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Refugee Resettlement and Perceptions of Insecurity: A Comparative Study of The United States and Canada

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REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT AND PERCEPTIONS OF INSECURITY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

by

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ABSTRACT

In the United States and Canada, refugee resettlement has been the subject of extensive scrutiny and political debate, particularly since the November 2015 terrorist attacks carried out by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) against targets in Paris. While public opinion polls have shown increasingly negative attitudes toward refugees, existing survey questionnaires only provide a limited understanding of what shapes these views. As such, this study focuses on two important factors that influence attitude formation toward refugees, pre-existing levels of knowledge and contact with minority groups. Using a comparative case study approach, this research examines how refugee resettlement influences American and Canadian perceptions of insecurity. While most research on refugee issues is conducted in major gateway cities, the study area for this research focuses on adjacent rural state and province with low immigration rates, now experiencing increased numbers of resettled refugees.

This study uses a mixed-methods approach to collect data in two sequential phases of fieldwork in both Montana and Saskatchewan. A community survey is first conducted in both areas, followed by in-depth qualitative interviews with key informants to discuss and gain multiple perspectives on the survey results findings. Unique features of the survey questionnaire include a brief quiz to measure general knowledge about refugee issues and a section designed to determine levels of intergroup contact. Data is also supplemented through an analysis of documents in both study area locations. This new in-depth research on public perceptions offers a clearer picture of what influences positive and negative attitudes toward refugee resettlement and can help government officials better respond to the concerns of their constituents.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would first like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Robert Pauly. Thank you so much for your selfless service as my dissertation chairman and for your guidance and direction. This achievement would not have been possible without your positivity, encouragement, and patience during my dissertation journey. In addition, I would also like to extend heartfelt thanks to the other members of my dissertation committee: Dr. Joseph J. St. Maire, Dr. Robert Press, and Dr. Tom Lansford, who all provided extremely insightful comments, helpful feedback, and valuable mentorship during this process. Finally, a special thank you to Ms. Annette Copeland for ensuring that all departmental administrative matters were taken care of on my behalf and for making this process much less stressful. You have all helped me along this journey and I will be enterally grateful for your assistance.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my loving and supportive family. To my wonderful wife Saray, who has always been there for me and provided unconditional support throughout this journey. I am thankful for her countless sacrifices and could not have completed this achievement without her selflessness. Also, to my amazing son Evan, who has inspired and motivated me to continue and ultimately complete this work. Finally, to my parents, Frank and Donna, who provided constant encouragement and support throughout this process.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Address-Based Sampling
BVOR	Blended Visa Office-Referred Refugee
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
EO	Executive Order
GAR	Government-Assisted Refugee
IRC	International Rescue Committee
IRCC	Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada
ISA	International Studies Association
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
MT	Montana
ORR	Office of Refugee Resettlement
PRM	Population, Refugees and Migration
PSR	Privately Sponsored Refugee
RAP	Resettlement Assistance Program
SAISIA	Saskatchewan Association of Immigrant Settlement and Integration Agencies
SK	Saskatchewan
SPO	Service Provider Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USCIS	United States Citizenship and Immigration Services
USRAP	United States Refugee Admission Program

CHAPTER I – INTRODUCTION

Background

In the last decade of the twentieth century, Samuel P. Huntington (1996, 200) posited that, "Westerners increasingly fear that they are not being invaded by armies, but by migrants from other cultures and religions who threaten their way of life." These deeply rooted convictions became even more apparent after Al Qaeda's terrorist attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001. According to Frelick (2007), these historic events resulted in a new international migration paradigm, as refugees have increasingly been viewed with deep suspicion and trepidation. Refugees became feared because, even if they were not actually terrorists, there could be malevolent individuals hiding in their midst. Consequently, Western democracies increasingly perceive the immigrants and refugees seeking to enter their territories as national security threats (Franz 2005; Lazaridis 2011). These perceptions have produced an atmosphere in which refugee resettlement has increasingly been framed as a security concern rather than a humanitarian response.

In the wake of the deadly November 2015 terrorist attacks carried out by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) members against multiple targets in Paris, refugee resettlement soared up the public agenda after a Syrian refugee was allegedly connected to one of the attack sites. Despite the fact that all of the other attackers in the operation were European-born Muslims, this linkage heightened fears in both the United States and Canada that refugee resettlement programs could provide Islamist extremist terrorists a path to infiltrate North America and position themselves to devise and launch additional attacks. Prominent politicians claimed that refugee communities may include terrorists,

militant activists, and insurgents using refugee camps and resettlement programs as their entry points to the West (Bollfrass et al. 2015). As a result of these efforts to link refugees to terrorist activities, several American and Canadian opinion polls have shown a rise in anti-refugee sentiments and widespread perceptions of insecurity.

Particularly in the United States, impassioned debates over refugee resettlement have become permanent fixtures in political discourse. Wong (2017) argues that the entrenchment of partisanship largely defines the politics of immigration across the country. In fact, immigration and refugee policies became focal points of the 2016 Presidential election cycle, most notably illustrated during the campaign and eventual new administration of Donald Trump. Shortly after taking office, President Trump issued Executive Order (EO) 13769 on January 27, 2017, suspending the admission of refugees for an initial period of 120 days, lowering the total number of refugees to be admitted in 2017, and suspending the entry of Syrian refugees indefinitely (U.S. White House 2017a). On March 6, 2017, the President signed EO 13780 to revoke and replace his prior directive. This EO, entitled, "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States," excludes several categories of aliens that prompted judicial concerns in EO 13769 (U.S. White House 2017b). Citing national security concerns, these policy directives emphasize the urgency of taking preventative actions to safeguard the country from future terrorist attacks.

Significance of the Study

With millions of refugees fleeing violence and civil unrest, resettlement issues have routinely been in the headlines, becoming the topic of contentious public and political and broader public debates around the world. As seen at public demonstrations,

rallies, and other civic forums, concerns about refugees and security and tend to generate strong emotions; however, debates are often polarized with incorrect, misleading, or only partial information. Collier (2013) explains this phenomenon by arguing that immigration is often politicized before it is analyzed, which results in a toxic combination of little knowledge and high emotion. Others agree that immigration is a subject that tends to elicit strong emotions and the rhetoric associated with security issues is often presented in disingenuous ways that often is only partially truthful (Patil and Trivedi 2000). Hoggan (2016) adds that massive amounts of money are being spent on misinformation campaigns intentionally designed to obscure facts and manipulate public opinion. Consequently, there are few areas of public policy that are in more need of further objective analysis. Therefore, getting to the roots of anti-immigrant sentiments is a prime research agenda for international migration scholars (Brettell and Hollifield 2015).

Problem Statement

There is evidence of increasingly negative public attitudes toward refugee resettlement in both the United States and Canada. Despite the wealth of information available from opinion polls, surveys, and questionnaires, there are several problems associated with using this data to understand public perceptions. In a context where the public debate is both highly politicized and ill-informed, the existing survey questionnaires and opinion polls provide only a very limited understanding of the factors that shape these attitudes. Crawley (2005) argues that most survey questions asked about attitudes toward refugees do not capture the factors that influence these views, most notably in relation to 1) pre-existing knowledge and 2) levels of contact with refugees. Without asking these types of questions, the data collected will continue to provide

mostly descriptive information about what people think about refugees and immigration issues, but little about why they hold these views. To better understand the factors that influence public attitudes, she argues that one needs to know if these views are based on a basic level of understanding and knowledge, or on perceptions of the situation that does not accurately reflect the current reality.

Pre-Existing Knowledge

A widespread problem with opinion polls and survey questionnaires is that they assume a certain level of knowledge held by respondents. For example, there is evidence from prior research that the public appears to have little understanding of the differences between ethnic minorities, immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees (Crawley 2005). When these definitions and terms are not fully understood by the public, it can result in responses and attitudes that conflate several different issues. As Hainmueller and Hiscox (2007) contend, higher levels of awareness and education contribute to more positive attitudes and support for all types of immigrants. Additionally, opinion polls generally assume that respondents have some basic knowledge of existing levels of migration when asking whether immigration should be increased or decreased. However, the public can significantly overestimate the actual number of refugees, which is important because there are widely held perceptions that refugees place excessive burdens on limited public resources and can undermine existing community identity. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the majority of respondents in most areas believe that future immigration levels should be reduced.

Levels of Contact

A further problem is that most studies have not assessed the extent to which respondents of surveys have had direct contact with minority group members. Crawley (2005) argues there is evidence that areas which are more diverse and have a longer history of immigration are more tolerant than areas which are less diverse for whom the arrival of immigrants is a much more recent phenomenon. Rooted in intergroup contact theory, this is generally considered to reflect the extent to which individuals have contact with refugees and immigrants and for whom this personal experience acts as a counter to other information sources which would otherwise be an important factor towards attitude formation. For example, Timberlake and Williams (2012) found that although residents of rural Ohio have little direct contact with recent migrants, there are widely held negative views of immigrants from the Middle East. They hypothesize these attitudes are more likely to reflect national debates on immigrants and immigration policy, filtered through media images and news headlines. As such, they feel this makes rural areas that are relatively unaffected by actual immigration levels ideal for studying public attitudes toward immigration.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine how refugee resettlement influences perceptions of insecurity, particularly in rural areas where residents have little exposure to refugees, immigrants, and minority groups. While national polls in both the United States and Canada show increasingly negative opinions of refugees due to security concerns, existing survey instruments do not capture the complexity of these issues and are not sufficiently in-depth to explain how these perceptions are shaped. Accordingly,

this study asks more nuanced questions regarding the roles that levels of intergroup contact and knowledge play in forming perceptions about refugees. The results of this study can hopefully provide a better understanding of the factors that underlie these views and also add to the body of migration studies literature. Additionally, this research has a practical goal of offering insight on public attitudes toward refugee resettlement to help policy makers and government officials respond more effectively to the concerns of their constituents.

Research Questions

The overarching research question framing this study is as follows: *How does refugee resettlement influence perceptions of insecurity within receiving states?* A number of subsidiary questions must also be asked in order to help answer this broad research question and narrow the focus of the study, including the following ones: How do residents of rural areas perceive threats from refugee resettlement? Are there certain resettlement concerns unique to rural areas? What shapes security concerns about refugees in the United States? What shapes security concerns about refugees in Canada? Do these commonly held perceptions differ according to ethnicity or religion? Does increased knowledge of refugee issues affect public attitudes? How important is intergroup contact in forming attitudes toward refugees?

Hypotheses

The dissertation presents and assesses the extent of the validity of the following three hypotheses. First, residents who are less knowledgeable about refugee issues are more likely to perceive resettlement as a security threat, while those with higher levels of knowledge have fewer perceptions of insecurity. Second, more interaction with

individuals from different ethnic and religious backgrounds causes residents to feel less threatened by refugees, while lower amounts of contact results in greater perceptions of insecurity. Third, higher levels of knowledge and contact lead to more support for refugee resettlement efforts. Variables measured in this study include basic levels of knowledge and contact, in addition to the following demographics: age, gender, race, ethnicity, educational attainment, income, place of birth, current residence, political party, and religious affiliation.

Study Area

Few comparative immigration studies have been conducted between the United States and Canada, although such comparisons can be ideal for research. Perhaps this is because, viewed from outside upper North America, both countries can appear to be so similar that they are nearly identical in just about every way (Biette and Kuschner 2014). Given the geographic and cultural proximity of the two countries, the lack of comparative work is remarkable (Teixeira and Li 2015). However, according to Torrey (2014, 3), "Canada and the United States provide a goldmine of opportunities to do comparative, quantitative research." Bloemraad (2006) adds that the many similarities between the United States and Canada control for extraneous variability inherent in comparisons among North American and European countries. This supports Hantrais' (2009) view that international comparative research across two countries often can often provide a deeper understanding of observable phenomena and help develop new insights.

A strong advocate of United States to Canada comparisons, Seymour Martin Lipset (1990) asserts that nations are best understood in a comparative perspective and the more similar the units being compared, the more possible it should be to isolate the

factors responsible for their differences. Esterhuizen (2004) agrees and recommends carefully selecting comparative cases from the outset which seem to be very similar except for the characteristics being studied. Specifically, Lampman and Thomas (2014) point out that some of the apparent similarities between adjacent individual American states and Canadian provinces might be masking important differences. They argue these types of comparisons have been understudied and call for closer examinations of bordering states and provinces. Additionally, Lund and Hira-Friesen (2014) note that little data exists on immigration in rural settings in Canada and suggest it would be valuable to compare and contrast the regional experiences of different groups.

Based on this rationale, Montana and Saskatchewan (Figure 1) provide an ideal setting for this study, as the two areas are remarkably alike. Both the state and the province have just over one million residents, very low population densities, and similar demographics in terms of minority groups. Besides having comparable economies based on agriculture and mining, each area is far removed from their national capitals and has a history of conservative government. In fact, both Montana and Saskatchewan can be considered "frontier areas" because these sparsely populated locations are geographically isolated from major population centers and services (Wilger 2016). Most notably, both governing executives have taken positions opposite to the predominant public views in their respective areas. While Montana Governor Steve Bullock has been openly supportive of the current American resettlement efforts, Saskatchewan Premier Brad Wall was one of the few top elected officials in Canada to voice his concerns about the security risks posed by refugees (CBC News 2015).

Figure 1. Study area location

Source: www.freeusandworldmaps.com 2016

Study Limitations

The principal limitation of this study is that it is confined to the experiences of survey respondents and the broader communities they represent in one American state and one Canadian province. Individuals living in these two rural areas might have different perceptions than residents of other parts of each country. Also, there is no universally agreed upon definition of what constitutes a rural area and designations can be built on different units of geography, each of which has distinct advantages and disadvantages (Coburn et al. 2007). However, most rural places are defined at the city,

county, or zip code level and not an entire state or larger region. As such, this study uses a definition of the term "rural state" based on guidance from a number of United States federal agencies which provide funding for area wide grant applications. According to this definition, a rural state has a population density of less than 57 people per square mile (148 per square kilometer) and its largest census division has fewer than 250,000 people, based on the most recent decennial census (U.S. Government Publishing Office 2013).

Organization of the Study

Including this introductory chapter, the dissertation is organized into six distinct chapters. Background information on refugee resettlement is detailed in Chapter II, with a brief overview of both the American and Canadian processes. Chapter III provides a review of the relevant literature and scholarly research, focusing on security concerns and immigration, attitudes held by the public toward immigrants and refugees, and how the tenets of intergroup contact theory have been applied to the field of migration studies. The research design and methodology are outlined in Chapter IV, with a detailed description of the mixed-methods approach to collecting data in two sequential phases for this study. A comparative analysis and discussion of the case studies in the United States and Canada is provided next in Chapter V. The final chapter contains an assessment of the extent of the validity of the hypotheses, policy implications, suggestions for further research, and concluding observations. Additionally, references and appendices supplement the six chapters that comprise the study.

CHAPTER II – BACKGROUND ON REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT

Defining Key Concepts

As defined by the United Nations 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, a refugee is an individual with a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; is outside the country of his or her origin; and, due to this fear, is unable or unwilling to return to it (UNHCR 2016a). However, over subsequent decades, the concept of refugees has broadened to encompass others who have fled events that pose a serious threat to their lives and liberty (Riera 2010). Notably, the global geography of refugees has also changed considerably since the 1951 Convention took place. The initial challenge was to find places to live for those who were displaced after the second World War. What began largely as a European issue became a global phenomenon, as the geographical focus shifted to new refugee populations originating in Africa, Southeast Asia, Central America, the Middle East, and parts of the former Soviet Union (Koser 2007). According to statistics compiled by the United Nations, there were 25.4 million refugees worldwide in 2017, with 57% of the total originating from Syria, Afghanistan, and South Sudan (UNHCR 2018).

It is important to distinguish between refugees and other types of immigrants, as frequently, the terms are used interchangeably. Refugees have been conferred this status by the state based on the 1951 Convention definition. As Feldman (2007) argues, because this distinction guarantees several sought-after rights, protections, and benefits, resettlement countries are often reluctant to confer refugee status. In contrast, an asylum seeker is a person in flight who has reached a different country in which they are seeking

protection. Asylum seekers made their way to foreign shores on their own, but through a process which is inherently unruly and sometimes provokes concern over unmanageable numbers (Koser 2007). Feldman (2010) adds that most people who are often times referred to as refugees are actually asylum seekers because they do not have official refugee status. However, with the exception of being unable to return readily and freely to their homeland, many of the experiences of refugees parallel those of other types of migrants (Brettell 2015). Because of this, Patil and Trivedi (2000) believe there is an inexorable tendency to view refugees in much the same terms as other groups of immigrants. Nevertheless, Haines (2010) contends that refugees are comparatively more challenged than most immigrants because they are often unprepared for life in new resettlement locations.

Resettlement is the transfer of refugees from a state in which they have initially sought protection to a third state that has agreed to admit them and ultimately grant them permanent residence status (Haerens 2010). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) plays a central role in the process that leads to actual selection of those refugees admitted to each country. As Martin (2005) outlines, the UNHCR assesses refugee claims, refers individual cases for resettlement, and works closely with national resettlement coordinators. There are currently 37 countries of resettlement in the world, with the United States and Canada serving annually as the top two countries for refugee placement. As displayed in Figure 2, of the 125,835 refugees admitted for resettlement in the 2016 calendar year, the United States accepted 78,340, which was more than 62% of global total, while Canada accepted 21,838, which was more than 17% of the global total (UNHCR 2016b). Additionally, in response to the Syrian refugee crisis, both countries

reached their resettlement goals, with Canada resettling more than 25,000 refugees between November 2015 and February 2016, while the United States resettled 10,000 refugees by August 2016 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2016c; U.S. White House 2016).

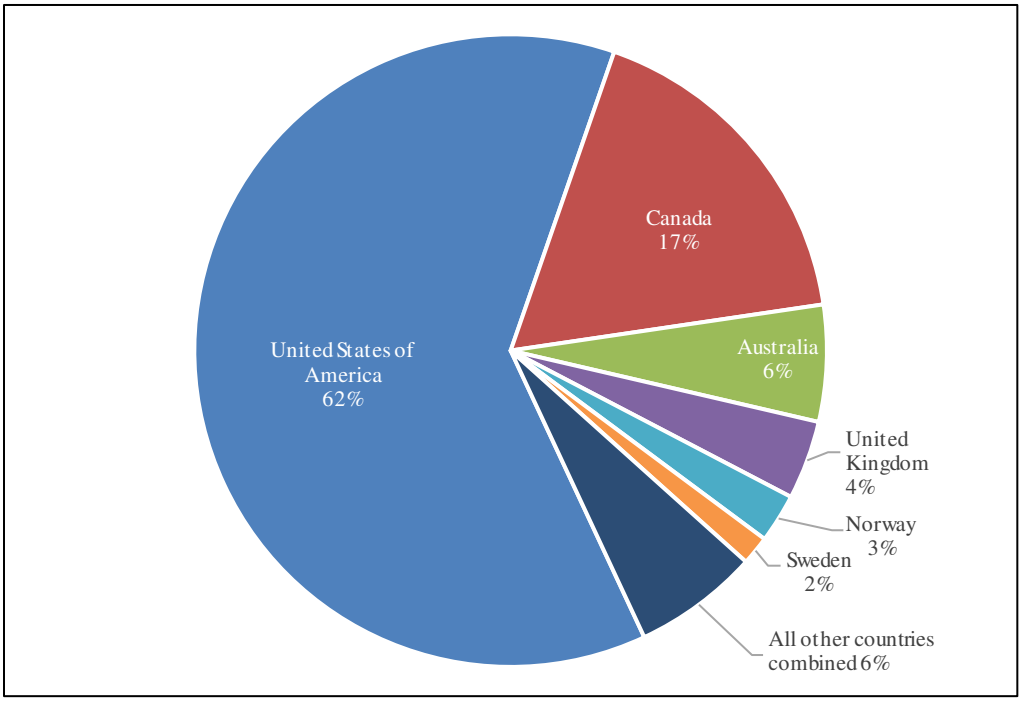

Figure 2. Top 2016 refugee resettlement countries

Source: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2017

Overview of Refugee Resettlement in the United States

The United States did not distinguish between refugees and immigrants until 1948, when Congress enacted the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 to admit individuals who were fleeing Communism in the aftermath of World War II. However, the Refugee Act of 1980 expanded the definition of refugees and now serves as the cornerstone of modern refugee protection. As Hamlin (2014) points out, the act represented a major transition from the previous ad-hoc, executive driven system to a codified a system of

refugee status determination by adopting the UNHCR's refugee definition. Wong (2017) adds that, under the act, refugee admissions became less a function of Cold War geo-politics and more centered on the humanitarian principles of the 1951 Convention. Nevertheless, since its passage in 1980, the country has resettled over three million refugees, making this program one of the largest and most successful humanitarian endeavors in American history (Kerwin 2015).

All governmental decision making about the United States Refugee Admission Program (USRAP) refugee resettlement process takes place at the federal level using multiple agencies which each have separate roles. The Population, Refugees and Migration (PRM) division of the Department of State proposes admission ceilings and priorities each year and the President approves the final count. Since passage of the Refugee Act, actual admission numbers have ranged from a high of 207,116 in 1980 to a low of 27,131 in 2002 (Figure 3). The U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) branch of the Department of Homeland Security then reviews refugee applications, interviews applicants and conducts background checks. The Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), located within the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, then coordinates domestic resettlement services. The two key goals of the refugee resettlement program are English language competency and economic self-sufficiency, although Fransz (2005) believes these policies have largely focused on fast economic integration rather than other issues of immediate concern.

While decisions about admission numbers are made at the federal level, the process of resettling refugees is locally driven. Refugees are resettled by private, non-governmental organizations known as voluntary agencies (volags) in cooperation with the

ORR. There are currently nine national volags (Figure 4) that contract directly with PRM to resettle a certain number of refugees through a network of around 350 local affiliates across the country. These local affiliates provide most of the resettlement services by coordinating housing, employment assistance, and language training. As Kerwin (2015) argues, this process has long been burdened by poor coordination, which negatively affects planning, placement decisions, and provision of supportive services. In fact, the U.S. Government Accountability Office (2012) reported that insufficient consultation by volags with local stakeholders on refugee placement decisions and community capacity has contributed to a political and public backlash against the programs in some communities.

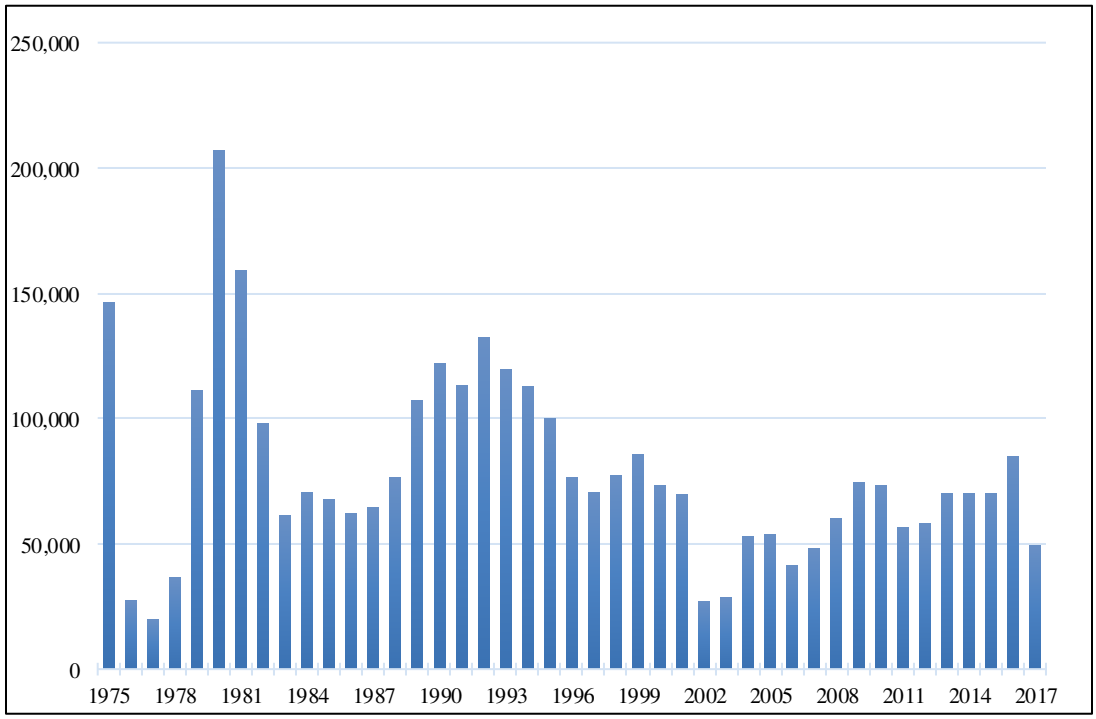

Figure 3. Annual refugee arrivals in the United States, 1975 through 2017

Source: U.S. Refugee Processing Center 2017

Volags meet weekly with PRM officials to discuss placement options for incoming individual refugees and play a central role in the dispersal of refugees throughout the country. When determining a resettlement location, volags consider any personal connections refugees may have, as well as housing availability and employment opportunities; however, they also can place refugees in any geographic area of the country at their discretion (Mott 2009). If refugees lack social networks, they may end up in a non-traditional immigrant destination in which they are often the first representatives of a particular national or ethnic group (Newbold 2002). This intentional form of dispersion has been framed as a strategy to both decrease the burden to any one community and to increase the interaction of refugees and community members (Ott 2011). However, the U.S. Government Accountability Office (2012) found that that because refugees are generally placed in locations where national volags have been successful in their resettlement efforts, the same communities are often asked to absorb additional refugees year after year.

Church World Service
Episcopal Migration Ministries
Ethiopian Community Development Council
Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
International Rescue Committee
Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services
United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants
United States Conference of Catholic Bishops
World Relief Corporation

Figure 4. Voluntary agencies (volags) in the United States

Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of Refugee Resettlement 2016

Overview of Refugee Resettlement in Canada

Canada's refugee resettlement program is administered by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). The country admitted refugees on an ad hoc, case-by-case basis, until passage of the Immigration Act of 1976, which created the legal basis for its refugee policy that identified refugees as a distinct class of immigrants who were eligible for admission (El-Assal 2016). Much like the Refugee Act of 1980 in the United States, this legislation officially incorporated the United Nations 1951 Convention definition into domestic law, making refugees a distinct category. Hamlin (2014) believes this overhaul of refugee policy was the centerpiece of Canada's emergence as a leading place of refuge for the world's displaced people. Canada has tended to interpret the refugee definition more generously than the United States, particularly when claims are based on gendered persecution (MacIntosh 2012). In 2002, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act updated and replaced the previous statute.

The Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) in Canada consists of three categories of refugees, including Government-Assisted Refugees (GARs), Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs) and Blended Visa Office-Referred Refugees (BVORs). While GARs receive financial assistance from the federal government for one year, PSRs are financially supported by voluntary private sponsors, and BVORs comprise a hybrid of the first two categories. Most refugees referred by UNHCR and admitted to Canada are resettled as GARs and PSRs (Yu et al. 2007). Unlike the United States, the Canadian government encourages private sponsors across the country to help resettle refugees (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2017b). According to Biles (2008), Canadians demanded the creation of a privately sponsored refugee program in the 1970s in response

to several global humanitarian crises. As a result, through the PSR program, communities, faith-based organizations, non-governmental entities, and groups of individuals agree to sponsor refugees by entering into an agreement with the CIC. Additionally, the Canadian government launched the BVOR program in 2013, a partnership in which the government and private groups each provide refugees with six months of initial support. The goals of sponsorship are to assist refugees to find employment and become self-sufficient within one year.

Similar to the United States, the Canadian federal government plays the largest role in the refugee resettlement process. An annual resettlement range is established by the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship following consultations with provincial governments, then proposed to Parliament each year (UNHCR 2014a). In 2017, the refugee resettlement admissions target was set at 25,000, with a range of 5,000 to 8,000 for GARs, 14,000 to 19,000 for PSRs, and 1,000 to 3,000 for BVORs. As shown in Figure 4, the number of refugees in Canada peaked in the early 1990s when an average of almost 43,000 refugees were admitted per year, including over 50,000 refugees in 1991 and 1992. This large intake during this period was due to the Canadian government's Refugee Backlog Clearance Program. Since the mid-1990s, Canada's refugee intake dropped to about 26,000 per year, with the noteworthy exception of more than 40,000 Syrians resettled between November 2015 and January 2017 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2017c). Canada works closely with the UNHCR to identify and process refugee cases for resettlement. Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) then collaborates with its security partners such as the Canada Border Services Agency to ensure there are not any security issues.

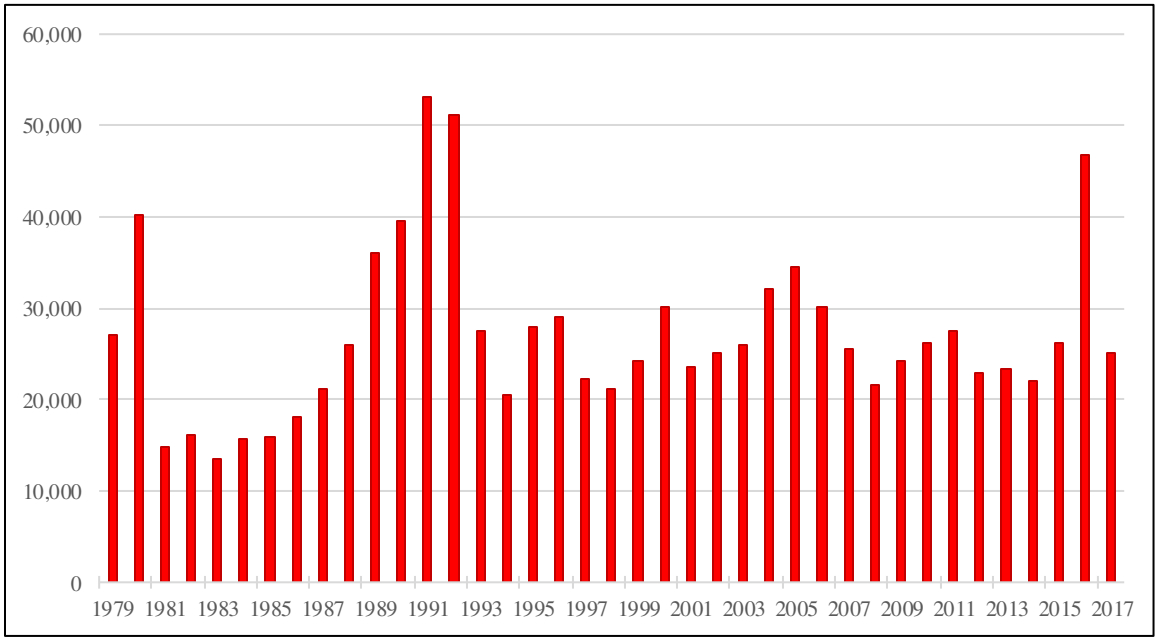

Figure 4. Annual refugee arrivals in Canada, 1979 through 2017

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2017c

Resettlement services are not provided directly by the Canadian federal government, rather the CIC funds Service Provider Organizations (SPOs) to deliver essential services to refugees. SPOs are generally non-profit organizations, educational institutions, and other community groups that support and serve immigrants. There are several hundred SPOs in 36 communities across the country (Figure 5), with most of the Syrian refugees who arrived in Canada between 2015 and 2017 initially placed in these locations. Still, McGrath and McGrath (2013) believe that the complexity of federal-provincial funding for resettlement efforts has resulted in inconsistent approaches between federal and provincial or territorial levels of government. Thus, while Canadian civil society played a pivotal role in compelling the government to take a humanitarian stance towards refugees (Diab 2015), some scholars believe that political support for refugee resettlement in Canada seems to be waning because of increasing suspicion of immigrants and growing global security concerns (Hamlin 2014). In fact, a 2016 federal

survey on attitudes toward immigration suggests Canadians are becoming much less enthusiastic about accepting refugees in comparison to other types of immigrants (Levitz 2017).

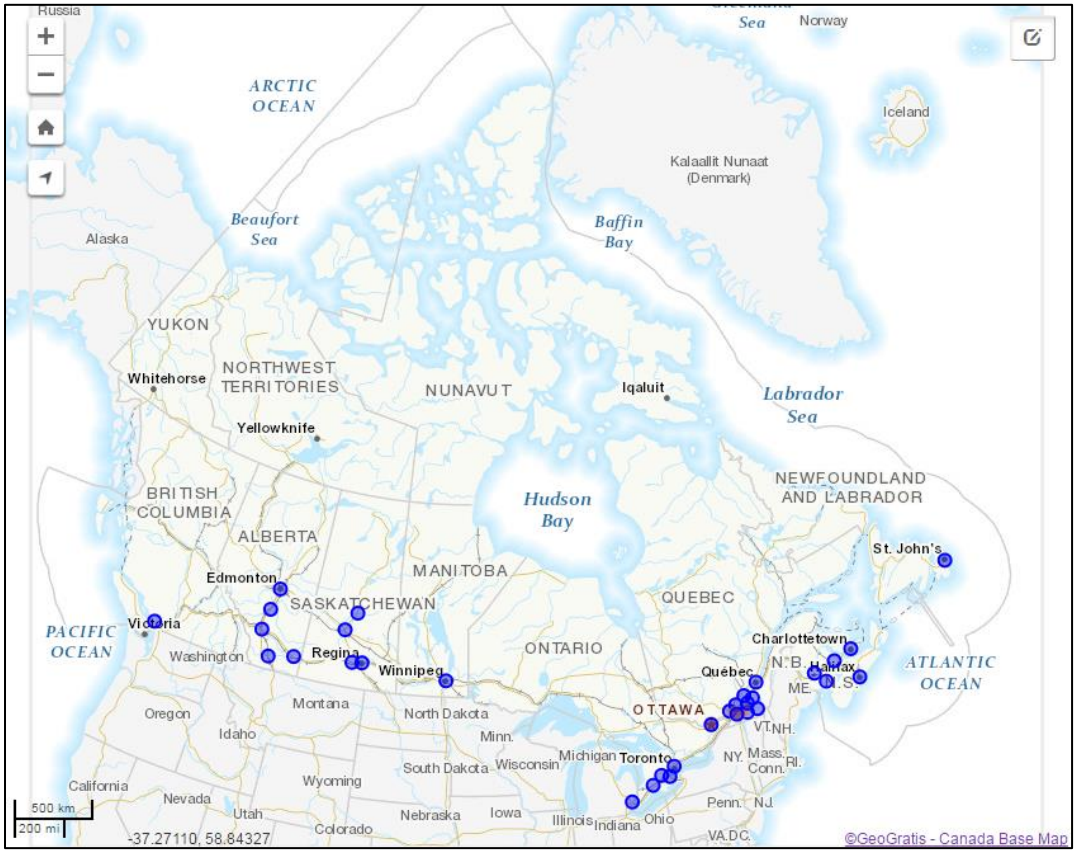

Figure 5. Map of Canadian resettlement destination communities

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2017a

CHAPTER III – LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides a review of pertinent literature regarding refugee resettlement and perceptions of insecurity. As such, it contains five main sections, which review and critique prior academic research in the following content areas: security concerns and migration; immigration and integration; public attitudes toward refugees; urban versus rural settlement destinations; and applications of intergroup contact theory. This chapter concludes with a summary of the main themes developed in previous studies, an analysis of the existing gaps in the literature, and an examination of unanswered questions that can extend the present state of knowledge in the field of migration studies on this topic.

