.D 2 (Appendix A) reveals that some immigrants residing in Canada 5-7 years or over 8 years scored well above one standard deviation above the mean scores in their respective groups, rarely even close or above 2 standard deviations above their respective group means. In fact, their scores would fit very well into
the category B of immigrants residing in Canada 1-3 years, that is, of people in the midst of their emotional turmoil and adaptive coping struggles typical during a period of resettlement. Also, one person who had lived in Canada over 8 years refused co-operation for reasons clearly based on suspicion (a phenomenon which will be dealt with in detail later). There is not much reason to expect that these individuals, scoring so high after 5 or 10 years of residence in a new country, would dramatically modify their dissatisfaction with self, others, and the whole environment in the next 5 or 10 years. It would be more reasonable to scrutinize whether these people experienced similar difficulties in their country of origin, based their decision to emigrate on these difficulties, and then brought these difficulties with them to the new country, where they were probably even somewhat amplified by the objective coping struggles of resettlement. The "amplification effect" of the objective coping struggles of immigration, experienced by the majority of refugees, could be also a plausible explanation for some individuals who somehow managed to maintain their psychological balance in the familiar "home" environment, but the stresses of resettlement proved to be the proverbial "last straw" breaking their previous, probably only marginal, balance.

However, such scrutiny is beyond the means and scope of this paper. Based on the obtained data, it would be fair to conclude that some refugee-immigrants would never quite fit into the new environment and feel comfortable and satisfied there. As a matter of fact, some relatively high scores were also detected in the group of Canadian-born individuals. To compare the proportion of "highly dissatisfied" scores among immigrants and Canadian-born population, it would be necessary to work with much larger random samples and probably utilize different methodology. Thus, it is difficult to reflect on Cochrane's (1977) finding
of higher incidence of "mental illness" in immigrants as compared to the home population in England, or on a similar comparison of "higher suicidal rates among immigrants" than among natives (Myers and Neal, 1978). It is quite possible that the population of refugee-immigrants consists of a majority of individuals with a normal distribution of psychological disturbance, comparable with that of the host population, plus a proportion of individuals who self-selected themselves for migration exactly because of their psychological problems, plus a proportion of individuals who somehow coped in their familiar home environment but found coping with the stresses of immigration beyond their strength.

Yet, the results obtained from a majority of refugee-immigrants of Czechoslovakian origin suggested that the psychological imbalance connected with immigration and resettlement is of a temporary and transitional character, a function of time necessary for adaptation in the new environment (Figure 3, Appendix B). The mean score of group B, immigrants residing in Canada for an average of 2 1/2 years, was significantly higher than in both groups of immigrants (C and D) residing in Canada over 5 years. The mean scores obtained in both groups C and D were almost identical, and there has been no reason to expect any further changes. Even though the control group A of Canadian-born individuals (n=20) is probably not quite representative of the Canadian population, it might be of interest to compare the results of this group with groups C and D. The differences in mean scores between all three groups (A, C, and D) are not significant but truly minimal, and with small exceptions, the structure of answers to separate items in the questionnaire is very similar (Table IX, Appendix A, and Figure 4, Appendix B). The researcher's hunch is that similar results would be obtained in a study working with much larger samples, and particularly with a strictly random representative sample of the Canadian-born population.
Even though the study was based on refugee-immigrants to Canada of Czechoslovakian origin, the conclusion of the temporary character of psychological difficulties and their reactive nature can be probably generalized and applied to refugee-immigrants of other ethnic origins and to other countries (Pintér, 1978, or Hafner et al., 1977).

The finding of a temporary character of psychological difficulties in new immigrants has also had another, more interesting level; however, it is unclear as to what extent this facet is generalizable. In a majority of refugee-immigrants of Czechoslovakian origin, there has been a dramatic and relatively sharp change in the individual's satisfaction with self, others and the environment. This change has been identifiable and is located between the fourth and fifth year of residence in Canada. To the author's best knowledge, this quite specific timing has not been described in the concerned literature as yet. However, this result has been consistent with the author's private observations. In many cases, the author has left a fellow countryman in the midst of an emotional turmoil and met the person again after an elapsed time. To his great surprise, he has found almost a different person: a well adapted and balanced individual, rationally and realistically planning his or her future, accepting self, others and the whole new environment, and actively contributing to his or her future as well as to that of others. The whole system of irrational opinions and intolerant generalizations, sadness, hopelessness and anger, on which the person insisted a while ago, has somehow disappeared and now has been perceived as a bad dream. Whenever observed, this dramatic change happened almost as a rule between the fourth and fifth year of residence in Canada.

To find a plausible explanation for this phenomenon would not be easy. The first explanation which springs to mind might be the overcoming of a language
barrier and consequent breaking out of the connected social isolation and feelings of inadequacy. Indeed, it probably takes in average 4-5 years to master a foreign language to a degree when one is capable of expressing more complicated thoughts, reasonings and subtleties of emotional states. However, in group B (immigrants residing in Canada 1-3 years) were included individuals who entered Canada with a fair knowledge of English - and their scores on ISB were not any different from those of others. Again, the author's personal observations only confirm these results. On the other hand, the English of many individuals in group C (residing in Canada 5-7 years) still left much to be desired, but their scores on ISB (and also observed personal satisfaction and attitudes) were substantially different from those of immigrants in group B.

Unfortunately, rates of employment (or unemployment) among immigrants have not been taken into account in this study. Also, and maybe more importantly, the level of an individual's satisfaction with his job has not been scrutinized, or whether the individual held a lower, the same, or a better position than he did before leaving Czechoslovakia. These may be important contributing factors to one's feeling of personal satisfaction, and it would be reasonable to predict that one stands a better chance of getting a better (or professional) job, or for that matter any job, with a longer period of residence in a new country. However, these variables cannot fully explain the timing of significant changes in immigrants' attitudes towards self, others, and the new environment. Firstly, why would the change take place specifically between the fourth and fifth year of residence in Canada? Secondly, regardless of generally offered anonymity, for a variety of reasons the author could identify some respondents. There was a mixture of unemployed, employed, and very satisfactorily employed individuals in all immigrant groups. There was, for example, a computer programmer in the
group of "new" immigrants, who after arrival in Canada almost immediately obtained a position in his profession which was financially and personally rewarding, secure with prospects of further professional growth. Even though such a development was rather a rare exception for the majority of new immigrants, this seemingly lucky man scored consistently with the group of new immigrants, and in a personal discussion revealed the same worries, dissatisfactions, rigid criticisms, and other attitudes typical for the group of new immigrants. Moreover, this man developed - perhaps somewhat atypically - high blood pressure, diagnosed as psychosomatic in origin.

Moreover, in personal discussions, the same period between 4th-5th year in Canada was identified as a period of a big change in life satisfaction by immigrants who left Czechoslovakia after the Soviet invasion in 1968 and entered Canada in times of economic prosperity. Immigrants who entered Canada later and struggled through the economic depression in 1982 reported significant changes in their life satisfaction occuring between 4th and 5th year after immigration, too.

There is another interesting phenomenon, surprising in its specific delineation in the time frame: a majority of refugees reported that their anxious and disturbing "refugee dreams" had terminated around the fourth year of their life in Canada. Moreover, a great number of refugees, both those included in this study and those in informal discussions, volunteered this information with a marked urgency, leaving no doubt about importance of its meaning. Since this phenomenon has not been a main focus of this study, it was only briefly dealt with in the section "Other Related Findings"(p.72). Yet, it would be difficult to disregard this phenomenon, or to consider the time link between the termination of "refugee dreams" and reports of dramatic changes in a refugee's life satisfaction as only coincidental.
Thus, the evidence points to the reactive and temporary nature of a refugee's psychological difficulties in general. The impact of emigration, immigration, and resettlement is very complex and multilevel, hardly explainable by a one single thread. This major disruption in one's life line calls for equally complex and multilevel adaptive processes in new refugee-immigrants. These processes have their past, present and future, and their goal has been conceptualized in this work as a comfortable balance between one's dissatisfactions and satisfactions with self, others, and the whole environment. Apparently, the majority of refugee-immigrants to Canada of Czechoslovakian origin has achieved this comfortable balance between the fourth and fifth year after their immigration and maintained this balance in succeeding years. A small minority of individuals has not achieved this balance after 5 or even after 8 years of their residence in Canada, and it is doubtful that they will ever feel comfortable in their environment.

Taking into account all the limitations of this study and possible interfering variables, a caution against drawing too far-reaching conclusions is necessary. Moreover, the trend or pattern suggested in this paper provokes many questions, which would only be possible to answer by further research. For example, would the results of this study be reproduceable with much larger random samples of Czechoslovakian refugee-immigrants in different parts of Canada, and could they be validated by results from Czechoslovakian-born refugees to other countries? With much larger random samples of the "host population", would a proportion of maladjusted immigrants after 5 years in a new country be significantly different from the proportion of maladjusted individuals in the host population? Would refugee-immigrants of other ethnic background and to other countries display the

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6One of the interfering variables could be a high number of refusals to cooperate based on suspicion.
same tendency of the majority to adjust to the new environment within a specific time-frame, for example, within 4 - 5 years after arrival? Would the proportion of maladjusted individuals be similar? And also the "mind boggling" question: is it possible that there is some "average" time frame within which a healthy, "normal" and "average" individual is capable of adjusting to similar outer strains? If there are some common human "standards" for adaptation, what actually constitutes this incredible human ability of adaptation to almost any circumstances? Apparently, conditions of emigration, immigration and resettlement offer a kind of "natural laboratory" for this research.

**Differences in Results Between Women and Men in Groups of Immigrants**

In all immigrant groups, females scored non-significantly, yet consistently somewhat higher than males (Tables VIII.B 1 - VIII.B 2, VIII.C 1 - VIII.C 2, and VIII.D 1 - VIII.D 2; Appendix A). Based on empirical observations, it was the author's hunch and expectation that at least in group B (immigrants residing in Canada between 1-3 years), females would score significantly higher than males. It was expected that females would display somewhat slower return to "normal", which would be manifested in slightly elevated scores in group C (5-7 years in Canada) and that there would be no difference in scoring between sexes in group D (over 8 years in Canada). As a matter of fact, the non-significant differences in mean scores between the sexes seemed to point in the expected direction: in group B a difference between the sexes of 13.0 score points, in group C 9.6 points, and in group D 8.3 points. However, there is not much sense in juggling with non-significant differences and speculating with possible chance results. Yet, a consistency in non-significant results often points to possible insufficiencies in a research design, methodology, or the utilized instrument.

