

INDOCHINESE REFUGEES IN CANADA:
RESETTLEMENT EXPERIENCES OF THE CAMBODIAN AND VIETNAMESE REFUGEES IN TORONTO

by

Nhi Phan, BA, Hue University, 2004 and MA, Uppsala University, 2009

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Nhi Phan

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ABSTRACT

Massive resettlement of Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in Canada started in the late 1970s, following military and political upheaval in Indochina. The Immigration policy Act of 1976 made it easier for the Indochinese refugees to enter the country. Almost four decades after the first arrivals of Indochinese refugees to Canada under unique circumstances, their settlement experiences are poorly understood. Here, I address this shortcoming through a comparative analysis of settlement experiences of the Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in Canada, particularly probing their “sense of belonging” to the country. In order to evaluate the sense of belonging of the Indochinese refugees, I conducted interviews with 10 participants from each of the two communities. Findings from the interviews indicated highly significant correlations between language proficiency, ethnic segregation, general life satisfaction and the Sense of belonging index. The Vietnamese refugees had a higher sense of belonging to Canada than their Cambodian counterparts.

Keywords: Indochinese refugees, Canadian immigration policies, resettlement experiences, sense of belonging

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I. INTRODUCTION

A few Indochinese immigrants arrived in Canada in the 1950's; however, political and military upheaval in Indochina during the 1970's led to large inflows of Vietnamese, Vietnamese-Chinese, Khmer, and Laotian refugees from the region to Canada (Chan & Indra 1987). In response to the refugee crisis, the Canadian government offered Indochinese students and visitors already in the country the option of applying for permanent residency. Moreover, the Canadian government also made a commitment to provide assistance to refugees who wanted to sponsor relatives still in Indochina or refugee camps. The admission of nearly 3,000 Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees without family ties to Canada, was agreed upon by the government in May, 1975 (Minister of Supply and Service Canada 1982; Molly & Giovanna 2015).

The wave of Indochinese refugees escaping the region in the late 1970s sometimes on small crowded water boats, soon became known as “boat people” and was later used in reference to all refugees from the region. Canada continued processing and receiving Indochinese refugees from refugee camps during this period. Nevertheless, the Indochinese refugee crisis continued to worsen during 1978, with more refugees moving to the already crowded camps (Beiser & Hou 2006, 140). Resettlement of the Indochinese refugees became an issue of high priority, especially because of the deteriorating conditions in the refugee camps. The United Nations Secretary General arranged a conference in Geneva in July 1979, with the goal of promoting international efforts to alleviate the Indochinese refugee crisis. Canada which had agreed to an intake of 50,000 Indochinese refugees (by the end of 1980) prior to the conference, revised its target to increase the number of accepted refugees by 10,000 during the meeting (Adelman 2008).

Although Canada had previously received many ethno-cultural groups over its long immigration history, the arrival of the Indochinese refugees was particularly unique. As Beiser,

(1999) asserts, “they arrived during a period when Canada was re-examining its immigration policy” (p.35). Canadian refugee policy until 1975 had been characterised by a patchwork of measures designed to accept refugees based on their group characteristics (Lanphier 1987). Consequently, the Canadian response to refugees was largely influenced by the government’s perceptions of certain groups, their potential benefit to Canada, or ability to integrate instead of the urgency of their circumstances (Dirks 1985; Adelman 2008).

After the passage of the Immigration Act of 1976, Canada adopted a plan for annual refugee intake aimed at expediting resettlement assistance and fostering close cooperation with UNHCR, as well as Canadian foreign aid agencies (CIC 2015). The 1976 Immigration Act included a provision to deal with persons whose collective situation placed them in a de facto refugee situation (e.g. those fleeing war zones), when UNHCR status could not be met. This allowed the Canadian government to classify an entire group of refugees under a “designated class” specification, which enabled the Indochinese refugees to enter Canada as “landed immigrants” and facilitated the arrival of refugee groups (McLellan 2009, 3). Although this was not the largest single refugee group to enter Canada since the Second World War, Knowles (2007) noted that the admission of up to 150,000 Indochinese refugees to the country constituted the highest number of refugee intake per capita by any country at the time. This number included 20% of all newcomers to Canada between 1978 and 1981, which was a significant rise in comparison to the typical 10% annual inflow of refugees in Canada over the previous years (Dam 2009).

Nearly four decades since the arrival of the first Indochinese refugees with controversy regarding their “refugee status” and media /public interest surrounding the significance of their arrival, issues related to their settlement experiences have not been adequately explored (Dorais 2011). For instance, there is some literature on the resettlement experiences of Cambodian refugees

in the United States (Hopkins et al. 1996, Smith-Hefner et al. 1999, Kim 2003; and Ong 2003); however, very few studies have examined the Cambodian refugees in Canada. Despite the heterogeneity of the region, the existing literature is “biased towards the Vietnamese (who constitute the majority of Indochinese refugees) and largely ignores the smaller and lesser known Cambodians, whose experiences may be distinct in many aspects” (McLellan 2009, xii). This paper broadens our understanding of Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in Canada by offering a nuanced picture of the two ethnic communities. They are not just victims, but rather survivors that can teach us a great deal about the strength that human beings can call forth in one of the most turbulent periods of refugee resettlement.

Evaluation of resettlement experiences of refugees is hindered by a lack of clear descriptive concepts (Wahlbeck 1999; Nibbs 2014). However, the term ‘sense of belonging’ is a critical concept that is increasingly utilized in refugee studies to probe the involvement of immigrants in all aspects of their host society (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2014). The ‘sense of belonging’ of immigrants to a host country is not only important in assessing their level of participation in institutions of the new country, but also provides insight into the effectiveness of immigration policies in promoting the integration of newcomers. As such, one of the key aspects of my interviews with the Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees, was to determine their ‘sense of belonging’ to Canadian society.

Hence the aim of this Master’s Research Paper (MRP) is to investigate *the resettlement of Indochinese refugees in Canada, particularly, what is their sense of belonging to Canadian society?* This research question will be answered with specific reference to the Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in Toronto, particularly probing how well they have adjusted to life in Canada and feel as part of society in the host country. Semi-structured in-depth interviews will be

conducted with the refugees, in order to address the research question by qualitative and quantitative analysis.

The choice of selecting the Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in Toronto as examples, is primarily motivated by the need to fill a knowledge gap on the resettlement experiences of the Indochinese refugees, who arrived in Canada under unique circumstances. Moreover, my personal background as a Vietnamese living in Canada and the fact that the MRP Supervisor (Prof. Sorpong Peou) came to Canada as a Cambodian refugee in 1982, gives us the cultural sensitivity necessary to understand the prevailing circumstances of this group. It has largely been argued that amongst the Indochinese refugees, the Cambodians have received the least attention of all and the Vietnamese the most (McLellan 2004). This imbalance is probably a reflection of the much greater numbers of Vietnamese who arrived following the end of the Vietnam War, as well as better media coverage and public awareness of their circumstances. Hence, this paper contributes to a comprehensive overview of the resettlement experiences and integration process of the Indochinese refugees in Canada, while overlooking the differences between the Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees during this process for purposes of attempting to explain why one group has integrated more successfully to Canadian society than the other.

The thesis statement of this paper is that educated, professional and urban refugees who arrived in Canada in the late 1970s-early 1980s should integrate better in host countries and attain a higher national sense of belonging than the uneducated, rural refugees that arrived during the same period. Specifically, several critical factors including language proficiency, general life satisfaction, ethnic segregation and religious affiliation, may influence the resettlement experiences of the Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in Canada. Besides, Canadian government policies and the varying psychological trauma experienced by the two groups may also impact

their integration into Canadian society. For instance, it has been suggested that the Cambodian refugees in Canada experienced more trauma under the brutal Khmer Rouge regime (McLellan 2009), which may hinder them from easily integrating into Canadian society and thus attain a lower sense of belonging to Canada than their Vietnamese counterparts.

The paper is subdivided into four main sections as follows: In the first section, a historical background about the Indochinese crisis as well as the Canadian government's response is presented. Literature review and methodology utilized for the study, are covered in the second and third sections, respectively. Finally, findings from the interviews and analysis of responses are presented in the fourth section.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. The Indochinese Exodus

The 40th anniversary of the fall of Saigon and the end of the Vietnam War was commemorated on April 30, 2015. It also marks the anniversary for the beginning of what would become a global humanitarian crisis, with thousands of Indochinese refugees struggling to escape the new regime. The emergence of communist governments in the former French Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos) in 1975 sparked the exodus of Indochinese refugees, which resulted in the displacement of over 3 million people from their homes. Over the next 25 years, the refugees undertook dangerous journeys through China and other Southeast Asian countries before being resettled. Most of the Indochinese refugees, who comprised mainly of the Vietnamese boat people, Cambodians fleeing the murderous Khmer Rouge regime and ethnic Laotians, were resettled in North America and Europe (UNHCR 2006a). The Indochinese refugee crisis was not fully resolved until the 21st century, with the repatriation of the last boat people from Malaysia in 2005 and deportation of 4,000 Hmong refugees from Thailand to Laos in 2009 (UNHCR 2006b).

Before the Indochinese refugee crisis, Canada had received students from Indochina who came to attend francophone universities as early as 1954. They were later followed by a few thousand others that came from South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos to complete their studies during the Vietnam War (Dorais 2000). Thousands of people, mostly professionals, bureaucrats, business people and military personnel fled South Vietnam by sea, foot or air to reception camps arranged by Americans, prior to the North Vietnamese Communist governments' victory of 1975. Some Cambodians and Laotians also fled their countries during this time (Towle 2006). Canada was a particularly attractive destination for the Indochinese refugees because some of them had family ties to the country and most were fluent in French. The latter factor is exemplified by the fact that 65% of the arriving Indochinese refugees to Canada between 1975 and 1978, settled in Quebec with the others choosing to live in Ontario (Robinson 2004).

The first phase of the Indochinese exodus began in Cambodia after the Khmer Rouge took control of the government on 17 April 1975, following the fall of Phnom Penh (capital of Cambodia) to the communists. Shortly thereafter, Saigon fell to the Viet Cong and North Vietnam on 30 April 1975, leading to a large exodus (Dorais 2000). In neighbouring Laos, the long Civil War that had lasted from after the withdrawal of the French in 1953 to the conquest of Vientiane by the Laotian communists (the Pathet Lao, backed by Vietnam) had ended in 1975 (Lam 2010). The first phase of the refugee exodus from all three countries in Indochina occurred between 1975 and 1978. This was followed by a second phase lasting from the end of 1978 until 1980 and involving vast resettlement from countries of first asylum to countries of resettlement. In the third phase of the exodus between 1981 and 1989, the resettlement from refugee camps in South-East Asia was completed. Taken together, an estimated 160,000 Indochinese refugees (Laotians,

Cambodians, Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese) arrived in Canada between 1975 and 1989 (Adelman 2015).