Security Concerns and Migration

Framing Contemporary Debates about Refugee Resettlement

Security concerns about refugee resettlement are often deeply rooted in cultural and political differences between arriving refugees and current residents. An inflow of refugees can be perceived as a security threat by residents in the country of resettlement when it changes the ethnic, religious, or linguistic composition of the receiving population, thus potentially destabilizing social and political balances (Lohrmann 2000). Mandel (1997) finds that as the citizenry of developed nations encounter floods of highly dissimilar refugees, the result has not been growing understanding, receptivity, and acceptance, but rather escalating distrust and fear. The overall implications of his findings are the growing support for closing the door to the influx of refugees. Huysmans (2000) adds that the politicization of connecting immigrants and asylum-seekers to criminal and terrorist activities have further changed public sentiments toward immigrants. Particularly

since Al Qaeda's terrorist attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001, there has been consensus on the need to safeguard all facets of the immigration system. However, refugees have become casualties of enhanced security measures as strengthening public confidence in national security has taken precedence over protecting refugee rights (Garcia 2006; Kerwin 2015).

Scholars have pointed out that research concerning security and migration is of great importance because immigration has become an extremely polarized topic both politically and socially (van Selm 2005). Cooper (2012) summarizes the debate on refugees and security by classifying the two opposing sides as alarmists and advocates. While alarmists focus on the number of ways refugees pose security risks and threaten society, advocates argue that this threat is often sensationalized or embellished for political purposes. From a theoretical perspective, the debate about refugee resettlement policies can be characterized as a contrast between conflicting views of the world. As such, the core concepts in the field of International Relations have great relevance for understanding the relationship between refugees and world politics (Betts and Loescher 2011). On the one hand, a realist view of internal security emphasizes the need to tighten national borders and to limit refugee flows, while on the other hand, a liberal interpretation of humanitarianism incorporates the human rights-based notions of freedom of movement and refugee protection (Lavenex 2001).

The Realist Perspective

The realist perspective of refugee resettlement is based on a state-centric philosophy, which emphasizes the need to secure borders and severely restrict migration to provide stability and security. Realism is based on the idea that states act in a unitary

way in pursuit of their own interests first, with ensuring national security as their most important concern (Mingst and Arreguín-Toft 2016). Traditionally, immigration policy has been dominated by realist principles, which provides justification for limiting the rights of a few in order to ensure the security of the state (Karyotis 2011; Snyder 2011). The securitization of migration thus legitimizes repressive measures against immigrants, particularly those who match a given ethnic, religious, or political profile. Through this viewpoint, security takes precedence over altruism, compassion, fairness, and humanitarianism, as governments must do whatever is necessary to protect the state (Walsh 2015). In fact, some evidence has shown that countries with large numbers of refugees are more likely to experience acts of terrorism (Ekey 2008; Choi and Salehyan 2013; Milton et al. 2013). Thus, well-designed security and background screenings are imperative to any type of refugee resettlement effort.

As such, a widely held public viewpoint is that refugees should be considered as potential terrorist threats and idealist humanitarianism should not take priority over national security concerns. Common public sentiments are that some refugee and asylum movements might include extremists, terrorists, criminals, or other dangerous individuals hiding in these channels who will at some point launch attacks in other countries (Frelick 2007; Hammerstad 2011). According to Allen (2010), refugee camps can offer safe havens for terrorists to devise their plots, as well as serving as stepping stones to other target destinations in the West. Karyotis (2007) argues that while this "criminal migrant" thesis is vastly exaggerated, mass population movements and large immigrant communities can potentially provide anonymity to criminals or terrorists. Still, Cooper (2012) feels that many of the perceived threats posed by refugees do not appear to have

the potential to make the state insecure, however they may be portrayed as such for political reasons.

Although Martin (2005) agrees that most refugees pose no risk whatsoever, the incomplete documentation and resulting uncertainties about identity that mark many individual cases do make the refugee resettlement program a target of opportunity for terrorist organizations attempting to send operatives to locations in the West. Furthermore, it can provide opportunities to target those already in a specific country for recruitment, as the Islamic State Group has done in recent years. Additional concerns are that refugees leaving war-torn areas may bring militant ideologies with them or may unknowingly shelter a violent minority. Consequently, refugees are often perceived as a threat to security, public order, and state stability (Mandel 1997; Franz 2005; Martin 2005; Karyotis 2007).

In addition to serious national security concerns, refugees are also considered threats to existing welfare systems, economic opportunities, communal harmony, and culturally homogeneity (Eastmond 2011; Karyotis 2011). These factors have resulted in a rise in xenophobic attitudes in which compassion for refugees has often been replaced by deep levels of suspicion, anxiety, and mistrust. As described by Polakow-Suransky (2017), this combination of fear and xenophobia has created a widespread backlash and allowed populist far-right leaders in Western democracies in Europe, Australia, and the United States to build strong constituencies through anti-immigration rhetoric targeting Muslims. These xenophobic prejudices and racist attitudes toward refugees and immigrants share much in common throughout the world, which ultimately shapes much of the public discourse on immigration issues (Yakushko 2009).

The Liberal Perspective

In contrast to realism, a liberal perspective of refugee resettlement is primarily concerned with the protection of human rights, interdependence, peaceful cooperation, and the imperative role of international organizations. Rooted in the humanitarian tradition, liberalism emphasizes that states are morally responsible to reduce injustice and help those who suffer, regardless of their origins (Shiraev and Zubok 2016). Proponents of this viewpoint argue that refugees are generally nonthreatening individuals who are victimized by public negativity and pose little danger. As for academic evidence on refugee militants, Bollfrass et al. (2015) contend there is no positive association between refugees and subsequent outbreaks of violence. Accordingly, they argue there is no basis to suspect that individuals fleeing conflict in Syria and Iraq pose greater threats than previous waves of refugees. In fact, Salehyan (2009) argues that it would be unlikely for terrorists to attempt to strategically enter the West through existing refugee resettlement programs. He concludes that the high legal, administrative, and bureaucratic hurdles, especially relative to other admission categories, have been likely to deter terrorists even before September 11, 2001.

Advocates of this viewpoint criticize realists for escalating fears about refugees, arguing that the actual level of threat and securitization of migration is not based on objective data. In liberal democracies, Cooper (2012) contends that refugees generally do not appear to pose a critical threat to the state. For example, in a widely-cited study, Newland (2015) suggests that the connection between refugees and terrorism is tenuous, highlighting evidence that the record of the American refugee resettlement program does not support the fear of security threats. She points out that only one of 784,000 refugees

resettled since September 11, 2001 has been arrested for planning terrorist activities against the United States and that case was barely credible. Additionally, in a risk analysis of terrorism and immigration, Nowrasteh (2016) reports that of the more than three million refugees resettled in the United States since 1975, only 20 could actually be considered terrorists. The most notable criminal offenses conducted by these individuals were three murders committed by Cuban refugees in the 1970s, prior to the modern rigorous screening process now in place.

Pre-September 11, 2001 Era

From the time of the United Nations 1951 Convention until the late 1980s, refugee resettlement policies in North America were largely shaped by Cold War strategies. Tietelbaum (1984) argues that the admission of large numbers of refugees from Communist countries were guided by the belief that accepting refugees served to embarrass and discredit adversary nations. However, the mass out-migration from many Communist countries generated excessive suspicions and fears that refugee movements could include large numbers of spies and undercover agents attempting to infiltrate Western nations. As the Cold War intensified in the 1950s, this widespread hysteria over the perceived threat of Communism became known as the "Red Scare" in the United States.

Since the end of the Cold War, different types of security threats influenced foreign policies on refugee resettlement. Lohrmann (2000) describes how the demise of the superpower rivalry from 1989-91 led to a shift in focus toward non-state actors, who employ irregular fighting tactics, such as terrorism and suicide bombings. Prominent scholars pointed out rising concerns about the transnational movement of displaced

individuals and the threats they posed to national security in the West (Weiner 1995; Huntington 1996). As a result, many Western states have increasingly viewed refugees as liabilities rather than assets and have undertaken numerous actions to limit their movement (Mandel 1997).

Refugees have increasingly been the target of highly politicized public discourse due to widespread perceptions that international migration is a threat to national security. Mittelman (2010) challenges conventional thinking that national and global security has improved because the threat of war between states has diminished considerably since the end of the Cold War. He describes a rising climate of fear and pervasive sense of insecurity, or hyper-conflict, which stems from a variety of global threats due to increasing levels of globalization and transnational migration. Tsoukala (2011) agrees that since the late 1980s, international migratory movements have been rapidly politicized, resulting in growing anxiety, uncertainty, and fears throughout the world. In fact, some politicians have exploited public fears that immigration and migratory pressures can threaten social cohesion and peace (Windgren 1990). However, Patil, and Trivedi (2000) contend that in analyzing the effects of international migration on national and international security, legitimate concerns are further compounded by the disingenuous way in which the debate is conducted. Lohrmann (2000) adds that while fears about immigration are often vastly exaggerated, these perceptions affect policies seeking to limit levels of immigration.

Post-September 11, 2001 Era

While immigration had increasingly been framed as a security concern in the latter part of the twentieth century, the 9/11 terrorist attacks are widely viewed as a

critical point in which security concerns dramatically changed attitudes toward refugee resettlement. Although none of the terrorists entered the United States as refugees or asylum seekers, all aspects of these admissions policies were immediately scrutinized. As such, Martin (2005) contends this is a distinctly new era of refugee resettlement, attributed to enhanced security measures and complex new challenges triggered by the threat of terrorism. Since the attacks, national security concerns gained unprecedented dominance on the political agendas of governments throughout the West, a fact evidenced by the adoption of intense securitization policies and measures to restrict population movements, particularly of refugees (Isotalo 2009; Lazaridis 2011). As part of the global War on Terror, the United States began to tighten restrictions on refugees to better protect itself from potential terrorists who might covertly enter the country (Haerens 2010; Hammerstad 2011; Avdan 2014).

Still, some scholars argue that the 9/11 attacks did not cause a dramatic shift in the securitization of immigration (Messina 2014). Rather than initiating the insecurities, these events accelerated dynamics that were already entrenched in the agendas of many Western governments (Karyotis 2007). In fact, d'Appollonia and Reich (2008) suggest there has been great continuity between the two eras in policy in North America and Europe with regard to refugees, asylum seekers, and counterterrorism measures, especially in linking immigration with security. In a follow-up study, d'Appollonia (2012) stresses that the reactions to the attacks did not constitute a dramatic departure from prior policies, rather it was more of an intensification, whereby immigrants have become classified as security threats and potential terrorists. She contends that these new policies have disrupted the balance between the respect of human rights and civil liberties

and the need to control national security threats, which has created an environment that fosters rather than stifles radicalism among immigrant populations.

In particular, refugees from predominantly Muslim countries may be subject to greater suspicion and scrutiny during the resettlement process. Certain groups of immigrants and refugees, especially Muslims, have traditionally been perceived as threats to the West, creating an ongoing state of emergency that only can be addressed through rigid restrictions on immigration (Franz 2005). Kaya (2009) believes that Western states have increasingly perceived Muslims migrants as sources of instability and insecurity, which has led to hostility toward immigrants and new forms of racism. However, in an analysis of actual refugee and asylum admissions numbers, Salehyan (2009) does not find conclusive evidence for an anti-Muslim bias in the number of accepted individuals since 2001 in the United States. He believes the country's willingness to protect refugees and asylum seekers from the Muslim world, particularly when their own governments are not able to do so, discredits the claim that the West is at war with Islam and sends a powerful message internationally.

Securitization of Migration in Europe

It is important to note how the ongoing global refugee crisis affects Europe because the dramatic increase in the number of displaced individuals influences how people in other parts of the world view refugee issues. Due to its geographic location and proximity to the Middle East, Europe is a strategic destination for individuals fleeing violence and seeking protection and asylum (Ostrand 2015). In comparison to North America, this issue is much more significant in terms of overall numbers and security challenges, as those fleeing unrest in the Middle East can arrive in Europe either by

traveling across the Mediterranean Sea or through numerous overland routes across the continent. In 2015, over one million refugees arrived in Europe in an attempt to find safety, with the majority fleeing conflict and instability in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan (UNHCR, 2016b). Bollfrass et al. (2015) note that porous European borders, screening challenges, and the inability to agree on common refugee policies have all led to uncontrolled large-scale migration. In response, European governments have concentrated on cutting off entry points and militarized their borders to exclude certain groups (Carr 2016). Accordingly, refugee and asylum issues have been increasingly framed in terms of security threats across Europe.

Prior to the 2015 refugee crisis, the events of 9/11 and subsequent terrorist attacks in several European countries contributed to widespread security concerns about Muslim immigrants across Europe. The deadliest attacks included the 2004 Madrid train bombing, the 2005 public transportation system bombings in London, the 2015 coordinated attacks in Paris, and the 2016 suicide bombings in Brussels. Consequently, migration has been transformed into a security matter and has been linked to criminality, socioeconomic problems, cultural deprivation, and terrorism (Togral 2011). As a result, immigration policy throughout Europe contains a high level of security language designed to restrict the access of certain migrants (Ceyhan and Tsoukala 2002; Fransz 2005; Baele and Sterck 2015). Nevertheless, Huysmans (2006) argues that the process of securitization involves integrating migration issues into a broader security domain, which does not necessarily imply singling out specific groups of migrants but can involve subtle linkages to terrorism and criminality. However, because immigration constitutes a serious threat to European societies, Humphrey (2013) argues that the securitization of migration

is very likely to intensify in the twenty-first century. As such, Lazaridis (2011) suggests that the issues of migration and insecurity remain a potentially fertile area for further academic investigation.

Scholars have generally been attuned to the enmity and hostility toward Muslim immigrants across much of Europe as a result of non-integration (Fitzgerald 2015). Pauly (2004) argues that failure to integrate and equitably incorporate the growing Muslim population has serious domestic and international security implications. He contends that the economic, political, and social marginalization of Muslims is one of the greatest sources of instability in Western Europe. Koser (2007) agrees that across Europe, these underlying socioeconomic tensions have been compounded by highly politicized issues related to the War on Terror and the framing of immigrants as societal enemies. Roy (2007) also believes that the cultural alienation felt by many Muslims immigrants across Europe leads to ethnic clustering, radicalism, and extremism. However, Kaya (2009) recognizes the daunting challenges of integrating Muslim immigrants by acknowledging an overemphasis on security issues growing out of fears of Islamist extremism. Still, O'Brien (2016) challenges the popular notion that the hostilities concerning immigration are a clash between Islam and the West, rather they are better understood as unresolved intra-European tensions. Nevertheless, of the numerous subjects preoccupying scholars within the field of migration studies, few have attracted greater attention in recent years than the securitization of immigration and integration challenges (Messina 2014).

Immigration and Integration

Immigrant Compatibility with New Societies

Literature on migration tends to emphasize the importance of integration in order for immigrants to develop a common sense of belonging with their host communities. Integration is defined as a "long-term and multi-dimensional process, requiring a commitment on the part of both migrants and non-migrant members of society to respect and adapt to each other, thereby enabling them to interact in a positive and peaceful manner" (Global Commission on International Migration 2005, 44). Koser (2007) condenses this definition of integration, explaining that it is simply the process by which immigrants become accepted into society, both as individuals and groups. However, for refugees, adjusting to new ways of life in a culture much different from their home country, along with thinking about family members and relatives left behind, often present challenges to fully integrating into resettlement communities (Bagenda 2006). Barnes and Aguilar (2007) add that with limited sources of support locally, even refugees who have some cultural similarities and a common language can still encounter challenges integrating into a new society. Building off this logic, Mott (2009) argues that the idea that all refugees are equal is false because certain ethnic groups are at a disadvantage in comparison to other refugees who are more Westernized and have an easier time adapting to a new society.

The United States and Canada have taken different ideological approaches to the integration of immigrants and refugees. In the United States, integration begins with admission as a legal permanent residents and naturalization is encouraged as a major step toward absorption into American society. Whereas Garcia (2006) believes that rapid

assimilation of refugees is designed to perpetuate a melting pot society, Schuck and Munz (1998), feel that a salad bowl is increasingly a more fitting metaphor for refugee integration because this process does not necessarily entail complete cultural assimilation. In contrast to American policies, Canada continually emphasizes multiculturalism and the preservation of immigrant culture and heritage. According to Biles (2008), the Canadian approach to immigrant integration is based upon the premise of the two-way street, supported by an emphasis on ensuring cross-cultural connections in host communities. While refugees are also considered permanent citizens, Canada provides additional integration services to assist with major life adjustments upon arrival, which is uncommon in the United States (Yu et al. 2007; Martin 2009). Following this intervention, refugees have reported increased social integration and connections to the community (Stewart et al. 2012). Furthermore, Helleiner (2016) contends that Canadians are portrayed globally as more welcoming and accepting of immigrants relative to Americans.

In addition, a widespread sentiment in many host countries is that refugees are simply incompatible with resettlement communities. In fact, it is common for refugees to encounter hostile residents who feel threatened by their arrival (Rabrenovic 2007). Moreover, receiving states tend to perceive higher threats when culturally dissimilar refugees enter their societies and do not want to assimilate (Mandel 1997). As Haines (2010) explains, in resettlement communities there is often an expectation that refugees will show gratitude and value the opportunity to advance themselves and their children. Therefore, living in poverty, expressing a desire to return to their home country, and using languages other than English in everyday life are often perceived as inappropriate

and ungrateful attitudes (Schuck and Munz 1998; Crystal 2012). Furthermore, even in host communities that have extended a warm welcome to refugees, compassion can fade when new arrivals put additional pressure on housing markets, social services, and employment prospects.

Religious Affiliation and Refugee Resettlement

The role that religion plays in how refugees are integrated into host communities is an important theme in the literature on refugee resettlement. Religious affinity and social networks sometimes facilitate adjustment to a new society, because they can offer important points of contact and welcoming environments (Haines 2010). Haerens (2010) agrees that when resettled refugees and their host communities share a language and religion, there is often a perceived kinship. Pirouet (2006) adds that faith communities tend to incorporate alienated immigrants, particularly those with a common cultural heritage. McKinnon (2009) obtained complementary findings, noting that when Christian refugees have a commonality with many of the mainstream Protestant and Catholic churches, they are welcomed because of their sameness in religious beliefs. In particular, faith-based organizations can be effective in fostering integration, as religious networks can provide meeting opportunities for people who share common beliefs, regardless of their race or ethnicity (D'Onofrio and Munk 2004).

Faith-based Resettlement Organizations

In both the United States and Canada, faith-based organizations play an important role in the resettlement of refugees. Although six of the nine American refugee resettlement agencies are religiously affiliated, they are all mandated to serve refugees of all faiths and nationalities. Wright (1981) notes that many of these entities originally gave

preference to refugees of their own faith who were escaping persecution and resettling in the United States; however, they ultimately opened the doors to individuals of all religions. Thus, while faith-based organizations facilitate the settlement of refugees and provide them with a wide range of social services, they tend to ignore religious issues (Gozdziak and Shandy 2002). Their focus is on providing resettlement support and advocacy, not proselytization or integrating religion with their services. Likewise, many of the privately sponsored refugees who resettle in Canada are assisted by religiously affiliated groups. Bramadat (2014) believes these explicitly faith-based organizations generally accept the government restraints placed on them and are silent with respect to religion, but questions whether this will remain unproblematic in the future in an increasingly multicultural, religiously pluralistic Canadian society.

Muslim Immigration and Integration

Whereas new refugee arrivals in the West are increasingly Muslim, most faith-based resettlement agencies are Christian or Jewish and do not have access to Islamic religious networks and social support (Nawyn 2006; Goodall 2015). Cooper (2012) believes this lack of religious or ethnic affinity is what generates high levels of public anxiety and distrust of Muslim immigrants and refugees. Furthermore, Husarska (2010) cites specific instances of refugees fleeing violence and terrorism in the Greater Middle East as being further victimized by being considered supposed terrorists themselves. According to Saunders (2012), amid the outbreak of Islamophobia following the 9/11 attacks, Muslim immigrants and refugees were immediately portrayed as threats to national security in the United States. In fact, a meta-analysis of Islam and Muslim media

representations since 2000 found overwhelming evidence of negative framing and extensive portrayals of Islam as a violent religion (Ahmed and Matthes 2017).

In contrast, Kazemipur (2014) argues that the successful integration of Muslim immigrants in Canada is unlike that of any other major immigrant-receiving country. This type of Canadian exceptionalism is a result of having a Muslim immigrant population that is both diverse and carefully selected. Consequently, Canada has not witnessed any major Muslim terrorist activities comparable to the attacks carried out in the United States and Europe. Canada's National Terrorism Threat Level is currently listed at medium, meaning that a violent act of terrorism could occur but, based on national intelligence information, a heightened or imminent threat has not been identified (Public Safety Canada 2017). Still, the country is not immune to terrorist activities. As recently as September 30, 2017, a Somali refugee was arrested for a stabbing and vehicle attack that injured five people in Edmonton, Alberta.

Public Attitudes toward Refugees

Predominantly Negative Views of Immigrants

Although there are numerous national opinion polls regarding public views of refugees, scholarly research on attitudes held by the public is limited. Researchers have not explored public attitudes toward refugees but have largely focused on attitudes toward immigrants using the assumption that the two groups might have similar experiences (Schweitzer et al. 2005). However, in most circumstances, refugees are dealing with dramatically different experiences than individuals who arrive as immigrants. Nevertheless, the overwhelming response has been increasingly negative attitudes toward all immigrants. In response, Brettell and Hollifield (2015) argue that

getting to the roots of anti-immigrant sentiments should be a prime research agenda for scholars of international migration. This supports Bleich's (2008) assessment of scholarship in the field, stressing that immigration and integration studies are of great public interest and among the most important topics in contemporary politics.

Previous research on public attitudes has documented that people in the United States have a long history of intolerance toward immigrants (Martin 2009). Portes (1998) illustrates how immigrants have always inspired fear in some Americans, with these feelings often taking ugly and violent forms. Likewise, Goode (1990) analyzes community perceptions of immigrants, showing how assumptions about newcomers encourage ethnic segmentation, diversity at a distance, and separatism. Also, she points out that established residents frequently criticize immigrants for not being appreciative of the existing community culture. Although Stephan et al. (1999) do not distinguish between refugees and immigrants, they find that attitudes toward different migrant ethnicity groups strongly suggest that prejudice and feelings of threats are closely intertwined. According to Mayda (2006), attitudes toward immigrants can be related to labor market concerns; however, several important non-economic factors such as perceptions of insecurity, cultural considerations, and individual feelings about illegal immigration also strongly influence personal viewpoints.

In light of these findings on determinants of individual attitudes toward immigrants, some studies have found more public support for immigration and refugee resettlement (Sandoval et al. 2014). Of note, there is evidence that locations which are have more diversity and a longer history of migration are more tolerant than homogenous areas in which the arrival of immigrants is a more recent phenomenon (Crawley 2005).

Additionally, Hainmueller and Hiscox (2007) find that higher education and higher skill levels can increase support for all types of immigrants, including refugees. They argue that more educated individuals are considerably less racist, place a greater value on diversity, and are likely to believe that immigration generates benefits for the host community. Of particular note, Murray and Marx (2013) report support for refugee resettlement programs relative to other immigration policies in the United States. However, their research takes place in a region with one of the largest refugee resettlement programs in the country; consequently, the participants in their study may have more exposure to refugees and be more aware of refugee resettlement issues.

Public Opinion Polling

Public opinion diverges starkly between the United States and Canada regarding immigration concerns. In comparison to their southern neighbors, Canadians have adopted a much more open and accepting view of immigrants (Adams 2015). Unlike citizens of most other Western countries, Canadians generally do not rank immigration issues among their government's top priorities, which suggests that the number of immigrants does not appear to be viewed as a major problem in the country. According to Jedwab (2008), Canadians are far less likely to favor reducing immigration levels and are somewhat more likely to value the cultural and economic contributions of immigrants. For instance, in Gallup worldwide polling, only 30% of Canadians thought immigration levels should be decreased in comparison to 40% of Americans (International Organization for Migration 2015). Likewise, in a global opinion poll of attitudes toward immigration, 35% of Canadians felt there were too many immigrants in their country compared to 48% of Americans (Ipsos 2017). However, it is worth noting that many

public opinion polls identify considerable differences in attitudes, according to socio-demographic characteristics and political affiliation of the respondents. Nevertheless, as Martin (2009) illustrates, public opinion polls have shown that Americans have consistently worried about the changes associated with immigration, with most respondents agreeing that immigration levels should be reduced.

In looking internationally at public opinion research on immigration issues outside of North America and Europe, a number of scholars have conducted prior studies in locations across Australia. Notably, Schweitzer et al. (2005) find alarmingly polarized public attitudes, with either strongly positive or negative attitudes toward refugees. However, they emphasize that the majority of the Australian general public has negative attitudes toward refugees. Pedersen et al. (2005) examine how negative attitudes toward different cultural groups, including asylum seekers, are underpinned by widely held false beliefs. They argue that many Australians accept misinformation regarding asylum seekers, which is likely based on stereotypes and distortions by political leaders and media reports rather than through any experience or contact with individuals seeking asylum. Building off this work, Khan and Pedersen (2010) find that direct experience and evidence of integration into the mainstream society are most likely to reduce prejudice and change public attitudes toward immigrants.

While a substantial amount of data about public opinion on immigration is available through polling, this information only provides a limited understanding of the underlying factors that shape these views. Haynes et al. (2016) point out that opinion studies of immigration policy primarily use standard, blunt measures such as whether immigration should be increased or decreased, which do not fully capture the debate and

discourse on this topic. As highlighted by Crawley (2005), one of the main difficulties with existing opinion polls and survey questionnaires is that they assume a certain level of knowledge held by respondents; however, there is evidence that the public appears to lack a basic understanding of the differences between immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees. Consequently, there has been a blurring of illegal migration and security problems with asylum and refugee issues, thus making them conceptually synonymous. As a result, refugees and asylum seekers are often viewed as the agents of insecurity rather than its victims (UNHCR 2006). In addition, questions asked about support for immigration typically focus on perceptions or feelings people have about the presence of immigrants rather than paying attention to knowledge of the actual policies or numbers (Crawley 2005).

Furthermore, most studies have not assessed the extent to which respondents of surveys and polls have had direct contact with refugees and immigrants. Although scholars like Fetzer (2000) and Sobczak (2010) have used the tenets of contact theory to examine public attitudes toward immigrants, they have found it difficult to produce satisfactory measures for personal contact or proximity because this information is not recorded on any of the opinion polls and survey questionnaires that form the basis for analysis. Additionally, according to Cooper (2012), the sense of threat experienced by local populations may not correspond to the actual number of refugee arrivals. For instance, existing residents in communities experiencing a large influx of refugees might be expected to feel more threatened than those in areas with fewer arrivals, yet frequently the opposite is the case. Accordingly, she questions whether more contact will help residents to feel less threatened by refugees. Jedwab (2008) adds that what is not known

is how contact interacts with other factors influencing attitudes and what types of contact are meaningful for different groups in society. Therefore, he suggests that areas where future research would be beneficial include the influence of contact, or lack of contact, with immigrants and refugees.

Nativism and Xenophobia

The literature on migration has shown that throughout history host communities generally have deep concerns about foreigners and immigrants who are unknown and different. This anxiety can sometimes lead to intolerance, prejudice, racism, and even forms of violence. Mandel (1997) believes this fear of migrants is rooted in cultural concerns about non-assimilation and the disruption of prevailing value systems. As such, a perennial theme in Western history has been nativism, which is a belief that the culturally, demographically, and politically dominant groups alone exemplify the distinct values of the native country (Portes 1998). In his seminal work, Tuan (1974) describes another form of nativism, or *topophilia*, in which a profound attachment and affective bond to the homeland generates an environment of self-preservation, where outsiders are seldom welcomed. Furthermore, nativism often merges with a renewed sense of patriotism during periods of social upheaval or crisis. This patriotic fervor includes a vilification of certain groups of migrants and the desire to restrict immigration in order to prevent the loss of national values and unity (Fransz 2005). In particular, immigrants from low-income countries often experience hostility, discrimination, xenophobia, and social exclusion from residents of high-income countries who tend to "hunker down" to hold on to their sense of culture (Collier 2013).

Another common theme in the migration literature is xenophobic attitudes, or an irrational fear of outsiders and foreigners. Xenophobic and racist rhetoric toward immigrants and refugees is increasingly adopted not only by extremist individuals and organizations, but also by some political leaders. Such anti-immigrant discourse portrays refugees and immigrants as national security threats who endanger the safety of host communities (Togral 2011). As a result, policy solutions are proposed to restrict the number of refugees or eliminate resettlement efforts entirely. Fekete (2009) calls this new racism "xeno-racism"; a form of racism that involves state-promoted discrimination against immigrants, particularly singling out Muslims. This new form of racism categorizes people into groups and treats some immigrants as either inferior or as a threat to the country's way of life. However, in contrast, Eaton (2016) describes how numerous communities are challenging xenophobic impulses and anti-immigrant hysteria by welcoming and integrating newcomers. She contends these efforts are often missing in the political discourse and media depictions of immigrants.

Portrayal of Refugees by the Media

Scholars have emphasized that the media wields immense influence through their construction and framing of refugee issues, as perceptions of threats posed by immigrants can be exacerbated by sensationalized public discourse and irresponsible news media coverage of refugee issues. In a synthesis of definitional elements used by media scholars, Potter (2013) defines "the media" as channels or means of public message dissemination in a relatively short period of time to audience members who are widely dispersed geographically. As Kazemipur (2014) contends, the power of the media cannot

be overemphasized because it strongly shapes people's thinking and behaviors in regard to stereotypes, misperceptions, and misrepresentations about immigration issues.

Because of this level of influence, the media can play a critical role in countering hate messages against immigrants by covering issues fairly and presenting truthful information (Rabrenovic 2007). Accordingly, the media discourse can have a strong voice in helping to foster a climate of tolerance or, in contrast, influencing fear-fueling perspectives. For example, Haines and Rosenblum (2010) find that positive media representations of refugees have led to more welcoming attitudes in comparison to other immigrant groups. Conversely, negative views of immigrants and refugees can also be perpetuated by news headlines and media images. Ismael and Measor (2003) illustrate that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 served as a catalyst for increasingly troubling representations of immigrants, noting the media coverage was overly sensational and contained predominantly negative images of Islam and Muslims.

Several studies have demonstrated that public views on refugees and immigrants are influenced heavily by the contents of the media, in the absence of any other information sources. Timberlake and Williams (2012) believe that negative views of refugees are more likely to reflect national debates and media coverage of immigration policy. They find that although residents in isolated rural areas have little direct contact with recent migrants, there are widely held negative views of immigrants from the Middle East, which they hypothesize is reflective of the polarized national debate. Their findings support Crawley's (2005) argument that the media more strongly influences how people perceive refugees, rather than personal experience or direct contact. Mahtani (2008) agrees that residents in rural areas who do not communicate directly with

immigrants and refugees often rely on the popular media to understand immigration issues. Lehrman (2006) adds that the media has even more influence when audiences live in locations without much diversity because this is when they rely most on the news media for information about other groups. As such, this makes rural areas that are relatively unaffected by actual immigration levels ideal for better understanding public attitudes toward immigrants and refugees (Timberlake and Williams 2012).

Urban versus Rural Settlement Destinations

Throughout North American history, most immigrants and refugees have settled in large traditional urban gateway cities (Singer and Wilson 2006). These areas where foreigners tend to concentrate have been characterized by great diversity in terms of culture, country of origin, and socioeconomic background (Portes 1998). However, beginning in the late 1990s, immigrants began to settle in "non-traditional" states, provinces, and small towns throughout the United States and Canada (Ray and Morse 2004; Simard 2009). Newbold (2002) contends that refugee groups have been purposefully dispersed and resettled in smaller and medium-sized communities without existing refugee populations in order to speed adaption and integration. Similarly, Mott (2009) observes that refugees continue to be concentrated within larger cities, but there has also been an increasing movement towards rural and smaller-sized communities. From a community development perspective, Bloem (2014) believes that if rural areas are proactive about attracting refugees, resettlement efforts can offset the loss of population in many small towns.

Nevertheless, many of the rural locations in which refugees are being resettled have not traditionally attracted many foreign-born individuals and do not have much

experience with diverse populations. While refugees can sometimes find themselves isolated in these mostly rural homogenous areas with little history of diversity and multiculturalism (Temple and Moran 2006), longtime residents can often be fearful of their arrival. Loewen and Friesen (2009) describe how many smaller host communities in Canada's prairie interior have historically displayed anxiety and uneasiness towards different migrant groups during sequential waves of immigration. In fact, Rabrenovic (2007) warns that a lack of experience with minorities gives racial supremacist groups an opportunity to expand their membership base by promoting fear and hatred across these isolated, smaller communities. More specifically, Kazemipur (2014) describes the tension arising from the increased visibility of Muslim immigrants in different regions and cities where they traditionally have not had a presence.

Still, research on refugee resettlement has largely neglected rural and smaller-sized cities. Even though the number of refugees and resettlement resources may be smaller in absolute terms, the effects on the local community may be greater than on more populated urban areas (Singer and Wilson 2006; Mott 2009; Jentsch and Simard 2009). Clevenger et al. (2014) argue that migration scholarship is just catching up with these new destinations, such as the smaller cities and rural communities that migrants have entered in significant numbers since the 1990s. Research on the locations and geographic contexts of groups of immigrants that are often overlooked in much of the traditional migration literature, such as refugees, has become of particular importance to scholars in recent years (Hardwick 2015). Assuming these trends continue, as more refugees are resettled in smaller communities, there will be a greater need for research targeting rural areas. Sobczak (2010) notes that, unfortunately, some prior researchers

have implicitly assumed that attitudes on immigration are evenly distributed across the country. Accordingly, scholars have pointed out a need for refugee research in a variety of locations, including small towns and mid-sized cities, to gain a more comprehensive understanding of attitudes toward refugees (Mott 2009; Marks 2014).

Applications of Intergroup Contact Theory

Theoretical Framework

The main premise of Gordon Allport's (1979) intergroup contact theory is that prejudice directly results from oversimplifications and generalizations made about an entire category of people based on incomplete or mistaken information. His basic rationale is that under certain circumstances contact between different groups can promote tolerance and acceptance, resulting is less prejudice as an individual learns more about a group of people. Due to this new appreciation and understanding, stereotyping, discrimination, and hostility should gradually diminish. Thus, repeated contact with various outgroups, particularly when the quality of these interactions is positive, can reduce anxiety, increase perspective taking and empathy, and improve interpersonal and intergroup relations considerably (Turner et al. 2008). In a comprehensive analysis of the ways in which Allport has been supported by scholars, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) examine over 500 studies conducted since the 1950s, concluding that intergroup contact can indeed improve attitudes in many different contexts, such as interactions between people of different races and ethnicities, younger and older generations, individuals with different sexual orientations, and toward people with illnesses such as AIDS.

In his seminal work, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Allport (1979) emphasizes that interaction among disparate groups is not enough to reduce prejudice; it depends on the

nature of the contact. When individuals have equal status, common goals, and meaningful communications as acquaintances, contact between majority and minority groups is likely to foster acceptance, integration, and improved relations. Contact situations which entail these conditions have been shown to reduce conflict and promote intergroup cooperation. Thus, he contends that interpersonal contact might be one of the most effective ways to reduce prejudice among diverse cultural groups, especially in those with little prior contact. Conversely, casual or superficial interactions can boost hostility because being a visible out group member brings to mind all the other knowledge and information that is known through rumors or stereotypes, thus allowing an individual's feelings to distort his or her perception of reality (Fetzer 2000). As Allport (1979, 34) succinctly summarizes, "the more casual contact, the more trouble."

Still, many leading scholars feel that intergroup contact researches are overly optimistic, because in some cases, contact between majority and minority groups can actually backfire and increase tensions (Hodson et al. 2013). While contact between different groups can hypothetically reduce prejudice in certain circumstances, casual encounters can sometimes have the opposite effect. As such, a number of critics have questioned the relevance and explanatory power of intergroup contact theory. Most critiques relate to methodologic issues, such as question of causality, measurement challenges, and the neglect for the wider social context in which contact occurs (Christ and Wagner 2013). If fact, Dixon et al. (2005) claim that the contact literature has become detached and sometimes irrelevant in divided societies because of its overemphasis on prejudiced individuals and disregard for the social context.