Firstly, was it an error to use the same methods of quantification of ISB
responses for both females and males? Rotter and Rafferty (1950) developed two separate sets of manuals for females and males and warned against using these manuals interchangeably. The different interpretation of females' and males' responses was based on typical sociocultural beliefs of their times and then validated on samples with the same beliefs. This validation would be hardly possible to reproduce today. Moreover, in group A (Canadian-born subjects), the situation was reversed: the mean score of the male subgroup was not significantly higher than that of females (Tables VIII.A 1 - VIII.A 2; Appendix A).

Secondly, it could be the instrument per se and method of its quantification which were simply unsuited for measuring the difference between the sexes. This explanation seems to be more plausible: the questionnaire offered ambiguous, yet structured stems, often leading in some direction and addressing certain areas of human experience. The quantification was generally based on the level of satisfaction in the addressed areas of human experience.

Empirically, it seems likely that there are some differences between immigrant males and females in their attitudes and the spectrum of their problems, but tapping it has been beyond the reach of the utilized method. Thus, the measurable level of dissatisfaction is not significantly different for immigrant men and women. One can only guess that they suffer equally in areas tapped by the given method, but also, perhaps, in a different manner - addressing which is beyond reach of methods utilized in this study.

Suspicions Observed in Refugee-Immigrants

In many research reports, suspicions of various degrees and kinds have been viewed as a part of the "characteristic symptom cluster" in new immigrants. Tyhurst (1981) reported "a spectrum of 'paranoid behavior', ranging from mild suspicion to paranoid trends" (p. 4); similar observations came from Hafner et al.
(1977), Pintér (1978), and many others. Diamant and Zitka (1987) found that suspicions played an important role in contrasting differences between immigrants to Canada from the Netherlands and refugee-immigrants from Czechoslovakia. Indeed, while "hunting" for potential participants, the author of this study repeatedly faced a variety of unfavorable responses clearly based on suspicions, and ranging from a cautious questioning to a blunt refusal to co-operate, or even to hostility.

Seven refugee-immigrants residing in Canada between 1-3 years refused participation clearly because of suspicion, while no such refusal came from immigrants residing 5-8 years in Canada, and one immigrant residing over 8 years in Canada refused to co-operate expressly on grounds of suspicions (Table V). Even with a necessary caution in treating these findings (see Other Related Findings, p.68), they seem to stress that the suspicion in new refugee-immigrants plays an important role. Moreover, these extreme findings tell only a part of the whole story.

Almost inevitably, whenever the author approached a potential participant living in Canada 1-3 years, he faced a lengthy questioning regarding anonymity and possible misuse of the information gleaned from the questionnaire, and he often had to answer questions about his own past (e.g. whether or not he was a member of the Communist party, whom he was associated with, how he left Czechoslovakia, etc.). These fears, insecurities and suspicions were often expressed indirectly, sometimes in bizarre forms. For example, one potential participant noticed a question "Sex" (meaning the participant's gender) in the questionnaire heading, and immediately relieved his uneasy feelings with "My sexual life is nobody's business!" Some potential participants accepted the questionnaire but checked the author's "references" and trustworthiness with other immigrants or
common acquaintances; some have never mailed the questionnaire back. However, these people were not included in the category of "refusals to co-operate based clearly on suspicion".

Thus, it was impossible to establish how big a proportion of all approached individuals was represented by those seven suspicion-motivated refusals to participate. Yet, it also created an interesting problem: expressed suspicions were in the focus of research interest, and were supposed to be tapped by the questionnaire. It would be fair to assume that people who actually suffered the most of all did not enter the study. If they had entered, their scores on ISB would be probably very high, and the elevation of mean score in group B of "new" immigrants as compared with other groups would be even more contrasting.

Quite a different approach was observed among immigrants residing in Canada over 5 years (i.e. those included in groups C and D). Expressed suspicions were generally rare; "being busy" was the most common excuse for not participating, and even this excuse was not very frequent. The comfortable trust, co-operativeness and friendliness among the majority of these people were obvious, and these features were also expressed in their responses on ISB questionnaires.

The one suspicion-based refusal to co-operate, coming from a refugee-immigrant residing in Canada over 8 years, was not really surprising. In fact, it is the author's belief that with larger random samples there would be more of such cases among immigrants of any origin and status, regardless of the length of residence in the new country. Moreover, similar cases would be probably found in sufficiently large random samples of the host population, too. These cases would confirm that one cannot run from personal problems which sometimes belong to the realm of mental illness. An interesting task would be to compare the incidence
of such cases in the host population and in immigrants of different origins and with different past and present experiences; unfortunately, it would be far beyond the scope of this paper.

However, one can reasonably argue that the suspicion is a marked trait in the complex syndrome of difficulties among new refugee-immigrants, and in the vast majority of investigated immigrants of Czechoslovakian origin this trait disappears together with other difficulties, that is, after approximately 4 years of residence in Canada. Thus, this trait could also be viewed as transitional and of a temporary character.

More difficult would be to explain the meaning of the manifested suspicions. The most tempting logical explanation, that it is a feature of adaptive behavior not to come too close to a stranger until mutual trust can be established, cannot fully explain this phenomenon. For example, in the previously quoted study, Diamant and Zitka (1987) did not observe similar behavior in immigrants to Canada from the Netherlands. Was that because of their different country of origin, or because they were immigrants but not refugees? Probably both.

Firstly, refugees usually come to the new country with very limited or no financial and material means, with no possible help from relatives and friends left behind, and no option of possible return to their country of origin. Thus, stakes are quite high: starting from scratch under these conditions means that any mishap or financial loss can have very serious consequences. Moreover, in many cases their illegally leaving their country affects the circumstances of their relatives, and any further "false step" could have further adverse effect on relatives left behind. Under these conditions, who would not proceed at least cautiously?

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly: would it not be rather strange if all
past experiences and developed adaptive coping skills, connected with demanding conditions of refugee camps and years of living in the country of origin, disappeared immediately after arrival in the new country? As a matter of fact, making a correct decision as to whom to trust (and whom not) was of immense importance and often developed as a vital skill in the country of origin, since the wrong decision could have very serious consequences with authorities. Many refugee-immigrants give this as one of their reasons for leaving their country.

Thus, the theory stating that "immigrants may be drawn from populations with rates of mental illness different from those of the host population they join" (Murphy, 1973) could be modified: they are certainly drawn from populations with different conditions from those in the host population. With this modification, this theory could at least partly explain the widespread suspicions among new refugee-immigrants. A plausible hypothesis would be that the suspicions, based on past experiences, are brought with many refugee-immigrants to the new country and then perhaps even aggravated by specific conditions of resettlement. However, after a certain period this coping strategy is abandoned by the majority of refugees: it is not functional anymore, and they feel safe enough to replace it with strategies of trust and co-operation. Such an approach is probably "rewarded" with a similar response from members of the host population, which facilitates further trust and co-operation in refugees. It is likely that such a process is at least a substantial part of the core adaptive processes in new refugee-immigrants. It can be viewed as the process of learning new, successful coping strategies, fitting the given environment at a given point in time.

For further research, an interesting question to pose is to what extent is the adaptive ability and speed of adaptation in refugees influenced by previous traumatic experiences in their country of origin or, possibly, by their original
culture? Could it be that there are some traumatic experiences after which survivors have only a minimal chance of recovery and successful adaptation in a new environment and under more favorable conditions?

Elevated Scores on Some of ISB Questionnaire Items

Considering the significantly higher mean score on ISB in group B (of immigrants residing in Canada 1-3 years) as compared to all other groups, it appeared to be potentially important to ask whether there were some particular questionnaire items mainly "responsible" for this difference. The overall pattern of scoring on separate questionnaire items by individual groups has been graphically expressed in Figure 4 (Appendix B).

Statistical analysis suggested that group B scored significantly higher than all three remaining groups on 10 questionnaire items (Table IV, p. 58; Table IX, Appendix A; and Figure 4). These items covered the three investigated focus areas almost evenly, that is, four items focusing on "I", three items on "You" or "Others", and three items on "the World".

Thus, what did the new immigrants keep telling themselves, or, how did they perceive themselves, others, and the rest of the world, that their scores were in a sharp contrast to mean scores of other investigated groups, be it a sample of the Canadian-born population or samples of immigrants residing in Canada over 5 years?

From questionnaire items focused on "I", a majority of new immigrants responded differently from all other respondents to stems number 1. "I like...", 7.

7 For example, Krell (1979) investigated the persistence of post-war symptoms not only in concentration camp survivors, but also in their children.
"What annoys me...", 13. "I can't...", 43. "I..." New immigrants mainly "liked" isolation, quietness and seclusion, be it at home or in the outdoors, solitary activities and dreaming. In other groups, respondents chiefly "liked" other specific people, or activities and fun shared with others.

New immigrants were often "annoyed" with people in general and their bad traits, and harshly criticised generalized "Canadians" and their habits; they were annoyed by feelings of alienation, isolation and insecurity, bleak prospects for their future, and they were often annoyed with themselves. Respondents from other groups were usually annoyed with troubles of daily life, like traffic jams, appliances that break down, and so forth, and with generally unpleasant social situations or human traits, like lengthy meetings and endless discussions, inefficiency, intolerance, or political and social concerns. Sometimes they answered with humor (e.g. "What annoys me...questionnaires"), sometimes they turned the question with a presupposed negative answer to a highly positive statement (e.g. "What annoys me...actually, not a great many things").

To the stem "I can't...", new immigrants often responded with "concentrate", "sleep", "adjust", "decide what to do next", "forget", "believe that I'll never see my home again", "do anything", "do what I'd like to do", and they also expressed painful specific concerns, like "learn English" or "express myself in English", "work in my profession", "get a job", or "establish myself here". The respondents from other groups often "couldn't": "run as fast as I used to", "win lotto 6/49", "smoke after a wild party", "sell my boat", "lose weight", "ski", "dance", or "take a week or two holiday in Hawaii right now".

Many new immigrants responded to the stem "I..." with self-deprecatory statements and expressions of unhappiness, dissatisfaction, and feelings of "being lost". Some expressed feeling sorry about past events, sometimes including the
decision to leave Czechoslovakia. Here respondents from other groups usually expressed their "likes", either about themselves or regarding their favorite activities.

A similar situation was observable in the area focusing on "You". However, quite surprisingly, new immigrants scored significantly higher than all other groups on the stem "Love...", often expressing disbelief, pointing to fears and difficulties connected with love, or complaining about lack of love, and negatively generalizing (e.g. "Love...is superficial and materialistically oriented"). An interesting answer in this group was "Love...could help to overcome depression". The majority of responses from all other groups was in fact a celebration and glorification of love, sometimes very poetically expressed.