This massive exodus of Vietnamese, Sino-Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians is attributed to the prevailing political and military turmoil in the former French Indochina. A new Communist government prompted the Vietnamese to flee their country, the Cambodians wanted to escape the ensuing chaos after the collapse of the Khmer Rouge, whereas the Laotians were under threat from a Communist regime tightening their grip on power (Belinda 2013). Most of the nearly 2 million Indochinese refugees who fled the region between 1975 and 1980 left by land, however the dramatic plight of the ‘boat people’ is usually associated with these events in public discourse (Marcus 2014). An estimated 16% of the Vietnamese who fled the country in leaky or overcrowded boats died along the way (Pettier 1999). The UNHCR played a leading role in deploying resources to respond to the humanitarian crisis by increasing its total annual expenditure from less than US\$80 million in 1975 to over US\$500 million in 1980 (Cutts 2000).

During the late 1970s, the arrival of thousands of Indochinese refugees from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam enriched the Canadian mosaic with new Immigrants from countries that were lowly represented in the Canadian population. A common theme among the new arrivals was a search for peace and freedom that were under serious threat in their countries of origin (Knowles 2007). Despite a shared agrarian economy that is largely dependent on rice farming, the Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians represent different civilizations and identities. As such, characterization of the three groups by a common name is problematic because it glosses over their national differences. The term “Indochinese refugees” was coined in reference to their shared history as French colonies of Indochina between 1887 and 1954 (Dorais 2000, 7).

In response to the Indochinese refugee crisis, a refugee intake policy was drafted by several countries including Canada, which met in Geneva to discuss the issue in July 1979. Meanwhile, illegal departures continued by boats or foot for several years but they were dramatically reduced in the early 1990s because of a more stable political climate in Cambodia, and socio-economic liberalization in both Vietnam and Laos (Chan & Indra 1987; Cutts 2000; Marcus 2014).

A summary of Indochinese refugee arrivals (Table 1) to Canada during January 1979 to December 1980, shows that the Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees constituted 71% and 7.8% of the total admitted refugees from Indochina, respectively.

Table 1: Indochinese Refugees Arrivals in Canada by Country of Birth (January 1, 1979 – December 31, 1980)

Country of Birth	No. of Refugees	% of Total
Vietnam	42,664	71.0%
Cambodia	4,697	7.8
Laos	9,849	16.4
Other	2,839	4.8
Total	60,049	100.0%

(Source: Employment and Immigration Canada (1982))

2. Canada's Response

The exodus of Indochinese refugees was one of the largest humanitarian emergencies of the later 20th century and it may well have been the most complex (McLellan 2009). Their numbers, the desperate circumstances under which they arrived far away to Canada, as well as their cultural

and linguistic differences from Canadians – contributed to the uniqueness of the refugee flows from the region and influenced Canada’s response to the crisis (Adelman 2008).

In comparison to other Western countries, Canada’s intake of Indochinese refugees during a 5 year resettlement period from March 1975 to May 1980 was the highest per capita, as indicated in Table 2, below:

Table 2: Refugee Resettlement Programs for Indochinese refugees (1975 – 1980)

Population (in millions)	Country of Resettlement	5-year Resettlement Total	Ratio of Refugees to Population
24	Canada	74,000	1: 324
14.6	Australia	44,000	1: 332
222.5	United States	595,200	1: 374
53.6	France	68,700	1: 780
8.3	Sweden	5,300	1: 1,189
61.1	Germany	28,300	1: 2,159
55.8	United Kingdom	23,800	1: 2,345

(Source: United States Committee for Refugees, Report, October, 1980)

Although the Canadian public was initially opposed to the government’s intake of the Indochinese refugees, it later became more receptive to their admission to Canada after media reports portrayed the humanitarian crisis faced by the refugees (Memorandum 1979, 336-727; Somerset 1982, 110). Polling after Canada’s announcement of the 50,000 refugee intake target in 2 years, indicated that 50-67% of Canadians thought too many refugees had been accepted (Adelman 1982). However, the appearance of numerous news articles in the Canadian press and

media about the dramatic escape of the Hai Hong ship sent shock waves throughout Canada and prompted the Canadian government to assist them. On November 9, 1978, the *Hai Hong*, an overcrowded boat with 2,654 refugees from Vietnam, was denied entry into Port Klang (Malaysia) during a standoff with Malaysian authorities. Malaysia's refusal to accept the refugees on board, even though they lacked food, water, medical supplies and adequate shelter, was shocking to Canadians and compelled the Canadian government to admit them (CBC Canada 2015).

The situation became even more dramatic in June 1979 when the monthly exodus from Vietnam soared to over 50,000. As the Vietnamese Boat people began to gain support from the media, their desperate plight at sea was highlighted as helpless victims of oppression seeking freedom and refuge (Adelman 1982). As described by Beiser Morton, "the media helped stir worldwide sympathy for the refugees fleeing their homes from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Television images, and newspaper reports about frightened refugees being turned away from safe harbours elicited an atavistic emotional response from Canadian viewers and readers" (1999, p.41). Favorable media coverage of the refugees shifted Canadians attitudes towards them, with a second poll taken later in June indicating 49% public support for increasing their intake (Dam 2009, 5).

In short, the response of the Canadian public is reflective and evident in the country's sponsorship rate during the crisis, with the public's involvement in resettlement efforts and effective government policies. It is noteworthy that the majority of refugees admitted to Canada between 1979 and 1981 were from Indochina (Table 3).

Table 3: Overall Canadian Refugee Intake: 1979-1981

	1979	1980	1981
Indochina	24,828	35,241	8,000
Eastern European	2,225	4,098	4,000
Latin America and Caribbean	432	143	1,000
Africa	—	—	200
Other Convention refugees selection abroad	155	159	300
Contingency reserve	—	—	2,500
Total	27,640	39,888	16,000

(Source: Minister of Supply and Service Canada: Employment and Immigration Canada (1982))

Resettlement of the Indochinese refugees in Canada is illustrated by the successful government and private sponsorship programs which aided them make the transition to their new home. Moreover, they have since formed various organizations and associations aimed at preserving their culture, as well as assisting newcomers during their transition period. Canada is unique amongst all the major countries of permanent resettlement, because it accepted a large number of the Indochinese refugees through two distinct channels: government sponsorship and private sponsorship (Adelman 2015).

Through the first channel, the federal government sponsored some of the refugees and supported them with rent and living expenses for a year or until they found employment. The second channel of private sponsorship, is an innovative approach which came into effect with the promulgation of the 1976 Immigration Act. Under this arrangement, members of a sponsored refugee household received support from private sponsors who were legally responsible for providing food, clothing or other living expenses for a maximum of one year or until their refugee

household was self-supporting (Woon 1987, 132). Nearly 26, 000 of the Indochinese refugees admitted to Canada were on government assistance, while the remaining 34,000 were under private sponsorship (Minister of Supply and Service Canada 1982, 9). Because of the uniqueness of the Canadian sponsorship program as well as the magnitude and huge success of the private sponsorship movement, in a recent conference entitled “*The Indochinese Refugee Movement 1975-80 and the Launch of Canada’s Private Refugee Sponsorship Program*” at York University (November 21-23, 2013), York University Professor Emeritus Howard Adelman asserted that, “This was one of the most significant refugee resettlement efforts in Canada’s history, and a unique effort with unprecedented levels of citizen participation. More than 7,000 groups of Canadians helped to sponsor refugees in this period” (Adelman 2013).

3. Resettlement Experiences

3.1. The Vietnamese Resettlement in Canada

The North Vietnamese communist government’s takeover of South Vietnam in 1975 prompted the establishment of a Canadian government relief program, through which 4572 Vietnamese refugees (including 865 to Ontario) were brought to Canada (Lam 2010). This ‘first wave’ of Vietnamese refugees mostly comprised of the elite educated class of South Vietnamese, including: professionals, military advisers, sponsored family members, as well as several Catholic North Vietnamese who had moved to South Vietnam in 1954. In 1978, the profile of Vietnamese refugees had shifted dramatically with nearly two thirds of them self-identifying as Buddhist and largely representative of a broad socioeconomic background (McLellan 1999).

As Vietnam faced military and political conflicts, over 10 million South Vietnamese were displaced from their homes and several thousands of Vietnamese started to flee the country because they feared for their life or religious persecution and restrictions on free enterprise. The Sino-

Vietnamese who were largely an entrepreneurial class were particularly threatened by the creation new economic zones, socialist restructuring, high unemployment and retaliation due to the ongoing conflict between China and Vietnam (Dam 2009). The resettlement of the ‘second wave’ or ‘boat people’ refugees to mostly North America and Europe was motivated by a search for a safe and better life for them and their children, as well as a new home where they could freely practise their religious and cultural beliefs. During 1979 - 1982, Toronto received 12,000 Vietnamese refugees and by 1986 the population had grown to nearly 30,000 (Ha 2013). The Vietnamese population in the Greater Toronto Area was estimated at 50,000 in 1989, making it the largest Vietnamese community in Canada (McLellan 1999). As a community of city dwellers, Vietnamese refugees to Canada nowadays tend to live in large cities as illustrated in Table 4 below:

Table 4: The Vietnamese population in Canada’s largest five cities

City	1991	1996	2001	2006
Toronto	24 550	41 735	45 105	56 095
Montréal	19 265	25 340	25 605	30 510
Vancouver	10 095	16 870	22 865	26 110
Calgary	7 255	10 110	11 595	14 285
Edmonton	6 780	7 775	8 990	9 740
Total	67 945	101 830	114 160	136 740

(Statistics Canada 2006)

Canadians of Vietnamese ethnic origin make-up one of the largest non- European ethnic origins in Canada, with a population that ranks 5th among the non-European communities after Chinese, East Indian, Filipino, and Jamaican (Statistics Canada 2006; Lam 2010). Canada is home

to more than 300,000 Vietnamese-Canadians - three proud generations - refugees from Vietnam, their children, and the relatives who joined them through family reunification have become Vietnamese Canadians. Even if some individuals and ethnic associations may still publicly claim that they will never cease being refugees, Vietnamese Canadians have now formed complex communities of immigrants whose members are increasingly integrated within the mainstream economy and social organization, but who generally preserve several aspects of their culture and ethnic identity (Dorais 2003, 4).