Intergroup Contact Theory and Migration

While not focusing specifically on refugees, several scholars have applied intergroup contact theory to research on the dynamics between immigrants and host communities. Sobczak (2010) examines the effects of local structural conditions on Americans' attitudes toward immigrants to explain the strong negativity surrounding views toward immigration. He finds strong support for contact theory, with more favorable views of immigrants elicited by residents of communities where structural conditions foster increased levels of interactions between groups. Using the tenets of this theory, Valentine and McDonald (2004) conclude that contact in public spaces without engagement can exacerbate prejudice. They argue that while people in areas with few ethnic minorities are more aware of the presence of other ethnic groups in their community, they very rarely have any meaningful contact with immigrants themselves. Similarly, Flynn (2003) suggests that casual contact seems to be much more frequent but speculates that public anxiety emerges not so much from directly engaging with immigrants, but from the nature of public discourse promoted by politicians, policymakers, and the media. Also, Ceballos et al. (2014) add that contact with immigrants and a cosmopolitan outlook decreases unfavorable attitudes and support for restrictive immigration policies.

In challenging intergroup contact theory, a number of scholarly studies suggest that social and cultural concerns offer more explanatory power on how anti-immigrant sentiments and public attitudes are formed. For example, in exploring the causes of public opposition to immigration, Fetzer (2000) concludes that cultural marginality usually drives immigration-related attitudes more than economics or contact does. While

he confirms a role for personal contact, he believes this explanation is tenuous. Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) also argue that attitudes about immigration are shaped by sociotropic concerns about its cultural effects much more than any other factor. Furthermore, Welch and Sigelman (2000) claim intergroup contact theory is largely outdated and predominantly based on research between blacks and whites. Accordingly, they contend there is a need to further explore intergroup contact among a variety of diverse populations. Sobczak (2010) agrees that future research focusing on attitudes toward immigrants must distinguish between different groups and locations to provide a better understanding the underlying sources of anti-immigrant attitudes.

Advancing the Body of Knowledge

Allport is widely recognized for his foundational work, which has influenced generations of scholars in a variety of disciplines (Dovidio et al. 2005). To further add to the intergroup contact body of knowledge, Esses et al. (2005) contend that future work should incorporate new cross-levels of analysis, including international affairs and relationships among disparate groups within different countries. New intergroup contact research should also use a mix of methodologies, such as correlational and experimental approaches (Pettigrew and Tropp 2011). However, as critics have pointed out, one of the central concerns of future research will be to place the intergroup contact phenomena in a full and evolving social context (Pettigrew 2008). Accordingly, a key contextual factor is the unprecedented level of intergroup contact resulting from contemporary global migration, which has significantly altered the demographics of many communities in countries throughout the world.

Contribution to the Existing Literature

In response to these identified gaps, this dissertation research contributes to the existing literature in the field of migration studies by using intergroup contact theory to examine the underlying factors that explain how refugee resettlement influences public perceptions of insecurity in the two largest refugee receiving states. As Hodson et al. (2013) contend, a promising avenue for future migration research concerns the connections between intergroup contact, public attitudes toward immigration, and policy support. Furthermore, some scholars believe that the higher levels of intergroup contact resulting from new waves of global migration represents one of the most serious and pressing concerns for academics and policymakers in the twenty-first century (Hodson and Hewstone 2013). As such, this study is unique in that it comparatively investigates the role of pre-existing levels of knowledge and intergroup contact in an examination of how refugee resettlement influences perceptions of insecurity in both the United States and Canada.

Conclusions

It is clear from the literature that additional research is needed on global migration and its resulting effects on host societies. As Togral (2011) emphasizes, contemporary migration has been transformed into a security matter and has contributed to widespread national security concerns throughout the West. Consequently, migrants have been linked to criminal and terrorist activities, particularly after the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States. As a result, within the field of migration studies, few subjects have attracted greater attention in recent years than the securitization of migration (Messina 2014). However, as the nature of forced migration and international politics changes over

time, new scholarship will constantly be needed. Accordingly, scholars have stressed that the issues of migration and insecurity are key subject areas in need of further academic investigation (Lazaridis 2011). Nevertheless, Betts and Loescher (2011) point out there has been surprisingly little work on refugees within this context.

To allay security concerns, migration scholarship emphasizes the importance of integration in order for refugees to develop a common sense of belonging with their host communities. However, a widespread sentiment in many receiving states is that culturally dissimilar refugees are simply incompatible with resettlement communities. Scholars have pointed out that existing residents tend to perceive higher threats when refugee arrivals alter the demographics of their communities and do not want to assimilate (Mandel 1997; Rabrenovic 2007). Furthermore, many new refugee arrivals in the West are increasingly Muslim, which generates high levels of public anxiety and hostility from residents who feel threatened by a lack of religious or ethnic affinity. This has led to xenophobic attitudes toward Muslim immigrants and refugees, who have been increasingly portrayed as national security threats in the twenty-first century (Saunders 2012). As a result, Bleich (2008) believes that immigration and integration studies are of great public interest and among the most important topics in contemporary politics.

Additionally, Brettell and Hollifield (2015) believe that a prime research agenda for scholars of international migration should be getting to the roots of anti-immigrant sentiments. While a substantial amount of data about public attitudes toward immigration is available through opinion polling, scholarly research on views held by the public is limited. As Crawley (2005) stresses, existing questionnaires are not sufficiently in-depth to draw meaningful conclusions, thus she recommends the use of surveys designed to

collect more useful information on the factors that underlie these attitudes, such as levels of contact and knowledge. What is not known is if there is a direct relationship between contact and knowledge, and whether there would be less hostility if the public were better informed or had more interaction with refugees and immigrants. Jedwab (2008) agrees with this assessment and suggests that areas where future research would be beneficial include what types of contact are meaningful and how this interaction influences public attitudes toward immigrants and refugees.

As a final point, the literature on refugee resettlement issues also shows that researchers often overlook rural and smaller-sized communities. As more refugees continue to be resettled in less populated areas, there will be an increased need for research targeting a variety of locations outside of major urban centers (Mott 2009; Clevenger et al. 2014; Hardwick 2015). Additionally, much of the traditional migration literature primarily focuses on individual localities rather than exploring differences across two or more communities. This lack of scholarly work offers many possibilities for conducting a wide range of comparative studies and research. In looking at optimal study locations, numerous scholars have pointed out that the United States and Canada have been relatively understudied in prior comparative migration research and thus offer opportunities for new types of comparisons between the two countries (Bloemraad 2006; Torrey 2014; Lampman and Thomas 2014; Teixeira and Li 2015).

CHAPTER IV – METHODOLOGY

Research Approach

This dissertation research uses a cross-national comparative case study approach to examine how refugee resettlement influences perceptions of insecurity in both the United States and Canada. Such a comparative approach is ideal because it allows far more scope for including new and different contexts than those addressed in previous studies. As Yin (2014) explains, the case study is the preferred qualitative research method, when examining contemporary events and in attempting to answer "how" types of questions that are more explanatory in nature. Hantrais (2009) adds that systematic comparisons across two countries can be useful in generating insights capable of providing a more integrated picture of the subject being investigated. Additionally, George and Bennett (2005) describe how the use of structured, focused comparisons plays an important role in theory development by bringing into focus key similarities and differences among different cases. As such, a comparative case study design is well-suited for the complexity of studying phenomena across national borders.

One of the major strengths of a case study approach is the opportunity to collect different data sources through multiple methods. While the data collection process for case studies can be more complex than those used in other research methods, Esterhuizen (2004) argues that the biggest advantage of case study work is that it can provide a deeper understanding and insight into a situation as a whole. As Creswell (2014) contends, using several methodological approaches allows researchers to address more complicated research questions and collect a stronger array of evidence than can be accomplished by using any single method alone. Thus, using multiple methods, or data triangulation,

affords researchers better opportunities to assess the overall consistency and quality of data across a variety of settings (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009).

The remainder of this chapter describes how the case study approach is used in this dissertation research design. It begins by providing a concise overview of the four study area communities located in Montana and Saskatchewan. Next, the two sequential phases of the mixed-methods study design are detailed, which includes community surveys followed by in-depth interviews. Specifically, this chapter outlines the instrumentation, sampling methods, recruitment of participants, and operationalization of both phases of the research process. As part of the approach to use multiple research methods, the use of direct observations and document analysis are also described. This chapter concludes with a description of the efforts to ensure reliability and validity throughout the research process. The results of the data collection and presentation of the findings are provided in Chapter V.

Study Area Locations

In response to the need for research in new settings, particularly in rural areas with little exposure to immigration, two optimal locations were identified for this study. For a cross-national comparative perspective, the researcher first considered adjacent American states and Canadian provinces in which refugee resettlement issues have received significant media attention. Next, contiguous areas with comparable population and demographic characteristics were identified. As Yin (2014) points out, cases that are as similar as possible may provide added control for many factors and help isolate the variables being studied. Finally, areas were selected where the researcher was able to establish relationships with local organizations and experts who were familiar with

refugee issues and could help obtain access to information (Kissoon 2006; Maxwell 2012). Based on this reasoning, Montana and Saskatchewan stand out because they are comparable in many respects. Specifically, the study narrowly focuses on two Montana communities, Helena and Missoula, and two Saskatchewan communities, Moose Jaw and Swift Current (Figure 6).

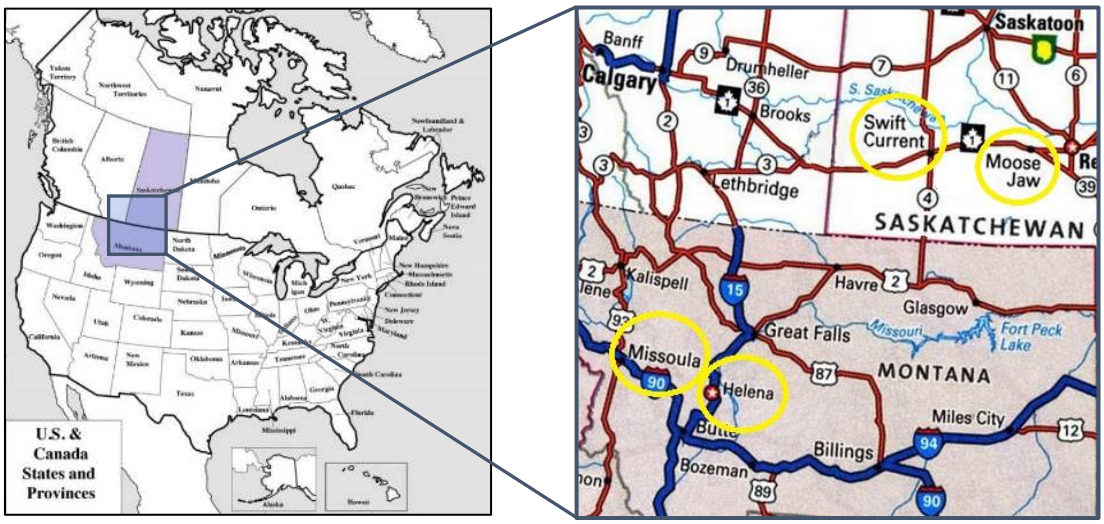

Figure 6. Study area communities

Source: www.freeusandworldmaps.com 2016

Although not identical, these locations are remarkably alike in terms of population and demographics (Table 1). These study areas were deliberately selected to approximate a counterfactual situation by comparing similarly-sized communities with (and also without) an established refugee resettlement program (Blatter and Haverland 2012). According to Gorard (2013), research design is strengthened by counterfactual cases, or an appropriate comparative group, where the opposite situation applies to some key element. Thus, while Helena does not currently have a resettlement program, Missoula is home to a federally-designated voluntary agency with a goal of resettling over 100 refugees in the community (Maly 2016). Likewise, Moose Jaw is designated as one of 36

refugee destination communities across Canada, resettling 113 Syrians since November 2015. In contrast, Swift Current has not resettled any incoming government-assisted refugees and has only received three privately sponsored refugees (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2017).

Table 1

Study area location comparison

	Montana		Saskatchewan	
Population (state/province)	1,006,370		1,008,760	
	Helena	Missoula	Moose Jaw	Swift Current
Population (city)	28,190	66,788	32,345	15,155
Percent racial/ethnic majority	93.3%	92.1%	90.0%	89.1%
Refugee resettlement program	No	Yes	Yes	No

Source: United States Census Bureau: American Fact Finder, 2015 Population Estimates Program, 2010-2014 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates; Canada 2011 Census, Statistics Canada, National Household Survey.

Helena, Montana

Helena is the capital city of Montana and the sixth largest community in the state. It is located in the west-central part of the state at the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, approximately 200 miles (322 kilometers) south of the Canadian border. Because of its status as the state capital, Helena is a hub of governmental activity at both the state and federal levels. The city is represented in the Montana legislature by three state senators and representatives from six state legislative districts. According to the most recent census data, the racial makeup of the city is over 93% White, with Native Americans comprising the largest minority population. Although Helena does not have a local refugee resettlement affiliate, in 2015 the non-profit organization World Montana announced its intentions to help establish a resettlement program in the community. World Montana, located in the Artaza Center for Excellence in Global Education at

Carroll College in Helena, has subsequently provided public outreach and education about the refugee resettlement process by convening meetings, hosting guest speakers, and sharing information with interested entities.

Missoula, Montana

Missoula, the second-largest community in Montana, is located at the western edge of the state on the Rocky Mountain Front Range near the Idaho border. Missoula is approximately115 miles (185 kilometers) west of Helena and 190 miles (306 kilometers) south of the Canadian border. It is home to the University of Montana, the state's flagship university, which has an enrollment of more than 12,000 students. Missoula also serves a regional destination for retail, medicine, and the arts. Missoula has the second largest state legislative delegation, with six state senators and nine representatives. Similar to Helena, the racial makeup of the community is more than 90% White, with Native Americans comprising the largest minority population. The International Rescue Committee (IRC), one of the nine designated national voluntary agencies (volags) to resettle refugees across the country, opened a local affiliate office in Missoula in 2016. To support the IRC's goal of resetting up to 150 refugees in Missoula, a non-profit organization called Soft Landing was established. In addition to helping refugees settle and integrate into the community, Soft Landing also provides a wide range of community outreach and educational activities.

Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan

Moose Jaw is situated in south-central Saskatchewan and is the fourth largest community in the province. It is situated on the Trans-Canada Highway, 44 miles (71 kilometers) west of the provincial capital, Regina, and 112 miles (180 kilometers) north

of the Canadian border with the United States. Moose Jaw is an important service and distribution center for the area's industrial and agricultural activity. Provincially, the city is represented by two members of the legislative assembly of Saskatchewan and federally by one member of the Canadian house of Parliament. The majority of Moose Jaw's residents are native born Canadians, with the largest ethnic minorities consisting of individuals of German and Scandinavian descent. While most refugees resettled in Saskatchewan are located in the larger communities of Saskatoon and Regina, the Moose Jaw Multicultural Council is a designated Service Provider Organization for the federal government's Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP). By offering RAP services, this organization is able to offer refugees direct services to assist in the resettlement process in Moose Jaw and the surrounding areas.

Swift Current, Saskatchewan

Saskatchewan's fifth-largest city, Swift Current, is in the southwest part of the province, 108 miles (174 kilometers) west of Moose Jaw along the Trans-Canada Highway. The Canadian border with the United States is approximately 93 miles (150 kilometers) south of the city limits. The community is home to the current Premier of Saskatchewan, Brad Wall. Swift Current serves as a regional hub for agriculture, retail, and a growing manufacturing sector, with the recent discovery of new oil and gas deposits bringing rapid growth and prosperity to the local economy. Most residents of Swift Current are native born Canadians, with the main ethnic origins consisting of individuals of Northern and Eastern European descent. Although Swift Current is not one of the 36 communities with a federally-designated Service Provider Organization to deliver resettlement services, it does have a Newcomer Welcome Centre dedicated to

creating a welcoming atmosphere and providing supportive services for immigrants to southwest Saskatchewan.

Study Design

The mixed-methods approach to collecting data for this dissertation was sequenced in two phases; first, a survey was conducted as a precursor to obtaining in-depth interview data. This format allowed for the collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data during the research process. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) suggest that when designing sequential research studies, the independent phases should be planned in successive steps to answer related aspects of the same overarching researching question or to address interlocking research questions. Thus, in the first phase of the study, a survey was administered to better understand the perceptions and experiences of community members through their responses to a questionnaire. Next, in the second phase, a series of interviews with key informants were conducted in an effort to gain multiple perspectives on issues raised in the survey. Data was then analyzed through two separate processes, including a quantitative analysis using descriptive statistics, followed by a qualitative thematic analysis with a grounded theory approach. Although the two sets of analyses were conducted independently, each offered a better understanding of the research questions and was integrated into the findings in a comparative fashion.

A grounded theory approach provided an inherently inductive method of building theory from the data generated through this research. Utilizing this approach, the researcher was actively involved in the production, collection, and analysis of data by working directly with study participants. According to Birks and Mills (2015), grounded

theory approaches embrace both quantitative and qualitative data sources and are valuable in mixed methods studies that employ diverse research strategies. Additionally, this approach goes beyond simple descriptive analysis and has the potential to add significantly to what is currently known about a topic. The final product is a comprehensive grounded theory that explains a phenomenon and helps improves existing understanding and knowledge.

To help develop relevant lines of questioning and assist with conceptual clarification for the research design, a pilot study was conducted in Montana from late 2015 to early 2016. As part of this pilot test case, the researcher interviewed five key informants, attended six refugee resettlement events as a direct observer, and performed a thematic analysis of available public documents. The data collected during this process was used to develop the survey questionnaire and refine the interview questions, which were both essential components of this research effort. Results of the pilot test case were presented at the International Studies Association (ISA) annual conference in March 2016 in Atlanta, followed by a presentation on the proposed comparative case study design and methodology at the ISA annual conference in February 2017 in Baltimore. After receiving Institutional Review Board approval on July 31, 2017, all fieldwork was conducted in both the United States and Canada from August through October 2017.

Phase One: Community Surveys

First, a survey was administered to residents in both the United States and Canada to collect primary data from the general public. A 35-question survey instrument (Appendix B), consisting of closed- and open-ended response items, was designed to generate new information on individual attitudes, knowledge, and experiences in four

purposefully selected communities. Dillman et al. (2014) suggest consulting with subject matter experts and local informants because they can provide valuable feedback about whether the survey will make sense and resonate with potential respondents, in addition to having a practical perspective the surveyor often lacks. As such, the survey questionnaire for this study was developed in consultation with local informants from World Montana. This organization works closely with immigrants and refugees, in addition to routinely interacting with the public, so they are uniquely positioned to offer insight on this topic.

To collect comparable cross-national data, both an American and Canadian version of the questionnaire were developed. While the questions asking about attitudes and perceptions did not need to be adjusted, the questions seeking demographic information needed to be adapted to provide appropriate answer sets in both countries (Harkness et al. 2010). Accordingly, questions referencing ethnic background and education used categories from the most recent United States Census (American Fact Finder 2015) and Canadian Census (Statistics Canada 2016). Additionally, the American survey question asking about political affiliation listed the three political parties currently qualified to appear on Montana ballots (Montana Secretary of State 2016), while the Canadian version listed the six political parties officially registered with the provincial government (Elections Saskatchewan 2016).

Still, Harkness et al. (2010) warn that researchers cannot assume surveys that work well in one location will function adequately elsewhere because the questions may not be relevant for a given population. Typically, a collaborator is needed, one who has undertaken similar research and understands the local context (Pennell et al. 2010).

Accordingly, Keren Snider of the School of Political Science at the University of Haifa, examined and provided feedback on the survey questionnaire. She has conducted similar research on public attitudes toward asylum seekers and how exposure to minority groups influences public perceptions in a variety of global settings. Both she and the researcher presented on the same topic at the 2017 ISA Conference and subsequently conducted a peer review of each other's work. In addition, to provide a measure of cross-national consistency, Brandon University's Rural Development Institute of Canada also reviewed the survey questions. The institute serves as a regional academic research center and a leading source of information on issues affecting rural Canadian communities.

Instrumentation

In designing comparative survey instruments, one of the most important concerns is including questions that can generate comparable data across countries. The most frequent approach in developing comparative survey questionnaires is to reuse questions that appear suitable and have already been used in other surveys (Harkness et al. 2010). Thus, to provide equivalency with existing national surveys, the first section of the questionnaire began by asking if the respondent supports or opposes refugee resettlement. This common question is found on most major public opinion polls in both countries, including the Pew Research Center, Bloomberg Politics, Quinnipiac University Polling, Angus Reid Institute, and the Forum Research Poll. This part of the questionnaire had a strong focus on replicating questions so that the results can be compared more accurately with previous findings. The remaining questions in the first section were designed to collect data about refugee resettlement support, perceptions, security concerns, and rural

issues. Questions building off relevant items from previous studies about public attitudes toward refugees (Mott 2009; Marks 2014) were included in this section.

This questionnaire was unique in that it included data items on knowledge and levels of contact. As highlighted by Crawley (2005), the questions asked on existing surveys do not capture the factors that influence attitudes toward refugees, most notably in relation to levels of pre-existing knowledge and contact. As such, she suggests that one way of measuring knowledge is to develop a short quiz within surveys to ask simple, non-technical, and factual questions. Accordingly, the survey included seven questions about current immigration levels, definitions, and refugee issues. In regard to levels of contact, both Fetzer (2000) and Sobczak (2010) have used the tenets of intergroup contact theory to examine public attitudes toward immigrants but have found it difficult to produce satisfactory measures for personal contact because this information is generally not asked on any public opinion polls or questionnaires. Therefore, this survey contained seven questions on interaction with refugees, immigrants, and individuals with different ethnic backgrounds. The final nine questions were designed to collect key demographic information.

Sampling

Although survey questionnaires are increasingly being administered online, this mode is problematic for a randomized public survey because not every individual has internet access and also a universal sampling frame of e-mail addresses does not exist. While online surveys offer lower data collection costs and faster response times in comparison to other modes, conducting random sample internet surveys of the general public remains an elusive goal (Messer and Dillman 2010). Therefore, in order to

produce a statistically representative sample of the general public, sampling was needed through a traditional survey mode such face-to-face, mail, or by telephone. As such, a mail survey was administered because procedures for mail surveys are often deemed simple enough that individuals can conduct their own rather than relying upon professional survey research organizations (Dillman 1991). Additionally, Borque and Fielder (2003) argue that the greatest advantage of mail surveys is their lower cost in comparison to other methods.

Address-based sampling (ABS) was employed to generate an appropriate sampling frame because it offered an efficient mode to ensure high coverage of the household population in both Canada and the United States. ABS utilizes residential addresses from a near universal listing of postal mail delivery locations in each community. In fact, some scholars consider ABS coverage to now be superior to both random digit telephone dialing and the internet for sampling from the general public. For example, Dillman et al. (2014) believe that ABS using the postal service provides the best coverage and is being used more frequently as an approach to avoid non-coverage error due to cellular phone only households in telephone surveys. Lutz et al. (2010) agree that ABS is preferable because it eases the challenges posed by increasing coverage bias in random digit dialing telephone samples due to the growing number of households without a landline telephone.

To utilize ABS in the administration of the survey, residential mailing lists were purchased from a private vendor that operates in both the United States and Canada. Each mailing list was drawn from an address-based residential database and contained current household address points in Helena, Missoula, Moose Jaw, and Swift Current. To provide

accurate coverage and the best reach of residential households, their service ensures that all addresses on each mailing list are updated monthly and validated against United States Postal Service and Canada Post mail delivery records. From each mailing list, an online random number generator was used to select an initial sampling frame of 750 addresses in each of the four study area communities. This ensured that a random sample of 1,500 residents in both countries were selected to participate in the survey and that the results could then be generalized to each study location.

In order to calculate a statistically representative large group sample size, both the margin of error and confidence level needed to be considered. The margin of error, or confidence interval, is a percentage that shows how much higher or lower the sample population deviates from the entire population. A smaller margin of error indicates a higher level of precision in survey research, with 5% used as the standard in quantitative research (Custom Insight 2016). The margin of error assumes a random sample of the entire population. The confidence level measures how often the sample population falls within the boundaries of the margin of error. According to Fink (2003b), the most common confidence levels used in survey research are 90%, 95%, and 99%. The survey results may then be extrapolated to the entire population with a confidence level at these corresponding percentages. Using online sample size calculators available from the two private survey research organizations, Custom Insight and Creative Research Systems, the estimates in Table 2 were calculated using varying confidence levels and margins of error for a large population.

Table 2

Sample size estimates

Sample size of 200	
Confidence Level	Margin of Error
90%	+/- 5.8%
95%	+/- 6.9%
99%	+/- 9.1%

Sample size of 300	
Confidence Level	Margin of Error
90%	+/- 4.7%
95%	+/- 5.6%
99%	+/- 7.4%

Sources: Custom Insight simple random calculator 2016; Creative Research Systems sample size calculator 2016.

Thus, to reach a confidence level of 90% with a 5.8% margin of error, a sample size of 200 was needed. The sample size must be enlarged to 300 to increase the confidence level to 95% with a 5.6% margin of error. Ideally, the sample size in both study area locations would need to be over 300. However, because a larger sample size means higher expenses, a trade-off needed to be made between statistical accuracy and research costs. Therefore, a sample size between 200 and 300 in each of the study area locations was the target for this study.

Response rates can vary widely, depending on factors like questionnaire length, incentives, and how much potential participants care about the survey topic. Borque and Fielder (2003) claim that surveyors can probably expect no better than a 20% response rate when a single mailing that incorporates no incentives is made to a sample of the general community. However, Dillman et al. (2014) demonstrate that when carefully planned and implemented, mail surveys can achieve response rates of 50% or higher. Accordingly, several strategies were employed in the administration of this survey to increase the response rate. The survey mailer included a neutrally-designed questionnaire that appeared short and easy to read, along with a postage-paid return envelope for the

respondent's convenience (Fanning 2005). A follow-up reminder was also mailed out, which has been a proven method that leads to higher participation (Fink 2003a). However, Dillman et. al (2014) believe the best way to increase response rates is to take advantage of a what motivates a person to respond. Therefore, the recruitment efforts emphasized that the survey provided respondents with an opportunity to voice their concerns and contribute to the discussion on refugee resettlement in their community.

Participant Recruitment

Two separate outreach efforts were used in combination during the recruitment phase of the survey to maximize the potential of reaching people and improving the overall response rate. The primary method of participant recruitment was through a survey questionnaire mailed to randomly selected households in each of the study area locations. The mailer (Appendix C) included a cover letter explaining the study and providing instructions, along with a professionally printed four-fold questionnaire brochure and a pre-addressed return envelope with a postage stamp affixed. The cover letter provided an explanation of informed consent, as well as a toll-free contact number in case there were any questions or clarifications needed. For random selection at the household level, the cover letter requested that the adult with the most recent birthday complete the survey questionnaire (Messer and Dillman 2010).

Based on the targeted sample size and anticipated response rate, the outreach began with a general sample of 750 households in each of the four study area communities. Two weeks after the initial mailing, a follow up postcard was sent to provide a reminder and offer two additional response options. The postcard gave respondents the option to call a toll-free number to perform a telephone interview or to

request a paper copy of the questionnaire. Offering these alternative modes provided another opportunity to participate for individuals who might have initially been unable to respond (Dillman et al. 2014).

To conduct the statistical analysis of the survey results, all completed questionnaires were manually input into a centralized online Survey Monkey platform. Getting the survey responses into the computer was necessary to organize and manage the data collected prior to performing any type of statistical analysis (Fink 2003b). Responses were then viewed as question summaries, which provided the overall survey results for each question in a series of charts and graphs. As recommended by Creswell (2014), the starting point for quantitative data analysis should include basic descriptive statistics, indicating the mean, median, standard deviation, frequency, and range of scores for each multiple-choice question. Also, all scaled questions were rated and ranked as part of the basic statistical tabulations. However, performing cross tabulations across different questions by levels of knowledge and contact was one of the most important parts of the data analysis. In addition to sorting the responses by demographic categories, this allowed the responses to be filtered for comparisons of different attitudinal characteristics for each survey question.

Phase Two: Key Informant Interviews

Following the survey phase, in-depth interviews with key informants were conducted to explore the findings and results generated from the survey responses in greater depth. As Yin (2014) emphasizes, interviews with key informants are often deemed critical to the success of a case study and can be one of the most important data sources. Accordingly, a purposive sample of individuals was drawn from civic leaders

who represent the public and are considered knowledgeable about refugee issues. In consultation with both World Montana and the Saskatchewan Association of Immigrant Settlement and Integration Agencies (SAISIA), a list of potential interviewees who represent various sectors of community life and interact extensively with both refugees or immigrants and the general public was identified. In order to obtain multiple perspectives, these key informants included a mix of elected local officials, public administrators, social service agencies, and non-profit organizations. Also, in coordination with the two non-profit organizations that assist refugees, the researcher interviewed a sample of refugees currently residing in the study area locations to provide added viewpoints.

Instrumentation

A 15-question interview instrument (Appendix D) was developed to gain deeper insight and to build off the survey findings. These open-ended questions were designed to be conversational in order to prompt discussion and allow participants to elaborate on their thoughts and to introduce new ideas to the discussion (Creswell 2014). The main discussion topics included community attitudes and perceptions, security concerns, opposition to resettlement, and issues unique to rural areas. The list of semi-structured questions was broad enough to give each interview participant the opportunity to focus on aspects of these topics they believed were most important. During each interview, participants were asked the same questions; however, some additional inquiries were generated during the interview based on individual responses. After informed consent was given, the interviews were recorded on a digital voice recorder and transcribed upon completion of each interview session.

Operationalization

Each organization or individual was contacted first via e-mail to explain the research topic and request an in-person interview. An initial listing of contact information was gathered by examining each organization's website, following current events in local newspapers, and consulting with local officials when this information was unavailable online. Organizations were asked to identify a person who was available to comment on their observations, experiences, and if they believed the survey findings were reflective of actual community issues. The objective was to identify as many key informants as necessary to gain a more detailed understanding of this issue. In some instances, as a follow up, each organization was contacted by telephone to repeat the request for an interview and to schedule a time to meet. A total of 25 individual interviews were conducted (Table 3), including 13 in Montana and 12 in Saskatchewan.

Table 3

Interview participants

Name	Affiliation/Position	Location
A. Garzon	Refugee from Cuba	Helena
M. Jones	Immigrant from Canada	Helena
S. Maly	World Montana Board Member	Helena
K. Quinndon	Montana State Services Coordinator	Helena
S. Rossi	ACLU of Montana	Helena
S. Sadowski	Helena Citizens Council	Helena
J. Barile	International Rescue Committee	Missoula
M. Diaz	Immigrant from Colombia	Missoula
T. Facey	Montana State Senator	Missoula
J. Jaeger	Empower Montana Director	Missoula
D. Strohmaier	Missoula County Commissioner	Missoula
M. Poole	Soft Landing Executive Director	Missoula
K. Murphy	World Affairs Council Coordinator	Missoula
D. Kostal	Moose Jaw Public Library	Moose Jaw
B. Moutou	Immigrant from Mauritius	Moose Jaw
D. Richardson	Hillcrest Church Moose Jaw	Moose Jaw
L. Selvaraj	Multicultural Centre Program Manager	Moose Jaw
B. Swenson	City of Moose Jaw Councillor	Moose Jaw

Table 3 (continued)

D. Van Tassel	Newcomer Welcome Centre	Moose Jaw
K. Yu	Refugee from China	Moose Jaw
I. Degala	Newcomer Centre	Swift Current
J. Hagan	Community Church Pastor	Swift Current
A. Henderson	Immigration Legal Consultant	Swift Current
C. Munoz	Newcomer Centre Advisor	Swift Current
J. Smith	United Way Program Director	Swift Current

After the completion of all interviews, each transcript was carefully reviewed to identify common keywords and categories in the comments. First, broad concepts were developed; then further analyzed and refined to create prominent themes arising from patterns in the collected data. Findings were reported after similar themes repeatedly emerged with no new categories arising. As Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) note, saturation in purposive sampling occurs when adding more data does not result in new information that can be used in developing themes. Using a grounded theory approach, a second round of interviews was then conducted with a sampling of four key informants, including one in each of the study area communities, to seek clarification and provide further detailed comments on the overall interview results. In reporting the findings, the names of interview participants were kept anonymous by not identifying the interviewee's affiliation when using key quotes. Additionally, to ensure confidentiality, each interview participant's comments were reported so that no comments could be attributed to a specific person.

Supplementary Research Methods

Although surveys and interviews were the primary means of data collection for this study, two other supplementary research methods were employed as well: document analysis and direct observations. Yin (2014) points out that for case study research, the

most important use of documents is to corroborate evidence and data collected from other sources. As such, during fieldwork in both Montana and Saskatchewan, time was allotted for visiting local public libraries and community centers (Table 4), where documents such as local newspapers, community newsletters, and other printed materials regarding refugee resettlement were available.

Table 4

Document analysis sites and locations

Site	Location
Lewis and Clark Public Library	Helena
Artaza Center for Global Education, Carroll College	Helena
Missoula Main Branch Public Library	Missoula
Mansfield Library, University of Montana	Missoula
Newcomer Welcome Centre	Moose Jaw
Moose Jaw Public Library	Moose Jaw
Southwest Newcomer Centre	Swift Current
Chinook Regional Library	Swift Current

Additionally, the researcher attended four community events and public gatherings (Table 5) which had a focus on refugee issues during the fieldwork study period. The researcher listened unobtrusively, as a direct observer rather than an active participant, recording comments from attendees and statements by speakers. As suggested by Creswell (2014), direct observations can help the researcher develop a better understanding of the context being studied, increase validity, and explain apparent contradictions in the data. Furthermore, this approach allowed for the impartial

observation of situations described in the key informant interviews and also helped provide the contextual meaning behind the other data collected.

Table 5

Direct observation events

Event	Location	Date
Montana Racial Equity Community Forum	Helena	August 30, 2017
Immigrant Welcoming Week Ceremony	Missoula	September 18, 2017
Newcomer Community Café	Moose Jaw	September 28, 2017
Saskatchewan Culture Days	Moose Jaw	September 29-30, 2017

Reliability and Validity

Ensuring that interpretations of the data are both reliable and valid was an important part of this dissertation research. For increased reliability, as many steps as possible were operationalized so that similar results might be produced if the same procedures are replicated. Also, as a further check of reliability, records of all data collected were kept to provide documentation that can be audited (Creswell 2014). To increase the validity of this case study research, multiple methods of collecting data were used. As Hantrais (2009) suggests, using several different methods with convergent lines of inquiry will help address all aspects of the research questions and allow for cross-checking of the findings. To provide an added measure of validity, the research instruments were reviewed by key informants prior to beginning any fieldwork (Yin, 2014).

CHAPTER V – FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the findings of the survey questionnaire, key informant interviews and supplementary research methods, as well as a detailed discussion of the results. The chapter is organized into two broad sections, which begin first with an examination of the overall survey results in Montana and Saskatchewan. In both locations, the aggregate survey results are examined by cross-tabulating the responses across a range of demographic and individual respondent characteristics, then separating the two study area comparison communities. In the second section, the findings of the in-depth interviews, direct observations, and site visits are presented by organizing the collected data into five key thematic areas. These methods are combined in effort to answer the overarching dissertation research question of how refugee resettlement influences perceptions of insecurity, as well as the secondary questions that help inform this question. Following this chapter, an analysis of the findings is provided in Chapter VI, along with the conclusions drawn from this research.

Survey Results

The first part of the data collection process involved the administration of a survey to the general public in both Montana and Saskatchewan. Accordingly, a self-administered survey questionnaire was mailed to randomly selected households in Helena, Missoula, Moose Jaw, and Swift Current using address-based sampling. As a first step, 750 questionnaires were mailed to prospective survey participants during the months of August and September 2017 in each of the four study area locations. After accounting for non-delivery, additional mailings were completed in each community, bringing the total number of questionnaires delivered to 1,500 households in both

Montana and Saskatchewan. After six weeks, the overall response rate was near 20%, with a slightly higher number of questionnaires completed and returned in Montana. The survey response rates are shown in Table 6, as well as the margin of error calculated at a 90% confidence interval.