For many new immigrants, "At home..." was the only safe place or sanctuary; others expressed what it "should be like" at home, and many understood the stem as "back in Czechoslovakia". Moreover, some expressed their pain directly with answers like "Where?", "I'd love to feel somewhere at home", "I don't feel at home". For respondents from other groups, "at home" was mainly the place of fun, relaxation, and pleasant activities with loved ones.

"No one..." elicited from many new immigrants responses expressing isolation (e.g. "No one...can understand me", "...can even imagine what I'm getting through", "...can see who I am", or "...can really help me"). Many expressed a fear of future ("No one...knows whether or how we survive it", or "...knows how it all ends up"); some expressed criticism and defensive criticism (e.g. "No one...is perfect but many people here think so", "No one...will shout at me!" or "..boss me around"). For respondents from other groups, "No one...was perfect", or could simply "...foresee the future" or do other supernatural or unnatural things, and for many others this stem was a welcome opportunity to say something nice about
themselves or others (e.g. "No one...is as sweet as my husband").

In the area focussing on "the World", new immigrants came up with somewhat surprising responses to the stem "The living standard..." There were mainly two categories of responses. One subgroup of new immigrants almost ostensibly denied the importance of this question (e.g. "The living standard...is not important"). This attitude could be, somewhat speculatively, explained by the socio-cultural background and political reality of Czechoslovakian refugee-immigrants. For decades now, Czech people have been taught how ideals are superior to material interests and benefits (one of those perplexing logical loops of the materialistic ideology of marxism), how financial wealth is almost shameful, and above all, what a horrible crime it is to leave one's country, especially for economic benefits. (Again, authorities use, quite surprisingly, a cliché paraphrasing the Bible as the highest curse: "He sold his country for a bowl of beans"). At the same time, the majority of newcomers from Czechoslovakia claimed refugee status, which probably precluded them from displaying too much interest in the economic miracles of their new country.

The other substantial part of the responses expressed mainly dissatisfaction with the individual's living standards. On one hand, this dissatisfaction seems to be natural, considering the little or no financial means with which the refugee-immigrants entered the country. On the other hand, the speed of economic recovery of new immigrants, who usually left all their belongings behind in their country of origin, is very fast. Thus, often quite soon they reach the same level of living standard in Canada that they used to enjoy back in Czechoslovakia. However, they still remain behind the average living standards of their new country, and in a situation of social isolation and basic fear and insecurity regarding the future, financial and material security may be perceived as a
specially important matter. Perhaps these factors - in some cases also connected with unrealistic expectations and simple impatience - were at least partly hidden behind all those complaints about low or miserable living standards. All together, these negative responses resemble a picture of a depressed person who not only was unable to see a sparkling sunny day, but also angrily denied it.

Responses to this stem from other groups ranged from neutral to highly satisfied. They were usually quite realistic, acknowledging that even in Canada money does not grow on trees, but also appreciating the blessing of living in one of the richest countries in the world.

To the questionnaire stem "Earning my living...", a repetitive theme in the responses of new immigrants was "feeling humiliated, unrewarded and unsatisfied", feeling of overcoming a great obstacle while not using one's capabilities. Indeed, the transformation of a Ph.D. to a roofer, but also of a former journeyman roofer to an apprentice, a common experience among new refugee-immigrants, is not exactly an uplifting one. Moreover, some cultural beliefs brought in from the country of origin can further undermine the self-regard of, for example, a highly qualified teacher of mathematics and physics, starting her first job as a cleaning lady. In contrast, the majority of respondents from other investigated groups felt satisfied and content with their ways of "earning their living"; moreover, many even claimed having fun while doing it.

New immigrants perceived "Canada..." (stem number 33) with a great amount of reservation, often expressed in neutral responses (e.g. "Canada is...big"). Some credited the country with natural richness and beauty, only rarely mentioning the kindness with which the country has treated its newcomers. However, for many new immigrants, Canada was "a rough and raw country", "a country of bears, not humans", "too big", "a crazy mixture with no pride and
sense of togetherness", and "a country which disappointed me". In a sharp contrast, the majority of Canadian-born respondents as well as of immigrants residing in Canada over 5 years expressed a great deal of pride in their country, the immigrants often stressing their appreciation at receiving a new home. Occasional criticism often bore the features of a homeowner's concerns regarding improvements of his own place, and some criticisms were clearly meant as positive statements (e.g. "Canada is ...not proud enough of her greatness and her achievements").

The responses to questionnaire stems 5. "Marriage..." and 12. "Power..." also deserve attention. Group B, the new immigrants, scored on these items significantly higher than both groups C and D, that is, groups of immigrants residing in Canada over 5 years. As compared with group A (Canadian-born respondents), mean scores of group B on both items were non-significantly higher.

Many new immigrants expressed dissatisfaction with their marriages; they perceived the marriage as "a burden", "a cause of many problems", "terrible", "in crisis", and many were disillusioned and expressed their disbelief into this institution. One of the new immigrants put it bluntly: "Marriage... after emigration gets either stronger of falls apart". In contrast, the majority of immigrants residing in Canada over 5 years expressed if not always enthusiasm, at least content and acceptance of their marriages (or matrimony in general). On one hand, it is not surprising that the powerful experience of resettlement influences family life, and it could be of interest to compare these responses with previously discussed disillusioned answers to the questionnaire stem "Love....". On the other hand, a possible interfering variable could have had an effect there: the author slightly favored married couples when building sample groups, in order to
simplify the task of getting an equal representation of both sexes. Thus, perhaps some couples whose marriages were strengthened by the shared experience entered the statistics of this study, while some individuals whose marriages did not survive (and who probably harbour resentment regardless of their length of residence in Canada) were left out. Nevertheless, the effect of emigration, immigration and resettlement on marriage and attitudes towards the marriage appears to be obvious and logical. However, many questions of great interest are left for further research. For example, how does the process of immigration specifically influence family systems? Does this experience have a polarization effect on marriages, that is, either strengthening the marriage or substantially contributing to its end? Is such a hypothesis testable by comparing divorce rates and satisfaction in marriage among immigrants with the same parameters in the host population? What role do children play in the families of immigrants? Could it be that difficulties in marriage after immigration and ways of dealing with them are correlated with an unequal desire to emigrate among family members, a situation quite common in many immigrant families?

"Power..." was another questionnaire stem on which new immigrants scored significantly higher than both groups of immigrants residing in Canada over 5 years (C and D). For many new immigrants, "Power..." was perceived as highly malignant, dangerous, scary, always misused, and deforming people. In other groups, "Power..." was much more often perceived as a benign, positive force in the world, sometimes contributing to desirable changes, and sometimes simply perceived in its physical sense.

Responses to the questionnaire stem number 49. "My education..." yielded an interesting, yet probably a logical pattern. Both groups of new immigrants and immigrants residing in Canada 5-7 years (i.e. groups B and C) scored significantly
higher than the sample of Canadian-born population and immigrants residing in Canada over 8 years (i.e. groups A and D). Elevated scores usually represented responses expressing dissatisfaction and bitterness connected with the inability to utilize one's past education, training and experience meaningfully. Indeed, upgrading and nostrifying one's education, or collecting enough local experience to make up for a foreign education and experience, usually takes an extended period of time. The language deficiency is probably not the only reason; usually, new immigrants are first focused on sheer survival and then on securing stability for their families, which does not leave much room for further education. The bitterness, expressed in responses to the stem "My education...", has probably been of the same roots as the dissatisfaction expressed in responses to the stem "Earning my living...", in both cases possibly also expressing loss of social status. Interestingly, some responses from immigrants residing in Canada over 8 years suggested not necessarily an achievement of the locally acceptable and marketable education, but rather an acceptance of the existing situation and possible shift in hierarchy of values, attaching much less importance to this issue.

Similarly, the stem number 18. "If I had my way..." drew significantly higher scores from new immigrants than from samples of Canadian-born and immigrants residing in Canada over 8 years, while immigrants residing in Canada between 5-7 years still maintained a somewhat elevated mean score (significantly higher than immigrants residing in Canada over 8 years). Some responses to this particular stem indicated an unequal desire between family members to emigrate (e.g. "If I had my way...we would have never left Czechoslovakia). Generally, the tendency to maintain somewhat elevated scores in group C was observable in some responses to other questionnaire items, too (Table IX, Figure 4). It would suggest that immigrants adjust to some facets and realities of resettlement more
slowly than to others.

Somewhat surprising were the responses to the stem 34. "I wish..." New immigrants scored significantly higher than both remaining immigrant groups, mainly due to responses like "...I were happy", "...I were happy again", "...I had a better job/profession", or "...we could live a normal, quiet and satisfying life again". However, the group of Canadian-born respondents also scored significantly higher on this item than both groups of immigrants residing in Canada over 5 years, mainly due to self-depreciating responses (e.g. "I wish...I were smarter"), complaints (often regarding financial dependence), and harsh criticisms (e.g. "I wish...Canadians were more intelligent"). Immigrants residing in Canada over 5 years had a wide variety of "wishes" which did not suggest any hardship or dissatisfaction; some answered with "I wish...all the best to everybody", or addressed the author with "I wish...you good luck with this project".

Similarly, Canadian-born respondents scored significantly higher than immigrants residing over 5 years in Canada on stems 2. "The service in stores...", 9. "The system...", and 25. "What pains me...". On the other hand, they scored significantly lower than all immigrant groups on items number 26. "Sex is...", 35. "My co-workers...", and 50. "To have siblings...". Even though these differences make a lot of common sense, it is necessary to admit that the sample of Canadian-born respondents has been more informative than representative. Thus, based on this small and not strictly random sample, suggesting any conclusions (e.g. in regard to possible cultural differences) would be farfetched.

The analysis of responses to separate questionnaire items helps us to understand the most contrasting differences between perception of self, others, and the whole environment in immigrants directly struggling with the stresses of
adaptation, and immigrants who had already achieved a high level of adjustment. Thus, it would be possible to draw a hypothetical composite picture of the refugee-immigrant in the midst of emotional turmoil and coping struggles, based on features which substantially differentiate him or her from others. At least in the case of refugees from Czechoslovakia, it would be a picture of a person who tends to isolate himself from others, at the same time as being annoyed with this isolation and connected feeling of alienation. This person feels very limited in his options; he does not feel in charge of his present or future, and thus, often lives in his past, which is also unresolved and a cause for mourning. Such a person often suffers with poor concentration, insomnia, or other difficulties of a psychosomatic origin. He feels lost and uprooted; he experiences many self-doubts and a low self-esteem which he never experienced before. The latter is often connected with a loss of social status, with a lack of rewarding job and recognition of his past education and experience. Consequently, the refugee feels that this low self-esteem was imposed on him by lack of acceptance and recognition, and he is angry with perceived "imposers", that is, others and the whole environment. Also, he is often scared of others and of his own future. Home is perceived as the only sanctuary and refuge from an environment perceived as hostile and threatening. However, his home is inhabited by other individuals in a similar state of mind; the refugee is disillusioned about love and marriage, and being at home does not feel homey either. Power is perceived as an outer, usually hostile and suspicious, force. His financial situation appears to be of great concern: first, there are (probably somewhat exaggerated) worries about physical survival, later he starts to make unfavorable comparisons with the living standards of others. The country of the

**Here, as at some other points in this paper, "he", "his" and "him" are used in the generic sense, pronouns to stand for "person".**
immigrant's own choice appears to be somehow responsible for his present misery, and the immigrant is dissatisfied and angry with the whole country, its traditions, habits, and inhabitants.