After their migration in 1975, Vietnamese refugees established various organizations in their countries of resettlement ranging from Buddhist temples, Catholic parishes to mutual aid associations, political movements, and media outlets. All Canadian cities with a sizeable Vietnamese population harbor at least one general mutual aid association, as well as specific organizations, including: a club for senior citizens, a women's association, a Vietnamese chamber of commerce, student associations, and religious congregations. The latter often own their temples or parishes. The Vietnamese Canadian Federation which was established in Ottawa in 1980 encompasses fifteen local mutual aid associations and acts as semi-official representative for all Vietnamese Canadians (Dorais 2003, 221-223). According to their objectives and activities, these associations can be divided into four broad categories: (1) mutual aid associations; (2) sociocultural organizations; (3) religious associations; and (4) political movements (Dorais 2011, 15-16).

In Toronto the Vietnamese community has developed numerous ethno specific associations, voluntary organizations, and institutions that provide the Vietnamese with support networks, resources, information channels, and heritage groups. They include the Vietnamese Association, Vietnamese Canadian Parents' Association, Vietnamese Women's Association, Vietnamese

Student Society, the Elderly Vietnamese Association, numerous magazines, the National United Front for the Liberation of Vietnam, Greater Toronto Vietnamese Refugee Assistance Committee, folk-dance groups such as Pham Ngoc Thuan, and a Veterans Association.

3.2. The Cambodian Resettlement in Canada

The adaptation and integration of Cambodians into Canadian society is tied to their recent experiences of war, the search for asylum, refugee camp life, and the sponsorship process. Although the term 'Cambodian' refers to any person born in the country known as Cambodia or Kampuchea, more than 90 per cent of Cambodians are ethnically and linguistically identified as Khmer (Ebihara 1985). The Cambodian community in Toronto is primarily Khmer (98 per cent), and both terms, 'Khmer' and 'Cambodian,' are used interchangeably (McLellan 2009).

Caught in the cross-fire between North and South Vietnam, over a million Khmer were forced from rural areas into Phnom Penh where thousands joined the communist Khmer Rouge under Pol Pot. Following the fall of Phnom Penh to the Khmer Rouge in 1975, Pol Pot undertook drastic reforms aimed at altering traditional society by forcing everyone into state-controlled rural production. During the four-year rule of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, the regime evacuated major cities and towns, including Phnom Penh, whose population was evicted to rural areas. Moreover, the markets and currency were abolished, Buddhist monks were prevented from practising their religion, foreign residents were expelled and collectivized labour camps were established throughout the country (Ruiz 1992; Zolberg et al. 1992; CIC 2015).

By the time of the Vietnamese invasion in early 1979, more than one million Cambodians had been executed or died of starvation, disease or overwork, while hundreds of thousands were internally displaced. Although a substantial number of Cambodians managed to flee the country, this was a small fraction of those that were internally displaced during the brutal Khmer Rouge

regime (McLellan 1995). According to the UNHCR, only 34,000 Cambodians managed to escape into Thailand between 1975 and 1978, with another 20,000 going to Laos and 170,000 to Viet Nam. Canada began accepting Cambodian refugees in 1980 (CIC 2015).

Canada received over 20,000 Cambodian refugees, with nearly 300,000 of them settling in other Western countries (McLellan 2004). Prior to the early 1980s, there was a few Cambodians (diplomats, business people and students) living in Canada (mostly in Quebec) (Dorais 2000). However, the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime in 1979 facilitated the arrival of Cambodian refugees to Canada in the 1980s. Canada granted permanent residence status to the Cambodian refugees, after the international isolation of Cambodia in 1975. The permanent resident status of the Cambodian refugees allowed them to subsequently sponsor surviving family members or friends from the Thai refugee camps (McLellan 2009). Most Cambodians who came to Canada after 1979 were classified as “designated class refugees” with 55% and 45% of them being admitted through federal and private sponsorship programs, respectively (McLellan 2004). These refugees were resettled in urban areas across Canada, primarily in Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Toronto, Ottawa-Hull and Montreal (Choy 2013). Christian congregations were involved in most private sponsorships and supported resettlement of the refugees.

The vibrant Cambodian community today reflects the strength and tenacity of the Khmer spirit (McLellan 2004). According to the 2011 census of Canada (Table 5), 34,340 Canadians reported having Cambodian ethnicity (single and multiple ethnic origin responses).

Table 5: National household survey of Canadians by ethnicity

Canada			
Ethnic origins	Total-Single and multiple ethnic origin responses	Single ethnic origin responses	Multiple ethnic origin responses
East and Southeast Asian origins	2,650,000	2,169,270	480,730
Cambodian (Khmer)	34,340	21,085	13,255
Vietnamese	220,425	157,450	62,970

(Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011028)

The Canadian government resettled 18,602 Cambodian refugees between 1980 and 1982 (McLellan 2009, 104). A few thousand Cambodians born in Vietnam (Kampuchea Krom) and others who claimed Vietnamese identity while in Thai refugee camps in order to improve their chances of resettlement to Canada, are excluded from this count. Based on Canadian census data 2003, 22,000 Cambodians were reported to live in Canada with the majority from rural backgrounds and 84% of whom had limited education except for those in Quebec who constituted of educated urban elites. According to the Cambodian community sources, nearly 10,000 Cambodians live in Ontario with about half of them living in Toronto (Ibid. 2009). Moreover, 92% of the Cambodian refugees could neither speak English nor French and because of their small numbers, were often mistaken for ‘Vietnamese boat people’ without much regard for their special circumstances or needs. The lack of an elite class among the Cambodian refugees limited their advocacy for community specific issues and consequently, their psychological needs were not fulfilled by either public or private sponsors. It is argued that networks and relationships within the community are generally weak because of persistent mistrust, miscommunication and power

struggles based on past political conflicts in the homeland (McLellan 1995; McLellan 2004; Adelman 2015).

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, I will examine the conceptual framework for analysis of resettlement experiences of refugees and apply it to the evaluation of available scholarly literature on the Indochinese refugees. The goal of this work is to identify gaps within the existing literature, in order to place the study in the context of narrowing this knowledge deficit.

Individual, collective and national identity

Identity is a complex and contradictory concept that is central to defining individuals, groups or nations, but is ambiguous in form and composition (Ferguson 2009). The term identity describes attachments that maybe individual or collective, real or imagined and is based on sameness or difference (Hall 1991). Identity is both individual and collective by nature. Identity is individual based on the premise that any two people will experience different relationships and discourses, yet it is also collective because other people are essential to the creation of an individual's identity (Taylor 1994, 25-35). National identity may be either strictly defined as a nationality derived from common ancestry or loosely to accommodate features of self-determination favored by liberal nationalists (Dahbour 2002). Unlike in the medieval times where feudal society was defined by hierarchy and social place, modern identity is dynamic. This fluidity of the concept has been articulated by sociologist and cultural theorist, Stuart Hall, as follows: "We have now to re-conceptualize identity as a process of identification... It is something that happens over time, that is never absolutely stable, that is subject to the play of history and the play of difference" (Hall 1991, 15). Charles Taylor (1994) has described the dialectical nature of identity as the politics of recognition, whereby the acknowledgement of an individual or the lack

thereof is a basis for their identity. Recognition of sameness and difference allows for the definition of self, through creation of social categories and groups. Similarly to individual identity, the social categories, memberships and associated boundaries are also formed in dialogue (Taylor 1994).

Chan's framework

According to Chan (1987), four areas of analysis are critical for evaluating resettlement experiences of refugees. The first is *personal and intrapsychic*; whereas *family, community and kin structure* constitute the second. Aspects of *refugee adaptation*, including economic, psychological, religio-cultural, linguistic and political features are covered at the third level of analysis. *Policy analysis and examination of refugee resettlement programs* are explored at the fourth level. This framework is well suited for the organization of ideas and ensuring coherence of complex topics, such as refugee studies. Chan's framework has been utilized to critically assess selected articles related to refugees, in order to evaluate developments and gaps in the existing literature (Noh et al. 1999, Beiser & Hou 2006). Findings from the evaluation will provide the case for conducting my own study, which should contribute to additional knowledge to the topic.

On the *personal and intrapsychic level*, analysis thus far has focused on psychological problems encountered by refugees in the early years of resettlement in a host country. In a well-publicised report, Beiser and Hou (2006) utilized data from the Refugee Resettlement Project (RRP)- a community-based study of Southeast Asian refugee "Boat People", to explore direct relationships between ethnic identification and depressive affect, as well as the proposition that strongly held ethnic identification buffers the stresses of unemployment, language difficulties and discrimination. This study examined the mental health effects of ethnic identification amongst former refugees as they confronted common resettlement stressors in Canada - unemployment, discrimination and lack of fluency in the dominant society language. Investigators gathered

information on ethnic identification, demographics, employment, language fluency, experiences with discrimination and depressive affect from 647 respondents, using questionnaires. Findings from this work suggested that there was a high correlation between racial discrimination and unemployment with amplified risk of depressive affect due to ethnic identity attachment among Southeast Asians. In contrast, a strongly held ethnic identity provided a psychological advantage for individuals experiencing difficulties with the dominant language. One of the critical aspects of the *personal and intra psychic level* is a sense of belonging, which is suggested to arise from associating oneself with a given place (Cuba & Hummon 1993). Moreover, the sense of belonging maybe evaluated beyond one's birthplace or "degrees of nativeness", to encompass other forms of attachment gained through life experiences and memories (Malkki 1992).

Secondly, *family, kin networks and the development of Indochinese refugee communities* have been explored. Chan suggests that the literature on Indochinese refugees, consistently supports the strategic importance of the family as a significant psychic and psychological buffer for coping with stresses (p. 172-173). A study by Noh et al. (1999) also examined the role of social support systems in mental health, particularly probing the impact of perceived racial discrimination on depression. Based on findings from structured interviews with 647 Southeast Asian refugees in Canada, respondents who claimed to experience racial discrimination also self-reported to suffer from more depression in comparison to others without such experiences (p.193). The link between discrimination and depression was further related to an individual's coping response, which was influenced by their level of ethnic identification. Methods of coping in this study are categorized as either "confrontation" or "forbearance". The preference by the Asian respondents for forbearance as a stress-buffer is explained by Asian cultural norms and collectivist values, which promote avoidance and self-regulation as a means to preserve interpersonal relations.