Table 6

Survey response data

	Montana	Saskatchewan
Questionnaires received (n)	323	287
Response rate	21.5%	19.1%
Margin of error	+/-4.6%	+/-4.8%

To examine the results, survey responses are displayed first as question summaries, which show the overall results for each question in a series of charts and graphs. As part of the data analysis, all questionnaire responses are then filtered and cross-tabulated across seven different individual respondent subset categories, including gender, race, age, education level, political party, religious affiliation, and income. The cross-tabulations display the joint frequency of individual responses to illustrate clearly how strongly different pairs of categorized data are related. The cross-tabulated data is then analyzed using Pearson's chi-square test, which is a test of independence commonly used to determine whether the results of the cross-tabulations are statistically significant. These calculations show the level of correlation between the different variables using the chi-square statistic, p-value, and degrees of freedom. Additionally, all scaled questions are rated and ranked using descriptive statistics as part of the data analysis.

The questionnaire answer sets were designed to be as consistent as possible between Montana and Saskatchewan for comparative purposes. However, two answer

sets needed to be adjusted to appropriately reflect cross-national differences, namely race or ethnicity and political party. The questionnaire used racial categories listed in the American Census and ethnic categories used in the Canadian Census. Also, political affiliation needed to be modified to reflect the three parties registered in Montana and the six official parties of Saskatchewan. While the educational system classifications are very similar in both countries, the Canadian Census lists one response option differently than the Unites States. The categories identifying gender, age, religion, and income were the same of both questionnaires. The income categories were not adjusted for cross-national currency exchange rate differences, as the intent of these five broad groupings was to compare relative income in each country. A survey response standard frequency table is shown in Table 7, which identifies the listing of all responses across the seven individual respondent categories. Altogether, there are 35 potential response characteristics in Montana and 44 in Saskatchewan. It should be noted that not all participants opted to answer each question, as some category totals do not equal the overall number of responses. Respondents could also select more than one racial or ethnic category.

Table 7

Survey response frequency table

Montana overall results		**Saskatchewan overall results**	
Male	164	Male	159
Female	151	Female	115
White	278	White	250
Black or African-American	8	Black	3
American Indian or Alaska Native	10	First Nations, Métis, Inuk	7
Asian	5	Chinese	1
Two or more races	13	Japanese	1
Some other race	0	Korean	0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	22	Filipino	0
---	---	Southeast Asian	0
---	---	South Asian	5

Table 7 (continued)

---	---	West Asian	0
---	---	Arab	0
---	---	Latin American	15
---	---	Other	3
18-34	62	18-34	58
35-49	71	35-49	79
50-64	92	50-64	88
65 and over	84	65 and over	58
Less than high school	0	Less than high school	3
High school diploma or equivalent	46	High school diploma or equivalent	77
Some college or associate's degree	92	Postsecondary certificate or degree	67
Bachelor's degree	104	Bachelor's degree	89
Graduate degree or higher	65	Graduate degree or higher	37
Republican	85	Saskatchewan Party	137
Democratic	94	New Democratic Party	52
Independent	103	Saskatchewan Liberal Association	5
None	30	Green Party of Saskatchewan	8
Other	0	Progressive Conservative Party	5
---	---	Western Independent Party	4
---	---	None	68
---	---	Other	0
Christian	204	Christian	176
Jewish	3	Jewish	0
Muslim	0	Muslim	0
Hindu	0	Hindu	5
Buddhist	0	Buddhist	1
None	101	None	94
Other	2	Other	0
Less than $24,999	29	Less than $24,999	15
$25,000 to $49,999	79	$25,000 to $49,999	88
$50,000 to $74,999	88	$50,000 to $74,999	84
$75,000 to $99,999	66	$75,000 to $99,999	53
$100,000 or more	45	$100,000 or more	22

Of the 323 survey questionnaires completed in Montana, more participants resided in Missoula (56%) than Helena (44%). In looking broadly at the personal characteristics of the Montana survey respondents, over one-half were male, with 57% over the age of 50. Reflective of the general population characteristics of the state, nearly 83% were White and two-thirds reported to be Christian. No respondent claimed to have less than a high school education, while 55% reported having a bachelor's degree or

higher. Although considered to be a moderately conservative state (Montana Secretary of State 2017), one-third of respondents claimed to be Independents, with Republicans comprising 27% of the total. The income categories followed a normal distribution, with the middle-income category, $50,000 to $74,999, receiving the highest number of responses.

In Saskatchewan, 287 survey questionnaires were completed, with 52% drawn from Moose Jaw and 48% from Swift Current. Much like in Montana, the majority of participants were White and Christian, although males were represented in higher numbers (58%). The leading response categories in Saskatchewan for both age, 50-64 years old, and education, bachelor's degree, were also the same as in Montana. Politically, almost one-half (49%) of respondents claimed they belonged to the moderately conservative Saskatchewan Party, which is the province's governing party and controls 80% of the seats in the Legislative Assembly. Slightly less than 19% belonged to the largest parliamentary opposition party, the New Democratic Party, while just under one-quarter claimed to have no political affiliation. Income levels were skewed toward the lower categories, with close to 40% of respondents claiming to earn under $50,000 in the previous 12 months.

Public Support in Montana

In order to begin investigating what shapes security concerns about refugee resettlement, an important starting point was to examine the current level of public support in both Montana and Saskatchewan. As such, the first survey question asked whether the participant supports or opposes the resettlement of refugees in their state or province. The answer set included an "undecided" response option as well. Besides

providing an introduction to more in-depth lines of questioning, the opening question also was designed to provide consistency with other recently conducted opinion polls and public surveys about refugee resettlement. This has been a commonly asked question in several national polling efforts, particularly since the November 2015 terrorist attacks carried out by members of the Islamic State Group in Paris. Those attacks were the deadliest of a series of such Islamist extremist inspired strikes across Western Europe from 2015-2017, which, collectively, brought increased global attention to the security concerns surrounding refugee resettlement. The responses to this question in Montana distributed across all 35 individual response characteristics are shown in Table 8.

Table 8

Support for resettlement in Montana

Q1. Do you support or oppose the resettlement of refugees in Montana?

	Support	**Oppose**	**Undecided**
Male	74	78	12
Female	93	49	9
White	131	130	17
Black or African-American	5	2	1
American Indian or Alaska Native	6	4	0
Asian	4	0	1
Two or more races	9	4	0
Some other race	0	0	0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	12	8	2
18-34	37	20	5
35-49	31	32	8
50-64	52	35	5
65 and over	41	40	3
Less than high school	0	0	0
High school diploma or equivalent	20	23	3
Some college or associate's degree	41	44	7
Bachelor's degree	58	40	6
Graduate degree or higher	44	17	4

Table 8 (continued)

Republican	28	53	4
Democratic	71	19	4
Independent	48	43	12
None	18	12	0
Other	0	0	0
Christian	103	90	11
Jewish	2	1	0
Muslim	0	0	0
Hindu	0	0	0
Buddhist	0	0	0
None	59	35	7
Other	1	0	1
Less than $24,999	16	12	1
$25,000 to $49,999	33	38	8
$50,000 to $74,999	47	38	3
$75,000 to $99,999	40	25	1
$100,000 or more	29	12	4

The survey results show that respondents are generally supportive of refugee resettlement in Montana. Overall, more than one-half (53%) of the participants indicated they are supportive, with 40% opposed and almost 7% undecided. As displayed in Table 9, these results are comparable to other prior national opinion polls on the resettlement of refugees in the United States. These previous efforts show that a majority of Americans support refugee resettlement, with the exception of surveys conducted immediately after the November 2015 terrorist attacks. However, nationwide polls conducted in mid-2016 through 2017 reveal that public support for refugee resettlement returned to levels prior to the attacks. Of note with this study, a higher number of respondents reported to be undecided on this issue in comparison to previous polls.

Table 9

American public opinion polling comparison

	Support	**Oppose**	**Undecided**	**Dates**
Current study	53%	40%	7%	September 2017
Gallup, Inc.	58%	36%	6%	January 2017

Table 9 (continued)

CNN/ORC International	54%	45%	2%	January 2017
Brookings Institution	59%	41%	-	June 2016
Quinnipiac University Polling	43%	51%	6%	December 2015
Pew Research Center	51%	45%	4%	September 2015

While the majority of survey respondents in Montana claimed to be supportive of refugee resettlement, there were several noticeable exceptions. One of the most striking features was the highly partisan split, with more than 60% of Republicans in opposition and over 75% of Democrats in support. This division along party lines is reflective of the politically polarized national debate on refugee resettlement in the United States (Wong 2017). The responses were somewhat evenly divided among Independents and those with no political affiliation. In looking at other demographic categories, a clear gender disparity existed, with 62% of females in favor of resettlement compared to 45% of males. The results also show that respondents with higher levels of income and formal education tend to be more supportive. Among respondents with a bachelor's degree or higher, over 60% were supportive, in comparison to 37% with a high school diploma or only some college. Additionally, respondents with incomes over $50,000 tended to be more supportive. Responses were evenly split across religions, with the noticeable exception of those who reported no religious affiliation.

As part of the statistical analysis, chi-squared (χ^2) tests were performed to examine the relationships between support for resettlement and each of the seven individual respondent categories. The null hypothesis (H_0) of no relationship between the two sets of variables was rejected if there was a .05 alpha level or lower probability that the findings were due to chance. Across all seven respondent categories, there was very strong evidence against the null hypothesis for both political affiliation: $\chi^2(6) = 63.08$,

$p<.001$ and education level: $\chi^2(6) = 20.33$, $p=.002$, revealing statistically significant relationships between individual responses and these two categories. While the hypothesis testing showed moderate evidence against the null hypothesis for the gender, age, and income categories, there was little or no real evidence against the null hypothesis for the race and religion categories.

Public Support in Saskatchewan

Compared to Montana, the survey results in Saskatchewan show a higher level of public support (61%), with 35% of respondents stating they oppose refugee resettlement and only 4% undecided. As shown in Table 10, these results are mostly consistent with other opinion polls in Canada, although Todd (2017) points out that a few of these national surveys have not used the exact same wording when asking about public attitudes toward refugees. For example, while most surveys ask if the participant supports or opposes refugee resettlement, some surveys simply ask participants if they believe Canada is accepting too many or too few refugees. Still, he argues these types of questions have similar intent and help to answer an elusive question with constantly changing results. As with polling in the United States, the level of Canadian public support for refugee resettlement was substantially lower after the November 2015 terrorist attacks in Paris before it gradually increased in 2016 and 2017.

Table 10

Canadian public opinion polling comparison

	Support	**Oppose**	**Undecided**	**Dates**
Current study	61%	35%	4%	September 2017
Ipsos Group	65%	25%	10%	November 2017
Environics Institute	58%	36%	5%	October 2016
IRCC – government poll	60%	30%	10%	August 2016

Table 10 (continued)

Forum Research, Inc.	48%	44%	8%	December 2015
Angus Reid Institute	42%	54%	5%	November 2015

In a breakdown of the survey results in Saskatchewan by individual respondent categories (Table 11), several findings stand out. Notably, all age categories supported refugee resettlement at rates exceeding 50%, with the exception of older respondents, 65 and over, of whom only 43% were supportive. Also, the percentage of those who support resettlement in the province increased with each income level, ranging from 33% in the lowest category to 82% in the highest category. While the moderately conservative majority Saskatchewan party was fairly divided on this issue, those with more liberal political ideologies, such as the New Democratic Party, Saskatchewan Liberal Association, and Green Democratic Party, supported resettlement at rates exceeding 80%. Similar to Montana, females (62%) supported refugee resettlement at a higher rate than males (57%). Three-fourths (76%) of those with a bachelor's degree or higher were supportive, compared to only 37% with a high school diploma or lower education level. Additionally, most ethnic and religious respondent categories showed results mirroring the overall level of support, apart from native populations (First Nations, Métis, Inuk), of whom a majority opposed refugee resettlement in Saskatchewan.

Table 11

Support for resettlement in Saskatchewan

Q1. Do you support or oppose the resettlement of refugees in Saskatchewan?			
	Support	**Oppose**	**Undecided**
Male	91	61	7
Female	72	38	5
White	150	90	10
Black	3	0	0

Table 11 (continued)

First Nations, Métis, Inuk	2	4	1
Chinese	0	0	1
Japanese	1	0	0
Korean	0	0	0
Filipino	0	0	0
Southeast Asian	0	0	0
South Asian	3	2	0
West Asian	0	0	0
Arab	0	0	0
Latin American	11	4	0
Other	2	1	0
18-34	39	13	6
35-49	47	28	4
50-64	57	29	2
65 and over	25	33	0
Less than high school	2	1	0
High school diploma or equivalent	29	44	4
Postsecondary certificate or degree	36	28	3
Bachelor's degree	67	19	3
Graduate degree or higher	29	7	1
Saskatchewan Party	70	63	4
New Democratic Party	42	8	2
Saskatchewan Liberal Association	5	0	0
Green Party of Saskatchewan	7	0	1
Progressive Conservative Party	2	3	0
Western Independent Party	3	0	1
None	39	25	4
Other	0	0	0
Christian	107	64	5
Jewish	0	0	0
Muslim	0	0	0
Hindu	3	2	0
Buddhist	0	0	1
None	55	33	6
Other	0	0	0
Less than $24,999	5	8	2
$25,000 to $49,999	50	34	4
$50,000 to $74,999	49	34	1
$75,000 to $99,999	35	14	4
$100,000 or more	18	4	0

Much like the findings in Montana, the chi-squared tests of the Saskatchewan results also show very strong evidence against the null hypothesis between refugee resettlement support and both the respondent's educational level, $\chi^2(8) = 31.50$, $p<.001$

and political affiliation, $\chi^2(12) = 25.89$, p=.004. The statistical calculations also reveal very strong evidence against the null hypothesis for two additional respondent categories, religion, $\chi^2(6) = 24.14$, p<.001 and age, $\chi^2(6) = 22.32$, p=.001. Accordingly, in all four of these instances, the null hypothesis of no statistically significant relationship between the variables can be rejected. For the remaining three individual respondent categories, the tests show moderate evidence against the null hypothesis for income level and little or no real evidence to reject the null hypothesis for the gender and ethnicity categories.

A comparison of the support for refugee resettlement in each of the four study area communities is shown in Figure 7. In the Montana locations, respondents in Missoula reported higher levels of support and lower levels of opposition compared to those in Helena. Likewise, in the Saskatchewan locations, respondents in Swift Current reported higher levels of support and lower levels of opposition than those in Moose Jaw. The smaller communities displayed results at the two extremes, with the highest level of support in Swift Current and highest level of opposition in Helena. Additionally, the disparity between levels of support and opposition was nearly twice as large in Saskatchewan compared to Montana. Also, of note, while the percentage of undecided respondents was divided equally between the two Canadian locations, more respondents were undecided on this issue in Helena compared to Missoula.

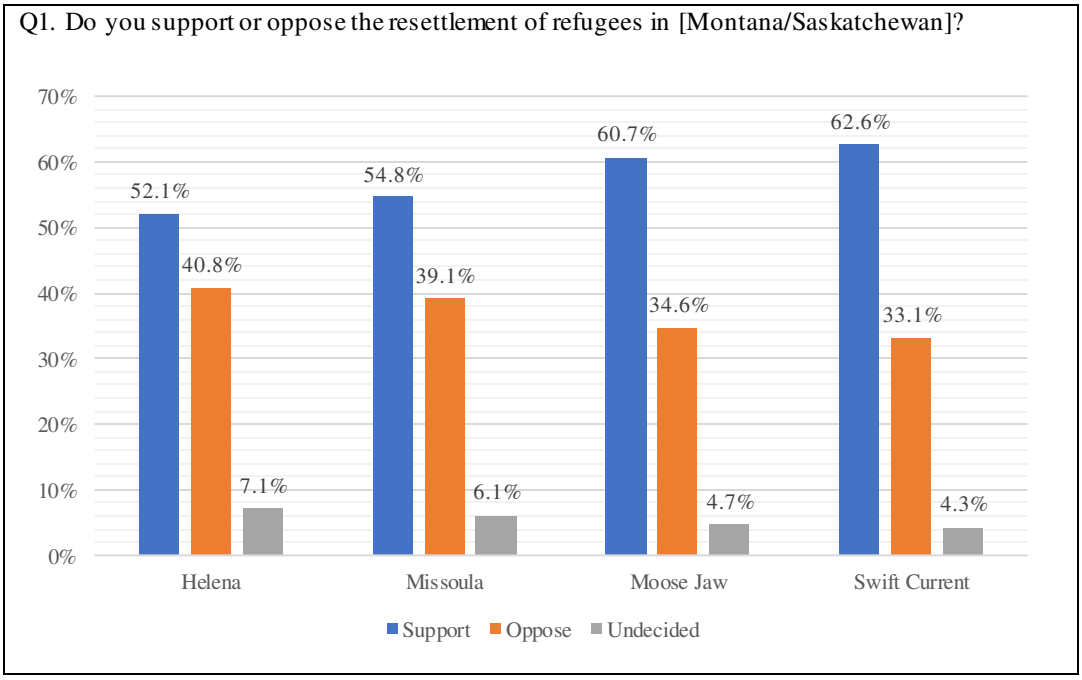

Figure 7. Level of support for refugee resettlement

After selecting a response to the opening survey question, participants were then asked to list the primary reason they either supported or opposed refugee resettlement. The questionnaire contained a branched feature to allow the participant to skip to question 1A or 1B based on their previous response. The answer set for question 1A included five commonly listed reasons for support used in other survey questionnaires and opinion polls, including: national duty; humanitarian reasons; moral or religions obligation; to add diversity to the community; or to help the local economy. An "other" category was also provided so that respondents could enter a different reason for their support. Likewise, question 1B listed five common reasons for opposing resettlement, including: cultural, religious, or language differences; will take jobs away from current residents; will cost taxpayers money; increased security threat; or that refugees should be

resettled elsewhere. As with the first part of this branched question, an "other" option was also provided.

In Montana, the most frequently listed reason for supporting refugee resettlement was "humanitarian reasons" (Figure 8). This response was the primary reason selected across all 35 individual respondent categories, with the exception of Asian and Hispanics who ranked "national duty" highest. Subsequently, "national duty" and "moral or religious obligations" ranked second and third respectively, followed by "to add diversity to the community." Of note, not one respondent asserted that refugee resettlement would help the local economy. In looking comparatively at the two Montana study area communities, respondents in Helena were more likely to select "moral or religious obligations" or "to add diversity to the community" whereas "national duty" ranked higher in Missoula. In addition, a higher percentage of females selected "moral or religious obligations" as their main reason for support, while respondents over the age of 50 were more likely to support resettlement because it is a national duty.

In comparison, "national duty" was the top reason listed for supporting refugee resettlement in Saskatchewan, while "humanitarian reasons" ranked second. After these selections, the third most common response was "moral and religious obligations," while "to add diversity to the community" received less than six percent of total. As with the results in Montana, none of the participants in Saskatchewan selected "to help the local economy" as their primary reason for supporting refugee resettlement in the province. The rankings of the five response options were the same in the two study area communities, although a slightly higher percentage chose "national duty" in Moose Jaw, while "to add diversity to the community" received more responses in Swift Current.

Across all 44 individual respondent categories, higher income respondents were more likely to select "humanitarian reasons" in comparison to those in the lower income categories, who more frequently selected "moral or religious obligations." Likewise, "to add diversity to the community" received a higher percentage of responses from those with a college degree or higher.

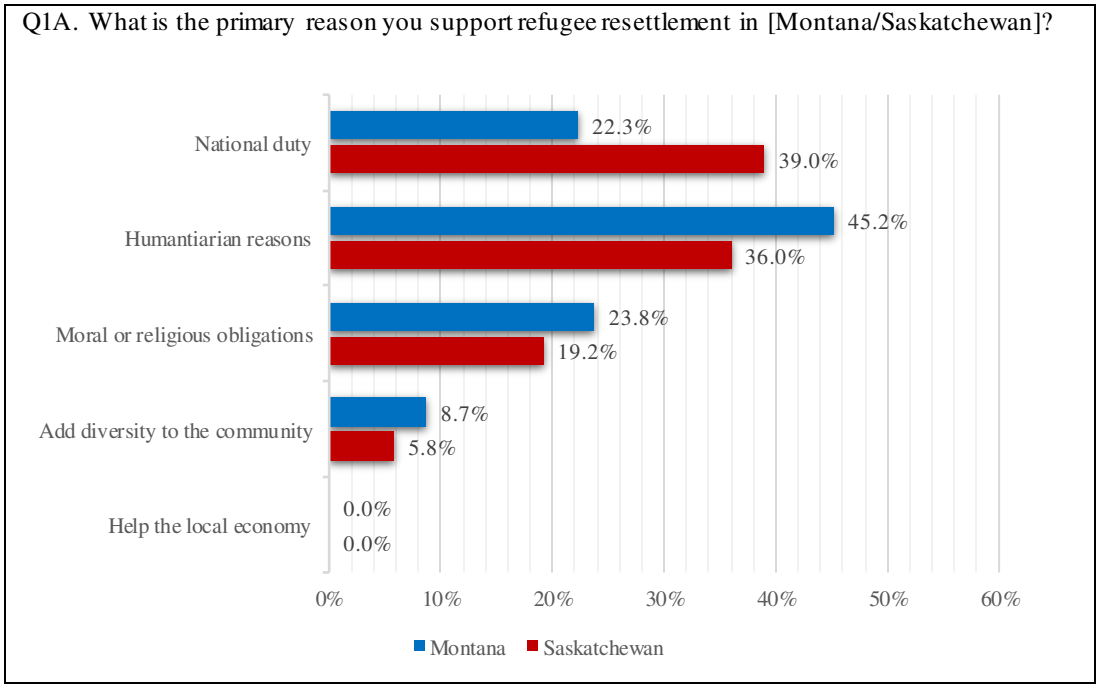

Figure 8. Primary reasons for refugee resettlement support

Looking at the main reasons why Montanans oppose resettlement (Figure 9), survey respondents selected an "increased security threat" by a wide margin. In fact, across all 35 individual response characteristics, there were only three exceptions where "increased security threat" was not selected as the primary reason for opposition. This included younger participants between the ages of 18 and 34, those without a religious affiliation, and individuals with a household income between $25,000 and $49,000. In all three instances, the primary reason selected was that "refugees should be resettled

elsewhere." After increased concerns about security, males were also equally divided between resettling refugees elsewhere and "cultural, religious, or language differences." Two reasons provided in the answer set, "will take jobs away from current residents" and "will cost taxpayers money" only received two responses respectively. In both Montana study area communities, a majority of respondents reported that an "increased security threat" was the primary reason they opposed resettlement. The largest disparity between the two locations was that twice as many Missoulians felt that refugees should be resettled elsewhere.

Although not receiving a majority of responses, an "increased security threat" was also the primary reason selected for opposing refugee resettlement in Saskatchewan. "Cultural, religious, or language differences" and "should be resettled elsewhere" followed this selection and combined received half of all responses. As with the results in Montana, "will cost taxpayers money" and "will take jobs away from existing residents" received the fewest number of selections. A higher number of respondents in Moose Jaw selected "should be resettled elsewhere" and "cultural, religious, or language differences" in comparison to those from Swift Current who selected "increased security threat" and "will cost taxpayers money" more frequently. Across the individual respondent characteristics, males, lower income, and older respondents were more likely to select an "increased security risk." Furthermore, females, most ethnic minorities, and those with a bachelor's degree or higher were more likely to select "should be resettled elsewhere" as their primary reason for opposition.

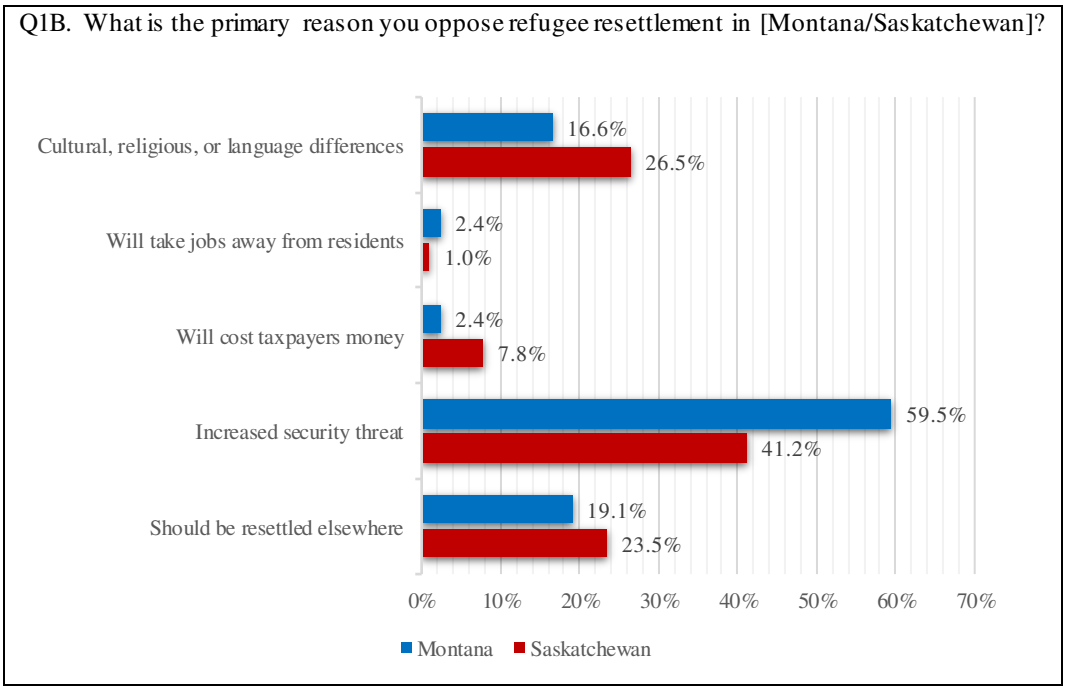

Figure 9. Primary reasons for refugee resettlement opposition

Security Concerns and Rural Areas

Survey questions two and three were designed to collect ranked data as part of the effort to cross-tabulate responses by levels of knowledge and intergroup contact. As such, participants were asked to rank their level of agreement with a series of statements on a five-point scale. The answer set allowed participants to either completely agree or disagree, somewhat agree or disagree, or indicate they were not sure about the statement. While question two referenced several concerns related to specifically to perceptions of insecurity, question three emphasized refugee resettlement issues unique to rural areas. The aggregate results for both Montana (MT) and Saskatchewan (SK) are presented side-by-side in Tables 12 and 13, which show both the percentage and actual number of responses.

Table 12

Security concerns ranked data

Q2. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements on a scale from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree).	**Completely disagree**		**Somewhat disagree**		**Not sure**		**Somewhat agree**		**Completely agree**	
	MT	SK	MT	SK	MT	SK	MT	SK	MT	SK
I consider myself to be knowledgeable about refugee issues	2% 6	1% 3	11% 36	10% 28	32% 101	30% 86	45% 141	53% 151	10% 32	6% 16
I am confident in the refugee resettlement screening process	16% 52	8% 21	20% 61	26% 74	22% 70	24% 67	30% 94	37% 105	12% 36	5% 15
Refugees resettlement will make the country a more dangerous place	16% 51	8% 21	22% 70	34% 97	24% 74	24% 69	24% 73	28% 79	14% 44	6% 17
It is likely that a terrorist could infiltrate the resettlement program	16% 51	12% 34	22% 67	32% 90	25% 79	19% 53	22% 69	29% 82	15% 45	8% 23

The responses to question two displayed a similar pattern in both Montana and Saskatchewan. In response to the first statement, a majority in both locations considered themselves to be either somewhat or completely knowledgeable about refugee issues, with a small minority in disagreement. A fairly even split was apparent for the remaining three statements, particularly with the number of respondents who were not sure about their level of agreement. For the second statement, 42% of respondents in both Montana and Saskatchewan agreed that they are confident in the refugee resettlement screening process. Montana respondents were evenly split on statements three and four with an almost equal percentage in agreement and disagreement. In comparison, those from Saskatchewan were more apt to disagree with the notion that refugee resettlement will make the country a more dangerous place and that a terrorist could infiltrate the program. More than four in ten respondents in Saskatchewan either somewhat or completely disagreed with these two statements.

Table 13

Rural areas ranked data

Q3. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements on a scale from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree).	**Completely disagree**		**Somewhat disagree**		**Not sure**		**Somewhat agree**		**Completely agree**	
	MT	SK	MT	SK	MT	SK	MT	SK	MT	SK
Montana/Saskatchewan is a good place to resettle refugees	9% 29	7% 19	19% 58	25% 71	31% 98	30% 84	32% 99	35% 101	9% 28	3% 8
Refugees should be resettled in large urban areas	6% 17	2% 5	19% 59	22% 62	53% 165	50% 141	18% 57	26% 72	4% 12	<1% 1
Refugees can integrate more easily in smaller rural communities	13% 39	6% 16	18% 57	27% 76	49% 152	36% 101	18% 55	29% 80	2% 8	2% 6
Montana/ Saskatchewan residents are welcoming of outsiders	2% 7	1% 2	9% 28	13% 36	26% 81	34% 96	48% 149	48% 137	15% 48	4% 11

The response pattern to question three differed somewhat in comparison to question two, as more respondents in both locations expressed uncertainty about the four statements. Although three in ten were not sure if their state or province is a good place to resettle refugees, respondents were more likely to agree with this statement rather than disagree. A majority in both locations were unsure if refugees should be resettled in large urban areas, although a higher percentage of respondents in Saskatchewan agreed with this statement. Only 20% of Montanans agreed either somewhat or completely that refugees can integrate more easily in smaller communities, while one-half were not sure about this statement. Comparatively, those in Saskatchewan were more evenly divided in their response to this question, with over 30% in both agreement and disagreement. In a large disparity between study area locations, a higher percentage of those in Montana

(63%) believed that most people in their state are welcoming of outsiders, whereas just over one-half felt the same way in Saskatchewan.

Area of Origin and Religious Affiliation

All survey participants were next asked a two-part question focusing on the area of origin of individual refugees. Specifically, question four asked if refugees from some parts of the world present more of a security concern. If respondents selected "yes" to this question, they were then asked to select which geographical locations present a security concern from a listing of the following regions: Sub-Saharan Africa, South and East Asia, Middle East/North Africa, Latin America Caribbean, Eastern Europe/Former Soviet Union, and Australia/Oceania. Respondents were permitted to select more than one region and an "other" category was provided as part of the answer set. If the participant answered "no" to question four, they were instructed to skip to question five. The responses to this question are shown in a frequency table (Table 14) distributed across all individual respondent categories in both study areas.

Table 14

Refugee area of origin

Q4. Do refugees from some parts of the world present more of a security concern?

Montana	**Yes**	**No**	**Saskatchewan**	**Yes**	**No**
Male	70	94	Male	66	93
Female	46	105	Female	52	63
White	107	171	White	107	143
Black or African-American	2	6	Black	0	3
American Indian or Alaska Native	5	5	First Nations, Métis, Inuk	5	2
Asian	0	5	Chinese	0	1
Two or more races	4	9	Japanese	1	0
Some other race	0	0	Korean	0	0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	5	17	Filipino	0	0
---	---	---	Southeast Asian	0	0
---	---	---	South Asian	1	4
---	---	---	West Asian	0	0

Table 14 (continued)

---	---	---	Arab	0	0
---	---	---	Latin American	4	11
---	---	---	Other	2	1
18-34	27	35	18-34	17	41
35-49	29	42	35-49	34	45
50-64	34	58	50-64	35	53
65 and over	33	51	65 and over	35	23
Less than high school	0	0	Less than high school	2	1
High school diploma or equivalent	24	22	High school diploma or equivalent	45	32
Some college or associate's degree	40	52	Postsecondary certificate or degree	31	36
Bachelor's degree	38	66	Bachelor's degree	24	65
Graduate degree or higher	22	43	Graduate degree or higher	14	23
Republican	45	40	Saskatchewan Party	69	68
Democratic	22	72	New Democratic Party	14	38
Independent	40	63	Saskatchewan Liberal Association	1	4
None	5	25	Green Party of Saskatchewan	3	5
Other	0	0	Progressive Conservative Party	3	2
---	---	---	Western Independent Party	0	4
---	---	---	None	36	32
---	---	---	Other	0	0
Christian	89	115	Christian	81	95
Jewish	2	1	Jewish	0	0
Muslim	0	0	Muslim	0	0
Hindu	0	0	Hindu	1	4
Buddhist	0	0	Buddhist	0	1
None	33	68	None	36	58
Other	1	1	Other	0	0
Less than $24,999	15	14	Less than $24,999	8	7
$25,000 to $49,999	35	44	$25,000 to $49,999	37	51
$50,000 to $74,999	34	54	$50,000 to $74,999	38	46
$75,000 to $99,999	24	42	$75,000 to $99,999	20	33
$100,000 or more	16	29	$100,000 or more	7	15

In Montana, 37% of respondents stated that refugees from certain geographic locations constituted more of a security threat. Of note, males (43%) were much more likely than females (30%) to answer "yes" to this question. Responses were fairly consistent across age group categories, with participants 18-34 reporting the highest positive response rate. More than one-half of those with only a high school diploma or equivalent felt that refugees from certain areas were more of a security threat, compared

with 34% of those with a graduate degree or higher. As with general support for refugee resettlement in Montana, the greatest disparity was attributed to political affiliation. Almost 53% of Republicans responded positively to this question in comparison to 31% of Democrats and 39% of Independents. Additionally, those with lower incomes were more likely to agree with this statement than respondents in the higher income categories. In the two study area locations (Figure 10), participants in Helena reported higher rates of concern than those in Missoula.

In Saskatchewan, 43% of respondents agreed that refugees from some parts of the world present more of a security concern. In a comparison of responses by gender, males agreed at the same rates as their counterparts in Montana (42%), while females in Saskatchewan were much more likely to answer "yes" to this question (45%) than their southern neighbors (30%). Also, unlike in Montana, those in the oldest age group category, 65 and over, were most likely to agree (60%), while the youngest respondents, age 18 to 34, were least likely to answer the same way. Politically, those in the majority Saskatchewan Party were evenly split in their responses, while only 27% of those in the opposition New Democratic Party agreed. Responses by religious affiliation were comparable to those in Montana, with 46% of Christians in agreement. Among income categories, over one-half of respondents with the lowest incomes agreed compared to 32% of those with the highest incomes. Of all study area communities, residents of Swift Current had the highest positive response rate, with almost one-half answering "yes" to this question.

