A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF BALTIC NEWCOMERS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA AND AN EVALUATION OF THE METHODS AND TECHNIQUES USED

by

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The purpose of this study is to discover what the newcomers from the Baltic countries consider to be some of the more important situations to which they have to adjust in becoming settled in Canada, their feelings and attitudes in this regard, and some of the ways in which the adjustment has been made. In this connection "newcomer" refers to displaced persons and refugees who arrived in Canada after World War II.

In the course of this investigation various methods and techniques were tried. These included testing, the use of biograms, interviews, systematic field observations and a questionnaire. Sociometric methods, experiments and life histories were considered but not used due principally to the relatively small number of newcomers in the area under study and the need to maintain anonymity in order to establish rapport. These methods and techniques might be useful in studying the social adjustment of newcomers in larger areas having a larger newcomer population. Of the methods tried, interviews, systematic field observations and questionnaire replies proved most useful. No one method in itself was sufficient, but the combination seemed to yield adequate data for the study of the newcomers' problems. Interviews and field observations were carried out concurrently throughout the period of investigation. The questionnaire was used towards the end of the study, after rapport had been established, and was based on the data obtained through the use of interviews and field observations. It was administered to 62 newcomers from the Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The replies were useful in determining the relative significance of problems which had been discovered through the use of the other methods.

Some of the tension-situations to which the newcomers had to adjust arose out of difficulties encountered in understanding the Canadian culture and difficulties in connection with interpreting their own culture to Canadians. Since assimilation is a two-way process, the solving of the problem of interpreting their culture to Canadians encouraged the newcomers to endeavor to understand Canadian culture better. Out of 57 newcomers who replied to the question about wanting to interpret their culture to Canadians, 52 replied in the affirmative. However, when asked what opportunities they had, the replies were, "none", or "very little". Due to this study being made, the newcomers came to the attention of the Canadian Folk Society and were invited to take part in the Folk Festival, thus relieving in part the tension in this regard. Participation in the planning and program of the Festival resulted in greater interest, on the part of the newcomers, in Canadian citizenship.

The two problems which seemed most formidable, however, were those arising out of the Russian occupation of their homeland, which resulted in the deportation of friends and relatives; and the separation of families due to the preference given to single adults under the Canadian immigration policy and its administration.

Before any general conclusions can be drawn, however, concerning the social adjustment of the newcomers, it would be necessary to conduct the study on a much larger scale than that used in the present investigation. Further, it would be necessary to consider the viewpoint of Canadians as well as the newcomers before a final evaluation can be made.
PREFACE

My indebtedness to the newcomers in connection with this study is very great and cannot be entirely acknowledged. However, I would like to express my sincere thanks to those who lent or gave me books, and to those who helped with translations.

Special mention must be made of the kind assistance of the late Professor J. Raymond of the Department of Slavonic Studies of the University of British Columbia. Professor Raymond was himself a Lithuanian and a close friend of the newcomers. It was through his introductions that I was able to contact the Lithuanian newcomers. Professor E. Leimanis of the Department of Mathematics kindly made available to me his books about Latvia.

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H. G. F.
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A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF BALTIC NEWCOMERS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA AND AN EVALUATION OF THE METHODS AND TECHNIQUES USED
A. The Problem

The purpose of this study is to discover what the newcomers from the Baltic countries consider to be some of the more important situations to which they have to adjust in becoming settled in Canada, their feelings and attitudes in this regard, and some of the ways in which the adjustment has been made. This process of adjustment could be analyzed from either the viewpoint of the receiving society, the people living in Canada in this instance, or from the viewpoint of the incoming people, the newcomers themselves. To obtain the most complete information about the process of adjustment, both points of view might be used. However in the present study the approach used was that of asking the newcomers themselves about their problems of becoming established in Canada. In some ways this approach is analogous to that of a doctor asking a patient, "Where do you feel the pain?". In like manner the displaced persons and refugees from the Baltic countries were asked, "What are your major social problems? Where do you most strongly feel the pain of social adjustment to a new culture?" This information was sought because it might prove useful in locating the cause of the trouble and aid in the selection of treatment. Further, it might add to the general body of theory about the causes of social tension. True, the answers are not always directly connected with the root of the trouble, just as in the case of the patient. They are nonetheless useful in that they start and help to direct inquiry, and the connection may prove to be very direct.
It is recognized that many persons in Canada know a great deal about the problems of the newcomers and how they are adjusting to life in Canada. For example, employers of newcomers, workers in voluntary organizations such as the Y.W.C.A. and church groups, and government officials in the National Employment Service could contribute a great deal of valuable information in this regard. Obtaining this information is, however, a study in itself and has not been attempted in the present investigation. Instead this study has been confined to information from the newcomers themselves concerning their social adjustment.

In the course of studying the social adjustment of the Baltic newcomers, various methods and techniques of social research were used to find out which combination of methods would likely be most useful in similar studies. An attempt is made to evaluate the usefulness, in the present investigation, of the methods tried.

B. Reasons for Selecting the Baltic Newcomers

The displaced persons and refugees from the Baltic countries -- Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania -- have been dealt with in this study as a single unit although they represent three quite distinct cultures. (See Appendix, pp.122-27. ) The main reason for doing this is that there seems to be emerging among the Baltic newcomers in the area studied, an awareness of the larger social-geographical unit, the Baltic peoples and countries. This is indicated in the following statement made by a member of the executive of the Lithuanian Association. (See Appendix, p.132):

"Many times fate has given us (the Baltic States) the same burden; many times fate has given us a common destiny -- to participate in events of good fortune and misfortune, in days of joy and terror. This fact is underlined by bonds of geography and policy".
Similarly, the president of one of the Baltic Associations said:

"We three countries have different origins, languages and cultures, but we are small in number here and Canadians speak of us as the Baltic States, the Baltic people. It is better this way — the Baltic people."

Secondly, there seems to be a basic similarity in the situations to which the newcomers from the Baltic countries have to adjust. For instance, education was highly valued in all three countries but high educational qualifications seemed to deter their selection by Canada and other countries. In this connection, the Deputy Director, Public Information, for the International Refugee Organization, states that, "As far as professional people are concerned their resettlement is very unsatisfactory and it can be stated that, to this day, (March 1, 1949) the "embargo on brains" is by no means being lifted. (See Appendix, p. 136)

The people of the Baltic countries won their educational opportunities after centuries of struggle against foreign conquerors and thus value them highly. An indication of the high value placed on education was the tremendous expansion in educational programmes during the period of freedom in the Baltic countries, between World War I and World War II. (See Appendix, p. 125) This seeming preference on the part of Western countries for relatively unskilled immigrants rather than highly educated persons, is a situation to which the Baltic newcomers must adjust, regardless of whether they come from Latvia, Lithuania or Estonia.

While the situations to which the Baltic newcomers have to adjust seem similar, it does not follow that the adjustment will necessarily be similar. Although in the course of this study many similarities were evident, there were also some differences noted. The numbers from each of the Baltic countries studied were not sufficiently large to enable any conclusions about the significance of the differences in
in adjustment. However, there is some suggestion of basic personality differences between the three cultural groups, which would have a bearing upon their adjustment to the various social situations considered. For example, the Estonians seem to be more ruggedly independent than either the Latvians or Lithuanians.

A third reason for selecting the Baltic newcomers was that the investigator had already made a considerable study of the cultural history of the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians. In doing a study of a cultural group, a knowledge of their cultural history is likely to prove indispensable in understanding their adjustment to difficult social situations. Just as the clinical psychologist needs to know something about the cultural environment in which his client was raised, as well as the events leading up to the client's present adjustment to difficult situations, to the social psychologist, in studying cultural groups, needs to know the cultural background of the group studied.

Thus, since the newcomers themselves refer to their common problems and destiny "underlined by bonds of geography and policy", since many of the situations to which they have to adjust seem similar, and since the investigator had considerable knowledge of their cultural history, against which present adjustment could be analyzed, the Baltic newcomers were chosen as subjects for this study.

C. Explanations of the Use of Some Terms

1. "Newcomer"

"Newcomer" is a term used by staffs in voluntary organizations such as the Y.W.C.A., the Y.M.C.A., and church groups, and some government officials to designate European immigrants who have
arrived in Canada since the end of World War II. Thus the term "newcomer" includes "refugees" and "displaced persons" as defined below. For the purpose of the present study no distinction is made between "refugees" and "displaced persons" and the inclusive term "newcomer" is used.

2. "Displaced Person"

The term "displaced person" is used as defined by the International Refugee Organization (21, p.806), "displaced person is intended to apply to an individual who has been deported from his country of nationality or of former habitual residence to undertake forced labor, or has been deported for racial, religious or political reasons".

3. "Refugee"

The term "refugee" is used as defined by the International Refugee Organization (21, p.806), and is thus "intended to apply to a person who has left or who is outside of his country of nationality, or of former habitual residence, and who is a victim of the Nazi, fascist or folangist regimes, or who was considered a refugee before the outbreak of the Second World War, for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion".

4. "Social Adjustment"

The term "assimilation" or the currently more popular "integration" is not used in the study because generally speaking changes in ideational and action patterns are relatively slow, and likely to take longer than the period during which the present investigation was made. Assimilation, according to Katz and Schanck (11,151) is
the term used "when the effect of social interaction is the exchange of ideational and action patterns". Thus the term "social adjustment" is used in this study to describe the more immediate reactions of the newcomers to situations as they find them in Canada.

The term "adjustment" has been variously defined by authors using it. Eaton (7, p. 75) for instance, considers some of the ways in which the term has been used. In the present study "social adjustment" is used to cover the whole range of attitudinal, emotional and overt changes which are mentioned by the newcomers as ways in which they have tried to solve their problems, or ways in which they have tried to adjust to situations as they have found them in Canada. The situations considered are social in that they involve inter-relationships with Canadians, fellow newcomers and kinfolk who have been in Canada for some time. Since this study is in the field of social psychology the emphasis is placed upon the general ways adjustment is made to the various social situations. For example, 52 out of 57 newcomers said that they wanted to interpret their culture to Canadians. (Chapter V, p. 80) The emphasis is placed upon the expressed felt need of the 52 rather than the preference of the 5 not to interpret their culture to Canadians. Further, consideration is given to how this need was somewhat satisfied for the majority of the newcomers.

D. The Procedures Used and Presentation of Conclusions

During this investigation various methods and techniques were tried or considered and not used. These are dealt with in Chapter II. On the whole, interviews, field observations and questionnaire replies were most useful. A full description of the use of these methods and
conclusions about the social adjustment of the newcomers based upon data obtained thereby is given in Chapters III, IV and V respectively. In the course of the study, interviews and field observations were used concurrently throughout the whole period. A questionnaire was used towards the end of the research period to determine the relative significance of the newcomers' problems and solutions of them. This questionnaire was based on data obtained through the use of the interviews and field observations.

The conclusions concerning the social adjustment of the Baltic newcomers were the result of a combination of methods rather than any one particular method. However, they have been considered first in connection with that method which seemed to elicit the most information about the newcomers' social adjustment in any particular instance. For instance, through interviews it was found that newcomers felt an injustice was being committed by the Canadian people through their Government in giving preference to the immigration of single persons rather than family groups. This attitude was discussed, then, in connection with the interview method. These conclusions were later brought together in a summary chapter, Chapter VII.

A summary of conclusions concerning the usefulness of the various methods and techniques tried in the course of this investigation has been presented in Chapter VI. It would seem that no one method or technique is likely to be adequate to study the social adjustment of newcomers, but rather that a combination of methods and techniques is necessary. The actual combination will likely vary for different groups studied, and will be determined to a considerable extent by the particular characteristics of those groups.
This investigation has been in the nature of a pilot study. Since there have been relatively few studies of immigrant assimilation in Canada, (see Chapter II, p. 9), and fewer of the assimilation problems of the newcomers who have arrived since World War II, this investigation has dealt with the broad pattern of social adjustment, rather than dealing with any segmented aspect of it. On the basis of this study certain hypotheses as to the psychological bases for the social adjustment of the Baltic newcomers have been suggested. Subsequent studies are needed to test their validity. The numbers of Baltic newcomers in the area where the study was made were too few to enable a statistically reliable investigation of these hypotheses. Suggestions for further research, arising out of this study have been discussed in Chapter VIII.
A. Studies of Immigrant Assimilation in Canada

On the whole there have been relatively few studies made in Canada of immigrant assimilation. The majority of these studies have been in the fields of economics, political science and history. There have been a few studies in sociology which give some consideration to the psychological aspects of adjusting to a new culture. For instance, The Prairie Settlement Studies by Dawson (5, 6) and Younge (6) are sociological investigations made after the immigrants had been in Canada a considerable number of years and thus could not take into adequate account the psychological costs of adjusting to a new culture. In many instances the ethnic groups investigated, such as the Mennonites, have not adjusted to Canadian ways but have retained their Old World customs. To this extent they are perhaps not subjected to the psychological tensions experienced by immigrants who do try to adapt to life in Canada. This limits the usefulness of these studies in understanding the tensions to which the newcomers are subjected. These studies were nonetheless useful in the present study in that the research indicated useful methods. Field work included the use of interviews, field observations and the obtaining of life histories of immigrants who held or had held positions of leadership in the community. England's (8) study of the assimilation of Central Europeans was also made some years after the immigrants had become settled. The major part of the material for
that study was obtained through fairly detailed reports from teachers
in the districts where the immigrants were settled. Some of the psycho-
logical problems arising from cultural assimilation, especially those of
the children who are torn between the old and new cultures, are discussed.
Reynold (18) investigated the social and economic adjustment of the
British immigrant and considers some of the situations to which they
have to adjust during the early years of their arrival. He too considers
some of the psychological aspects of the problem of assimilation. More
recently Lyensko (15) has studied the assimilation of the Ukrainians.
LaViolette's (12) study is concerned not so much with the social adjust-
ment of the immigrant Japanese as the Japanese evacuated from British
Columbia during the war.

None of the foregoing studies were concerned primarily with
the psychological aspects of assimilation. In contrast, this study is
an attempt to investigate the qualitative aspects of the newcomers' adjustment to life in Canada.

B. Studies of the Social Adjustment of Displaced Persons

To date the social adjustment of the displaced persons in
Canada and the United States has been studied primarily by social
workers, using for the most part the case-work method. One of the
earliest studies was that by Newton (16) of the School of Social Work
at the University of Toronto. The case-work method was used with
sixty-six women. Rawley (17) used this method to study the adjustment
of Jewish displaced persons, Sterba (19) and Althoff (2) to study the
emotional problems of displaced children.
The case-work method was not considered for use in this study because it seemed better suited to an investigation in the field of social work than in the field of social psychology.

C. Factors in the Selection of Methods and Techniques Used

1. Generally speaking the methods selected to be tried in the present study and those considered for use were based upon methods and techniques which other investigators have found useful in studying the social adjustment of immigrant groups. In this connection studies of the assimilation of immigrants in the United States as well as those in Canada were used.

2. During the summer of 1948 the investigator had unsuccessfully tried to study the social adjustment of 600 Displaced Persons in domestic employment in 9 selected Canadian cities. This experience influenced the selection of methods in the present study, in that there was a tendency to avoid methods which had been unsuccessful previously. In the earlier study, letters, questionnaire replies, budgets kept by the newcomers and interviews were to have been the main sources of data.

D. Methods and Techniques Used or Considered

1. Methods Considered but Not Tried
   a. Life Histories

   Many research workers have used life histories in the study of the social adjustment of immigrant groups. The work of Thomas and Znanieck (20) in studying the assimilation of the Polish peasant in America has shown conclusively the usefulness of this method in assimilation studies. Of the fore-mentioned
studies of Canadian immigration, all but England (8) made use of life histories as one method of obtaining data. In England's study questionnaires to teachers were the chief method used.

Reasons for not trying to obtain life histories:

(1) The investigator had found in the previous study that newcomers seemed reluctant to divulge information concerning their pasts. The reason for this seemed to be the fear that the information might come to the attention of the Russians and thus bring hardships on relatives in the occupied countries. Further, the newcomers had told the Government officials about their background during their screening and felt that the Government should decide whether this material should be made available for study purposes.

(2) The Department of Labour and the National Employment Service were contacted during the previous study to obtain information from their records, but the decision then was to keep the material confidential.

(3) The request to the Government was not repeated, since it had been decided to secure information from the standpoint of the newcomers themselves in the present study.

(4) It was decided not to risk losing rapport with the newcomers by probing into their past. However, in the course of interviewing many volunteered information concerning their life at home and in Germany.
b. Sociometric Methods

At the outset of this study it was planned to use a sociometric method to study the social adjustment of: (1) Baltic newcomers working in institutions; and (2) Baltic children attending school.

Reasons for not trying to use this method:

(1) There were too few Baltic newcomers in any one institution to make the study worthwhile.

(2) There were few Baltic children, and they were scattered throughout the city. They seemed to be happy, played well with Canadian children and their parents were pleased with their progress at school. The situation might have been different had there been a large group at any one school, but in the circumstances it did not seem worth the expenditure of time.

(3) It was thought that this method would be particularly suitable in studying the adjustment of the children in the classroom because there would not likely be loss of rapport through loss of anonymity, since school children take tests of various kinds. Similarly, the loss of anonymity among girls working in institutions seemed less likely important to maintaining rapport than in other circumstances. For example, the girls frequently work in pairs or groups and thus would not likely object to "choosing a partner". However, in the majority of situations maintaining anonymity of the subjects seemed important to maintaining rapport, which restricts the use of sociometric methods among newcomers.
c. **Experimental Method**

During the large-scale immigration of Displaced Persons, the experimental method could have been used in a number of instances to study the social adjustment of the newcomers, so that their integration into Canadian life might be accomplished with less mental and emotional strain than otherwise. For example, in instructing the Displaced Persons about Canadian citizenship, it would have been possible in the camps to set up experimental situations to determine which methods were the most successful.

At the outset of this investigation the experimental method was to have been used to determine whether there is a significant difference in the social adjustment of families of Baltic newcomers settled as a family group, and those where the husband or young single member preceded the family group by at least a year.

Reasons for not trying this method:

1. The relatively few Baltic families in British Columbia made it impossible to carry out such a study.
2. At the time of the study the total number of Baltic newcomers in the area was approximately 200. This relatively small number made it difficult to obtain groups for experimental purposes.
2. Methods and Techniques which were Tried but which did Not Prove Useful

a. Biograms

Abel (1) developed the biogram as a technique in the study of social change, and an aid to the discovery of patterns underlying social behaviour. He points out that they are to be distinguished from autobiographies and life histories. As a means of securing biograms, a prize contest (1, p.112) is discussed.

It was decided to use the biogram in this study since it could be limited to whatever time the newcomers felt they could spend on the essay; it allowed the individuals to choose whatever situations they wished to discuss; and was thus likely to elicit material useful in the study of the social adjustment of the newcomers. (For a copy of the biogram used, see Appendix p.117.) To ensure anonymity as far as the investigator was concerned, and thus to encourage replies, a system was worked out whereby essays could be given to representatives from the three Baltic groups. When the contestant turned his essay in to one of these representatives, he was to receive a number, a duplicate of which was to be attached to the essay.