Consequently, Asian refugees who strongly identified with their ethnicity exhibited more vulnerability to the psychological effects of racial discrimination when they did not utilize forbearance to cope with stress (Ha 2013).

In relation to the family and community, research on the Indochinese in Canada has almost exclusively emphasized their refugee status with little regard to gender differences (Chan & Indra 1987, 12). Gender is critical to the whole temporary process involved in becoming a refugee as well as resettling and adapting to a new environment, yet many studies fail to account for the different needs of men and women. In Boucher's gender-based analysis of the shift toward skilled immigration schemes (2007, p.387), she criticizes the overarching supposition that (elite) men's experience represents all human experience. As a tentative step into this area of research, Beiser and Hou (2006) reflect on gender differences in language acquisition and employment consequences among Indochinese refugees in Canada. Based on refugee arrivals between 1978 and 1987, more than 80 and 90% of males and females, respectively, spoke neither of the country's official languages (p.312). Government policy during the 1980s was partly to blame for this gender gap, since English as a Second Language (ESL) training was primarily geared towards people who seemed the most likely to enter the labour force (Beiser & Hou 2000, 326; Ha 2013).

The third level of analysis examines *the adaptation of refugees*. Economic adaptation refers to the refugees' ability to attain and maintain economic self-sufficiency, or to transfer previously acquired occupational skills to the labour market of the new society. Refugees usually find initial employment in low-skill jobs and consequently tend to have low individual and combined household incomes. However, the Indochinese typically live in large households and receive incomes from several sources, which allows them to pool their resources and therefore fare better economically than nuclear families or single person households (Neuwirth 1988, 37-39; Neuwirth

1993). Much of the assessed literature deals with language and employment, particularly the importance of English language fluency is emphasized in its impact on the psychological health of an individual (Beiser & Hou 2006). Based on data from the RRP, linguistic ability had no effect on employment or depression for refugees who had been in Canada for two years or less. However, English language fluency was a significant predictor for employment and depression, especially for refugee women after the first decade of living in Canada (Beiser 2006, 62).

As noted by Dorais (2007), religion had an important role during the migration of Indochinese refugees out of their country and after their resettlement abroad. It sustained the hope of boat people on the open sea and of exiles in refugee camps, and helped them preserve and reinforce their identity when they resettled in foreign lands. In a way, the migratory experience of most Indochinese refugees may be understood as a passage through *liminality*. Migration itself was a liminal experience, a time when refugees stood at the margin of society, not belonging to any defined nation or polity. Finally, resettlement was postliminary in nature, allowing Indochinese refugees to reintegrate slowly into a new society. In such a context, religious beliefs and practices acted as rites of passage, that is ritualised and symbolic attitudes and activities which ensured that there was continuity between the pre- and post-migration experience of refugees.

In the fourth level of analysis, various *applied aspects of refugee research* are examined, with a focus on the analysis and evaluation of refugees admission and resettlement policies, government and group-sponsorship experiences with novel resettlement strategies, and the Indochinese communities (Chan 1987, 174). It is especially important to do research on the various levels of governments in Canada and compare them with other countries with a history of refugee resettlement. Resettling in a new country presents challenges, including an evaluation of self. For instance, newcomers are often conflicted between choosing the preservation of their ethnic

identity, fully embracing the norms and culture of the host society or making a compromise between the two (Beiser & Hou 2006, 137). Host countries are mostly concerned with admitting the “right” people without much regard for how well they integrate afterwards. Effective selection policies require follow-up measures to assist refugees who encounter resettlement difficulties, in order to facilitate their successful integration (Beiser 1999). Receiving countries have traditionally either promoted a “melting pot” policy, which encourages forgetting the old in favor of the new or the “multiculturalism,” policy favored by Canada, which fosters ethnocultural retention (Beiser & Hou 2006, 137).

Previous Studies on the resettlement of Indochinese refugees in Canada

Studies of immigrant settlement services and experiences in Canada are relatively recent, with only few examples prior to the mid-1990s (Sadiq 2004). The settlement experiences of Indochinese refugees in particular, have mostly been neglected (Chan & Tran 2011; Dorais 2014).

A few scholars have documented some aspects of the Indochinese refugee experiences including: reasons for their plight, international attempts to assist them and the subsequent problems of their re-settlement (Adelman 1982; Lam 2009). Trauma, depression and mental health among the group has been discussed in the context of Southeast Asian refugees (Beiser & Wickrama 2004). In another research, Beiser et al. (2002) used data from a study of Southeast Asians who had come to Canada as refugees, to examine the depression effects of ethnic identification when the new settlers encountered common resettlement stressors: unemployment, discrimination, and lack of fluency in the dominant society language.

Samuel (1987) studied the economic adaptation of Indochinese refugees in Canada. This work noted that similarly to most previous refugee groups, the Indochinese refugees also faced settlement challenges that were attributed to Canada’s lacklustre economy, poor language skills of

the refugees and obstacles to recognition of their occupational /educational qualifications. Refugees are increasing their earnings and are starting to narrow the income inequality gap with Canadians, which should boost their purchasing power and enable economic integration. Besides economic difficulties, discrimination, unemployment and language difficulties are among the most important resettlement challenges to wellbeing (Li 2000; Beiser & Hou 2001; Bhugra 2004; Beiser and Hou 2006). Dorais (2000) conducted well reported surveys and research on the adaptation and settlement of the Indochinese in Canada, with respect to their community structure, religion and language challenges. In a later article (2007) he also pointed out that because of the difficult economic environment, adaptation amongst the community in Quebec presented problems. Nonetheless the refugees themselves were generally satisfied with their progress and optimistic about their future.

Furthermore, in a study by Dam (2009), she argued that some recent literature on the Indochinese refugees also started to focus on issues of educational attainment (Feliciano & Rumbaut 2005), social adjustment and economic experience (Bala & Williams 2007; Stritikus & Nguyen 2007). The limitation is, as she argued, “these studies typically combine the Indochinese refugees' experience within the larger category of Asian immigrants, however, the infiltration of the exodus into Canada is distinct from the migration trajectory of other Asian immigrants in history” (Dam 2009, p.9).

Yet, despite the several settlement studies about the Indochinese refugees, some important aspects of their settlement are poorly understood. For instance, very little is known about the religious, cultural background and linguistic preferences that the Indochinese refugees brought with them to Canada (Dorais 2011). Moreover, due to the extreme sensitivity of political issues in their home countries, these refugees have often avoided expression of their political views

publicly. The process of immigrant adaptation also involves political aspects, including: voting behaviour and the possible formation of new parties and ethnic subgroups within existing parties, as well as attempts to bring about change in host society institutions (Pfeifer 1999). Central among these are the allied questions of immigrant group community organizations and the role which political forces play in shaping individual and community life (Chan & Indra 1987).

Most critically, over the last decades scholars have increasingly expressed the need for more clearly defined concepts to describe the resettlement experiences of refugees (Wahlbeck, 1999; Nibbs, 2014). One of the most significant concepts in refugee's studies is the immigrants' sense of belonging to the host society (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2014). Despite some efforts by scholars to understand this population's experience after re-settlement from the perspective of acculturation and assimilation (Anderson, Moeschberger, Chen, et al. 1993), there has been a lack of academic research into the effectiveness of Canada's integration policies or immigrants' sense of belonging to Canadian society. As Beiser et al. (2002) mentioned, "Resettling in a new country forces individuals to make many changes, not least of which is the very definition of self. Choosing between enduring commitment to one's ethnocultural identity - a decision which may invoke and perpetuate minority status - or abandoning this heritage in the hope of achieving full membership in the receiving society is a major resettlement challenge." (p. 2). In fact, the study of migrants' identities has become regarded as central to understanding issues of integration (Valentine 2009, p.234). As Nagel and Staeheli (2008) argue, integration is not about "where immigrants and minorities live, but how they understand their membership in the places where they live, work and raise families" (p. 416). Consequently, national belonging and in group belonging of Immigrants to their host society is an indirect measure of the effectiveness of integration policies by the country.

Therefore, in an attempt to provide insight into the resettlement issues and problems encountered by the Indochinese refugees during their adaptation to Canadian society, I will focus on examining their sense of belonging to Canadian society. There is a knowledge gap in the current literature on this aspect of integration, which fits well into Chan's first level of analysis as discussed above.

Sense of belonging

The term 'sense of belonging' which has previously been used in both political and social theory, has recently started to emerge in discussions of migration (Mandel 2008; Nibbs 2014). Sense of belonging is described as the "experience of a personal involvement in a system or environment, which makes people feel that they are an integral part of this system or environment" (Hagerty et al., 1995, 173).

It is often utilized in discussions about identity and thus encompasses "a range of attachments, subjective feelings, preferences and memberships" outside the loosely fixed boundaries of a nation state (Nibbs 2014, 9). A sense of belonging which arises from one's identity, offers individuals a platform to interconnect with others of similar interests (Spitzer 2007, 54). In the context of immigration, feelings of belonging are informed by one's migratory trajectory (Fortin 2002). As argued by Sociologist Bauman (1996), uncertainty in one's sense of belonging is often associated with an identity crisis.

Meanwhile, Jones and Krzyzanowski's theory of belonging posits that "identities are constructed both internally – by us through our self-representation and alignment with others – and externally – by the power of "others," such as institutional gatekeepers (2006, p. 44-45). This viewpoint allows for the assessment of programs or their direct impact on the newcomers' sense of belonging.

In summary, issues of identity, sense of belonging and feeling at home, reflect the same need to participate in social events or activities in the host society (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2014). Three key components of belonging, including: national identity, feeling at home and commitment to stay in host country, constitute a comprehensive index that was suggested by Amit & Bar-Lev (2014), in an attempt to capture immigrants' sense of belonging to the new country. National identity is a standard parameter for determining one's sense of belonging to a new country, whereas feeling at home refers to a psychological association of self-identity with a specific place. Finally, one's commitment to stay in the host country suggests a level of fulfillment or willingness to fully participate in the affairs /activities of the country, which is indicative of a sense of belonging to the host society.