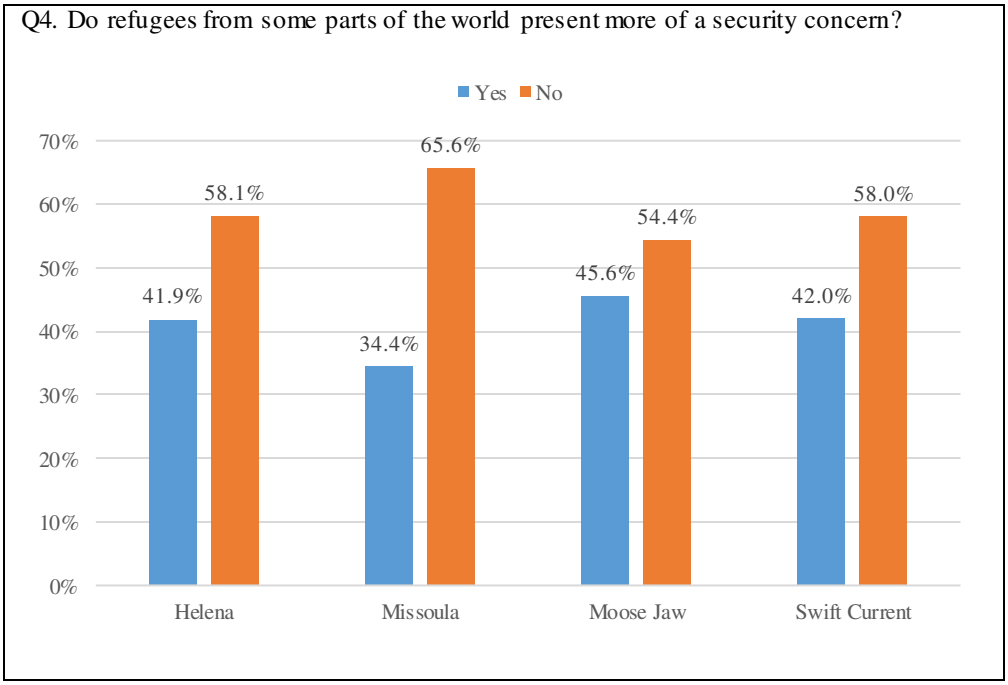

Figure 10. Security concerns and area of origin

Survey participants answering "yes" to question four were then asked to select the geographical areas from which refugees present more of a security concern. Those who answered "no" were directed to skip to the next question. As expected, the highest level of concern centered around refugees relocating from the Middle East and North Africa, with over 90% of respondents in Montana and Saskatchewan selecting this response option (Figure 11). The results also demonstrated that Montanans are more likely to view refugees from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, as well as from South and East Asia, as security concerns in comparison to respondents from Saskatchewan. In contrast, refugees from Sub-Saharan Africa ranked higher among respondents from Canada as potential security concerns. Less than 5% of the participants selected refugees from "Australia/Oceania" and "Latin America/Caribbean" in response to this question. Because survey participants were allowed to select multiple locations, the percentage

shown in Figure 11 shows the total number of overall selections and does not equal 100%.

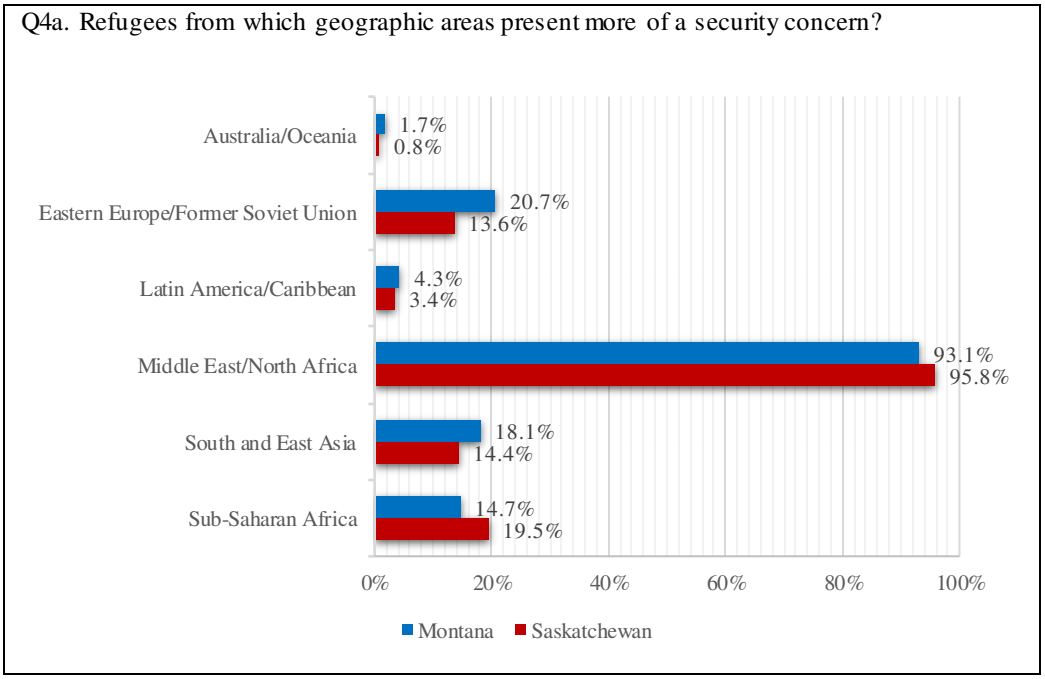

Figure 11. Security concerns by geographical area

Next, as part of the larger effort to find out how refugee resettlement influences perceptions of insecurity, survey participants were asked if refugees belonging to some religions constitute more of a security concern. For this branched question, respondents who answered "yes" were then asked to select which religious affiliations presented more of a security concern. The answer set contained a listing of five widely-held religious affiliations, including: Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Hindu, and Buddhist. It also contained an "other" category so respondents could list another religion. Also, for this question, respondents were permitted to select more than one answer. Respondents selecting "no" were directed to skip to the next question. The responses distributed across all seven

individual respondent categories in both Montana and Saskatchewan are shown in Table 15.

Table 15

Refugee religious affiliation

Q5. Do refugees belonging to some religions constitute more of a security concern?

Montana	**Yes**	**No**	**Saskatchewan**	**Yes**	**No**
Male	91	73	Male	73	86
Female	62	89	Female	59	56
White	133	145	White	118	132
Black or African-American	3	5	Black	0	3
American Indian or Alaska Native	7	3	First Nations, Métis, Inuk	5	2
Asian	1	4	Chinese	0	1
Two or more races	6	7	Japanese	1	0
Some other race	0	0	Korean	0	0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	9	13	Filipino	0	0
---	---	---	Southeast Asian	0	0
---	---	---	South Asian	2	3
---	---	---	West Asian	0	0
---	---	---	Arab	0	0
---	---	---	Latin American	7	8
---	---	---	Other	3	0
18-34	34	28	18-34	23	35
35-49	33	38	35-49	39	40
50-64	48	44	50-64	38	50
65 and over	41	43	65 and over	35	23
Less than high school	0	0	Less than high school	2	1
High school diploma or equivalent	25	21	High school diploma or equivalent	47	30
Some college or associate's degree	48	44	Postsecondary certificate or degree	34	33
Bachelor's degree	52	52	Bachelor's degree	32	57
Graduate degree or higher	31	34	Graduate degree or higher	14	23
Republican	56	29	Saskatchewan Party	71	66
Democratic	27	67	New Democratic Party	19	33
Independent	51	52	Saskatchewan Liberal Association	2	3
None	8	22	Green Party of Saskatchewan	3	5
Other	0	0	Progressive Conservative Party	3	2
---	---	---	Western Independent Party	0	4
---	---	---	None	34	34
---	---	---	Other	0	0
Christian	103	101	Christian	87	89
Jewish	2	1	Jewish	0	0
Muslim	0	0	Muslim	0	0
Hindu	0	0	Hindu	2	3

Table 15 (continued)

Buddhist	0	0	Buddhist	0	1
None	39	62	None	41	53
Other	1	1	Other	0	0
Less than $24,999	17	12	Less than $24,999	8	7
$25,000 to $49,999	40	39	$25,000 to $49,999	45	43
$50,000 to $74,999	44	44	$50,000 to $74,999	44	40
$75,000 to $99,999	29	37	$75,000 to $99,999	21	32
$100,000 or more	18	27	$100,000 or more	6	16

Montana survey participants were almost evenly split in responding to this question, with 49% believing that refugees from certain religions constituted more of a security threat. Males (55%) were more likely to hold this viewpoint about refugees in comparison to 41% of females. Those with a high school diploma or equivalent answered positively (54%) at higher rates than those with more formal levels of education. As with previous survey questions, respondents were highly divided along political party lines, with 66% of Republicans answering "yes" in comparison to 29% of Democrats. While Christians were equally divided in their responses, close to 40% of those with no religious affiliation answered "no" to this question. Additionally, those with incomes under $24,999 were most likely to respond positively to this question. As shown in Figure 12, survey participants in Helena showed higher rates of concern about the religious affiliations of refugees, while those in Missoula answered "no" at the highest rates in the four study area communities.

In Saskatchewan, 48% of respondents answered "yes" to this question, which was almost identical to the overall results in Montana. However, there were several noticeable differences between individual respondent characteristics. Notably, over one-half of females (51%) responded positively to this question in comparison to 46% of males. Also of note, 60% individuals in the oldest age category answered "yes" in comparison to only

40% of those between 18 and 34 years old. Respondents with lower levels of income and education also were most likely to answer affirmatively. While there was an even split among those with no political affiliation, 52% of those in the moderately conservative Saskatchewan Party answered "yes" in comparison to only 37% of respondents in the more liberal New Democratic Party. Similar to the results in Montana, Christians were almost equally split in their responses, while 44% of those with no religious affiliation answered "yes" to this question. In the two Canadian study area communities, residents of Moose Jaw responded positively at a slightly higher level than those in Swift Current (Figure 12).

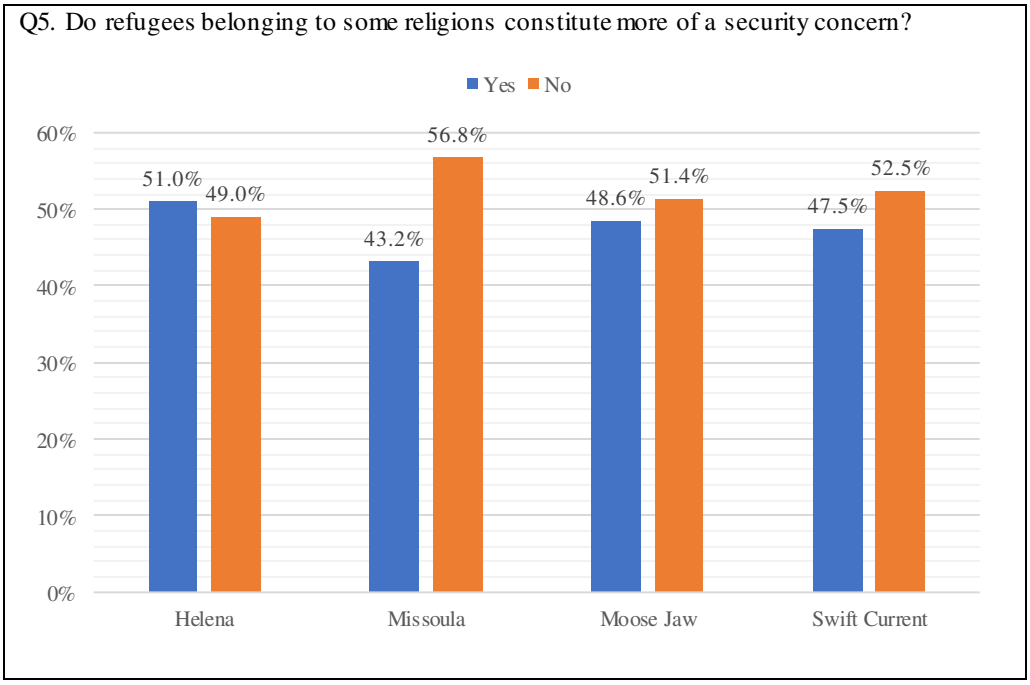

Figure 12. Security concerns and religious affiliation

Survey respondents who selected "yes" to question five were then asked to identify which religious affiliations constituted more of a security threat. The questionnaire contained a listing of five major world religions, as well as an "other"

response option to allow respondents to provide a different answer. Respondents were allowed to select more than one response to this question. Across all four study area communities the results were strikingly similar, with almost every respondent stating that Muslim refugees presented more of a security concern (Figure 13). In fact, only one individual in Montana and two in Saskatchewan who answered "yes" to question five did not select "Muslim" as the religious affiliation that presents a security concern. In comparison, the four remaining answer totals were negligible, with "Christian" and "Jewish" receiving the next highest totals in both countries. While no individuals in Montana selected the "other" response option, two respondents in Saskatchewan added "no religion" and "atheist" to their response selection. As with question 4a, survey participants could also select multiple response options to question 5a, so the percentage shown in Figure 13 does not equal 100%.

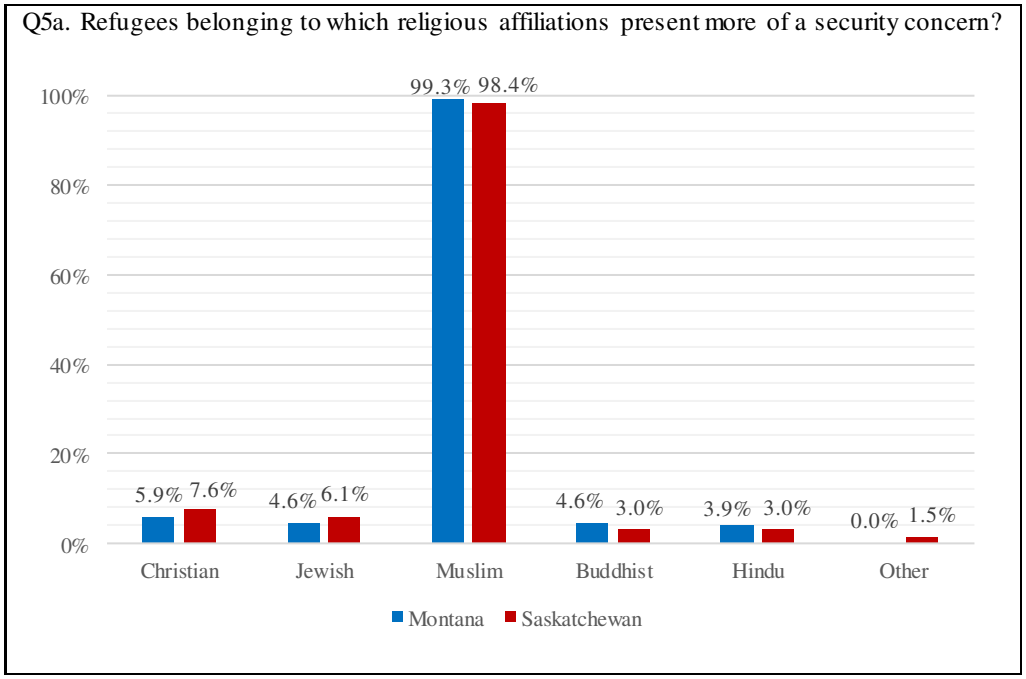

Figure 13. Security concerns by religion

Building upon the prior questions related to religious affiliation, all survey participants were asked if the country should prioritize Christian refugees. This topic gained national attention during the 2016 campaign cycle across the United States, with several candidates advocating for Christian refugees to receive preferential status during the resettlement screening process. As such, the religious of affiliation of refugees became a noteworthy point of discussion and part of the national debate surrounding resettlement. According to the survey results, 23% of respondents in Montana believed the United States should prioritize Christian refugees as part of the resettlement process, with a higher level of support for a religious preference in Helena compared to Missoula (Figure 14). In Saskatchewan, there was less support for prioritizing Christian refugees, with only 18% answering "yes" to this question. A higher percentage of respondents in Swift Current felt the country should prioritize Christian refugees. In both Montana and Saskatchewan, more individuals in the smaller of the two study area communities agreed with the idea of a religious preference for refugees.

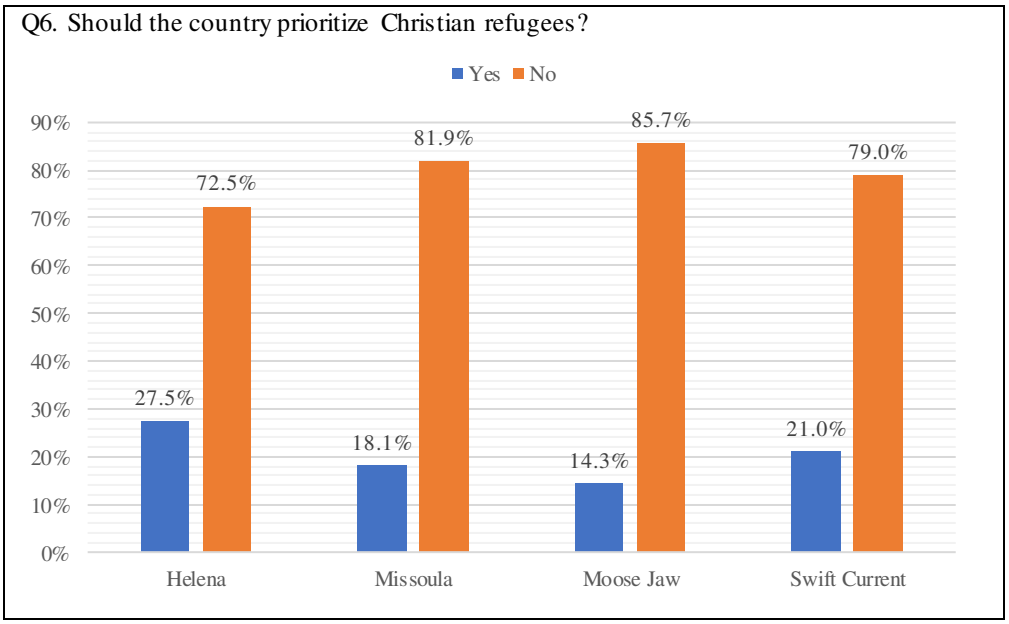

Figure 14. Support for prioritization of Christian refugees

Level of Knowledge

One of the unique features of this survey is that it contained a seven-question quiz to test the participant's knowledge about general refugee resettlement issues and concepts. The survey questions were developed using public outreach and educational information available from the UNHCR, fact sheets available on the websites of resettlement organizations, and studies conducted by national research institutes. Altogether, the seven survey questions on the quiz included three true-false and four multiple-choice questions. As scholars have pointed out, public opinion polls and surveys often assume a certain level of knowledge held by participants; however, that is not always the case (Crawley 2005). As such, performance on the quiz is cross-tabulated with each of the individual respondent characteristics, as well as the responses to other survey questions to examine how knowledge of refugee issues influences individual attitudes

toward resettlement in both Montana and Saskatchewan. A complete listing of all seven survey questions and answer sets is shown in Figure 15.

Q7. Posing as a refugee is one of the easiest ways to enter [the United States/Canada].
- ☐ True
- ☐ False

Q8. Some of the Syrian and Iraqi refugees who have been resettled in [the United States/Canada] have committed acts of terrorism here.
- ☐ True
- ☐ False

Q9. The annual number of resettled refugees in [the United States/Canada] has increased since 1980.
- ☐ True
- ☐ False

Q10. How many refugees do you think have been resettled in [Montana/Saskatchewan] during the past three years?
- ☐ More than 100
- ☐ 50 - 99
- ☐ 1 - 49
- ☐ 0

Q11. Which of the following acts of terrorism were carried out by refugees?
- ☐ 2013 Boston marathon bombing
- ☐ 2014 shootings at Parliament Hill, Ottawa
- ☐ 2015 coordinated attacks in Paris
- ☐ 2016 suicide bombings in Brussels
- ☐ None of the above

Q12. What is mean by the term asylum seeker?
- ☐ Someone who is born outside of the country where they are currently living
- ☐ Someone who moves to a country where they do not have citizenship
- ☐ Someone who has fled their country and intends to apply for refugee status
- ☐ Someone who leaves their native country to seek a better standard of living

Q13. What is the difference between an immigrant and a refugee?
- ☐ No difference, same concept
- ☐ Immigrants leave voluntarily and refugees are forced to leave
- ☐ Immigrants are allowed to stay and live in another country
- ☐ Immigrants are eligible for citizenship and refugees are not

Figure 15. Seven question survey quiz

Montana Quiz Results

In Montana, the overall mean number of correct answers was 4.3 on a seven-point scale. This translated to a 61% average score for the quiz, with a median score of 57%

and mode of five correct responses to the seven questions. There were 18 participants who answered all seven questions correctly, while eight failed to select any correct answers on the quiz. Participants with the highest levels of income and education ranked at the top of all 35 individual respondent categories with a 4.9 mean score, while those in the lowest income category ranked at the bottom. Female respondents scored slightly above the overall mean at (4.4), in comparison to males who scored just under (4.2). Politically, Independents had a higher mean score (4.3) than Democrats and Republicans. Those in the 50-64 age category had the highest mean score (4.4) among the four age group categories and participants who claimed no religion scored higher (4.8) than all other religious affiliations listed on the questionnaire with the exception of the "other" category. Across the two Montana study area locations, respondents in Helena had a slightly higher mean score (4.4) than those in Missoula (4.3). A complete listing of the quiz results across all 35 individual respondent categories is shown in Table 16.

Table 16

Montana quiz results summary

Montana quiz results

	0-1 correct responses	**2-3 correct responses**	**4-5 correct responses**	**6-7 correct responses**	**mean score**
Montana quiz results					
Male	19	37	77	31	4.2
Female	16	33	67	35	4.4
White	30	63	129	56	4.3
Black or African-American	1	3	1	3	4.0
American Indian or Alaska Native	1	3	4	2	4.6
Asian	0	1	4	0	4.4
Two or more races	2	2	6	3	4.4
Some other race	0	0	0	0	0.0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	2	6	11	3	4.3
18-34	12	17	19	14	3.9
35-49	11	13	30	17	4.1

Table 16 (continued)

50-64	7	23	41	21	4.4
65 and over	5	17	48	14	4.0
Less than high school	0	0	0	0	0.0
High school diploma or equivalent	12	12	14	8	3.9
Some college or associate's degree	12	21	41	18	4.3
Bachelor's degree	6	23	55	20	4.9
Graduate degree or higher	4	12	31	18	4.9
Republican	9	20	37	19	4.1
Democratic	11	17	46	20	4.2
Independent	9	27	45	22	4.3
None	3	6	16	5	4.2
Other	0	0	0	0	0.0
Christian	24	53	87	40	4.3
Jewish	1	1	1	0	3.5
Muslim	0	0	0	0	0.0
Hindu	0	0	0	0	0.0
Buddhist	0	0	0	0	0.0
None	8	15	54	24	4.8
Other	0	0	1	1	5.0
Less than $24,999	7	7	9	6	3.4
$25,000 to $49,999	6	21	42	10	4.2
$50,000 to $74,999	10	23	39	16	4.6
$75,000 to $99,999	7	10	33	16	4.7
$100,000 or more	3	8	19	15	4.9

A chi-squared test of the results reveals little or no evidence of a relationship between performance on the quiz and any of the individual respondent characteristics. There is moderate evidence that education level is correlated with the number of questions answered correctly on the quiz, but it is not strong enough to reject the null hypothesis of no relationship. Likewise, the statistical calculations show suggestive evidence of relationships between the number of correct answers and both the respondent's age and income level, but not strong enough to be considered statistically significant. There is little to no evidence of a relationship between quiz performance and the respondent's gender, race, political party, and religious affiliation.

Saskatchewan Quiz Results

In comparison to Montana, respondents from Saskatchewan scored higher on the survey quiz. The overall mean number of correct answers was 4.7 on a seven-point scale, which equated to a 67% overall average score. The median score on the quiz was 66% with a mode of five questions answered correctly. Thirty people scored 100% on the quiz while only four did not answer a single question correctly. Males scored slightly higher than females, while those of Black, South Asian, and Chinese ethnicity all had a 5.0 mean score or higher. Respondents with the highest levels of education (5.2) and income (5.0) had the highest mean scores in each respective category, while those in the lowest categories had the lowest scores for income (3.5) and education (3.7). In looking at the two most common religion categories, those who claimed no religion scored slightly higher than Christian respondents. Those age 50-64 scored highest out of all age categories. Across the two study area locations, respondents in Swift Current had a slightly higher mean score (4.8) than those in Moose Jaw (4.6). A complete listing of the quiz results in Saskatchewan across all 44 individual respondent categories is shown below in Table 17.

Table 17

Saskatchewan quiz results summary

Saskatchewan quiz results

	0-1 correct responses	**2-3 correct responses**	**4-5 correct responses**	**6-7 correct responses**	**mean score**
Saskatchewan quiz results					
Male	5	18	94	42	4.7
Female	1	16	74	24	4.6
White	5	31	153	61	4.6
Black	0	0	2	1	5.3

Table 17 (continued)

First Nations, Métis, Inuk	1	5	1	0	3.4
Chinese	0	0	1	0	4.0
Japanese	0	0	1	0	5.0
Korean	0	0	0	0	0.0
Filipino	0	0	0	0	0.0
Southeast Asian	0	0	0	0	0.0
South Asian	0	0	3	2	5.4
West Asian	0	0	0	0	0.0
Arab	0	0	0	0	0.0
Latin American	0	6	6	3	4.7
Other	1	0	1	1	4.3
18-34	2	5	39	12	4.7
35-49	0	13	44	22	4.7
50-64	1	7	56	24	4.9
65 and over	3	12	32	11	4.2
Less than high school	0	1	2	0	3.7
High school diploma or equivalent	4	16	45	12	4.1
Postsecondary certificate or degree	0	11	41	15	4.6
Bachelor's degree	2	5	57	25	5.0
Graduate degree or higher	0	2	20	15	5.2
Saskatchewan Party	3	19	82	33	4.6
New Democratic Party	0	3	33	16	5.0
Saskatchewan Liberal Association	0	0	4	1	5.0
Green Party of Saskatchewan	0	0	7	1	4.6
Progressive Conservative Party	1	0	2	2	3.6
Western Independent Party	0	2	2	0	4.5
None	2	11	40	15	4.6
Other	0	0	0	0	0.0
Christian	5	25	108	38	4.6
Jewish	0	0	0	0	0.0
Muslim	0	0	0	0	0.0
Hindu	0	0	3	2	5.4
Buddhist	0	0	1	0	4.0
None	1	10	56	27	4.7
Other	0	0	0	0	0.0
Less than $24,999	2	4	9	0	3.5
$25,000 to $49,999	0	12	61	15	4.6
$50,000 to $74,999	2	11	48	23	4.7
$75,000 to $99,999	1	3	31	18	4.9
$100,000 or more	0	3	12	7	5.0

The chi-squared test of the results in Saskatchewan shows a similar pattern to the findings in Montana, with one notable exception. There is very strong evidence of a statistically significant relationship between quiz performance and the respondent's

income level, $\chi^2(12) = 26.85$, p=.008. Much like in Montana, there is moderate evidence of a correlation between educational level and the number of questions answered correctly on the quiz. However, the statistical evidence is not strong enough to reject the null hypothesis. As with the findings in Montana, there is little to no evidence of statistically significant relationships between quiz performance and any of the remaining individual respondent categories, which include: gender, ethnicity, age, political party, and religious affiliation.

Quiz Results by Question

Looking at the aggregate quiz results, a majority of respondents answered either four or five questions correctly. Overall, question eleven received the most number of correct answers in both locations, with the most respondents answering correctly that the four listed acts of terrorism were not carried out by refugees. Conversely, question nine was the most incorrectly answered, with a majority of respondents believing that the number of refugees resettled in the United States and Canada has increased since 1980. Also, it is noteworthy in question ten that the majority of respondents in Montana underestimated the number of refugees resettled in the state during the past three years. The results were generally consistent across both study area locations, with the frequency of correct answers following the same order for the multiple-choice questions. The responses to each question on the quiz are shown in Figures 16 through 22, with the correct answer highlighted.