Only three papers were submitted.

Reasons why the biogram did not prove useful:

(1) Many of the newcomers seemed reluctant to put down on paper anything about problems they had experienced in becoming settled in Canada.
(2) Some thought that the essay topic should be about some particular problem selected by the investigator.

(3) Most of the newcomers write a great many letters and did not want to afford the time to write an essay.

b. Testing

Two factors limited the usefulness of tests in the present study: (1) the language difficulty; and (2) the newcomers' limited amount of time when together in groups. Because of the language difficulty time-saving paper and pencil tests could not be used. Projective techniques were precluded because of the length of time required for their administration, and in some cases because of the special training needed in order to administer them, such as the Rorschach.

The thematic apperception technique was used in the study of culture-personality relations by Henry (10). Clark (5) used it with a group. In the present investigation it was tried as a group test with written instead of oral responses.

Reasons for selecting the TAT:

(1) The Baltic newcomers seemed interested in pictures, drawing and painting. It was thought that it would be easier to secure their interest in the TAT than in the tests which require manipulation of parts.

(2) Many of the Baltic people seemed to have a great deal of imagination and to be very creative. This trait is evident throughout the cultural history of the Baltic peoples. (See Appendix, p. 127)
(3) Since to obtain the greatest response to the pictures the stories had to be in the newcomers' own language, written instead of oral replies were used. This enabled them to express themselves freely and at the same time made it possible to keep the record for later translation. Even if the TAT had been administered to individuals rather than a group, it would likely have been necessary to have replies written in order to overcome the language difficulty.

Administration of the TAT

(1) One of the classes taking lessons in English was invited to the investigator's home for dinner. In thus separating the group from the main gathering it was possible to control the conditions under which the TAT was administered to a greater extent, than if it were administered to the group as a whole.

(2) Care was taken to follow the directions of the manual, with the exception that instructions were given to a group instead of an individual, and the responses were written instead of oral.

(3) It was administered to the four members of the class who arrived. This was about half the number attending the class at that time.
Reasons why the TAT was not successful:

(1) The class was separated from the main group and therefore the attendance was less than usual.

(2) The four newcomers who took the test wanted to leave early to join the others at the regular meeting place and so the test had to be cut short.

(3) Three enjoyed the test and found it easy to write. The fourth found it very difficult to write stories about the pictures and the enthusiasm of the others seemed to make it difficult for her to concentrate.

3. Methods and Techniques which were Tried and Found Useful

a. The Interview

The interview is generally regarded highly as a tool in social research. It was used by Dawson (5, 6), England (8), LaViolette (12), Lyensko (15), Reynold (18) and Younge (6) in the fore-mentioned studies of assimilation in Canada. Young (23, p. 174) states that,

"It (the interview) is the most constantly used of all techniques employed in social surveys, social research, and various fields of social work. Whether a combination of (methods) is used in field exploration, the interview may constitute in each instance the major or at least the supplementary tool to be employed in securing information."

Throughout this study a relatively non-directed type of interview was used. That is, the choice of topics to be discussed during the interview was left up to the newcomer, but throughout the interview the investigator noted the statements which seemed to indicate the newcomers adjustment to life in
British Columbia. No notes were taken during the interview because it was thought that the newcomers would be less free in their discussion of problems if notes were taken. However, to minimize errors due to the faulty memory of the investigator, full notes were written soon after the interview.

The interview was used both as a means of securing information and imparting information to the newcomers. On the whole this type of interview seemed to aid in establishing and maintaining rapport. Giving information about some aspect of Canadian citizenship, for example, seemed to make the newcomers feel freer to discuss their problems of adjusting to Canadian ways of thinking and acting.

A question and answer type of interview, following a printed outline, was thought likely to deter the newcomers' discussion of their problems. The newcomers had already undergone many such interviews in the course of their screening and seemed to dislike them.

The limitations and usefulness of the interview in the present study are discussed at greater length in Chapter III.

b. Field Observation

In almost any social research dealing with immigrant assimilation, it is necessary to use field observations at some stage because it is the only way that certain data can be obtained. For example, it was used in the fore-mentioned studies of Canadian immigrant assimilation.
Field observations used in this study were for the most of the "participant observer" type. For example, during the regular weekly meetings for newcomers at the Lutheran Hostess House the investigator had supper with the newcomers, took part in the worship service, played games, and talked with the various members during the course of the evening. Throughout an attempt was made to remain objective in what was observed and reported. Lindeman (13) states that,

"Participant observation enables one to penetrate behind the thinking, feeling and acting of the group. It facilitates the 'sensing' and prepares the learning of the social atmosphere, the total social setting, the inter-relations between the single members and the whole group..."

Similarly, the procedures discussed by Bennett (3) in a survey of techniques and methodology in field work are characterized by an emphasis upon participant observation.

The investigator's previous knowledge of the cultural history of the Baltic peoples proved useful in field observations. The newcomers seemed impressed by the evidence of the investigator's interest in their cultural history and consequently were anxious to interpret proceedings to make the observations more meaningful. Frequently an interview was used before and after an important occasion to ensure that the significance of what was observed was in accordance with what the newcomers reported.

To control errors arising from subjectivity on the part of the investigator, reports were checked with other observers at the gatherings.

The use of field observations is discussed at greater length in Chapter IV.
c. The Questionnaire

The questionnaire has been used extensively in the study of the social adjustment of immigrants. England (9), for example, obtained most of the data for his study through the use of the questionnaire. However, in his study the questionnaire was used with the teachers in districts where immigrants had settled and not with the immigrants themselves. In this investigation it was used with newcomers themselves.

The educational level of the immigrants is an important factor in determining when questionnaires can be used with immigrants themselves. For example, many of the immigrants whose assimilation England studied could not read nor write, whereas the average number of years of school completed by the newcomers in this study was 11 years, with a range of from 5 to 22 years of schooling.

The questionnaire was used in this study towards the end of the research period, after rapport had been established with the newcomers. A questionnaire used at the beginning of a previous study seemed to prevent the establishing of rapport in a great many cases.

The questionnaire replies were used to supplement material obtained through interviews and field observations. The questions asked covered the problems which the newcomers had mentioned most frequently during interviews and which through field observations seemed important to the adjustment of the newcomers to life in Canada.

The use of the questionnaire is discussed in greater detail in Chapter V.
E. Some Conclusions About Methods and Techniques in the Study of the Social Adjustment of Newcomers

1. Some of the methods and techniques considered but not tried might prove useful in studying the social adjustment of newcomers in areas where larger newcomer populations exist. For example, the relatively few newcomers in the area under investigation restricted the use of sociometric methods.

2. Tests in the study of the social adjustment of newcomers are likely to be difficult to administer in the case of adults, although they might be useful in the study of the social adjustment of newcomers' children. Administration of tests with adults would be facilitated if one of the periods of regular instruction in English were used, but it would be necessary to obtain the co-operation of school authorities, the teacher and newcomers before such time could be made available.

3. Methods and techniques which ensure the anonymity of the subjects will probably be most successful in securing the co-operation of the newcomers.

4. Interviews and field observations are likely to prove useful in the study of the social adjustment of newcomers. Other research workers seem to have found these methods of value in the study of the assimilation of immigrants and they were useful in the present study.

5. Questionnaires are not always successful in obtaining information from newcomers. They were, however, useful in some circumstances. For example, if rapport is well established, and if the newcomers have sufficient education to understand the
questionnaire, the replies might be of value in a study of immigration. In this connection, it is not necessary for the newcomers whose social adjustment is being studied to have a command of the English language, since the questionnaires can be translated into their own languages. In this study, however, the questionnaires were printed in simple English and when needed, translated into one of the Baltic languages.

6. Biograms might be useful in the study of the social adjustment of the newcomers, although they did not prove useful in this study. For their successful use it is perhaps necessary that they receive the sponsorship of some person or institution with high prestige rating insofar as the immigrants are concerned. A worthwhile cash prize might also act as sufficient incentive to secure data useful in the understanding of the newcomers' problems through this technique.

7. Life histories have long been recognized as useful in the study of the assimilation of immigrants, as indicated in the pioneer work of Thomas and Znaniecki (22).

8. In the study of the social adjustment of newcomers no one method or technique is likely to be adequate. Studies of immigrant assimilation in Canada and the United States usually employ a number of methods and techniques. In this investigation the combination used was that of interviews and field observations conducted concurrently throughout the research period and a questionnaire administered towards the end of the period, the questions of which covered the problems discovered through interviews and field observations.
A. The Use of the Interview in the Present Study

In the course of this study 39 interviews with newcomers were held, of which 34 were conducted in the homes of the newcomers and 5 in the home of the interviewer. In 11 instances two persons were interviewed during one interview. The interviews were usually held during the evening and lasted on an average of slightly over 2 hours. Many shorter conversations were held with newcomers during the weekly meetings or at special gatherings, but time did not permit the systematic recording of these conversations.

Interviews were used at all stages of this investigation. At the outset they were used to discover whether the newcomers found adjustment to life in Canada easy or difficult, to determine what their problems were and what they were doing about them, and generally their attitude to life in Canada. This information was used in the construction of the questionnaire to determine the relative significance of the newcomers' problems. Interviews were used following the presentation of the questionnaire to supplement and interpret the information so gained.

Interviews were used similarly in connection with field observations, to enable the observer to gain greater insight into the significance of the events in relation to the newcomers' becoming settled in Canada.
B. The Form of the Interview Used

The form of the interview used was determined, primarily, by the following considerations:

1. This study deals with information obtained from the newcomers themselves and not with that obtained from government officials, employers, or secretaries of such organizations as the Y.W.C.A. Therefore as a general rule a rigid outline of questions was not used in the present study whereas it was used in a previous study when interviewing government officials, employers and secretaries of volunteer organizations.

2. During the process of screening and placement in jobs, newcomers have experienced many interviews where the questions followed a rigid outline. The investigator, from previous research with the newcomers, felt that they resented this type of interview. Therefore a relatively non-directed interview technique was used.

3. In the present study not only factual information dealing with the actions of the newcomers, but also information about their feelings and attitudes seemed important. While factual information, such as years of schooling, previous job experience, can best be obtained in interviews where direct questions are used, the relatively non-directed interview seemed best for the present purpose.

4. Since the newcomers seem to have relatively little free time, the question-answer type of interview, which wastes least time, would seem to be the most appropriate. However, in the case of girls in domestic employment, they do have free time during their evenings at home, although they usually have but one afternoon
and evening and every other Sunday off, away from their home. By conducting the interviews at the newcomers' homes, therefore, it was possible to use a relatively non-directed type of interview.

5. The interview was used both as a means of securing information from the newcomers and imparting information to them. On the whole this type of interview seemed to aid in establishing and maintaining rapport. For example, the giving of information about some aspect of Canadian culture seemed to make the newcomers feel freer to discuss their problems of adjusting to life in Canada. A case in point is that of a student inquiring about the course of studies to obtain a medical degree and indicating in the course of discussion an unfulfilled desire to gain a better command of the English language. (See p. 29)

6. A more directed type of interview was used during the later stages to obtain particular information to supplement that obtained through earlier interviews, field observations and questionnaire replies.

C. Conducting the Interview

1. Arranging for the Interview

a. Interviews were arranged in advance by telephone, a letter or during conversation at one of the regular meetings. Prior arrangement seemed to aid in the establishing of rapport with the newcomer.

b. The presidents and most of the members of the executives of the Baltic newcomers' associations were interviewed. Contacts with other newcomers were made through them. This
seemed to aid in gaining the co-operation of the newcomers interviewed.

c. Contacts were also made through persons working with the newcomers, such as church workers and secretaries in the Y.W.C.A.

d. Contacts were made in a few instances through newcomers who were interviewed.

2. Measures to Reduce some of the Limitations of the Interview

a. Errors arising through Faulty Memory of the Interviewee

On the whole errors from this source were of minor importance in this study, since it deals with the newcomers' present adjustment to Canadian culture.

b. Errors arising through the Faulty Memory of the Interviewer

(1) No notes were taken during the interview. It was thought by the interviewer that notes taken during the interview would detract from rapport and influence the selection of topics which the newcomers would feel free to discuss. Subsequent use of the questionnaire in part bore this out. One of the newcomers returning a partially filled-out form wrote, "There are some questions, I don't want to answer them...I always remember that 'You can think and talk all you like, but never put that on the paper'." (See p. 82)

(2) Notes were written in shorthand after the interview.
(3) The length of the interviews (approximately 2 hours) made it difficult to record all of the details of conversation. On the whole, however, what was lost in this way seems to have been more than balanced by the freer discussion of a wide range of topics.

c. Errors arising due to Language Difficulties

In all cases interviews were conducted in English. The investigator spoke none of the Baltic languages and some of the Baltic newcomers interviewed had but a slight command of the English language. This tended to eliminate finer shades of meaning in discussing any problem, but did not seem to limit unduly the range of topics talked about in the course of the various interviews. Under the circumstances, in all likelihood the significance of some of the less obvious emotional responses were lost, but the stronger emotional responses concerning any problem noticed. For example, there could be little doubt of the newcomers' deep emotional attachment to their homelands. Despite the handicap of language, the interview was particularly useful in this study.

d. Errors arising due to Different Cultural Interpretations of Words or Actions

An example will serve to illustrate this point. At outdoor events in Canada, clapping, cheering and whistling are usually associated with approval. Not so in Latvia. "In our country to whistle is very bad. Only when we do not like something very much do we whistle", said one of the members of the executive of the Latvian Association.
To overcome errors of this kind the above example was frequently cited during interviews. However, the newcomers' lack of understanding of Canadian usage restricted their recognition of such different cultural interpretations.

3. The Interview
   a. At the beginning of the first interview, the paper on the Cultural History of the Baltic Peoples (see Appendix, pp.122-27) was frequently used to establish rapport and to serve as a beginning for discussion. Out of this discussion of the problems of the Baltic peoples in the past, consideration turned to life in Canada compared with that in the Baltic countries. In the course of this discussion tension producing situations in adjusting to Canadian ways became apparent.
   b. No attempt was made to guide the discussion of problems, except during the later stages of research when supplementary material was being sought.

D. Illustrations of the Use of the Interview
   1. An excerpt from a relatively non-directed type of interview, which illustrates material obtained through this type of interview, which probably could not be obtained through a direct question type of interview, is given below.

"Newcomer:

'I see some people in Canada know about the Communists. You have the spy trials...In Canada (there) is some talk of preventing the spread of Communism. Communism feeds on insecurity. If the worker feels that he may be laid off any day, he will be insecure. Let the
employer keep the worker on pay when the market is slack. Why fire him for two or three weeks? He has to keep his machinery. The worker, is he not so important? He would get better work from his employees too. I give a personal example in Sweden. I arrive from the D.P. camp with nothing, only what I have on my back. Did they ask first, 'What work can you do?' No. First they took me to my living quarters. Then they gave me new — not used, but new — clothing. They gave two pairs of shoes, pants, shirts and so one can change clothes. They give $20 in the pocket. Cash gift and no one said anything about paying back. It was given so. Well, I felt pretty good and sure worked for that company... But Sweden is too close to Russia, so better I come here."

2. An excerpt from an interview, illustrating the giving of information to the newcomer, as well as receiving information from the newcomer, as a means of maintaining rapport and obtaining further information concerning the newcomers' problems, is shown below.

"Newcomer: 'I want go to medical school. Can you tell me what I do?"

Interviewer: 'What education have you had? Have you any credentials, any papers to show what work you have completed at school?''

Newcomer: 'I go to High School. At home I have papers.'

Interviewer: 'Do you mean at home here in Vancouver, or at home in your homeland?'

Newcomer: 'Here - Vancouver'.

Interviewer: 'Here is a Calendar of the University of British Columbia showing the requirements for the pre-medical course. Have you taken these subjects?'

Newcomer: 'Oh yes, all'.

Interviewer: 'Would you like me to arrange a meeting for you with the Registrar of the University? He will be able to tell you, when he sees your papers, whether you have the pre-requisites for University entrance.'
Interviewer: 'To get the most out of lectures, you need to be able to understand English well. Have you taken any lessons?'

Newcomer: 'Oh, yes, I want lessons. I go to school downtown but it is no good. It is no use. I cannot understand it. Just sit. The class is four months already. So I stop going. You know someone to help with lessons?'

3. An excerpt from an interview, illustrating the more directed type of interview used during the later stages of research to obtain particular information to supplement that gained by questionnaire, field observations and earlier interviews, is given below.

"Interviewer: 'I notice that some of the girls continue working after they are married, to help get things for their homes. Also, I have read that many of the women in the Baltic countries continue working after they are married and wondered whether that information was correct.'

Newcomer: 'Oh yes, that is so, if there is someone to look after the children, or if the children are at school. Here when they are first married girls might as well work to buy things for the home.'"

E. Some Conclusions, Based on Interviews, Concerning the Social Adjustment of Baltic Newcomers in British Columbia

1. The newcomers tended to dismiss present problems as relatively minor in comparison to those experienced during life in the D. P. camps or during the period of forced labor in Germany.

2. Many told of horrible atrocities they had experienced themselves or witnessed. A typical remark is, "Canadians cannot believe such horrible things happened. But they are true." Many of the newcomers have suffered deep tragedy but give the impression of
not having a care in the world. As one newcomer remarked, "I can laugh with my eyes though my heart is breaking". On the whole they seem to be trying to forget the past tragedies and to make a new life for themselves here.

3. Many of the newcomers still have relatives and friends in the Baltic countries and fear for their safety under Russian occupation. Few have received any word from their homeland since the Russian occupation in 1941. Reports of deportations have been received through the underground. These make it difficult for some of the newcomers to forget the atrocities they have experienced, and keeps them anxious about the welfare of their kinfolk.

4. During the early stages of this research many of the newcomers talked of initiating a war with Russia to liberate the Baltic countries, and planned on returning to build up their homeland. Newcomers who had witnessed the improvements in the Baltic countries during their 20 years of freedom were particularly desirous of returning to their homeland. In many cases their social position here is much lower than it was previously. Also they felt that there was more opportunity for their advancement once their homelands were free.

5. The younger people did not seem to have quite such strong ties with their homeland and seemed less discouraged about being able to "get ahead" in Canada.

6. On the whole during the later stages of this research fewer of the newcomers spoke of returning to their homeland and more spoke of plans for life in Canada. In some instances this
indication of becoming settled in Canada seemed to be accompanied by a feeling of resignation and failure due to their inability to arouse Canadians to initiate a war.

7. Many of the newcomers wanted to get to the United States where they felt they would have greater opportunity for advancement. Few had heard about Canada before the Canadian selection teams visited the D. P. camps, but they had heard about the United States. In some cases this first impression was not altogether favourable from the newcomers' viewpoint. One older newcomer remarked that, "All of the selection teams were thorough, but Canada's was worst of the lot, so very very thorough. Canada only wants the young workers for the heavy work and that is what the selection teams looked for first."