Amit and Bar-Lev's models for predicting sense of belonging to the host country

In a recent paper, Amit and Bar-Lev (2014) used structural equation modelling (SEM) to determine which factors predict national belonging of Immigrants to the host country. They evaluated two models and found that in the first model, general life satisfaction was the main explanatory variable for national belonging amongst Immigrants and was dependent on several background variables, including: language proficiency, religious affiliation, years spent in host country, academic education and ethnic segregation. The second model predicted that general life satisfaction and national belonging are both directly influenced by the background variables. A comparison of the two predictive models for national belonging amongst Immigrants indicated that Model 1 was more consistent with the findings by Amit and Bar-Lev (2014). In this work, ethnicity, immigration motives, years spent in host country and language proficiency, had an impact on the general life satisfaction of Immigrants. Consequently, general life satisfaction was a critical mediating variable for national belonging to the host country amongst Immigrants.

Findings from this work demonstrate the importance of subjective well-being and background variables as predictive factors for sense of belonging by Immigrants to the host country (Phinney et al. 2001).

Vietnamese refugees in Canada are anti-communist (Lam 2010). According to the Profiles of Ethnic Communities in Canada (2007), 65% expressed a strong sense of belonging to Canada and play an active role in Canadian society with 53% of those who eligible to vote indicating their participation in the 2000 federal election (Ministry of Industry 2007). This suggests that despite the conflicting state of refugees as being stateless, their settlement in Canada has through time resolved some of these status issues through acquired citizenship. Moreover, the experience has also enabled them to become familiar, and comfortable in establishing a home in Canada (Dam 2009, 6). However, Waite and Cook (2011) note that in the context of the United Kingdom, communities and citizenship demands that members of diasporic communities often have complex relationships with their host societies, which leads to a conflicted sense of belonging.

Attachment refers to a feeling of belonging to a place which is often due to one's citizenship and identity (Mee & Wright 2009). Refugees are an ideal group in which to examine belonging because "their status is associated with borders, including the departure or arrival to or from different places" (Dam 2009, 9). Belonging and identity may also be viewed in a state of flux, or perhaps liminal space (Muller et al. 2009). In such a context, belonging depends on both the individual and intervening structural forces.

In this study, I examine the Indochinese refugees' sense of belonging to Canadian society and how policies by their host country have contributed to integration within the new homeland. Chan's framework provides a conceptual reference for assessing refugee studies, whereas probing

the refugees' sense of belonging to their host society offers insight into how well a particular group has adapted to life in the host country.

III. METHODOLOGY

1. Research Methods and Design

This is a qualitative and quantitative paper that relies on findings from in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 10 Cambodians and 10 Vietnamese participants (≥ 40 years of age or older, male and female) living in Toronto. The choice of this age range is to target participants who either arrived in Canada as children or adults, starting from 1975. The interviews were conducted in Toronto between August and September 2015. Demographic and easily quantifiable information, such as: gender, age, marital status, level of education, type of employment and general impressions of resettlement, was gathered to provide a clearer picture of the study population. Qualitative analysis emphasizes verbal descriptions with the goal of understanding the participants' view of their own world and is well suited for addressing questions about conditions, norms, and values (Archer & Berdahl 2011, 126).

In addition to providing descriptive commentary on the experience of the Indochinese refugees in Canada, this research work also aims at making qualitative assessments. It was designed to compare Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees' 'narrativizations' on the experiences of their resettlement since they came to Canada. A comparative analysis of these two groups is important because even though both are from Indochina, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam are three very different countries, and their histories and number of admitted refugees are different. In contrast to personal narratives such as life stories, a narrativization focuses on particular 'selected' experiences considered pivotal by the narrator in semi-structured interviews (Atkinson 1998;

Riessman 1993). The goal of the interviews is to obtain as accurately as possible, the most complete description of the case by using resettlement experiences of the participants in Canada, as well as their adaptation and integration stories. The questions were broad enough to allow the participants to cover areas and issues they felt related to their own experiences (i.e. Can you describe your settlement experiences in Canada?) The interviews provided a platform for individual participants to provide insights on their resettlement and adaptation experiences in Canada, and how their identity in Toronto is being re-created and redefined. All shared and collected information is kept confidential. Participants' location will be excluded from all quotes in the research. Data including responses from participants is coded.

Given the complexity of measuring sense of belonging amongst Immigrants, Amit and Bar-Lev (2014) proposed the more comprehensive Sense of belonging index which is used in this study. It is derived from the mean score of three components, i.e. national Identity, psychological sense of feeling at home and commitment to stay in the host country. The operational measure for “sense of belonging” was a scale consisting of forced-choice responses, e.g. how do you describe your ethnicity? Canadian, Ethnic (Vietnamese, Cambodian), or hyphenated (Vietnamese-Canadian, Cambodian-Canadian). Do you feel a sense of belonging to Canada? If yes, in which way? If No, why? Responses were coded on diverse scales.

The main technique was Likert scaling – a simple technique by which each respondent is presented with a series of statements requiring a value judgment (Manheim, Rich & Willnat 2001, 150-151). For example, responses to the three key questions related to the Sense of belonging index were differently coded on a five point Likert scale. “How important is Canadian national identity to you?” was scored on a five point scale, ranging from: (1) Not at all, (2) Mildly Important, (3) Moderately Important, (4) Important and (5) Very Important. “Do you feel at home

in Canada?” was scored on a similar scale, described as follows: (1) Not at all, (2) Mildly, (3) Moderately, (4) Strongly and (5) Very Strongly. Finally, “What is the likelihood that you will stay permanently in Canada?” was coded as above, ranging from: (1) None, (2) Mild, (3) Moderate, (4) Strong and (5) Very Strong. Correlations between the Sense of belonging index and selected independent variables were calculated to determine which of the variables have the most predictive power for the index.

2. Investigator Experience

I am a Vietnamese student who has recently migrated to Canada and is interested in conducting research on the Indochinese in part because I can contribute to the literature in this area. I have previously written a Master’s thesis on the Vietnamese diaspora in Sweden and so in this work, I extend my knowledge to studying the settlement and integration experiences of both the Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in Canada. Moreover, as a member of the Vietnamese community in Toronto, I am especially well-suited to conduct interviews with others in the community.

3. Selection and Recruitment

Participants included 10 Cambodians and 10 Vietnamese refugees, who came to Canada during the late 70s and 80s and are now living in Toronto (professionals, non-professionals, men, women, single, married, aged over 40). The interviews were conducted in English, with only participants who are fluent in the language. I chose only participants who are fluent in English because it is one of the two official languages in Canada and the MRP is also written in English. As such, responses from participants can be analyzed without a need for translation. Anyone over 65 years old or under 40 years old, as well as those who withdrew their consents at any time, were

excluded, in order to target Immigrants that arrived in Canada either as children or young adults during the stated period.

Several purposive sampling techniques were utilized for recruitment. Maximum variation sampling was used to obtain and document a range of participants that covered gender and generational viewpoints. Criterion sampling ensured that all participants would meet the requirement of the bounded research question and selected participants who were refugees from Cambodia and Vietnam in order to capture the experience of settlement and adaptation in Canada. Criterion sampling also restricted participation only to refugees who had been in Canada for a minimum of 25 years in order to capture the experience of those who have lived here through time. I recruited participants by delivering flyers to the Vietnamese Associations in Toronto, the Vietnamese Women Associations in Toronto, Hong Fook Mental Health Association, and the Canadian Cambodian Association (the four biggest associations of the two communities in Toronto). I responded immediately to all interested participants by phone (purchased phone card) and then verified that they met the eligibility criteria for the study. Finally, the date and place for interviews were discussed and finalised with the selected participants.

Participants were given the consent form at least three days in advance, to allow ample time for review, discussion and questions, before the interview. A copy of the consent form was kept by both the Investigator and participant, after the interview. Interviews were conducted in reserved study rooms within the public libraries in Toronto during off-peak hours, in order to ensure both privacy and a quiet environment.

4. Data Collection and Data Organization

Participants were not anonymous. Hard copy and electronic data were secured in a locked file cabinet at Ryerson and encrypted. Audio recordings were safely stored on a hard drive, which

was encrypted and kept in a locked file cabinet at Ryerson University. A summary table of the participants in this study is provided below:

Table 6: Demographic information for the interviewed Indochinese refugees

Participants	Age	Age on arrival to Canada	Nationality	Gender	Marital Status	Highest level of education
KH001	65	32	Cambodian	Female	Married	Secondary
KH002	62	24	Cambodian	Female	Married	College
KH003	55	23	Cambodian	Female	Single	University
KH004	41	6	Cambodian	Female	Married	University
KH005	46	17	Cambodian	Female	Married	Secondary
KH006	56	26	Cambodian	Male	Divorced	Primary
KH007	42	9	Cambodian	Male	Married	College
KH008	53	33	Cambodian	Male	Widower	College
KH009	43	9	Cambodian	Male	Married	College
KH010	60	25	Cambodian	Male	Single	Primary
VN001	62	32	Vietnamese	Male	Married	University
VN002	56	20	Vietnamese	Male	Married	University
VN003	55	22	Vietnamese	Male	Divorced	College
VN004	65	30	Vietnamese	Male	Married	College
VN005	55	25	Vietnamese	Male	Married	College
VN006	44	15	Vietnamese	Female	Married	Secondary

VN007	52	21	Vietnamese	Female	Cohabitant	University
VN008	65	28	Vietnamese	Female	Married	Secondary
VN009	58	25	Vietnamese	Female	Married	University
VN010	50	21	Vietnamese	Female	Married	University

IV. INTERVIEW RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 7: Demographic characteristics of Vietnamese and Cambodian refugee participants in Toronto

Variables / Perceptions	Vietnamese refugees	Cambodian refugees
Mean Age (years)	56	52.5
Male (%)	50%	50%
Married (%)	80%	60%
With academic degree (%)	50%	20%
Religious affiliation (1-5)	2.9	3.1
Ethnic segregation (1-5)	2.6	3.2
English or French proficiency (1-5)	3.5	2.8
General life satisfaction (1-5)	4.2	3.3
Sense of belonging Index (1-5)	3.8	2.8
Canadian Identity (1-5)	3.2	2.7
Feel at home in Canada (1-5)	4.2	3.4
Plan to stay in Canada (1-5)	4.2	2.4

Demographic features of the Vietnamese (VN001-VN010) and Cambodian (KH001-KH010) refugees that participated in the interview are presented in Tables 6 and 7. In person interviews with the two groups of Indochinese refugees comprised of open ended questions on

self-reported: ethnicity, settlement experiences, general life satisfaction and sense of belonging to Canada. Responses were scored on a Likert scale (1-5), as follows: (1) none, (2) mild, (3) moderate, (4) strong and (5) very strong. Our key dependent variable of interest is the Sense of belonging Index, which constitutes of the mean score from three variables (Canadian Identity, Feel at home in Canada and Plan to stay in Canada). The most explanatory variables from the study are ethnic segregation, English or French proficiency and general life satisfaction.