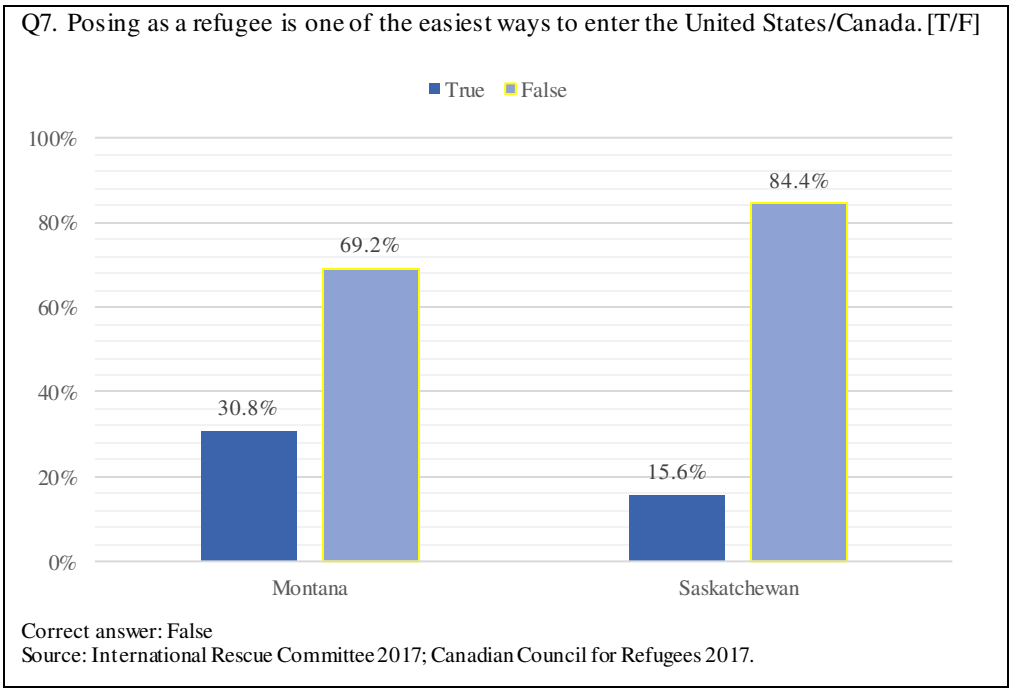

Figure 16. Survey quiz results for Question 7

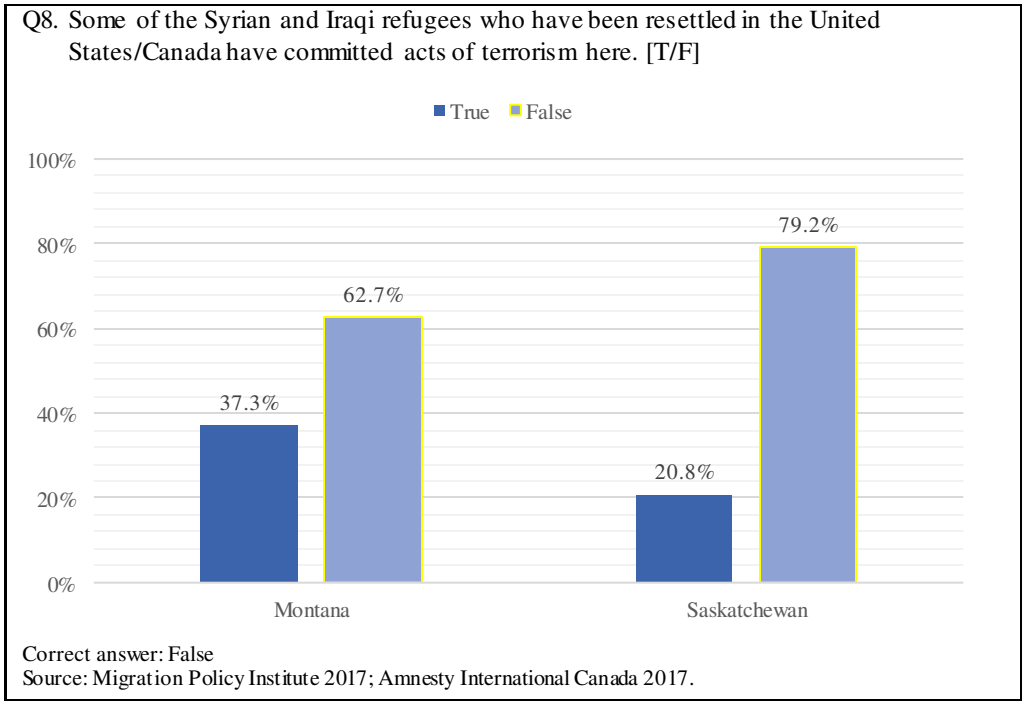

Figure 17. Survey quiz results for Question 8

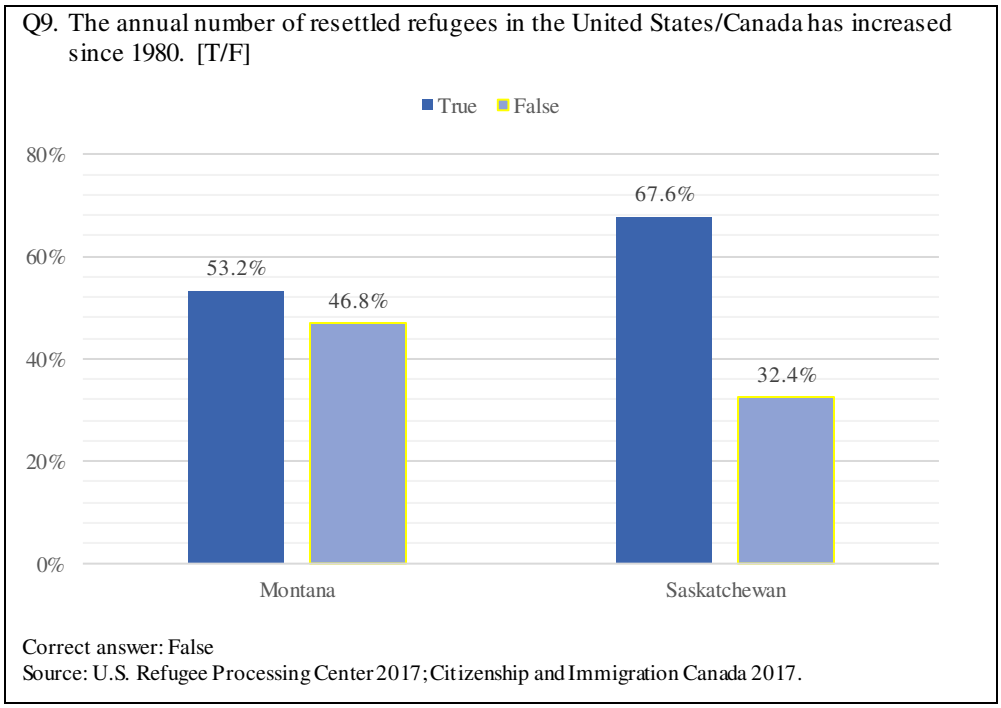

Figure 18. Survey quiz results for Question 9

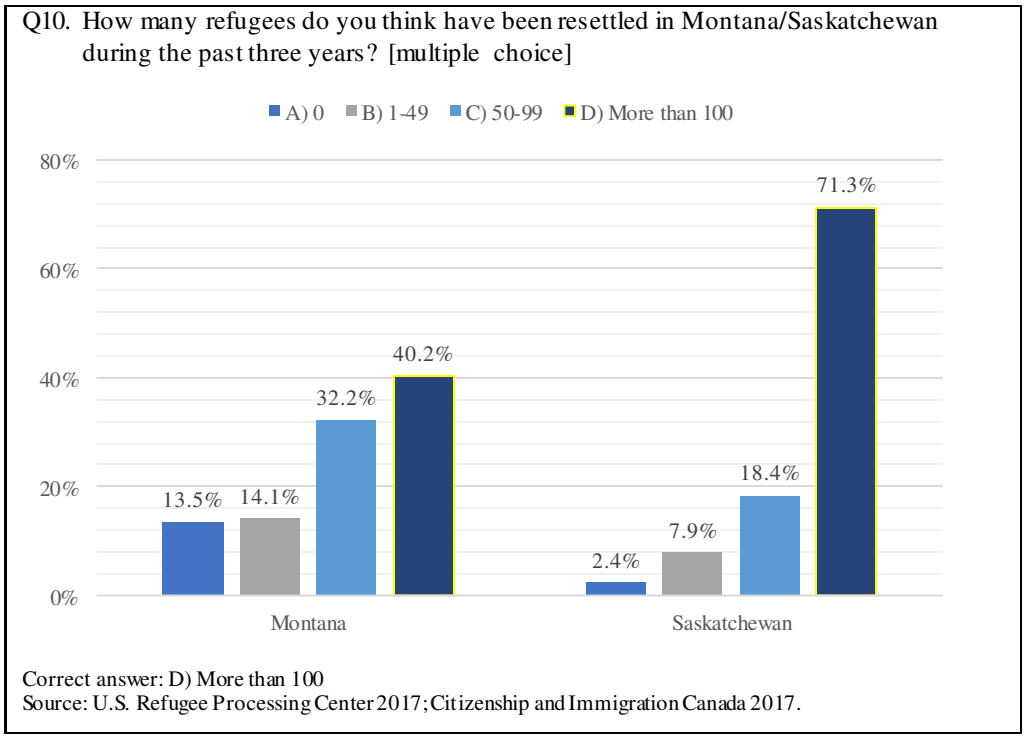

Figure 19. Survey quiz results for Question 10

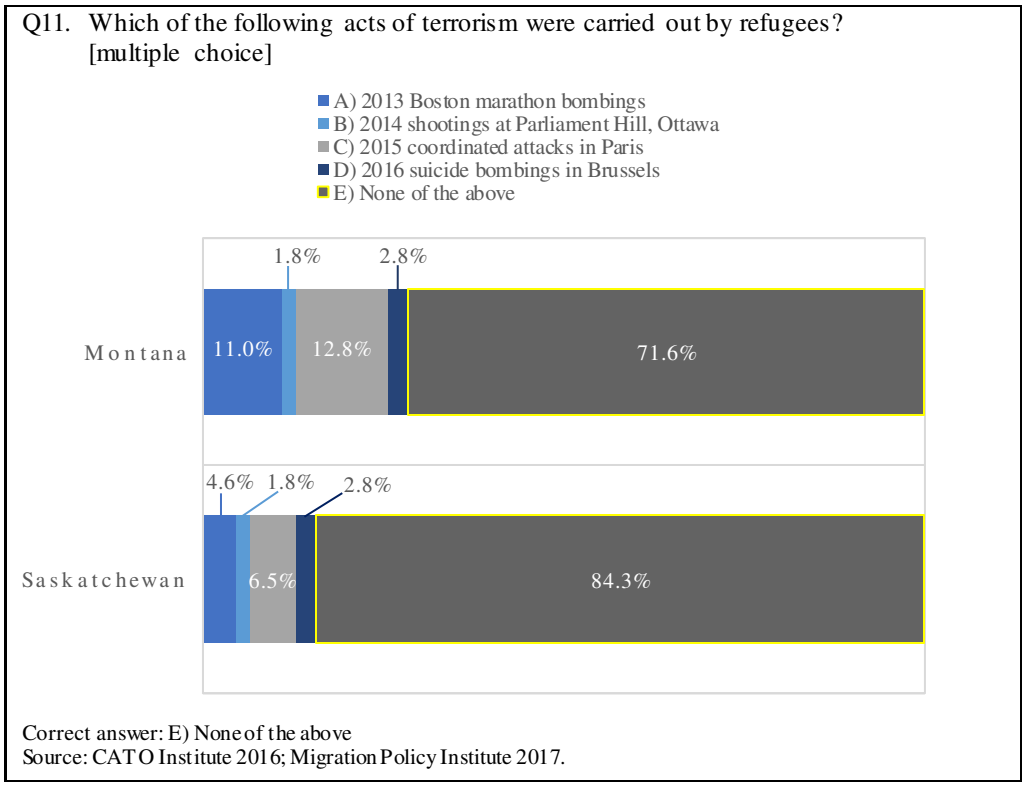

Figure 20. Survey quiz results for Question 11

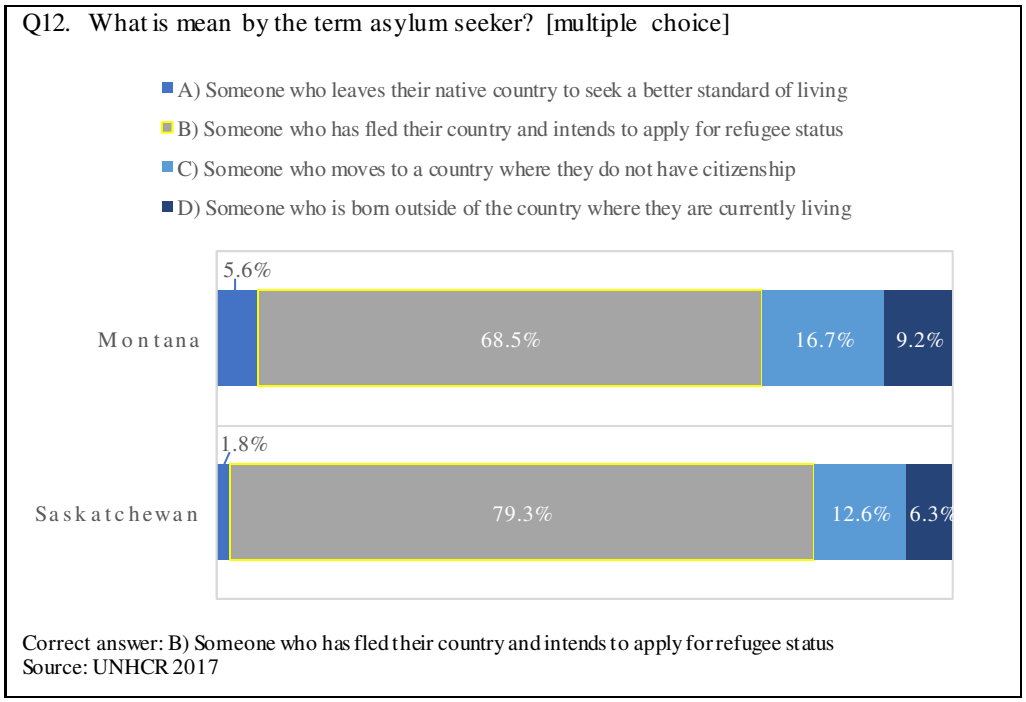

Figure 21. Survey quiz results for Question 12

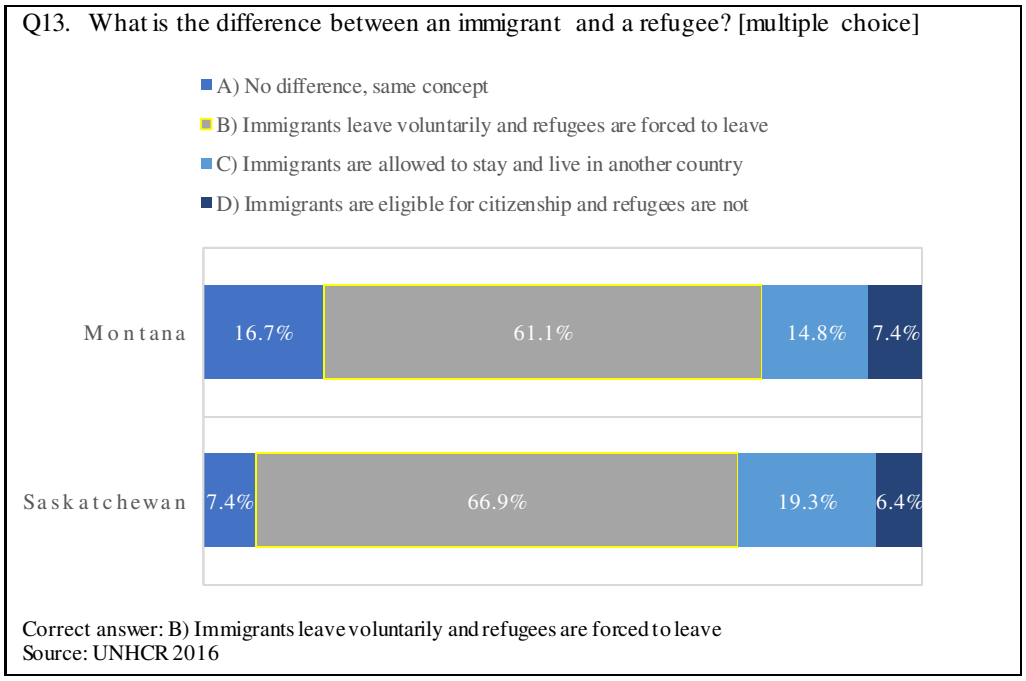

Figure 22. Survey quiz results for Question 13

The results across all four study area communities are summarized in Figure 23. Respondents in Swift Current had the highest mean quiz score and also the highest percentage of those answering six or all seven questions correctly. Those in Helena and Missoula had lower mean quiz scores and also a higher percentage with either zero or only one correct response.

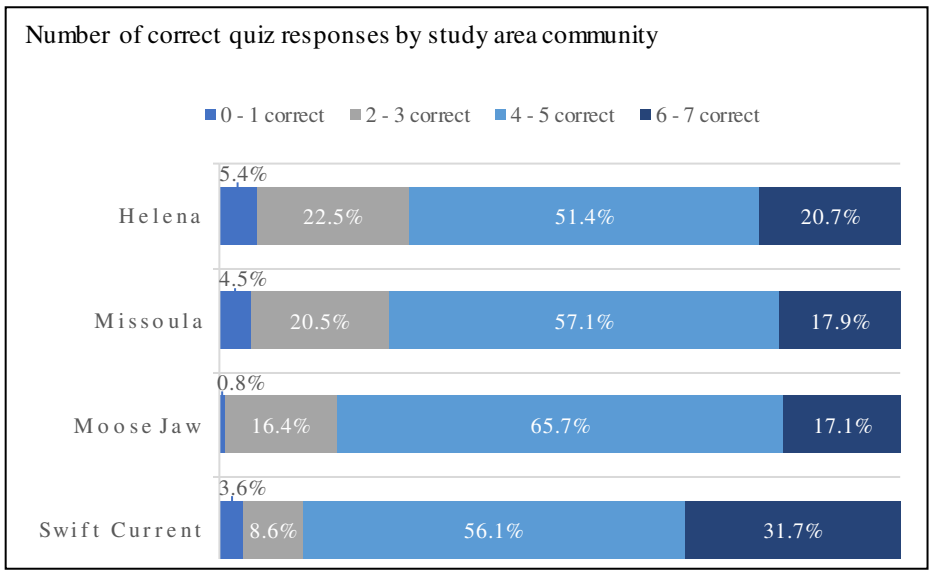

Figure 23. Survey quiz results by study area community

Cross-tabulation by Level of Knowledge

Next, in the larger effort to examine the relationship between the respondent's level of knowledge about refugee resettlement issues and individual questionnaire responses, each of the survey questions was cross-tabulated with the number of correct responses on the quiz. The questions are grouped by category, with the results for Montana shown in Table 18 and Saskatchewan in Table 19. To provide a comparative assessment by question, the different sections display the quiz results along with the mean quiz score for each response option.

Table 18

Cross-tabulation by level of knowledge in Montana

	0-1 correct responses	**2-3 correct responses**	**4-5 correct responses**	**6-7 correct responses**	**mean score**
I support refugee resettlement in Montana	11	26	86	44	4.9
I oppose refugee resettlement in Montana	19	41	51	16	3.9
I am undecided	5	3	7	6	4.5

Table 18 (continued)

I consider myself to be knowledgeable about refugees	Agree	6	44	96	27	4.4
	Disagree	8	13	14	7	3.9
I am confident in the refugee resettlement process	Agree	5	24	65	36	5.0
	Disagree	15	47	41	10	3.4
Resettlement will make the country more dangerous	Agree	16	46	51	4	3.4
	Disagree	7	11	69	34	4.9
It is likely a terrorist could infiltrate resettlement program	Agree	11	48	47	8	3.4
	Disagree	9	17	58	34	5.0
Montana is a good place to resettle refugees	Agree	7	9	68	43	5.1
	Disagree	5	39	34	9	3.5
Refugees should be resettled in large urban areas	Agree	8	19	30	12	4.0
	Disagree	9	13	34	20	4.3
Refugees can integrate more easily in smaller communities	Agree	6	6	30	21	5.2
	Disagree	12	37	39	8	3.7
Most Montana residents are welcoming of outsiders	Agree	9	36	112	40	4.4
	Disagree	4	18	11	2	3.7
Refugees from some locations present a security concern	Agree	27	41	37	11	3.8
	Disagree	8	29	101	47	4.8
Refugees from some religions present a security concern	Agree	26	47	66	14	3.6
	Disagree	9	23	68	47	5.0
The country should prioritize Christian refugees	Agree	14	29	20	7	3.7
	Disagree	21	35	118	53	4.4

As the results in Montana show, the public's general understanding of refugee resettlement issues is critical to whether they support resettlement or not, in addition to how refugee security concerns are perceived. In fact, the mean quiz score of 4.9 among supporters of refugee resettlement in the state was a full point higher than those in opposition. Also, notably, those who believed that refugee resettlement will make the country a more dangerous place and who felt that it is likely that a terrorist could inflate the resettlement program scored substantially lower on the quiz than those who disagreed with these statements. Another large disparity apparent on the quiz results was that respondents who believed that refugees can integrate more easily in smaller rural communities scored much higher on the quiz than those who disagreed. Also, those who felt that refugees from some parts of the world and some religions present more of a

security concern scored much lower than those who felt that opposite way. Likewise, those who thought the country should prioritize Christian refugees scored much lower on the quiz than those who disagreed.

While a noticeable gap in mean quiz scores is apparent between those who agreed and disagreed with almost every question in each section of the survey, two individual questions showed results that were much less pronounced. This included only a 0.3 mean score difference between those who believed that refugees should be settled in large urban areas and a 0.5 difference in whether respondents considered themselves to be knowledgeable about refugees. Unmistakably, those who agreed they were well-informed about refugees did indeed score a half-point higher than those who did not claim to feel this way. In addition, respondents who were undecided on whether they support refugee resettlement in Montana had a mean score of 4.5 on the quiz, which was 0.4 lower than those who were supportive and 0.6 higher than those who were opposed.

Table 19

Cross-tabulation by level of knowledge in Saskatchewan

		0-1 correct responses	**2-3 correct responses**	**4-5 correct responses**	**6-7 correct responses**	**mean score**
I support refugee resettlement in Sask.		2	12	110	48	4.9
I oppose refugee resettlement in Sask.		5	20	57	20	4.3
I am undecided		0	5	7	1	3.8
I consider myself to be knowledgeable about refugees	Agree	5	14	101	47	4.8
	Disagree	0	5	19	7	4.6
I am confident in the refugee resettlement process	Agree	2	8	70	40	5.0
	Disagree	5	22	52	16	4.1
Resettlement will make the country more dangerous	Agree	5	22	48	21	4.3
	Disagree	1	9	70	38	5.0
It is likely a terrorist could infiltrate resettlement program	Agree	5	27	56	17	4.1
	Disagree	1	9	76	38	5.0

Table 19 (continued)

Saskatchewan is a good place to resettle refugees	Agree	1	7	67	34	5.0
	Disagree	4	23	47	16	4.2
Refugees should be resettled in large urban areas	Agree	0	9	45	19	4.7
	Disagree	3	10	44	10	4.5
Refugees can integrate more easily in smaller communities	Agree	1	4	53	28	5.1
	Disagree	3	19	53	17	4.4
Most Saskatchewan residents are welcoming of outsiders	Agree	2	12	92	42	4.9
	Disagree	2	10	21	5	4.2
Refugees from some locations present a security concern	Agree	6	23	69	23	4.3
	Disagree	1	14	105	46	4.9
Refugees from some religions present a security concern	Agree	6	23	78	28	4.4
	Disagree	1	14	96	41	4.9
The country should prioritize Christian refugees	Agree	4	10	20	16	4.3
	Disagree	2	27	154	52	4.7

In Saskatchewan, the results of this cross-tabulation followed the same general pattern as in Montana, although there were fewer large disparities between those who agreed and disagreed. Of note, there were no mean score differences of more than one point to any question on the survey. The largest discrepancies were that respondents who agreed they are confident in the refugee resettlement process, in addition to those who disagreed it is likely that a terrorist could infiltrate the resettlement program had a 0.9 higher mean quiz score. Furthermore, those who agreed that Saskatchewan is a good place to resettle refugees scored 0.8 higher than those who disagreed, while respondents who believed that most residents are welcoming of outsiders scored 0.7 higher. Interestingly, the mean quiz score among those who support refugee resettlement in Saskatchewan was exactly the same (4.9) as in Montana. However, this was only 0.6 higher than those who oppose refugee resettlement in the province, whereas it was one point higher in Montana.

In further analysis of the survey quiz scores in Saskatchewan, several other findings stand out. Of all individual questions on the survey, the response option having

the lowest overall mean score (3.8) was among those who were undecided about resettlement in the province. In contrast, those who agreed that refugees can integrate more easily in smaller communities had a mean score of 5.1 on the quiz, which was highest among all response options listed on the questionnaire. It is noteworthy that in Montana, this response option also had the highest mean quiz score (5.2) among all categories. Finally, of all statements providing the option to agree or disagree, there was only a 0.2 difference between survey participants who considered themselves to be knowledgeable about refugees, with those in agreement scoring slightly higher than those who disagreed.

Level of Contact

A second feature unique to this survey was the inclusion of specific questions relating to intergroup contact with people from different ethnic backgrounds. As highlighted in previous immigration research, most studies on attitude formation do not include a measure of contact with others about whom the attitudes are being formed (Fetzer 2000, Sobczak 2010). As such, this section of the survey contained four questions to collect data on the participant's interaction with immigrants and refugees residing in their state or province. The focal point of this section, question 16, asked participants how often they interacted with people from a different ethnic background. The answer set provided five response options, including: never, a few times a year, monthly, weekly, and daily. As an added measure to examine intergroup contact, question 14 asked participants to rank their comfort level around people of a different ethnic background on a five-point scale, ranging from very uncomfortable to very comfortable. Additionally, question 15 inquired if the participant was aware of any immigrants or refugees living in

the community, and if so, how many of these individuals they knew by name. As a final measure of contact with different groups, question 17 asked if the participant had traveled outside of the county, and if so, to which continents.

Montana Contact Results

In examining the overall responses in Montana to question 16, only 3% of participants claimed they never interacted with people from different ethnic backgrounds, while just over 12% reported daily interaction. The two most common response categories were "a few times a year" and "monthly" which each received 31% of the total. A higher percentage of males claimed to have no interaction, while females (14%) were more likely to interact daily. Those with a high school diploma were most likely to have no interaction, whereas those with a bachelor's degree or higher claimed to have either weekly or daily interaction (40%). Older respondents, age 65 and over, had the highest rates of daily interaction in comparison to their younger counterparts, age 18 to 34, who had the lowest levels of daily contact. The top response category for both Republicans and Independents was "a few times a year," whereas 37% of Democrats claimed "weekly" as the leading category. Those in the two highest income categories had the highest rates of combined weekly and daily contact (15%) with people from different ethnic backgrounds. A complete listing of responses across all individual respondent characteristics is shown in Table 20.

Table 20

Level of contact in Montana

Q16. How often do you interact with people from a different ethnic background?

	Never	A few times a year	Monthly	Weekly	Daily
Male	9	57	51	29	18
Female	2	38	47	43	21
White	10	85	78	76	29
Black or African-American	0	0	4	2	2
American Indian or Alaska Native	1	4	1	4	0
Asian	0	0	2	2	1
Two or more races	0	2	5	3	3
Some other race	0	0	0	0	0
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	0	6	7	5	4
18-34	6	13	16	17	10
35-49	2	21	21	18	9
50-64	1	32	29	22	8
65 and over	2	22	26	22	12
Less than high school	0	0	0	0	0
High school diploma or equivalent	7	16	11	10	2
Some college or associate's degree	2	43	19	19	9
Bachelor's degree	0	34	25	28	17
Graduate degree or higher	2	12	19	21	11
Republican	4	24	21	23	13
Democratic	3	28	19	29	15
Independent	1	35	36	22	9
None	3	15	2	8	2
Other	0	0	0	0	0
Christian	7	67	61	45	24
Jewish	1	1	0	0	1
Muslim	0	0	0	0	0
Hindu	0	0	0	0	0
Buddhist	0	0	0	0	0
None	3	24	36	24	14
Other	0	1	1	0	0
Less than $24,999	4	7	6	5	7
$25,000 to $49,999	3	28	23	17	8

Table 20 (continued)

$50,000 to $74,999	1	30	29	18	10
$75,000 to $99,999	1	18	19	19	9
$100,000 or more	2	16	13	9	5

A chi-squared test of the responses to this question across all seven respondent categories in Montana reveals little or no relationship between the frequency of intergroup contact and race, age, religion, and income. For political affiliation, there is moderate evidence against the null hypothesis of no relationship between the two variables. However, the statistical analysis shows that two categories present very strong evidence against the null hypothesis. This includes gender: $\chi^2(4) = 15.23$, $p=.004$; and education level: $\chi^2(12) = 38.76$, $p<.001$. In these two instances, the null hypothesis of no statistically significant relationship between the variables can be rejected.

Saskatchewan Contact Results

The results for this question differed in Saskatchewan, most notably in that respondents reported more frequent contact with people from different ethnic backgrounds. Whereas the leading response category in Montana was "a few times a year" or "monthly," respondents in Saskatchewan selected "weekly" as the top response choice for this question, with 37% of the overall total. Unlike Montana, males reported higher levels of weekly and daily intergroup contact. Older survey participants had the lowest amounts of contact among the four age categories, with almost a quarter (24%) reporting they never have contact. Those with higher levels of formal education reported the highest percentages of weekly and daily intergroup contact. Christian respondents were more likely (21%) to have daily contact than those with no religion (13%), while respondents with no political affiliation had rates of daily contact similar to the majority

party (15%). Also, as with the Montana results, the higher income groups reported to higher rates of weekly and daily contact than the other categories, with a majority of respondents selecting either weekly or daily contact. A complete list is shown in the frequency table in Table 21.

Table 21

Level of contact in Saskatchewan

Q16. How often do you interact with people from a different ethnic background?

	Never	**A few times a year**	**Monthly**	**Weekly**	**Daily**
Male	12	18	45	57	27
Female	6	20	20	44	25
White	19	34	57	96	44
Black	0	0	1	0	2
First Nations, Métis, Inuk	0	3	0	2	2
Chinese	0	0	0	1	0
Japanese	0	0	0	1	0
Korean	0	0	0	0	0
Filipino	0	0	0	0	0
Southeast Asian	0	0	0	0	0
South Asian	0	0	3	0	2
West Asian	0	0	0	0	0
Arab	0	0	0	0	0
Latin American	0	1	3	6	5
Other	0	0	1	1	1
18-34	2	9	12	24	11
35-49	1	11	16	29	22
50-64	2	12	27	30	17
65 and over	14	8	11	20	5
Less than high school	0	0	1	1	1
High school diploma/equivalent	12	16	20	24	5
Postsecondary certificate/degree	4	11	19	21	12
Bachelor's degree	0	10	18	36	25
Graduate degree or higher	1	2	8	16	10
Saskatchewan Party	12	23	36	45	21
New Democratic Party	0	4	7	22	19
Saskatchewan Liberal Assoc.	0	0	1	4	0
Green Party of Saskatchewan	0	0	3	4	1
Progressive Conservative Party	0	3	0	2	0
Western Independent Party	0	1	0	1	2
None	7	8	19	24	10
Other	0	0	0	0	0

Table 21 (continued)

Christian	11	26	43	59	37
Jewish	0	0	0	0	0
Muslim	0	0	0	0	0
Hindu	0	0	3	0	2
Buddhist	0	0	0	1	0
None	7	12	21	40	14
Other	0	0	0	0	0
Less than $24,999	3	3	2	4	3
$25,000 to $49,999	7	16	25	27	13
$50,000 to $74,999	5	12	17	34	16
$75,000 to $99,999	2	5	15	20	11
$100,000 or more	1	1	7	8	5

Performing a chi-squared test of the results in Saskatchewan shows there is little or no real evidence of a relationship between the frequency of intergroup contact and gender, ethnicity, and income level. However, there is very strong evidence of statistically significant relationships between intergroup contact frequency and the remaining four respondent categories. These include: age, $\chi^2(12) = 43.30$, $p<.001$; education, $\chi^2(16) = 37.61$, $p=.001$; political party, $\chi^2(20) = 39.96$, $p=005$; and religion, $\chi^2(12) = 61.16$, $p<.001$. Based on these calculations, the null hypothesis of no relationship between these variables can be rejected in each of these four instances. An overall summary of the responses provided to this question is shown in Figure 24 to visibly highlight the higher frequency of intergroup contact reported in Saskatchewan compared to Montana.

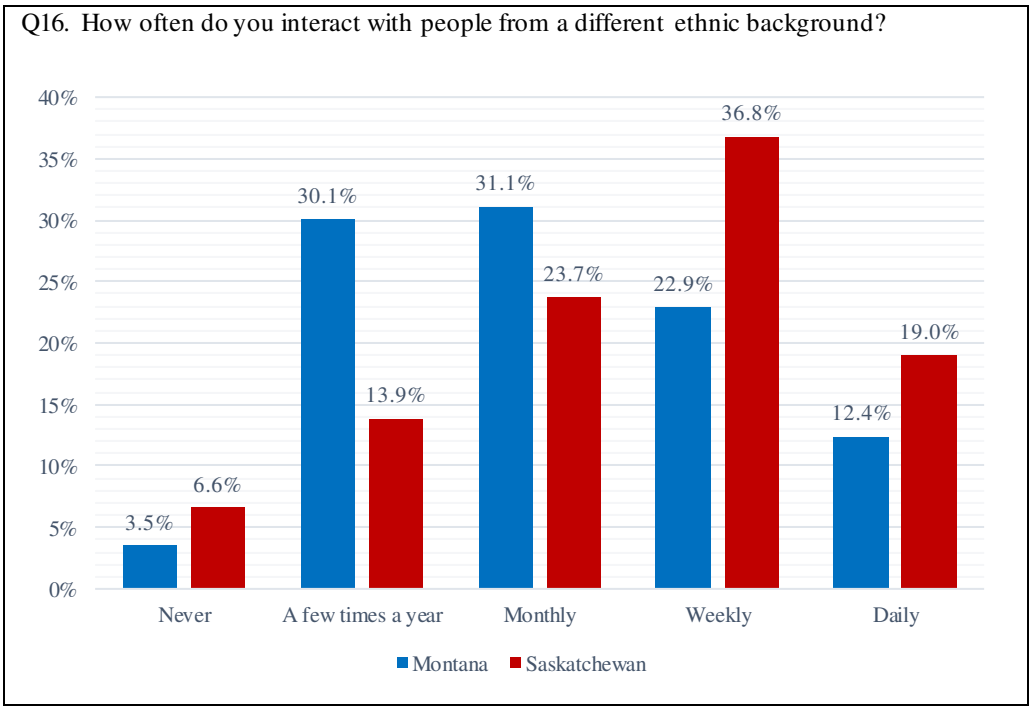

Figure 24. Comparison of intergroup contact frequency

Other Intergroup Contact Measures

Additionally, in this section of the questionnaire examining intergroup contact, survey participants were asked about their comfort level around individuals with different ethnicities, which was designed to be used in the cross-tabulations highlighting intergroup contact. Specifically, survey participants were asked in question 14 to rate their level of comfort around people of different ethnic backgrounds on a scale from one (very uncomfortable) to five (very comfortable). In looking at the aggregate results in both study area locations (Table 22), almost two-thirds of respondents in Saskatchewan claimed they were either somewhat or completely comfortable, in comparison to less than 58% of Montanans. Similarly, a higher percentage of respondents in Montana were either somewhat or very uncomfortable around people of different ethnic backgrounds.

Additionally, a higher percentage of Montana responded that they were not sure about how to rate their comfort level.

Table 22

Level of comfort

Q14. How would you rate your comfort level around people of a different ethnic background on a scale from 1 (very uncomfortable) to 5 (very comfortable)?

Very uncomfortable		**Somewhat uncomfortable**		**Not sure**		**Somewhat comfortable**		**Completely comfortable**	
MT	SK	MT	SK	MT	SK	MT	SK	MT	SK
1%	2%	11%	8%	30%	26%	42%	50%	16%	14%
4	7	31	22	89	75	126	139	47	39

Next, in the effort to collect meaningful intergroup contact data, question 15 asked survey participants if they knew of any immigrants or refugees living in their state or province. If respondents answered affirmatively, they were then asked how many immigrants or refugees they knew by name. Overall, more than one-half of the respondents in both Canadian study area communities answered yes to this question, while a majority answered no in the two American locations (Figure 25). At the two extremes, almost six in ten Helena residents stated they did not know of any immigrants living in the state, while just under 45% of those in Swift Current answered the same way. Overall, of the respondents in both locations who answered yes to this question, there was a range of zero to more than 50 individuals they claimed to know by name. In Montana, both the mode and median number of immigrants or refugees known was two, with a mean of 2.2. Comparatively, respondents in Saskatchewan reported knowing more immigrants or refugees by name, as the mean was 3.7, with a median of four and a mode of three.

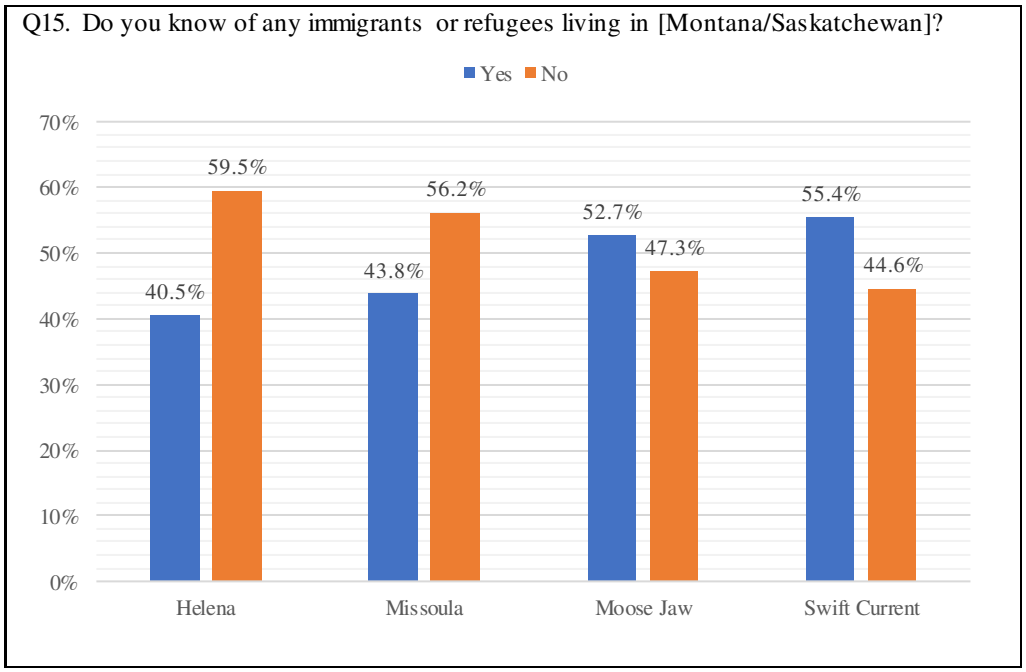

Figure 25. Awareness of immigrants or refugees in the study area

As another measure of cross-cultural contact, the final question in this section on intergroup contact asked if the participant had traveled outside of the country. If the survey respondent answered affirmatively, they were then asked to which continents they have traveled. In looking at the results (Figure 26), residents of the two larger study area communities, Moose Jaw and Missoula, reported traveling outside of the country more frequently, with around 60% in both areas responding "yes" to this question. Respondents from Helena reported the lowest amount of international travel, with 56% who had traveled abroad. Overall, there was a range of one to 24 times traveling outside of the respondent's home country. The mean number of times traveling abroad for those from Saskatchewan was 2.9 trips, in comparison to 2.6 trips for those from Montana. The most common response given, or mode, was two trips outside of the country for respondents in both study area locations. In ranked order, the top destinations for those who had traveled

internationally were: 1) North America, 2) Europe, 3) South America, 4) Australia/Oceania, 5) Asia, and 6) Africa.

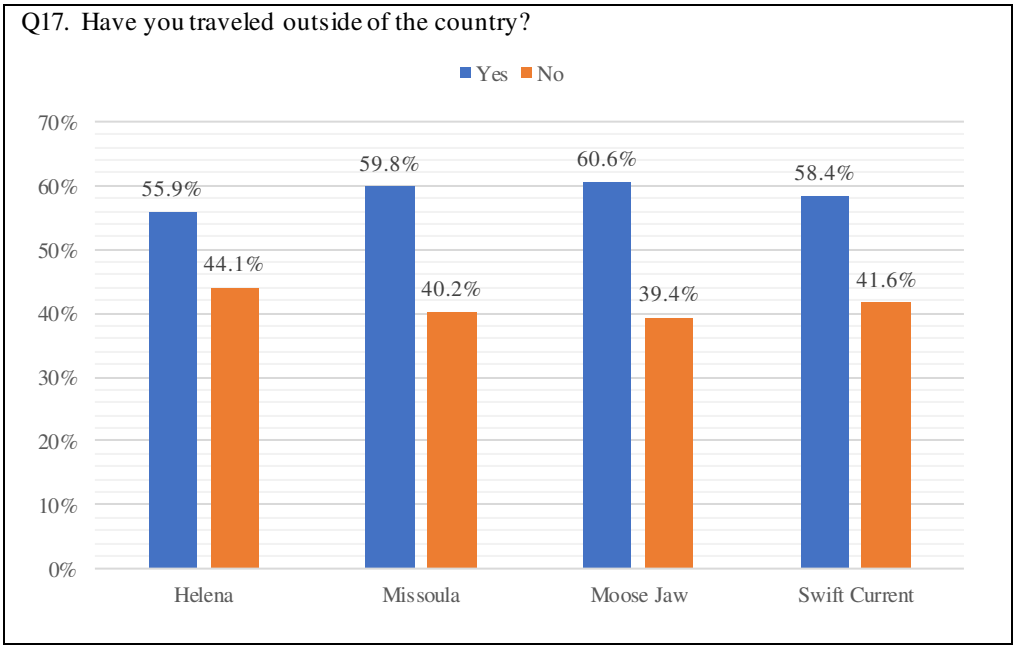

Figure 26. Travel outside of the country

Cross-tabulation by Level of Contact

Finally, the respondent's level of contact with individuals of different ethnic backgrounds was cross-tabulated with each of the survey questions to examine the relationship between these two categories. The Montana results are displayed in Table 23, with those for Saskatchewan in Table 24. For comparative purposes, each different section lists the results for each response option, along with the mean value of the reported level of contact using a scale of one to five. Higher numbers represent more frequent levels of intergroup contact, with a value of five signifying daily contact with people from different ethnic backgrounds and a value of one indicating no contact.