8. The geographical closeness of Canada to Russia seemed to make some of the newcomers feel uneasy here. Some reported feeling alarmed when they were shown their destination of Vancouver on a map. "So close to Russia. Soon they will come here like to the Baltic countries."

9. Most of the persons interviewed had relatives or friends in Europe, whom they were anxious to have come to Canada. Frequently they asked why Australia admitted families but Canada admitted very few. Some questioned whether Canadians did not value family life highly. They pointed out that it was difficult for young people to be separated from their families, often causing physical and mental illness. Some felt that the preference for the single immigrant was a reversal of moral values.
They felt that the family groups should have received priority. The separation of family groups, the forced segregation of family ties, seems to make it particularly difficult for the newcomers to adjust to life in Canada.

In this connection, the Baltic newcomers in Victoria, where there was practically no opportunity for primary contacts with a large number of newcomers or with oldtimers from the Baltic countries, seemed to feel far lonelier than the newcomers in Vancouver, where there is a larger number of newcomers and oldtimers. The persons interviewed in Victoria seemed "hungry" for news of Baltic newcomers in Vancouver and expressed a desire to go to larger centres where more of their countrymen lived, after completion of their contracts. The voluntary organizations, such as the Y.W.C.A., and the citizens of Victoria were interested in the girls and their cultures, but such secondary group associations could not fill the psychological need for primary group acceptance.

10. The problem of learning to speak English was one most commonly discussed during interviews. Many of the Baltic newcomers have a reading knowledge of English, since English is one of the languages taught in Baltic schools. However, few can speak it fluently. Under the circumstances there is a tendency to "get by". This was evident in the attendance at the two classes in English held at the Lutheran Hostess House. Attendance was often irregular. Shopping, meeting with friends, going to shows, arranging for large meetings to celebrate special occasions were some of the reasons why attendance was not more regular.
Some of the girls in domestic employment seemed to feel that they did not want to spend their one free night attending classes. On other evenings they felt too tired after working all day to attend classes. Many of them live a considerable distance from the school where the classes in English are conducted in connection with the Vancouver School Board's Night School courses.

None of the Baltic persons interviewed attended the above-mentioned classes. Most of the persons contacted had not heard of them. When told about them some said that they would join another year, but that it was too late to do so then.

Some of the newcomers who speak English fluently revert to their native language when speaking to their children. It seems to facilitate the passing on of cultural expectations. In this connection, one newcomer commented, "It is easier to make them mind so."

Even for those who speak English fluently, the strain of using English rather than their native tongue is often very great. One newcomer remarked, "At night my head aches so from talking all day in English, that it is a relief to speak my own language." Most Canadians speak only one language and are thus likely to be unaware of the strain of continually conversing in a foreign language, and thus unsympathetic to this problem of the newcomers.
11. The newcomers' attitude toward contract labor seems to be one of resignation to "just one more year before we can be on our own". While to some people a contract promises security in a job, to many of the newcomers who are strongly independent, it makes them feel insecure and thus increases their difficulty of adjusting to life in Canada. Some felt that an injustice was being done the more educated workers in the D. P. camps by the Canadian selection of relatively unskilled workers, for work in the mines, forests and on the farms. Generally speaking the newcomers were optimistic about getting into their own line of work in Canada, but some felt that they would never get out of low category work. Some were prepared to stay in work of relatively low social status and requiring little intellectual effort because the wages were good and the work fairly steady.

12. The Baltic newcomers interviewed seemed interested in learning about Canadian life and history. They compared the development of social legislation, education, job opportunities, the cost-of-living, and entertainments in Canada with their own country and quite frequently thought their own superior. Some expressed surprise that there were not more opportunities in Canada for people of university training. For example, one commented upon meeting a clerk in a store, who had a B. A. from a Canadian university. "How can this be? In our country it would never be so." Many commented upon the high cost of living. They seemed to feel that the educational system compared favorably, but that social legislation and treatment of minorities lagged behind that of their own country. Estonians,
for example, were proud of their own liberal Minorities Law which was passed soon after their country's liberation in 1918.

13. The Baltic newcomers all seemed anxious to interpret their culture to Canadians. They spoke enthusiastically about the accomplishments of their countries during the 20 years of freedom from Russian occupation. However, during the time when most of the interviews were held, the newcomers said that they had had little opportunity to acquaint Canadians with their culture, other than the persons with whom they worked.

14. During the later part of this research period the newcomers' desire to interpret their cultures to Canadians met with partial satisfaction. The groups were brought to the attention of the Canadian Folk Society through this study, and were invited to participate in the Canadian Folk Society Festival. Their representatives met with the other representatives in the Society and took an active part in the discussion of the meetings to plan the program. Being used to the democratic procedure for conducting meetings and having a good command of English, the representatives found little difficulty in adjusting to the new situation.

F. Evaluation of the Interview Used

1. The use of the relatively non-directed interview made it possible to obtain a great deal of information about the newcomers' attitudes to Canadian life and their problems in becoming settled in Canada, from the newcomers' viewpoint.
2. The interpretation of Canadian culture and willingness to try to answer the newcomers' questions seemed to make the newcomers feel freer in discussing their problems.

3. A question and answer-type of interview, following a printed outline, would likely have deterred establishing rapport with the newcomers. Further the selection of topics for consideration would rest mainly with the investigator, rather than with the newcomers. Thus matters of considerable importance to the newcomers in their becoming established in Canada might be omitted, either because they were thought to be unimportant by the investigator or overlooked entirely.
CHAPTER IV
FIELD OBSERVATION

A. The Use of Systematic Field Observation in the Present Study

In the course of this study 14 regular weekly meetings of the Latvian newcomers were attended, 1 of the Lithuanians and 11 special gatherings. A great deal of the research was carried out during the summer months and the Lithuanians were not meeting regularly at that time. The Estonians do not seem to hold meetings as frequently as the other two Baltic groups. One of the special gatherings attended was the celebration of the Estonian Day of Liberation.

B. The Types of Field Observation Used

1. Generally speaking, field observations tended to be of the "participant observer" type, such as that used by the Lynds (14) in their study of Middletown. Lindeman (13) indicates the usefulness of this type of field observation, as follows:

"Participant observation enables one to penetrate behind the thinking, feeling and acting of the group."

This type of observation was particularly useful at the regular weekly meetings of the Latvian newcomers. The investigator met with them for supper, took part in the worship service, sat in on meetings planning special outings, played games, such as ping-pong, and talked with various members during the course of the evening.
2. During some field observations there was relatively little participation on the part of the investigator. An example of this type is the Memorial Service, described in part below. (See p. 11)

C. Measures to Reduce Subjectivity in Reporting Field Observations

1. In all cases an attempt was made to write an unbiased report of what actually happened.

2. These reports were checked with persons, newcomers and others who were present at the meetings.

3. Parts of the reports dealing with the meaning of events which had taken place were checked with some of the newcomers qualified to interpret them. For example, the meanings of the songs and dances used during programs were checked with the instructor.

4. In many instances speeches at meetings were impromptu and it was thus impossible to obtain exact translations, but when the speeches which were delivered were written out, a complete translation was secured.

D. Considerations Influencing the Selection of Illustrations of the Use of Field Observations

1. The illustrations deal with problems which seem to be important in the Baltic newcomers' adjustment to life in Canada, judging from information obtained through interviews, questionnaires and field observations.

2. The illustrations are indicative of ways in which the newcomers are adjusting to the existing situations.
3. An attempt has been made to include gatherings which are representative of the 26 attended: a memorial service, celebration of a Day of Liberation, a weekly meeting, a picnic, a meeting where newcomers and Canadians work together in planning a program.

4. Each of the Baltic groups is represented in at least one illustration.

E. Illustrations Showing the Use of Field Observations

1. Memorial Service, June 19, 1949

The reasons for this service were stated at the top of the Order of Service, copies of which had been typed by one of the newcomers for the congregation:

"The June 11, 1941, as national mourning date for the 100,000 Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians this very day executed and deported to the Russian Concentration Camps, which sort of Baltics' extermination is in full use up to today."

Although it was a dark, dismal day with continuous heavy rain, about 250 persons were present, including newcomers, their friends and kinfolk who had been in Canada for a number of years, and Canadians. Some of those present had come in from the country, others had had long trips across the city.

At the front of the church stood the flags and emblems of the three Baltic countries. Floral displays carried out the national color scheme. The Union Jack was given a prominent place, covering the front of the pulpit.

The Service lasted just under three hours, with talks by representatives of the three Baltic groups and the Lutheran minister, Rev. J. Benson. The program included choral numbers, recitations, the singing of the National Anthems of the Baltic countries and "God Save the King".

The common tragedy which had befallen the Baltic peoples is indicated in the opening remarks of the speech by the Lithuanian representative:

"Many times fate has given us the same burden. Many times fate has given us a common destiny — to participate in events of good fortune and misfortune, in days of joy and terror. This fact is underlined by bonds of geography and policy ..."
The feeling that it is difficult for Canadians or even their own emigrated countrymen to understand the tragedy of the present Russian occupation of the Baltic countries is shown by the statement:

"When we remember those sad events which are so hard to understand for people living according to democratic principles, even for our own emigrated countrymen, we must be thoughtful and gather strength for the future. We are convinced that in one way or another this horrible past which brings disaster to humanity will come to an end, for the ideas of the Christian humanitarian era are undestroyable..."

One adjustment to the situation of the Russian occupation of their homeland and the newcomers forced migration to other countries, is suggested in the following words of the forementioned speaker:

"The culture of the American continent was founded by refugees and immigrants. Therefore, we being refugees or immigrants may find an aim for our life and may doubtless have an active part in developing the economic and cultural progress of this country..."

2. The Celebration of the Estonian Day of Liberation

The celebration of the Estonian Day of Liberation, February 21th, was held on Sunday, February 27th since more people were free from work to attend on that day. Newcomers and Estonians who had been in Canada for 20 to 25 years attended, as well as a few Canadian friends. Some came from the Lower Mainland area outside of Vancouver. The meeting was held in Hastings Auditorium, a fairly large hall situated on Hastings Street four blocks east of Main Street, in the so-called "square mile of vice." (In this connection it is interesting to note that the meeting the following year was held in a hall on Broadway near Granville, a hall used by such clubs as, for example, the University Women's Club.) The meeting was called for 6 p.m. but by 7 p.m. the gathering still had not assembled. While the audience was arriving the choir of about 20 young men and women practiced in an adjoining room. The choir leader was only 22 years old, but seemed to have the respect and support of the choir. In the short breaks between pieces, members spoke with the investigator and expressed their regret that the singing was not as well done as it should be, that they had so few practices and were so few in number that they could not do justice to the songs.

The meeting was opened with the Estonian National Anthem. This was followed by "God Save the King", which was sung with considerable harmony and zest.
The Chairman, one of the newcomers, welcomed the newcomers, the Estonians who had been in Canada many years and the Canadian friends. The opening welcome was spoken in English. The rest of the program was conducted in Estonian with a brief explanation in English.

The speaker was a newcomer in his late forties, a Colonel in the Estonian army. He spoke in a soft, even tone, with no gestures to emphasize what he was saying. The Chairman in summarizing the speech which had taken over an hour, said that the speaker had told of the accomplishments of the Estonians during their twenty years of freedom and the hardships and sufferings which they and the people still in the homeland had undergone since the Russian occupation of Estonia in June, 1940.

Some members of the audience seemed deeply moved by the speech, and tears were not uncommon in the eyes of some of the women. Two men sitting near the investigator were Estonians who had been in Canada for about 25 years. They kept up a conversation throughout most of the speech, even though they were sitting near the front and thus rather conspicuous. Some of the children became restless and their parents had a difficult time keeping them quiet.

The program continued with songs and dances and ended with festive refreshments.

3. A Thursday Supper Meeting of the Latvian Newcomers

All newcomers were welcome at the Lutheran Hostess Hall on Princess Street, and although there were many nationalities represented by the regular attenders, the majority of the 30 to 40 newcomers who gathered weekly were Latvians.

The Hostess House was not popular because of its central position, for it was situated far from the business or residential sections of the city, in one of the most run-down areas of the city. Its popularity seemed to be due rather to the homey atmosphere and the loving understanding of Pastor John Benson and Mrs. Benson. They called the group their family and every Thursday was like a home-coming. They knew everyone's name and their own home was always open to the newcomers. As the newcomers arrived the air fairly resounded with happy chatter.

Supper was usually provided by one of the women's organizations of one of the Lutheran churches in the city. Sometimes the newcomers themselves looked after getting supper and such pot-luck ventures always resulted in quantities of food, artistically
arranged. Dinner was served buffet style in the dining room and taken to the living room where people sat around in small groups and talked.

A short chapel service was held after supper. The newcomers seemed to enjoy singing hymns. Different ones commented that it was "a good way to learn English". One of their favorite hymns seemed to be, "What a Friend We Have in Jesus", at least it was the most often chosen during the hymn selection and they seemed to enjoy singing it. They listened quietly, intently to the short sermon.

At the close of the service the Latvian leader was called upon to make any announcements to the group before they adjourned to classes in English or special committee meetings, or just to talk. Almost always there were announcements to be made. Usually these were made in Latvian and translated into English.

When the group as a whole were trying to plan a program it was frequently difficult for the chairman to keep order because everyone seemed to have something to say and all at the same time. Often the main meeting would go on seemingly undisturbed with a number of people in two's and three's talking excitedly.

The evenings never seemed to drag, but always seemed to be very stimulating. The Bensons¹ and Miss Finden who worked with them often commented that they felt "pepped up" after spending the afternoon and evening with the newcomers.

4. A Lithuanian Picnic

One intensely hot July Sunday afternoon the investigator set out for an orchard on Lulu Island where a Lithuanian picnic was to be held and arrived two and a half hours later with the picnic well under way.

During interviews Lithuanians had commented, "Ours is not a country of cities and towns but of communities. At night, after the work is done, the young people go from farm house to farm house, singing and playing the accordion, and dancing the folk dances together."

Walking into the orchard was like walking into another country. Accordion music filled the air. Throughout the orchard groups of three or more people sat in the shade of the trees. A small open dance pavillion was crowded with the more energetic.

Despite the intense heat, some of the girls wore their beautiful Lithuanian costume: full length skirt of wool plaid of overlapping pleats, a white blouse, rich with embroidery, a bolero jacket, a wool apron with the native tulips embroidered on it. The girls had made their costumes themselves. They had worn their street clothes and changed when they got to the picnic. Before the afternoon was over they had changed back to their light dresses.
Oldtimers and newcomers alike seemed to enjoy the same dance steps. Many of the steps were very fast, such as polkas, but the floor was crowded all afternoon.

Newcomers from the other Baltic groups had been invited, but only three Latvians arrived, fairly late in the afternoon.

One noticeable difference between the gathering in Canada and as it would have been in Lithuania was the large number of cars in evidence. In Lithuania very few people own a car. However, in Lithuania such gatherings would be within the walking distance of the whole community and they would not need cars for that purpose. In Lithuania the setting would be in a farm-yard or meadow of one of the farmers, whereas in Canada it required the renting of a picnic ground and the arranging of car or bus transportation.

5. A Meeting of the Newcomers with the Canadian Folk Society

The Baltic newcomers were invited to a dinner at the Senator Grill, one of Vancouver's nicer eating places, along with members of the Canadian Folk Society, Vancouver Branch. The meeting was called to discuss plans for the Folk Festival and the grandstand performance at the Pacific National Exhibition.

Although people from the Baltic countries had been in Vancouver and vicinity for 20 to 30 years, this was the first time that the Baltic countries were represented in the Folk Festival. The Society has been promoting Canadian citizenship among its members which represent over 40 countries, for the past 16 years.

The Baltic newcomers were thrilled to be part of the gathering and to have an opportunity to tell Canadians about their cultures. The Estonian and Latvian representatives had a better command of English than did the Lithuanian and so entered more into the discussion of the plans. Since a great deal of business was transacted, the investigator helped the newcomers with the recording of the details and dates.

The Estonian representative thanked the President for the invitation and said that the Estonians would likely contribute a dance or two and probably a song. The Latvian representative very graciously thanked the president for the dinner invitation and for the opportunity to "tell something about the Latvian and Lithuanian cultures. We three countries, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are small countries, but old countries with very old cultures. We will try to bring something of our handwork to show the people." The representatives of the other countries similarly stated what part in the program their groups would likely take.
F. Some Conclusions Concerning the Social Adjustment of Baltic Newcomers in British Columbia, Based on Systematic Field Observations

1. There is considerable evidence that the Baltic newcomers are using the English language and adopting Canadian customs. The use of English in the Order of Service at the Memorial Service; the translation of speeches, at the Memorial Service, the Estonian meeting, the weekly Latvian meetings; the singing of "God Save the King"; the prominent display of the Union Jack, all suggest a favorable adjustment to life in Canada.

2. The deep sense of tragedy due to the Russian occupation of the Baltic countries and the deportations to Siberia make it difficult for the newcomers to feel settled in Canada. However, the attitude of the Lithuanian speaker at the Memorial Service seemed to meet with the approval of the gathering, "The culture of the American continent was founded by refugees and immigrants ... we may find an aim for our life and may doubtless have an active part in developing ... this country."

3. Although the oldtimers and newcomers share many interests in common, there does not seem to be the basis for strong primary group ties between them. This seems to arise from their different experiences during the last 20 to 25 years. The oldtimers have not lived through the period of rapid development of the Baltic countries and subsequent occupation of these countries by the Russians. A lack of sympathy on the part of the oldtimers is indicated by the two oldtimers talking during the recounting of these events at the Estonian Day of Liberation Celebrations. Further evidence is the Lithuanian speaker's remark that, "even for our own emigrated countrymen" the tragic events are difficult to understand.
4. The Baltic countries were very independent of one another, but their common tragedy seems to have brought them together, as evidenced by the joint Memorial Service.

5. The newcomers seem anxious to interpret their culture to Canadians, as is shown by their enthusiastic participation in the Canadian Folk Festival. They seemed to be more eager to learn about Canadian citizenship and culture when they could talk about their own.

6. The Baltic newcomers seem to understand the democratic procedure in meetings, as indicated by their part in the various meetings with the Canadian Folk Society and the relative ease with which they adjusted to this new situation.

7. The fact that the newcomers are able to hold picnics similar to their community gatherings in Lithuania will probably help them feel more settled in Canada. Further it is something they can enjoy with the oldtimers. The songs and dances of the Baltic peoples, covering as they do such a wide range of emotions, attitudes and social behavior, seem to have a therapeutic value in helping the newcomer to adjust to difficult situations. For example, one of the Lithuanian dances depicting a windmill when danced in Canada shows three rather than four blades, the missing blade representing the homeland. This acting out of conflict situations would seem to lessen the mental conflict which otherwise would result.