Such a picture bears all the imperfections of a summarizing and generalizing statement. However, it is based on responses of individuals, the majority of whom would no doubt recognize many of these features in themselves. This picture also closely fits observations of many other research reports, which have usually been focussed only on some particular features of the whole picture, often referring to them as "symptoms". Probably, being able to see more of the whole picture makes the logic of coping struggles more apparent and understandable. In the majority of refugee-immigrants, this logic finally leads to a comfortable balance and fit with the new environment.

"Psychological Balance"

The term "psychological balance" has been introduced in this work with great hesitation, mostly because of an inability to find any more suitable description. However, as the work on this project has been progressing, the term "psychological balance" appeared to be more and more appropriate to the investigated problem. At the same time, it also became more apparent that this term would need further explanation, connected with the findings of this work and with problems of adaptation in general.

Actually, the term "balance" (or "equilibrium") appears in many works with a variety of meanings, and viewed at different levels: intrapsychic, interpersonal, and systemic. As a balance, by its nature, has always been a relation between at least two components, in the case of this study it would be the balance between satisfaction and dissatisfaction with one's self, others, and the whole world. When
stressing the personal experience and perception of this balance, one would tend to see it in terms of "intrapsychic" processes. When putting more stress on the relations to others and the whole environment, one would see it more in terms of "interpersonal" balance. Yet, neither view is in keeping with the experience of balance or imbalance that has been observed in many refugee-immigrants, described in this paper, and conceptualized as a "psychological balance". Moreover, the author strongly agrees with the notion of Knobloch and Knobloch (1979) that the dichotomy between "interpersonal" and "intrapsychic" is false, meaningless, and misleading.

It would be possible to calculate a ratio between dissatisfied and satisfied responses on items of the ISB questionnaire, and see whether there would be a balance in responses of presumably well-adjusted individuals, or an imbalance in responses of people who are right in the midst of adaptive struggles. As a matter of fact, such a ratio between dissatisfied ("conflict") and satisfied ("positive") responses has been on average lower than 1 in groups of Canadian-born respondents, immigrants living in Canada 5-7 years, and immigrants with the length of residence in Canada over 8 years. By contrast, this ratio has been on average higher than 1 in a group of immigrants living in Canada 1-3 years. Thus, one would conclude that the "psychological balance", a feature of well-adjusted individuals, actually expresses a slight imbalance in favor of one's satisfaction with self, others, and the whole world. However, such an approach is somewhat mechanical, tells only a part of the whole story, and does not express the kind of balance the author has in mind and has observed in many refugee-immigrants.

Adaptive processes are by their nature systemic (White, 1974); even the basic grammar form "adaptation to..." assumes interactions at least between two parts (or systems). However, it is not very easy to find an adequate model for such
systemic interactions. For example, Satir (1987) often refers to the "system balance", using her favorite metaphors of a teeter-totter or a family mobile, which expresses the balance or imbalance of what one is trying to get out of the system and how the system reacts. Again, this model is quite mechanical, and a suggested mechanical balance misses a very important dimension of human interactions.

Unfortunately, F. Knobloch has never published his metaphor of systemic balance, which he uses in private discussions and when he teaches. This metaphor expresses most closely the author's own understanding of balance, presented in this paper. If one crew member on a boat decides to sit out of balance, the rest of the crew has to change positions in order to restore the balance. They have to lean out, which after a while gives them stiff necks and sore backs. Thus, although the balance and the boat is saved, the crew members forfeit their comfort and fear that any uncoordinated move will upset the fragile and so costly maintained balance. The boat can sail on for many miles in this way, but at a cost of considerable discomfort to all involved. No one is really happy with this kind of a balance.

A similar situation happens in white-water canoeing, when the boat enters rapids. Both crew members have to lean out in opposite directions in order to maintain the balance. The timing and co-ordination in this maneuver are of crucial importance, both when entering and leaving rough waters. Thus, maintaining the comfortable and efficient balance is connected with timing, cooperation and co-ordination with others, and responding to immediate environmental demands. Not respecting these factors leads either to upsetting the balance, or to a costly maintenance of a painful, uncomfortable balance.

This model accurately expresses the concept of psychological balance that has been presented in this paper and observed in many refugee-immigrants. The rapids of emigration, immigration and resettlement do force individuals to
assume extraordinary stances and uncomfortable balancing positions, which always find a systemic response in the environment, often equally uncomfortable and unpleasant. Trying new options and finding new ways to achieve a comfortable balance is difficult, risky, and probably impossible as a unilateral action. Also timing and environmental situation have to be taken into account.

It is of interest that many refugee-immigrants, when they finally achieved a reasonably comfortable balance, stated: "But, you know, Canadians have quite changed recently!" Rationalizations for a statement like this were sometimes equally surprising: "They finally understood that they couldn't treat me that way...", "The economic crisis made them softer...", They have learned some compassion...", and so forth. No matter how bizarre these statements appear, they contain a considerable grain of salt: simultaneously as immigrants risk and find new ways to reestablish their balance, the environment responds accordingly and thus, contributes to the establishment of a comfortable balance of a higher level. In this sense, the term "psychological balance" is close to Mechanic's (1974) notion of a congruent, multi-level, person-environment fit, the achievement of which is made in spirals. In the sense of our metaphor, the majority of refugee-immigrants has survived stormy waters and successfully stabilized their boats, with the crew feeling comfortable and ready to face further rapids if necessary.

**Conclusion**

The majority of refugee-immigrants of Czechoslovakian origin participating in this study were deeply dissatisfied with themselves, other people, and the whole environment in the period between 1-3 years after their immigration to Canada. Suspicious attitudes towards others and the new environment were a part of their difficulties, and exactly for this reason people experiencing probably the most
disturbing difficulties refused to participate in this project. However, even immigrants living 1-3 years in Canada who were presumably suffering less and thus, were willing to participate, manifested perceptions of self, others, and the whole environment quite different from samples of refugee-immigrants living in Canada for 5-7 years and over 8 years, or from a sample of the Canadian-born population. These perceptions were expressed in responses to Incomplete Sentence Blank (ISB) questionnaires, which were quantified and statistically analysed. The mentioned difference in perception of the self, others, and the environment in the sample of "new" immigrants as compared with other samples was found statistically significant (at the level of significance $p < .01$).

The difficulties experienced and expressed by immigrants living in Canada between 1-3 years were conceptualized as a "psychological imbalance" in this paper. The most well known theories, explaining psychological difficulties in immigrants and often conceptualizing them as mental illness, were examined. The findings of this paper suggest that these difficulties are causally linked to the powerful experience of emigration, immigration, and process of resettlement, and for the majority of immigrants these difficulties are only of a temporary character. For a majority of immigrants from Czechoslovakia included in this study, these difficulties substantially became alleviated after their first 4-5 years of residence in Canada. There was a small minority among investigated immigrants who obviously suffered longer than others, and whose difficulties and deep dissatisfaction did not seem to subside with the passage of time. In their cases, the theories implying mental disturbance could have had some bearings, but it has been unclear whether or not the proportion of such individuals among immigrants was any different than in any other population, for example, in the population of the host country.
However, responses of immigrants in the midst of their emotional turmoil between 1st - 3rd year of resettlement, expressing their dissatisfaction, sadness, insecurity, anger and often hopelessness, could hardly be interpreted and explained in terms of mental illness. They often make perfect sense considering the given situation, and they were most often an undistorted reflection of that situation. In some cases, the obvious distortion of reality in immigrant's perception still made sense, though sometimes only at a speculative level. Be it a simple counter-pressure against the real or perceived pressures from the environment, or re-organization of the personal hierarchy of values and priorities, or mistrust of the unknown, responses expressing these attitudes made sense as strategies achieving the final goal: regaining personal psychological balance and thus, comfortably fitting into the new environment. No matter how strange these perceptions of the self, others, and the environment could appear to an uninformed observer, they are probably successful coping and adaptive strategies. The majority of immigrants residing in Canada over 5 years and included in this study displayed content and satisfaction or a "comfortable fit in their new environment". Their worries and dissatisfactions were usually balanced with their appreciation of self, others, and their whole environment. Thus, for them those strategies have obviously worked.

It is very likely that a broad awareness of a predictable crisis in new refugee-immigrants and a better understanding of their coping strategies could alleviate some of their suffering, as well as make their adaptive transition more pleasant for their environment: adaptation is a systemic process. In the author's opinion, the major question for further research is this: can counselling or psychotherapy offer new strategies which would alleviate the pain suffered by new immigrants and limit the period of their adaptive struggles to a necessary minimum?
References


Appendix A - Tables Not Included in the Main Body of the Text

(Tables VI, VI.A, VII, VIII.A 1, VIII.A 2, VIII.A,
VIII.B 1, VIII.B 2, VIII.B, VIII.C 1, VIII.C 2,
VIII.C, VIII.D 1, VIII.D 2, VIII.D, and IX)
Table VI - Absolute differences in scores between independent judges on all ISB questionnaires (N=80)

| Between judges* | Absolute difference in score points on all tests - |D|1 | Mean difference in scores on all tests - D | Mean difference of differences between judges |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------------|
| MA vs. FK       | 146                                           | 1.83                  |                                          |
| MA vs. JJ       | 142                                           | 1.78                  | 2.03                                     |
| FK vs. JJ       | 198                                           | 2.48                  |                                          |

Table VI.A - Absolute differences in scores between independent judges in separate groups (n=20)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Between judges*</th>
<th>Mean differences in scores on tests in separate groups</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>MA vs. FK</td>
<td>2.90</td>
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<tr>
<td>MA vs. JJ</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FK vs. JJ</td>
<td>2.25</td>
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Table VII - Correlation between scores of three independent judges on all ISB questionnaires (N=80)