All independent variables were measured on a Likert scale (1-5), as described above. Ethnic segregation is a measure of relative isolation from mainstream Canadian society and is assessed by degree to which respondents either have none or very few friends outside their community or do not join any events with other local Canadians. English or French proficiency refers to fluency in either of the two Canadian official languages, whereas general life satisfaction is a subjective assessment of the level of contentment with one's life situation. Other Independent variables are described below as follows:

With academic degree: Respondents with at least a University degree, measured as a percentage of all participants in the group.

Religious affiliation: Respondents who self-report as belonging to a religion and actively participate in religious events.

Ethnic segregation: Respondents who have either none or very few friends outside their community and do not join any events with other local Canadians.

Results

Based on demographic information (Table 7) of the two Indochinese refugee groups, their background variables are mostly comparable with the exception of three variables (With academic degree, Ethnic segregation and English or French proficiency) which are very dissimilar. In order

to control for potential gender bias in responses to Interview questions, participants from both the Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees in Toronto comprised of 50% men and women. Vietnamese refugee respondents had a mean age of 56 years old and 80% of them were married, in comparison to the Cambodian refugee participants with a mean age of 52.5 years old and 60% married. Moreover, religious affiliation for the Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees was determined to be 2.9 (mild) and 3.1 (moderate), respectively. Amongst the interviewed refugee participants, 50% of the Vietnamese had obtained academic degrees whereas 20% of Cambodians were in that category. The Vietnamese refugees were also proficient in English or French at a level of 3.5 and reported mild (2.6) ethnic segregation, in contrast to the Cambodian refugees with English or French language proficiency and ethnic segregation at 2.8 (mild) and 3.2 (moderate), respectively.

Vietnamese refugees attained higher levels of education than the Cambodian refugees

Highly educated and skilled refugees are generally favored by host countries because of their ‘integration potential.’ As such, I was interested in assessing the levels of education attained by the two groups of Indochinese refugee participants, based on a dichotomous variable, i.e. have or don’t have an academic degree. More Vietnamese refugee respondents (50%) self-reported to have an academic degree, in comparison to 20% of the Cambodian participants. Nevertheless, even the refugees with foreign degrees faced obstacles accessing the Canadian job market because their foreign degrees and training were not recognized in Canada. Respondents who wanted to continue working in the same professions or start new career paths updated their knowledge in Canadian institutions, often under challenging circumstances. One Vietnamese male respondent (VN001) whose professional credentials were not recognized in Canada, worked hard to update his skills in Canada. He described the obstacles faced in Canada during the early years of resettlement and his determination to overcome them, as follows:

Even though I knew some English and French before arrival, I couldn't find jobs here. My qualifications and experiences in VN was not recognized. So I started with factory jobs, updated English, and managed to come back to medical school. My wife had to work full time with 2 jobs, to support the whole family so that I could focus on my study. It was extremely tough time for all of us. But I was determined to succeed, because I had no other choice.

Although both Indochinese refugee groups faced similar obstacles in finding jobs related to their previous training, the more educated Vietnamese refugees were determined to upgrade their skills and find jobs suited to their training. In contrast, most of the Cambodian respondents who were lesser educated accepted 'survival' factory jobs that did not fully satisfy their career expectations. A survey of the Cambodian and Vietnamese refugee participants with a University degree indicated that there was a difference in their Sense of belonging to Canada, in favor of the Vietnamese respondents. The two Cambodian refugees (KH003 and KH004) in this category had an average Sense of belonging index of 3.17, in comparison to that of 3.87 by the five Vietnamese refugees (VN001, VN002, VN007, VN009 and VN010) in this group. University educated participants from both Indochinese refugee groups were observed to have a higher Sense of belonging index than their individual group averages. The Indochinese refugees who came to Canada as children (VN006, KH004, KH005, KH007 and KH009) did not face the challenges of updating skills and most of them (with the exception of KH005) took advantage of Canada's education system to earn a college certificate or University degree.

Cambodian refugees are the more ethnically segregated of the two Indochinese groups

For purposes of this study, ethnic segregation is an additive variable in reference to a respondent who does not have any friends outside their ethnic group and lives in a residential area with predominantly other members of their community. Vietnamese refugees were more likely

than Cambodian refugees to have friends outside their ethnic group and had a mild (2.6) score for ethnic segregation. In contrast, the interviewed Cambodian refugees who were more ethnically segregated had a moderate (3.2) score and self-reported a preference for Cambodian friends only, as well as living in predominantly Cambodian neighborhoods. This sentiment is expressed by a male Cambodian participant (KH007), who describes his activities and lack of interest in cuisines from other ethnic groups, below.

I don't do sports or watch sports. My main hobby is to do community work, join the Toronto Asian groups, Jane and Finch community where I live with many other Cambodians. My wife is traditional too. I came to Cambodia to get married to her. She raised the kids well, and we preserve all traditions at home, such as speaking in Cambodian, eat rice and traditional food, we don't eat out. We travel home often.

It should be noted that the observed ethnic segregation amongst the Indochinese refugees is independent of gender, year of arrival in Canada or education level. Moreover, there is a significant negative correlation ($r = -0.81$, $p < 0.01$) between the Sense of belonging Index and ethnic segregation amongst the Indochinese respondents (Table 8).

Table 8: Correlations between the Sense of belonging Index and selected variables

<i>Selected Variables</i>	<i>Sense of belonging Index</i>
Religious Affiliation	0.46**
Ethnic segregation	-0.81***
English or French Proficiency	0.85***
General life satisfaction	0.72**
Year of Arrival	-0.19

** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Language barriers and integration into Canadian society

In an effort to probe the impact of language barriers faced by the two Indochinese groups during their resettlement and integration into Canadian society, I asked the participants if they could fluently speak any of Canada's two official languages (English and French). The Vietnamese refugees were more proficient in either English or French with a score of 3.5 (moderate proficiency, Table 7). In comparison, the Cambodian refugees had a language proficiency score of 2.8 (mild, Table 7). A male Cambodian refugee (KH010) sums up the feelings of loneliness and homesickness due to the language barriers, from his recollections.

It was very hard for me. I did not speak English or French and didn't know anybody. It was a new world to me. I was so scared when seeing no Cambodians in street and couldn't talk to anyone. I was very lonely and homesick.

The Indochinese refugees who came to Canada as children, adjusted to language difficulties much better than those who arrived as adults. They learned English in school with other students, whereas some of those that arrived as adults were more isolated within their communities and still have problems communicating in English.

Vietnamese refugees have a stronger sense of belonging to Canada than the Cambodian refugees

The primary dependent variable of this study is the Sense of belonging Index, which was determined from a mean score of three variables (Canadian Identity, Feel at home in Canada and Plan to stay in Canada) as described above. Vietnamese refugees outscored the Cambodian refugees in all three components of the Sense of belonging index, i.e. Canadian Identity (3.2, 2.7), Feel at home in Canada (4.2, 3.4) and Plan to stay in Canada (4, 2.4), respectively. Based on this

additive measure, Vietnamese refugees had a higher Sense of belonging Index of 3.8 whereas the Cambodian refugees had a lower score of 2.8. The stronger Sense of belonging and desire to stay in Canada amongst the Vietnamese refugees is best exemplified by one male participant (VN002) who described his attachment to Canada in form of education, family ties and business interests.

I grew up here, and my training, my family, career, children, all ties around me are within Canada. I never travelled back to VN because I belong to Canada, and consider it my only home. I make friends with all people, not just Vietnamese. I expand my business in different fields and have diverse employees. I don't have much time to join Vietnamese community events or activities but my wife joins with the children sometimes. I am very open minded in raising children, not guiding them to be segregated.

Another female Vietnamese respondent (VN007) with a strong Sense of belonging to Canada, cited the opportunities she received in education and jobs that enabled someone who came to the country under modest circumstances to make a decent life for herself. She described her attachment to Canada in the following words:

Canada is a safe, democratic and great country. It is one of the best country to live in the world, even its not paradise but in my case, it is. I didn't have anything when I first came, nothing, but I had opportunities to education, job and a good life. I work hard and get reward, means it's a fair society and I am lucky to live in Canada.

In contrast, the Cambodian refugees had a mild (2.8) Sense of belonging Index and were less committed to staying in Canada. This dichotomy in perceptions of life in Canada between the two Indochinese refugee groups, is further supported by the sentiments of a male Cambodian participant (KH007) who expressed the sentiment to return to Cambodia as follows:

I have strong sense of Cambodia, because I am Cambodian. I will go back to the homeland when I retire. I feel that is the place where I belong to. I don't practise Canadian activities, I think everyone has a right to choose how they live their rights. I want to go back because I feel lost in my own identity. As a Cambodian, I am upset that not many Cambodian events and activities here.

Ethnic segregation, language proficiency and general life satisfaction are highly correlated with the Sense of belonging Index

Based on the correlation between the selected variables presented in Table (8), the Sense of belonging index of the two Indochinese refugee groups, is highly correlated with ethnic segregation ($r = -0.81$, $p < 0.005$), English or French proficiency ($r = 0.85$, $p < 0.004$) and general life satisfaction ($r = 0.72$, $p < 0.019$). Religious affiliation was only moderately correlated ($r = 0.46$, $p < 0.011$) with the Sense of belonging Index. English or French proficiency and ethnic segregation are the variables that most positively and negatively correlated with the Sense of belonging Index, respectively, and therefore best match or have predictive power for the Index. A male Vietnamese respondent (VN001) expressed the strong general life satisfaction in the following words:

Life got better soon after I graduated. I have my own dental clinic and we live a decent comfortable life. My Canadian dream comes true. Even though I went through up and down moments during my resettlement, I am grateful that life changed for the better.