8. Generally speaking the newcomers seem to be of a very happy disposition. During their meetings there is usually an atmosphere of gaiety and enthusiasm. Their costumes show a great deal of imagination and their handcrafts, ingenuity. All of these
characteristics seem conducive to successful adjustment to new situations experienced in becoming settled in Canada.

G. Evaluation of the Use of Systematic Field Observations

1. Much of the information obtained through field observations could not have been obtained otherwise. An example of this is the enthusiasm which prevailed at the weekly meetings.

2. Thus the material secured through systematic field observations supplements that gained through interviews and questionnaire replies.
A. The Use of the Questionnaire in the Present Study

The questionnaire was used towards the end of the period of research to supplement material obtained through the interviews and field observations. It was used to determine the significance of some of the problems of the newcomers in adjusting to life in Canada, information concerning which had been obtained through interviews and field observations. The questionnaire proved very useful in the present study, although it had not proved useful in a previous study. 62 questionnaire returns were received from the three Baltic groups. On the whole rapport seemed excellent during the use of the questionnaire, many of the newcomers asking for additional forms to distribute among their friends.

B. Some Factors Contributing to the Success of the Questionnaire

1. The questionnaire was used at the end of the research period, after rapport with the Baltic newcomers had been established.

2. The suggestion for a questionnaire came from one of the newcomers. Previous to the questionnaire an essay contest had been sponsored by the investigator to secure biograms about the newcomers' problems in becoming settled in Canada. (See Chapter II, pp. 14-15) The essay contest failed to secure data adequate for a study of the social adjustment of the newcomers. However, the newcomers contacted seemed interested in the study and seemed to want to contribute to it. One newcomer stated that it was
difficult to find the necessary time to write an essay, but if the investigator would make a list of questions, she thought most of the newcomers would answer them. Other newcomers present agreed that it was a good idea. The questionnaire was presented within the next month.

3. The questionnaire was checked with leaders of the three groups to ensure that the questions would be understood by the majority of the newcomers.

4. The questionnaire was kept fairly short, being limited to 18 questions on 2 pages. During a previous study the investigator had used a 4 page questionnaire, and the newcomers contacted at that time seemed to feel that it was much too long.

5. Many of the questions were worded in such a way that they could be answered by a simple check mark. Some of the newcomers who can read and speak English fairly fluently still have difficulty in writing English. Constructing the questionnaire in this way facilitated their answering.

6. The time required to answer the questionnaire was, on the average, about 25 minutes. All of the newcomers contacted felt they could afford a half an hour, but some hesitated at the suggestion of an hour.

7. Maintaining the anonymity of the persons replying seemed to be an important factor in securing the cooperation of most of the newcomers in filling out the forms. Many requested that the questionnaires be grouped together, feeling that "Baltic newcomers" afforded greater possibility for anonymity than Latvian, Estonian or Lithuanian newcomers.
C. Construction of the Questionnaire

1. The language used in the questionnaire is English. In a few cases some of the words or sentences had to be translated into the Baltic languages. This translation was done by a newcomer in each of the three groups, who spoke both his own language and English fluently.

2. The length of the questionnaire was limited to 2 pages. It was thought by the investigator, on the basis of previous experience, that a longer questionnaire might deter the newcomers from filling out the form.

3. To facilitate the answering of the questionnaire, most of the questions were worded in such a way that they could be answered by a simple check mark.

4. The questionnaire was constructed in such a way that it could be answered in about half an hour. Most of the newcomers contacted seemed to feel that they could afford this much time, but seemed reluctant to spend more.

5. The questionnaire was designed to cover what seemed to be the most important social problems of the newcomers in becoming settled in Canada, judging from material obtained through interviews and field observations.

6. However, no mention was made of the most consistently discussed topic — the Russian occupation of the Baltic countries. It was thought by the investigator that a question about this topic might have evoked strong emotional reactions which would interfere with the completion of the rest of the questionnaire. This
view is partly supported by the fact that many of the newcomers did not answer Question 8, "Where is your family located now, to the best of your knowledge?" ("Where" was explained to mean, "Europe, Australia, Canada, etc., rather than any single country or part of a country"). During interviews, however, many volunteered the information that they feared their kinfolk and friends had been deported to "Siberia".

7. The first part of the questionnaire was designed to fulfill two purposes:
   a. To provide information about the stratification of the sample of subjects contacted; and
   b. To give the subjects a practice period on factual questions which could be answered easily and which led into the actual questions, which were probably more difficult to answer concisely.

8. The 18 questions deal with the following topics:
   a. The Canadian Immigration Policy
      Question 1 asks, "Which plan do you think best for resettling people in Canada?" During interviews many newcomers indicated that they felt the Canadian immigration policy was unfair to married people, and to the more highly educated in the D. P. camps. This question was used to point up the newcomers' views with respect to the admittance of family versus single workers.
      Question 2 deals with the newcomers' views regarding the category of labor to be admitted.
b. **Housing**

Question 3 asks, "How would you go about arranging to house the families?" One of the reasons given by employers and government officials for selecting single persons was that the general housing shortage made it difficult to accommodate newcomers' families. The purpose of this question was to determine whether the newcomers were aware of the general housing shortage in Canada and whether they had given it any consideration.

c. **Present Jobs and Plans for the Next Year**

Question 4 asks, "What is your present line of work?"; "Have you ever done your present line of work before?"; "What do you plan to do next year? Why?" Newcomers who are in their own line of work, or hope to be so in the near future, are likely to feel more settled, other things being equal, than those who are not. Therefore the above question was asked to determine the extent to which this was a tension-producing situation.

Question 5, "How would you rank your present job in terms of prestige in your own country?" was asked to find out how many newcomers felt their work to be degrading. The newcomers' feeling of prestige seems to be a factor in their adjustment to life in a new country.

Question 6 asks the newcomers to, "List 3 things you like about your job; and 3 things you do not like." This question was an attempt on the part of the investigator to obtain a written record concerning some of the problems in connection
with their jobs which newcomers talked about during interviews but seemed reticent to put down on paper.

d. The Likelihood of Newcomers Moving to Other Parts of Canada, After Completing Their Contracts

Question 7 asks, "Where would you like best to live in Canada? Why?" The purpose of this question was to determine whether there was a strong pull to the large urban centres in the East, where there is more of a concentration of newcomers and oldtimers from the Baltic countries. This question was not set up as a check-question, with a list of centers and instructions that one be marked, because the investigator thought that the order and naming of certain places might introduce a bias into the answers.

e. The Location of the Newcomers' Families

Question 8 asks, "Where is your family located now to the best of your knowledge?" Primary group ties seem to be a factor in the newcomers' adjustment to life in Canada. This question was asked to obtain information about: (1) the dispersion of family members to different countries for resettlement; (2) the proportion of newcomers who still had close relatives in the D. P. camps; (3) the proportion of newcomers whose relatives were still in the homeland and thus subject to deportation to Russia; and (4) the proportion of newcomers whose families are with them in British Columbia.

f. Contacts of the Newcomers with Friends and Relatives Still in the D. P. Camps

Question 9 deals with the number of food and clothing parcels sent by the newcomers to friends and relatives in the D. P.
camps. Strong ties with persons still in Europe seems to make the newcomers feel unsettled here, and thus affects their adjustment to Canadian customs. The above question was therefore asked to find out whether many of the newcomers contacted had fairly strong ties with persons still in the D. P. camps.

g. **Learning the English Language**

Although Canada has two official languages, the majority of Canadians in British Columbia speak English. Further, since courses in English for the newcomers deal with Canadian citizenship, it was thought by the investigator that the attendance of newcomers at classes in English would indicate somewhat their interest in learning about Canadian life. During interviews it was found that very few were taking these classes. Question 10, therefore, asks, "Are you taking lessons in English? How often? Do you want more lessons? What other helps have you had?"

h. **Contacts with Canadians**

The opportunities for newcomers to meet Canadians and whether they find Canadians friendly or unfriendly seem to be factors in the newcomers' adjustment. Question 11 asks, therefore, "How many Canadian homes have you been in since you arrived? How many in the past month? Did you feel at home with them?" Question 12 asks, "Have you found Canadians very friendly, fairly friendly, friendly, somewhat unfriendly, unfriendly?"
i. Contacts with Oldtimers from the Baltic Countries
Satisfying primary and secondary group associations seem to be factors in the newcomers' feeling of security and being settled in their new home. However, with some immigrant groups, such as the Mennonites, Hutterites, Doukabors, the ethnic group ties seem so strong as to deter the immigrants' acceptance of Canadian customs. Question 13 was asked to obtain some information about whether the ethnic group ties of the Baltic newcomers were sufficiently strong to be satisfying, without being too strong to deter their acceptance of Canadian ways. Question 13 asks, "Have you met many people from your own country here? (i.e., who came before the war); About how many? Did you feel at home with them? About how long have they been here?"

j. Interpreting the Baltic Cultures to Canadians
During interviews the Baltic newcomers expressed a desire to tell Canadians about their own cultures. Question 16 was included to obtain further information about the strength of this desire and the extent to which it had been satisfied. The newcomers were asked, "Are you interested in interpreting your culture to Canadians? Have you had an opportunity to do so? If so, what?" Since assimilation is a two-way process, the understanding of the Baltic cultures by Canadians seems important in the adjustment of the Baltic newcomers to Canadian culture.
k. Recreational Interests of the Baltic Newcomers

Questions 14, 15, 17 and 18 deal with this topic. Question 14 asks, "To what social groups do you belong here in Canada?" The purpose of this question was to determine the extent to which the Baltic newcomers are getting into Canadian clubs in line with their hobbies and interests.

Question 15 asks, "To what social groups did you belong at home?" The purpose of this question was to obtain some indication of recreational group activity in the Baltic countries. Further, it was designed to obtain information which might be used in helping the newcomers feel more settled in Canada.

Question 17 lists a number of different types of entertainment and asks the newcomer to "Check the entertainments which you prefer in the following list". The heading "Other skills" adds more flexibility to the structure of this question. The entertainments listed are those in which the newcomer can participate in British Columbia. The purpose of this question was to obtain information about the range and concentration of the interests of the Baltic newcomers. On the whole it would seem that persons with many varied interests would find it easier to adjust to new situations than those who have very few interests.

Question 18 asks, "If you had more free time how would you spend it?" This question was used to obtain information about the interests which were most popular with the newcomers, since this seemed to have a bearing upon the newcomers'
adjustment to Canadian customs. Further, the replies might be useful in determining ways in which the adjustment could be expedited. For example, if newcomers find reading uninteresting, it would be much more difficult to explain Canadian citizenship to them through the printed page than if they found reading interesting.

D. Method of Presentation of the Questionnaire to the Subjects

1. The majority of the questionnaire forms were presented to groups of Baltic newcomers. In group presentation, instructions were given in the newcomers' native language as well as in English. The investigator gave the instructions in English, and one of the newcomers who spoke both the particular Baltic language and English fluently, translated. The following is a portion of the verbal instruction:

"Most of the questions can be answered with a check mark. For example, if you are a man, put an 'X' after 'male'; if a woman, put an 'X' after 'female'. If you are between the ages of 25 and 29 put an 'X' in the space provided, and so on for the other ages. You will notice that in Questions 1 and 2 you are to mark only your first choice, whereas in Question 17 you may mark as many as you like. If you do not have room in the space provided for any of the questions, use the back of the sheet."

2. A few of the questionnaire forms were mailed by the investigator to persons not present at the meetings. (Not more than 6 out of the 62)

3. A few of the questionnaire forms were distributed through members of the three associations. These were passed on to friends and acquaintances, or to newcomers from their native country whom they happened to meet on the street.
1. There may be some bias in the questionnaire returns from each individual group, but these seem to be largely offset when the returns from the three groups are taken together.
   a. The Lithuanian questionnaire returns are probably biased towards attitudes of church attenders, since the meeting of the Association followed directly after morning mass.
   b. The Estonian questionnaire returns are probably biased towards attitudes of persons interested in music and folk dancing, since they were mainly distributed through members of the choir and those persons who were practicing folk dances for a forthcoming festival. There were no regular meetings of the Estonian Association during the time when the questionnaire forms were given out.
   c. The Latvian questionnaire returns are possibly biased in the opposite direction since some of the regular members of the Association were attending a concert and thus absent from the meeting at which the questionnaire forms were distributed.

5. In the case of both the Latvian and Lithuanian groups the questionnaire forms were completed after lengthy business meetings. Most of the Estonians filled their forms out at home and returned them at a later meeting. However, there seems to be little difference in the number of questions answered by each group or the additional comments made.

6. On the whole rapport seems to have been maintained throughout the distribution and completion of the forms. This is in part borne out by the fact that many newcomers offered to distribute further copies should they be needed.
### TABLE I

Proportion of Baltic Newcomers Who Answered the Questionnaire to Probable Total Baltic Newcomer Population in Greater Vancouver

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Origin of Newcomers</th>
<th>Number of Questionnaire Returns</th>
<th>Estimate of Total Baltic Newcomer Population in Greater Vancouver at August 31, 1949 (1)</th>
<th>% of Newcomers Who Answered Questionnaire Forms in Terms of Total Population for Each Baltic Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonian</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvian</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Source of Estimates:

(i) Lithuanian - List of Lithuanian newcomers in Vancouver. Estimate made by President of the Lithuanian newcomers.

(ii) Latvian - Regular weekly meetings. Estimate made by President and Vice-president of the Latvian Association.

(iii) Estonian - No membership list and no regular meetings. Estimate of the President of the Estonian Association.

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### E. Difficulties in Determining the Representativeness of the Subjects Contacted of the Total Baltic Newcomer Population

1. The newcomers from the three Baltic countries do not form, on the whole, close-knit groups. Newcomers who have finished their contracts in other parts of Canada and have come to British Columbia do not necessarily get in touch with any of the Associations. The Estonians seem particularly individualistic in this regard, in that even their Association holds very few meetings in the course of the year. This makes it difficult to estimate total numbers or the composition of the newcomer population.
2. While it is possible to obtain information concerning newcomers under contract, without impairing their anonymity, such contract laborers are still an unknown proportion of the total Baltic newcomer population in any part of Canada. In Canada as a whole the ratio between newcomers who have been admitted under the "group schemes" to those who have been admitted under the "relative clauses" of the Immigration Act, is roughly 3:2. In the sample of subjects used in this study the ratio is approximately 4:1.

F. Some Characteristics of the Newcomers Who Replied to the Questionnaire

1. Age and Sex of the Newcomers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 40</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. **Marital Status of 54 of the Newcomers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widower</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. **Educational Level of the Newcomers**

- Average number of school years completed: 11 years.
- Range in number of school years completed: 5 to 22 years.

4. **Country of Emigration of 58 of the Newcomers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D. P. Camps in Germany</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. **Admittance to Canada**

- Contract labor under group immigration schemes: 43
- To relatives: 14

6. **Length of Time Since the Arrival of the Newcomers**

**TABLE III**

Number of Months Each of 60 Baltic Newcomers Replying to the Questionnaire Have Been in Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Months from Date of Arrival to Completion of Questionnaire Form (1)</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - 2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - 4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - 10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 - 14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 - 18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 - 20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 - 24</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Form completed August, 1949.
G. Some Conclusions Concerning the Social Adjustment of the Baltic Newcomers, Based on Replies to the Questionnaire

It is recognized that no conclusions about the social adjustment of the Baltic newcomers settled in other parts of Canada, or about newcomers from other countries who have settled in British Columbia can be made on the basis of the replies from the subjects of this study. However, the sample of 62 Baltic newcomers out of a probable total of 200 Baltic newcomers would seem to be an adequate basis for some conclusions concerning the social adjustment of the Baltic newcomers in British Columbia.

These conclusions are based on the newcomers' replies to each of the questions and are thus presented immediately after the summary of the replies to the particular question to which they refer.

The order in which the material in this section is presented is as follows:

a. The statement of each question;
b. The summary of the replies to that question;
c. The conclusions about the social adjustment of the newcomers, based upon the replies to the question.

In some cases, questions dealing with aspects of a larger topic, such as questions 4, 5 and 6 which deal with jobs and working conditions, the summary of replies are considered under the individual questions, but conclusions about the social adjustment of the newcomers are discussed on the basis of the replies to all three questions.
1. a. Question 1: "Which plan do you think best for resettling people in Canada? (Check your FIRST Choice)

b. Summary of Replies

TABLE IV

The Choice of Plan for Resettling People in Canada
Favored by 50 Baltic Newcomers (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice of Plan</th>
<th>No. Choosing Each Plan</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Age:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Bring in the young people (17-18 years and over); allow them to become settled, and then bring in their parents</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>a. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Allow only single persons to enter</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Bring in the husband, wife and children, but leave the elderly folk in Europe, since it will be difficult for old people to learn the ways of a new country</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>a. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Bring in the family, including the grandparents</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18*</td>
<td>19*</td>
<td>a. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 2 persons making choic "c" did not state whether they were male or female and 1 person did not state whether he was single or married. 1 person making choice "d" did not state whether she was married or single.

(1) 12 questionnaire returns for this question were spoiled by the subjects checking more than one choice. In conversation after the completion of the questionnaire many stated that the policy did not matter so long as immigrants were admitted from the D. P. camps.
c. Conclusions Based on Replies to Question 1

(1) From the foregoing table it would appear that the majority of newcomers, irrespective of age, sex and marital status, prefer an immigration policy which favors family groups rather than single persons. However, the selective policy in Canadian group immigration schemes has tended to favor the single young persons, for economic reasons. (See Appendix, pp. 118-121)

This discrepancy between the immigration policy as it is in fact and as the newcomers think it should be seems to arouse a feeling of injustice and resentment. To the extent this feeling exists it deters their adjustment to conditions in Canada.

(2) Of the 8 persons who chose to bring in the young persons first and then the parents, 6 are themselves single persons and 4 come within the favored age group. The fact, however, that at least 19 of the 38 persons who favored admitting family groups are themselves single persons seems to suggest that the majority of single persons feel dissatisfied with the present policy. It might be inferred that the young single people felt that life in Canada was more difficult for them because of the separation from their families. Although some young people might prefer the greater freedom resulting from being away from family controls, the majority seem to prefer to be in the family group. The separation of family groups would seem to make more difficult the process of adjustment and also prolong the period of settlement.
2. a. Question 2: "It would be best to bring in: (Check FIRST Choice)"

b. Summary of Replies

TABLE V

The Choice of Plan for Admitting Immigrants on the Basis of Three Broad Occupation Categories, Favoured by 53 Baltic Newcomers(1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice of Plan</th>
<th>No. Choosing Each Plan</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Age:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Professional People</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Laborers</td>
<td>2(2)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Trades People</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Persons from all Trades and Professions</td>
<td>50(3)</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22*</td>
<td>27*</td>
<td>a.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 1 person failed to fill in the marital status information.

(1) 9 persons spoiled their replies to this question by checking more than 1 space.