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<th>Between judges*</th>
<th>Pearson’s r</th>
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<td>MA (X) vs. FK (Y)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA (X) vs. JJ (Z)</td>
<td>r_{X,Z} = .98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FK (Y) vs. JJ (Z)</td>
<td>r_{Y,Z} = .98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* - MA (X) - the author
FK (Y) - Ferdinand Knobloch, M.D., psychiatrist
JJ (Z) - Jirina Judas, psychologist
Table VIII.A 1 - Detailed results of subgroup A 1 - females (n=10)

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Table VIII.A 2 - Detailed results of subgroup A 2 - males (n=10)

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Table VIII.A - Summary results of group A, Canadian-born subjects, both sexes (n=20)

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### Table VIII.B 1 - Detailed results of subgroup B 1 - females (n=10)

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X \[35.4 \quad 29.1 \quad 186.60\]
SD \[4.52 \quad 5.36 \quad 17.98\]

### Table VIII.B 2 - Detailed results of subgroup B 2 - males (n=10)

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X \[35.6 \quad 29.8 \quad 173.60\]
SD \[3.93 \quad 6.08 \quad 15.14\]

### Table VIII.B - Summary results of group B, immigrants residing 1-3 years in Canada, both sexes (n=20)

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Table VIII.C 1 - Detailed results of subgroup C 1 - females (n=10)

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Table VIII.C 2 - Detailed results of subgroup C 2 - males (n=10)

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Table VIII.C - Summary results of group C. immigrants residing 5-7 years in Canada, both sexes (n=20)

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<td>71.35</td>
<td>148.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>6.34</td>
<td>12.01</td>
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### Table VIII.D 1 - Detailed results of subgroup D 1 - females (n=10)

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<th>Age</th>
<th>Months in Canada</th>
<th>Score</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>H</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>166</td>
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<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>39</td>
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<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>176</td>
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<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>112</td>
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<td>65</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>146</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>122</td>
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<td>192</td>
<td>161</td>
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<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>43</td>
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<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| X       | 42.8 | 145.8 | 151.60 |
| SD      | 9.26 | 42.9 | 19.10 |

### Table VIII.D 2 - Detailed results of subgroup D 2 - males (n=10)

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<th>Months in Canada</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>73</td>
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<td>C</td>
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<td>U</td>
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<td>80</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>118</td>
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</table>

| X       | 44.1 | 166.5 | 143.30 |
| SD      | 9.56 | 35.63 | 11.07  |

### Table VIII.D - Summary results of group D, immigrants residing over 8 years in Canada, both sexes (n=20)

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<thead>
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<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>9.44</td>
<td>40.78</td>
<td>16.12</td>
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</table>
Table IX - The difference in mean scores obtained on separate ISB items by groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISB item</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th>Group C</th>
<th>Group D</th>
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</table>
Table IX - The difference in mean scores obtained on separate ISB items by groups - continuation

<table>
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<th>Group C</th>
<th>Group D</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

* - The mean score in this group is significantly higher than a mean score in one other group (p < .05).

** - The mean score in this group is significantly higher than mean scores in two other groups (p < .05).

*** - The mean score in this group is significantly higher than mean scores in all three other groups (p < .05).
Appendix B - Figures 2, 3, and 4
FIGURE 2 – THE MEAN GROUP SCORES FROM ISB QUESTIONNAIRES
FIGURE 3 – THE MEAN SCORES OBTAINED ON ISB COMPARED WITH THE MEAN LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CANADA
FIGURE 4 — MEAN SCORES ON SEPARATE QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

$S = \text{significantly higher than groups A, C, and D}$
FIGURE 4 — MEAN SCORES ON SEPARATE QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

S = significantly higher than groups A, C, and D
Appendix C  - The ISB Questionnaire (English Version)
Thank you very much for your co-operation in this project. The project is an effort to contribute to a better understanding of problems connected with immigration. The information elicited will be used in a study with full respect for your confidentiality. Note: there are no "good" or "bad" responses to the presented sentence stems.

Please fill out following data:  Sex: M  F  Age: __________
Years in Canada _______ months _____  Education: ____________________

Kindly complete the following sentence stems as rapidly as possible. Try to express your real feelings and opinions.

1. I like ______________________________________________________
2. The service in stores __________________________________________
3. Religion ____________________________________________________
4. I regret ____________________________________________________
5. Marriage ____________________________________________________
6. Money often __________________________________________________
7. What annoys me ______________________________________________
8. Love _________________________________________________________
9. The system __________________________________________________
10. Sometimes I feel _____________________________________________
11. The crowd of people __________________________________________
12. Power _______________________________________________________
13. I can't ______________________________________________________
14. The opposite sex ______________________________________________
15. Government __________________________________________________
16. I struggle __________________________________________________
17. My father __________________________________________________
18. If I had my way ______________________________________________
19. My mind ____________________________________________________
20. At home ____________________________________________________
21. Nature _____________________________________________________
22. I am best when ______________________________________________
23. Other people ________________________________________________
24. The living standard __________________________________________
25. What pains me ______________________________________________
26. Sex is ______________________________________________________
27. People ______________________________________________________
28. I hate ______________________________________________________
29. Most women ________________________________________________
30. The world __________________________________________________
31. I am very _________________________________
32. No one _________________________________
33. Canada is _________________________________
34. I wish _________________________________
35. My co-workers _________________________________
36. The laws we have _________________________________
37. I secretly _________________________________
38. Men usually _________________________________
39. The future _________________________________
40. My greatest worry _________________________________
41. My mother _________________________________
42. Work is _________________________________
43. I _________________________________
44. The boss usually _________________________________
45. There are times _________________________________
46. My dreams _________________________________
47. Friends _________________________________
48. Earning my living _________________________________
49. My education _________________________________
50. To have siblings _________________________________
51. Acceptance is _________________________________

*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***

Write below anything that seems important to you:

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Thank you.
Appendix C.1 - The ISB Questionnaire (Czech Version)

Prosim, vyplňte nasledující údaje:
Pohlaví: M Z Věk:_______ Leta v Kanade______mesíce_______
Nejvyšší dosažené vzdělání:________________________________________

Doplňte, prosím, nasledující věty co nejrychleji. Pokuste se vyjádřit Vase skutečné pocty a mínění.

1. Mam rad __________________________________________
2. Obsluha v obchodech __________________________________
3. Nabozenství _________________________________________
4. Lituji ______________________________________________
5. Manželství __________________________________________
6. Peníze často _________________________________________
7. Co me otravuje _______________________________________
8. Laska ______________________________________________
9. System ______________________________________________
10. Občas pocituji ________________________________________
11. Dav lidi _____________________________________________
12. Moc (sila) __________________________________________
13. Nemohu _____________________________________________
14. Opacné pohlaví ______________________________________
15. Vlada ______________________________________________
16. Potykám se __________________________________________
17. Muj otec _____________________________________________
18. Kdyby bylo po mě _____________________________________
19. Me myslení __________________________________________
20. Doma _______________________________________________
21. Priroda _____________________________________________
22. Nejlepším mi je když _________________________________
23. Druži lide ___________________________________________
24. Životní úroveň _______________________________________
25. Co me boli ___________________________________________
26. Sex je ______________________________________________
27. Lide ________________________________________________
28. Nenavidím __________________________________________
29. Většina zemů __________________________________________
30. Svet ________________________________
31. Jsem velmi ________________________________
32. Nikdo ________________________________
33. Canada je ________________________________
34. Preji ________________________________
35. Moji spolupracovníci ________________________________
36. Zakony, které mame, ________________________________
37. (ja) Tajné ________________________________
38. Muzi obvykle ________________________________
39. Budoucnost ________________________________
40. Ma největší starost ________________________________
41. Ma matka ________________________________
42. Prace je ________________________________
43. Ja ________________________________
44. Sef obvykle ________________________________
45. Byvaji doby ________________________________
46. Me sny ________________________________
47. Pratele ________________________________
48. Vydelavaje si na zivobyti ________________________________
49. Me vzdelani ________________________________
50. Mit sourozence ________________________________
51. Uznani je ________________________________

*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***

Zde napíšte, cokoli by se Vám zdalo důležité:

__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

Dekuji Vám!
Appendix D - Representative Scoring Samples
Representative Scoring Samples

1. I like...
   C 3 : to know if I am going crazy; nothing; people tick me off;
   C 2 : to be alone; dreaming; quietness; order; when I feel less miserable
   C 1 : some people; being at home; total freedom; nature; animals; solitary activities (qualified) as reading, hunting, fishing alone; money;
   N : (foods); (seasons); freedom; unqualified activities like fishing, hunting, reading; music;
   P 1 : Canada; my work; people; the opposite sex; social hobbies; dining out with friends; to be with people;
   P 2 : my family; my wife (husband); (a specific person); my friends;
   P 3 : a great many things; almost everything;

2. The service in stores...
   C 3 : drives me crazy; is unbearably bad; they are a bunch of idiots;
   C 2 : is unfriendly; doesn't meet my expectations; is bad; (any harsh criticism - e.g. aggravates me, stinks);
   C 1 : is not very good; is good (e.g. fast) but (+criticism); depends on how you are dressed; is unfair to poor;
   N : I don't care; I don't know; never thought about it; it's not important for me; varies in quality;
   P 1 : is OK; is generally good; is good; is better than in my old country;
   P 2 : is friendly; is very kind; is excellent;
   P 3 :

3. Religion...
   C 3 : is for fanatics; should be banned; must be compulsory;
   C 2 : is misused; is misinterpreted; is another form of exploitation; is the same as communism; only confuses people;
   C 1 : is often (sometimes) misinterpreted, misused; bothers me; is good if not extreme; is silly; is for birds;
   N : I'm (any denomination); I'm not interested in; is not important; is a personal choice; I don't mind; puzzles me;
   P 1 : I'm interested in; I respect;
   P 2 : helps me; is good for everybody who feels helped by it; creates compassion;
   P 3 : 
4. I regret...