In contrast, most Cambodian respondents were only moderately satisfied with their daily life within the community and did not convey any fulfillment arising from personal success. A female Cambodian participant (KH002) described her daily activities within the community, where she drew satisfaction from social interactions with other members. She summarised her experiences and participation at various community events, below:

Because Canada is a multicultural country, especially Toronto, I join Cambodian activities as often as those of Vietnamese community, or I go to pagodas of Cambodian as often as of Vietnamese groups, and I also do church work, community works, I join local events where I live with my neighbours, etc.

Age of arrival in Canada is not a predictive factor for Sense of belonging among the Indochinese refugees

The Indochinese refugees who arrived in Canada before adulthood did not experience the same economic and social pressures as the adults during their transition to life in Canada, because they could make friends in school and improve their language skills. However, they were still largely raised under strict Vietnamese or Cambodian family values. As a female Vietnamese participant (VN006) explains, her parents maintained their Vietnamese heritage by requiring the children to speak Vietnamese at home and observe family traditions.

My dad was a lawyer in VN, he was very traditional and strict raising us. He wanted everyone to speak Vietnamese, be Vietnamese and preserved all traditional values at home. I went to school, got some college certificates, then my brother introduced me to work in a food factory. My parents arranged marriage for me, and they let me in charge of their store when they got old. My life was peaceful as it should be, because everyone arranged everything for me, even if I stayed in VN, it would be the same like here.

Intriguingly, both Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees who came to Canada as children had comparable Sense of belonging to Canada with those who arrived as adults. For instance, 40% of the Cambodian participants arrived in Canada before adulthood in comparison to 10% of Vietnamese respondents in that category, yet the Sense of belonging Index is higher (3.8 vs 2.8) in the latter group. A low negative correlation coefficient ($r = -0.19$, $p < 0.599$) with no significance was determined for the age of arrival and Sense of belonging index of the Indochinese refugees. This finding suggests that although the increasing age of arrival is associated with reduced Sense of belonging amongst the respondents, the relationship is mild and insignificant. An illustration of the above relationship is provided by a male Cambodian refugee (KH007) who arrived in Canada as a 9 year old boy and still has more attachment to his country of birth than to Canada, where he

has lived for more than 30 years. His response to the question, as to whether he felt a Sense of belonging to Canada was as follows:

Not really, No. I don't see any Canadian identity. This is a multicultural country, everyone can maintain their tradition and culture living here. I joined a lot of Cambodian cultural event and activities. I don't feel isolated. I can use my language, go to pagoda, join activities, meeting other Cambodian, I feel like I am still living in Cambodia here in Canada.

It is noteworthy that the youngest Indochinese refugee on arrival to Canada (a female Cambodian participant, KH004, who was 6 years old when the family moved to Toronto in 1981) expressed a strong Sense of belonging to Canada and even married a Canadian. She reported that the only memories from Cambodia was from stories told by family members and friends. Although she still spoke Cambodian at home with her parents and siblings, she learned more about Cambodian culture from joining community events. The respondent reflected on her journey and how she balanced her Cambodian heritage with a strong Sense of belonging to Canada:

I came to Canada at early age, and my memories of childhood was just life in refugee camp because I was raised there from 1 year old. I did not have any memories from Cambodia except from what my parents told me, my friends told me, and I know more about Cambodia especially when I join community events. Otherwise, I am very Canadian. Its culture, life style, history... I mean my life is here, my family is here, I am Canadian, and I understand its culture, history, lifestyles. However, I still speak Cambodian at home with my parents or siblings, because they are very traditional. I guess they are older than me, they spent their childhood in Cambodia and grew up with memories about it, so they have more attachment to Cambodia than me. I get married to a Canadian, so my attachment is not much.

Discussion

The primary focus of this study is to examine the Sense of belonging amongst two Indochinese refugee groups (Vietnamese and Cambodians), who mostly settled in Toronto during the late 1970s and early 1980s. As discussed in the review of literature, larger numbers of

Vietnamese refugees (most of whom were elites) arrived in Canada during this period in comparison to the smaller inflows of mostly rural Cambodian refugees (Dorais 2000). It is therefore not surprising from our findings that 50% of interviewed Vietnamese refugees had academic degrees and moderate (3.5) English or French proficiency skills. In comparison, only 20% of the Cambodian participants had academic degrees and their language proficiency was determined to be 2.8 (mild). The level of education and native language proficiency are important factors that facilitate integration of newcomers into their host society. A recent model (Amit and Bar-Lev 2014) suggested that language proficiency was one of the critical factors that confer a strong sense of belonging, a finding which is also supported by our study in which the two variables have a highly significant positive correlation ($r = 0.85$, $p < 0.004$).

In the Canadian context of a heterogeneous society, Sense of belonging is not based on a common racial background, religion or ancestry (Howard-Hassmann 1999). Consequently, there is no consensus on how to define or measure national Identity. As Jedwab (2009) points out, the importance of national identity to immigrants is evaluated on the basis of choosing a single identity in some studies, whereas others accept the choice of respondents to report multiple identities. In an effort to address this complexity associated with measuring Sense of belonging to a host country, Amit and Bar-Lev (2014) proposed the more comprehensive Sense of belonging index, which constitutes of national identity, feeling at home and commitment to stay in the country. National identity is a typically used measure of Sense of belonging to the host country (Amit 2012, Jedwab 2009). The second component, feeling at home, is an evaluation of self-identity in relation to the host country (Sigmon et al. 2002) and finally, commitment to stay in the host country (including naturalization) has also been commonly used as an indicator of immigrants' Sense of belonging to the host country (Chow 2007). This study also used the Sense of belonging index to

evaluate the national belonging of two groups of Indochinese refugees (Vietnamese and Cambodian) to Canada. Interestingly, the Vietnamese refugees had a stronger Sense of belonging to Canada than the Cambodian refugees, which is probably attributed to better integration by the former due to their higher education levels and more extensive community network.

The *contact perspective* on the relationship between diversity and social cohesion (Putman 2007) suggests that immigrants living in diverse neighborhoods should have a stronger Sense of belonging to Canada than those in segregated enclaves. Exposure to different ethnic groups encourages people to self-identify as individuals and not simply members of a given ethnic group, thus allowing them to form social relationships with others from the out-group (Dovidio et al. 2003).

A recent paper by Wu & Schimmele (2011) examined the impact of racial diversity in Canadian urban neighbourhoods, on in-group and national belonging. Findings from this work suggested that living in a diverse neighbourhood simultaneously increased Sense of belonging to Canada and minimized in-group belonging.

In support of the *contact perspective*, this study also found that the Vietnamese refugees who are less segregated (2.6) than the Cambodian refugees (3.2) also had a stronger Sense of belonging to Canada. Ethnic segregation was determined to have a highly significant negative correlation ($r = -0.81$, $p < 0.005$) to the sense of belonging index. Moreover, several Vietnamese respondents reported having social relationships with other Canadians outside their community, whereas nearly all Cambodian refugee participants only had friends within their group. The Cambodian refugees had a stronger in-group belonging and a weaker national belonging.

Besides language proficiency, general life satisfaction, ethnic segregation and religious affiliation, other critical factors that may explain the differences in Sense of belonging to Canada

amongst the Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees, include: nationalism, government programs, private sponsorships and traumatic events. The Cambodian refugees experienced more trauma under the brutal Khmer Rouge regime, the scars of which may hinder them from easily integrating into Canadian society and hence may partially explain their lower sense of belonging to Canada in comparison to the Vietnamese refugees. Although, nationalism, government programs and private sponsorships would be expected to foster integration of Immigrants to Canadian society, these factors which merit examination in future studies were not within the scope of this work because of time constraints.

This study is limited by the small sample size, which precludes generalizations about the overall Sense of belonging of the two Indochinese refugee groups to Canada. However, it provides valuable insight into the relative differences in integration and settlement experiences of both the Vietnamese and Cambodian refugee communities in Toronto. Another shortcoming of the study is the lack specificity in description of general life satisfaction. As such, we are unable to delineate the particular aspects of life satisfaction with predictive power for Sense of belonging. Several factors, including close personal relationships, career opportunities, familiarity with the culture of the host country and government programs could presumably positively impact one's Sense of belonging. In order to understand the key factors that influence Sense of belonging, qualitative studies are needed to determine the necessary conditions that contribute to overall life satisfaction amongst the Indochinese refugees. Low levels of life satisfaction and Sense of belonging have been attributed to the feeling of living in virtual limbo or being permanently uprooted (Remmennick 2013), a sentiment that was also expressed by a male Cambodian refugee (KH007).

VI. CONCLUSION

In this work I did a comparative analysis of the resettlement experiences of the Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in Toronto, in an effort to determine whether the heterogeneity of the distinct populations from the same region had any effect on their outcomes. I evaluated the Sense of belonging index of the two Indochinese refugees groups, in order to comprehensively capture their national belonging, feeling at home and commitment to stay in Canada. Literature on the Indochinese refugees is biased towards the larger Vietnamese refugee communities, while very little is known about the smaller Cambodian communities. Hence, another sub-goal of this MRP was to contribute towards the data on the lesser known Cambodian community in Toronto.

Unsurprisingly, I found a highly significant positive correlation between English or French language proficiency and the Sense of belonging index of the Indochinese refugees. In contrast to the Cambodian interview participants, the Vietnamese respondents who had attained more academic degrees and were more fluent in English or French, were also determined to have had a higher Sense of belonging index. Another variable of interest, ethnic segregation, was found to have a highly significant negative correlation with the Sense of belonging index. The Cambodian refugees were the more ethnically segregated of the two Indochinese groups in the study and consequently scored lower on the Sense of belonging index. This work did not specifically investigate the relationship between ethnic segregation, and language proficiency or education level attainment, however both likely have a high negative correlation with the former.

General life satisfaction was another variable that had a high and significant positive correlation with the Sense of belonging index. The Vietnamese refugees scored higher on general life satisfaction than the Cambodian participants, following a similar trend as observed for language proficiency and level of education attainment. A possible explanation for the similar

trajectory of the variables is that language proficiency and level of education attainment both increase general life satisfaction amongst the Indochinese refugees. It is noteworthy that English or French language proficiency, ethnic segregation and general life satisfaction, were the three most predictive variables for the Sense of belonging index. Religious affiliation was only moderately predictive of the Sense of belonging index, whereas the year of arrival in Canada was not a critical factor. The majority of religious Indochinese refugees follow Buddhism, which is not one of the main religions in Canada and so their religious affiliation may promote in-group belonging and ethnic segregation, at the expense of national belonging. Intriguingly, the age of arrival to Canada had a low and insignificant negative correlation with the Sense of belonging index perhaps due to a stronger influence of the family and community at large in fostering national belonging amongst the young refugees.

Given the differences in level of education, language proficiency and ethnic segregation amongst the Cambodian and Vietnamese refugee participants, I was also interested to investigate whether the respondents with a University degree had a comparable Sense of belonging Index. Surprisingly, the Sense of belonging index of the University educated Cambodian refugees was still lower than that of the similarly educated Vietnamese refugees, which suggests that national belonging amongst the Indochinese refugees may also be strongly influenced by the community. For instance, even educated refugees who remain ethnically segregated may exhibit reduced national belonging than those who live in more diverse neighbourhoods. This idea is consistent with the contact perspective which predicts that Immigrants living in diverse urban neighbourhoods are more likely than those in segregated areas, to have a stronger Sense of belonging to Canada.

In summary, the Vietnamese refugees in Toronto have a stronger sense of belonging to Canada than the Cambodian refugees which may partly be attributed to the higher education attainment and community structure of the former. The more educated Vietnamese refugees consequently are better organized and can easily lobby the government for more resources to aid in their integration into Canadian society. Moreover, they also have higher English or French language proficiency which makes it easier for them to search for jobs in Canada. Unlike the small Cambodian community in Toronto, the larger Vietnamese group ensures that there is a more extensive network for purposes of accessing services, starting new businesses and looking for employment. This extensive network is critical in ensuring better integration of the Vietnamese refugees into Canadian society and acting as a buffer against ethnic segregation, which our study finds to have a significant and negative correlation with the Sense of belonging index.

Taken together, the above mentioned factors explain the higher general life satisfaction observed amongst the Vietnamese refugees, in comparison to their Cambodian counterparts. Although the sample size in this study is inadequate to draw reliable conclusions about the two Indochinese communities in Toronto, it provides a preliminary framework for evaluating the effectiveness of integration policies by the Canadian government. Perhaps a more reliable measure of successful resettlement experiences within the Indochinese communities should examine the education achievements and job opportunities of the second generation within the two groups.

APPENDIX I



Ryerson University Consent Agreement

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Please read this consent form so that you understand what your participation will involve. Before you consent to participate, please ask any questions to be sure you understand what your participation will involve.

TITLE OF THE STUDY:

Indochinese Refugees in Canada: Resettlement experiences of the Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in Toronto.

INVESTIGATORS: This research study is being conducted by Ms. Nhi Phan, for her MA program in Immigration and Settlement Studies at Ryerson University. Supervisor: Prof. Sorpong Peou, Department of Politics and Public Administration, Ryerson University.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact: Nhi Phan, Email: nhi.phan@ryerson.ca; Mobile: 416-839 0092.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY:

This paper will explore how the Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees, who came to Canada during the late 70s and 80s and are now living in Toronto, have resettled and adjusted to new life in Canada. From the interviews with 20 participants (10 Cambodians and 10 Vietnamese living in Toronto, aged from 40-65), individuals will provide insights relating to their resettlement and adaptation experiences in Canada. The interviews will be used for the Master research paper. The interviews will be conducted in English. Participants are required to be fluent in English. Participants should show proofs of their arrival in Canada during the specified period (landing documents or government issued documents).

POTENTIAL BENEFITS:

This study will contribute to the literature on the topic of resettlement and integration of the Cambodians and Vietnamese refugees in Canada. Participants may also benefit from sharing their own story. I cannot guarantee you will benefit from participating in the study.

WHAT PARTICIPATION INVOLVES

You will participate in a 1 hour maximum interview in a library or a community center in Toronto, and will be asked to answer a few questions, for example:

1. Can you describe your experiences living in Canada?
2. If applicable, can you describe some of the obstacles you encountered during your resettlement?

The interview will be audiorecorded. I hope to hear your own life stories about how you have resettled and integrated into Canada.

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL RISKS TO YOU AS A PARTICIPANT:

It is not likely that there will be any harm or discomfort associated with your interview. There are some questions that you may feel uncomfortable with. If you want to skip the question or stop participation, please do not hesitate to inform the researcher at any time.

CONFIDENTIALITY: All the information shared and all data collected will be kept confidentially. Participants' responses data will be coded up, unless participants agree in this consent to provide their real names for the paper.

Do you want your real name to be used in this research? ☐ YES ☐ NO

Do you agree to be audiorecorded during the interview? ☐ YES ☐ NO

Data will be kept till the end of October 2015, by the graduation of the researcher. After that, all transcripts and forms will be deleted.

If the participant wants to hold a copy of the research findings, the investigator will send a hard copy in person as soon as the MRP is finished.

Do you want a copy of the research findings? ☐ YES ☐ NO

INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATION:

Participants agree to join in this interview voluntarily. You will not be paid to participate in this study.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL:

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If any question makes you uncomfortable, you can skip that question. You may stop participating at any time. If you choose to stop participating, you may also choose to not have your data included in the study. Your choice of whether or not to participate will not influence your future relations with Ryerson University or the investigator, Ms. Nhi Phan, involved in the research.

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY: If you have any questions about the research now, please ask. If you have questions later about the research, you may contact: Nhi Phan, current graduate student of the Immigration and Settlement Studies, Ryerson University. Email:

nhi.phan@ryerson.ca.

This study has been reviewed by the Ryerson University Research Ethics Board. If you have questions regarding your rights as a participant in this study please contact:

Research Ethics Board
c/o Office of the Vice President, Research and Innovation
Ryerson University
350 Victoria Street
Toronto, ON M5B 2K3
416-979-5042
rebchair@ryerson.ca

TITLE OF PROJECT:

Indochinese Refugees in Canada: Resettlement experiences of the Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in Toronto.

CONFIRMATION OF AGREEMENT:

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information in this agreement and have had a chance to ask any questions you have about the study. Your signature also indicates that you agree to participate in the study and have been told that you can change your mind and withdraw your consent to participate at any time. You have been given a copy of this agreement.

You have been told that by signing this consent agreement you are not giving up any of your legal rights.

Name of Participant (please print)

Signature of Participant

Date

LIST OF SUPPROT SERVICES AND RESOURCES

Family Service Toronto (FST)

355 Church Street
Toronto, Ontario, M5B 1Z8
Tel: 416-595-9618

Distress Centres

24 hours: Monday-Sunday
Tel: 416-598-1121 or 416-486-1456
Gerstein Centre Tel: 416-929-5200
Website: www.gersteincentre.org
E-mail: gerstein.ctr@sympatico.ca

Trauma services

For Service call: 416-595-9618

Integrated Community Mental Health Crisis Response Program

24 hours: Monday-Sunday
Tel: 416-289-2434

Police and Ambulance

Call 911 (voice or TTY)
For non-emergency police matters call 416-808-2222

Women's Helpline

Hours: Monday - Sunday 24 hours
Tel: 416-863-0511; TTY 416-364-8762
Website: www.awhl.org
E-mail: info@awhl.org

Victim Services Program of Toronto

Tel: 416-808-7066

APPENDIX II



Recruitment Notice

Dear Members of the Cambodian Communities,

My name is Nhi Phan, a Master's student at Ryerson University. I am currently conducting a study called, *"Indochinese Refugees in Canada: Resettlement experiences of the Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in Toronto"*. This study has been approved by Ryerson University Research Ethics Board.

I am interested in hearing the stories and settlement experiences of the Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees, who came to Canada during the late 70s and 80s. More importantly, I want to learn about the adaptation process and obstacles faced by the first generation of refugees over the past four decades.

I am currently looking for both male and female volunteers who are interested in being a part of the study. Individuals who are 40 years of age or older would agree to do an in-depth interview only if they came to Canada as refugees during the above period. You are required to be living in Toronto during the time of the study. The interviews will be conducted in English. Participants are required to be fluent in English. Participants should show proofs of their arrival in Canada during the specified period (landing documents or government issued documents).

This study will contribute to the literature on the topic of resettlement and integration of the Cambodians and Vietnamese refugees in Canada. Participants may also benefit from sharing their own story. I cannot guarantee you will benefit from participating in the study.

If you have any question or require more information about the study, please contact me, Nhi Phan, at any time at (416) 839 0092.

Sincerely,
Nhi Phan

APPENDIX III

Interview Guide

Section I: Demographic Questionnaire

1. Date of Interview:
2. Age:
3. Gender:
4. Birthplace:
5. Marital Status:
6. Year of arrival in Canada:
7. Age at time of arrival in Canada:
8. Highest level of education attained:
9. Occupation in Canada:
10. Occupation in home country (if applicable):
11. Religion Status:

Section II: Interview questions:

1. How do you describe your ethnicity: Canadian, Ethnic (Vietnamese, Cambodian), or hyphenated (Vietnamese-Canadian, Cambodian-Canadian)

2. Can you describe your settlement experiences in Canada?

- 2.1. Do you have friends outside your community?
- 2.2. Do you live in a Vietnamese/Cambodian neighbourhood?
- 2.3. Do you often eat your traditional cuisines or have you tried food from different ethnic groups?
- 2.4. How often do you join in activities outside your own community?

3. Did you have any obstacles or challenges during your resettlement?

4. Do you feel a sense of belonging to Canada? If Yes, in which way? If No, why?

4.1. How important is Canadian national identity to you? (e.g. Participation in Canadian politics, social events, national sports, Canadian history, etc.)

Scale:

- 1 Not at all
- 2 Mildly Important
- 3 Moderately Important
- 4 Important
- 5 Very Important

4.2. Do you consider Canada your first home or second home? Why or why not?

4.3. How much do you feel at home in Canada?

Scale:

- 1 Not at all
- 2 Mildly
- 3 Moderately
- 4 Strongly
- 5 Very strongly

4.4. Are you satisfied with your life in Canada?

Scale:

- 1 No
- 2 Mildly
- 3 Moderately
- 4 Satisfied
- 5 Very satisfied

4.5. What is the likelihood that you will stay permanently in Canada?

Scale:

- 1 None
- 2 Mild
- 3 Moderate
- 4 Strong
- 5 Very strong

5. Anything else you'd like to add about your life in Toronto?

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