(2) The educational level of the persons who favored bringing in laborers was somewhat below the average for the 62 newcomers who answered the questionnaire, being 7 and 6 years as compared with an average of 11 years of schooling for the whole group.

(3) The range of education of persons who chose "d" was from 5 years of schooling to 17 years of schooling.
c. Conclusions Based on Replies to Question 2

(1) The majority of newcomers, irrespective of age, sex, marital status or education, seem to prefer an immigration policy which admits workers in all labor categories. On the whole it has been particularly difficult to place the so-called "intellectuals" and so a relatively smaller proportion of this category have been admitted into Canada than their numbers in the D.P. camps would seem to have warranted. Workers for the farms, mines and forests have tended to be the preferred immigrants. (See Appendix, pp.118 -121)

This discrepancy between the prevailing immigration policy and what the newcomers consider to be a more just policy seems to arouse in the newcomers a feeling of injustice and resentment. Further they are led to believe that Canadians do not value educational accomplishments, whereas expenditures of governments on education would seem to indicate otherwise. The confusion in understanding Canadian culture which results hinders the newcomers' acceptance of Canadian customs and values.

(2) From the fore-going table it would seem that for all but the 2 laborers who came within the preferred category, social adjustment was to some extent made more difficult by the prevailing immigration policies.
3. a. Question 3: "How would you go about arranging to house the families?"

b. Summary of Replies (24 out of 62 replied)

The most general response was, "Let the newcomers build their own homes, supported by low interest Government loans."

There was, however, more individuality than general pattern evidenced in the replies. Some of the replies are as follows:

"Housing smaller families by giving them possibility of dwelling with some other local families for short time......Many people could buy farms and houses if they could bring all their money over from Sweden and England......Finding homes for Europeans can be organized better......Make a list of house owners who do take in families......Appeal by radio and newspaper. More people would do so by making the situation clear to them......Find work for them. They shall find accommodation themselves."

c. Conclusions Based on Replies to Question 3

(1) The newcomers seem to be aware of the general housing shortage and willing to help solve the problem by building their own homes.

(2) On the whole the replies suggest characteristics of ingenuity, individuality and a willingness to work, all of which would seem favorable to a satisfactory adjustment to life in Canada.
h. a. **Question 4:** "What is your present line of work?"

b. **Summary of Replies (56 out of 62 replies)**

The distribution of occupations among the newcomers is as follows:

- Domestic worker: 12
- Sawmill worker: 4
- Hospital worker: 3
- Construction worker: 3
- Carpenter: 3
- Furniture worker: 2
- Tailor: 2
- Draughtsman: 2

There was one person only in each of the following occupations:

- Farm worker
- Bookkeeper
- Accountant
- Office worker
- Clerk in bookstore
- Minister
- Nurse
- Doctor
- Laboratory technician
- Painter
- Watchmaker
- Manufacturer
- Power machine worker
- Stone worker
- Jack hammer operator
- Cook
- Kitchen help
- Laundry worker

**c. Question:** "Have you done your present line of work before?"

**d. Summary of Replies (59 out of 62 replies)**

Number of newcomers replying, "Yes" was 28 or 47.3%  
"No" 31 or 52.7%

**e. Question:** "What do you plan to do next year? Why?"

**f. Summary of Replies (48 out of 62 replies)**

The newcomers' plans for the following year showed a wide range of interest and training, but little general pattern. Of those replying, 12 intended to do the same kind of work, 9 wanted to get into their own line of work and 10 replied, "Don't know". Some of the plans are as follows:

"Buy a cheaper lot and build my own home......Build up own factory......Open own tailor shop.....Save some money to buy a farm......Get married......Continue studies at university."
g. **Question 5**: "How would you rank your present job in terms of prestige in your own country?"

h. **Summary of Replies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Number Ascribing Each Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very High</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium High</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Low</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. **Question 6**: "List 3 things you like about your job; and 3 things you do not like."

j. **Summary of Replies** (21 out of 62 replies)

Because of the large variety of occupations of the newcomers who answered the questionnaire, there was no general pattern with regard to agreeable or disagreeable factors. Some of the replies are as follows:

A carpenter: "I derive moral satisfaction from helping to ease the housing shortage." Do not like: "Employment and my future depends too much on general business conditions."

A manufacturer: "Free enterprise in this country. To build and calculate things for myself." Do not like: "No stability in the market."
A hospital worker: "Like the 8 hour work-day and the 5½ day week."

A laborer (2 years of university): "I like: money, 5 days work. I do not like: hard job, overtime."

A sawmill worker (7 years schooling): "I like the money. I like freedom. I do not like dictator."

A sawmill worker (14 years schooling): "I make good money; learn a trade; have healthy work."

A sawmill worker (18 years schooling, university graduate): "Good wages. 40 hours week. Good relationship with my employers." Don't like: "Low degree of mechanization; insufficient social insurance; physically hard."

A domestic (university graduate): "I do not like anything at all...In the worst years of the war I am never so poor, so lonely and so hopeless as I am here."

A domestic (university graduate): "I like the family with which I am living. I do not like the very long hours I have to work and the way that Canadian children are allowed to do everything they like."

A domestic (9 years schooling): "I like: nice family, good working hours, employer considerate. I do not like: children in family of employer are not taught to obey and cause disorder in the appearance of the house, therefore making more work for me."

k. **Conclusions Based on Replies to Questions 4, 5 and 6**

1) Many of the newcomers seem uncertain about the work they will do after they complete their contracts.

2) The wide range of jobs being done by the newcomers would suggest an ability to adjust rather quickly to new situations.

3) The fact that about half of the newcomers have never done their present work indicates an adaptability but might also tend to make them feel insecure in their present job.

4) On the whole the work that the newcomers are doing in British Columbia seems to rank about "medium" insofar as prestige in their native countries is concerned. The social adjustment would likely be somewhat easier for persons who are doing jobs which rank "medium" than those
whose jobs rank "low" in prestige. Generally speaking the girls in domestic work tended to rank their jobs as "low" in prestige in their native country. So long as these girls feel that they are in "low" category work, they will likely try to leave it when their contracts expire. If unable to find other work, their social adjustment to domestic work will probably be quite difficult.

(5) The Baltic newcomers' desire to be independent is illustrated in their likes and dislikes about their jobs. Many seem to prefer to work on their own.

5. a. Question 7: "Where would you like best to live in Canada? Why?"
   b. Summary of Replies

TABLE VII

Distribution of Choices of 57 Baltic Newcomers Concerning the Place in Canada They Would Prefer to Live and Reasons for Their Choice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Number Choosing Each Place</th>
<th>Reasons for Liking It (1)</th>
<th>Number Mentioning Each Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>(Climate</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(Sea and Scenery)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(Business</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(Prospects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(Business Prospects</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(More Kinfolk)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Not all subjects choosing a place where they would prefer to live gave their reasons for the choice.
c. **Conclusions Based on Replies to Question 7**

(1) The fact that 51 out of 57 Baltic newcomers preferred to stay in British Columbia and 45 out of 57 gave as the reason the climate and scenery, would seem to suggest that they find it relatively easy to adjust to the climate of British Columbia. The scenery of Estonia and parts of Latvia is not unlike that of British Columbia. In addition the Estonians and Latvians have for centuries been seafaring people and thus proximity to the sea makes them feel at home.

(2) The inference might be drawn from the fact that only 2 newcomers indicated a felt need for "more kinfolk" that on the whole the newcomers contacted to not feel an unmet need for primary and secondary group relationships. It would seem that they feel quite secure in this regard since the larger centers with their greater concentration of newcomer population have little appeal.

6. a. **Question 8**: "Where is your family located now to the best of your knowledge?"

b. **Summary of Replies**

**TABLE VIII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location of Family</th>
<th>No. of Mentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baltic countries</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siberia</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. P. Camps</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. Conclusions Based on Replies to Question 8

(1) 51% of the Baltic newcomers who answered the above question had close relatives who either had been deported to Russia or were in danger of deportation. This situation tends to make it difficult for the newcomers to feel settled in Canada.

(2) Some of the newcomers whose immediate families are in Canada have parents or other close relatives in their homeland about whom they are concerned. For example, one newcomer replying to this question stated, "Parents in the old country, if alive. Wife here."

7. a. Question 9: "Do you send the following to D. P. camps:"

b. Summary of Replies

TABLE IX
Number of Food and Clothing Parcels Sent by Baltic Newcomers to Friends and Relatives in D.P. Camps and How Often They were Sent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Parcel</th>
<th>Total Sent</th>
<th>Friends</th>
<th>Relatives</th>
<th>Unspecified</th>
<th>How Often per Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Once Less More</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16 16 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9 17 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Conclusions Based on Replies to Question 9

(1) The Baltic newcomers seem to have fairly strong ties with friends and relatives who are still in the D. P. camps.
The fact that the persons in the D.P. camps are still uncertain about their future tends to make newcomers here feel unsettled. There is a tendency to postpone their decision to stay in Canada until they find where their relatives or close friends become settled.

(2) A considerable portion of the newcomers' wages seem to be spent on food and clothing for friends and relatives in the D.P. camps. This tends to strengthen the ties with those still in Europe, leaving the newcomers less time and money for the purposes of becoming established in Canada.

8. a. **Question 10:** "Are you taking lessons in English?"

b. **Summary of Replies** (56 out of 62 replies)

   Number of Baltic newcomers wanting more lessons - 32
   Number of Baltic newcomers taking English lessons - 19
   Frequency of lessons: once a week 9
   twice a week 4

Other helps:

"Conversation with Canadians.....Reading and picture shows.....Newspapers.....Friends.....Dictionary.....High School in own country....."

c. **Conclusions Based on Replies to Question 10**

(1) Most of the Baltic newcomers studied English in their own country and although they could not speak English fluently or write it easily, they felt that they could improve their command of the language sufficiently by themselves.
(2) 32 out of the 62 newcomers replying to this question stated that they would like more lessons. Some indicated that they did not think the present lessons adequate because the classes were too large.

(3) Many of the newcomers are learning about Canadians and Canadian citizenship through talking with Canadians and reading newspapers and books.

9. a. Question 11: "How many Canadian homes have you been in since you arrived? Did you feel at home with them?"

b. Summary of Replies

Average number of Canadian homes visited since arrival - 10
Range in number - None to 50.

Average number of Canadian homes visited in the past month - 1
Range in number - None to 15.

Baltic newcomers who felt "at home" with Canadians - 48
Baltic newcomers who did not feel "at home" with Canadians - 1

c. Question 12: "Have you found Canadians: very friendly, fairly friendly, friendly, somewhat unfriendly, unfriendly?"

d. Summary of Replies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank Ascribed</th>
<th>No. of Mentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very friendly</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly friendly</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat unfriendly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfriendly</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE X

Distribution of Rankings on Friendliness of Canadians Made by 62 Baltic Newcomers
e. **Conclusions Based on Replies to Questions 11 and 12**

(1) The Baltic newcomers seem to be meeting and mixing with Canadians. Only 4 out of 53 Baltic newcomers had not visited in a Canadian home, while 8 had visited 20 or more Canadian homes, 14 had visited from 10 to 19 and 27 from 1 to 9 Canadian homes.

(2) On the whole the Baltic newcomers seem to have found their contacts with Canadians pleasant experiences, as indicated by the fact that 28 out of 62 report finding Canadians "very friendly", while 22 found Canadians "friendly" and only 2 found Canadians "unfriendly".

10. a. **Question 13**: "Have you met many people from your own country here? (i.e. who came before the war) About how many? Did you feel at home with them?"

b. **Summary of Replies**

Baltic newcomers who had met people from their homeland numbered 59.

Average number met by newcomers from the three Baltic countries - 45.

Number of Baltic newcomers who felt at home with their countrymen - 46.

Number of Baltic newcomers who did not feel at home with their countrymen - 11.

Average length of time the oldtimers had been in Canada - From 20 to 25 years.

Some of the replies of the newcomers were qualified as follows:

"Do not get along with some who have Communist leanings.....Not with all of them.....Yes, if we don't touch politics."
c. Conclusions Based on Replies to Question 13

(1) On the whole the presence of the oldtimers seems to be a stabilizing influence, helping the newcomers to feel settled in British Columbia.

(2) In some instances the newcomers do not feel entirely "at home" with the oldtimers. Of those replying, 46 claimed that they felt "at home" with the oldtimers but 11 stated they did not. Persons in both cases qualified their answers with such statements as "Yes, if we don't talk politics". Most of the oldtimers came to Canada about 20 or 25 years ago and thus did not experience the period of freedom in the Baltic countries nor the present Russian occupation. To some extent this would tend to deter the formation of satisfying primary group relationships and thus lessen the newcomers' sense of "belonging".

11. a. Question 14: "To what social groups do you belong here in Canada?"

b. Question 15: "To what social groups did you belong at home?"

c. Summary of Replies

The number of newcomers replying to the above mentioned questions was very small, but the range of interests indicated in each case is considerable. The clubs mentioned as having been attended in their homeland are as follows:

- "Scouts"  
- Girl Guides  
- Athletic Clubs  
- Hunters Club  
- Student Groups  

Singing and Gymnastic Group  
Religious, cultural and educational Groups  
Sporting and church groups  
Sporting and cultural groups  
Newspaper Association  
Bookkeepers' Society
d. Question 17: "Check the entertainments you prefer—"

e. Summary of Replies

TABLE XI

Entertainment Preferred by 62 Baltic Newcomers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Entertainment</th>
<th>Total Choices</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Attend in a Group</th>
<th>Attend Alone</th>
<th>Girl-Man</th>
<th>Girl-Woman</th>
<th>Man-Man</th>
<th>Man-Woman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Movies</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symphony</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theatre(Stage)</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing</td>
<td>32</td>
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Other Interests Mentioned
- Sailing
- Swimming
- Skiing
- Skating (ice)
- Sculpturing
- Sewing
- Knitting
- Photography
- Cooking
- Fishing
- Drawing

f. Question 18: "If you had more free time how would you spend it?"

g. Summary of Replies

The individuality of the Baltic newcomers was manifest in the replies to this question. Reading, travel and music were the interests most frequently mentioned. Some of the replies are as follows: "Travel throughout the American Continent...Reading, good music, knitting...Hunting..."
Conclusions Based on Replies to Questions 14, 15, 17 and 18

1. On the whole the Baltic newcomers seem to have a very broad range of interests, including activities which require group participation and others which they do alone.

2. Generally speaking they seem to prefer to attend a movie or symphony alone or in a group rather than in pairs. When men were asked about this, the frequent answer was, "It costs too much to take a girl all the time. They make good money too."

3. The Baltic educational system seemed to stress individual-centred rather than group-centred games. Although they enjoy activities with groups, the Baltic newcomers are quite self-reliant insofar as recreation is concerned. They can go to a movie or symphony alone, go for a walk alone, stay at home and read or write letters. This self-reliance tends to lessen the tension which results from forced separation from friends and families and helps in their satisfactory adjustment to new situations.

4. Many of the Baltic newcomers belonged to clubs in their homeland similar to clubs in British Columbia. These common interests could enable newcomers to become acquainted with Canadians and thus assist them in becoming established in new communities.
12. a. **Question 16**: "Are you interested in interpreting your culture to Canadians? Have you had an opportunity to do so? If so, what?"

b. **Summary of Replies**

Number of Baltic newcomers interested in interpreting their culture to Canadians was 52.

Number of Baltic newcomers not interested in interpreting their culture to Canadians was 5.

There seemed to be relatively little opportunity for doing so. Typical replies were: "Very small opportunity.... No opportunity....When I meet with Canadian friends."

c. **Conclusions Based on Replies to Question 16**

(1) The large majority of Baltic newcomers seemed to be eager to interpret their culture to Canadians. Out of 57 newcomers replying, 52 said that they were interested in telling Canadians about their culture.

(2) Few of the Baltic newcomers seemed to have any opportunity to fulfill this strong desire, as indicated by the replies, "No opportunities".

(3) Since assimilation is a two-way process, this lack of an opportunity to interpret their own culture probably deterred in considerable measure the newcomers' interest in and acceptance of, Canadian culture.

H. **Evaluation of the Questionnaire as Used in This Study**

1. On the whole the data secured through the use of the questionnaire was useful in understanding the newcomers' problems in connection with becoming established in Canada.
2. One of the limitations of the questionnaire is that people are often reluctant to express their views and feelings on paper, although they will do so during an interview. This limitation is indicated in a letter from one of the newcomers, which accompanied his questionnaire return:

"I filled out that question form. There are some questions I don't want to answer... I always remember that — 'You can think and talk all you like, but never put that on the paper'".

3. Since the questionnaire was used in combination with interviews and field observations the fore-going limitation was largely offset.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING METHODS

No one method seemed to yield sufficient data to determine the major problems of the Baltic newcomers in British Columbia, the ways in which they are endeavoring to solve their problems, and their general emotional reactions to Canadian life. In the course of this study various methods were tried or considered but not used. The combination which proved most useful was that of interviews and systematic field observations which were carried out concurrently throughout the research period, and a questionnaire administered towards the end of the period to determine the relative significance of the problems and the newcomers' solutions of them. This questionnaire was based on the data obtained through the use of interviews and field observations.

Prior to this study a paper was prepared by the investigator, dealing with the cultural history of the Baltic peoples. This paper and the information derived in its preparation were frequently used to establish rapport. For instance, the paper was given to the members of the executives of the associations formed by the Baltic newcomers, for criticism. The discussion of the past problems of the Baltic peoples led into a discussion of their present problems and what they were doing about them. Further, this background material provided a frame of reference within which the newcomers' present problems of becoming settled in Canada could be better understood. (For a summary of this paper, see Appendix, pp. 122-27).
The methods and techniques which were tried or considered but not used during this investigation will be discussed under two main headings: those which were useful and those which were not.

A. Methods Which Were Useful

1. Interviews

In all cases interviews were conducted in English. This tended to eliminate finer shades of meaning in discussing any problem, but did not seem to unduly limit the range of topics talked about in the course of various interviews.

In order to establish and maintain rapport, interviews were almost entirely of the relatively non-directed type, and no notes were taken during the interview. To minimize errors arising from the faulty memory of the investigator, reports were written almost immediately following the interview or notes were made. To further establish and maintain rapport, the interview was used to answer the newcomers' questions about Canadian culture. These questions frequently indicated situations which the newcomers found it difficult to understand and thus aided the investigator in detecting tension producing situations. The newcomers seemed to discuss their problems and feelings more freely in this two-way interview than in the more structured type of question and answer interview. This reaction might be due in part to the fact that newcomers have had so many of the latter type of interview during the process of their screening in Europe and their placement in jobs in Canada.
Thus in spite of the language handicap, the interview was a particularly useful method in determining the ways in which the newcomers are adjusting to life in Canada. The chief advantage of this method was that it yielded data covering a wide range of situations and the newcomers' adjustment to them, whereas that obtained through field observations and questionnaire replies was considerably more restricted in scope.