Table 23

Cross-tabulation by level of contact in Montana

		(1) **Never**	(2) **A few times/yr.**	(3) **Monthly**	(4) **Weekly**	(5) **Daily**	**mean value**
I support refugee resettlement in Montana		3	26	53	59	26	3.5
I oppose refugee resettlement in Montana		6	60	39	10	12	2.7
I am undecided		2	9	6	3	1	2.6
I consider myself to be knowledgeable about refugees	Agree	5	40	53	46	29	3.3
	Disagree	3	12	19	6	2	2.8
I am confident in the refugee resettlement process	Agree	4	16	36	49	25	3.6
	Disagree	5	55	35	16	2	2.6
Resettlement will make the country a more dangerous place	Agree	4	59	38	13	3	2.6
	Disagree	5	22	48	24	22	3.4
It is likely that a terrorist could infiltrate the resettlement program	Agree	8	61	34	10	1	2.4
	Disagree	1	21	33	41	22	3.5
Montana is a good place to resettle refugees	Agree	2	17	32	49	27	3.6
	Disagree	6	37	29	11	4	2.7
Refugees should be resettled in large urban areas	Agree	4	24	26	9	6	2.8
	Disagree	4	23	25	19	5	3.0
Refugees can integrate more easily in small rural communities	Agree	1	7	21	25	9	3.5
	Disagree	7	48	25	10	6	2.6
Most Montana residents are welcoming of outsiders	Agree	4	44	69	56	24	3.3
	Disagree	3	11	13	5	3	2.8

Table 23 (continued)

Refugees from some parts of the world present a security concern	Agree	8	53	34	13	8	2.7
	Disagree	1	39	59	57	29	3.4
Refugees from some religions present a security concern	Agree	7	62	61	18	5	2.7
	Disagree	2	28	34	51	32	3.6
The country should prioritize Christian refugees	Agree	6	31	20	8	5	2.6
	Disagree	3	59	73	60	32	3.3
I am comfortable around people from different ethnic backgrounds	Agree	0	36	51	54	32	3.5
	Disagree	6	15	11	3	0	2.3
I know of immigrants or refugees living in the community	Yes	0	30	33	35	34	3.6
	No	8	58	39	20	2	2.6
I have traveled outside of the country	Yes	6	37	54	49	26	3.3
	No	4	55	40	21	11	2.9

Table 24

Cross-tabulation by level of contact in Saskatchewan

		(1) **Never**	(2) **A few times/yr.**	(3) **Monthly**	(4) **Weekly**	(5) **Daily**	**mean value**
I support refugee resettlement in Saskatchewan		0	4	34	83	51	4.1
I oppose refugee resettlement in Saskatchewan		16	31	33	19	3	2.6
I am undecided		2	5	2	3	1	2.1
I consider myself to be knowledgeable about refugees	Agree	8	21	35	61	42	3.6
	Disagree	5	6	10	7	3	2.9
I am confident in the refugee resettlement process	Agree	0	2	24	54	40	4.1
	Disagree	14	30	31	16	4	2.6

Table 24 (continued)

Resettlement will make the country a more dangerous place	Agree	14	29	30	19	4	2.7
	Disagree	0	3	18	56	41	4.2
It is likely that a terrorist could infiltrate the resettlement program	Agree	18	32	31	20	4	2.6
	Disagree	0	4	20	58	42	4.1
Saskatchewan is a good place to resettle refugees	Agree	0	5	18	50	36	4.1
	Disagree	17	26	24	20	3	2.6
Refugees should be resettled in large urban areas	Agree	6	8	16	32	11	3.5
	Disagree	5	6	20	21	15	3.5
Refugees can integrate more easily in small rural communities	Agree	0	6	14	34	32	4.1
	Disagree	15	20	26	24	7	2.9
Most Saskatchewan residents are welcoming of outsiders	Agree	7	14	36	53	38	3.7
	Disagree	8	10	9	7	4	3.0
Refugees from some parts of the world present a security concern	Agree	16	25	29	36	15	3.1
	Disagree	2	14	43	67	40	3.8
Refugees from some religions present a security concern	Agree	18	26	34	37	20	3.1
	Disagree	0	13	36	68	35	3.8
The country should prioritize Christian refugees	Agree	10	9	9	13	9	3.1
	Disagree	8	31	59	92	45	3.6
I am comfortable around people from different ethnic backgrounds	Agree	3	13	34	80	47	3.9
	Disagree	13	7	5	1	1	1.9
I know of immigrants or refugees living in the community	Yes	0	10	22	69	48	4.1
	No	18	29	45	35	7	2.9
I have traveled outside of the country	Yes	9	14	23	50	34	3.7
	No	9	25	44	54	21	3.6

The results of the cross-tabulation by level of contact in Montana show several striking results, with a pattern closely resembling the cross-tabulation by level of knowledge. Most notably, respondents who reported higher levels of contact with people from different ethnic backgrounds were more likely to support refugee resettlement (3.5 mean value versus 2.7 mean value). Furthermore, those who were undecided about this issue had the lowest reported levels of contact. Respondents who had more frequent contact with people from different ethnic backgrounds were also more confident in the resettlement process and considered themselves to be more knowledgeable about refugee issues than those with lower levels of contact. As expected, those who claimed to know of immigrants or refugees living in the community had higher levels of contact.

Several large disparities in the level of contact were apparent in this cross-tabulation. Most prominently, those who agreed they were comfortable around people from different ethnic backgrounds had much more frequent contact (3.5 mean value versus 2.3 mean value). Other large differences included those who agreed that resettlement will make the country a more dangerous place and those who agreed that a terrorist could likely infiltrate the resettlement program. In both instances, respondents with lower levels of contact agreed with these statements. Similarly, those who believed that refugees from some religions and some parts of the world present a security concern also had lower levels of contact. The smallest gap between answer sets and frequency of contact was for those who believed that refugees should be settled in large urban areas. However, respondents who agreed that Montana is a good place to resettle refugees and who felt most Montanans are welcoming of outsiders reported more frequent contact.

The results of the cross-tabulation in Saskatchewan by level of contact followed the same general pattern as in Montana, although many of the disparities between answer sets are even greater. Most noticeably, respondents who support refugee resettlement in the province reported having much higher levels of contact (4.1 mean value) than those in opposition (2.6 mean value). Additionally, those who are undecided about this issue had even less frequent contact with people from different ethnic backgrounds. The greatest difference in response options was that respondents who are comfortable around people of different ethnicities had much more frequent contact (3.9 mean value versus 1.9 mean value). Furthermore, those who had higher levels of contact were also more confident in the refugee resettlement process and less likely to agree that resettlement will make the country a more dangerous place or that a terrorist could infiltrate the resettlement program. As with the Montana results, those who had higher levels of contact considered themselves to be knowledgeable about refugees.

Also, of note, the results show that respondents reported the same frequency of contact (3.5 mean value) in response to whether refugees should be resettled in large urban areas. The difference in levels of contact was also negligible for those had traveled outside of the country. However, those who felt that Saskatchewan is a good place to resettle refugees and that refugees can integrate more easily in small communities reported much higher levels of contact with people from different ethnic backgrounds. Additionally, those who thought most residents of the province are welcoming of outsiders had more contact than those who disagreed with this statement. Respondents who believed that refugees from some parts of the world and some religions also had less

frequent contact will people of different ethnicities. This was also the case for those who believed the country should prioritize Christian refugees.

Interview and Supplementary Research Findings

Upon completion of the survey phase, interviews with key informants were conducted to examine the data generated from the questionnaire responses in greater depth, as well as to seek further insight and clarification to help explain the results. Each person was asked the same interview questions; however, additional questions were asked based on the content of individual responses (Creswell 2014). To provide for anonymity, interviewees were assured their comments would not be personally identifiable and that key quotes would not be attributed to any specific individual. Each interview was recorded and transcribed, then carefully reviewed to look for common themes and patterns in the data. Additionally, the researcher's individual field notes and materials obtained from site visits were condensed into summaries to organize this part of the data collection process. Broad concepts were then identified and further developed to generate distinctive categories, with the findings reported after similar themes emerged. Finally, follow up interviews were conducted with one individual in each study area community to review the findings and corroborate the results. Based on this thematic analysis of the data collected during the interview process, the following five distinct themes emerged: isolationist support, conflation of immigrants, the impact of limited contact, distrust of government, and religious differences.

Isolationist and Protectionist Mindsets

One of the most perceptible themes that emerged during the interview process was an isolationist mentality which was prevalent among existing residents in both

Montana and Saskatchewan. A common discussion point was that many current community members valued their remote location and rural seclusion because it protected them from the social problems found in many large urban cities. In an analysis of the interview comments, these attitudes were commonly framed as preserving the community's culture and values. Nevertheless, this vantage point can often be used as a rationale for keeping newcomers away. As a result of this isolationist mindset, support for immigration restrictions is high, ultimately lowering the opportunity for refugees to be resettled in these areas. Furthermore, some Montana interviewees expressed concerns that refugee advocacy groups and supporters were perceived as trying to undermine or jeopardize the state's quality of life. An underlying assumption was that immigrants and refugees want to import their culture and values to this part of the country. In fact, a visible concern voiced by one interviewee was that refugees might like Montana so much they would want to recruit others to resettle in this part of the country. Summing up this point, one interview participant in Montana stressed:

> *People just don't trust outsiders…this is not something new, it goes back generations. Even a white person from a different part of the US might not be welcome in small towns here, let alone a refugee!*

Likewise, several Canadian interviewees also described a noticeable difference between the attitudes of people living in smaller towns across Saskatchewan compared to the province's more urbanized areas. While not quite as apparent as with Montanans, a number of interviewees expressed at least some level of concern about how welcoming and accepting the residents of the less-populated communities in Saskatchewan would be toward newcomers. As articulated during the interview process, the larger cities of

Regina and Saskatoon have more diverse populations and higher levels of immigration in comparison to other communities throughout the province. Because of the higher level of visibility, there are naturally more opportunities to encounter immigrants and people with different ethnicities. As pointed out by one interviewee, many residents of smaller communities, such as Moose Jaw and Swift Current, have less history with migrants which can lead them to be protective of any perceived outside influences. Scholars have pointed out similar types of anxiety toward different ethnic groups during various immigration waves in several rural communities in the Canadian prairie interior (Loewen and Friesen 2009). Interview participants in Saskatchewan described this isolationist phenomenon by observing that:

> *Small towns here are insular and the people are less welcoming.*
>
> *We can be deeply divided…an urban vs rural divide. It's not as big of a deal for the larger towns because they have more people and refugees don't stick out like they do in the small ones.*

As a result of these isolationist and protectionist attitudes, some immigrants in both Montana and Saskatchewan commented on instances of feeling like unwanted outsiders in their communities. While interviewees described the majority of existing residents as welcoming and mostly curious, one recent immigrant to Canada said she routinely felt "out of place" in this part of the country after her arrival. Although no immigrants in either study area location claimed to have experienced discrimination or witnessed hostility toward minority groups, another difficulty described by an immigrant interviewee was the challenge of developing meaningful relationships with residents of

the larger community. This individual shared the following sentiments on his struggle to find acceptance and develop personal connections in the homogeneous Montana culture:

> *Yes, the people here are nice…they tolerate us, but I sometimes get the impression they just want to be left alone. They're uncomfortable with us [being here]. They avoid us.*

Conflation of Different Immigrant Groups

A second prominent discussion point that surfaced during the interviews was the belief that many longtime community residents viewed immigrants as a mostly homogenous group. As a result, terms such as refugee, asylum seeker, immigrant, alien, and permanent resident are often misunderstood, resulting in viewpoints that conflate several different concerns and issues. Interviewees believed many of these terms are used interchangeably; however, this seems to occur most frequently when referencing Muslim immigrants. In Montana, several interview participants noted there is not much distinction between Muslims who enter the country as refugees, or those with tourist, student, or even marriage visas. Because these immigration categories are not fully understood by the members of the community, several interviewees pointed out there can be a tendency to associate Muslim refugees with other with extremists who committed acts of terrorism in the United States, such as the Boston bombings in April 2013 or the San Bernardino shootings in December 2015. Interestingly, one interview participant felt that the Christian refugees he knew had assimilated well and posed little threat to security.

The conflation of different categories of immigrants appears that it could be strongly associated with the prior thematic category, support for isolationism. In these

rural, isolated communities with little history of ethnic or racial diversity, supremacist groups are often able to build large followings by promoting fear and hatred (Rabrenovic 2007). Accordingly, linking Muslim immigrants with those who have committed terrorist attacks leads to powerful anti-immigrant attitudes and ultimately breeds high levels of enmity toward refugees. These attitudes are prominently on display in the editorials and public comment sections of local online news coverage of refugee issues in both Montana and Saskatchewan, as the discourse is marked by high amounts of xenophobia toward Muslims, including links between Sharia law, terrorism, and jihad. An interview participant in Montana offered the following explanation, stressing that community members can often be fearful of Muslims because there is little multiculturalism and many residents lack a more global perspective.

> *Well, we aren't exactly a cosmopolitan state. It can be such an insular area, people just don't have enough worldly experience to know any better. But I don't think this is unique to just Montana; people in other parts of the country probably think the same way we do about this. I don't think we are as bad as other states. It does depend on where the person is from, for example, Syrians scare people here. They get nervous…*

These anti-refugee attitudes are not unique to Montana, as interviewees in Saskatchewan also commented on similar sentiments held by community members. As with the general public in Montana, interview participants agreed these attitudes often arose from conflating several different types of immigrant groups, leading to alarming concerns that Muslim refugees could potentially be affiliated with terrorist networks or other extremist groups. However, it appears this negativity might be more hidden in

Canada, as one interviewee claimed that few members of his community would take the social risk of being too outspoken in public on this issue. As explained during the interview process, Saskatchewan prides itself on hospitality and welcoming outsiders, yet many people across the province supported Premier Brad Walls's opposition to accepting more Syrian refugees into the country in 2015 because of the perceived national security risks. As described during the interview process,

> *At best it is avoidance. If you disagree with what the country is doing, you just avoid it or gossip among your friends…you don't make a big scene. People aren't going to voice their own opinion in public or draw attention to this, you just don't see that. But check out the internet, people will be much more up front about how they really feel.*

One immigrant interviewee also expressed deep concerns and frustration about the inability of existing residents to be able to tell the difference between different types of Middle Eastern migrants. As noted, these attitudes and beliefs are particularly unfair to refugees fleeing violence and unrest in their home countries. This interviewee felt that some community members are fearful of immigrants, yet they know little about the context surrounding each person's individual situation. As he emphatically declared during a discussion of public perceptions of Muslim refugees,

> *No! We are not here to take the place over…the locals don't understand…we aren't [all] the same.*

Limited Interaction Influences Worldviews

Another important topic that emerged during the interview process was the effect of limited interaction between existing residents and recently arrived immigrants as a

result of the high degree of isolationism and protectionism highlighted in the first thematic category. Accordingly, several interview participants in both countries believed that members of their community had few actual encounters with either refugees or immigrants. In fact, one interview participant in Montana went as far as to claim, "I do not think too many people living here have actually met a Muslim before." Another interviewee agreed this lack of intergroup contact was an important factor in attitude formation, optimistically believing that more interaction might alleviate many of the concerns held by residents, stating:

> *Yes, it's missing here. I know people would think differently, change their minds, if they were open to meeting some of the new families here. It's just hard to get them together…people here need some motivation to get to know them [resettled refugees].*

Due to this lack of exposure and contact, several interviewees agreed that existing residents turn to other information sources to form their opinions about refugees because they cannot use their personal experiences. As such, public perceptions are most often shaped by national media coverage and rigid political ideologies. This aligns with the finding of scholars who have argued that opinions on immigrants are often influenced by the media when audiences live in non-diverse locations because other information sources are notably absent. Consequently, rather than basing their attitudes on individual contact, residents must rely other sources of information to form their opinions (Crawley 2005; Mahtani 2008). Furthermore, several interviewees felt the image-framing activities and political rhetoric of anti-refugee groups have been successful at influencing the opinions of many current residents. Most notably, events surrounding the 2015 global

migration crisis are commonly used as justification to strictly limit immigration from Muslim-majority countries. One interview participant commented on this widespread belief by expressing that:

> *There aren't many minorities [living here]. People think that what see in Europe, with terrorism and everything, is going to happen here.*

Despite this lack of exposure and contact, a number of immigrants in both countries commented on the fact that they were effectively able to develop personal relationships within the community though churches, advocacy groups, and other faith-based organizations. These connections appear to have helped counter many stereotypes and alleviate the fears expressed by some members of the community. Most comments from immigrants were overwhelmingly positive toward existing residents, with a particularly deep sense of gratitude for the compassion and kindness shown by members of the religious groups who had welcomed them. These sentiments were most strongly expressed by immigrants who revealed they are members of Christian churches. This sentiment was echoed by one church leader in Saskatchewan, who shared that some congregation members had originally been opposed to the idea of resettlement in the province, but gradually changed their opinions once the church began working closely with a Syrian refugee family in the community.

Lack of Faith in the Federal Government

As with many conservative parts of the United States and Canada, the dominant political culture leans toward skepticism of the federal bureaucracy, with an even further distrust of international organizations such as the United Nations. As national polls have shown, Americans are deeply cynical about their federal government, with less than 20%

of the general public reporting they trust government always or most of the time (Pew Research Center 2017). Likewise, annual opinion polling in Canada reveals that only 43% of Canadians trust their federal government, with 2017 marking the first year that a majority of the general public reported distrust of the government (CBC 2017). As such, another key thematic area that became apparent was a low level of confidence in the ability of government officials to properly screen individual refugees and provide adequate support to resettlement communities. As one interview participant in Montana noted, "people in rural areas are much more paranoid about what the government is doing." Another interviewee elaborated on this point, stating,

> *Yes, people can be a bit suspicious…they think they will have to start supporting refugees in the future if they start coming here. People do not have faith in the government to take care of [refugees]. They think their taxes will go up, the crime rate will go up...*

Although somewhat less common, another firmly held belief by some residents is that the resettlement of refugees in Montana is politically motivated. A number of interviewees indicated that Montanans feel resettlement is being forced upon the state by outside urban elites in Washington, D.C. with little understanding of the state's social dynamics and culture. One participant even believed that refugee resettlement is being used as an intentional federal strategy to diversify the state. While many individuals interviewed admitted they are unsure of how the vetting process actually works and how resettlement communities are selected, a general point of consensus was a desire for the state to have more control over all aspects of this process, rather than leaving everything to the federal government. One interview participant suggested this is due to the fact that

citizens consistently desire to have more control at the local rather than federal level, noting,

> *You see this all the time, everywhere. People always know what works better in their city, in their state, so much more than in Washington. One size doesn't fit all, we can't have the same policy and expect the same results in places that are so different.*

While most of the individuals interviewed in Saskatchewan felt that residents generally have faith in the national government to handle resettlement issues, a few underlying concerns were expressed about the ability of bureaucratic institutions to keep the country safe. As discussed during the interview process, the Canadian interior provinces are commonly considered to be the more conservative parts of the country and would be more likely to voice opposition to Liberal Party policies dictated by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's administration in Ottawa. In fact, these concerns received widespread national attention in November 2015, when Saskatchewan Premier Brad Wall formally requested a suspension of the Prime Minister's commitment to resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees across the country. As cautioned by Premier Wall, the federal government's inability to successfully conduct appropriate screening and security checks could allow terrorists and other dangerous individuals to enter the country. In explaining how public attitudes across the province reflect these sentiments, one interview speculated that:

> *Really, people here aren't that different from those in the States. It's true we are in different countries but when it comes down to threats, we think the same way.*

Magnification of Religious Differences

Finally, it is clear from the interview responses that attitudes toward refugees depend profoundly on the religion of the individuals in question. The nature of this outlook seems to be rooted in fears about the loyalties of resettled refugees, particularly in regard to religious affiliations. One of the most noticeable sentiments is the prevalence of an anti-Muslim bias, as perceptions abound that Muslim refugees pose a grave security risk and threaten the area's existing way of life. As several interviewees proclaimed, Muslim refugees are generally thought to be incompatible with the religious culture in this part of North America, in which Christianity is the predominant religion. Mirroring the national debate in the United States, some Montanans felt the country should only accept Christian refugees if the resettlement program is not shut down entirely. A large number of interview participants discussed this anti-Muslim bias in regard to refugee resettlement, with comments such as:

> *It's [refugee resettlement] definitely a security issue with Muslims…safety and security; all based on the worst of what people think could happen.*
>
> *Religion-wise, the state is fairly monolithic. We're a very homogenous state with a small population so refugees who practice another religion are easily identifiable…any Muslims are going to stand out.*
>
> *Fear of Islam and terrorists…they're seen as a threat to the community.*
>
> *Terrorism has been the number one concern but now it's Sharia law. A small fraction of the people think refugees are going to try to implement religious Sharia law here.*

Interview participants in Saskatchewan agreed that some residents do indeed harbor suspicions about Muslim immigrants and refugees, much like in the United States. However, it was speculated that only a minority of individuals in the community hold extremist viewpoints. Interviewees more frequently described the province's history with immigrants who had assimilated well and posed little threat to security. According to comments made during the interview process, Canadians would be more likely to either ignore or avoid immigrants with whom they share few commonalities. Most notably, this includes Muslim immigrants and refugees who are likely singled out because of concerns about non-assimilation, fears related to global acts of terror and violence, and glaring cultural differences with existing residents. Additionally, some interviewees felt that negative and fearful attitudes are much more prevalent among older rather than younger residents. As specified during the individual interviews,

> *Yes, people here are very kind, they have concerns for others, for the less fortunate. People are incredibly welcoming…this [refugee resettlement] can be very good us if enough people are invested in it, but there are those who just don't like the idea of more Muslims coming here…*
>
> *I think some of the older generation doesn't like to see the place change, they like things the way they are…or were. That means mostly more of the same types of people, religion, as what we have now.*

Conclusions

This chapter provides a detailed examination of the data collected for this dissertation, including both the results of the survey and the findings from the in-depth interviews and supplementary research methods. As highlighted throughout this chapter,

there are many striking similarities between the data collected in both Montana and Saskatchewan, as well as several clear differences. The conclusions drawn from this research are presented in Chapter VI, in the larger effort to explain how refugee resettlement influences perceptions of insecurity in the United States and Canada. However, first a summary of the key research findings is presented in this concluding section.

As a first step in this process, the level of public support for refugee resettlement was examined in both study area locations. Overall, the results show that respondents in Saskatchewan are more supportive in comparison to those in Montana. It is noteworthy to mention that these findings are similar to the results from other polling efforts in both countries. While the top reason for support given by respondents in Canada was national duty, those in the United States selected humanitarian reasons as their primary reason for support. However, in both countries, the number one reason listed for opposing resettlement was due to security concerns. In particular, more than 90% of respondents felt that refugees from the Middle East and North Africa present a security concern, while close to 100% of respondents felt Muslims refugees constitute a security concern. In Montana, females tended to be more supportive, while in Saskatchewan, younger respondents were more supportive. In both countries, more education and higher income were also related with higher levels of support. Still, this proved to be a highly partisan issue, as the most glaring individual respondent characteristic difference was in regard to political affiliation.

A unique feature of the survey questionnaire was the inclusion of a brief quiz to measure the participant's general knowledge about refugee and resettlement issues. The

results showed that respondents in Saskatchewan had a higher mean score on the quiz in comparison to those from Montana. The statistical analysis of the results revealed little evidence of a relationship between quiz performance and any individual respondent characteristics in Montana, with only a few suggestive areas of a relationship in Saskatchewan. However, the results of the cross tabulation by question clearly showed that individuals who performed at lower levels on the quiz were more likely to believe refugees presented a security threat, that terrorists could infiltrate the resettlement program, and that refugee resettlement would make the country a more dangerous place. As expected, those with lower scores on the quiz were also much more likely to oppose refugee resettlement. The results followed the same pattern in both countries and across all four study area communities.

A second noteworthy survey questionnaire feature was the addition of a section designed to measure the respondent's level of contact with people from different ethnic backgrounds. As highlighted in the results, respondents in Saskatchewan had much more frequent intergroup contact in comparison to those from Montana. The cross-tabulation of the survey data by level of contact followed a similar pattern to the results found by level of knowledge. In particular, those who reported infrequent contact with people from different ethnic backgrounds were less confident in the refugee resettlement process and were more likely to believe that refugees from certain parts of the world and some religions presented a security threat. Unsurprisingly, those with less frequent intergroup contact were also much more opposed to resettlement. These results were similar in both countries, although the disparities were even greater in Saskatchewan in comparison to Montana.

To provide further insight and to help explain the survey results, in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants in both study areas as part of the mixed methods approach to collecting data. Several illuminating concepts emerged during the interview process; however, in looking at what shapes security concerns about refugee resettlement, five key themes stood out. Foremost, residents of this relatively homogenous part of North America are isolated from large urban areas with more diversity, resulting is less knowledge and understanding of different minority groups. This limited exposure and familiarity often causes residents to conflate different types of ethnic and racial groups, most notably with those from the Middle East and North Africa. Furthermore, there are limited opportunities for intergroup contact, which allows outside sources to heavily influence public opinion rather than any type of personal interaction or experience. Residents are often skeptical about the motives of the government, so there is often a distrust of federal initiatives to resettle more refugees in these areas. Finally, differences in religion often are magnified, particularly with Muslim immigrants, when there is limited knowledge and intergroup contact.

CHAPTER VI – ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter contains a detailed analysis of the extent of the validity of the hypotheses, followed by policy implications, suggestions for further research, and concluding observations on what has been learned from this dissertation research. The conclusions are drawn by analyzing the data collected in targeted study area locations in the United States and Canada to answer the central dissertation research question, which is as follows: *How does refugee resettlement influence perceptions of insecurity within receiving states?* This dissertation places an emphasis on rural areas, given that they have traditionally been understudied in the migration studies literature, specifically including two communities in both Montana and Saskatchewan. To help answer the broad overarching research question framing this study, five sub-questions are examined to narrow the focus of this dissertation. Additionally, each part of this analysis includes a brief synopsis of the research findings and discussion used to draw the conclusions.

Assessment of Hypotheses

The following section assesses the extent of the validity and strength of the three hypotheses examined in this dissertation. Hypothesis one states that residents who are less knowledgeable about refugee issues are more likely to perceive resettlement as a security threat, while those with higher levels of knowledge have fewer perceptions of insecurity. Next, hypothesis two asserts that residents with higher levels of interaction with individuals from different ethnic backgrounds will feel less threatened by refugees, while those with lower amounts of contact will have greater perceptions of insecurity. Finally, hypothesis three contends that higher levels of knowledge and contact lead to more support for refugee resettlement efforts. This assessment will evaluate whether the

results of this research support each hypothesis, along with the data and findings that allowed these conclusions to be drawn.

Hypothesis One: Level of Knowledge

The first hypothesis examined whether residents who are less knowledgeable about refugee issues are more likely to perceive resettlement as a security threat. This hypothesis was tested by administering a brief, factual seven-question quiz as part of a survey questionnaire on public attitudes toward refugee resettlement. These true-false and multiple-choice questions asked participants about definitions, trends, resettlement numbers, and terrorist activities. The results of the quiz were then cross-tabulated with the responses to five other questions on the survey related to refugee resettlement security concerns, as well as each of the individual respondent characteristics. Next, a chi-squared test of the results was performed to search for and identify evidence of relationships between quiz performance and perceptions of insecurity. Additionally, performance on the quiz was analyzed to determine the relationship between the number of correct answers and the individual respondent characteristics.

Based on the results of the cross-tabulation of quiz performance with the five survey questions asking about perceived refugee resettlement security concerns, the data provides strong evidence in support of the first hypothesis in both study area locations. As the highlighted rows in Table 25 illustrate, respondents who answered fewer questions correctly on the quiz were more likely to perceive that refugee resettlement presented a threat to security. In fact, respondents who were less knowledgeable about refugee resettlement issues had scores below the overall mean quiz score to all five security-related questions. On a seven-point scale, the overall mean quiz score was 4.9 in

Saskatchewan and 4.3 in Montana. Conversely, respondents who were less likely to express perceptions of insecurity scored at or above the overall mean quiz score in every instance. The difference between the two sets of responses to each of these five survey questions was greater in Montana compared to Saskatchewan.

Table 25

Cross-tabulation by level of knowledge

	Montana mean quiz score	Saskatchewan mean quiz score
Refugees from certain locations present more of a security threat	3.8	4.3
Refugees from certain locations do not present more of a security threat	4.8	4.9
Refugees from certain religions present more of a security concern	3.6	4.4
Refugees from certain religions do not present more of a security concern	5.0	4.9
Resettlement will make the country a more dangerous place	3.4	4.3
Resettlement will not make the country a more dangerous place	4.9	5.0
It is likely that a terrorist could infiltrate the resettlement program	3.4	4.1
It is unlikely that a terrorist could infiltrate the resettlement program	5.0	5.0
I am not confident in the refugee resettlement process	3.4	4.1
I am confident in the refugee resettlement process	5.0	5.0

To further examine the first hypothesis, statistical testing of the results was performed to search for evidence of relationships between quiz performance and individual respondent characteristics. In Montana, the results of this testing revealed little or no evidence of relationships between the number of questions answered correctly on the quiz and any of the individual respondent characteristics. While those in the top income and education categories had the highest quiz scores, the evidence from the chi-squared testing was not strong enough to be considered statistically significant. There was little to no evidence of relationships between quiz performance and any of the other individual respondent characteristics. The results in Saskatchewan followed a similar pattern, although there was stronger evidence of a statistically significant relationship between quiz performance and the respondent's income level. As in Montana, there was

little to no evidence of statistically significant relationships between quiz performance and any of the remaining individual respondent categories in Saskatchewan.

Hypothesis Two: Level of Interaction

The second hypothesis stated that residents with higher levels of interaction with individuals from different ethnic backgrounds will feel less threatened by refugees, while those with lower amounts of contact will have greater perceptions of insecurity. This hypothesis was tested by asking survey participants to describe their level of interaction with individuals who have different ethnic backgrounds and then performing cross-tabulations across the results. To measure levels of intergroup contact, the survey contained four questions to collect data on the participant's interaction with immigrants and refugees residing in their state or province. In the focal point of this section, participants were asked how often they interacted with people from a different ethnic background. The answer set included the following five response options: 1) never, 2) a few times a year, 3) monthly, 4) weekly, and 5) daily. The mean value of the level of intergroup contact was reported using a scale of one to five, with higher numbers signifying more frequent levels of intergroup contact. The results were cross-tabulated with the responses to the five security-related questions regarding refugee resettlement, in addition to each of the individual respondent characteristics. Finally, statistical testing of the results was conducted to search for evidence of any relationships between perceptions of insecurity and levels of interaction.

The data generated from the cross-tabulations of this measure of intergroup contact with the survey questions focused on refugee resettlement security concerns provides strong evidence in support of the second hypothesis in both Montana and

Saskatchewan. The highlighted rows in Table 26 show that respondents reporting less frequent contact with individuals from different ethnic backgrounds were more likely to believe that refugee resettlement posed a security threat. In contrast, those who claimed to have more frequent intergroup contact had fewer perceptions of insecurity about refugee resettlement. This pattern was consistent for all five security-related questions on the survey in both study area locations. As illustrated on the five-point scale to display the frequency of intergroup contact, respondents from Saskatchewan reported to have higher levels of contact, but also showed greater differences between the two sets of response options to most of these five survey questions.

Table 26

Cross-tabulation by level of contact

	Montana mean contact value	Saskatchewan mean contact value
Refugees from certain locations present more of a security threat	2.7	3.1
Refugees from certain locations do not present more of a security threat	3.4	3.8
Refugees from certain religions present more of a security concern	2.7	3.1
Refugees from certain religions do not present more of a security concern	3.6	3.8
Resettlement will make the country a more dangerous place	2.6	2.7
Resettlement will not make the country a more dangerous place	3.4	4.2
It is likely that a terrorist could infiltrate the resettlement program	2.4	2.6
It is unlikely that a terrorist could infiltrate the resettlement program	3.5	4.1
I am not confident in the refugee resettlement process	2.6	2.6
I am confident in the refugee resettlement process	3.6	4.1

As an added measure to examine the second hypothesis in more depth, statistical testing of the results was performed to search for evidence of relationships between intergroup contact frequency and each of the seven individual respondent characteristics. The results of the tests in Montana showed little or no support for relationships between the frequency of intergroup contact and race, age, religion, income level, and political

affiliation. However, this analysis did reveal strong evidence of statistically significant relationships between the frequency of intergroup contact and both gender and education level. In Saskatchewan, this testing did not show support for relationships between the frequency of intergroup contact and gender, ethnicity, and income level. Notably, the analysis provided very strong evidence of statistically significant relationships between intergroup contact frequency and age, education level, political affiliation, and religion.

Hypothesis Three: Level of Support

The first two hypotheses provide the basis for the development of the third hypothesis examined in this dissertation, that higher levels of knowledge and contact lead to more support for refugee resettlement efforts. To assess the validity of this hypothesis, the survey questionnaire began by asking whether the participant supports or opposes the resettlement of refugees in their state or province. As the results showed, a higher percentage of respondents in Saskatchewan were supportive of refugee resettlement, while those in Montana were opposed or undecided at higher rates. Next, the responses to this question were cross-tabulated with the mean values of both the survey quiz results and the intergroup contact measurement. The survey quiz used a seven-point scale, while a five-point scale was developed to measure the frequency of intergroup contact. The results of these cross-tabulations are displayed in Table 27 for Montana and Table 28 for Saskatchewan.

Table 27

Level of support in Montana

	mean quiz score	mean intergroup contact value
I support refugee resettlement in Montana	4.9	3.5
I oppose refugee resettlement in Montana	3.9	2.7
I am undecided	4.5	2.6

Table 28

Level of support in Saskatchewan

	mean quiz score	mean intergroup contact value
I support refugee resettlement in Saskatchewan	4.9	4.1
I oppose refugee resettlement in Saskatchewan	4.3	2.6
I am undecided	3.8	2.1

The results of these cross-tabulations provide compelling evidence for the support of the third hypothesis in both study area locations. In Montana, the mean quiz score of those who supported refugee resettlement was a full point higher than those in opposition and almost a half point higher than those who were undecided. Also, the mean intergroup contact value of Montanans supporting refugee resettlement in the state was almost an entire point higher than those who were opposed or undecided. Likewise, the results of these cross-tabulations followed a similar pattern in Saskatchewan. Respondents who supported refugee resettlement in the province had a mean quiz score more than a half-point higher than those in opposition and more than a full point higher than those who were undecided. Finally, in the largest disparity, the mean intergroup contact value of those who supported refugee resettlement in Saskatchewan was a point-and-a-half higher than respondents in opposition and two full points higher than those who were undecided.

As with the first two hypotheses, statistical testing was conducted to identify any evidence of relationships between each of the individual respondent characteristics and levels of knowledge and intergroup contact. In regard to levels of knowledge, there was strong evidence of relationships between support for refugee resettlement in Montana and the individual's political affiliation and education level. This was also the case in Saskatchewan, although the results revealed strong evidence of relationships between support for refugee resettlement and two additional respondent categories, religion and age. In looking at levels of contact, there was strong evidence in Montana for refugee resettlement support and two respondent categories, gender and education level. The results in Saskatchewan also showed strong evidence of this relationship between support for refugee resettlement and education level, as well as three other individual characteristics: age, religion, and political affiliation.

Secondary Research Questions

To help answer the central research question of how refugee resettlement influences perceptions of insecurity within receiving states in depth, several secondary questions were examined to narrow the focus of the dissertation. These sub-questions focused on how residents of rural areas perceive threats from refugee resettlement, certain resettlement concerns unique to rural areas, what shapes security concerns about refugees in both the United States and Canada, and the extent to which, if any, these commonly held perceptions differ according to location or religion. The following section provides a brief synopsis of the research findings and results to help answer these secondary questions.

Perceived Threats in Rural Areas

The first sub-question focused on perceptions held by residents of less populated areas in the United States and Canada. Specifically, it asked: How do residents of rural areas perceive threats from refugee resettlement? To collect data to help answer this question, the research for this dissertation was conducted in two communities in a rural American state and two communities in an adjacent Canadian rural province. To approximate a counterfactual situation, the study area included one location with an established refugee resettlement program and one without any type of organized program in each country. Specifically, this consisted of Missoula and Helena in Montana, and Moose Jaw and Swift Current in Saskatchewan. These four study area communities share many similarities in terms of both population and demographics.

The data collected through both the survey questionnaire and key informant interviews provided a good amount of clarity in examining this question. Most notably, residents of rural areas perceive threats from refugee resettlement as unwarranted intrusions on their existing idyllic way of life in this secluded part of North America. A prominent theme that emerged from the key informant interviews was that many longtime rural residents cherished their community's remoteness and relative isolation because it insulates them from the social problems associated with larger urban areas. This isolationist mentality is prevalent among many of the existing residents in both Montana and Saskatchewan and is used as a rationale for keeping outsiders away, particularly those with different ethnic and religious backgrounds. As discussed extensively during the interview process, the remoteness of this area provides a buffer from the unfamiliar and unknown.