C 3 : being born; being a failure; (specific act with guilt); ever leaving my country; that people are stupid, bad (etc.);
C 2 : that only some people can think; weak (dishonest, rough) people; that I abandoned my family;
C 1 : wasted time; my ignorance of subject matter; that I'm not younger; that I didn't leave my country sooner; (mild dissatisfaction with present affairs); (specific acts or instances of bad judgement); not finishing my education; losing touch with my friends;
N : I was late this morning; I missed movie, play; not traveling more; to inform you...; (external social conditions not immediately affecting the subject, e.g. that there is hunger in the world);
P 1 : a man who cannot laugh, enjoy life, love; when people suffer; everything I haven't enjoyed yet;
P 2 : that I'm not on the beach now; when I have to interrupt a pleasant time;
P 3 : very little; nothing; I don't regret;

5. Marriage...

C 3 : is a mistake; is a disaster; is hell; is terrible;
C 2 : is monotonous; is boring; is difficult; can be hell; is full of conflicts; my is in trouble;
C 1 : is fine for some; is a lottery; is a risky business; is fragile; is fine but (+ criticism); is sometimes unsuccessful;
N : is an institution; a socially sanctioned institution (or any neutral definition); must be worked on; is in the future;
P 1 : offers much security; is what you make it; gives me comfort and stability; is part of my life; is helpful;
P 2 : is fulfilling for me; is a challenging endeavor; is fun; is good;
P 3 : has made me very happy; is wonderful; is excellent;

6. Money often...

C 3 :
C 2 : corrupts; haunts and possesses; controls people;
C 1 : creates conflicts, problems; limits one's options; I don't have; lacks; I spend faster than I earn; won't solve all my problems;
N : is not that important; is necessary; disappears; influences people's behavior;
P 1 : brings a sense of security; I think I have enough for my needs;
P 2 : gives an opportunity to (travel, buy nice things); comes in handy; gives some form of freedom; creates one's options;
P 3 :
7. What annoys me...

   C 3 : everything; is life; people; women; men;
   C 2 : the ignorance of Canadians, Czechs (or any specific group); my inability to work; insecurity; my future; my past; (generalized criticism of Canada and its customs and habits); feeling of isolation; can't express myself; is often myself;
   C 1 : is ignorance of others; some people; (kinds of people); lack of (money, education); (stereotyped prejudices); people (bearing traits generally accepted as negative);
   N : my diet; (weather); to cook; endless discussions; inefficiency; things breaking down; traffic; traits generally accepted as negative (e.g. laziness);
   P 1 : this test; I can't do (a hobby) every day; are usually not very important things;
   P 2 : I don't do; doesn't always annoy others; may be entertaining to others;
   P 3 : nothing;

8. Love...

   C 3 : scares me; is a dangerous trap;
   C 2 : I can't trust it; I lack; is superficial; always ends up indisillusion and tears; is often pretended;
   C 1 : what is it?; helps to overcome depression; is difficult; is difficult to share; often leads to pain;
   N : (any definition); is something other than sex; happens; exists; makes the world go round; I love flowers;
   P 1 : is important; everybody needs it; conquers; is the answer;
   P 2 : is beautiful; is a powerful magician; makes me happy; is essential; I love being in love;
   P 3 : is the best gift; is the most fulfilling feeling;

9. The system...

   C 3 : drives me crazy; is totally unbearable;
   C 2 : sucks; stinks; discriminates against me; is unjust; (any hard criticism in comparison to the old country);
   C 1 : is not working; is non-existent; is a jungle; bugs me;
   N : is a (definition); can never work for all people; is always in need of change; is always changing; exists; is only as good as those who are in it (who create it);
   P 1 : suits me; is important in any activity; works; here is easy to live with;
   P 2 : in thinking and logic is important; is a starting point for any solution; of democracy is superior to any other;
   P 3 :
10. Sometimes I feel...
   C 3 : very depressed; terrible loneliness; terrible homesickness; anxiety; hopelessness; useless;
   C 2 : lonely; angry; like yelling and screaming; sadness; like a motherless child; frustrated with people (or kinds of people);
   C 1 : fed up; stressed; frustrated; badly tired; fatigued; bored; lack of money;
   N : cold (warm); hungry; thirst; having chinese food; ready to change occupation; pain in my lower back; lazy;
   P 1 : energetic; like going to Hawaii; like doing (some hobby, e.g. playing tennis, listening to music, etc.);
   P 2 : happy and fortunate; so free; peace and content; so good;
   P 3 : the luckiest person in the world;

11. The crowd of people...
   C 3 : I can't tolerate; is unbearable;
   C 2 : terrifies me; I hate; makes me feel depressed; is dangerous; is stupid; stinks;
   C 1 : is frightening; is empty in thought; is to be avoided; I don't like; makes me nervous; bugs me;
   N : was (doing something, e.g. waiting for..., crossed the river); doesn't bother me; is sometimes fun, sometimes hassle;
   P 1 : is interesting; is stimulating; is fun;
   P 2 : can achieve a lot; I hang out with enjoys the things I do; always interests me; I like; is exciting;
   P 3 : can move mountains; turned out to be a crowd of my friends;

12. Power...
   C 3 : is always used against me; drives me crazy; is always misused; terrifies me;
   C 2 : is misused; is corrupting; bothers me; threatens me;
   C 1 : can be dangerous; can be corrupting; I'd like to have a little...;
   N : is (definition); rules; is important; is important for politicians; to the working class; to the people; I don't need it; is not everything;
   P 1 : can be useful; is better than powerlessness; is good to have;
   P 2 : attracts; moves (cars, economy, world); of intellect is amazing and marvelous;
   P 3 : 
13. I can't...

C 3: stand what others do to me; stand (conditions, environment); take as much as others can; keep worrying about the future; sleep nights; think straight; live this way anymore;

C 2: do much; get interested in social activities; concentrate; do (things necessary for social interactions and functioning, e.g. speak English; find or hold a job); forget (a specific person); accept my physical limitations; stand (a specific person or condition);

C 1: do something; be active at times; express my thoughts clearly; achieve the best desired outcome; change (something personal); manage my time very well;

N: believe that I'm 40; do (specific skills, not interfering with social functioning, e.g. play chess, swim, cook, ski); understand (something); change (something "objective", e.g. change the world);

P 1: complain; wait until I get married; do more than time permits; think what to say here; help everyone;

P 2: be two places at one time; believe this questionnaire will take only 20 minutes; get no satisfaction;

P 3:

14. The opposite sex...

C 3: is never to be trusted; always gets you; always (just) uses you; is no good;

C 2: is frustrating; is very difficult to get along with; is difficult to please; I lost all my interest; doesn't interest me at all;

C 1: remains a mystery; fun but (e.g. frustrating); doesn't interest me that much; has (too) many advantages;

N: means men (women) for me; wear (slacks, skirts, etc.); are equal; is just a variety of life on Earth;

P 1: is easy to get along with; is (usually) fun; I appreciate; is interesting; attracts me;

P 2: does something pleasant for/to me; is fun; is enjoyable;

P 3: fascinates me; thank goodness for them; is what makes this world colorful and beautiful;
15. Government...
C 3 : is a bunch of thieves and idiots; is intolerable; is my enemy #1;
C 2 : is bad; is disappointing; (any harsh criticism); back in old country (+ harsh criticism); I don't trust it;
C 1 : can be bad; can have too much power; is sometimes (+ mild criticism);
   is boring; should be better;
N : struggles; I don't know that much; I'm not interested; is (+ definition);
P 1 : is as good as people make it; is OK; has a tough job to do;
P 2 : our's still the best in the world, is the most liberated, is the most democratic, etc.
P 3 :

16. I struggle...
C 3 : with my life; with everybody / everything; to survive;
C 2 : with (specific "bad" people); with authorities; with my boss, teachers;
   (with language or other circumstances affecting social functioning);
C 1 : too much; to make it through a working day; to make both ends meet;
   financially; sometimes with my spouse;
N : with my struggles; with my laziness, impatience, etc.; with school;
   with my problems; with my cold;
P 1 : for balance in my life; to do better; to achieve my goals; with lack of time;
P 2 : very little - I'm quite happy;
P 3 :

17. My father...
C 3 : was an unbearable bastard; spoiled all my life;
C 2 : was never close to me; was a very difficult man;
C 1 : is good to me but (e.g. is difficult to get along with); was somewhat distant (cold, unemotional, etc); doesn't interest me;
N : is dead (alive); lives in Czechoslovakia (Edmonton, Vancouver); is a worker (or any profession); is tall (or any description);
P 1 : is (was) OK; is an intelligent man; is a hard worker; was always fair to me; I respect him;
P 2 : I love him; is close to me; is a nice person;
P 3 : is my best friend; is an excellent person; I always look up to him; set best example for me; most wonderful man I know;
18. If I had my way...
   C 3 : I would be dead; (somebody else) would be dead;
   C 2 : (unrealistic changes of the past, remorse and regret regarding the past,
   e.g. I would have never emigrated, I would have never had children, I
   would start my life all over again); I'd have got much better education;
   I'd ban...; people would compulsory...; all systems would be different;
   C 1 : there would be (+ changes in civic order, beaurocracy, some systems
   would be different); people would be kinder, nicer;
   N : I'd eat chinese food; the world would be cleaner; I'd be on the beach
   now; things would be as they are;
   P 1 : people would feel happier; I'd travel more often;
   P 2 : I have my way!; I'd have retirement from age 25 to 50 years; (any joke);
   P 3 :

19. My mind...
   C 3 : is all mixed up; is confused; I'm losing it; doesn't work;
   C 2 : wanders too much; is unclear; dwells on the past; is so afraid of the
   future (is confused as to the future); works against me; cannot
   concentrate; cannot rest;
   C 1 : sometimes wanders; keeps a little too busy; is not disciplined; (some
   minor preoccupation, e.g. is full of work problems all the time);
   N : is dull in the morning; is made up; is quite opinionated; is different
   than my appearance;
   P 1 : is my most precious faculty; is active; satisfies me;
   P 2 : is open to new ideas; is reliable; drives me; is OK; never ceases to amaze
   me; is good; is clear;
   P 3 : is very creative; is mine - and I'm glad that I have it;

20. At home...
   C 3 : I hate it*; where is it?*; it's · crazy place (or any strong negative
   statement); I never felt at home anywhere;
   C 2 : is the only safe place; I wish I were ( referring to the old country); is the
   only refuge;
   C 1 : was the happiest time of my life; (expressed superiority of home
   conditions, e.g. people are more friendly); (mildly negative statements,
   e.g. nothing ever happened; boring);
   N : in Vancouver; live my... (enumeration of family); (description of
   normal home activity); I like to make joint decisions; my life is well
   organized; is at home;
   P 1 : (a mildly positive statement without implying a strong desire to be
   home, e.g. I have / had a good time; I relax; I'm comfortable)
   P 2 : I have a lot of fun; I have fun with my (wife, husband, children)
   P 3 :
21. Nature...
   C 3 : is the only escape; helps me forget about people, about my trouble; scares me;
   C 2 : is messed up (by people); is slowly dying; should be...; is foreign to me;
   C 1 : is messed up (by people); is slowly dying; should be...; is foreign to me;
   N : is (+ definition); is endangered; smells nice; is all around us;
   P 1 : is soothing; is relaxing; gives me back my balance; it's nice to realize that we are part of it;
   P 2 : is wonderful; is a great source of joy; we have great times with my family outdoors;
   P 3 :

22. I am best when...
   General: To clarify the distinction between "C" and "P" responses: a response which has the implication that the individual feels adequate and secure with only a limited or restricted group of people whom he/she knows very well, is scored "C"; whereas a response which has merely the implication that he/she likes to be with friends, is a "P" response.