2. **Systematic Field Observations**

Throughout this investigation field observations were particularly useful in obtaining information about spontaneous group reactions not securable in other ways. For the most part these were of the "participant observer" type, such as that used by Young (24) in studying the culture conflict in immigrant assimilation. For instance, during the study the regular weekly meetings of the Latvian newcomers were attended. The investigator met with them for supper, took part in the worship service, played games and talked with the various members. At the same time an attempt was made to observe objectively what transpired. To reduce the element of subjectivity in the investigator's account of the incidents, reports were checked with other persons who were present.

Field observations were made concurrently with interviews and the data obtained thereby helped in the understanding of the newcomers' solutions to the problems encountered in becoming settled in Canada. For example, the newcomers' feeling of loss due to the foreign occupation of their homeland was depicted in a folk dance. The dance usually represents the four blades of a windmill, but when performed by the newcomers had one blade missing — it was representative of the conquered homeland.
3. Questionnaire Replies

A questionnaire was used as a final means of obtaining information about the problems which the newcomers are endeavoring to solve in making a new start in Canada. It was used to determine the relative significance of the problems of the newcomers' adjustment, based on material obtained through the use of interviews and field observations.

In a previous study a questionnaire used at the beginning of the study was not successful. (See p. 11) On the other hand the questionnaire proved to be a useful research tool in the present study. There are a number of factors which might have contributed to the present successful use of the questionnaire, some of which are as follows:

a. The newcomers said that they were interested in the present study and felt that it was very worthwhile; b. The suggestion for the use of a questionnaire was made by one of the newcomers after the failure of an essay contest to secure biograms dealing with the newcomers' social adjustment to life in Canada (see Chapter V, p. 32); c. The questionnaire was carefully checked with persons who were holding high prestige positions in the various newcomer organizations, for example, members of the executive (see Chapter V, p. 49); d. The questionnaire was fairly short - 2 pages - and took approximately half an hour to complete.

Thus while there is no indication that questionnaires will always be useful in similar studies, it may be a very useful tool in determining the newcomers' major problems and their reactions to them.
E. Methods Which Were Not Useful

1. Sociometric Methods, Life Histories and Experiments

At the outset of this investigation the above had been considered as means for obtaining information pertinent to this study. However, because of the need to maintain the anonymity of the subjects during the study, since this seemed important in maintaining rapport, no attempt was made to use any of the above mentioned methods. Further, the number of newcomers from the Baltic countries who had settled in British Columbia was so small that it was particularly difficult to obtain experimental and control groups for any experimental study. In the larger urban centers such as Montreal or Toronto, these difficulties might be overcome. With the larger newcomer population, anonymity might not be such an important factor, and it would likely be easier to obtain experimental and control groups.

2. Tests

Testing as a means of obtaining data about the social adjustment of the newcomers was limited by at least two factors:

a. There are relatively few personality tests which could be used as a measure of social adjustment which do not require either a command of the English language or special training to administer.

b. The administration of tests is time-consuming, especially if done on an individual basis. The administration of group tests is also difficult, since the newcomers have relatively little time together in groups. However, in this latter connection
it might be possible to arrange for some group testing during periods of instruction in English, if the co-operation of the school authorities and newcomers is obtained.

During this investigation an attempt was made to administer the Thematic Apperception Technique as a group test. (See Chapter II, p. 15) The results obtained seemed to indicate that it would not be possible to obtain sufficient data in this way to warrant further attempts during the present study. Also, the possibility of jeopardizing the success of other methods by so doing discouraged a second attempt to use the TAT.

From the foregoing it would seem that no one method or technique is likely to be adequate for the study of the social adjustment of newcomers, but rather that it is necessary to use a number of methods and techniques in various combinations, determined by the particular characteristics of the groups being studied, as these become known.
CHAPTER VII
SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT
OF THE BALTIC NEWCOMERS

On the whole the newcomers tended to dismiss their present problems as relatively minor in comparison to those experienced during the time they were in the D.P. camps or doing forced labor in Germany. During interviews many told of horrible atrocities they had experienced themselves or witnessed. The psychological scars in some cases were much deeper than in others and much more evident in some cases than others. Many of the newcomers who had suffered deep tragedy gave the general impression that they had not a care in the world. The endeavor to put tragedy behind them and start a new life is indicated by such comments as, "Canadians cannot believe such horrible things happened. But they are true. Now that is past. We make for ourselves a new life here."

The Baltic newcomers seem to be of a happy disposition. This general characteristic has been commented upon by visitors to the Baltic countries. (See Appendix, p. 126) Thus in spite of the tragedy experienced down through the centuries this characteristic happiness and sense of humor has remained. It was noticeable at the regular weekly meetings and on other occasions when newcomers gathered together. A general atmosphere of gaiety seemed to prevail.

Another general characteristic seems to be a strong drive towards independence. This seems particularly noticeable in the Estonian people, as indicated in part by the slow growth of co-operatives among the
Estonian farmers during the period of freedom between World War I and World War II, in contrast to the fairly rapid growth among the Latvian and Lithuanian farmers. (See Appendix, p.127) This characteristic was evident in the long centuries of struggle against foreigners who occupied the Baltic countries. During this study it was noticeable in the relatively few meetings held by the Estonians in contrast to the many get-togethers of the Latvians and Lithuanians. The significance of this characteristic in the social adjustment of the newcomer is indicated in the replies to the questionnaire. For example, such answers as, "I would like to build up my own factory", "Soon I shall open my own dressmaking shop", "I shall save and buy a farm of my own", indicate the independence of many of the Baltic newcomers.

During the early stages of research many of the newcomers seemed to be almost afraid to plan for the future on any long term basis. Their main concern seemed to be with the immediate present. This adjustment is possibly due in part to the years of uncertainty in the D.P. camps and during forced labor in Germany. At times it tended to make the newcomers seem irresponsible. For example, they might enthusiastically arrange for an outing one week, but few turn out when the day arrived.

During the later stages of research the newcomers seemed to feel a greater sense of security and seemed to feel that they could plan ahead. A contributing factor in many cases was the arrival of close relatives or friends from Europe. Another factor seemed to be the completion of contracts and the feeling that they were "on their own".
For convenience in presentation, the newcomers' problems and their social adjustment to these tension-situations will be discussed under two headings: A. Difficulties encountered in understanding Canadian culture; and B. Difficulties encountered in interpreting the Baltic cultures to Canadians.

A. Difficulties Encountered in Understanding Canadian Culture

1. Most of the Baltic newcomers are anxious to learn about Canada and Canadians. Few knew anything about Canada before their arrival, whereas they had heard a great deal about the United States. Questions asked by the newcomers during interviews indicated that most of them want to learn about Canadian culture. The cultures of the Baltic countries are fairly well defined and they find it difficult to understand the rather ill defined Canadian culture. In addition, despite the long centuries of foreign occupation of the Baltic countries, the great majority of the people are the native Baltic peoples. They thus experience some difficulty in understanding Canadian citizenship. This is evidenced in such statements as, "A Latvian is a Latvian, but a Canadian may be English or Polish or from many countries".

2. The close proximity of Canada to Russia seems to be a factor which contributes to the newcomers' feeling of insecurity. During interviews many commented on this, saying as one newcomer did, "We have run from Russia, half way around the world, and now we are back next to Russia". This feeling of insecurity is further indicated by such statements as, "The Russians will come here, the same as to the Baltic countries".
3. Most of the Baltic newcomers studied the English language at school in their homeland. This in part accounts for the fact that only 19 out of the 56 newcomers replying to the question regarding classes in English, were taking lessons in English. The majority subscribe to a daily newspaper, go to picture shows and learn the language through talking with Canadians. When asked if they would like more lessons, 32 out of 62 replied, "Yes". However, in interviews and on the questionnaire replies some newcomers indicated that they felt the present classes were inadequate in that they were too large and frequently included persons who were just beginning as well as the more advanced students.

4. So far the Baltic newcomers do not seem to be withdrawing into close-knit ethnic groups, but rather are meeting and mixing with Canadians. When asked how many Canadian homes they had visited, only 4 out of the 53 replying said they had visited none. Of the remainder, 8 had visited 20 or more Canadian homes, 14 had visited from 10 to 19 and 27 from 1 to 9 Canadian homes.

5. On the whole the Baltic newcomers seem to have found their contacts with Canadians pleasant experiences. In this connection, 28 out of 62 reported in their questionnaire replies that they found Canadians "very friendly", while 22 found Canadians "friendly". Only 2 of those replying found Canadians "unfriendly". Occasionally during interviews newcomers said that they found Canadians "friendly but superficial".
6. One of the effects of the Canadian immigration policy which for economic reasons favors the selection of the single persons rather than family groups, seems to be to increase the newcomers' feeling of insecurity, which deters their successful adjustment to life in Canada. The enforced breaking of family ties often results in intense loneliness for the single immigrant as well as for the families left in Europe. (For an account by a newcomer of the effects of the Canadian immigration policy upon family life, see Appendix, pp.128-29). Because of this preference for the single worker, newcomers infer that Canadians do not value family life as highly as they the Baltic people do. This tends to hinder their understanding of Canadian life and acceptance of it.

7. Many of the newcomers contacted seemed uncertain of their jobs after the completion of their contracts. When asked what they planned to do the following year, 12 out of 59 replied, "Same kind of work", 10 said, "Don't know", and 9 answered, "Get into own line of work". The 12 who plan to continue in their present line of work include not only those who are in their own line of work already, but also those with high school or university training who feel there is little opportunity for getting out of their present low category work. On the whole the attitude of persons in this latter group seems to be one of resignation rather than bitterness. There are, however, instances where the newcomers feel very bitter about being "held down", and not being able to "get ahead" in Canada.
B. **Difficulties Encountered in Interpreting the Baltic Cultures to Canadians**

1. The large majority of Baltic newcomers seemed eager to interpret their culture to Canadians. In this regard, 52 out of 57 newcomers replied in the affirmative when asked in the questionnaire, "Are you interested in interpreting your culture to Canadians?" However, when asked what opportunity they had to do so, the typical reply was, "No opportunity". Integration of the newcomers into Canadian life is a two-way process and this lack of opportunity to interpret their own culture probably deterred in some considerable measure their understanding and acceptance of Canadian customs.

2. Largely because of the present research, the Baltic newcomers came to the attention of the Canadian Folk Society and were invited to take part in the Folk Festival of that Society. Both field observations and interviews indicated that the newcomers felt more settled here in British Columbia because of their participation in the Festival. Further, it seemed to stimulate greater interest in Canadian life.

3. Many of the newcomers seemed to feel a deep sense of loss due to the Russian occupation of their homeland and the large-scale deportations of Baltic peoples to "Siberia". This seemed particularly noticeable in the case of persons in their 30's and over, who had taken an active part in building up their homeland during the 20 years of freedom between the two World Wars. This sense
of loss seems to be a driving force in the newcomers' desire to retain their culture and to interpret it to Canadians. A further driving force in this connection may be due to a sense of guilt at having left their homeland. The interpretation of their culture and the preservation of it might thus be to some extent a rationalization on the part of the newcomers by which they justify to themselves their flight from their homeland.

4. The strong emotional ties of the Baltic newcomers in British Columbia with friends and relatives still in the D. P. camps seem to make it difficult for the newcomers to feel settled and thus deters their successful adjustment to life in Canada. The strength of this attachment is indicated somewhat by the fact that 4 out of 62 replying to the questionnaire said that they sent food to friends and relatives in the D. P. camps. 16 of the newcomers sent parcels once a month, 8 more often and 16 less often than once a month. Clothing parcels were also sent frequently. 31 out of the 62 newcomers sent parcels, 9 sending them once a month, 17 less often, and 1 more often than once a month.

5. On the whole the presence of oldtimers from the Baltic countries seemed to give the newcomers a sense of "belonging" here. A typical comment is, "We are not strangers here. Many of our people have been here a long time". The oldtimers made possible the primary and secondary group relationships necessary to the successful adjustment of the newcomers, to their new environment.
6. In some instances the newcomers do not feel entirely "at home" with the oldtimers. Out of the 57 newcomers replying in this connection to the questionnaire, 46 stated that they felt "at home" with the oldtimers and 11 claimed that they did not. Persons in both cases qualified their answers with such statements as, "not with all of them", "yes, if we don't touch politics", "not with those who have Communist leanings". Most of the oldtimers came to Canada from twenty to thirty years ago and thus did not experience the period of freedom in the Baltic countries nor the present Russian occupation of their countries. They left the Baltic countries at about the time of the Russian Revolution when the Czar who represented the Russian conquerors of the Baltic countries, was being overthrown. In this connection, one of the newcomers replied to an oldtimer who praised the Communists, "You have tasted but the sweetness of the pomegranate, we have eaten the bitter seeds".

The oldtimers have not formed ethnic groups and from the foregoing it would seem that the newcomers are not likely to form such strong ties with the oldtimers that it will prevent contacts with Canadians. It would seem that the primary and secondary ties are strong, but not too strong to deter their successful adjustment to Canadian life.

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The Baltic newcomers have shown themselves to be very adaptive to their new environment. In part their adaptability is shown in their wide range of interests. In replying to questions 17 and 18 of the
questionnaire, the Baltic newcomers indicated an interest in activities which require group participation as well as those which they could do individually. For example, out of the 62 persons replying, 32 were interested in dancing, 25 in folk dancing, and 20 said that they liked to meet with a group of friends and talk together. On the other hand 40 said that they liked to stay at home and read, and 33 indicated an interest in writing letters. On the whole the range of interests would seem to indicate that the Baltic newcomers can adjust to new situations fairly easily. In this connection it is interesting to note that the persons who found Canadians "very unfriendly" had relatively few interests, had not been invited to Canadian homes, and had met with few of the oldtimers.

This wide range of interests helped the newcomers to understand Canadian culture. Many have met Canadians through a common interest in sculpturing, photography, painting, drawing, chess and folk dancing. In addition, their broad interests have helped the Baltic newcomers to interpret their culture to Canadians.

The social adjustment of the Baltic newcomers contacted during this study seemed to have been satisfactory from the newcomers' point of view. While many problems still exist, the Baltic newcomers, on the whole, seem to have found at least partial solutions for most of their major problems.
CHAPTER VIII
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH CONCERNING
THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF NEWCOMERS

In the present study an attempt has been made to discover from the newcomers themselves their feelings and attitudes about the situations to which they have to adjust in becoming settled in Canada. Before any general conclusions can be drawn in this connection, however, it would be necessary to conduct the study on a much larger scale. Further, this study has been concerned with the social adjustment process from one viewpoint only, that of the newcomers. It would be necessary also to consider the viewpoint of Canadians, such as employers, club workers, teachers of newcomers' classes in English, before a final evaluation can be made.

On the whole there have been relatively few studies of immigrant assimilation and for the most part these have been carried out a considerable time after the immigrants have arrived. Also, these studies tend to deal with the sociological rather than the psychological aspects of assimilation. Thus, the tension-situations which the newcomers experience are not discovered until years after the time when remedial measures could have been taken. It would seem that the study of the social adjustment of newcomers is one field where research could be used in social therapy. (64) Studies of the psychological aspects of assimilation could provide adequate data upon which to base a mental health program for immigrants, as part of the mental health program for the country as a whole.
There are two broad areas of research in connection with the social adjustment of newcomers. One of these is the individual newcomer's adjustment to others – Canadians, oldtimers, newcomers. The other area concerns the factors and influences determining the personality of the individual.

The first area of study would include research concerning the individual's acceptance by the community and his acceptance of the community. It would include, for example, the adjustment of the parents at their jobs, the children at school, the part they take in the life of community organizations, such as church. Adjustment taking place in intra-family relationships, resulting from the influence of the new cultural expectations, would also be included. In this connection a comparison of the social adjustment of newcomers settled as family units and those where the breadwinner preceded the family by at least a year would be valuable in determining future settlement programs. Similarly, comparisons of the social adjustment of single young people who have none of their kinfolk with them, and those who are with family groups might indicate ways in which social tensions could be mitigated.

From the standpoint of personality studies, the second area, there is ample opportunity to study cultural differences and their influence upon personality structure in this field of newcomers' social adjustment to a new culture. In the present study there seemed to be basic personalities in each of the three groups studied, which differed noticeably from one another. For example, the Estonians seemed to possess a
rugged individualism which was in sharp contrast to the more group-centred activities of the Lithuanians. These differences in the ways in which newcomers from different countries adapt to any given tension-situation are significant, not only to the newcomer, but to the Canadian community as a whole, and thus deserve full investigation.

In conclusion, the possibility of psychological studies in the field of immigrant integration is extensive. It offers broad scope for the development of research for the purpose of discovering social tensions in their early stages, when the social and economic costs of remedying them are least.
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APPENDIX A

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<td>20 to 24</td>
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Did you come to Canada under contract? Yes   No

Were you sponsored by a relative? Yes   No

When did you arrive? Month____ Year____ Did you come from: Sweden____

What class did you complete in school?__________________________  England____

How many years did you go to school? ____________  D.P.Camp____

1. Which plan do you think best for resettling people in Canada? (Check FIRST choice)
   a. Bring in the young people (17-18 years and over); allow them to become settled, and then bring in their parents
   b. Only allow single persons to enter
   c. Bring in the husband and wife and children, but leave the elderly folk in Europe, since it will be difficult for old people to learn the ways of a new country
   d. Bring in the family, including grandparents

2. It would be best to bring in: (Check FIRST choice)
   a. Professional people  b. laborers  c. trades people  d. Persons from all trades and professions

3. How would you go about arranging to house the families?

4. What is your present line of work? ____________________________

   Have you ever done your present line of work before? Yes   No

   What do you plan to do next year? Why?

5. How would you rank your present job in terms of prestige in your home country:
   Very high  Medium high  Medium  Medium low  Low

6. List three things you LIKE about your job, and three things you DO NOT LIKE about...
7. Where would you like best to live in Canada? ________________________________
    Why? _______________________________________________________________________

8. Where is your family located now, to the best of your knowledge?

9. Do you send the following to D.P.Camps to friends ___ or relatives ___
    Food: Yes ___ No ___ If so, once a month ___ more often ___ less often ___
    Clothing: Yes ___ No ___ " once a month ___ more often ___ less often ___
    Money: Yes ___ No ___ " once a month ___ more often ___ less often ___

10. Are you taking lessons in English? Yes ___ No ___ How often? __________________
    Do you want more lessons? Yes ___ No ___. What other helps have you had in learning
    the English language? _____________________________________________________________________

11. How many Canadian homes have you been in since you arrived? __________
    How many in the past month? ___ Do you feel at home with them? Yes ___ No ___

12. Have you found Canadians:
    Very friendly ___ Fairly friendly ___ Friendly ___ Somewhat unfriendly ___ Unfriendly ___

13. Have you met many people from your own country here (ie who came before the war)Yes ___
    No ___ About how many? _____ Did you feel at home with them? Yes ___ No ___
    Did you feel strange with them? Yes ___ No ___. About how long had they been here? _____

14. To what social groups do you belong here in Canada? ____________________________

15. To what social groups did you belong at home? _________________________________

16. Are you interested in interpreting your culture to Canadians? Yes ___ No ___
    Have you had an opportunity to do so? If so what? ____________________________________________________________________

17. Check the entertainments which you prefer, in the following list:
    Going to the movies: with a group ___ alone ___ with a girl ___ with a man ___
    Going to a symphony: with a group ___ alone ___ with a girl ___ with a man ___
    Going to a stage production: group ___ alone ___ with a girl ___ with a man ___
    Meeting with a group of friends to eat and talk together ______
    Going to a dance ___ Playing tennis ___ Bowling ___ Folk dancing ___ Walking ___
    Driving ___ Staying at home and reading ___ Writing letters ___ Drawing ___
    Painting ___ Doing embroidery ___ Other skills _________________________________

18. If you had more free time, how would you spend it?
ESSAY CONTEST FOR THE ESTONIAN, LATVIAN AND LITHUANIAN NEWCOMERS

TOPIC: SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OF LIFE IN CANADA AND THE WAY I HAVE TRIED TO SOLVE THEM.