Related to this support for isolationism, the survey results also provided a unique perspective on the protectionist views of rural community members. Interestingly, many residents felt that refugees should be welcomed in their country, just not in this part of North America. As would be expected, most of those opposed to refugee resettlement felt that Montana and Saskatchewan were not good places to resettle refugees. However, of those who supported refugee resettlement, only two-thirds believed that Montana and Saskatchewan were appropriate places to resettle refugees. Additionally, among this same group of supporters, more than 40% stated that refugees should be resettled in large urban areas and close to 20% thought that most residents of their state or province were not welcoming of outsiders.

Concerns Unique to Rural Areas

After examining the perceived threats in these less-populated areas, the second sub-question asked if there are certain resettlement concerns unique to rural communities. Both the survey results and interview findings offered insight to help answer this question. The data collected showed that many community members in these remote locations have limited contact and experience with individuals from different ethnic backgrounds. Because these American and Canadian communities are relatively isolated from larger urban gateway cities, there are fewer opportunities for interactions between existing residents and recently arrived immigrants and refugees. As a result, rural community members generally relied upon outside sources of information to form their opinions about refugees because they have few actual encounters and personal experiences.

In both the United States and Canada, these public perceptions are most often shaped by media coverage and firmly entrenched political ideologies. As highlighted by Crawley (2005), views on immigration are heavily influenced by the media in areas that are not very diverse because other sources of information are often lacking. Furthermore, this limited amount of contact leads to conflation among individuals with different types of ethnic backgrounds, particularly those originating from the Middle East and North Africa. The data collection also revealed that political affiliation is one of the strongest predictors of opposition to refugee resettlement. In both Montana and Saskatchewan, conservative residents were most likely to oppose to resettlement and to perceive refugees as a potential threat to their community, although the degree of partisanship was much greater in the United States. In this context, conservatives display an aversion to rapid social change and attempts to alter prevailing societal norms, whereas liberals place greater value on taking action to ensure social equality and justice (Friedersdorf 2012). Accordingly, those with liberal political viewpoints were more apt to support refugee resettlement and to have fewer perceptions of insecurity in both countries.

Security Concerns about Refugees in the United States

The third sub-question looked specifically at American perceptions, focusing on what shapes security concerns about refugees in the United States. The cross-tabulation of the survey results provided a good amount of insight to help answer this question, as it highlighted several notable distinctions between various demographic and individual characteristics. Most prominently, the results showed this is an ideologically-driven issue and that security concerns about refugees in the United States are strongly shaped by political affiliation. As with the polarized national debate, Republicans showed higher

levels of concern in comparison to Democrats about security issues related to refugees, while Independents and those with no political affiliation were fairly split on this topic. Also, Americans with lower formal education and income levels were much more likely to have perceptions of insecurity and to oppose refugee resettlement. In looking at other types of individual characteristics, males were more likely feel that refugees constituted a security threat, while there was little evidence that an individual's race, religion, or age shaped these concerns.

Additionally, several findings stood out in a comparison of the two study area communities in Montana. As the survey results showed, individuals in the smaller community of Helena reported higher rates of security concerns about refugees than those in Missoula. Those in Helena were also more likely to believe that refugees from some geographic locations and religious affiliations presented a security threat, while also favoring a preference for Christian refugees. The second part of the data collection process offered a unique perspective on what might shape these concerns. Because there is already an existing resettlement program in Missoula, refugees can often be more visible in the community and there are more opportunities for residents to encounter people with different ethnic and racial backgrounds. In some instances, this higher amount of intergroup contact can gradually reduce opposition to resettlement as residents have more frequent interactions with refugees and learn more them as individuals. Conversely, security concerns in smaller communities with less diversity and experience with refugees can often be shaped by protectionist views that seek to shield the area from outside influences and perceived threats from those with different backgrounds.

Security Concerns about Refugees in Canada

The fourth sub-question examined what shapes security concerns about refugees in Canada. As with the previous effort to examine American concerns, the data used to answer this question was primarily gathered through the survey questionnaire. One of the key findings was that, unlike in the United States where individuals are highly divided along political party lines, Canadian security concerns were not shaped as strongly by political affiliation. While those belonging to the opposition party and those with more liberal political ideologies had fewer perceptions of insecurity, members of the moderately conservative majority Saskatchewan Party were fairly divided on their support for resettlement and if certain refugees posed more of a security threat. There was also an even split among those with no political affiliation. However, the results revealed that age is one of the most important factors in shaping security concerns in Saskatchewan, as those 65 years of age and older were most likely to oppose resettlement in the province and to believe that certain refugees posed a security risk. Also, similar to the findings in the United States, those with lower levels of income and education expressed greater perceptions of insecurity. There was little evidence that an individual's ethnicity, gender, or religion shaped these security concerns about refugees.

In looking at the two Saskatchewan study area locations, respondents in the less-populated community of Swift Current reported slightly higher levels of support and lower levels of opposition in comparison to those in Moose Jaw. This differed from the findings in Montana, where residents of the smaller of the two study area communities expressed more concern about refugee resettlement and higher perceptions of insecurity. Part of this phenomenon can be explained by Bloemraad's (2006) analysis of immigrant

integration in North America. As she illustrates, the United States is known for taking a laissez-faire approach to integration and leaves much of the assimilation work to the initiative of immigrants, whereas Canada tends to be more proactive, interventionist, and embracing of multi-culturalism. Furthermore, Canada uses a points-based ranking system to give preferences to certain immigrants based on higher levels of education, language fluency, work experience, and any existing job offers. However, these comprehensive rankings only apply to economic migrants, as refugees do not have to qualify under the points-based system.

These practices are most noticeable in Swift Current, where the community has taken steps to reach out to all immigrants and to create a welcoming environment, even though they do not have an established resettlement program. Although they have less history with recent immigrants in comparison to other parts of the province, Swift Current supports a Newcomer Welcome Centre and routinely coordinates a wide range of cultural events to promote interactions between residents and immigrants. In contrast, Helena does not have any comparable community efforts, which might help to explain the relatively large number of residents who were undecided on this issue and who also expressed the greatest amount of concern about refugees. Interestingly, the survey results revealed that the two larger communities that operate resettlement programs, Missoula and Moose Jaw, had similar levels of support for resettlement and concerns about the security risks posed by refugees. This could be due to the existing infrastructure to support refugees, along with higher visibility, more frequent contact opportunities, and the non-manifestation of many fears surrounding refugee resettlement.

Differences According to Origin or Religion

The final sub-question examined how the areas from which refugees originated, as well as their religious affiliations, shaped public attitudes toward resettlement. This question specifically stated: Do commonly held perceptions differ according to geographic origin or religion of the refugees being resettled? To collect data to help answer this question, the survey questionnaire directly asked if refugees from certain locations and religions present more of a resettlement security concern. If respondents believed this was the case, they were allowed to specify the geographic locations and religious affiliations which constituted a security threat. The survey results were very similar across all four study area communities. Of those in the United States and Canada who believed that refugees from some geographic locations presented more of a security concern, over 90% selected the Middle East and North Africa. Even more strikingly, of those who felt that refugees from certain religions presented more of a security concern, almost every survey respondent answered "Muslim" to this question. As such, it became clear that perceptions of insecurity differed tremendously based on a refugee's geographic origin and religious affiliation.

The interview findings confirmed this suspicion of refugees originating from the Middle East and North Africa and widespread anti-Muslim bias. In fact, one of the most noticeable themes that emerged during the interview process was the public perception that Muslim refugees pose a growing security risk and threaten the area's existing way of life. Polakow-Suransky (2017) explains how this perspective can take root, noting that a high degree of conflation occurs when refugees belong to the same ethnic or religious groups as terrorists, which often produces a destructive combination of fear, xenophobia,

and animosity. Furthermore, public sentiments showed that Muslim refugees were generally thought to be incompatible with the Christian-dominant religious culture in this part of North America. However, the public seemed more receptive to resettling refugees who shared their religious beliefs, with approximately one in five agreeing that Christians should receive preferential status as part of the resettlement process.

Policy Implications

The findings of this research offer several practical implications for policymakers and service providers looking to promote tolerance and understanding in their communities and to ultimately reduce the perceptions of insecurity surrounding refugee resettlement. The following recommendations in this section offer civic leaders guidance on providing resettled refugees with support, while also attempting to avoid unnecessary conflict between groups. However, it is first important to recognize that some committed opponents are unlikely to change their minds no matter what public officials do (Hoefer 2016). This is particularly true with people who are fiercely partisan in their beliefs and rarely participate in rationale discourse with those who hold differing viewpoints. Scholars have pointed out that most individuals with strong political opinions prefer to only hear policy viewpoints with which they agree, rather than those that seem challenging or mistaken (Hochschild and Einstein 2015). This makes misinformation extremely difficult to correct, as people with firmly entrenched ideologies are much more likely to burrow into their stances than to consider changing them. Therefore, a more advisable approach for public officials is to focus on educating and persuading community members who are undecided or not directly involved with refugee resettlement.

As a first step, it is important to provide existing residents with more information about refugees and the resettlement process in order to increase awareness and improve overall levels of knowledge. One suggestion for policymakers is to consider launching educational campaigns aimed at reducing racism, prejudice, and discrimination among the general public (Potocky-Tripodi 2002). These efforts may take a variety of approaches; however, the main focus should be on providing accurate information about refugees to counter many of the commonly held misperceptions. Positive stories about individual refugees and the local organizations who provide assistance should be a central component of this messaging. Hoefer (2016) emphasizes that public opinion can be substantially influenced by how issues are presented in both traditional news media outlets and on social media. In particular, social media campaigns offer effective platforms to disseminate information, create wide networks, and help community members develop a better understanding of this issue.

Schools can also play a critical role in helping develop a deeper understanding of cultural differences and promoting tolerance. As Potocky-Tripodi (2002) highlights, schools across the country have developed numerous effective educational interventions to counter prejudice and discrimination. Many of these efforts are designed to have a focus on early intervention by concentrating on students in primary and secondary schools. Educational programs designed to increase exposure and interaction using structured programming between different groups can help students recognize commonalities, develop an appreciation, and ultimately reduce pervasive stereotypes. Furthermore, educators can be much more effective if they are more knowledgeable about existing perceptions and commonly held attitudes toward minority groups (Lupia

2016). As a result, they will be more likely to anticipate difficult questions and make arguments that are well-reasoned and persuasive.

Another recognized method to promote intergroup contact and to increase knowledge and familiarity with different ethnic groups is through special community-wide events and activities. For example, public festivals, cultural celebrations, and holiday events can create a more tolerant and inclusive atmosphere and can be highly effective when they involve collaboration among diverse groups in planning the activities (Gorinas and Pytlikova 2015). These efforts provide unique opportunities for newcomers to become more involved in their community, while also offering existing residents an avenue to become more familiar with new neighbors who have different ethnic and racial backgrounds. Therefore, community organizations and civic leaders should continually seek ways to identify and support activities that encourage the participation of both newcomers and existing residents to work on special community-wide events and activities. Consistent with the principles of intergroup contact theory, such efforts should lead to continued opportunities for inclusion and full participation, as one-time activities can sometimes exacerbate rather than resolve tensions between different groups (Potocky-Tripodi 2002).

Furthermore, individuals from social service agencies and faith-based organizations who work closely with refugees and immigrants can play a key role in advocating for local policies that address the equal treatment of all residents. Examples include the development and implementation of anti-discrimination ordinances and fair housing regulations. As recommended by Chang-Muy and Congress (2016), representatives of these advocacy groups need to take advantage of every opportunity to

participate in community discussions, forums, debates, and panels on immigration. To work toward strengthening their influence, they also need to identify ways to join or create coalitions of organizations. Community-wide coalitions with shared goals demonstrate breadth and can help members build visibility, share resources, and develop further connections. Refugee and immigrant advocacy groups should also evaluate their messaging, as several different types of messages might be needed to gain broader community support and encourage harmoniums interethnic relations (Berg 2010).

Suggestions for Further Research

To build upon this research, several opportunities for further lines of study are evident. Importantly, research is needed in a variety of locations to provide comparative assessments with the findings obtained in Montana and Saskatchewan. As a starting point, this should include geographic locations in the United States and Canada that share many of the same demographic and cultural characteristics. Suggested areas are the mostly rural adjacent American states, such as the Dakotas, Wyoming, and Idaho, and the bordering Canadian interior prairie provinces of Manitoba and Alberta. In particular, the community of Twin Falls, Idaho offers a unique opportunity to further examine how levels of knowledge and intergroup contact shape attitudes toward refugees. With just under 50,000 residents, Twin Falls is comparable in size to the four study area communities in this research, however it has a long-established history of refugee resettlement. Each year around 300 refugees are resettled in this community, with the majority of individuals coming from Middle Eastern countries. The higher concentration of refugees in Twin Falls presents more opportunities for residents to interact with refugees and to possibly acquire more knowledge of resettlement issues.

Future research should also compare attitudes and perceptions in rural areas with those in larger metropolitan areas. A first step in this effort might include mid-sized communities in the region, with populations of 200,000 or more. This research could target cities such as Boise, Idaho, or the Saskatchewan communities of Regina and Saskatoon. These more populous areas share many of the same demographic characteristics as the smaller communities throughout the region, yet each has a higher concentration of resettled refugees. Again, this presents the opportunity for higher levels of intergroup contact and more knowledge about refugees. Building upon this effort, further research could examine attitudes toward refugees and perceptions of insecurity in the more traditional North American urban gateway cities in the region such as Calgary, Winnipeg, and Denver. Also, to provide more of a national perspective, comparative work could be conducted in different parts of the United States and Canada outside of the mountain west and prairie interior areas. Finally, comparisons with communities in other refugee receiving states, possibly in Australia or Europe, would add to the growing body of knowledge on this topic.

In looking at ways to advance the existing intergroup contact literature, new approaches to measure levels of contact with refugees and immigrants should be examined. This includes using creative methods to identify and analyze levels of interaction between majority and minority group members in a variety of settings. While self-reporting of direct contact is fairly standard in many academic and opinion studies, researchers should be open to exploring different means of intergroup contact. Possibilities include indirect contact through the internet and social media, as well as investigating how this secondary contact transfers to other groups. As performed in this

dissertation, future research on intergroup contact could be further refined to incorporate tests of knowledge to provide a more comprehensive view of how perceptions of insecurity are formed.

Concluding Observations

According to the United Nations, there are currently over 22 million refugees in the world today who are fleeing violence and civil unrest (UNHCR 2018). Despite these staggering numbers, less than one percent of these individuals will be resettled in receiving states. Nevertheless, in many of these countries around the world, refugee resettlement has become the subject of contentious public and political debates. Particularly in the West, because many new refugee arrivals are increasingly Muslim, perceptions abound that refugees might be involved in extremist activities or that terrorists could be hiding in their midst. This has led to heightened concerns about national security and widespread anti-immigrant sentiments. As noted by Polakow-Suransky (2017), when refugees belong to the same ethnic or religious groups as terrorists, the resulting combination of fear and xenophobia can be a destructive force in host societies. As such, prominent scholars have argued that having a better understanding of global migration and its resulting effects on host societies are of great public interest and among the most important topics for scholars of international migration (de la Garza 2009; Brettell and Hollifield 2015).

Furthermore, it is clear from the literature within the field of migration studies that few subjects have attracted greater attention in recent years than the security concerns surrounding immigration. However, scholars have pointed out there has been surprisingly little work on refugees within this context (Betts and Loescher 2011). While

a substantial amount of data about refugee resettlement security concerns is available through public opinion polling, academic investigation into what shapes these views is limited. Existing survey questionnaires are not sufficiently in-depth to explain how these perceptions of insecurity are formed and only provide a limited understanding of the factors that underlie these attitudes. Most survey questions that inquire about attitudes toward refugees do not capture the factors that influence these views, most notably in relation to pre-existing knowledge and levels of contact with refugees. Without asking these types of questions, the survey data collected will continue to generate descriptive information about what people think about refugees and security issues, but little about why they hold these views (Crawley 2005).

In response to the lack of scholarly work in this area, this dissertation provides several important contributions to the migration studies literature where limited research currently exists. This study adds to the body of knowledge in this field by asking more nuanced questions to capture the complexity and underlying factors that explain how public attitudes toward refugees are shaped within receiving states. Specifically, it examines the roles that intergroup contact and knowledge play in forming perceptions about refugees and security concerns. Also, whereas previous scholarly work on refugee resettlement issues has focused primarily on larger gateway cities and major urban centers, this research is conducted in rural locations where residents have less exposure to refugees, immigrants, and minority groups. Additionally, this study is unique in that it comparatively explores similarities and differences across the two largest refugee resettlement countries, the United States and Canada, which have been relatively understudied in prior comparative migration research.

While the two largest nations of North America have much in common and have historically served as the global leaders in refugee resettlement, their approaches to this issue have taken different paths in recent years. In 2017, President Donald Trump issued two executive orders dramatically lowering the number of refugees to be admitted to the United States and banning entry to nationals of some of the world's largest refugee-producing countries. The contrast between these American actions and Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau personally welcoming Syrian refugees from the first flight could not be more glaring (Ibbitson 2017). This divergence serves as a compelling reminder of the need for more research on the issues surrounding global refugee resettlement, particularly on reducing anti-immigrant sentiments and perceptions of insecurity within receiving states. The results of this research can hopefully provide a better understanding of the factors that underlie these views and also help guide the work of current and future scholars working in this area. By doing so, these efforts can have a meaningful impact on reducing prejudicial attitudes and intergroup hostilities, in addition to ultimately contributing to solutions for complex refugee situations.

APPENDIX A – IRB Approval Letter

THE UNIVERSITY OF
SOUTHERN MISSISSIPPI

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
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Phone: 601.266.5997 | Fax: 601.266.4377 | www.usm.edu/research/institutional.review.board

NOTICE OF COMMITTEE ACTION

The project has been reviewed by The University of Southern Mississippi Institutional Review Board in accordance with Federal Drug Administration regulations (21 CFR 26, 111), Department of Health and Human Services (45 CFR Part 46), and university guidelines to ensure adherence to the following criteria:

- The risks to subjects are minimized.
- The risks to subjects are reasonable in relation to the anticipated benefits.
- The selection of subjects is equitable.
- Informed consent is adequate and appropriately documented.
- Where appropriate, the research plan makes adequate provisions for monitoring the data collected to ensure the safety of the subjects.
- Where appropriate, there are adequate provisions to protect the privacy of subjects and to maintain the confidentiality of all data.
- Appropriate additional safeguards have been included to protect vulnerable subjects.
- Any unanticipated, serious, or continuing problems encountered regarding risks to subjects must be reported immediately, but not later than 10 days following the event. This should be reported to the IRB Office via the "Adverse Effect Report Form".
- If approved, the maximum period of approval is limited to twelve months.
  Projects that exceed this period must submit an application for renewal or continuation.

PROTOCOL NUMBER: 17072801
PROJECT TITLE: Refugee Resettlement and Perceptions of Insecurity: A Comparative Study of the United States and Canada
PROJECT TYPE: Doctoral Dissertation
RESEARCHER(S): Erik Amundson
COLLEGE/DIVISION: College of Arts and Letters
DEPARTMENT: International Development Doctoral Program
FUNDING AGENCY/SPONSOR: N/A
IRB COMMITTEE ACTION: Expedited Review Approval
PERIOD OF APPROVAL: 07/31/2017 to 07/30/2018
Lawrence A. Hosman, Ph.D.
Institutional Review Board

APPENDIX B – Survey Instrument

Refugee resettlement in rural Canadian communities

1. Do you support or oppose the resettlement of refugees in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan? (select one)
   - ○ Support
   - ○ Oppose (skip to question 3)
   - ○ Undecided (skip to question 4)

2. (IF SUPPORT) What is the primary reason you support refugee resettlement in Moose Jaw? (select one)
   - ○ National duty
   - ○ Humanitarian reasons
   - ○ Moral or religious obligations
   - ○ Add diversity to the community
   - ○ Help the local economy
   - ○ Other (_____)

3. (IF OPPOSE) What is the primary reason you oppose refugee resettlement in Moose Jaw? (select one)
   - ○ Not the right place/should be resettled elsewhere
   - ○ Cultural, religious, or language differences
   - ○ Will take jobs away from current residents
   - ○ Will cost taxpayers money
   - ○ Increased security threat
   - ○ Other (_____)

4. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements on a scale from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree).

	Disagree				Agree
I consider myself to be knowledgeable about refugee resettlement issues	1	2	3	4	5
I am confident in the refugee resettlement screening process	1	2	3	4	5
Refugee resettlement will make the country a more dangerous place	1	2	3	4	5
It is likely that a terrorist could infiltrate the refugee resettlement program	1	2	3	4	5

5. Do refugees from some parts of the world present more of a security concern? (select one)
    - O Yes
    - O No (skip to question 7)

6. Refugees from which geographic locations present more of a security concern? (select all that apply)
    - O Sub-Saharan Africa
    - O South and East Asia
    - O Middle East/North Africa
    - O Latin America/Caribbean
    - O Eastern Europe/Former Soviet Union
    - O Australia/Oceania
    - O Other (_____)

7. Do refugees belonging to some religions constitute more of a security concern? (select one)
    - O Yes
    - O No (skip to question 9)

8. (IF YES) Which religious affiliations constitute more of a security concern? (select all that apply)
    - O Christian
    - O Jewish
    - O Muslim
    - O Buddhist
    - O Hindu
    - O Other (_____)

9. Should the country prioritize Christian refugees? (select one)
    - O Yes
    - O No

10. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements on a scale from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree).

	Disagree				Agree
Saskatchewan is a good place to resettle refugees	1	2	3	4	5
Moose Jaw is a good place to resettle refugees	1	2	3	4	5
Refugees should be resettled in large urban areas	1	2	3	4	5
Refugees can integrate more easily in smaller rural communities	1	2	3	4	5
Most Saskatchewan residents are welcoming of outsiders	1	2	3	4	5
Most Moose Jaw residents are welcoming of outsiders	1	2	3	4	5

KNOWLEDGE

11. Posing as a refugee is one of the easiest ways to enter Canada. (select one)

- ○ True
- ○ False

12. Some of the Syrian and Iraqi refugees who have been resettled in Canada have committed acts of terrorism here. (select one)

- ○ True
- ○ False

13. The annual number of resettled refugees in Canada has increased since 1980. (select one)

- ○ True
- ○ False

14. How many refugees do you think have been resettled in Moose Jaw during the past three years? (select one)

- ○ More than 100
- ○ 50 – 99
- ○ 1 - 49
- ○ 0

15. Which of the following acts of terrorism were carried out by refugees? (select all that apply)

- O 2013 Boston marathon bombing
- O 2014 shootings at Parliament Hill, Ottawa
- O 2015 coordinated attacks in Paris
- O 2016 suicide bombings in Brussels
- O None of the above

16. What is meant by the term asylum seeker? (select one)

- O Someone who is born outside of the country where they are currently living
- O Someone who moves to a country where they do not have citizenship
- O Someone who has fled their country and intends to apply for refugee status
- O Someone who leaves their native country to seek better standard of living

17. What is the difference between an immigrant and a refugee? (select one)

- O No difference, same concept
- O Immigrants leave voluntarily and refugees are forced to leave
- O Immigrants are allowed to stay and live in another country
- O Immigrants are eligible for citizenship and refugees are not

CONTACT

18. How would you rate your level of comfort around people of a different ethnic background on a scale from 1 (very uncomfortable) to 5 (very comfortable)?

Very uncomfortable	1	2	3	4	5	Very comfortable

19. How often do you interact with people from a different ethnic background?

- O Never (skip to question 22)
- O A few times a year
- O Monthly
- O Weekly
- O Daily

20. In general, how would you rate the quality of your interactions with individuals from different ethnic backgrounds on a scale from 1 (very negative) to 5 (very positive)?

Very negative	1	2	3	4	5	Very positive

21. How would you characterize your relationship with the person from a different ethnic background you know best? (select one)

- O Casual contact only
- O Acquaintance
- O Friend
- O Other (_____)

22. Do you know of any immigrants or refugees living in Moose Jaw? (select one)

- O Yes
- O No (skip to question 24)

23. (IF YES) How many immigrants or refugees do you know by name?

_____

24. Have you traveled outside of the county? (select one)

- O Yes
- O No (skip to question 27)

25. (IF YES) How many times?

_____

26. (IF YES) To which continent(s) have you traveled? (select all that apply)

- O Africa
- O Asia
- O Australia/Oceania
- O Europe
- O North America
- O South America
- O Other (_____)

DEMOGRAPHICS

27. In what year were you born?

_____

28. In what province were you born? If you were not born in Canada, what is your country of birth?

_____

29. What is the postal code where you currently live? If you do not live in Canada, in what country do you reside?

_____

30. What is your gender? (select one)

- O Male
- O Female

31. What is your ethnic background? (select all that apply)

- O White
- O Arab
- O Chinese
- O Black
- O Filipino
- O Japanese
- O Southeast Asian (Vietnamese, Cambodian, Thai, etc.)
- O South Asian (East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.)
- O West Asian (Iranian, Afghan, etc.)
- O Latin American
- O Korean
- O First Nations (North American Indian), Métis, or Inuk
- O Other (_____)

32. What is your highest level of education completed? (select one)

- O Less than high school
- O High school diploma or equivalent
- O Postsecondary certificate or degree
- O Bachelor's degree
- O Graduate degree or higher

33. Which political party do you identify with? (select one)

- O Green Party of Saskatchewan
- O New Democratic Party of Saskatchewan
- O Progressive Conservative Party of Saskatchewan
- O Saskatchewan Liberal Association
- O Saskatchewan Party
- O Western Independent Party
- O Other (_____)

34. What is your religious affiliation? (select one)

O Catholic	O Jewish
O Protestant	O Muslim
O Hindu	O Buddhist
O None	O Other (_____)

35. Which income category describes your total household income for the last 12 months? (select one)

- O Less than $24,999
- O $25,000 to $49,999
- O $50,000 to $74,999
- O $75,000 to $99,999
- O $100,000 or more

Thank you for participating in this survey!

If you have any other thoughts or comments you would like to add, please do so in the space below:

APPENDIX C – Survey Mailer

September 29, 2017

Dear Swift Current resident:

I am writing to ask for your help with a cross-national university study of public attitudes toward refugee resettlement in Canada and the United States. This issue has been the subject of extensive political debate and scrutiny, particularly over growing security concerns. However, most public opinion polls and academic studies have been conducted in urban areas that typically have larger numbers of immigrants and refugees.

We want to improve our understanding of this issue in rural locations by asking a variety of people in smaller communities throughout both countries to share their thoughts and opinions. As such, your address is one of only a select number that has been randomly selected to help in this cross-national study. By taking the opportunity to contribute to this discussion, you will be adding greatly to our understanding of how residents across Canada and the United States view refugee resettlement.

Would you please help us with this university research by taking a few moments to complete the enclosed confidential questionnaire and return it in the postage-paid envelope? To make sure we hear from all different types of people who live in Swift Current, please have the adult (age 18 or over) in your household who has had the most recent birthday be the one to complete the enclosed questionnaire. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may refuse to answer any question. It should take approximately 15 to 20 minutes to complete the survey questionnaire.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact the Principal Investigator, Erik Amundson, at erik.amundson@usm.edu or by calling toll free 1-855-505-7854. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a survey respondent, feel free to contact the university's Institutional Review Board (IRB) at IRB@usm.edu or by calling 601-266-5997.

Thank you in advance for your participation!

Sincerely,

Erik Amundson
Principal Investigator

DATE OF IRB APPROVAL: 7/31/2017
IRB NUMBER: 17072801
PROJECT EXPIRATION DATE: 7/30/2018

16. How often do you interact with people from a different ethnic background?

- ☐ Never (go to question 17)
- ☐ A few times a year
- ☐ Monthly
- ☐ Weekly
- ☐ Daily

16a. In general, how would you rate the quality of your interactions with individuals from different ethnic backgrounds on a scale from 1 (very negative) to 5 (very positive)?

☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5

16b. How would you characterize your relationship with the person from a different ethnic background you know best? (select one)

- ☐ Casual contact only
- ☐ Acquaintance
- ☐ Friend
- ☐ Other (_____)

17. Have you traveled outside of the county?

- ☐ No (go to question 18)
- ☐ Yes

17a. If yes, how many times?

.....

17b. To which continent(s) have you traveled? (select all that apply)

- ☐ Africa
- ☐ Asia
- ☐ Australia/Oceania
- ☐ Europe
- ☐ North America
- ☐ South America
- ☐ Other (_____)

- DEMOGRAPHICS -

The following information will remain confidential and will be used only in the data analysis of this study

18. In what year were you born?

.....

19. In what state were you born? If you were not born in the U.S., what is your country of birth?

.....

20. What is the zip code where you currently live? If you do not live in the U.S., in what country do you reside?

.....

21. What is your gender?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

22. What is your race?

- ☐ White
- ☐ Black or African American
- ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native
- ☐ Asian
- ☐ Some other race
- ☐ Two or more races
- ☐ Other (_____)

23. What is your ethnicity?

- ☐ Hispanic or Latino (of any race)
- ☐ Not Hispanic or Latino

24. What is your highest level of education completed?

- ☐ Less than high school
- ☐ High school diploma
- ☐ Some college or associate's degree
- ☐ Bachelor's degree
- ☐ Graduate degree or higher

25. With which political party do you identify?

- ☐ Republican
- ☐ Democratic
- ☐ Independent
- ☐ None
- ☐ Other (_____)

26. What is your religious affiliation?

- ☐ Christian
- ☐ Jewish
- ☐ Hindu
- ☐ Muslim
- ☐ Buddhist
- ☐ None
- ☐ Other (_____)

27. Which income category describes your total household income in the last 12 months?

- ☐ Less than $24,999
- ☐ $25,000 to $49,999
- ☐ $50,000 to $74,999
- ☐ $75,000 to $99,999
- ☐ $100,000 or more

Thank you very much for participating in this survey! If you have any other thoughts or comments you would like to add, please do so in the space below:

Please return this questionnaire in the enclosed postage-paid envelope or use the following address:

Resettlement Research Project
PO Box 1031
Helena, MT 59624

THANK YOU!

Refugee Resettlement - Helena, Montana -

You are invited to take part in a cross-national university survey of public attitudes toward refugee resettlement across the United States and Canada. Please help us with this research by taking a few moments to complete this confidential questionnaire and return it in the postage-paid envelope.

Your input is voluntary and you may refuse to answer any question. If you have any questions about the study please call toll free 1-855-505-7854 or e-mail erik.amundson@usm.edu

Please start the survey here

1. Do you support or oppose the resettlement of refugees in Helena, Montana? (select one)

- ☐ Undecided (skip to question 2 on the next page)
- ☐ Support (go to question 1a)
- ☐ Oppose (go to question 1b)

1a. If support, what is the primary reason you support refugee resettlement in Helena? (select one)

- ☐ National duty
- ☐ Humanitarian reasons
- ☐ Moral or religious obligations
- ☐ Add diversity to the community
- ☐ Help the local economy
- ☐ Other (_____)

1b. If oppose, what is the primary reason you oppose refugee resettlement in Helena? (select one)

- ☐ Cultural, religious, or language differences
- ☐ Will take jobs away from current residents
- ☐ Will cost taxpayers money
- ☐ Increased security threat
- ☐ Not the right place/should go elsewhere
- ☐ Other (_____)

Please continue on next page

2. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements on a scale from: 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree)

I consider myself to be knowledgeable about refugee resettlement issues.

☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5

I am confident in the refugee resettlement screening process.

☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5

Refugee resettlement will make the country a more dangerous place.

☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5

It is likely that a terrorist could infiltrate the refugee resettlement program.

☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5

3. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements on a scale from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree)

Montana is a good place to resettle refugees.

☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5

Helena is a good place to resettle refugees.

☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5

Refugees should be resettled in large urban areas.

☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5

Refugees can integrate more easily in smaller rural communities.

☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5

Montana residents are welcoming of outsiders.

☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5

Helena residents are welcoming of outsiders.

☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5

4. Do refugees from some parts of the world present more of a security concern to North America? (select one)

☐ No (go to question 5)
☐ Yes

→ 4a. If yes, refugees from which geographic locations present more of a security concern to North America? (select all that apply)

☐ Sub-Saharan Africa (1)
☐ South and East Asia (2)
☐ Middle East/North Africa (3)
☐ Latin America/Caribbean (4)
☐ Eastern Europe/Former Soviet Union (5)
☐ Australia/Oceania (6)
☐ Other (_____)

5. Do refugees belonging to some religions constitute more of a security concern in the United States? (select one)

☐ No (go to question 6)
☐ Yes

→ 5a. If yes, which religious affiliations constitute more of a security concern in the United States? (select all that apply)

☐ Christian
☐ Jewish
☐ Muslim
☐ Buddhist
☐ Hindu
☐ Other (_____)

6. Should the country prioritize Christian refugees? (select one)

☐ Yes
☐ No

- TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE -

The following section contains a brief quiz about several common refugee issues and concerns. Please provide your best guess for the following seven questions:

7. Posing as a refugee is one of the easiest ways to enter the United States. (select one)

☐ True
☐ False

8. Some of the Syrian and Iraqi refugees who have been resettled in the United Sates have committed acts of terrorism here. (select one)

☐ True
☐ False

9. The annual number of resettled refugees in the United States has increased since 1980. (select one)

☐ True
☐ False

10. How many refugees do you think have been resettled in Montana during the past three years? (select one)

☐ More than 100
☐ 50 – 99
☐ 1 - 49
☐ 0

11. Which of the following acts of terrorism were carried out by refugees? (select all that apply)

☐ 2013 Boston marathon bombing
☐ 2014 shootings at Parliament Hill, Ottawa
☐ 2015 coordinated attacks in Paris
☐ 2016 suicide bombings in Brussels
☐ None of the above

12. What is meant by the term asylum seeker? (select one)

☐ Someone who is born outside of the country where they are currently living
☐ Someone who moves to a country where they do not have citizenship
☐ Someone who has fled their country and intends to apply for refugee status
☐ Someone who leaves their native country to seek better standard of living

13. What is the difference between an immigrant and a refugee? (select one)

☐ No difference, same concept
☐ Immigrants leave voluntarily and refugees are forced to leave
☐ Immigrants are allowed to stay and live in another country
☐ Immigrants are eligible for citizenship and refugees are not

- LEVEL OF CONTACT -

We would like to find out more about your level of contact and interaction with people of different backgrounds

14. How would you rate your comfort level around people of a different ethnic background on a scale from 1 (very uncomfortable) to 5 (very comfortable)?

☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5

15. Do you know of any immigrants or refugees living in Helena? (select one)

☐ No (skip to question 16 on the next page)
☐ Yes

→ 15a. If yes, how many immigrants or refugees in Helena do you know by name?

.....

Continued on the next side

APPENDIX D – Interview Instrument

Refugee resettlement interview questions

1. How would you describe the community attitudes towards refugee resettlement?
2. What are some of the commonly held community perceptions about refugees? Do these perceptions differ according to ethnicity or religion?
3. Are some potential refugee groups viewed more favorably? Are some perceived as more threatening?
4. How do you think residents form their opinions about different refugee groups?
5. What is the most important reason someone in [Montana/Saskatchewan] might oppose refugee resettlement?
6. How important are security concerns in the debate about resettlement?
7. [Montana U.S. Senator Steve Daines/Saskatchewan Premier Brad Wall] recently called for a pause to the country's resettlement program due to security concerns about refugees entering the country. Do you think most people here agree with him? Why or why not?
8. What might alleviate the security concerns that people have about resettling refugees here?
9. How knowledgeable do you think most residents are about refugee resettlement issues?
10. Do you think most residents interact with refugees or immigrants in the community?
11. Do you believe refugee resettlement is good for rural [states/provinces]? Why or why not?
12. Are there any resettlement concerns unique to rural areas in comparison to urban areas?
13. Do you feel most residents of [Montana/Saskatchewan] are welcoming of people with different backgrounds?
14. Overall, do you think this community is a good place for refugees to live?
15. Finally, what is your number one concern about refugees being resettled here?

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