   C 3 : I am with inferiors; I never feel that way; I don't feel threatened;
   C 2 : alone; by myself; I don't worry about my problems; I don't feel incompetent; at home; I am in control;
   C 1 : things are working out; I'm exhibiting my talents; I have had a good night's sleep; alone with one person; I feel confident and accepted; with my family; I'm happy; I'm with people I know well;
   N : I'm working; I'm busy; I do things that give me joy; I'm fresh (calm, cool); I feel good; in the morning; on Friday night; I'm cuddled; under pressure; I am asleep;
   P 1 : I am with people I like; I'm with friends; having a party; on vacation; I'm challenged; doing (+a specific enjoyable activity); I am achieving and moving forward; I'm reaching my goals;
   P 2 : with people (general); I am me;
   P 3 :
23. Other people...

C 3 : laugh at me; are no good; are always against me; are out to get me; are a bunch of cheats (idiots, etc.);

C 2 : annoy me; aggravate me; irritate me; are not very impressed with me; are superior to me; are happier, better of, etc.; are inferior; don't worry as I do; I envy; don't care; don't understand me;

C 1 : don't bother me very much; are no better than I; have the same troubles; have their problems, too; can be boring;

N : do what they want; have their own minds; seem busy coming and going; are different; are sometimes nice; are sometimes good and sometimes bad; have fun; can be interesting;

P 1 : interest me; usually like me; are OK; get along with me; amuse me; can be very helpful in difficult times;

P 2 : are friendly; fascinate me; are so helpful;

P 3 : have always something to offer; are swell;

24. The living standard...

C 3 :

C 2 : here is miserable; is much worse than I expected; is very bad;

C 1 : is in magazines; falls daily; I don't like mine; should be... (e.g. the same for everyone, much higher); is low;

N : is (+ definition); is not that important for me; is mixed; is not the best measurement of human happiness; I'd like to have higher;

P 1 : is high; is fine; is OK;

P 2 : I enjoy; we are so fortunate; suits my needs;

P 3 :

25. What pains me...

C 3 : are my fears; are my anxieties; is everything;

C 2 : is to be humiliated; are selfish (cruel, jealous, etc.) people; (people who make one feel insecure, guilty, bad, incompetent, etc.); (psychosomatic complaints); is sadness; is homesickness; not being accepted;

C 1 : (physical complaints, e.g. my teeth, my back); people who brag; show-offs; my lack of willpower, laziness, etc.; injustice going on; (social or political conditions, nonpersonal in nature);

N : is low salary; is pain; unnecessary work; (foods);

P 1 : pains most people; I treat; I avoid; I have to overcome;

P 2 : is not important; nothing;

P 3 : small shoes; a blow in the solar plexus;
26. Sex is...

C 3: a trap; such a humiliation; I can't cope with it;
C 2: dirty; a way how to take advantages of others; confusing; I miss it so much; disturbing; I can't think about anything else; unfulfilling;
C 1: a cause of many problems, misunderstandings; not really important; doesn't interest me; what everybody like to change at some times; overrated;
N: (definition); good; we all need it; is important;
P 1: great; best; enjoyable; fulfilling; satisfying;
P 2: the most intimate experience;
P 3: 

27. People...

C 3: disturb me; worry me; never understand me; frighten me; are hateful; are always against me; I can't stand them;
C 2: annoy me; (strong criticism of people in general, e.g. destroy what they build, have a deplorable sense of value, lie, etc.); (indication of unfavorable attitude toward subject, e.g. think that I am snob, that I'm no good, don't trust me, don't accept me, etc.);
C 1: do not co-operate enough; usually don't say what they think; sometimes bore (annoy) me; can be got along with if you try; often create (their own) problems; (any mild criticism);
N: are people; are sometimes good and sometimes bad; work to achieve something\(^{a}\) inhabit the world\(^{a}\) are interesting to study (to watch); (stereotypes, e.g. are funny, are crazy);
P 1: are interesting; are nice; need one another; form society;
P 2: are good; I like; are always willing to help; are altruistic;
P 3: are wonderful; are the salt of the earth; always touch wet paint in spite of wet paint signs;
28. I hate...

C 3 : people; almost everyone; my anxieties and fears; to feel inferior or ridiculed; to be singled out; to be discriminated against; my parents; my wife / husband;

C 2 : cruel or selfish people; (a specific group of people, e.g. the rich, socreds, welfare recipients); this place; (referring to unfinished business from one's past, e.g. communists in Czech government); to be bossed around; my present social position;

C 1 : to wait on or for people; small details and routine existence; (generally accepted "bad traits", e.g. selfishness, intolerance, unkindness, lies); to be poor; rules; mediocrity;

N : (weather); (kinds of food); war and aggression; poluted air;

P 1 : political speeches; getting up in the morning; -it doesn't solve anything;

P 2 : none; nothing; nobody; the word "hate";

P 3 : warm beer;

29. Most women...

C 3 : hate their gender; take advantage of me; are unbearable; are not to be trusted; I hate them;

C 2 : are bitchy; are always angry; don't like me; avoid me; are always gossiping; don't understand me; don't wash themselves properly; are ugly;

C 1 : are not meeting their potential; are complicated; don't interest me; (have to improve, e.g. their self-confidence, their appearance); (any mild criticism);

N : wear jeans nowadays (skirts, etc.); have been little girls; are quiet doers; have similar interests; like nice dresses; like shopping; are thrifty;

P 1 : are capable; are intelligent; are beautiful; are pleasant;

P 2 : enjoy their roles; like me; think I'm nice; are comfortable with me; are interesting;

P 3 : make this world beautiful;
30. The world...
  C 3 : is all fucked up; is dangerous; is full of maniacs; (any catastrophic
statement, e.g. will be destroyed soon);
  C 2 : is confusing; is seriously endangered; is really a mess; worries me a lot;
is mad; is unjust;
  C 1 : has many problems; is quite confused right now; should (get rid of
nuclear power, achieve social justice, etc.); is a nice place but people
always spoil it;
  N : goes around; is a big place; is round; orbits the Sun; changes;
  P 1 : is OK; is to be explored; is improving;
  P 2 : is an exciting place; is wonderful; is so interesting;
  P 3 : is the best of all possible worlds;

31. I am very...
  C 3 : nervous; anxious; lonesome; confused; stupid; dissatisfied with myself;
  C 2 : dissatisfied with (e.g. Canada, my present situation, my husband or co­
workers); sorry that I'd ever left my country; insecure; self-conscious
of my weaknesses; lonesome (nervous) at times; resentful of (e.g. all
individual or group privileges);
  C 1 : inconsistent in my thoughts; susceptible to suggestions; sentimental at
times; uncomfortable at times; lazy; impatient; tired; (any mild self­
criticism);
  N : tired at times; tired of this test; sleepy, thirsty, hungry, cold, hot, etc.;
busy;
  P 1 : normal as far as I'm concerned; glad that (I did something);
interested in (activity); fond of my friends; important to myself;
patient;
  P 2 : lucky; alert; happy when (activity); intelligent; entertaining; happy to
be healthy;
  P 3 : happy; content; satisfied with my life; happy with my wife;

32. No one...
  C 3 : understands me; trusts me; likes me; is close to me;
  C 2 : will tell me what to do; will boss me around!; is in control; can (will)
help me);
  C 1 : is without problems; really understands another person; has an easy
life; is perfect but many think so;
  N : knows; can survive without oxygen; is perfect; is omnipotent; bothers
me;
  P 1 : is without strengths; of my friends disappointed me;
  P 2 : is as sweet as my wife / husband; really knows how happy I am;
  P 3 : ever lent me big money!;
33. Canada is...

C 3 : a country for bears, not people; an inhuman country of cold inconsiderate people;
C 2 : (any hard and absolutistic criticism); is a great disappointment for me; getting ruined by the idiots in government;
C 1 : nice but (mild criticism); still better than my old country;
N : is a large (young, rich, etc.) country; is becoming more conservative (more leftist, dependent on the U.S.A., etc.);
P 1 : my new homeland; a just and democratic country; beautiful;
P 2 : the most beautiful (democratic, free, enjoyable) country in the world;
P 3 :

34. I wish...

C 3 : I were never born; I could quietly die; I were dead;
C 2 : I could be so natural (confident, free) as other people; I could turn time back; I'd never left my country; I knew where I belong; I were settled and happy; I was able to utilize my intelligence (training, skills); I could forget; I were different; people weren't so cruel (selfish, dishonest, etc.);
C 1 : I was married; I could arrange my time better; I had more money; my folks lived nearer; for love and happiness; I didn't worry so much; for career and financial independence; I was smarter; I was better educated;
N : I were in Hawaii; (some person) would visit me; (something for betterment of society - nonconfrontative); fantasies were real; nothing; I weren't hungry; to everybody what he deserves; to stay healthy;
P 1 : to gain more knowledge; I could travel (learn, see) as much as possible; do more things; (to learn sports or social skills); my kids happiness and success;
P 2 : you success with this project; the best to everybody;
P 3 : I had a penny for every time I've thought "I wish";
35. My co-workers...
   C 3 : are a bunch of idiots; are malicious; are ganging up against me; are 
        unbearable (I can't stand them);
   C 2 : are difficult to get along with; boss me around; don't understand me; 
        are cold and selfish; are noncooperative;
   C 1 : are nice but (+ mild criticism, e.g. are often late, are sloppy); I miss 
        those in my old country; are not very well trained; don't work very 
        hard;
   N  : work with me; work hard; have different opinions, theories and 
        approaches;
   P 1 : are nice people; are OK; are fun; are knowledgeable;
   P 2 : like me; are friendly and helpful; are very considerate;
   P 3 : are supportive and loving people; are a joy to work with; are terrific 
        people; are a great team; are also my friends;

36. The laws we have...
   C 3 : are suffocating me; discriminate against me;
   C 2 : are unjust; are discriminating against large segments of society; are 
        good only for privileged classes; are oppressive;
   C 1 : seem fair till one has legal problems; for violent crimes are too liberal; 
        are too harsh; are ridiculous; tend to be selective; should be more 
        flexible;
   N  : are to be followed and respected; sometimes need broken; are 
        somewhat antiquated; we have inherited; are mostly fair; are good but 
        can be improved; I don't know; are conservative;
   P 1 : are just laws; are good; are reasonable; protect us;
   P 2 : are a good expression of our democracy;
   P 3 :
37. I secretly...