PRIZES: 15.00 each to the male and female contributing the best essays.

LENGTH: Up to, but not more than 1,200 words, and not less than 500 words.

LANGUAGE: Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian or English.

DATE DUE: June 30th, 1949.

JUDGES: Estonian: Mr. Hugo Voore, Latvian: Mr. A. E. Brunners, Lithuanian: c-o Mr. E. Smilgis, Others: Mrs. John Benson, Mrs. Helen G. Foster,

CONTEST SPONSORED BY: Mrs. Helen G. Foster, M.A. student, University of B. C.

RULES:

1. This contest is open to all persons from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, who have arrived in Canada since July 1945.

2. It is WHAT you write about in your essay that is important and not the style in which you write it. I am interested in your problems and how you have tried to solve them, not in the style of your writing.

3. Some of the difficulties which troubled you when you first arrived in Canada have now been overcome. I would like to hear about these problems and how you (or others) solved them.

4. In becoming settled in any new country one has many adjustments to make. I would like to hear about these difficulties, whether large or small.

5. Essays may be mailed or handed to any of the above mentioned judges.

6. When you send (or hand) in your essay, you will receive a number. TAKE CARE OF IT. A duplicate of the number you receive will be attached to your essay. Winners will be announced by number.

7. Decisions of the Judges will be final.

8. Please detach the CONTEST FORM below and attach it to your essay. This information will help in the grading of the essay and in understanding your problems.

REASONS FOR THE CONTEST

1. I am a student at the University of British Columbia, and for over a year I have studied the cultural history of the Baltic peoples.

2. Because of the very great development in industry, art, music, literature in the Baltic countries during their 20 years of freedom, I decided to study the ways in which the originality and energy of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians is being applied to the problems of making a new start in Canada.

3. Only the newcomers themselves can tell about these problems. This contest is to enable them to do so.

(Signed) Helen G. Foster

DETACH HERE

ESSAY CONTEST FORM FOR ESTONIAN, LATVIAN AND LITHUANIAN NEWCOMERS

NOTE: Take care of your number. Essay winners will be announced by number.

Please check (X) the appropriate space:

Mr. ______ Single ______

Female ______ Married ______

Age Group: Over 40 ______ 30 to 39 ______ 20 to 24 ______ Under 15 ______

25 to 29 ______ 15 to 19 ______

How many years of schooling have you had? ______

Then did you arrive in Canada? Month ______ Year ______

Did you come under the Government Displaced Persons Scheme? Yes ______ No ______
APPENDIX C

THE CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY AND ITS ADMINISTRATION
WITH RESPECT TO THE DISPLACED PERSONS

(Source: From a paper by Hugh L. Keenleyside, Esquire, M. A.,
Ph.D., LL.D., Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources, Ottawa.
This paper was presented at the Symposium on Population
Growth and Immigration into Canada, held at McMaster Univer-
sity, April, 1949.)

"Speaking in the House of Commons on May 1, 1947, the then
Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, gave the most comprehensive and
authoritative statement that has been made since the war, of Canadian
policy in relation to immigration. He said in part:

'The policy of the Government is to foster the growth
of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigra-
tion. The government will seek by legislation, regulation and
vigorous administration, to ensure the careful selection and
permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can advant-
ageously be absorbed in our national economy.

'It is of the utmost importance to relate immigration to
absorptive capacity. In the past, Canada has received many
millions of immigrants, but at the same time many millions of
people have emigrated. The objective of the government is to
secure what new population we can absorb, but not to exceed
that number. The figure that represents our absorptive capacity
will clearly vary from year to year in response to economic
conditions.

'There will be general agreement with the view that the
people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration,
to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our popu-
lation...

'With regard to the selection of immigrants much has
been said about discrimination. I wish to make it quite clear
that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the
persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens...

'During the depression and the war immigration was in-
evitably restricted; now the categories of admissible persons
have been considerably widened. Special steps will also be
taken to provide for the admission of carefully selected im-
migrants from among the Displaced Persons of Europe."
..."Under the Immigration Act and Regulations as they stand today, three categories of persons who are admissible to Canada as immigrants may be readily summarized. The first most favoured group includes British subjects from the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa; citizens of Ireland; citizens of the United States; and French citizens born in France and entering Canada directly from that country. The second general category of admissible persons consists of close relatives of persons legally domiciled in Canada. The third category comprises citizens of non-Asiatic countries who are coming to Canada as agriculturists and who have sufficient means and the intention to farm in Canada, either by themselves or with the assistance of relatives; farm labourers coming to engage in assured farm employment; miners and wood workers coming to assured employment in the mining and forest industries."

..."Special reference should be made to the arrangements devised to provide for the admission of Displaced Persons. By successive Orders in Council, permission has been granted for the admission of 40,000 of these persons who would otherwise have been inadmissible. (D.P.'s who are admissible relatives of Canadian residents are not included in this quota of 40,000) Not only was Canada the first non-European country to take positive action of this kind, without waiting for a general international agreement; but for many months Canada was admitting more D.P.'s than all other non-European countries combined. Our total of 64,860 D.P.'s admitted (from April 1947 to March 1949) is still considerably higher than that of any country outside Europe, including the United States. Since Displaced Persons, once established in Canada, may apply in turn for the entry of their own relatives, this country's contribution to the solution of the resettlement problem will probably involve an eventual movement of something over 100,000 Displaced Persons."

"When the Canadian Government decided to make provision for the admission of non-relative D.P.'s, steps were also taken to ensure that those admitted were of types that would be useful in the Canadian economy and likely to make good Canadian citizens. The machinery set up to carry out this policy includes and inter-departmental Immigration-Labour Committee, to assess labour requirements in Canada and to define the types of Displaced Persons which should be admitted to meet established needs.

"Applications for D.P. labour from prospective employers are examined by this Committee, to ensure that they are prepared to give at least one year's employment, to pay the prevailing wage rate for the type of labour concerned, and to provide housing on arrival.

"Great care is taken to ensure that the entry of D.P.'s is not used to depress wages or otherwise adversely affect the standards of Canadian labour. When satisfactory conditions are established, if the applica-
tion is approved by the Committee, it is forwarded by the Immigration Branch to the International Refugee Organization in Geneva. At the same time, word is sent to the Canadian Government Immigration Mission at Karlsruhe. Working out from this headquarters are nine teams of Canadian officials, each consisting of an Immigration Officer in charge of the team, a Medical Officer, a Security Officer and, as required, a Labour Officer. At the D.P. camps, a Canadian team medically examines the prospective immigrants and screens them for political acceptability (Nazis and Fascists, as well as Communists, are screened out); the Labour Officer sees that they are suitable for the type of employment that is being offered; finally, the Immigration Officer satisfied himself that the immigrants are of a type that is likely to succeed under Canadian conditions.

...  

"Another administrative activity which deserves a brief comment is that of assisting immigrants to become quickly and satisfactorily settled in the Canadian community. This is more than a matter of providing jobs for D.P.s. It means preparing them before they arrive for conditions that they will find here, and assisting them after arrival to solve the many delicate problems of adjustment to the new and often very strange environment.

"In the D.P. assembly centres on the continent, and on the way across the ocean, moving pictures of Canada are shown, and talks on Canadian conditions are given. Moreover, the Immigration Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources has had prepared in half a dozen languages, a small book entitled "This is Canada", presenting in simple form a background to the conditions which the immigrant will meet on arrival. Following their arrival, the D.P. immigrants, and similarly the Dutch immigrants under the Farm Settlement Scheme, are directed to the localities on which arrangements have been made for their reception. At this point these immigrants and, of course, all those who come in on their own, become primarily the responsibility of the provincial rather than the federal authorities.

"However, through the work of the Settlement Service of the Immigration Branch, the National Employment Service, and the Citizenship Branch, the Federal Government continues its interest in the new arrivals. All aspects of the problem of assimilating immigrants are kept under review by an Advisory Committee on Citizenship, with the Under-Secretary of State as chairman, and including representatives of the Immigration Branch, the Department of National Health and Welfare, the Department of Labour, the Department of Veterans' Affairs, and the Citizenship Branch. (Representatives of the Canadian Council on Citizenship, the Canadian Welfare Council and the Canadian Educational Association attend meetings of the Committee in an advisory capacity.)"
"The Citizenship Branch has prepared a collection of educational materials dealing with such matters as Basic English, the Canadian system of government, and the acquisition of citizenship, which are made available to the various provinces for their work with New Canadians. Almost without exception the provinces have taken advantage of this offer, and very wide use is being made of the material thus supplied. In certain parts of the country special plans have been initiated for training teachers in citizenship classes, so that they will be competent to instruct immigrants. Films have, in addition, been distributed by the National Film Board for use among immigrant groups, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has recently put on a series of dramatizations designed to familiarize our people with some of the problems faced by New Canadians.

"Mention should also be made of the free medical aid that is given to D.P.s at the port of arrival. Then, certain categories of immigrants come under a co-operative arrangement between the federal and provincial governments by which the former pays part of hospital and health service costs during the first six months of the immigrant's life in Canada. (Mention should also be made of the assistance extended to the New Canadians by private welfare organizations throughout the country -- particularly the Red Cross, the YWCA, and the Catholic Women's League.)

"Finally, a recommendation has been made that the government appoint a small number of officers, responsible to the Citizenship Branch, to act as a direct channel of communication between the provincial authorities, private organizations and the Federal Government in connection with the problem of the newly arrived immigrants. It is hoped that these Citizenship Officers may perform a useful service in seeing that there is no overlapping in the functions of the respective organizations and that there are no gaps left unfilled..."
APPENDIX D

CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE BALTIC PEOPLES


Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are situated on the eastern coast of the Baltic sea, with Russia to the East and Germany to the south and west. The newcomers from these Baltic countries miss the relative smallness and compactness of their countries as they travel across the great expanses of Canada. Many commented that they travelled further from Halifax to Vancouver than from Germany to Halifax. Estonia, the smallest of the three countries encompassed 18,353 square miles, Latvia 25,395 and Lithuania 21,489 prior to the Soviet Union's occupation in 1939. By way of comparison, England occupies 50,851 square miles and Vancouver Island 12,408 square miles.

The cultures of the three countries stem from different roots. The Estonians are a branch of the Ural-Altaic family speaking a language belonging to the Fenno-Ugrian group. The Letts and Lithuanians are of Indo-European stock, the Lithuanian language being related to ancient Sanskrit. None of the Baltic peoples speak Russian or any dialect even closely related to it.

Although the Baltic peoples have been under the domination of foreign conquerors since the 12th and 13th centuries, only a very small proportion of the population is of foreign origin. In Estonia 88.2% of the population were Estonian, 1.5% German, 8.5% Russian (3/4 of these Russians were poor peasants living in the eastern frontier districts), 0.7% Swedish and 0.4% Jewish. In Latvia 75.5% of the population was Lettish, 11.97% Russian, 4.79% Jewish, 3.19% German, 2.51% Polish and others including Lithuanians and Estonians. In Lithuania 83.88% of the population (excluding Memel where the majority were German) were Lithuanians, 7.58% Jews, 2.7% Russians, 3.23% Poles and 1.44% Germans. This high percentage of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians within their respective countries may account in part for the retaining and developing of distinct national cultures. With the relative homogeneity of population there is likely to be less marked divergence in the total culture than in Canada where the culture is the product of a great diversity of cultures from countries throughout the world.

The history of the Baltic peoples from the time of the Danish invasion in 1030 A.D. has been one of foreign invasion. Yet even at that early date the cultures of the Baltic peoples were fairly well advanced.
as indicated by their criminal codes, national administration, monetary system and system of weights and measures. From 1201 onwards the greater part of the Baltic lands fell under the domination of the Knights of the Sword and then the Order of Teutonic Knights, to whom in 1346 the Danes sold their share of Estonia. These Orders colonized the territory; converted the inhabitants to Christianity with considerable bloodshed on both sides for the pagan Balts considered their religion and ethics superior to that of their conquerors; and made them serfs. Their lineal descendants, the Baltic barons maintained their position as the land-owning class until fairly recent times, in spite of the fact that this territory passed into the hands of Sweden, Poland and finally Russia. In Lithuania, however, the Teutonic Knights were never able to make headway beyond the Memel territory. While Latvia and Estonia suffered under the conquest of the Teutonic Knights Lithuania enjoyed a period of greatness under Vytautas the Great. From 1392-1430 the country stretched from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. During the period that Estonia and Latvia were under Swedish rule, Lithuania and Poland were united with both states under elected kings. Eventually the three Baltic countries came under Russian domination in the 18th century. The period of Swedish rule (1600-1721) was the bright spot in the history of Estonia and Latvia from the time of the Danish Invasion until eventual liberation in 1918. Through the reforms of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XI, schools were established and land reform instituted which checked the illegal dealings of the Baltic barons and gave the land to the peasants. But the Great Northern War between Sweden and Russia laid waste the populace and lands of the Baltic, leaving Estonia a desert and the Estonians a famine-stricken, disease-ridden remnant of the old peasantry. For 10 years the land was not plowed and in 1714 of the 36,000 holdings of arable land in Estonia, only 733 were under cultivation. Estonia and Latvia emerged from the war with no more privileges than they had held prior to the Swedish regime. Not until 1816 in Estonia and 1818 in Latvia was serfdom abolished, and it was not until 1849 that the peasants were allowed to buy their own land. Finally in 1868 forced labor was abolished.

The fruition of the centuries of struggle for possession of their land was marked by the intense enthusiasm and effort with which the peasant and his family went to work. Often self-employed people drive themselves much harder than any master would be able to; even under the feudal laws from which the Estonians and Livonians were now freed. Tenants set about the task of improving their buildings and lands in what might well be described as a frenzy of work.

This release of land was not, however, an unmixed blessing. Many Estonians and Latvians were sinking in the social scale. The tenant who failed to make good, the cottagers who held but a hut and potato patch on the lord's demesne, the men who never held land, the servants, all now wandered about the land as "seasonal workers" being exploited by the nobles and peasant farmers alike. Many of these found their way to the towns. Others emigrated to Southern Russia.

One of the results of the trek to the towns and cities of this displaced rural population, was the changed character of the cities. In
1871 only half of the population of Tallinn and Tartu was Estonian but by 1897, 88% of Tallinn's population and 70% of Tartu's population was Estonian. Similarly the Latvian cities were changing in character. In 1867 the population of Riga was 104,000, by 1888 it was 182,000 and by 1914 it had exceeded the half-million mark. The influx in population consisted mostly of Latvians, thus changing the population of the cities from being predominantly German to Latvian. A similar change took place in the towns.

This change in the character of the cities brought the Latvians and Estonians into close contact with their fellow countrymen and gave impetus to the national awakening in these countries. About the middle of the 19th century various types of associations were formed: singing societies, sports clubs, educational groups, libraries, night and Sunday schools, people's universities, agronomical and nautical institutes. These supported by a vigorous press marked a strong cultural ascendance to national consciousness and unity.

A set-back was soon experienced to this sudden growth of national culture in Estonia and Latvia. In 1882 Russia decreed that the language of instruction in all but the first elementary schools would henceforth be Russian. In 1886 all schools were put under the Russian Minister of Education. New Russian secondary schools, impressively built, and lavishly equipped were rapidly constructed in the towns. In 1893 the University of Tartu was closed and reopened as a Russian academy. The Balt students protested this attempt to curb the growth of Estonian culture by withdrawing from the University and the enrollment dropped from 1,054 in 1890 to 268 in 1900. In Riga 1,000 teachers met in conference and passed a resolution demanding the use of the Latvian language in Latvian schools. Serious riots broke out in the cities and spread throughout the country, due in part to this compulsory use of the Russian language, but augmented by grievances against the German land-owning class and having to fight in the Russian-Japanese war, 10,000 miles from home. Similarly in Lithuania the use of Russian was made compulsory in the schools and organizations and the press were suppressed. Three revolts, in 1831, 1863 and 1905 were put down by force. During this period many Lithuanians escaped to the United States.

Finally in 1918 the Baltic countries won their independence, and eventually the Russians and Germans withdrew their forces. The Lithuanians celebrate their day of liberation on February 16th, the Estonians on February 24th, and the Latvians on November 16th.

It is interesting to note that during the long centuries under German and Russian domination the influence on the Baltic cultures was negligible whereas the Estonians and Latvians who came under the Scandinavian influence were amenable to the influences of that culture. "The Latvians and Estonians while under Swedish and Danish rule willingly adopted Swedish and Danish democratic laws and statutes, culture and mode of life. Nevertheless they continued to preserve their national entities.

On the other hand, when they all were subjected to the most unscrupulous attempts at russification at the end of the XIX
century, they courageously withstood it, thus showing splendid cultural preparedness and solidarity against these efforts to denationalize them.

It is not surprising to find that considerable importance is placed upon education in the Baltic countries after their liberation. This relative importance is indicated by the fact that next to national defence education was the heaviest burden on the Estonian taxpayer, representing nearly 20% of the national budget. With a population slightly under that of Montreal, Estonia had by 1929 1,292 primary schools with an enrollment of 97,979, 83 secondary schools with an enrollment of 15,663, a higher technical school and Tartu University, with a combined registration 4,225 students. Similarly, in Latvia by 1935 there were 1,907 primary schools, 122 secondary schools, and the University of Riga with 7,203 students. In Lithuania from 1919 to 1936 the number of primary schools increased from 877 to 2,557. The school leaving age in the Baltic countries was 16 years.

Soon after independence was won Estonia adopted the Law of Cultural Autonomy recognizing the rights of minority groups. Thus minority groups numbering not less than 3,000 persons had the right to exercise national autonomy, and this extended to all educational, cultural and charitable institutions.

The accomplishments of the Baltic countries during their 20 years of freedom are remarkable, especially in view of the fact that a government had to be set up, and legislative and administrative details worked out. Further the world depression of the 1930's came about mid-way in the period of freedom. The bulk of the trade of these countries was with the United Kingdom, Germany and Sweden. In addition to the disruption to the economy caused by the War, the breaking up of the large estates and the growth of the co-operative movement entailed time in reorganizing the economies of the countries. Generally speaking Lithuania made more rapid gains in agriculture than did Estonia or Latvia, but the latter two countries advanced further and faster in the manufacturing industries.

The influence of the past on the accomplishments during the period of freedom is indicated in part in the following statement concerning Latvian industry:

"the modern industrial arts turned for inspiration to the ancient traditional patterns, striving for individualistic expression that long had lain dormant in old homes throughout the countryside. Old furniture, pewter, glass and ceramics rapidly became collectors' items and were reproduced by modern industries for an even increasing demand..." 

In part the accomplishments in the Baltic States was due to the very high percentage of employment: 67.6%, 64% and 62.9% for Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia respectively as compared with 52.7% for Sweden, 49.5% for Britain, and 41.7% for Denmark. One of the factors contributing to this high percentage of workers may have been the fact that many of the wives worked in the Baltic countries. For example, the Estonian
housewives, in addition to the excellent care of their homes and children, often worked in the offices and banks, or in the various departments of the Ministries. A German chronicler of the 13th century wrote in amazement about the emancipation of the Baltic women: "Here women ride on horses the same as men". The Baltic women have long enjoyed a position as their husband's partner and thus took an active part in the building up of their countries after the liberation. This did not detract from their enjoyment of the long winter evenings at home, for there was always plenty of gaiety — bridge, concerts, the theatre, ballet, opera and amateur theatricals and reading.

One of the characteristics of urban life in Latvia seems to be the preference of the bulk of the people for large apartment units in preference to single family dwellings. Although highly individualistic in other ways they seem to prefer the conveniences of apartments. The large parks afford play space for the children and enable the people to enjoy the beauties of flowers and shrubs. Another characteristic of urban life in Latvia was the summer exodus of families to the cottages which lined the beaches and the banks of the Daugava river. Mothers and children enjoyed the out-of-doors in this manner from May to September, with the family breadwinner commuting daily from his job in the city. Many of the offices and stores closed early during the summer months to facilitate this summer life along the beaches and in the pine forests.

Frequently women of the peasant or small-farmer class do not occupy a position of equality with their husbands although women in cities tend to do so. Thus the independence and equality of the Lithuanian women is in marked contrast to the position generally held by women in rural areas. Davis states: "she works as hard as her husband, but she is his equal, consulted on all matters of importance, and spends her own earnings by garden or loom. On market days she comes in with him, helps him to drive his bargains, and drinks with him and his friends in the inn on terms of perfect friendliness and equality".

The characteristics of the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians show marked similarities as well as differences. The folk-tales and songs of these people tell of the days prior to the invasion of their conquerors and indicate the tenacity with which they have retained their individual cultures. The extreme pressure of the "out group" conquerors seems but to have strengthened the "in group" ties. An indication of the diversity of their culture and the reinforcing ties is afforded by the fact that the Folk Lore Archivists at Tartu University alone prior to World War II had documented more than 100,000 songs and rhymes, some 80,000 old songs and 50,000 more recent ones, and more than 10,000 fairy tales, proverbs and riddles.

Despite the hardships suffered by the Baltic peoples they all seem to possess a very pronounced sense of humour. Evidence of this is seen in the comic twist given to many of the Estonian legends. Similarly the view of life expressed in ancient Lettish legends and folk-lore shows it to have been a joyous one, sociable and hospitable. The sadness and note of melancholy found in later folk-lore is not indigenous, but the
result of long years of serfdom. The Lithuanians too seem to be of a very happy disposition. Benedictsen, the philologist says, "To find a peasantry in all the world which understands like these how to make a festival of both work and leisure". Davies who spent considerable time travelling in the Baltic countries says, "Everyone sings in Lithuania and there is a song for everything; for every aspect of nature and every mood; for every action of work or play and every thought of man or woman."

The people of the three Baltic countries all show indication of lively imagination and individuality. But the Estonians seem to be more ruggedly individualistic and independent than either the Latvians or the Lithuanians. This may be in part due to the fact that the Estonian farm owner is more self-sufficient than is the Lithuanian or Latvian farmer. In both the latter countries the cooperative movement in agriculture made much more progress than it did in Estonia. Lithuania has been described as a country of towns and communities — small farms, the inhabitants of which can easily visit with one another after the day's work is finished. The Estonian farmer is more isolated.

In all of the Baltic countries there was tremendous interest in music, opera, ballet and drama. For example in Latvia, Riga and Liepaja had their own opera companies. School teachers, pastors and sacristans were required to be able to play the piano, the harmonium or the violin. The opera was subsidized by the State.

This sketch outline of the cultural history of the Baltic peoples serves to indicate that they come from well developed and mature cultures. Many of the newcomers from these countries find it difficult to discover let alone understand the ill-defined Canadian culture. The system of values built up within families and within the more general social framework is not easily compared with that in Canada which results in part from the competitive inter-acting of value systems from many cultures. This brief outline serves to indicate the tremendous importance to the Baltic people of the preservation of their culture, including of course their language. This does not preclude an interest in Canadian citizenship, but indicates somewhat the basis upon which such citizenship will be acceptable.
APPENDIX E

SITUATION OF LATVIAN D.P. FAMILIES IN THE PRESENT RESETTLEMENT ACTION

Excerpts from a paper prepared by a member of the Executive of the Latvian Association.

"In the Western zones of Germany there are about 100,000 Latvian displaced persons (Summer, 1949). The conditions of their life are miserable, and their return home is impossible. Nearly 80% of these people are families: grown-ups, children, old ones; others are single. These persons are supported by IRO and have been living in D.P. camps for three years, longing for a possibility to lead a human life again. The families with children feel the present difficulties very hard; the lack of food and the camp life have a bad influence upon the children's development. Leaving Latvian D.P.'s -- the miserable victims of war -- in physical and moral distress would be inhuman. They deserve such a fate neither by their former life and attitude nor by their present conduct.

... Some of the countries have begun engaging displaced persons thus giving the impression of having solved the resettlement problem. Unfortunately it is not like that. There are countries ready to engage the able-bodied single workers. The rest of the D.P.'s are left in absolute distress. No country wants families with children although they indispensably need help. It must be said that the present attitude towards D.P.'s shows neither help nor relief, but only selfish interests, and morally cannot be justified as it is acting against their vital and moral interests:

a. The fact that the single workers are engaged and families refused puts a single person in a more privileged position. It is quite opposite to moral norms, and may demoralize any society.

b. The young people having been obliged to leave their parents, many families are separated and scattered. Many children are left without parents. There is no need to explain what evil, material and moral, is thereby caused. We only want to remember the fact that the family has been established by God.

c. It deters Latvian D.P.'s from founding families.

d. It gives a reason to avoid children and even causes abortions; the people begin to feel that children are a hindrance to better conditions of life."
e. It causes many divorces among D.P.'s.

The following conclusion is to be made after the above has been said: By engaging the single workers and refusing the families the natural and sacred human rights are being consciously or unconsciously ignored.

...During Hitler's regime they were looked upon only like working tools and their intellectual interests and needs were absolutely neglected; they were gradually led towards extinction. Founding families was prohibited; abortions was decreed. Is there not a similarity between that time and the present? Latvian D.P.'s families are persecuted by the Eastern communistic dictatorship. Would anything like that be expected from the Western democracies too?

Are some countries which permit single workers to immigrate, but no families, only keeping in view their own good? I beg to point out several reasons why a family can make a greater profit to a country than a single worker:

a. A family after immigrating will settle for a permanent life, not so a single worker. That is to be observed among the foreign workers in Belgium. Many of the single workers in the coal industry have returned to Germany, having found conditions were not so good as they had hoped for. On the other hand, no family has come back from Belgium.

b. A state as well as a society has a greater guarantee entrusting a responsible duty or means to a family man than to a single one. The first one will be more anxious to do his best for he knows his responsibility towards his family.

c. Any country wants qualified workers and experts; such are among D.P. families. Every state spends plenty of means for training specialists; those expenses could be reduced by engaging D.P. families. Besides a member of a family will be more industrious, for he must take care not only of himself, but also of his family. He will not evade working and will be willing to take any job he is able to do.

d. The head of a family having immigrated to a country with his whole family, himself will maintain those members of his family incapable of work. If he immigrates alone, IRO has to continue supporting his family by the means of the Western countries.

e. As criminal statistics show — the members of families commit less crime than the single ones. This may be said particularly
about the young generation that are obliged to part from their parents. Living without their parents care and control, in a foreign country they demoralize and may become a burden and evil to the country.

f. At last it is also to be mentioned that a person separated from his family and his countrymen suffers a great deal from a spiritual and partly a physical depression and of course may have less success in his work. Many a letter from single workers abroad certifies this fact.

... From the material point of view there can be no objection to immigration of families. And from the moral viewpoint -- refusing and neglecting the families causes the collapse of communities and is a crime against moral and a breach of human rights and rules that have been established by God who created the human being -- husband, wife, father, mother and child.

The D.P. Problem

...It may seem to the peoples in the West, who have had no actual contact with the D.P.'s and have not stopped to consider their fate, with its causes, that the D.P. problem can be of no interest to them. ...And still thoughtful consideration of the causes that have forcefully extracted these, mostly intelligent, active and diligent persons (especially the Balts) from their homes and forbid them to return there, forces one to regard the D.P. problem in a new light.

One cannot but realize that the problem is of consequence not only to the D.P.'s themselves but also to us, peoples of the Western World, free members of Christian culture... The D.P.'s feel their problem very deeply, not only on account of themselves but still more on account of Western Society with which they feel themselves closely bound through common cultural traditions and common ideals of education and life ... The D.P.'s are weeping not for themselves and their destroyed life but for Western Christian Civilization in which they and their children persecuted by the Communism of the East and misunderstood by the West, are gradually being annihilated.
...The Political Refugee of Europe knows of the horrors that hide behind the Iron Curtain. He can tell of what would happen if through the weakness and cowardice of the West the Iron Curtain were to move forward. But, it seems, the West is deaf...The refugee in the barracks in Western Germany cannot understand why he must sit there, inactive and gagged, why there are no ears that could listen to his testimony of the atrocities, horrors and slavery that spread to his country when she was forced behind the Iron Curtain. He looks towards the West. He sees the disturbances in Italy, France and elsewhere and asks: "Who needs assistance more? — He, the homeless Political Refugee or the free worker and citizen of Western States who, from lack of knowledge and the intoxication of diabolical propaganda, awaits 'liberation' and prosperity from the Soviet Union, the land of slaves and lies?"

...The Soviet Union and the International Communism that she guides regard the D.P. problem in a light quite different from the West. They see a hidden force in the D.P. that is capable of counteracting communist propaganda and hindering its spread in the West. The D.P.'s have experience in a Communist state, they are armed with the key of the Iron Curtain. They are absolutely immune to Communist propaganda. That is why the Soviet Union's sole aim is to return the D.P.'s behind the Iron Curtain...In Western Germany...the Soviet Union and her agents attempted by all means, fair or foul, to repatriate the D.P.'s. She attempts to stir up hostility between the Powers of occupation and D.P.'s, between the German population and the D.P.'s and among the D.P.'s themselves.

...But what is the attitude of the Western States and Western Society towards the D.P.'s? For them the D.P.'s are a useless and inconvenient burden which must somehow be disposed of. The Westerner comes to the D.P. camps in Germany and chooses workers — young, strong and single — for his factories and other enterprises. What is to become of the families, the children, the aged — that does not concern the Westerner. He only takes the workers he needs. Again the D.P. asks: "Who is helping whom? Is Western Society helping me, the Refugee, or am I, forsaking my family and other dependents and going to work, helping the West?"

...A full conception and evaluation of the D.P. problem is lacking in Western Society which has not yet realized the position of the D.P.'s in the struggle that is taking place today...The attitude of Western Society towards the Political Refugee of Europe will be a decisive factor in strengthening the unification and force of Western culture or in its disintegration."
PROBLEMS OF THE BALTIC NEWCOMERS

Excerpts from a paper prepared by a member of the executive of the Lithuanian Association.

Many times fate has given us (the Baltic States) the same burden, many times fate has had in its destiny our participation in events of good fortune and misfortune, our participation in days of joy and terror. This fact is underlined by bonds of geography and policy. For good or bad fate bestowed on us this beautiful, and to our hearts so pleasant, Baltic coast which has brought us so much suffering.

...The First World War which finished our neighbors to the east and west made it possible for a new independent and promising life to arise. A symbol of this period is demonstrated by the farm of the pioneer who started from an era of debris and who thanks to his efforts has made a blooming and prosperous land. It is difficult for a foreigner or even for a close neighbour who did not live in this period of reconstruction to understand how much effort, how much heart and feelings were concentrated in those efforts. But the final result achieved showed that the agricultural and cultural achievements of the three Baltic States had the same foundation, taking strength from the far past.

But not for long could the pioneers of the three Baltic States enjoy their great achievements. The new war brought new events to our three peace-loving countries. The same evil neighbours who at the end of the eighteenth century called themselves by different names, divided the Baltic States amongst themselves anew. As in 1775, 1792 and 1795 when Estonia and Latvia became completely under the influence of the throne of Catherine II, now they came under the influence of Stalin. As in those times, Lithuania was again divided in two. The bigger part was to be taken by the Soviet Union and all the southern part, south of the Duna River which formerly was taken by the King of Prussia was to be taken by Hitler. That was one of the essentials of the now notorious pact of non-agression between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany in 1939. As a result of this pact military bases were established in the Baltic States at the end of 1939.

...After half a year of occupation real tragedy for our countries began. With the same ultimatum with only a difference in the names of places, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were accused of not
keeping the non-aggression pact and since June 15, 1940 those countries have been occupied and quickly made into Soviet States. The explanation given the public is different. They tell the Westeners fighting in the battlefields of France that this means a break for a further invasion of the Germans to the West. To others they say that it is necessary to liberate those countries from reactionaries who imperil the Soviet Union. That sounds similar to a child threatening to slap a grown up man if he attempts to interfere with his play: a state of 200 million inhabitants becoming afraid of 7 millions who lived quietly by themselves before the great world conflagration.

After a few months Lithuania experienced a rather famous political event which one cannot often find among honourable diplomats— the Soviet Union bought from Germany for more than 10 million dollars the parts of Lithuania south of the Duna River, with the exception of Minor Lithuania... They claimed that by these diplomatic actions the frontier was pushed a few hundred kilometers further to the West and those countries to which they felt attached through history were protected from Hitler's aggression. Only one thing cannot be explained then: why those countries were left within a few days to their fate and their towns and villages turned into ashes. With this new subjugation began the extermination of the Baltic States which was much worse than the times of serfdom, the prohibition of print and the extermination of culture which had been carried out by Czarist Russia.

...Then other methods were started in practice which have long been used in Soviet Russia. A plan for deportation to the Far East in vast numbers was prepared because legions of dying slaves required replacement. And this horrible dragon requires more and more victims. He does not stop from taking babies who have just been born, nor from taking old people not far from the grave.

And on June 15, 1941 cart wagons with iron bars started to go eastward from every place in Lithuania; full of grown-ups, children and old people, full of people dying from hunger and thirst. But before the wagons go eastward there is still a very hard experience. The separation from friends and relatives. Soviet Russian does not acknowledge the bonds of families. Out of innocent children they must raise blind tools to become N.K.V.D. policemen.

The then president Comrade Paleckis proclaimed that it was only the garbage that was being deported. They tried to calm those still left at home, but at the same time they prepared new plans for new deportations. At the same time they published in the world press that the grateful inhabitants of the New Soviet Republics were going to their sister Republics.
In this way about 60,000 people have been murdered or deported to Siberia or other far off Republics. Exact numbers cannot be given.

...The Soviet radio then started to broadcast that those people previously deported had been deported for reasons of safety. What was black now turns out to be white. This explanation which is so enormously different from the former shows that their conscience is uneasy for the guilty one is always apt to search for explanations. On this occasion it would be worthwhile mentioning the deportation of the Japanese from B. C. during the last war. For this there was only one explanation: a dangerous element of the population was being deported because of a possible Japanese invasion and there was no other explanation except this one.

...All the nice promises of a good future in the big Fatherland which were given by the Soviet agents in the displaced persons camps were totally in vain in view of the fresh remembrance of the events of those horrible days. Vainly they tried to answer the questions of the inhabitants of the camps by denying the truth as regards the former events. But the memory of killed children and aged people made the people so angry that the agents fled without finishing their speeches being afraid of possible outbreaks of revenge.

...We are convinced that in one way or another this horrible past which brings disaster to humanity will come to an end for the ideas of the Christian humanitarian era are undestroyable...The greatest weakness of the Communist or rather the Bolshevist system is that it cannot withstand serious criticism and that its system is final...Terror is destroyed by terror. It is only a question of time.

...But life continues irresistibly and without waiting for those who cannot cope with it. And the events of history are repeated. It is not the first time that refugees are in this world and there will be refugees in the future as well. Now we have to endeavor to find a new basis for life in Canada, the country which gave us a new home, without forgetting what we have been. The culture of the American continent was founded by refugees and immigrants. Therefore we being refugees or immigrants may find an aim for our life and may doubtless have an active part in developing the economic and cultural progress of this country. This is the best and quickest way for all those who might have the wish to return to their native country.

Every beginning is hard. The future is dark. But even through the darkest clouds one can see a few rays of sunshine.

And if some time fate decides that some of us should take part in establishing a new independent Lithuania we will, after having forgotten our experiences, our sufferings, personal revenge
and any other kind of revenge which is so alien to the Lithuanian soul, we will start to begin a new life true to the habits of our forefathers, having learned a lot in immigration, and having forgotten many things that are of sad experience.

It is hard to be an optimist now, in face of all those horrible events, for our thoughts are always going there where we have not been since long past.

Today I would like everybody to remember those staying at home, in Siberia, in Germany, Australia, Africa, and other not so well known countries. The feelings of most of us participating in this memorial service find their expression in the words of a poet fighting in the forests of Lithuania as a partisan:

The rivers flow to the blue distance,
The birds will even leave and come back again,
Only I, dear Mother,
Do not know whether I will knock again at your door.
APPENDIX G

THE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM
OF RESETTLEMENT OF THE DISPLACED PERSONS

(Excerpts from a letter from the Deputy Director, Public Information, International Refugee Organization, Geneva, March 1, 1949.)

"...As far as professional people are concerned (intellectuals, doctors, technicians, artists, etc.,) their resettlement is very unsatisfactory and it can be stated that, to this day, the "embargo on brains" is by no means being lifted. However, a better view of family resettlement is taken by most countries now. I would point out that the policy previously followed of recruiting unattached adults has brought the result that, out of four persons receiving at this time IRO's care and maintenance, three belong to family groups."