C 3 : wish he (anyone) were dead; I were dead; worry whether or not I'm crazy; hate my (parents, spouse);
C 2 : wish I were totally different; wish I could make friends (meet people, men, women) more easily; worry about (symptom); regret leaving my country; hope to be once happy;
C 1 : look out for myself first; envy; dislike people who (smoke, drink, are different than I); wish I had a job; wish I were (more creative, better educated, prettier); feel bad about my shoplifting as a teenager);
N : hope to travel more (to achieve better position at work, to get better salary, to change my job); have many ideas; have secrets; long for things;
P 1 : have ambitions of owning a Cadillac; wish I could play the piano (I could paint pictures); admire others; want to be a cowboy (politician, doctor); love Robert Redford; (have ice cream, read junk, eat junk, etc.);
P 2 : have no secrets; it wouldn't be a secret if I answered;
P 3 : don't dislike anyone; am proud to be (a father, professor, etc.); enjoy being married;

38. Men usually...

C 3 : are unbearable; take advantage of others; are not to be trusted;
C 2 : are chauvinist pigs; are always angry; don't like me; avoid me; don't understand me; are dirty; are looking for sex only; are boring; are manipulators; intimidate me; disappoint me;
C 1 : are insecure; are complicated; don't interest me; have to improve... (e.g. their self-confidence, appearance, etc.); are too (+ positive trait, e.g. hard working); have problems (e.g. in relating emotionally); (any mild criticism);
N : were little boys; wear pants; have similar interests; grow up; are taller (heavier) than women; (common beliefs with no expressed judgement, e.g. like to be dominant, enjoy position of power, are technically more skillful than women, etc.);
P 1 : are OK; are hard workers (achievers); are clever, intelligent, handsome, polite, etc.;
P 2 : are friendly; are like me; like me; I feel comfortable with; are good friends; enjoy my company;
P 3 : make life colorful, interesting, etc.; thanks goodness for them!
39. The future...

C 3: is in vain; I hate to think about; is black; is hopeless; I have no future; is a subject of my sleepless nights;

C 2: is what I'm worried about; is bleak; is frightening; depends on whether I shall be able to change my life;

C 1: offers me hope of eliminating my difficulties; perhaps has in store better things than the present;

N: is difficult to predict; is not clear; will tell; is yet to come; looms; of the country (of the world) depends on (+ non-catastrophic belief); must be planned; should be bright;

P 1: I hope to become good; I hope to be of more service to humanity; depends on the present; looks better than the past; is what I make it; has many options;

P 2: is bright; looks very bright; OK; is good; doesn't worry me; makes me always curious;

P 3: holds happiness; is full of promise; looks wonderful;

40. My greatest worry...

C 3: that I'm going crazy; will I ever get better?; will I ever be happy?; (sexual worries);

C 2: that I never (get a job, learn English, find friends, find a sexual partner, settle down, etc.); my wife (husband, parents) doesn't love me; I'll get terribly ill; is to lose my baby; is failing myself; is my future; is about being lonely; myself; not being smart enough; finding a job; being accepted;

C 1: is money; improving / completing my education; is my family's illness; is nuclear anihilation; is my son / daughter; finding a decent job; will disappear when I solve my problem;

N: (concern over society, or nonpersonal things, not catastrophic in its nature); that I'm getting bald; is my old car;

P 1: isn't that great; I don't need any "greatest" one, and those "normal" ones I can easily manage;

P 2: don't have any; can't think of one;
41. My mother...

C 3 : (extreme conflict, stated or implied failure of mother, e.g. is such a terrible bitch, never ever cared for me, was only interested in herself); is my biggest problems; lays guilt trips on me;
C 2 : can be very trying; is exasperating; is unhappy; suffers; doesn't understand me (my problems); is very sad; misses me badly; I miss her so much;
C 1 : worries; still thinks that I'm a child; asks me too many questions; has (some slightly irritating) habits; is ill;
N : died; lives far away; lives in Vancouver; likes bright colors (foods); is a strong woman; works hard; plays cards; often (sometimes) visits me;
P 1 : has a good sense of humour; is very supportive; is funny; is a very interesting (well educated) woman;
P 2 : is a caring and concerned person; loves me; is swell; is a great friend; is a wonderful woman;
P 3 : is (was) the best example for me; was the best influence and role model in my life;

42. Work is...

C 3 : a reason why I can't sleep; something I can't tolerate;
C 2 : crazy; not fulfilling; what I would like to have; is a drag; impossible to get; a stage for many of my conflicts;
C 1 : necessary to feel useful; a necessary evil; quite difficult; hard to get enough; not very interesting;
N : a way of earning living; necessary; important; (definition);
P 1 : interesting; stimulating; a challenge;
P 2 : enjoyable; rewarding; exciting; my hobby;
P 3 :
43. I...

C 3: am confused; am useless and hopeless; am unhappy; am sad; is what I'd like to find again;

C 2: am neglecting (have been forced to neglect) many important things (myself); cannot overcome / forget (+ ruminating); am living in the past (in my memories); (psychosomatic complaints, e.g. cannot sleep, always feel fatigued); struggle with environment; can't make friends; hope that things are cleared / pick up again; am dull; not too intelligent;

C 1: should be more optimistic (outgoing, open, friendly, etc.) I guess; talk too much; take things too seriously; (any mild criticism); (physical symptoms, e.g. often suffer from back pain); need more time to rest or relax; don't like my job;

N: wonder what the purpose of this questionnaire is; work at...; can't think of anything to say; am conservative; like / dislike (foods, music, books, etc.); am man (Canadian, worker, etc.);

P 1: am happiest when busiest; always try my best at new problems; (a specific ambition, e.g. want to finish my school this year); (mild self-praise, e.g. I care, do my job well, am friendly); love working part-time; like hiking (hobbies);

P 2: am OK; am easily satisfied; live a full life;

P 3: feel good; love my husband / wife; am happy, satisfied;

44. The boss usually...

C 3: is the biggest idiot; is unbearable; drives me crazy;

C 2: irritates me; bosses me around; doesn't understand me; ignores me; exploits me; ridicules me;

C 1: (any mild criticism, e.g. comes late, doesn't know / understand inferiors, is inconsistent, is distant, etc.);

N: tries; is my superior; I don't have any; sets the rules; is a man (woman); hires; holds power; serves under another boss;

P 1: is OK; is a good leader; is trustworthy; I get along with;

P 2: understands me; supports me / my ideas; allows me to do my work the way I see best; is a great co-worker (team player);

P 3: 
45. There are times...

C 3 : I think I'm going crazy; things seem hopeless; I wish I had not been born / I were dead; I become completely discouraged; I am afraid of everything and everybody; I wish it would all end; I wonder what's the use; (suicidal wishes, hopelessness);

C 2 : I can't sleep; I'm depressed; I'm lonely, unhappy; I regret (past events and behavior); I resent people's (bad traits, e.g. selfishness); nobody understands me; I can't connect with anybody; I worry; I want to scream; (psychosomatic symptoms, e.g. I get headaches);

C 1 : my wife (parents) worries too much; I can't catch up with all the work; I'm pressured for time; I'm stressed at work; I try too hard; I lose all my foresight; I overreact; I want to run away; I'm restless;

N : I feel like traveling; I wonder; both good and bad;

P 1 : I am happy; I like to... (any activity);

P 2 : I feel content and totally relaxed; I just simply enjoy life; I wonder who made up these tests;

P 3 :

46. My dreams...

C 3 : are not to wake up in the morning; are so bad I try not to think about them;

C 2 : are bad, haunting, frustrating; are usually situated in my old country; have never come through;

C 1 : can be scary; take a lot of my time; I don't dream; I don't have any dreams; are better than reality;

N : I don't remember them; are mine; are vivid; can't realistically come through; serve vital functions; are sometimes wild; are repetitive;

P 1 : will they be fulfilled?; are usually pleasant; are peaceful; are slowly materializing; are quite interesting;

P 2 : have mostly been fulfilled; are often fun; I like them;

P 3 :

47. Friends...

C 3 : always take an advantage of me; make me feel inferior;

C 2 : I can't make any; are back in my old country; don't understand me; I miss badly; are future enemies; always disappoint you;

C 1 : are sometimes quite a burden; needn't to be close, but it's nice; are hard to find; have their own problems (have also problems);

N : are important; are a necessity; have similar interests;

P 1 : are OK; are good; make life more enjoyable; are supportive;

P 2 : are heaven; I deeply treasure; are very dear to me;

P 3 :
48. Earning my living...
   C 3 : makes me mad; causes my depression;
   C 2 : I can barely make it; is a drag; as I do is demeaning; tell me - how?; is the biggest problem; is humiliating;
   C 1 : is a struggle; should not be a drudgery; isn't easy; can be very limiting; doesn't leave much free time;
   N : I work in the hospital; I pay my bills; by nursing and investments; is a necessity of life;
   P 1 : makes me feel good; is a feeling of accomplishment; is satisfying; I achieved good living standard;
   P 2 : is often fun; gives me a great pleasure; I actually do my hobby;
   P 3 :

49. My education...
   C 3 :
   C 2 : is my big problem; is the pits; was a waste of time and money; is more a burden now; will never get recognition here; is worth nothing here;
   C 1 : is incomplete; unfinished; low; hasn't helped that much; hasn't found its use here yet; doesn't satisfy me;
   N : is adequate; is grade 12; is sufficient; is important; costs me a lot of money;
   P 1 : was fun; serves me well; is useful; will only stop when I do;
   P 2 : is a source of my freedom; lets me do what I like;
   P 3 :

50. To have siblings...
   C 3 : around me would kill me; they are crazy assholes;
   C 2 : is a source of troubles; is good only when they are far away; gave me a lot of hard time;
   C 1 : can lead to troubles; is sometimes quite difficult; is trying;
   N : I don't have any; I wish I had; has both advantages and disadvantages; is part of my life; is to share responsibilities;
   P 1 : is to have fun; is to have support; is OK;
   P 2 : means to have friends for life; is a great joy; is a special gift and treasure;
   P 3 :
51. Acceptance is...

C 3: always phoney; is only a dream; is not to be trusted;

C 2: what I need; what I can't get; what worries me a lot; is my only motivation for doing things; is a proof that I can measure up (that I'm better than others); is unjust; is for nothing; is discriminatory;

C 1: difficult; difficult to give (take); is easier to get when you don't care about; what I need to be able to continue; is a consolation;

N: to accept; is important to everyone; global; is realizing what will be will be; is necessary;

P 1: acceptance and trust; is easy for me; always pleasing;

P 2: what it's all about; is one of the unspoken virtues of life; is the highest wisdom;

P 3: