Refuge
CANADA'S JOURNAL ON REFUGEES
REVUE CANADIENNE SUR LES RÉFUGIÉS

GENERAL ISSUE

NUMERO GENÉRAL

VOL 38 • NO 2 • 2022

VOLUME 38 | ISSUE 2 | SUMMER/FALL 2022

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees

Refuge : Revue canadienne sur les réfugiés

ARTICLES

Refuge
CANADA'S JOURNAL ON REFUGEES
REVUE CANADIENNE SUR LES RÉFUGIÉS

BOOK REVIEWS

FILM REVIEW

Refuge
CANADA'S JOURNAL ON REFUGEES
REVUE CANADIENNE SUR LES RÉFUGIÉS

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés
2022, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1–18
https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.40937

Grandmothers Behind the Scenes: Subordinate Integration, Care Work, and Power in Syrian Canadian Refugee Resettlement

Rula Kahil, Maleeha Iqbal and Neda Maghbouleh

ABSTRACT

Research and policy concerning the Syrian Canadian diaspora has not prioritized elders. This article adds to scholarship about the well-being of newcomers admitted via the Syrian Refugee Resettlement Initiative through a focus on grandmothers resettled within their multigenerational families. Using interviews and qualitative field research, we show how the authority and status these elder women once held in Syria may be undermined by their comparatively subordinate integration in Canada. Although new, post-migration configurations of power, care work, and community may present some opportunities, the burdens and dependencies of subordinate integration mostly constrain these elders from reclaiming their authority and status.

KEYWORDS

elder refugees; aging; subordinate integration; women; claimsmaking; mattering

RESUMÉ

La recherche et les politiques concernant la diaspora syrienne au Canada n'ont pas accordé la priorité aux aînés. Cet article contribue à la recherche sur le bien-être des nouveaux arrivants admis via l'Initiative de réinstallation des réfugiés syriens en mettant l'accent sur les grand-mères réinstallées chez leurs familles multigénérationnelles. À l'aide d'entrevues et d'une enquête de terrain qualitative, nous démontrons comment l'autorité et le statut autrefois détenus par ces aînées en Syrie peuvent être ébranlés par leur intégration relativement subordonnée au Canada. Bien que de nouvelles configurations post-migratoires de pouvoir, de travail de soin et de communauté puissent présenter certaines opportunités, les fardeaux et les dépendances de l'intégration subordonnée empêchent principalement ces aînées de récupérer leur autorité et leur statut.

KEYWORDS

réfugié.es âgé.es; vieillir; intégration subordonnés; femmes; revendication; compter

HISTORY Published 31 December 2022

CONTACT

[a] **(Corresponding author)** rula.kahil@utoronto.ca

Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada

[a] maleeha.iqbal@mail.utoronto.ca

Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada

[a] neda.maghbouleh@utoronto.ca

Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada

INTRODUCTION

A small, framed photograph hangs on the wall of a newcomer family's home on the outer edge of Toronto, Canada. At first glance, it appears to capture the happy wedding of two couples: two brides standing beside two grooms. Upon closer look, though, something seems peculiar about one of the brides: she has anxious, rebellious eyes, pressed lips, and a flushed face. The bride's name is Bassema,[1] and the photo marks the day, 15 years ago, that Bassema and her sister married two brothers in Syria. At the time of this observation, Bassema's own mother, Jihan, had just arrived in Canada and was living with Bassema and her family in a duplex. Bassema shared that Jihan had struck her face for refusing the marriage that day. Jihan did not dispute this, stating, "No girls of mine say no to me." Jihan expressed pride in her skills and power in arranging marriages, including those of her own daughters. She claimed that back in Syria, she was recognized as a successful matchmaker and was sought out by her community as a vital expert and resource. In the wake of war and forced migration, Jihan shared that she was re-establishing her vocation as matchmaker, only now as a refugee and a grandmother, among other Syrians—including her daughter Bassema—in Toronto.

Across town, another multigenerational Syrian family is reunited. Inside this apartment, three generations huddle tightly on a sofa. A baby dozes comfortably in his grandmother's arms. The baby's mother, Amina, snuggles happily next to her own mother, Zeynab, the more recent arrival to Canada. Zeynab, the grandmother, has an expression on her face that brims with excitement, hope, and eagerness. When Rula Kahil visited Amina at home, Zeynab excitedly took over the conversation. She explained she would build a future for herself and Amina in Canada. She declared that when the baby was old enough to attend daycare, mother and grandmother would return to school and learn English. Zeynab announced—perhaps more for Amina's benefit than for Rula's—that she came to Canada to advocate for her daughter and to take care of her grandson. Zeynab was also proud that she successfully brought her own mother, the baby's great-grandmother, to safety alongside them in this new world. Zeynab grieved that her other children, including two sons and their families, hadn't yet been able to get to Canada. But, however partial, four generations were together once again in Toronto. Zeynab, a matriarch proudly claimed by her kin, feels needed and valued.

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

Migrants aged 60 and older, like Jihan and Zeynab, who arrived in 2016 and 2018, respectively, make up less than 5% of the 44,625 Syrian refugees admitted to Canada under the Syrian Refugee Resettlement Initiative (SRRI) (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada [IRCC], 2022). But the centrality and importance of elders and extended kin in multigenerational households is a strong feature of many societies from which immigrants to Canada hail, including the Arab world (Young & Shami, 1997; Rabiah-Mohammed et al., 2022). Despite their importance, the presence or absence of grandparents in the Syrian Canadian diaspora is under-examined, especially in the context of war, forced migration, and resettlement through programs like the SRRI, which prioritize younger migrants and nuclear (and heterosexual) families.

[1] All names used in this article are pseudonyms.

This article contributes to emerging scholarship about the lives and well-being of Syrian Canadians admitted via the SRRI by examining the experiences of grandmothers resettled within their multigenerational families. For matriarchs in Arab societies such as Syria, to "claim" and be found "claimable" by kin or family is a primary platform through which care work, gender, and age-related identity roles are exercised (Joseph, 2012). Grandmothers, especially in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, are also recognized by public health scholarship as "culturally designated and influential newborn advisors to young mothers, and direct caregivers [for their families (Aubel, 2021, p. 1). Less is known, however, about Syrian grandmothers' status and kin relations in settings like Canada, where multigenerational families may be differently reconfigured given post-migration changes to the household, including increased economic precarity and shifts in gendered and age-related power dynamics between family members. As noted by Bragg and Wong, there is also regrettably "scant" literature on how Canadian immigration policy affects the "work of grandparenting" (2016, p. 50). We therefore contribute a small-scale case study of two multigenerational refugee families in which one great-grandmother, two grandmothers, their children, and their grandchildren were resettled as part of the SRRI. This case is part of a larger research study that includes annual in-depth interviews conducted over three years with members of 53 Syrian newcomer households. We supplemented our interviews with in-person ethnographic observation in the family's homes and follow-ups with the grandmothers and their families via Zoom, voice notes, and text messages.[2]

We argue that the grandmothers in our study held a more secure status in Syria. They were matriarchs around whom the home and family revolved. Following the Syrian war, their displacement and forced migration upended these roles, and their identities as elder matriarchs within their families and new societies could no longer stay the same. Through attention to their self-reported sense of claimability and mattering within the context of their pre- and post-migration life histories, we show how these grandmothers understand their own authority and status as undermined in a Canadian integration system that resettles them into different and ultimately subordinate social positions in their younger family members' homes and into a society that, at large, allows their younger family members more agency. This case study is but one example of **subordinate integration**, a concept that describes the partial inclusion of certain newcomers into the economic, social, and political life of the receiving country. Those who experience **subordinate integration** may not necessarily experience downward assimilation: the integration of some immigrants into the underclass of their host country due to low levels of social and economic mobility. Yet, their integration into the host country is undermined, limited, or incomplete compared with other newcomers, co-ethnics, and even other family members due to the negative evaluation of their personhood or potentiality.

We show that since arriving in Canada, the grandmothers in our study could not replicate the matriarchal home that sustained their status and sense of control in Syria. Rather, subordinate integration and the difficulties of aging weakened the grandmothers' roles within the family and rendered them unable to make independent finan-

[2] In line with COVID-19 provincial guidelines in Ontario, our research team was required to pivot to remote-only forms of research and communication with participants starting on March 14, 2020.

cial decisions or contributions. This is due, in part, to a Canadian policy context that understands elderly migrants as drains on social welfare and does not empower or support their autonomous activities. But it is also a reflection of how intergenerational power and solidarity relationships are changed through the process of migration.

How then do resettled Syrian grandmothers maintain a sense of power, mattering, and claimability when their forced migration and subordinate integration in a new Canadian setting may "erode the very basis of their claim?"[3] The grandmothers in our study do not passively accept their subordinate integration. Instead, they reorient their care work towards others in their co-ethnic community and personal family circles and resist being defined as burdens by settlement and social assistance agencies. Although matriarchal families exist across different conditions and settings, we suggest that the subordinate integration of these elder women in Canada mediates their former power as matriarchs. This heeds the call by feminist scholars to add to the "upsurge" in work on Arab women's public rights, identities, and political participation by also studying dynamic changes in family life (Johnson, 2018, p. 467; Taha, 2020) as well as to contribute to emerging knowledge in migration studies about Syrian resettlement in Canada (Hamilton et al., 2020; Hynie, 2018; Oudshoorn et al., 2020).

ARAB FAMILY STRUCTURE AND THE "KIN CONTRACT"

The "connectivity" of "intimate selves in Arab families," as articulated by anthropologist Suad Joseph, requires scholars based in the West to decentre taken-for-granted notions of the self for more relevant cultural conceptions whereby, in Arab families, identities are forged through a "psychodynamic process by which one person comes to see himself or herself as part of another" (Joseph, 1999, p. 121). Similarly, "the **family-centered** culture of non-EU migrants, which promotes **interdependence** [emphasis added] between family members, explains the importance migrant women attach to the presence of, and care by, their mothers" (Wyss & Nedelcu, 2020, p. 356). Such interdependence leaves "limited room for independence and privacy" within Arab families (Barakat, 1993, p. 106), and significant expectations and obligations to one another are held even across transnational distance, whether by choice or force of migration.

The centrality of family and kin is both a political and cultural frame: "The constitutions of most Arab countries state that the family, not the individual, is the basic unit of society" (Joseph, 1996, p. 16) and a major social structure (Harb, 2010). Being the "first form of socialization," Arab family members learn "at an early age to accept the traditionally established masculine cores of authority: kinship and religion" (Harb, 2010, p. 101). Yet, such notions of family and kinship rights also come with equivalent notions of responsibility and obligation. While Arab norms assign family power to men and oblige them to be financially responsible for their family, in the absence of elder men, age-based kinship values in the Arab world elevate elder women like grandmothers to matriarchs (Joseph, 1996). Arab grandmothers are therefore "privileged" in their status as family elders but also "constrained" by obligations to help raise their grandchildren (Joseph, 2000, p. 123). This web of relations has been described as a "kin contract," which includes "mothers' and fathers' unconditional sacrifices for their chil-

[3]We thank sociologist Sylvia Fuller for sharing this phrase with us.

dren, children's unwavering respect for their parents," and, importantly, "the love and care of [other family members] many steps removed" (Joseph, 2000, p. 116).

MIGRANT GRANDPARENTS AND CAREGIVING IN CANADA

In recent decades, Canada has retrenched funding for social welfare and caregiving support for children, elders, and people with disabilities (Cranford, 2020; Mathieu, 2019). Following neoliberal shifts in policy, such caregiving gaps are covered by unpaid family and kin labour, or what Deneva calls "welfare to kinfare" (2012, p. 118). This includes grandmothers, who are treated as "family savers" that enable parents, and especially mothers, to work outside the home in contexts where childcare is required (Herlofson & Hagestad, 2012, p. 27). Previous scholarship has analyzed the crucial caregiving role of grandmothers for the survival of transnational families in a time of economic globalization (Abrego, 2014; Baldassar, 2007; Baldassar & Merla, 2013; Brandhorst et al., 2020; Merla, 2012), including grandmothers who care for "left-behind" grandchildren as part of an "international division of reproductive labour" (Parreñas, 2015, p. 10; consult also Fan & Parreñas, 2018; King et al., 2014; Nedeclu & Wyss, 2020; Yarris, 2014) and "transnational aging carers" who migrate to and from their homelands to assist adult children with care obligations (Deneva, 2012, p. 105).

The grandmothers in our study are in a somewhat different situation: they are forced migrants who have been granted permanent residency and have resettled in Canada as refugees. Because the mobility of elders is typically constrained by human capital, health, and restrictionist migration policies, our case study is somewhat atypical. Indeed, migrant-receiving countries like Canada only maintain modest family reunification programs with a Parents and Grandparents Program (PGP) component. Canada's commitment to PGP is relatively weak and framed in a deficit model in which older newcomers pose net negative economic outcomes and require outsized social assistance (Bélanger & Candiz, 2020, p. 3474). As argued by Bragg and Wong, there exists a "popular discourse around the 'burden' of elderly immigrants on Canadian social service systems," which is a reflection of how "human-capital theory drives the immigration policy agenda in Canada" (2016, p. 49). Bragg and Wong document how a three-year moratorium on PGP family reunification (2011–2014) disproportionately burdened immigrant mothers and negatively impacted families' integration and belonging (consult Neysmith & Zhou, 2013).

Migrant grandparents who land in Canada typically live as financial dependents in their adult children's homes but significantly contribute to the household through unpaid home care and childcare for their grandchildren and the maintenance and preservation of cultural traditions and family solidarities (Milan et al., 2015; Neysmith & Zhou, 2013; Tyyskä, 2015). That grandparents' caregiving is necessary for family members' survival across national contexts yet also restricted or undermined by prevailing immigration policy is a contradiction that scholars have noted (Wyss & Nedeclu, 2020, p. 358; Zhou, 2018).

SYRIAN RESETTLEMENT IN CANADA (2015–PRESENT)

The unique SRRI that began in late 2015 represents a major undertaking or "national project" by the Canadian government and civil society, accomplished at a rapid speed and scale (for details, consult Bakard-

jieva, 2020; Hamilton et al., 2020). Integration, defined as a two-way process of interaction and participation in all domains of social life for groups and individuals (Biles et al., 2008, p. 272), has been identified by policy-makers, academics, and other Canadian stakeholders as the preferred outcome to "confer the highest levels of psychological health and sociocultural adaptation" for newcomers (Wildschut et al., 2019, p. 1379). It follows, then, that an emerging body of research with SRRI newcomers attends to their integration- related experiences and outcomes (consult, for example, Hamilton et al., 2020, Kyriakides et al., 2018, Taha, 2020). We know less, however, about the experiences of older adults in this migration wave (Boutmira, 2021). The small subset of grandmothers in our study who were resettled through the SRRI thus offer a unique window into opportunities and constraints for older adult women who are resettled alongside their families.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The broader research study from which this article is drawn is a team-based project at the University of Toronto in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA): Refugee Integration, Stress, and Equity (RISE).[4] Toronto is a significant location for research on Syrian resettlement as nearly half of all SRRI newcomers to Canada were initially settled in Ontario, with the greatest proportion, nearly one in two, in Toronto (IRCC, 2019b). RISE began in 2016 as a two-wave interview pilot study of 41 Syrian mothers in their first 5 to 13 months of resettlement. The goal of the study was to explore identity- and stress-related changes among Syrian families. The project then expanded into a 2018–2023 longitudinal study also involving grandmothers and teenage children. The three faculty co-investigators identify as West Asian, white, and East Asian; most other team members are native Arabic speakers who identify as first-, 1.5-, and second-generation Arab Canadians and helped ensure the research design and interview protocol were linguistically and culturally appropriate.

Participants were recruited through three local settlement-related organizations. The full RISE sample (n = 148) reflects the participation of 53 households. All migrated to Canada through the SRRI program and arrived in the GTA between 2015 and 2018 as either government-assisted refugees (GARs,[5] roughly three quarters of the study sample), Blended Visa Office-Referred (BVOR) refugees, or privately sponsored refugees.

This article develops a small-N case study from RISE data following Burawoy's "extended case method" (1998) and Small's theoretical and empirical justification for the utility of single cases to identify "social situations," including key types and relationships (2009, p. 20). Here, we focus on two elder women's evolving identities and shifting power dynamics in the context of their forced migration to Canada. Only 2 of 53 households were distinguished by the presence of grandmothers who arrived in Canada as GARs. In this way, we also draw on Fitzgerald's observation, citing Eckstein (1975), that successful studies in migration often prioritize "the logic of the crucial case" (2006, p. 14). Rula's curiosity about grandmothers "behind the scenes" was piqued when both grandmothers were present in their daughters' households during interviews; hence, early observations of grandmothers' pres-

[4]Human Subjects Approval protocol #00036436; further details about full study are available at http://www.RISETeam.ca.

[5]The Canadian government supports and grants GARs a one-year allowance (IRCC, 2019a), which they may use toward their rental housing. After the resettlement allowance period, GARs must rely on the social assistance income, which is insufficient for the existing housing market (Rabiah-Mohammed et al., 2022).

ence in the family were spontaneous and inductive.

However, upon being invited to join the research study, both Jihan and Zeynab expressed keen interest to tell their stories to Rula as formal participants in the research enterprise, an age-related dynamic observed elsewhere (Bloemraad & Menjívar, 2022; Fukui & Menjívar, 2015). Thus, over three years, Rula interviewed, observed, and collected stories from both elder women. Three annual in-depth interviews with each grandmother were supplemented with participant observation in the grandmothers' homes and community. For example, at Jihan's request, Rula served as a translator for Jihan at a doctor's appointment, and Rula and Neda visited Zeynab after her cancer operation. Throughout the duration of the study, weekly text messages and phone calls were shared between Rula and the grandmothers. Zeynab regularly inquired about social assistance and updated Rula about struggles between her and other family members. After completion of the study, Rula corresponded regularly with both grandmothers and their daughters via voice notes and text messaging for two additional months. This qualitative engagement forms the core empirical basis of the article and is supplemented with interviews with Jihan's and Zeynab's younger family members.

Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed into English from Arabic by research assistants. NVivo was used to organize and analyze interview transcripts, audio files, and field notes. The analysis involved two phases of coding: during the first phase, based on questions in the interview guide, key terms and concepts were flagged; during the second phase, emergent themes from the authors' ongoing conversations about the interviews were coded. Between phases, the authors' coding strategy informed follow-up with each grandmother throughout the analysis and write-up process.

In the next two sections, findings from the grandmothers' case studies are presented separately. The findings stem from self-reported experiences shared by the two grandmothers and their respective daughters about their pre-migration lives in Syria, including their social statuses and reputations, their displacement in Turkey, and resettlement in Canada. We note that although our observations and participants' narratives were counterchecked, whenever possible, against information provided by other family members, we are limited in our ability make strong or definitive claims from this data. Relatedly, the data presented here are largely from observations and annual interviews with respondents in their homes. We unfortunately cannot provide the thick description and perspectival lens on newcomer family psychosocial dynamics that an immersive ethnography could. After discussing each grandmother separately, we bring the cases of Jihan and Zeynab together to understand three themes in their narratives: how Arab migrant family dynamics around "claims-making" (Joseph, 2012) manifest in forced migration contexts; how grandmothers' identities, including their senses of mattering and control, are challenged by resettlement conditions; and how they navigate subordinate integration into Canadian society as refugee elder women.

TWO CASE STUDIES: JIHAN AND ZEYNAB

In many ways, Jihan and Zeynab are similar. Both are single mothers in their sixties, both raised eight children each, both hold little formal schooling, and both worked in Syria handling food. Jihan worked as

a cook and Zeynab owned a grocery shop. Both described themselves as active community members with strong interpersonal skills that helped them build a rich social network and good reputation among others. They also described themselves as dedicated mothers and caretakers. Due to the Syrian war, their children and grandchildren are now dispersed across Asia, Europe, and North America, including some in Canada.

Jihan's Story

Jihan, a mother to seven daughters and one son, and grandmother to 24 grandchildren, arrived in Toronto in December 2016.[6] In Syria, Jihan worked as a cook for 35 years preparing "Syrian delicacies" for privileged families. She described having been a prominent matchmaker who leveraged her authority to match over "one hundred" couples back home, including some of her daughters, as described at the start of this article.[7] Jihan characterized herself as an "illiterate" woman who married at the age of 13 and worked tirelessly to ensure her children received a quality education and a better life:

> I didn't study in my country. They got me married when I was 13 years old. I don't know a school. Why do you think I made sure my kids have an education? Because I have been very upset with myself … and Hamdillah [thank God], I taught them, I got them married. … I arranged for their travel, Hamdillah.

In prewar Syria, her husband's salary from his job in the army could not sustain eight children. Jihan utilized her social entrepreneurship skills to provide for the family and proudly shared that people heard of her "by word of mouth and through God's will." Jihan's home in Aleppo was also the principal meeting place for her married daughters and their families to cook and spend time together.

In the early days of the Syrian civil war (2011–present), Jihan escaped to Turkey with her unmarried son and daughter, but her husband refused to leave with them. In Turkey, Jihan worked as a matchmaker and volunteered with organizations that helped fellow Syrian refugees. It was here that Jihan, her son, and two of her daughters applied for refugee status through the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR). While her daughters' applications were processed quickly, Jihan's application was delayed several times before it was finally accepted; her son's application did not move forward at all. In 2016, her daughters landed in Toronto, and Jihan joined them that December, leaving behind her other children and her husband.[8]

Once in Toronto, Jihan moved in with her daughter Bassema and her family, totalling six people. Bassema's family was resettled through the BVOR program in a unique cost-splitting arrangement between private sponsors and the Canadian government. They initially lived in an apartment secured by Bassema's family's private sponsors; however, after three months in cramped quarters, they rented a larger house with the agreement that Jihan would live in their basement for a small rental fee, available to her through the one-year GAR allowance. But Jihan found the basement uncomfortable, describing it as a "grave," and refused to live there. After Jihan took over one of the

[6] **Figure 1** and **Figure 2** present a family tree for each grandmother. The grandmothers, Jihan and Zeynab, are highlighted in black, and children and grandchildren resettled in Canada whose household the grandmothers joined are highlighted in grey. Due to space limitations, and for ease of understanding, the family trees are abbreviated and prioritize the matrilineal mother–child ties most germane to the data and analysis presented in the article.

[7] In the Arab world, matchmaking is traditionally practised by middle-aged women who seek single women and men in the community to find them partners. Matchmakers are usually armed with strong social skills and in-depth knowledge about single people and their families in their jurisdiction.

[8] In one interview, Jihan briefly mentioned that her husband remarried and is still living with his new wife in Aleppo.

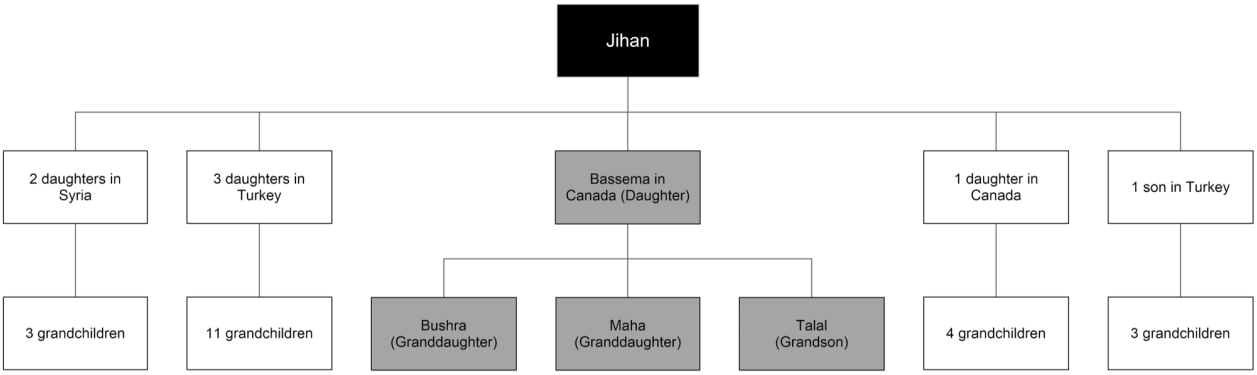

Figure 1
Jihan's Family Tree

upstairs bedrooms, her 11-year-old grandson moved into his parents' bedroom, which added to tension within the family. Though Jihan mentioned that she did most of the cooking for the household, Bassema offered a different story in subsequent interviews, stating that her mother never "lifted a needle" in her home but "has a lot of activity outside the house." Such activities, according to Bassema, were oriented towards the larger Arab Canadian community in Toronto. Indeed, we know from our interviews with Jihan that she created and participated in local lending circles, matchmaking services, and other forms of aid and advice. Jihan's activities within and orientation towards the larger Arab community increased the tension between her and Bassema.

Feeling like a burden to others, Jihan believed having her own home would grant her the power and honour she once had in Syria. Given her limited finances, Jihan applied for her own subsidized housing unit through the City of Toronto's centralized waiting list. However, she complained the process was slow and inconsiderate of older people and feared she would "end up on the streets." According to Jihan, her daughter's BVOR sponsor group had provided practical help and emotional care that Jihan, an elder, had not received as a GAR. For example, Bassema's BVOR sponsor group rented the family's first apartment prior to their arrival in Canada and offered Bassema a cooking job in one of the sponsor's restaurants. Bassema shared, however, that the most important help from the BVOR sponsors was their continuous emotional support. In Bassema's words, "one of them [the sponsors] was a better mother to me than my own."

When we revisited Jihan the following year, she was still searching for a home and felt the government had abdicated its responsibility to ensure her basic needs were met. She outlined health problems ranging from a hernia to diabetes and carpal tunnel syndrome, which made it difficult for her to work outside the home, as she explained to a social assistance employee:

> I went to the welfare [provincial social assistance agency] and told them it [the money] is not enough. They told me, "Go work." I told them, "I have hernia, rheumatism and my nerves." … This can't get straightened [points to one of her fingers]. At night, I get painkillers.

Eventually, Jihan found other ways to manoeuvre through the system. For example, though she did not find employment,

she found a place to live through the new personal networks she established for herself in Toronto. Her journey to a new home began when she joined an English-language school in her neighbourhood. There, she befriended many of the young Arab Canadian women in her classes. According to Jihan, she became something of a maternal figure: women sought her advice on matters related to cooking, matchmaking, and money management. Jihan described their respect and affection for her, although this was a claim we could not verify: "They love me, really, they love me."

Her efforts to build networks outside her daughter Bassema's household paid off when conflicts between Bassema and Jihan escalated during the COVID-19 pandemic. Despite Bassema's health-related objections, Jihan continued to invite people outside their household inside the family home to socialize. Bassema described to us her concern that Jihan's socializing jeopardized everyone's safety, especially Bassema's husband, who suffered from long-term health issues. Several months into the pandemic, Jihan left her daughter's home to live with other Arab newcomer women from the network she built. Eventually, through her network's knowledge of the Canadian system, she was advised to move into an emergency shelter for the unhoused: a step that moved her up the social housing waitlist and eventually granted Jihan her own subsidized housing unit.

Zeynab's Story

Zeynab, a mother to 6 daughters and 2 sons and a grandmother to 40 grandchildren and 9 great-grandchildren, arrived in Toronto with her own mother, Rashida, in 2018. In Syria, Zeynab owned a grocery store and was the main provider for her eight children and sick husband, who passed away from cancer 11 years prior to her arrival in Toronto. Zeynab was proud that her shop was not only a hub for her local community but a significant landmark for anyone passing through her town. Her nickname in the neighbourhood was the "mayor," which, according to Zeynab, showed how much she was respected, trusted, and well-known in the community. In her private life, her home was where immediate and extended family congregated every Saturday for dinner and leisure.

During the Syrian civil war, Zeynab was forced to leave her home and business in Aleppo and cross over into Turkey, where she lived with one of her daughters and sustained herself by selling groceries and used clothing. After Zeynab's mother fell and broke her hip while she was back in Syria, Zeynab went to retrieve her for medical attention in Turkey. At the Syrian–Turkish border, Zeynab sat her mother in a cart attached to a rope and pulled her towards the border. The Turkish border soldiers denied them entrance multiple times, but ultimately, and as a condition to allow them into Turkey, the soldiers dared Zeynab to pull her mother's cart with her mouth, and without hesitation, she agreed. The soldiers tied Zeynab's hands back, stuffed the rope in her mouth, and watched her pull the cart towards the entrance. This resulted in her losing all her front teeth. A group of humanitarian aid workers witnessed the incident, scolded the soldiers, and helped Zeynab and her mother to a hospital. After two successful operations for her mother's broken hip and pelvis, Zeynab smuggled her out of the hospital and into Turkey. In Turkey, Zeynab often carried her ailing mother on her back and sold cardboard boxes and empty bottles on the streets to earn money. Zeynab was spotted by UNHCR personnel and offered refugee status and resettlement in Canada, where her

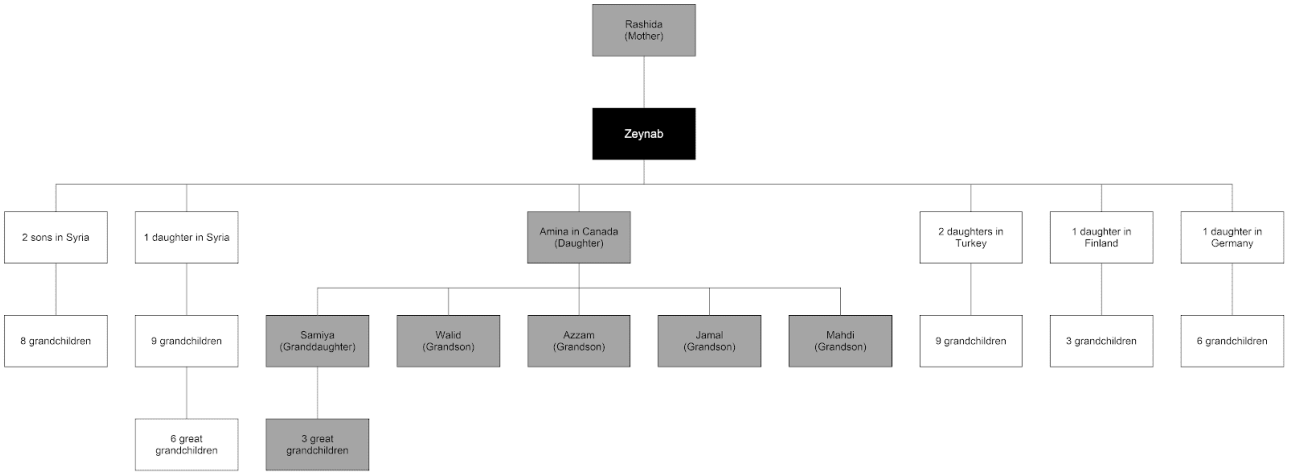

Figure 2
Zeynab's Family Tree

daughter Amina had been recently resettled. Although Zeynab's mother was also offered resettlement, the remainder of her family was not.

Upon landing in Toronto as a GAR, Zeynab and her mother lived for a few months with Amina and her husband, who had recently welcomed their fifth child. Zeynab and her mother eventually moved into their own apartment in the same neighbourhood, where in addition to caring for her frail mother, Zeynab cared for her grandson, who moved in with them. Zeynab also consistently provided her daughter, Amina, with emotional support and encouragement, which we observed during our interviews:

> **Rula:** (Addressing Amina) To what degree do you feel that you are important in Canada in general or important to your own small community? Do you feel like you are worthy?
>
> **Amina:** (Shyly) Kind of, not really …
>
> **Rula:** Why?
>
> **Amina:** Because … a little, not much.
>
> **Zeynab:** Because she doesn't go out. If she does, she will become more confident about herself. If she meets more people, she will be fine. When she knows people and mingles more, then she will have more worth in the society.
>
> **Rula:** You are encouraging her.
>
> **Zeynab:** Yes, of course. But now she is home with the role of housewife and mother, but Inshallah [God willing], Inshallah I will help her blossom like a flower.

When Amina hesitated to answer our questions or had trouble finding the right words to express her feelings, Zeynab stepped in with strong and uplifting words. By caring for her grandson, Zeynab also allowed her daughter to address her own medical issues, which included "a virus in the blood and liver cirrhosis." However, Zeynab had her own serious medical problems as well. Other than the oral health conditions and back pain she lives with due to the ordeals she suffered at the Turkish border, Zeynab was diagnosed with breast cancer in Canada. The cancer forced Zeynab, her mother, and her grandson to leave their apartment and move into Amina's basement in a small bungalow in the outer suburbs of Toronto. For Zeynab, moving back in with Amina meant she could

receive help from her daughter after her cancer operation and continue to provide her daughter with emotional support. But she disliked and distrusted her son-in-law, who controlled Amina and discouraged her from attending school or even leaving their home. He also overcharged Zeynab for the basement, requiring her to hand over most of her social assistance income.[9]

Despite these limitations, Zeynab remained proactive, positive, and resourceful in finding ways to improve her and her mother's living situation. For example, Zeynab located different service provider organizations (SPOs) that offered newcomers free food, clothing, and household items, as well as an SPO that helped them with translation services, completing medical forms, and obtaining furniture. After months of searching, Zeynab also procured an electric wheelchair for her mother from a RISE study research assistant. She continually expressed hope and enthusiasm to find work and become financially independent. However, due to her health conditions and caregiving responsibilities, she was unable able to join school or learn the language that could help her navigate the system more efficiently. Two years after landing in Canada, her frustration was evident:

> **Zeynab:** The welfare [social assistance employee] told me, "Why don't you work?" I told her, "I have cancer." She told me, "My dad is 85 years old and has blood cancer and he works." I told her, "Your dad … like, doesn't have house expenses … responsibility for the woman [her mother]."
>
> **Rula:** Of course.
>
> **Zeynab:** The man works. If I didn't have responsibilities, I would leave the house and go work. … Here, there isn't work you can do [without credentials]. In Turkey, you can work in anything.

Although Zeynab was offered monthly assistance from the provincial government, she said it was insufficient to survive and have a place of her own. In the future, she hopes to find employment opportunities: "I can work in anything. … I don't find work to be shameful. Work is important because the government's allowance is not enough." Recently, Zeynab's living situation changed once again after Amina separated from her husband with her mother's support. Thus, Zeynab, her mother, Amina, and her new son initially moved in with Amina's newly married adult daughter before finding their own place. Amina's four adult sons joined them, and they now total eight in a small apartment.

CLAIMS-MAKING, MATTERING, AND SUBORDINATE INTEGRATION

In this section, we bring together the cases of Jihan and Zeynab to understand three major patterns: how Arab migrant family dynamics around claims-making (Joseph, 2012) manifest in forced migration contexts; how grandmothers' pre-migration role identities, including their sense of mattering and control, are challenged by the conditions of their resettlement; and how they ultimately navigate a subordinate integration into Canadian society as elder refugee women.

We define **claims-making** as expectations, entitlements, and demands of others with no room for negotiation (consult Joseph, 2012). This is a characteristic of patriarchal kinship societies where "both women and men" are claimed by each other and "always" belong to someone (Joseph, 2012 p. 17; Kanaaneh, 1995, p. 132). We define **mattering** as the extent to which people believe they are important to others and perceive

[9] Her son-in-law seized $1,100 CAD from Zeynab each month for the basement; the entire bungalow's monthly rent was $1,700.

their role in the world around them to be significant (Elliott et al., 2004, p. 339; Rosenberg & McCollough, 1981). Claims-making and mattering have different connotations regarding the self; claims are imposed by an external kinship system, whereas mattering is an internal evaluation of oneself in relation to society. However, both concepts are highly associated or fused in a Syrian cultural context: to be claimed by others and to be able to claim others implies that one matters in their society.

In Syria, Jihan and Zeynab were matriarchs; they were well-known and sought out in their communities. As the main providers for their families, they were "claimed and claimable." They held a secure status and clear identity roles, owned their homes where family gathered, and were productive, significant members of their communities. All of this provided them reciprocity of claims from others and gave them a sense of mattering in both their homes and communities.

Jihan's and Zeynab's forced displacement and migration to Canada imposed roles that challenged their pre-migration claimability and sense of mattering (**Figure 3**).

To be sure, the grandmothers' identity roles and their sense of claimability and mattering were likely also challenged at the onset of displacement, including in-transit places and refugee camps (consult Rabiah-Mohammed et al., 2022). But because we do not have a full picture of the grandmothers' lives in Turkey, we focus here on their lives in Canada. In Jihan's case, her need for independence but also validation from a younger generation of Syrian women reflects the kinship claim-bearing rules she carries into the migrant home. From the onset of when our research team met Jihan in front of the wedding photo, she claimed her position as a powerful elder matriarch who was to be obeyed and who could claim authority over her kin through aggression or violence. But in a new Canadian context, where Bassema was now head of household, the imposition of Jihan's resettlement into her daughter's household in Toronto, and her ensuing struggles with her daughter and grandchildren, activated Jihan's sense of loss over not being claimed by them. Joseph asserts that in such "relational contexts to be unclaimed is to be outside of society" (2012, p. 19). Indeed, Jihan repeatedly described how she felt like an outsider in her daughter's household following her resettlement; her role identity and sense of mattering within her immediate family were upended. In an interview, she shared:

> We decided to live together, but it is very difficult, very difficult. I mean, I really need to live by myself. … My soul [alternate translation: psyche] is tired. I am alone. What do I want from my girls? This one's husband is sick; she is following him. The other is following her kids. … I go to my bed. I cry, cry, cry, cry, cry until I fall asleep.

Jihan's understanding of the evolving relationship dynamic with her daughter Bassema reflects an "unbalanced reciprocity," a term used by Nedelcu and Wyss to describe transnational parents' experience when their "children's recognition, gratitude and support are not reciprocated in equal measure to their own contribution to domestic work and childcare" (2020, p. 296). Jihan's belief that her pre-migration care and support of Bassema in Syria and Turkey were not reciprocated resulted in her perception that she did not matter. Indeed, the power dynamic between Jihan and Bassema being upended in Canada was perceived by Jihan as a lack of respect and appreciation. From Jihan's 10-year-old grandson's request not to interfere with him to Bassema's persistence on setting her own rules in her household, Jihan's sense

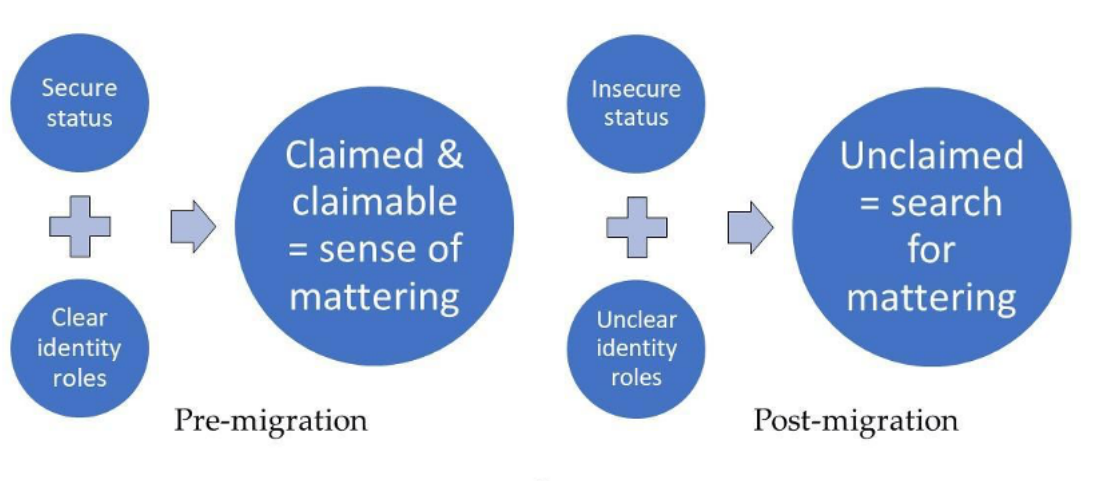

Figure 3
Claims-Making and Mattering: Pre-Migration and Post-Migration

of worth and mattering within her immediate family were challenged. This, in turn, exacerbated Jihan's need to move out of Bassema's home and rent her own apartment. Jihan shifted her orientation away from her daughter's family and towards her co-ethnic community, where she described feeling loved. Jihan's shift of her attention, care, and sense of mattering away from her immediate family, and towards the broader Syrian community in Toronto, helps illustrate some of the ways that forced migration can upend pre-existing family dynamics and individual identities.

While Jihan's sense of claimability and mattering shifted dramatically following resettlement, Zeynab's role and place within her family stayed relatively intact. For example, Zeynab's caregiving and connection to her family members extended into the new migrant home. Since arriving in Canada, she took over caring for her newborn grandson and her elderly sick mother and assisted her own daughter, Amina, in both material and emotional ways, such as encouraging her to keep up with her English classes and leave her husband. In this way, Zeynab was once again the matriarch claimed by her immediate family members in the migrant home. However, Zeynab's relational claimability, which secured her identity role in her home country, could not be the exact same in Canada. Given her difficult financial and health situations, which forced her and her mother to move in with Amina's family, and the relative power that Amina's husband had over the entire family's financial resources following resettlement, Zeynab was forced to navigate what Joseph refers to as a "situational shift of claim" (1996, p. 20). Due to her situation, Zeynab had to abide by and temporarily accept her son-in-law's rules and the subordination he imposed on them while they were in his household. Her sense of claimability shifted slightly and was incomplete.

Nonetheless, even with her own fragile health, Zeynab continued to care for others and advocate for her daughter's independence, which included learning English and leaving home. Zeynab's sense of reciprocity also diverged from Jihan's. After her cancer operation, she expressed gratitude for the care her daughter provided, reflecting balanced reciprocity. This balanced reciprocity was significant for the entire family, as Zeynab's advocacy for her daughter was a

factor that empowered Amina to leave her husband and begin divorce proceedings.

Jihan and Zeynab's sense of claimability and mattering in Canada were mediated by what we term a **subordinate integration** into Canadian society. Although they were homeowners and working women in Syria, both grandmothers became unmoored from these roles and occupations following their displacement and, later, upon landing in Canada. Each grandmother was also forced to relocate multiple times across the city, in complicated arrangements that involved their daughters' households already resettled in Canada. Along with health issues that slowed their integration into Canadian society, both experienced feelings of social disposability following their prolonged unemployment after resettlement and negative interactions with social assistance workers. Their inability to earn income in Canada blocked both grandmothers from making independent financial decisions, and this, alongside the dispersion of their families across the globe, made them unable to reconstitute their former matriarchal homes in Syria. Thus, as the grandmothers' broader social status deteriorated after displacement, so did their claimability and sense of mattering.

This dynamic is especially pronounced in the case of Jihan, who was required to draw on her social networks to secure a shared apartment with newcomer women outside her family before finally getting a subsidized apartment of her own. During her first five years in Canada, Jihan relocated three times and, as a result, experienced three distinctive household living arrangements that fell outside the cultural norms and values that characterized her life before forced migration, when she was a homeowner. Jihan's unstable living situation was further compounded by her unemployment and the small government allowance she received. Although Jihan told us that she voiced her concerns to a worker at a social assistance agency, a claim we could not verify, she was nonetheless frustrated by what she perceived as a lack of government assistance or advice that she thought would help her improve her living conditions.

Like Jihan, Zeynab too was forced to relocate several times in Toronto. Zeynab's four different living arrangements were intimately tied up with Amina's difficult marriage and caregiving needs, as well as her own health complications and lack of formal support systems. Despite being a homeowner in Syria, Zeynab's housing in Canada was unstable and constricted by her unemployment and insufficient social assistance for rent. Like Jihan, Zeynab told us that she raised these concerns to a social assistance worker and was unsatisfied with the worker's suggestion to find a job despite Zeynab's health conditions and other limitations. In this way, both women found themselves slotted into subordinate roles in their new country's resettlement regime. At the intersection of multiple marginalized structural positions as undervalued elder women and newcomer refugees, Jihan and Zeynab experienced changes to their roles and identities in Canada that did not previously characterize their lives in Syria.

CONCLUSION

Both Jihan and Zeynab were able to reclaim some of their lost status by forming new social networks and reaching out for information and assistance beyond their immediate families, easing their integration in the process. Their experiences suggest how, despite having very little in the way of

material resources, both grandmothers contributed essential forms of caregiving that may have improved others' lives and well-being. In caring for her infant grandson and offering her adult daughter the emotional support needed to finally separate from her controlling husband, Zeynab created space for her kin to grow and adapt to a new society following resettlement. Jihan's care work differed: although her mutual aid, matchmaking, and other social activities were not oriented towards her immediate family, they may have strengthened the social networks and supportive ties between others in her co-ethnic community. Nonetheless, Jihan's story also reveals a more complicated and difficult story about how grandmothers' power and authority may be enacted in familial relationships. Recalling the vignette at the start of this article involving a wedding photograph from Syria, coercion and force were additional factors that contributed to Jihan's authority and matriarchal status in the household, especially regarding her daughter Bassema. In this way, although migration disrupted the matriarchal status both grandmothers held in Syria, others in the family found increased independence or status in Canada. With the help of her sponsors, Jihan's daughter Bassema, who was forced by Jihan to marry her husband, was able to secure a living space and set different boundaries between her and her mother. She even described finding a new maternal figure in one of her BVOR sponsors. Although small in scale and inductive in approach, our case study lends some additional evidence to migration scholarship that describes and theorizes reversals of power within migrant families, especially those related to gender and age.

The experiences of elder refugee women like Jihan and Zeynab therefore offer a window into how migration status, gender, age, and other axes of difference can shift or upend the sense of mattering, authority, and status that newcomers bring with them to new contexts of resettlement. We suspect that the minimal incorporation of elders in Canadian refugee and migration policy and overall defunding of social welfare supports only hastens such reconfigurations of newcomers' multigenerational family structures. Again, we cannot make representative claims about the overall state of Syrian newcomers or forced migrant elders in Canada from our observations and interview excerpts. Because we prioritize grandmothers' own narratives in this article, future work could more thoroughly integrate the narratives of other family members to shed additional light on intergenerational care dynamics. We also do not query social assistance employees, private sponsors, or other resettlement-related service providers in the grandmothers' worlds. Future research integrating perspectives from newcomer elders with resettlement and social service providers may strengthen academic and policy understandings of the dynamics suggested in this article. Finally, future studies could document, differentiate, and theorize different forms of subordinate integration, such as those originating from newcomers' initial displacement versus those that originate from resettlement in Canada or other receiving contexts specifically.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Rula Kahil is an Assistant Professor / Teaching Stream in the Department of Sociology at the University of Toronto Mississauga. She can be reached at rula.kahil@utoronto.ca.

Maleeha Iqbal is a PhD student in Sociology and SSHRC Doctoral Fellow at the University of Toronto. She can be reached at maleeha.iqbal@mail.utoronto.ca.

Neda Maghbouleh is Canada Research Chair in Migration, Race, and Identity and Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Toronto. She can be reached at neda.maghbouleh@utoronto.ca.

ORCID

Rula Kahil https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1230-4672
Maleeha Iqbal https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7899-0997
Neda Maghbouleh https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8541-2079

REFERENCES

Abrego, L. (2014). *Sacrificing families: Navigating laws, labor, and love across borders*. Stanford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780804790574

Aubel, J. (2021). Grandmothers — a neglected family resource for saving newborn lives. *BMJ Global Health*, *6*(2). https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2020-003808

Bakardjieva, M. (2020). "Say it loud, say it clear …": Concerting solidarity in the Canadian refugees welcome movement (2015–2016). *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, *57*(4), 632–655. https://doi.org/10.1111/cars.12305

Baldassar, L. (2007). Transnational families and aged care: The mobility of care and the migrancy of ageing. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *33*(2), 275–297. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830601154252

Baldassar, L., & Merla, L. (2013). *Transnational families, migration, and the circulation of care: Understanding mobility and absence in family life*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203077535

Barakat, H. (1993). *The Arab world: Society, culture, and state*. University of California Press. https://www.ucpress.edu/book/9780520084278/the-arab-world

Bélanger, D., & Candiz, G. (2020). The politics of 'waiting' for care: Immigration policy and family reunification in Canada. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *46*(16), 3472–3490. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1592399

Biles, J., Burstein, M., & Frideres, J. (2008). Canadian society: Building inclusive communities. In J. Biles, M. Burstein, & T. Aiken (Eds.), *Immigration and integration in Canada in the twenty-first century* (pp. 269–278). McGill-Queen's University Press. https://www.mqup.ca/immigration-and-integration-in-canada-in-the-twenty-first-century-products-9781553392170.php

Bloemraad, I., & Menjívar, C. (2022). Precarious times, professional tensions: The ethics of migration research and the drive for scientific accountability. *International Migration Review*, *56*(1), 4–32. https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183211014455

Boutmira, S. (2021). Older Syrian refugees' experiences of language barriers in postmigration and (re)settlement context in Canada. *International Health Trends and Perspectives*, *1*(3), 404–417. https://doi.org/10.32920/ihtp.v1i3.1483

Bragg, B., & Wong, L. L. (2016). "Cancelled dreams": Family reunification and shifting Canadian immigration policy. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, *14*(1), 46–65. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2015.1011364

Brandhorst, R., Baldassar, L., & Wilding, R. (2020). Introduction to the special issue: "Transnational family care 'on hold'? Intergenerational relationships and obligations in the context of immobility regimes". *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, *18*(3), 261–280. https://doi.org/10.1080/15350770.2020.1787035

Burawoy, M. (1998). The extended case method. *Sociological Theory*, *16*(1), 4–33. https://doi.org/10.1111/0735-2751.00040

Cranford, C. J. (2020). *Home care fault lines: Understanding tensions and creating alliances*. Cornell University Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501749285

Deneva, N. (2012). Transnational aging carers: On transformation of kinship and citizenship in the context of migration among Bulgarian Muslims in Spain. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, *19*(1), 105–128. https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxr027

Elliott, G., Kao, S., & Grant, A.-M. M. (2004). Mattering: Empirical validation of a social-psychological concept. *Self and Identity*, *3*(4), 339–354. https://doi.org/10.1080/13576500444000119

Fan, Y.-K., & Parreñas, R. S. (2018). Who cares for the children and the elderly? Gender and transnational families. In V. Ducu, M. Nedelcu, & A. Telegdi-Csetri (Eds.), *Childhood and parenting in transnational settings* (pp. 83–99). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-90942-4_6

Fitzgerald, D. (2006). Towards a theoretical ethnography of migration. *Qualitative Sociology*, *29*, 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-005-9005-6

Fukui, H. M., & Menjívar, C. (2015). Bound by inequality: The social capital of older Asians and Latinos in Phoenix, Arizona. *Ethnography*, *16*(4), 416–437. https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138114565550

Hamilton, L.K., Veronis, L., & Walton-Roberts, M. (Eds.). (2020). *A national project: Syrian refugee resettlement in Canada*. McGill-Queen's University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv176ktst

Harb, S. G. (2010). *Gender politics, women's rights and international norms in Lebanon*. Florida International University. Publication No. 3420034, https://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/dissertations/AAI3420034

Herlofson, K., & Hagestad, G. (2012). Transformations in the role of grandparents across welfare states. In S. Arber, & V. Timonen (Eds.), *Contemporary grandparenting: Changing family relationships in global contexts* (pp. 27–50). Policy Press. https://doi.org/V.Timonen

Hynie, M. (2018). Canada's Syrian refugee program, intergroup relationships and identities. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *50*(2), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2018.0012

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2019a, June 19). *Resettlement assistance program*. https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/operational-bulletins-manuals/service-delivery/immigration-loans-program/procedures-transportation.html

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2019b). *Syrian outcomes report*. https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/documents/pdf/english/corporate/reports-statistics/evaluations/syria-outcomes-report-may-2019.pdf

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2022). *Monthly IRCC updates-Admissions of Syrian refugees under Canada's Syrian refugee resettlement commitment by province/territory of intended destination, gender, age group, and immigration category*. https://open.canada.ca/data/en/dataset/01c85d28-2a81-4295-9c06-4af792a7c209

Johnson, P. (2018). War, violence, refugees, and Arab families. In S. Joseph (Ed.), *Arab family studies: Critical reviews* (pp. 467–481). Syracuse University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.

ctt1pk860c.32
Joseph, S. (1996). Patriarchy and development in the Arab world. *Gender & Development*, *4*(2), 14–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/741922010
Joseph, S. (1999). *Intimate selving in Arab families: Gender, self, and identity*. Syracuse University Press. https://press.syr.edu/supressbooks/1352/intimate-selving-in-arab-families/
Joseph, S. (2000). *Civic myths, citizenship and gender in Lebanon* (pp. 107–136). Syracuse University Press.
Joseph, S. (2012). Thinking intentionality: Arab women's subjectivity and its discontents. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, *8*(2), 1–25. https://doi.org/10.2979/jmiddeastwomstud.8.2.1
Kanaaneh, R. (1995). We'll talk later. *Cultural Anthropology*, *10*(1), 125–135. https://doi.org/10.1525/can.1995.10.1.02a00070
King, R., Cela, E., Fokkema, T., & Vullnetari, J. (2014). The migration and well-being of the zero generation: Transgenerational care, grandparenting, and loneliness amongst Albanian older people. *Population, Space and Place*, *20*(8), 728–738. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1895
Kyriakides, C., Bajjali, L., Mcluhan, A., & Anderson, K. (2018). Beyond refuge: Contested orientalism and persons of self-rescue. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *50*(2), 59–78. https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2018.0015
Mathieu, S. (2019). La transformation de l'offre de services de garde au Québec: une brèche dans la collectivisation du travail de reproduction sociale? *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, *56*(2), 204–223. https://doi.org/10.1111/cars.12243
Merla, L. (2012). Salvadoran migrants in Australia: An analysis of transnational families' capability to care across borders. *International Migration*, *53*(6), 153–165. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12024
Milan, A., Laflamme, N., & Wong, I. (2015). *Diversity of grandparents living with their grandchildren*. Statistics Canada (Catalogue no. 75-006-X, no. 2015001). https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/75-006-x/2015001/article/14154-eng.htm
Nedelcu, M., & Wyss, M. (2020). Transnational grandparenting: An introduction. *Global Networks*, *20*(2), 292–307. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12249
Neysmith, S. M., & Zhou, Y. R. (2013). Mapping another dimension of a feminist ethics of care: Family-based transnational care. *IJFAB: International Journal of Feminist Approaches to Bioethics*, *6*(2), 141–159. https://doi.org/10.3138/ijfab.6.2.141
Oudshoorn, A., Benbow, S., & Meyer, M. (2020). Resettlement of Syrian refugees in Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *21*(3), 893–908. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-019-00695-8
Parreñas, R. (2015). *Servants of globalization: Migration and domestic work* (2nd ed.). Stanford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780804796187
Rabiah-Mohammed, F., Hamilton, L. K., Oudshoorn, A., Bakhash, M., Tarraf, R., Arnout, E., Brown, C., Benbow, S., Elnihum, S., Hazzouri, M. E., Esses, V. M., & Theriault, L. (2022). Syrian refugees' experiences of the pandemic in Canada: Barriers to integration and just solutions. *Studies in Social Justice*, *16*(1), 9–32. https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v16i1.2669
Rosenberg, M., & Mccullough, B. C. (1981). Mattering: Inferred significance and mental health among adolescents. *Research in Community & Mental Health*, *2*, 163–182. https://doi.org/https://psycnet.apa.org/record/1983-07744-001
Small, M. L. (2009). How many cases do I need?" On science and the logic of case selection in field-based research. *Ethnography*, *10*(1), 5–38. https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138108099586
Taha, D. M. (2020). "Like a tree without leaves": Syrian refugee women and the shifting meaning of marriage. *Mashriq & Mahjar Journal of Middle East and North African Migration Studies*, *7*(1), 1–26. https://doi.org/10.24847/77i2020.245
Tyyskä, V. (2015). Sri Lankan Tamil families in Canada: Problems, resiliency, and intergenerational solidarity. *Family Science Review*, *20*(2), 47–64. https://doi.org/10.26536/FSR.2015.20.02.03
Wildschut, T., Sedikides, C., & Alowidy, D. (2019). Hanin: Nostalgia among Syrian refugees. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *49*(7), 1368–1384. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2590
Wyss, M., & Nedelcu, M. (2020). Grandparents on the move: A multilevel framework analysis to understand diversity in zero-generation care arrangements in Switzerland. *Global Networks*, *20*(2), 343–361. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12250
Yarris, K. E. (2014). "Pensando mucho" ("thinking too much"): Embodied distress among grandmothers in Nicaraguan transnational families. *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry*, *38*(3), 473–498. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11013-014-9381-z
Young, W. C., & Shami, S. (1997). Anthropological approaches to the Arab family: An introduction. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, *28*(2), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.3138/jcfs.28.2.1
Zhou, Y. R. (2018). Transnational grandparenting: The intersection of transnationalism and translocality. In V. Timonen (Ed.), *Grandparenting practices around the world* (pp. 113–130). Policy Press. https://doi.org/10.1332/policypress/9781447340645.003.0006

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés
2022, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1–19
https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.40927

Classe sociale et contexte d'asile : les parcours d'exil de réfugié.es syrien.nes réinstallé.es au Canada

Myriam Ouellet et Danièle Bélanger

ABSTRACT
This article mobilizes a Bourdieusian approach for analyzing the influence of social class on the exile pathways of 20 Syrian government assisted refugee (GARS) families who arrived in Canada between 2015 and 2016. Our results demonstrate the existence of heterogeneity in premigratory class positioning within the Syrian GARS category, specifically with respect to the ability to mobilize and convert various types of capital (economic, social and cultural) to access migration out of Syria while staying in the different asylum contexts of Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan.

KEYWORDS
Syrian refugees; social class; forced migration; Canada; Bourdieu

RÉSUME
Cet article mobilise une approche bourdieusienne afin d'interroger l'influence de la classe sociale sur les parcours d'exil de 20 familles réfugiées syriennes prises en charge par le gouvernement canadien (RPG) et arrivées au Canada entre 2015 et 2016. Nos résultats démontrent l'existence d'une hétérogénéité quant au positionnement de classe prémigratoire au sein de la catégorie des RPG syrien.nes, plus particulièrement en ce qui a trait à la possibilité de mobiliser et de convertir divers types de capitaux (économique, social et culturel) pour accéder à la migration hors Syrie et lors du séjour dans les différents contextes d'asile turc, libanais et jordanien.

KEYWORDS
réfugié.es syrien.nes; classe sociale; migration forcée; Canada; Bourdieu

HISTORY Published 31 December 2022

INTRODUCTION

Au cours des dix dernières années, près de 13,4 millions de Syrien.nes furent contraint.es de fuir leur lieu de résidence afin d'échapper à la guerre et à la destruction.[1] Alors que la majorité d'entre eux furent déplacé.es à l'intérieur de la Syrie, 5,6 millions se sont dirigé.es vers les pays voisins, notamment la Turquie, le Liban et la Jor-

CONTACT

[a] **(Corresponding author)** myriam.ouellet.6@ulaval.ca
Université Laval, département de géographie, Quebec, QC, Canada

[a] daniele.belanger@ggr.ulaval.ca
Université Laval, département de géographie, Quebec, QC, Canada

[1] Une partie de cet article s'inspire de la thèse de Myriam Ouellet réalisée sous la direction de Danièle Bélanger dans le cadre de la maîtrise en sciences géographiques de l'Université Laval. Ouellet, M. (2018). Migration et classe sociale : trajectoires d'exil de réfugiés syriens réinstallés au Canada.

danie (Operational Data Portal, n.d.). En réponse à la crise humanitaire syrienne, le Canada lança en novembre 2015 le Plan d'opération pour la Syrie, visant la réinstallation de 25 000 réfugié.es syrien.nes sur son territoire. En date du 31 janvier 2021, on comptait 44 620 réfugié.es syrien.nes réinstallé.es au Canada (Immigration Refugees Citizenship Canada, n.d.). À ce jour, de nombreuses études ont documenté et analysé les profils sociodémographiques (Al-Kharabsheh et al., 2020; Hanley et al., 2018; Kaida et al., 2020), les processus d'installation (Hamilton et al., 2020; Oudshoorn et al., 2020; Operational Data Portal, n.d.) et les différentes dynamiques d'intégration des réfugié.es syrien.nes réinstallé.es au Canada (Hanley et al., 2018; Haugen, 2019; Hynie et al., 2019; Walton-Roberts et al., 2020). Néanmoins, bien que la sélection pour une réinstallation au Canada soit faite dans un premier pays d'asile, souvent plusieurs années après que les personnes réfugiées y aient trouvé refuge (Hyndman et Giles, 2016), nous ne disposons que de très peu d'informations sur ces expériences prémigratoires et les parcours d'exil ayant précédé leur arrivée au Canada. Or, comme le soulignent certaines autrices, ces expériences préalables peuvent avoir une incidence déterminante sur les parcours d'intégration et d'insertion des personnes admises en tant que réfugié.es au Canada (Hynie et al., 2019; Pearlman, 2020).

Les parcours d'exil des personnes réfugiées se déploient à l'intersection d'une foule de facteurs structuraux et identitaires. Sur le plan structurel, des études se sont intéressées à l'influence des politiques nationales, subnationales et internationales sur les expériences d'exil ; (Baban et al., 2017; Ilcan et al., 2018; Sanyal, 2018) aux pressions néolibérales dans un marché du travail mondialisé (Lenner et Turner, 2019; Bélanger et Saraçoğlu, 2020); ou encore au déploiement de dispositifs humanitaires dans la gestion et la réception des populations en exil (Ritchie, 2018; Turner, 2021). D'autres travaux ont documenté l'influence, autonome ou croisée, du genre, de la race, de l'âge, de la religion ou de l'orientation sexuelle dans la modulation des expériences d'exil dans les pays d'accueil, de transit et de réinstallation (Bajwa et al., 2018; Canefe, 2018; Dağtaş, 2018; Gowayed, 2019, 2020; Kivilcim, 2017; Lokot, 2018; Myrttinen et al., 2017; Wringe et al., 2019). Au côté de ces travaux, certaines autrices ont souligné le manque d'analyses de classe dans l'étude des parcours d'exil de réfugié.es (Pearlman, 2020; Van Hear, 2014; Operational Data Portal, n.d.). Van Hear (2006) trait à cet effet l'importance de réinvestir la classe sociale comme angle d'analyse dans l'étude des réfugié.es et de la migration forcée, les trajectoires migratoires s'avérant selon lui fonction du profil socioéconomique des migrant.es. En continuité avec cette idée, cet article interroge l'influence de la classe sociale sur les parcours d'exil de réfugié.es syrien.nes pris en charge par le gouvernement (RPG) et arrivé.es au Canada entre 2015 et 2016. Cette étude a pour spécificité d'explorer les disparités de classe au sein d'une même catégorie (RPG), de manière à complexifier les analyses traitant des disparités entre les différentes catégories (Réfugié.es parrainé.es par le secteur privé (RPSP) ; RPG). Cette distinction est au cœur de l'étude étant donné que l'absence actuelle d'analyses intracatégories suppose une homogénéité au sein des différents groupes de réfugié.es réinstallés au Canada et pose le risque d'influencer à tort l'analyse subséquente des diverses trajectoires d'insertion de ces derniers.

L'entrée en vigueur de la loi sur l'immigration et la protection des réfugié.es

au Canada (LIPR) en 2002 marquait un tournant en ce qui a trait aux objectifs du programme de réinstallation des réfugié.es au Canada. La sélection, précédemment axée sur la capacité d'intégration des individus, fait désormais place à une mission de protection et d'assistance des plus vulnérables. Alors que les RPSP peuvent être nommé.es par un membre de leur famille résidant au Canada ou par des organisations confessionnelles, la sélection des RPG est fonction de leur vulnérabilité, évaluée dans les premiers pays d'accueil selon les critères du HCR. En ce sens, tout comme pour les cohortes de réfugié.es précédentes, les RPG et les RPSP présentent certaines disparités. Les RPG syrien.nes affichent un plus bas niveau d'éducation, une plus faible connaissance des langues officielles, se composent de familles plus nombreuses et ont en moyenne séjourné deux fois plus longuement dans un premier pays d'accueil que leurs analogues parrainé.es au privé (Hynie et al., 2019). Ces disparités intercatégories indiquent l'importance de prendre en considération les caractéristiques prémigratoires lors de la comparaison des processus d'intégration pour les différentes catégories de réfugié.es (Hynie et al., 2019). Or, cet article démontre que ces disparités doivent être étudiées non seulement entre les catégories d'admission, mais également au sein même de ces dernières. Considérant que l'étiquette « les plus vulnérables » utilisée pour sélectionner les RPG à l'étranger suggère un large éventail de possibilités — vulnérable à quoi (Clark, 2007) —, et que le renforcement ou la modification des dynamiques de classe propres à une situation donnée, en fonction des contextes d'asile, de la durée des déplacements et des aspirations subséquentes ne peuvent être démontrées que par des enquêtes empiriques (Hammar, 2014), nous avons choisi d'explorer les disparités possibles au sein même de la catégorie des RPG. Notre analyse se base sur vingt récits de vie de familles syriennes réinstallées dans la Ville de Québec entre 2015 et 2016.

Nos résultats démontrent l'existence d'une hétérogénéité quant au positionnement de classe prémigratoire au sein de la catégorie des RPG, plus particulièrement en ce qui a trait à la possibilité de mobiliser et de convertir divers types de capitaux (économique, social et culturel) pour accéder à la migration et lors du séjour dans un premier pays d'accueil. Notre étude démontre l'influence de la structure globale de capitaux des familles sur leurs parcours d'exil, notamment sur les modalités de la fuite, le choix d'une destination et les conditions de vie dans le premier pays de refuge. Notre analyse de classe est située dans les différents contextes d'asile turc, libanais et jordanien, de manière à moduler l'importance des différents capitaux ; la capacité de convertir ces derniers se trouvant à l'intersection du positionnement de classe et des structures d'accueil nationales. Les prochaines sections présentent :

1. une revue de la littérature traitant de migration et classe sociale ainsi que le cadre conceptuel utilisé dans le cadre de cette étude;
2. la méthodologie employée et la présentation des participants;
3. une mise en contexte des différentes structures d'accueil nationales libanaises, turques et jordaniennes;
4. et les résultats de l'étude qui démontrent l'hétérogénéité des expériences d'exil en fonction de la capacité à mobiliser et convertir divers types de capitaux, lors de l'entrée dans l'exil et au sein des différents contextes d'accueil.

REVUE DE LITTÉRATURE ET CADRE CONCEPTUEL

Les analyses de classe réalisées dans le champ de la migration forcée permettent, une fois les destinations atteintes, d'aborder la question des inégalités socioéconomiques et de la mobilité sociale (Bidet, 2018; Card et Raphael, 2013; Castles et Kosack, 1973; Cohen, 1988; Hanley et al., 2018; Oliver et Reilly, 2010; Però, 2014; Portes, 2010; Operational Data Portal, n.d.). Or, en amont de cette (ré)installation, l'influence des distinctions socioéconomiques est également déterminante. Certaines études démontrent que le point de départ pour les personnes exilées intégrant une société d'accueil est souvent fonction du profil socioéconomique prémigratoire des individus (Kleist, 2010; McSpadden, 1999; Van Hear, 2006). Une littérature ancrée dans une approche féministe intersectionnelle met en avant la diversité présente au sein même des populations exilées, notamment en ce qui a trait à la classe sociale et au genre. À cet effet, Ayoub (2017) démontre le lien entre l'émancipation des femmes syriennes réfugiées en Égypte et leur position socioéconomique ; l'accès au logement dans des quartiers riches ou pauvres permettant ou non une émancipation, en raison de l'accès possible au centre-ville du Caire et de ses opportunités sociales et d'emploi. D'autres auteurs illustrent comment les conceptions des masculinités spécifiques aux différentes appartenances de classe influencent les trajectoires migratoires des hommes, leurs stratégies ainsi que leurs motivations futures (Prothmann, 2018; Sinatti, 2014). Certaines études démontrent pour leur part que les stéréotypes raciaux concernant les réfugié.es sont également modulés par la classe sociale. Cette question est notamment abordée à travers l'exemple du traitement différencié des entrepreneurs syrien.nes et des réfugié.es africain.es en Jordanie (Turner, 2020) ; la désirabilité ainsi que la vulnérabilité des migrant.es étant fonction d'une appartenance de classe dans les États néolibéraux (Rajaram, 2018). Conformément à cette idée, Turner (2015) démontre que la mise en camp des réfugié.es syrien.nes en Jordanie et au Liban est, entre autres, corollaire de la classe sociale ; les marchés du travail des différents États ayant des besoins de main-d'œuvre (qualifiée versus non qualifiée) distincts.

Notre analyse de l'influence de la classe sociale sur les parcours d'exil de réfugié.es syrien.nes réinstallé.es au Canada s'inscrit dans une perspective bourdieusienne. La contribution de Pierre Bourdieu à la théorie des classes sociales consiste à appréhender le positionnement dans l'espace social selon des rapports de domination, en fonction de la capacité des individus à mobiliser des quantités distinctes de capitaux — économique, social, culturel et symbolique — afin de s'emparer d'un enjeu spécifique. Dans le contexte de migration en temps de conflit, cet enjeu est entre autres représenté par la capacité à atteindre une destination sécuritaire ou désirable. En fonction de leur volume global de capitaux et de la structure de ce dernier, c'est-à-dire du poids relatif des différents types de capitaux détenus, les individus occupent des positions différentes dans l'espace social. En plus de leur répartition inégale et de l'importance relative des divers types de capitaux, Bourdieu souligne la possibilité pour les individus de convertir un type de capital vers un autre, lorsque ce dernier s'avère plus profitable à la défense de leurs intérêts (Bourdieu et Wacquant, 1992). Ce principe de conversion s'avère très utile dans l'étude des migrations puisqu'il permet de comprendre, par exemple, comment des individus disposant d'un très faible capital économique arrivent, via la conversion

de leur capital social (réseaux) à accéder à la mobilité (Bréant, 2015; Elrick et Winter, 2018; Kim, 2018; Kofman, 2018).

Plusieurs études s'intéressent à l'importance individuelle de certains types de capitaux, notamment, au rôle du capital social ou du capital économique lors de la construction des parcours migratoires ou de l'installation dans un pays de destination. Ces études traitent notamment de l'importance du réseau pour accéder au logement ou à l'emploi, ou encore des possibilités d'intégration en fonction de la capacité d'investissement des réfugié.es (Şimşek, 2020). Certains auteurs signalent la pertinence de cette approche de classe par capitaux pour l'étude de la migration forcée et des réfugié.es. Pour Van Hear (2014), le bien-fondé de cette approche réside dans l'accroissement des restrictions structurant le régime migratoire actuel qui entraîne une hausse des coûts de la migration et, partant, une augmentation conjointe de l'importance du profil socioéconomique des individus pour accéder à la mobilité. Les destinations atteintes par les migrant.es seraient ainsi fonction de leur capacité à mobiliser différents types de capitaux ; le gradient de précarité socioéconomique des individus se reflétant dans une hiérarchie des destinations à atteindre. Introduire les inégalités de classe dans l'analyse de la dynamique des migrations internationales permet de mettre à jour la pluralité des ressources mobilisables par les migrant.es (forcé.es ou non) en réponse à ces politiques migratoires de plus en plus sélectives (Bourdieu, 1986). Bracking (2003) ajoute en ce sens que l'attention considérable portée aux personnes vulnérables dans le champ d'études de la migration forcée nous fait perdre de vue l'existence et l'expérience des mieux nanti.es. Pearlman (2020) s'intéresse à l'interaction entre la classe sociale des réfugié.es en amont de leur exil et les différents types d'engagements proposés par l'Allemagne et la Turquie dans leur accueil des réfugié.es syrien.nes. Cette étude permet de complexifier les dynamiques de mobilité ascendante et descendante une fois installé.e dans un pays d'accueil ainsi que les dynamiques migratoires propres aux différents profils socioéconomiques. Cette relation entre contexte d'accueil et classe sociale est également abordée par (Bélanger et al., 2021) dans une étude croisant les expériences d'exil d'hommes et de femmes syrien.nes réfugié.es en Turquie et au Liban, de manière à démontrer l'importance relative des divers types de capitaux composant la classe sociale des individus et leur mobilisation possible ou non en fonction des différents contextes d'asile. Similairement, De Andrade (2020) analyse les expériences d'exil et les stratégies de survie mises en place en milieu urbain turc et leur modulation en fonction du genre, de la race et de la classe. Cette étude participe à la déconstruction des représentations homogènes des réfugié.es comme victimes passives (Agier, 2006; Operational Data Portal, n.d.), en exposant les stratégies de survie propres aux interactions entre les ressources mobilisables par les réfugié.es et les relations de pouvoir genrées, raciales et classistes.

En insistant sur l'importance des profils socioéconomiques prémigratoires, sur les contextes de réception et les rapports de pouvoir structurant les sociétés d'accueil, ces études permettent de réitérer la pertinence d'une approche de classe bourdieusienne, qui permet de mettre au jour les distinctions sociales en vertu d'expériences passées et de contextes changeants. Notre étude, en complexifiant les analyses de classe propre au contexte canadien grâce à l'analyse intra-catégorie des dynamiques de classe, s'inscrit dans cette démarche, et pose pour ce faire la question suivante : comment l'accès à divers

types de capitaux façonne-t-il les parcours et les expériences d'exil de familles syriennes RPG et réinstallées au Canada après avoir séjourné au Liban, en Turquie et en Jordanie ?

MÉTHODOLOGIE

Une série d'entretiens (20) a été réalisée entre janvier 2017 et avril 2017 avec des RPG syrien.nes réinstallé.es entre novembre 2015 et décembre 2016 dans la Ville de Québec. Le contact avec les participants a été établi via l'implication bénévole de la chercheuse principale au Centre multiethnique de la ville de Québec ; organisme responsable de l'accueil et de l'installation des RPG dans la capitale nationale. Les rencontres, d'une durée d'environ 90 minutes, ont eu lieu en personne au domicile des participant.es, principalement situé dans la banlieue adjacente à la ville de Québec. Les récits furent collectés à l'aide d'un interprète agissant également à titre d'intermédiaire pour faciliter le contact avec les différentes familles et constituer notre échantillon. La recherche fut approuvée par le Comité d'éthique de la recherche avec des êtres humains de l'Université Laval et toutes les mesures furent mises en place pour assurer la libre participation et le respect des participant.es. Le récit de vie fut choisi comme méthode de collecte de données lors des entretiens. Les entretiens furent orientés de manière à cibler préférentiellement certains segments de la vie des individus.

La première section de l'entretien consistait à demander aux familles rencontrées de raconter leur vie en Syrie avant l'éclatement du conflit. Cette section visait en définitive à cerner la situation initiale de la famille avant son entrée dans l'exil et à faire l'état des ressources et capitaux accessibles. L'information recueillie dans cette section a permis, lors de l'analyse, de mettre en relation les expériences pré et post-conflit dans les parcours d'exil et d'examiner les conditions et expériences d'asile dans les pays frontaliers en fonction d'une position sociale initiale plus ou moins précaire. Les trois principaux types de capitaux observés et utilisés lors de cette mise en relation se déclinent comme suit : capital économique (lieu d'origine ; métiers occupés ; lieu et type d'habitation en Syrie) ; capital culturel (niveau d'éducation et métier ; passe-temps ; habitudes migratoires préconflit) ; et capital social (migration interne suite à l'éclatement du conflit ; réseaux en Syrie et dans le pays d'accueil ; soutien effectif des réseaux ; présence de réseaux ailleurs dans le monde ; expérience de travail et de tourisme à l'étranger) (**Table 1**).

La seconde section concernait l'entrée dans la migration et l'expérience d'asile dans le premier pays d'accueil. Les thèmes abordés portaient sur l'expérience de la guerre en Syrie, notamment les stratégies de survie lors de cette période ; les déplacements internes ayant précédé le départ vers un autre pays ; le choix du pays d'accueil ; les modalités de départ vers ce pays ; le passage de la frontière ; l'accès au logement, au travail, à l'éducation et aux services de santé ; les réseaux ; les temps libres ; le statut légal ; la discrimination ; la circulation à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur du pays ; le processus d'enregistrement auprès du HCR ; et le processus d'accès à la réinstallation. Enfin, la dernière section concernait l'arrivée et la première année au Canada et visait à cerner la situation actuelle des familles dans leur nouveau pays d'accueil. Cette section fera l'objet d'un prochain article.[2]

Au sein de notre échantillon, six familles étaient originaires de petites villes comptant

[2] Cette section fera l'objet d'un prochain article.

Table 1
Types de capitaux et leurs composantes

Types de capitaux	Composantes	Fort capital	Faible capital
Économique	Lieu d'origine	Urbain	Rural ; Banlieues
	Corps de métier	Étatique ; Entrepreneur ; Commerçant	Ouvrier ; Paysan ; Chauffeur ; Éleveur
	Type d'habitation"	Individuelle	Familiale
Culturel	Niveau d'étude	Collégial ; Universitaire	Primaire ; Secondaire
	Temps libre	Vacances en province	Consacré à la famille et aux proches
	Expériences migratoires préconflit	Tourisme ; Opportunités d'emploi	Travail contractuel dans la région
	Lieu d'origine	Urbain	Rural ; Banlieues
Social	Réseau interne Réseau externe	Disposant d'un fort volume de capital, apportant un soutien matériel et logistique	Disposant d'un faible volume de capital, ne pouvant apporter un soutien matériel et logistique

moins de 80 000 habitants (Nawa, Talbiseh, Sedra, Kfar Zeit, Deraa), deux habitaient une ville moyenne de 200 000 habitants (Raqqa) une résidait en banlieue d'Alep et dix autres dans les principaux centres urbains du pays (Alep, Damas, Homs et Lattaquié). Six des chefs de famille avaient terminé leur 6^{e} année et sept leur 9^{e} année, trois autres avaient complété le collège et un détenait une formation universitaire en comptabilité. Avant de quitter le pays, ces derniers travaillaient soit comme chauffeur, ouvrier, boulanger, cuisinier, agriculteur, entrepreneur, libraire, comptable ou fonctionnaire. Du côté des femmes, trois d'entre elles avaient commencé une formation au collège, quatre avaient complété la 9^{e} année, une la 8^{e}, deux la 7^{e}, quatre la 6^{e} année et cinq autres n'avaient soit pas complété ou jamais commencé leur scolarité primaire. L'ensemble de ces femmes ne travaillait pas à l'extérieur avant la guerre. Neuf familles habitaient toujours au domicile des parents, alors que dix possédaient une maison individuelle. La moitié des ménages comptait six membres ou moins, les autres dénombrant pour leur part huit à onze personnes. Les passe-temps mentionnés par certaines familles comprenaient des visites chez la famille proche et les amis, des pique-niques et des voyages en province ou à la ferme. Environ la moitié des familles a mentionné passer trop d'heures au travail pour avoir des passe-temps ou avoir le temps et l'argent pour voyager. En ce qui concerne la migration préconflit, douze des neuf familles avaient préalablement voyagé hors de la Syrie à des fins de travail (Liban, Jordanie, Irak, Algérie, Grèce, Arabie Saoudite) ou de voyage (Jordanie, Arabie Saoudite, Liban, Turquie).

Enfin, treize familles avaient effectué des déplacements internes à l'éclosion du conflit (séjours dans la famille proche ou indépendants) avant de quitter pour la Turquie, le Liban ou la Jordanie. Bien qu'une répartition classique par classe n'ait pas fait l'objet de la présente étude, il est possible de regrouper les différentes familles en deux principaux groupes, soit des groupes présentant, en vertu des différentes composantes de capitaux (**Table 1**), une structure globale de capitaux plus ou moins mobilisables en contexte d'exil. Les deux groupes se déclinent comme suit : Familles détenant des capitaux faiblement mobilisables en contexte d'exil : 1 ; 2 ; 4 ; 5 ; 6 ; 16 ; 17 ; 18 ; 20 (**Table 2**); et Familles détenant des capitaux fortement mobilisables en contexte d'exil : 3 ; 7 ; 8 ; 10 ; 11 ; 12 ; 14 ; 15 (**Table 3**). Les familles 9 ; 13 ; 19 présentent une structure médiane (**Table 4**).

CONDITIONS D'ASILE DANS LES PREMIERS PAYS D'ACCUEIL

Des 5,6 millions d'exilé.es hors de la Syrie se trouvant dans la région du Sud-est méditerranéen, 3,7 millions ont cherché refuge en Turquie, 855 000 au Liban et 666 000 en Jordanie. Les contextes de réception des trois principaux pays hôtes présentent des caractéristiques semblables et divergentes. Le Liban et la Jordanie n'ont pas ratifié la Convention de 1951 et le Protocole de 1967 régissant le droit d'asile, et bien que la Turquie soit signataire, elle maintient une limitation d'ordre géographique, ne reconnaissant le statut de réfugié.e qu'aux ressortissant.es des États membres du Conseil de l'Europe. Les politiques d'asile régissant l'entrée et le traitement des ressortissant.es syrien.nes sur ces trois territoires sont donc le fruit de politiques nationales développées indépendamment (Turquie) ou en étroite collaboration (Liban, Jordanie) avec le HCR (Kagan, 2011). Bien que des camps officiels furent ouverts en Turquie et principalement en Jordanie, où la majorité des réfugié.es ont transité par le camp de Zaatari, la grande majorité des déplacé.es sont installé.es en milieux urbains ou ruraux, hors des campements officiels, dans des habitations formelles ou informelles. En dépit de leurs politiques d'accueil spécifiques, la Turquie, le Liban et la Jordanie ont maintenu lors des premières années du conflit syrien une relative ouverture de leurs frontières face aux arrivées syriennes, considérant ces derniers comme des « invités » (Turquie et Jordanie), ou comme des visiteurs (Liban). Par la suite, la prolongation du conflit ainsi que l'augmentation du nombre de ressortissant.es syrien.nes cherchant à quitter la Syrie menèrent à une fermeture progressive des frontières des trois pays hôtes à partir de l'année 2014. Les trois pays se distinguent principalement sur les questions du statut, de l'accès au marché du travail et de l'accès aux services. En Turquie, les invité.es syrien.nes bénéficient d'une protection temporaire leur permettant d'accéder au travail — en dépit de cette politique, la majorité des emplois sont informels et très précaires — à l'éducation et aux soins de santé (Bélanger et al., 2021). Mentionnons que sous le système de protection temporaire, les réfugié.es sont assigné.es à une ville de résidence, ce qui limite fortement leur possibilité d'accéder à l'emploi et que tous ne parviennent pas à bénéficier du statut d'invité.e sous le régime de protection temporaire. Le Liban pour sa part ne reconnaît pas le statut de réfugié.e pour les ressortissant.es syrien.nes, mais tolère sur son territoire les Syrien.nes s'étant enregistré.es au HCR avant l'arrêt complet des procédures en 2015, ainsi que les Syrien.nes considéré.es comme travailleurs et travailleuses migrant.es via le système de parrainage (Kafala). Étant donné les hos-

Table 2
Familles détenant des capitaux faiblement mobilisables en contexte d'exil

Famille	Ville/Village	Scolarité	Métiers	Migration préconflit	Réseau dans le pays d'accueil et à l'étranger	Soutien du réseau
1	Nawa	H : 6e F : 6e ou 7e	H : camionneur F : femme au foyer	Liban	Amis, famille, employeur	Aucun
2	Raqqa	H : 6e F : aucune	H : ouvrier et propriétaire de commerce (2010) F : femme au foyer	Liban Algérie	Famille	Prêts
4	Raqqa	H : n/a F : non terminée	H : agriculteur et ouvrier F : femme au foyer	Jordanie Liban	Famille	Aucun
5	Talbiseh	H : 9e F : non terminée	H : mécanicien et livreur F : femme au foyer	Liban Jordanie Iraq	non	Prêts
6	Jisr al-Chogour	H : 6e F : non terminée	H : agriculteur et ouvrier F : femme au foyer	Liban	Amis, famille	Aucun
16	Sedra	H : 9e F : 7e	H : ouvrier F : femme au foyer	Liban	Amis	Prêts
17	Alep (banlieue ouest)	H : 6e F : 9e	H : agriculteur F : femme au foyer	aucune	Famille	Aucun
18	Alep	H : 9e F : 4e	H : boulanger F : femme au foyer	Jordanie	Belle-famille	Aucun
20	Kfar Zeit / Damas (f)	H : 6e F : collège	H : agriculteur F : femme au foyer	aucune	Famille	Aucun

Table 3
Familles détenant des capitaux fortement mobilisables en contexte d'exil

Famille	Ville/village	Scolarité	Métiers	Migration préconflit	Réseau dans le pays d'accueil et à l'étranger	Soutien du réseau
3	Homs	H : collège F : 8e	H : fonctionnaire F : femme au foyer	Jordanie	Famille	Hébergement
7	Alep (Harem)	H : collège F : 8e ou 9e	H : comptable (compagnie familiale) F : femme au foyer	Aucune	Famille	Prise en charge
8	Alep	H : collège F : 6e	H : commis libraire universitaire et chauffeur de taxi F : femme au foyer	Arabie Saoudite Turquie	Famille	Promesse d'emploi
10	Adra	H : non terminée F : collège	H : artisan professionnel F : femme au foyer	Jordanie	Famille	Hébergement
11	Alep	H : 9e F : 6e	H : imprimeur textile professionnel F : femme au foyer	Jordanie Grèce Liban	Famille	Aucun
12	Damas	H : 6e F : 6e	H : ouvrier F : femme au foyer	Jordanie Arabie Saoudite Algérie	Parrain	Parrainage
14	Homs	H : université F : 9e	H : fonctionnaire F : artisane à domicile	Aucune	Famille	Aucun
15	Lattaquié	H : 9e F : 6e	H : fonctionnaire ; ambulancier ; guide touristique autonome F : femme au foyer	Jordanie Turquie Liban Arabie Saoudite	Non	Aucun

Table 4
Familles médianes

Famille	Ville/Village	Scolarité	Métiers	Migration préconflit	Réseau dans le pays d'accueil et à l'étranger	Soutien du réseau
9	Kameshli	H : 6e	Ouvrier	Aucune	Famille	Aucun
13	Alep	H : 9e F : 9e	H : livreur et ouvrier F : femme au foyer	Aucune	Famille	Moral
19	Deraa	H : 9 F : collège	H : comptable et ouvrier F : femme au foyer	Jordanie	Famille	Faible

tilités grandissantes face à la présence des réfugié.es syrien.nes dans le pays, l'accès aux soins ou à l'éducation est devenu, au fil des années, de plus en plus restreint. Enfin, la présence des travailleurs migrants étant établie de longue date dans le pays, l'accès au marché du travail informel demeure relativement aisé, toutefois, dans des conditions d'exploitation et de grande précarité. Enfin, en Jordanie les réfugié.es syrien.nes sont considéré.es comme des migrant.es temporaires et ne bénéficient d'aucune protection spécifique. L'installation hors camp est possible uniquement pour les réfugié.es disposant d'un garant (kafil) jordanien, ce dernier ne permettant toutefois pas d'accéder à un permis de travail (Doraï, 2015). Depuis 2016, une nouvelle réglementation permet aux réfugié.es syrien.nes d'obtenir plus facilement un permis de travail. Quoi qu'il en soit, des 200 000 emplois espérés, seulement 37 000 furent créés, dont une large part résulte d'une simple régularisation de postes informels (Doraï et Piraud-Fournet, 2018). Comme le démontreront nos résultats, les caractéristiques régionales et nationales exposées ci-haut sont pertinentes pour comprendre l'importance relative de divers types de capitaux une fois arrivé.e dans un premier pays d'accueil.

L'ENTRÉE DANS L'EXIL

La « migration forcée », bien que par définition involontaire pour les personnes qui y sont contraintes, entraîne malgré tout un important processus décisionnel et implique d'importantes disparités d'accès à l'exil (Lubkemann, 2008). Alors que ce n'est pas le cas pour plusieurs déplacés internes en Syrie, les familles rencontrées dans le cadre de cette étude avaient toutes en commun la possibilité initiale d'entreprendre une migration vers un premier pays d'accueil. Si l'on s'intéresse aux éléments qui ont conditionné le départ des différentes familles rencontrées dans le cadre de cette enquête, on constate d'emblée l'existence de logiques et de rythmes distinctifs suivant leur accès différencié à divers types de capitaux. Pour les familles plus pauvres, qui habitaient souvent en milieu rural et qui avaient des revenus moyens ou faibles associés à des emplois plus précaires, les départs ont été principale-

ment conditionnés par la faiblesse du capital économique. Le travail se faisant de plus en plus rare au sein des lieux touchés par le conflit, plusieurs chefs de famille ont dû partir travailler seuls au Liban :

> Les prix ont commencé à augmenter, il n'y avait pas de travail et donc peu d'argent pour une famille avec deux enfants… je n'ai pas travaillé de novembre 2011 à avril 2012, c'était une période difficile pour moi. J'ai décidé de partir au Liban le 8 avril 2012.
>
> *[F5]*.

Le départ des autres membres de la famille avait lieu lorsque la situation dans leur village ou leur ville devenait intenable, que les possibilités de déplacements internes en Syrie étaient épuisées ou encore pour éviter les passages fréquents et risqués à la frontière :

> Les problèmes ont commencé à Raqqa seulement un an après le début des événements, mais nous sommes partis avant que ça n'éclate. La situation était calme, mais chaque fois que je venais en visite, je ne me sentais pas en sécurité sur la route vers Raqqa… je savais que si on se faisait prendre sur la route on n'en revenait jamais… donc j'ai dit à ma famille et mes parents de venir s'installer au Liban au début de 2012, avant que la guerre ne commence à Raqqa.
>
> *[F4]*.

Pour les familles qui disposaient d'un capital économique plus élevé, souvent installées dans les principaux centres urbains et dotées d'un capital culturel institutionnalisé (une scolarité plus avancée), l'épuisement des options de déplacements internes ou l'arrivée d'un événement important et souvent traumatique a provoqué le départ. Il pouvait s'agir de blessures, de menaces, d'emprisonnement, de décès, de situation de santé précaire, ou d'intensification des frappes armées :

> Un jour, l'armée syrienne est venue chercher mon mari pour le mettre en prison. Il y est resté et a subi de mauvais traitements pendant quatre jours, puis ils se sont aperçus que ce n'était pas la bonne personne… — Après être sorti de prison, j'ai appris que la sécurité aérienne me cherchait, donc j'ai décidé de quitter vers la Turquie, la situation était insupportable — moi je ne pensais jamais quitter la Syrie, mais après avoir perdu mon fils, puis avec l'emprisonnement de mon mari… même une fois ils ont voulu prendre mon autre fils aveugle… j'ai eu très peur pour mes enfants et aussi de perdre mon mari, c'était de l'injustice… pour cela j'ai décidé de quitter mon pays.
>
> *[F15]*.

Pour l'ensemble de ces familles qui ont été contraintes de quitter la Syrie, le choix du pays d'asile a notamment été influencé par sa facilité d'accès — le positionnement géographique des différentes familles en Syrie, en fonction des blocages routiers, étant primordial dans la prise de décision — ainsi que par la présence sur place d'un réseau d'accointance (capital social) (Doraï et Piraud-Fournet, 2018):

> On a choisi la Turquie, car c'était proche d'Alep et aussi mes beaux-parents étaient là-bas. Le Liban était loin et la route moins sécuritaire, il fallait passer par l'armée syrienne.
>
> *[F7]*

> Je ne suis pas allé au Liban, même si c'est plus proche, parce qu'on ne connaît personne là-bas. En Jordanie il y avait ma fille et son mari.
>
> *[F14]*.

L'existence et les capacités réelles du capital social dans le pays d'accueil sont observables de manière transversale dans plusieurs aspects de l'expérience d'asile, qu'il soit question, par exemple, de l'accès au logement ou au marché du travail ou encore d'accès au système de parrainage ou à un soutien financier. L'ensemble des familles disposait d'un certain capital social dans le premier pays d'asile. La différence s'exprime cependant au niveau du soutien réel fourni par ce dernier. Pour

les familles plus précaires, un faible capital social signifiait un réseau incapable de pallier le manque de ressources lors de l'installation, qu'il ait été question d'hébergement temporaire ou encore de prêts monétaires pour accéder à un logement décent :

> Je savais que le frère de ma femme était au Liban, mais je savais aussi que personne ne s'entraidait là-bas… Quand je suis passé le voir, il était en colocation, c'était impossible de rester avec lui. Je lui ai demandé si je pouvais lui laisser ma valise et mes affaires le temps que je trouve autre chose… Je me suis retrouvé à la rue. J'ai dormi dehors pendant environ 4 ou 5 jours. Je n'avais nulle part où aller…
>
> *[F18]*.

On constate d'emblée que pour les familles plus pauvres, peu scolarisées et qui avaient un faible capital social, les conditions de logement dans les pays d'accueil étaient beaucoup plus précaires, les familles étant soit confinées en camp ou dans des logements réduits, souvent insalubres et peu sécuritaires :

> Au Liban on habitait toute la famille dans une chambre qu'on payait 250 USD par mois… la chambre était en très mauvaise condition, il y avait beaucoup d'humidité, même il y avait des rats à côté de l'immeuble et les enfants dormaient dans la cuisine… Parfois je me disais qu'on aurait mieux fait de rester en Syrie malgré la guerre avec toutes ces conditions de pauvreté et de saleté.
>
> *[F16]*.

En revanche, l'existence d'un capital économique ou d'un capital social en mesure d'apporter du support a joué un rôle déterminant pour les familles. Les ressources de ces réseaux ont notamment permis d'accéder à un logement convenable, souvent après une période de cohabitation qui permettait la recherche d'une habitation moins précaire : « On a habité à Zarka pour un an, on louait une maison, car on avait 6000 dinars jordaniens en réserve. » [F12].

> … puis on est allés s'installer à Marsin, où mes beaux-parents habitaient… les 10 premiers jours, on a habité chez mes beaux-parents, puis on a déménagé dans une petite maison.
>
> *[F7]*.

Bien que l'influence de la structure globale des capitaux détenus par les différentes familles soit observable dans les exemples précédents de manière transversale en Turquie, au Liban et en Jordanie, l'accès à certains types de capitaux, et la capacité de les convertir lorsque nécessaire, démontrent l'importance de situer notre analyse à l'intersection du profil socioéconomique des individus et des structures nationales d'accueil.

EXIL ET CONTEXTE D'ASILE

Les contextes nationaux et les politiques nationales ont également eu des impacts importants sur le rôle joué par les différents types de capitaux. Par exemple, dans le contexte jordanien, où les procédures d'enregistrements obligeaient un passage par le camp Zaatari, seules les personnes qui disposaient d'un réseau familial jordanien, qui pouvait jouer le rôle de parrain, ont été autorisées à quitter les camps, une chance inouïe pour tenter d'améliorer leurs conditions de vie :

> On s'est installés au camp Zaatari pour un an et demi. Ils nous ont donné une tente pour la famille. C'était une vie difficile, les conditions étaient mauvaises, particulièrement l'hiver quand il pleuvait… on a même vécu une inondation… parfois je me disais que j'aurais préféré rester en Syrie avec la guerre plutôt que de vivre là-bas… en juillet 2014 on a fait la connaissance d'un des proches de la famille de mon mari qui habitait en Jordanie depuis longtemps. Il est venu nous visiter au camp avec plusieurs voitures et il est devenu notre parrain. C'est grâce à lui qu'on a pu sortir du camp, même sans le demander, on ne l'avait jamais rencontré avant c'était un geste très gentil de sa part, comme un cadeau pour nous.

[F12].

Ainsi, chez les familles exilées en Jordanie, la présence de famille proche ou éloignée a été déterminante pour leur installation en ville, et ce faisant, pour leur accès au logement et au marché du travail. Néanmoins, certaines familles sont parvenues à pallier l'absence de réseau grâce à leurs ressources financières, de manière à contourner le système de parrainage. Ce cas de figure constitue un bon exemple de conversion de capitaux, cette fois-ci d'un capital économique vers un capital social :

> Quand on est arrivés, on nous a amenés au camp de réfugiés Zaatari à côté de Zarka. Nous sommes restés seulement un jour. On était obligés de passer par le camp pour qu'ils enregistrent nos noms et comme on était entrés illégalement en Jordanie, on a dû payer de l'argent pour pouvoir sortir du camp… il y avait beaucoup de monde, beaucoup de tentes, de mauvaises conditions… ce n'était pas une vie normale là-bas. On a payé des Jordaniens au camp pour pouvoir partir illégalement, je n'ai pas attendu d'avoir un parrain parce que ça prend du temps. C'est le mari de ma fille qui nous a aidés à sortir, il nous attendait à l'extérieur du camp.
>
> *[F14]*.

Pour les populations exilées, l'accès au marché du travail est, entre autres, conditionné par les politiques nationales régissant le droit d'asile. Malgré la précarité et l'exploitation documentées dans les trois pays (Janmyr, 2016), des distinctions sont apparentes dans les récits d'exil quant à la possibilité de trouver de l'emploi et aux conditions de travail associées. Au Liban on remarque d'emblée qu'en dépit d'une exploitation abusive, l'offre de travail demeurait abondante pour la main-d'œuvre syrienne bon marché :

> J'étais toujours au travail, même parfois je travaillais de 7 heures à midi, puis de 16 heures à minuit.
>
> *[F4]*
>
> Parfois, ils ne nous donnaient pas tout le salaire, même au bas prix ! Au lieu d'avoir 20 USD par jour, ils me donnaient 10 USD. Mais je ne disais rien, j'endurais.
>
> *[F1]*.

En Jordanie, au contraire, l'entrée sur le marché du travail était beaucoup plus restrictive, et lorsque accessible, très abusive :

> Puis j'ai commencé à chercher du travail, mais je n'avais pas le droit de travailler. Les Syriens n'avaient pas le droit au travail parce qu'il y a beaucoup de chômeurs jordaniens.
>
> *[F14]*
>
> Mon mari et mes enfants travaillaient à peu près gratuitement, ils ne gagnaient pas beaucoup, leur salaire était beaucoup moins élevé parce qu'ils étaient syriens. S'ils demandaient leur salaire, ils se faisaient dire qu'ils insultaient le roi et on les menaçait de les déporter en Syrie.
>
> *[F12]*.

En Turquie, l'accès à l'emploi dans le secteur informel était facile, et les conditions de travail, même si mauvaises, étaient pour certains plus favorables que dans les pays voisins :

> Après avoir quitté l'hôpital, j'ai trouvé un autre travail qui rapportait environ 1000 lires par mois. C'était un travail de nuit, mais je me suis dit que c'était peut-être mieux de travailler la nuit. C'était une petite usine textile qui n'avait que quatre machines. Comme c'est un bon métier, avec beaucoup d'emplois dans le domaine et un bon salaire, j'ai décidé de l'apprendre et d'apprendre aussi le turc. J'avais apporté un livre et des CD qui enseignent le turc, les mêmes que je vendais aux étudiants de l'université d'Alep qui voulaient apprendre le turc.
>
> *[F8]*.

En dépit des contextes nationaux, le fait de détenir un capital économique substantiel a permis aux mieux nantis d'éviter l'exploitation et la précarité au travail :

> Avant de quitter la Syrie, j'ai vendu une terre et mon bureau et certaines autres choses. Je suis arrivé à Antioche avec 7 millions de livres syriennes. Tout a été dépensé pendant notre séjour en Turquie, car je ne trouvais pas de travail. Même mes fils ont cherché du travail, mais n'ont rien trouvé. Mon fils Mohamad, vers la fin du séjour, a pu travailler à Istanbul comme forgeron pour 1000 LT par mois, ça nous a beaucoup aidés. Mais un jour il nous a envoyé une photo de ses yeux qui commençaient à rougir, les conditions de travail étaient trop difficiles, donc je lui ai dit de revenir à la maison.
>
> *[F15]*.

Enfin, plusieurs autres aspects de la vie en exil ont révélé des expériences inégales en fonction de la structure globale de capitaux des différentes familles, notamment en ce qui a trait à l'accès aux soins de santé, aux besoins d'assistance et aux expériences de discrimination. Ici encore, les contextes nationaux suggèrent une stratification des expériences à l'échelle même des premiers pays d'accueil. Mentionnons par exemple que la mise en place, par certaines municipalités libanaises, de mesures fort discriminantes pour les réfugié.es syrien.nes a considérablement augmenté la précarité de certaines familles déjà fragiles. L'imposition d'un couvre-feu réservé aux réfugié.es syrien.nes a entre autres limité les possibilités d'accès au revenu étant donné la diminution des heures de travail possibles :

> Ça a été trois années très mauvaises pour nous, il fallait qu'on rentre tôt à la maison, car c'était interdit de rester dehors après 20 heures. Il y avait des policiers qui nous demandaient nos papiers.
>
> *[F1]*.

> C'était interdit de se promener après 20 heures le soir. Une fois, l'État a tué un gars d'Idlib qui se promenait à moto le soir.
>
> *[F20]*

De la même manière, l'absence de législation spécifique à l'asile qui limitait largement la distribution d'aides à l'installation, adossée aux restrictions d'accès au marché du travail ainsi qu'à l'obligation de transiter par les camps situés à la frontière nord de la Jordanie, exigeaient pour les réfugié.es syrien.nes présents sur le territoire hachémite la possession d'une large somme de capitaux pour avoir accès à des conditions d'asile décentes dans le pays :

> La délégation de négociation visitait les familles pour voir si elles avaient besoin des aides. Nous n'avons pas bénéficié de ces aides […] bien qu'il y ait beaucoup de familles dans le besoin, peu d'entre elles ont pu en bénéficier.
>
> *[F14]*

> Puis j'ai commencé à chercher du travail, mais je n'avais pas le droit de travailler. Les Syriens n'avaient pas le droit au travail parce qu'il y a beaucoup de chômeurs jordaniens.
>
> *[F14]*.

À contrario, la protection temporaire offerte par le gouvernement turc, qu'il soit ici question d'accès à l'emploi, à l'éducation, aux soins de santé, aux centres urbains, ou encore, de la présence de discrimination, offrait des conditions d'asile largement plus clémentes pour plusieurs familles exilées en Turquie :

> Son frère travaillait à l'usine à Istanbul et il nous a dit que c'était sécuritaire ; il pouvait se promener à tout moment de la journée et personne ne le dérangeait jamais. Il nous a dit qu'il y avait beaucoup de Syriens là-bas, et que les Turcs aiment les Syriens, ce genre de choses. Mon mari était très enthousiaste, il a demandé à son frère de lui trouver un travail comme artisan et son frère lui a dit qu'il pourrait facilement lui trouver un travail. Mon mari sait travailler dans tout, donc il était très enthousiaste à l'idée de partir. Je lui ai dit que nous devrions plutôt aller au Liban, mais il m'a dit que la Turquie était une bien meilleure option.
>
> *[F10]*.

Enfin, on constate qu'en dépit d'une protection privilégiée, certaines familles exilées en Turquie, mais qui disposaient de ressources plus limitées, ont malgré tout été confrontées à un quotidien extrêmement précaire :

> Tu dois travailler énormément… tu dois travailler jour et nuit pour survivre… Je travaillais dans une cuisine. Nos enfants travaillaient également. Abdo et Fouad avaient aussi des emplois. Nous étions obligés de travailler, et un seul salaire n'était pas assez pour toute la famille.
>
> *[F13]*.

La mise en relation des profils socioéconomiques prémigratoires et de leur influence distincte en fonction des contextes d'asile turc, libanais et jordanien démontre la pertinence d'une analyse située à l'intersection de la classe sociale et des contextes nationaux. L'étiquette « vulnérable » qui conditionne la sélection de RPG au Canada tend à obscurcir les disparités de classes ainsi que leurs répercussions sur les parcours d'exil. Les familles que nous avons rencontrées avaient toutes en commun la possibilité initiale d'entreprendre une migration vers un premier pays d'accueil. En fonction des différents contextes d'asile, des capitaux mobilisables — de la vitesse de leur épuisement[3] — et de la possibilité de conversion de ces derniers, ces familles ont connu des expériences d'exil très diverses, impliquant possiblement autant de diversité en ce qui concerne leurs besoins et leurs capacités respectives une fois arrivées au Canada.

CONCLUSION

Les parcours d'exil sont le fruit d'une pluralité de facteurs dont l'étude approfondie permet l'accès à une compréhension plus fine des phénomènes migratoires. Dans le cadre de cette étude, nous avons choisi d'aborder la classe sociale selon une perspective bourdieusienne, de manière à comprendre comment l'accès différencié à divers types de capitaux — économique, social et culturel — et la possibilité de les convertir, influencent la capacité des familles à naviguer les opportunités et les contraintes propres au champ migratoire. En définitive, nos résultats démontrent que l'appartenance à la catégorie des RPG regroupe une multitude de profils socioéconomiques associés à des expériences d'exil très diverses en fonction des différents contextes d'asile. Cette diversité mériterait d'être étudiée plus en profondeur pour en comprendre les répercussions sur les processus d'installation et d'intégration une fois arrivé.e au Canada. Cette étude démontre le faux fondement de l'homogénéité supposée des catégories de réfugié.es réinstallé.es au Canada (RPSP ; RPG). Bien que les personnes réfugié.es sélectionné.es comme RPG le sont en fonction de facteurs communs de vulnérabilité, nos résultats démontrent que ces dernières présentent des profils sociodémographiques prémigratoires distincts ; ces derniers risquant d'influencer différemment leur processus d'intégration et d'insertion, notamment leurs besoins en termes d'accompagnement et de soutien. La prise en compte de ces disparités intercatégories permettrait d'assurer un meilleur suivi personnalisé auprès des familles réfugiées, notamment de prodiguer un accompagnement adapté en fonction des besoins propres aux différents profils.

Cette étude, en participant à la complexification des dynamiques de classe à l'œuvre dans le traçage des parcours d'exil, démontre une fois de plus la pertinence analytique de la classe sociale dans l'étude des phénomènes migratoires. Néanmoins, il importe de rappeler que la classe sociale fait partie d'un ensemble de facteurs influant sur les par-

[3] L'épuisement des capitaux sera abordé dans un article à paraître.

cours d'exil et qu'en ce sens, sa prise en compte ne devrait pas obscurcir une foule d'autres formes de différenciation sociale que sont par exemple le genre, la race, l'âge ou la religion, ou encore des contextes structurels plus larges, tels que les cadres juridiques nationaux, les contextes sociétaux ou encore l'historique migratoire propre à une région donnée.

À PROPOS DES AUTEUR.ES

Myriam Ouellet est doctorante en cotutelle au département de géographie de l'Université Laval et à l'UFR de géographie de l'Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. Elle peut être jointe à myriam.ouellet.6@ulaval.ca.

Danièle Bélanger est professeure titulaire au département de géographie de l'Université Laval et titulaire de la chaire de recherche du Canada sur les dynamiques migratoires mondiales. Elle peut être jointe à daniele.belanger@ggr.ulaval.ca.

ORCID

Danièle Bélanger https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5640-2912

REFERENCES

Agier, M. (2006). Le gouvernement humanitaire et la politique des réfugiés. *Recueil Alexandries*, *10*. http://www.reseau-terra.eu/article569.html

Al-Kharabsheh, L., Al-Bazz, S., Koc, M., Garcia, J., Lane, G., Engler-Stringer, R., White, J., et Vatanparast, H. (2020). Household food insecurity and associated socio-economic factors among recent Syrian refugees in two Canadian cities. *Border Crossing*, *10*(2), 203–214. https://doi.org/10.33182/bc.v10i2.1161

Ayoub, M. (2017). Gender, social class and exile: The case of Syrian women in Cairo. Dans J. Freedman, Z. Kivilcim, & N. Ö. Baklaioğlu (dir.), *A gendered approach to the Syrian refugee crisis* (pp. 77–104). Routledge.

Baban, F., Ilcan, S., et Rygiel, K. (2017). Playing border politics with urban Syrian refugees movements. *Movements. Journal for Critical Migration and Border Regime Studies*, *3*(2), 81–102. http://movements-journal.org/issues/05.turkey/01.atac,heck,hess,kasli,ratfisch,soykan,yilmaz--contested.borders.turkey.migration.regime.introduction.html

Bajwa, J. K., Abai, M., Kidd, S., Couto, S., Akbari-Dibavar, A., et Mckenzie, K. (2018). Examining the intersection of race, gender, class, and age on post-secondary education and career trajectories of refugees. *Refuge : Canada's Journal on Refugees/Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés*, *34*, 113–123. https://doi.org/10.7202/1055582ar

Bélanger, D., Ouellet, M., et Saraçoğlu, C. (2021). Syrian trajectories of exile in Lebanon and Turkey: Context of reception and social class. *Population, Space and Place*, *27*(5), e2474. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2474

Bélanger, D., et Saraçoğlu, C. (2020). The governance of Syrian refugees in Turkey: The state-capital nexus and its discontents. *Mediterranean Politics*, *25*(4), 413–432. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2018.1549785

Bidet, J. (2018). Déplacements: Migrations et mobilités sociales en contexte transnational. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, *225*(5), 67–82. https://doi.org/10.3917/arss.225.0067

Bourdieu, P. (1986). Dans J. Richardson (dir.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). Greenwood Press.

Bourdieu, P., et Wacquant, L. J. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. University of Chicago Press.

Bracking, S. (2003). Sending money home: Are remittances always beneficial to those who stay behind? *Journal of International Development*, *15*(5), 633–644. https://doi.org/10.1002/jid.1021

Bréant, H. (2015). (Im) mobilité internationale : Les inégalités au sein des catégories populaires face à la migration. *Lien social et Politiques*, *74*, 37–56. https://doi.org/10.7202/1034063ar

Canefe, N. (2018). Invisible lives: Gender, dispossession, and precarity amongst Syrian refugee women in the Middle East. *Refuge : Canada's Journal on Refugees/Refuge: revue canadienne sur les réfugiés*, *34*, 39–49. https://doi.org/10.7202/1050853ar, https://doi.org/10.7202/1050853ar

Card, D., & Raphael, S. (dir.). (2013). *Immigration, poverty, and socioeconomic inequality*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Castles, S., et Kosack, G. (1973). *Immigrant workers and class structure in Western Europe*. Oxford University Press.

Clark, C. R. (2007). Understanding vulnerability: From categories to experiences of young Congolese people in Uganda. *Children & Society*, *21*(4), 284–296. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2007.00100.x

Cohen, R. (1988). *The new helots: Migrants in the international division of labour*. Gower Publishing Company, Limited.

Dağtaş, S. (2018). Inhabiting difference across religion and gender: Displaced women's experiences at Turkey's border with Syria. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees/Refuge: revue canadienne sur les réfugiés*, *34*(1), 50–59. https://doi.org/10.7202/1050854ar

De Andrade, G. S. (2020). Beyond vulnerability: Syrian refugees in urban spaces in Turkey. *International Journal for Crime*, *9*(3), 34–46. https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcjsd.v9i3.1589

Doraï, K. (2015). Les Palestiniens et le conflit syrien. Parcours de réfugiés en quête d'asile au Sud-Liban. *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, *31*, 103–120. https://doi.org/10.4000/remi.7392, https://doi.org/10.4000/remi.7392

Doraï, K., et Piraud-Fournet, P. (2018). *Self-settlement of Syrian refugees in Northern Jordan: A comparative study of Zaatari refugee camp and Azraq City. Structures of protection: Rethinking refugee shelter*. Oxford: https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01859774

Elrick, J., et Winter, E. (2018). Managing the national status group: Immigration policy in Germany. *International Migration*, *56*(4), 19–32. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12400

Gowayed, H. (2019). Diverging by gender: Syrian refugees' divisions of labor and formation of human capital in the United States. *Gender & Society*, *33*(2), 251–272. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243218819753

Gowayed, H. (2020). Resettled and unsettled: Syrian refugees and the intersection of race and legal status in the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *43*(2), 275–293. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2019.1583350

Hamilton, L. K., Veronis, L., et Walton-Roberts, M. (2020). *A national project: Syrian refugee resettlement in Canada*. McGill-Queen's University Press.

Hammar, A. (2014). The paradoxes of class: Crisis, displacement and repositioning in post-2000 Zimbabwe. Dans A. Hammar (dir.), *Displacement economies in Africa: Paradoxes of crisis and creativity* (pp. 79–104). Zed Books.

Hanley, J., Mhamied, A. A., Cleveland, J., Hajjar, O., Hassan, G., Ives, N., Khyar, R., et Hynie, M. (2018). The Social networks, social support and social capital of Syrian refugees privately sponsored to settle in Montreal: Indications for employment and housing during their early experiences of integration. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *50*(2), 123–148. https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2018.0018

Haugen, S. (2019). "We feel like we're home": The resettlement and integration of Syrian refugees in smaller and rural Canadian communities. *Refuge : Canada's Journal on Refugees/Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés*, *35*(2), 53–63. https://doi.org/10.7202/1064819ar

Hyndman, J., et Giles, W. (2016). *Refugees in extended exile: Living on the edge*. Routledge.

Hynie, M., McGrath, S., Bridekirk, J., Oda, A., Ives, N., Hyndman, J., Arya, N., Shakya, Y. B., Hanley, J., et Mckenzie, K. (2019). What role does type of sponsorship play in early integration outcomes? Syrian refugees resettled in six Canadian cities. *Refuge : Canada's Journal on Refugees/Refuge: revue canadienne sur les réfugiés*, *35*, 36–52. https://doi.org/10.7202/1064818ar

Ilcan, S., Rygiel, K., et Baban, F. (2018). The ambiguous architecture of precarity: temporary protection, everyday living and migrant journeys of Syrian refugees. *International Journal of Migration and Border Studies*, *4*(1/2), 51–51. https://doi.org/10.1504/IJMBS.2018.091226

Immigration Refugees Citizenship Canada. (n.d.). *#Welcome Refugees: Key Figures*. https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/welcome-syrian-refugees/key-figures.html

Janmyr, M. (2016). Precarity in exile: The legal status of Syrian refugees in Lebanon. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, *35*(4), 58–78. https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdw016

Kagan, M. (2011). "We live in a country of UNHCR": The UN surrogate state and refugee policy in the Middle East. *UNLV William S. Boyd School of Law Legal Studies Research Paper Series*, *201*. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1957371

Kaida, L., Hou, F., et Stick, M. (2020). The long-term economic integration of resettled refugees in Canada: A comparison of privately sponsored refugees and government-assisted refugees. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *46*(9), 1687–1708. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1623017

Kim, J. (2018). Migration-Facilitating Capital: A Bourdieusian Theory of International Migration. *Sociological Theory*, *36*(3), 262–288. https://doi.org/10.1177/0735275118794982

Kivilcim, Z. (2017). Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual (LGBT) Syrian refugees in Turkey. Dans J. Freedman, Z. Kivilcim, & N. Ö. Baklacıoğlu (dir.), *A gendered approach to the Syrian refugee crisis* (pp. 26–41). Routledge.

Kleist, N. (2010). Negotiating respectable masculinity: Gender and recognition in the Somali diaspora. *African Diaspora*, *3*(2), 185–206. https://doi.org/10.1163/187254610X526913

Kofman, E. (2018). Family migration as a class matter. *International Migration*, *56*(4), 33–46. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12433

Lenner, K., et Turner, L. (2019). Making refugees work? The politics of integrating Syrian Refugees into the labor market in Jordan. *Middle East Critique*, *28*(1), 65–95. https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2018.1462601

Lokot, M. (2018). Syrian refugees: Thinking beyond gender stereotypes. *Forced Migration Review*, *57*, 33–35. https://www.fmreview.org/syria2018/lokot

Lubkemann, S. C. (2008). Involuntary immobility: On a theoretical invisibility in forced migration studies. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *21*(4), 454–475. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen043

McSpadden, L. (1999). Contradictions and control in repatriation: Negotiations for the return of 500,000 Eritrean refugees. Dans R. Black, & K. Koser (dir.), *The end of the refugee cycle? Refugee repatriation and reconstruction* (pp. 69–84). Berghahn Books.

Myrttinen, H., Khattab, L., et Maydaa, C. (2017). "Trust no one, beware of everyone": Vulnerabilities of LGBTI refugees in Lebanon. Dans J. Freedman, Z. Kivilcim, & N. Ö. Baklacıoğlu (dir.) (pp. 61–76). Routledge.

Oliver, C., et Reilly, K. (2010). A Bourdieusian analysis of class and migration: Habitus and the individualizing process. *Sociology*, *44*(1), 49–66.

Operational Data Portal. (n.d.). *Syrian Regional Refugee Response*. https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria, accessed date 2021-05-22.

Oudshoorn, A., Benbow, S., et Meyer, M. (2020). Resettlement of Syrian refugees in Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *21*(3), 893–908. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-019-00695-8

Pearlman, W. (2020). Host state engagement, socioeconomic class, and Syrian refugees in Turkey and Germany. *Comparative Politics*, *52*(2), 241–272. https://doi.org/10.5129/001041520X15681326148598

Però, D. (2014). Class politics and migrants: Collective action among new migrant workers in Britain. *Sociology*, *48*(6), 1156–1172. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038514523519

Portes, A. (2010). Migration and social change: Some conceptual reflections. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *36*(10), 1537–1563. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2010.489370

Prothmann, S. (2018). Migration, masculinity and social class: Insights from Pikine, Senegal. *International Migration*, *56*(4), 96–108. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12385

Rajaram, P. K. (2018). Refugees as surplus population: Race, migration and capitalist value regimes. *New Political Economy*, *23*(5), 627–639. https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2017.1417372

Ritchie, G. (2018). Civil society, the state, and private sponsorship: the political economy of refugee resettlement. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *37*(6), 663–675. https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370.2018.1513429

Sanyal, R. (2018). Managing through ad hoc measures: Syrian refugees and the politics of waiting in Lebanon. *Political Geography*, *66*, 67–75. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2018.08.015

Şimşek, D. (2020). Integration processes of Syrian refugees in Turkey: "Class-based integration". *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *33*(3), 537–554. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fey057

Sinatti, G. (2014). Masculinities and intersectionality in migration: Transnational Wolof migrants negotiating manhood and gendered family roles. Dans T. D. Truong, D. Gasper, J. Handmaker, & S. I. Bergh (dir.), *Migration, gender and social justice* (pp. 215–226). Springer.

Turner, L. (2015). Explaining the (Non-)encampment of Syrian refugees: Security, class and the labour market in Lebanon and Jordan. *Mediterranean Politics*, *20*(3), 386–404. https://doi.

org/10.1080/13629395.2015.1078125

Turner, L. (2020). '#Refugees can be entrepreneurs too!' Humanitarianism, race, and the marketing of Syrian refugees. *Review of International Studies*, *46*(1), 137–155. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210519000342

Turner, L. (2021). The politics of labeling refugee men as "vulnerable". *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender*, *28*, 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxz033

Van Hear, N. (2006). "I went as far as my money would take me": Conflict, forced migration and class. Dans F. Crepeau, D. Nakache, M. Collyer, N. Goetz, A. Hansen, R. Modi, A. Nadig, S. Spoljar-Vrzina, & M. Willigen (dir.), *Forced migration and global processes: A view from forced migration studies* (pp. 125–158). Lexington Books.

Van Hear, N. (2014). Reconsidering Migration and Class. *International Migration Review*, *48*(1_suppl), 100–121. https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12139

Walton-Roberts, M., Veronis, L., Blair, C., et Dam, H. (2020). A tale of three mid-sized cities: Syrian refugee resettlement and a progressive sense of place. Dans L. K. Hamilton, & M. Walton-Roberts (dir.), *A national project: Syrian refugee resettlement in Canada* (pp. 243–267). McGill-Queen's University Press.

Wringe, A., Yankah, E., Parks, T., Mohamed, O., Saleh, M., Speed, O., Hémono, R., Relyea, B., Ibrahim, M., Sandhu, J. S., et Scott, J. (2019). Altered social trajectories and risks of violence among young Syrian women seeking refuge in Turkey: a qualitative study. *BMC Women's Health*, *19*(1), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12905-019-0710-9

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés
2022, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1–17
https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.40887

Coping with Stressors by Drawing on Social Supports: The Experiences of Adolescent Syrian Refugees in Canada

Zoha Salam[a], Amy Gajaria[b], Olive Wahoush[c] and Elysee Nouvet[d]

ABSTRACT

This study explores how teenage Syrian refugees use their social networks to cope with stressors. Through interviews with nine youth aged 16 to 18 living in Ontario, Canada, stressors related to pre- and post-migration emerged. Family, peers, school staff, and organizations were identified as social networks, each having unique reasons why they were selected. Coping was categorized as individualistic or collectivistic. Teenage Syrian refugees draw upon social resources to navigate situations they are faced with, and cultural values influence the stress and coping process. Findings have implications for mental health care providers and policy-makers focused on migrant resettlement.

KEYWORDS

refugee; youth; coping

RESUMÉ

Cette étude explore la manière dont les adolescents réfugiés syriens utilisent leurs réseaux sociaux afin de faire face aux facteurs de stress. À partir d'entrevues menées auprès de neuf jeunes âgés de 16 à 18 ans en Ontario, Canada, des facteurs de stress pré- et post-migratoires ont émergé. La famille, les pairs, le personnel scolaire et les organisations ont été identifiés comme des réseaux sociaux, chacun ayant des raisons uniques pour lesquelles ils ont été sélectionnés. L'adaptation a été catégorisée comme individualiste ou collectiviste. Les adolescents réfugiés syriens s'appuient sur des ressources sociales pour traverser les situations auxquelles ils font face, et les valeurs culturelles ont une influence sur le stress et le processus d'adaptation. Les résultats ont des implications pour les prestataires de soins en santé mentale et les décideurs qui se penchent sur la réinstallation des migrants.

KEYWORDS

réfugiés; jeunesse; adaptation

HISTORY Published 31 December 2022

CONTACT

[a] **(Corresponding author)** zohas@mcmaster.ca

Global Health, McMaster University, Hamilton, ON, Canada

[b] Amy.Gajaria@camh.ca

Department of Psychiatry, Temerty Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto

[c] wahousho@mcmaster.ca

School of Nursing, McMaster University, Hamilton, ON, Canada

[d] enouvet@uwo.ca

School of Health Studies, Western University, London, ON, Canada

INTRODUCTION

The 2011 Syrian civil war led to the displacement of 5.6 million people into neighbouring countries and 6.9 million internally; more than half of them were under the age of 18 (UNHCR, 2022). For many, experiences of war and migration are fraught with stressors that impact mental health and well-being (Almoshmosh et al., 2020; de Lima Sá et al., 2022; Hassan et al., 2016). This includes pre-migration stressors, such as the war itself, loss of loved ones, and exposure to violence, but also post-migration stressors including language barriers, culture shock, and discrimination (Hassan et al., 2016; Scharpf et al., 2021). Adolescent-specific migration stressors include, for example, learning how to navigate a new school system and fitting into new peer group (Guo et al., 2019; Scharpf et al., 2021; Sirin & Rogers-Sirin, 2015; Walker & Zuberi, 2019). Syrian refugee youth are arguably more vulnerable than adults to developing negative mental health outcomes from the effects of stressors occurring during the sensitive development period of adolescence, when many mental health disorders emerge and certain psychosocial milestones are to be met (Hassan et al., 2016; Kessler et al., 2009).

For many Syrian youth, leaving their country has also meant being uprooted from their social networks, including extended family, religious communities, and friends (de Lima Sá et al., 2022; Hanley et al., 2018; Hassan et al., 2016; Scharpf et al., 2021). Social support is important in psychological well-being as it buffers against stress and, in doing so, plays a protective role (Coyne & Downey, 1991; Dubois et al., 1992). Having access to various forms of social support (e.g., familial, peer, community) provides an individual with emotional support in addition to practical and tangible supports, such as financial assistance (Coyne & Downey, 1991; Dubois et al., 1992). The fractured social networks among Syrian refugee youth have had negative implications for their mental health, increasing risks of loneliness and even feelings of survivor's guilt (de Lima Sá et al., 2022; Goveas & Coomarasamy, 2018; Hassan et al., 2016). To mitigate these risks and promote protective factors, an important consideration in resettling refugees is the availability of support networks. Several studies indicate that among Syrian refugee youth, making friends within school settings and being able to rely on family constitute important social support resources in the face of settlement-related stressors (Alfadhli & Drury, 2018; Alfadhli et al., 2019; Scharpf et al., 2021).

Literature on Syrian refugee youth mental health connects resettlement experiences and stressors (Guo et al., 2019; Hanley et al., 2018; Massfeller & Hamm, 2019; Scharpf et al., 2021; Walker & Zuberi, 2019). However, a paucity of research examines coping strategies among this population, and therefore, further exploration may be helpful in understanding how to reduce negative mental health outcomes and promote positive well-being. **Coping** can be described as an individual utilizing specific behaviours to manage demands of their environment that they perceive to be taxing (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). An individual may draw on several coping strategies in response to stressors, as some may be more efficacious than others (Aldwin, 2007). Culture shapes the way an individual views their world, what is regarded as a stressor, and responses to stressors (Aldwin, 2007; Chan et al., 2016; Kuo, 2010; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). This study explores some of the coping strategies that teenage Syrian refugees employ in the context of stressors experienced, with a focus on social support systems highlighted as a method of coping.

Theoretical Framework

We employed a qualitative research methodology rooted in cultural phenomenology (Csordas, 2015) to explore how teenage Syrian refugees use social support systems to cope with stressors. This approach seeks to examine this phenomenon through the individual's lived experiences with meanings attributed to them by their own cultural values (Csordas, 2015).

The main theoretical framework employed in this study was the socio-cultural model of stress, coping, and adaptation (SMSCA) (Aldwin, 2007). The SMSCA posits that stress and coping make up an interactional process with embedded cultural values. This model has four distinct areas: the stressor that occurs, the appraisal of the stressor, the coping behaviours employed, and the resources available to the individual (Aldwin, 2007). The SMSCA may help us to understand how teenage Syrian refugees use their social support systems to cope with stressors by emphasizing how cultural values play a role in their responses.

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was utilized as a guiding framework for the interview guide and also for analyzing the interviews (Smith et al., 2009). The main goal of IPA is to gain an understanding of an individual's lived experiences through making meaning of the shared account (Smith et al., 2009). However, in investigating a research question, IPA also recognizes the significance of participants' perceived differences regarding a phenomenon. IPA is recommended for smaller sample sizes, does not centre on quantifying accounts, and, due to the intersubjective nature and role of the researcher, does not require a secondary coder (Smith et al., 2009). In the context of the study, IPA worked well in helping us understand how teenage Syrian refugees use their social support systems to cope with stressors.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Participants and Setting

Participants were recruited using a combination of purposive and snowball sampling (Smith et al., 2009). Because of government restrictions due to COVID-19, various channels of recruitment were utilized. Recruitment flyers were emailed to community centres in Ontario that provide resettlement support to Canadian newcomers or actively engage with Syrian refugee youth. The primary investigator contacted local religious and cultural community leaders who she had personal ties with. Youth were included in the study if they were between the ages of 13 and 18, were living in Ontario, were currently enrolled in secondary school, and were living with their family. Potential participating youth had to be comfortable speaking English. In addition, potential participants had to have arrived in Canada within the one to three years of their participation in the interview. Participants who expressed verbal interest were provided information about the study, and once they gave consent to participate, they were emailed the consent form. Participants were given opportunities to ask further questions. Once their signature was received, they were asked to schedule a time for the interview. As all participants were 16 years old and older, parental signatures were not required.

This research study was approved by the Hamilton Integrated Research Ethics Board (10596). The interviews were conducted in April 2020, a month after Ontario's public health measures had been implemented due to COVID-19.

Data Collection

The interview guide was developed by the research team, who had extensive experience with refugees, youth, and individuals with varying levels of English proficiency. The interview was informed by IPA, as the goal was to facilitate an interaction where participants could share experiences in their own words (Smith et al., 2009). Semi-structured interviews leave room for exploration while remaining standardized through the inclusion of core questions. Three areas of interest were explored within the interviews: stressors, social support, and coping.

The interviews were audio-only, conducted through the videoconferencing platform Zoom. Audio was recorded with each participant's permission, and the interviews lasted 40 minutes on average. The interviewer greeted participants, explained their rights as researchers, and reiterated what the interview entailed as a form of informed and ongoing consent. Interviewees were given opportunities to ask questions before once again consenting to participate. Once the interview started, they were asked basic demographic questions and were asked to complete an activity sheet. In this phase, participants were invited to recall and note down three stressful events they experienced in the past. The activity sheet asked the participants to identify who helped them and what they did to cope during the stressful events. After participants completed the activity sheet, the interviewer asked them about each event separately to ensure understanding and gather more detail. Due to the potentially distressing content of the study and to maintain ongoing consent, at several points within the interview, participants were asked if they wished to take a break or continue participating. Participants were compensated with $20 CAD and community service hours, and they were given a resource sheet listing available psychosocial services.

Data Analysis

The primary investigator transcribed interviews verbatim. The data were analyzed through guidelines established for IPA by the primary investigator alone (Smith et al., 2009). First, the audio of each interview was played to reacquaint the primary investigator with the content. Second, the interview transcript was read over several times, and during this process, similar to a free-textual analysis, notes were made regarding the content and language (Smith et al., 2009). As the principal investigator is from a different migration and ethnocultural background from participants, she exercised bracketing as a reflexivity practice by making notes to acknowledge bias due to one's own positionality and privilege. Third, notes were examined, and preliminary themes were extrapolated, along with related quotes that represented them. In this step, the themes were mapped based on their interconnected relationships and were clustered into hierarchies that were superordinate or subordinate (Smith et al., 2009). The next step involved going through the other transcripts following the same steps. Last, a final table of themes was produced that encompassed items from all interviews. The themes were selected based not only on their frequency but also on their capacity to help further illuminate the participants' understanding of the experiences they shared (Smith et al., 2009).

Limitations

The current study is not without limitations. The participants made up a homogenous group (e.g., migration status, religion, age group, and geographical location) and, as

such, may not be representative of other Syrian refugee youth experiences in Canada and beyond. While recognizing that the IPA approach relies on smaller sample sizes to focus on depth (Smith et al., 2009), the study's results may still be generalizable to similar contexts. COVID-19 created other limitations as the interviews had to be conducted online; thus, access to the internet and an appropriate device potentially prevented some participants from partaking in the study. As participants took place in the interview from their own homes, their abilities to be forthcoming about certain experiences may have been affected, in case they felt they were being listened to by family members. For a more in-depth account of the ethical and methodological challenges of the broader study, consult Salam, Nouvet, and Schwartz (2022b).

RESULTS

A total of nine participants (six male and three female) were interviewed. All participants were government-assisted refugees between the ages of 16 and 18 and had been in Canada for an average of three years and five months.

From the interviews, a total of 9 main themes and 23 subthemes emerged (**Table 1**). The themes and corresponding subthemes are described in the sections below, alongside related quotes from the participants.

Area 1: Stressors

Participants identified various stressors situated around pre-migration and post-migration challenges. The three main themes or stressors were the events of the war, acculturation in Canada, and navigating the Canadian education system. Among these themes, related subthemes also emerged. Each of these stressors is presented below, in a chronological sequence from pre-migration (the war) to post-migration (acculturation in Canada and navigating the Canadian education system).

The Events of the War

Only two participants elected to share their experiences of living through the Syrian civil war as a stressful event. They discussed their experiences and expressed that the war had severely marked their lives, as exemplified in the following quote:

> So, like, the war I had to go through, like there is a war in Syria right now. I was seven, so, like, I had to leave my country when I was seven and a half, so yeah. And I can't forget the memories, people dead and stuff, that I had to see. I feel bad for them.
>
> *(P9, 16 years old).*

Two subthemes were identified within the major theme of war: constant moving and concern for those left behind. How and through what specific impacts the events of the war came to constitute stressors for the participants becomes more apparent within these subthemes.

Constant Moving

Two participants described how their experience of the war was a stressful event due to having to constantly move. In the following quote, a participant highlighted his safety concerns in this context, which could be succinctly summarized by his use of the phrase "you live today or die here." He described the cumulative effects of constantly moving being mentally and physically stressful:

> And plus, you are escaping because you are trying to survive on your own, that's why it was very stressful because you don't know when you're going to die. It's literally either you live today or die here. That was the one that was very stressful, just like the idea of moving, it is both mentally and physically stressful.
>
> *(P8, 18 years old).*

Table 1
List of themes

Area explored in interviews	Theme	Subtheme
Stressors	The events of the war	Constant moving
		Concern for those left behind
	Acculturation in Canada	Language
		Discrimination
	Navigating the Canadian education system	First day of school
		Quality of education
		COVID-19's impact
Social support	Family	Wisdom
		Intuition
		Exclusivity
	Peers	Personal hesitancy
		Shared identity
		Experience
		Rejection
	School staff	Duty
		Friendliness
	Organizations	Availability
Coping	Collectivistic coping	Managing impressions
		Turning to God and Islam
		Seeking comfort
	Individualistic coping	Finding opportunities
		Escaping reality
		Letting go

A 16-year-old participant highlighted how constant moving was a stressful experience because of its social implications. He described himself as a social and outgoing person, and therefore his inability to maintain friendships due to having to abruptly move constantly was a particular source of stress:

> Not having many [friends], … like at school, every school that you have to move to, like, after six months you start making friends and then you have to leave and go to a new school. And then try to make new friends, … it started getting annoying, and then I started not making many friends.
>
> *(P9, 16 years old).*

Concerns for Those Left Behind

In detailing his accounts of experiencing the Syrian civil war, one participant reflected on how memories of war remained present in his thoughts because other family members remained behind in Syria. Relatedly, another participant expressed concern regarding "her people" after a classmate said something negative regarding Syrian refugees. This highlights how moving past traumatic memories contributes to stress for Syrian refugee adolescents who have come to Canada:

> Because, you know, all the memories. How could you forget about them? Like, your family is still living there. Right now, in Canada, I don't have anyone else but my parents and siblings, and I only have one uncle in [REMOVED], so he lives far away from here, and all the others live in Syria.
>
> *(P9, 16 years old).*

> I was so emotional, I cried, and so sad. 'Cause it's my people, they're suffering in the country, and people are talking bad about them.
>
> *(P3, 16 years old).*

Acculturation in Canada

The most salient superordinate theme and stressor shared by all participants related to acculturation. Participants discussed how adjusting to a new life in Canada brought challenges for them. Acculturation includes two subthemes: language and discrimination. Such difficulties were not experienced by youth as trivial matters. In the following quote, it is clear how stark a difference life in Canada was to this participant:

> Cause, you know, I didn't feel comfortable, I didn't feel in my own, like, I didn't feel safe. It's not my own country, like, it's a completely different country from my home. A different language, different streets, different culture, community. … Everything is different.
>
> *(P3, 16 years old).*

Youth described how such differences can result in feeling uncomfortable to the point where they do not experience a sense of safety or security despite their arrival in a new country.

Language

For all participants, learning English was a predominant acculturation-related stressor given their unfamiliarity with the language. Many participants stated that this stressor arose upon their entry into the Canadian education system, given that the language spoken by their peers and the staff was English, and English was the curriculum's language as well—a language unfamiliar to participants upon initial arrival to Canada. Such language difficulties were an additional stressor facing youth who had to adapt to a new educational system. The following quote indicates that not knowing English made it difficult for this participant to navigate the already-new environment of the education system:

> It wasn't really an event, but when I first came here, my worst stress was the language. I really didn't know any word in English, and when I went to school, I didn't know nobody there, and when the teacher was talking to me, I didn't understand anything.
>
> *(P3, 16 years old).*

This sentiment was echoed by the other participants, who also shared that they felt like they could not participate in their classes or even make friends because of the language barrier, contributing to a sense of isolation and decreasing engagement in developmentally appropriate activities.

Discrimination

Three participants shared stressful events that involved experiencing discrimination in Canada. The common thread among them was that these events were described as targeting their Muslim faith and identities as racialized youth. Despite having newly arrived, participants were able to label racist acts and language that they and their families had experienced and describe how this contributed to increased isolation, a decreased sense of safety, and a sense of being "othered" in society. Participants contrasted this experience with their experiences in the Middle East, where they did not experience the same kind of racism and discrimination. One participant shared an instance highlighting a time he was discriminated against in a "racist act," which involved him and his family being singled out as Muslims by his hostile neighbours:

> OK, so event three was a racist act from a neighbour. They—we, like, we are Muslims, and my family is Muslim, and when we first, like, got here, … one of our neighbours, they put a sign in the window that said, "Islam will fall." So, we thought, like, we thought, it was going to be dangerous, and we did not know what to do. So, we stayed at home, we tried not to go out for, like, a week, and tried not to get in touch with them or see them.
>
> *(P7, 18 years old).*

Another participant stated that she was aware of the negative sentiment towards Muslims in Canada before she even arrived:

> I was in Jordan and that kind of thing didn't happen there, but when you come here, you heard about a lot of people having racist, like, other people had racist people dealing with them, and … like, had that treatment for being Muslims.
>
> *(P4, 17 years old).*

Navigating the Canadian Education System

Given the participants' ages and the importance of education in their lives, it is not surprising that specific discussion of participants' experiences in the Canadian education system was a particular area of focus. In addition to the noted language barriers, youth described challenges navigating the education system in Canada. The fact that the education system was different and that participants did not understand how the system in Canada functioned was identified as a source of stress. Three subthemes emerged that helped to clarify specific stressful aspects of navigating an unfamiliar education system: the first day of school, quality of education, and COVID-19's impact on education.

First Day of School

Participants recalled their first day of school, either grade school or high school, as being a particularly stressful experience. What contributed most to this becoming a stressful event for all was not having any friends. In the following quote, it was clear that the lack of friends was a "scary" thing for this participant, making her experience of navigating the education system quite difficult:

> So, event two … was my first day in elementary school. That day was so stressful because I didn't know the school. I didn't know what was the dress code at school. I had no idea how to speak anything, I knew couple of words, but that wasn't helpful to interact with other people. And I had no friends, that was the most scariest thing ever, like, you go to a whole new country without, like, knowing any friends, no family, you know what I mean? Like, you feel stranger. That day was so stressful.
>
> *(P4, 17 years old).*

Quality of Education

For some participants, one element that made navigating the Canadian education

system a stressful experience was the perceived low quality of education itself. Two participants reported being unsatisfied with what was available in terms of academics or extracurricular activities. Both felt they needed to switch schools to reach their future academic goals. In the following quotes, participants describe important elements that were missing in their current school:

> For my other event, it was my guidance counsellor, he didn't let me join the academic math course, which I wanted. Yeah, he claimed that there was not enough space in the class. That wasn't true.
>
> *(P6, 16 years old).*

> I didn't want to stay in other schools because we moved to a new house and it was too far from my new house. So, as I told you I moved to [REMOVED] a couple of months, yeah, but I didn't like it there, there were a lot of fights, and you know, the school was too old, they didn't have, I was trying to get into the robotics team, and they didn't have a robotics team there. So, as I heard [REMOVED] had a robotics program, … that's why I went there.
>
> *(P1, 17 years old).*

COVID-19's Impact

Given that these interviews occurred during the early months of the pandemic, it was not surprising that two participants explicitly mentioned how COVID-19 made their educational experiences stressful. These participants' source of stress stemmed primarily from difficulties navigating the shift to a fully online learning environment and the way in which they perceived this to limit their academic success at a crucial time in their academic careers. The shift to online learning created challenges in terms of both submitting their assignments and getting the help they needed from their guidance counsellors to prepare post-secondary applications. These students explained that they were in their final semester of high school—a time when a drop in performance could impact post-secondary scholarships. The following quotes indicate how online learning made it difficult for these participants to fulfill their goals to get certain scholarships:

> So, he basically gave me a zero in the end. This was crucial for my average because I had a 97 and that brought me down to, like, a 94. And, like, yeah, I'm aiming to keep up my average so I can get the scholarship I want in university. Yeah, that's what made me stressed.
>
> *(P5, 18 years old).*

> One of the things that also made me mad is that I actually missed the deadline for applying to [REMOVED] scholarship, because applying to [REMOVED] scholarship helps a lot, like, with your application to med school, because I want to apply to become a doctor later on.
>
> *(P8, 18 years old).*

Area 2: Social Support

During the interviews, participants were asked to identify an individual they sought support from regarding a stressor they had experienced. Four groups of social supports emerged: family, friends, school staff, and organizations. Participants indicated reasons why they sought the selected individual's help and also described how that person helped them navigate the stressful event. The importance of the perceived availability of social supports cannot be understated, as many participants indicated that the selected helpful individuals played important roles, such as providing guidance or resources. In the following quote, it becomes apparent that having someone to rely on during stressful events provided this participant the support they needed:

> I felt, like, relieved, when you talk to someone about your problems, just like when you're stressed out, and you know that they're there for you, and they

> support you. So, like, I felt better because I know they care about me and support me.
>
> *(P2, 16 years old).*

Family

Family was identified as a key source of social support for many participants. It is important to note that "family" did not encompass one's immediate family only but included extended family members, such as uncles, cousins, and grandparents. Participants attributed their close relationship with their family member as a primary reason for why it was easy for them to seek out support from that person. When describing their experiences with their family, four subthemes emerged: wisdom, intuition, exclusivity, and potential hesitancy.

Wisdom

When discussing the reason they had selected a family member for support, participants often used the word "wise." The following quote was a sentiment shared by two other participants in reference to wisdom, as they believed that because of their family member's past experiences, that person could provide appropriate and valuable guidance: "'Cause they're older than me and they're much more wiser. They can help me through this stuff" (P6, 16 years old).

Intuition

In a similar but distinct subtheme, participants frequently mentioned that their family member often "knew what was good for them" in relation to why they decided to seek out support from them. This indicates that participants often deferred to the guidance and instructions of their parents mainly, specifically valuing their insight. One participant stated this in the context of why he decided to ask his father for help: "Like, I haven't really had any problems, to talk to anyone about, but if any kind of problem I just tell them because they know what's best for me" (P5, 18 years old).

Exclusivity

The subtheme of exclusivity emerged when participants were asked about going to others for help in the stressful event they were describing. Participants said that some issues were only reserved for their family members, such as ones that were more sensitive, such as "family problems." One participant made apparent that some problems that can only be shared with family members:

> Yeah, so whenever there's school problems, I'd always go talk to that counsellor for the office, guidance counsellor, or if I have problems with my friends or with my family, I would just go talk to them.
>
> *(P8, 18 years old).*

Potential Hesitancy

Though participants discussed their family's important role as a source of support, they also discussed how this was affected by their family members' experiences of war and migration. Participants shared that they felt that this could make it difficult to reach out to family members. The subtheme of potential hesitancy emerged, as participants described that they did not wish to overburden their parents with their own problems. Rather than being seen as a shared experience that would facilitate support, the impacts of having experienced the Syrian civil war led to a participant being more reluctant to confide in his parents: "Probably not, because they were going through the same thing" (P9, 16 years old).

Peers

For many participants, peers were an important source of social support in helping them navigate various stressful events related to the school setting. Classmates, best friends, and other friends fell under the umbrella of peers. Subthemes of shared identity, experience, and rejection emerged in the experiences participants described in seeking support from their peers. This group of peers provided guidance in the form of advice.

Shared Identity

Participants implied that their peers were selected because they also had Arab backgrounds. Many indicated that this made it easier for them to get along, especially in terms of the language barrier, since these peers could speak Arabic. One participant was explicit in connecting a shared language to a shared identity, which created an ease of relating and made it easier for him to seek support from these peers: "Yeah, you could relate to them and speak Arabic if I was not feeling comfortable speaking English" (P1, 17 years old).

Experience

Participants suggested that a key reason why they selected their peers as sources of support was a perception that these peers had more experience than them regarding a certain situation:

> Mostly friends because they were there with me in the classrooms and everything. So like, also my best friend, so I went to her for help because she's been here for years, she's been doing it for years, she knows everything. So, I went to for her help, and she helped me a lot.
>
> *(P2, 16 years old).*

Rejection

When participants were asked if they ever worried about how their peers would react when asking them for help, some indicated that, yes, they were concerned. One participant described this in the context of having a limited grasp of English:

> Yes. This time yes, because, so, I thought that they would be like, 'Oh you don't know English, oh blah blah,' or be, like, 'Oh she doesn't know anything.
>
> *(P4, 17 years old).*

School Staff

The school staff category of social support consisted of teachers, principals, and guidance counsellors, who were approached in relation to stressors stemming from school. School staff provided support by sharing resources and information. The two subthemes of duty and friendliness emerged.

Duty

When asked if it was difficult in seeking support from school staff, participants often said, "It's their job," indicating that it was not difficult because they knew it was part of their duties. This was mentioned in context of a participant who asked for resources and guidance:

> You know, she gave me a couple of opportunities. Yeah, and I chose the one I liked the most. She was pretty happy with it. Like, it's her job. So yeah, she didn't have any problems, you know?
>
> *(P1, 17 years old).*

Friendliness

Many participants noted that it was easy for them to seek out support from school staff since they were friendly and approachable. One participant shared how these qualities were important to her in making her comfortable enough to engage with her teacher:

"Some teachers are very open and you feel very comfortable talking to them, but other teachers are very strict, and you just want to get out of their class" (P4, 17 years old).

Organizations

Two participants indicated that they sought out support from organizations involved in helping newcomers settle into Canada. These participants only accessed support through these organizations during their first few months in Canada.

Availability

A subtheme of availability emerged as part of their experiences with these organizations. When asked if it was difficult to seek help from these resettlement service organizations, both participants mentioned that it was not difficult because they were always available to provide help: "Because, like, they're there to help. They know everything, so like, if we ask them about everything, they would know. So I thought that was the best way to get help" (P2, 16 years old).

Area 3: Coping

Participants described different ways they had coped when dealing with stressful experiences. Two themes of collectivistic and individualistic coping strategies emerged. Collectivistic coping often entailed emphasizing the "other," society or family, as a point of reference. On the other hand, individualistic coping strategies centred on focusing on oneself to overcome the problem.

Collectivistic Coping

When participants shared coping strategies they used, they sometimes alluded to others' responses as a reference point in consideration of their selected approach to coping. Some methods of collective coping were embedded within socio-cultural values, which participants found meaningful when coping as they felt connected to a broader group they belonged to. Subthemes of managing impressions, turning to God and Islam, and seeking comfort from family emerged. Participants were also asked if the method of coping they selected was also used by their family or community, and many of them said "yes," a response that indicates that they referenced a collective when deciding on how to engage with a stressor:

> I guess … the community and my family really do have a really good impact on the way I deal with situations. And they certainly taught me correct and right ways to deal with them, in the best way that benefits me and leaves me with the best results.
>
> *(P5, 18 years old).*

Managing Impressions

Participants detailed experiences in which they coped by maintaining social harmony, not drawing attention to themselves. The common thread among this form of coping was that it was employed in situations in which participants were actively being discriminated against. Many mentioned that by retaliating, they would be further ostracized, and therefore they decided to tolerate vexatious behaviours: "I didn't like to start troubles. If he was a bad person, I don't want to be a bad person and start troubles" (P3, 16 years old).

Turning to God and Islam

Two participants described that they found meaning in coping by relying on their religious beliefs, teachings, and God. It was evident that their religion was important to them. The common theme among both participants who used religion to cope was that

it occurred in instances of perceived adversity. For example, one participant described how believing in God gave him hope that he and his family would survive the war: "One of the ways … was we came to Canada and just left all the war there, so that's actually hope and made us survive, like, believing in God. He would help us" (P8, 18 years old).

Seeking Comfort from Family

Participants shared their experiences of coping with certain stressors by seeking out emotional support from family members. The involvement of family highlights collectivist values based on a cultural emphasis:

> They helped me like mentally and like everything, they supported me, they gave me support. … I didn't actually have anyone else to go for except my parents.
>
> *(P2, 16 years old).*

Individualistic Coping

Other participants mentioned exclusively relying on themselves to cope. Within certain events, participants also framed their own innate abilities to overcome the stressors in which they employed these specific behaviours. Subthemes of finding opportunities, escaping reality, and letting go emerged as dimensions of individualistic coping behaviours.

Finding Opportunities

Participants discussed that they coped by seeking out opportunities themselves to overcome the stressor. This was the strategy selected specifically in the context of learning English. For this coping method, many participants indicated that they relied on themselves and felt that they were in control of overcoming the problem. The following quote shows one of the many methods participants used to overcome their language barrier by actively seeking opportunities:

> I ended up encouraging myself. I ended up fighting the language and learning more English and interacted with other people so I can be taking from them whatever it was, advantage or disadvantage, … like, taking the language from other people and did help myself by watching English movies, English music, read English books.
>
> *(P4, 17 years old).*

Escaping Reality

For some participants, disconnecting with reality or using distraction were coping methods that felt the most appropriate. This was mentioned by two participants in the context of discussing their experiences of the war and how they managed to cope through entertainment. A participant described why watching anime was a meaningful coping method for him as it helped him escape reality:

> I got stuck with anime, … like, you're actually escaping life, which helped me a lot, too. So, living in a fake world, and most of the anime thing, it's a hero that's actually helping people, which [is] not actually real life, … it's just, like, making you live [in] your own world, it's … not our world now.
>
> *(P8, 18 years old).*

Letting Go

Participants described "letting go" of worrying about stressors as a form of coping. This occurred in situations that they described having no control over. Two participants indicated that it was beneficial not to involve themselves emotionally any further by worrying too much about a stressor. One participant shared that stress brought on by worrying could potentially have an impact on one's health and is not helpful: "It's better than stressing. Stressing leads to, uh, no solutions.

It's just, it's harmful for your health, and … it doesn't give you any fruit, … like, solutions" (P5, 18 years old). Both participants highlighted that they understood that they had a decision about whether to worry or not, thus indicating their awareness of their control in the situation.

DISCUSSION

Through these interviews, a wide variety of stressors, social supports, and coping strategies were identified. Importantly, stressors were not confined to the pre-migration period alone but included post-migration stressors that refugee youth face when arriving in a new country. Many stressors were connected to the participants' age, such as stressors of adjusting to a new school environment, facing the first day of grade school or high school, and making new friends. The stressors participants mentioned within the present study are aligned with those documented in the literature for adolescent Syrian refugees, specifically, but also generally for migrant youth who are settling into another country (de Lima Sá et al., 2022; Hassan et al., 2016; Scharpf et al., 2021). One novel finding from this study is how COVID-19, as a stressor, has impacted teenage Syrian refugees, specifically in jeopardizing their educational futures because of the technical challenges due to online learning and reduced access to school staff.

The participants identified a plethora of social support systems. Some were selected due to socio-cultural values and norms. For many participants, their family was a fundamental support system influenced by their cultural upbringing (de Lima Sá et al., 2022; Hassan et al., 2016; Kuo, 2010). Some indicated that they relied on their family for more "personal" issues, suggesting that certain topics may be off limits to friends (Ajami et al., 2015). This contrasts with individualistic cultures, where the peer group is the primary social support source and the family is secondary among adolescents (Brannan et al., 2013).

Regarding peers, participants often sought out individuals who belonged to the same ethnocultural group as them. This is understandable, as language is not a barrier with peers from such a group. Participants also highlighted that their selected peers also were newcomers themselves; therefore, they could guide them more appropriately. This indicates that a shared identity was an important factor for participants in seeking support. Within the acculturation research, newcomer youth often make friends with those who are similar to them in terms of identity (Alfadhli & Drury, 2018; Berry et al., 2006).

An important gender distinction emerged, as male participants relied on their family members, school staff, and organizations only. Male participants did not mention friends as part of their identified social support systems. This is aligned with the literature that mentions that women cross-culturally have larger social support networks (Dwyer & Cummings, 2001).

Last, school staff and organizations played important roles in helping teenage Syrian refugees navigate their new lives in Canada by providing resources. The support of school staff, which included teachers and guidance counsellors, is important for helping refugee youth resettle and flourish academically (Massfeller & Hamm, 2019; Salam et al., 2022a). For many newcomers in Canada, resettlement organizations play an important role in helping provide vocational and language training (Shields et al., 2016). As indicated, participants understood that it was the duty of social support networks to provide them with necessary resources (e.g.,

language support, finding a job, setting up a bank account, etc.). This highlights how their perceived availability became a facilitator in seeking help (Simich et al., 2003).

The coping strategies that participants mentioned were influenced by their socio-cultural values, such as relying on faith or acting in ways aligned with how they had seen their family and community members approach similar stressors (Kuo, 2010; Yeh et al., 2006). Some coping strategies might be contextually dependent, as some participants indicated that they did not retaliate when they were being discriminated against. Within the cross-cultural stress and coping literature, this is described as **forbearance coping**, which is employed to maintain harmony and not to draw attention to oneself (Yeh et al., 2006). However, this may not be efficacious, as studies have found mixed results on the outcomes among ethnic minority groups experiencing discrimination (Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Noh et al., 1999).

Gender emerged as a factor that influenced choice of coping strategy. Male participants in the study stated that they used avoidance-based coping strategies, while female participants did not describe using this strategy. This is consistent with existing literature regarding coping in male Syrian refugee youth and is hypothesized to be due to gender-based socio-cultural norms, in which men are encouraged to suppress their emotions (International Medical Corps, 2017). Avoidance-based coping strategies have the potential to exacerbate stress and thus lead to worse mental health outcomes (Pineles et al., 2011). As such, attention to understanding gender-specific coping strategies are important to support Syrian refugee adolescents' mental health.

Problem-focused coping, or active problem-solving, was common among participants. This often occurred in situations in which participants felt that they had control. This coping strategy is associated with mastery of and overall positive outcomes in psychological well-being (Aldwin, 2007). Last, participants indicated that they relied on family and friends for seeking emotional comfort. This is an indicator of emotion-focused coping, or regulating one's emotional response (Austenfeld & Stanton, 2004; Dwyer & Cummings, 2001; Stanton et al., 2000).

CLINICAL IMPLICATIONS

This study provides information for mental health care providers (MHPs) in understanding the lived experience of Syrian refugee youth. The findings provide contextual information for MHPs in ensuring they are providing culturally safe care by attending to how cultural can contextualize experiences of stressors and coping approaches (Moore & Constantine, 2005). MHPs may consider how to engage nonformal supports in delivering care, including the (extended) family, school staff, faith organizations, and language- or culturally specific supports. In addition, MHPs may need to consider Syrian refugee youths' mental health needs but also appreciate how identity-based factors (e.g., gender) shape these needs.

The findings from this study also yield relevant information for educators who work with Syrian refugee youth. School environments have the capacity to become risk factors if appropriate supports are not put in place, such as training in facilitating settlement and resources for language acquisition. Specific attention must be given to how school climates can foster inclusivity by encouraging peer supports and strategize to minimize racism, Islamophobia, and xenophobia (Guo et al., 2019; Walker & Zuberi, 2019).

CONCLUSIONS

Teenage Syrian refugees are resourceful. They are able to draw on social support networks that are appropriate and relevant to the stressors they are encountering. The role of culture should be highlighted, as socio-cultural values play a salient role in shaping their experiences within certain contexts. To better support the mental health of Syrian refugee youth and, more broadly, cultural minority migrant youth, the nuance that their socio-cultural backgrounds bring must be highlighted and understood to help them flourish and lead meaningful lives.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Zoha Salam is a PhD candidate in Global Health at McMaster University. She can be reached at zohas@mcmaster.ca.

Dr. Amy Gajaria is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Psychiatry, Temerty Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto. She can be reached at Amy.Gajaria@camh.ca.

Dr. Olive Wahoush is an Associate Professor in the School of Nursing at McMaster University. She can be reached at wahousho@mcmaster.ca.

Dr. Elysee Nouvet is an Associate Professor in the School of Health Studies at Western University. She can be reached at enouvet@uwo.ca.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to express their profound gratitude to the participants who shared their time and stories. Special thanks to those who helped with the recruitment process.

ORCID

Zoha Salam https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4962-678X

REFERENCES

Ajami, J., Rasmi, S., & Abudabbeh, N. (2015). Marriage and family: Traditions and practices throughout the family life cycle. In M. Amer, & G. H. Awad (Eds.), *Handbook of Arab American psychology* (pp. 103–116). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203763582

Aldwin, C. M. (2007). *Stress, coping and development: An integrative perspective*. Guilford Press.

Alfadhli, K., & Drury, J. (2018). The role of shared social identity in mutual support among refugees of conflict: An ethnographic study of Syrian refugees in Jordan. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, *28*(3), 142–155. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2346

Alfadhli, K., Güler, M., Cakal, H., & Drury, J. (2019). The role of emergent shared identity in psychosocial support among refugees of conflict in developing countries. *International Review of Social Psychology*, *32*(1), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.5334/irsp.176

Almoshmosh, N., Bahloul, H. J., Barkil-Oteo, A., Hassan, G., & Kirmayer, L. J. (2020). Mental health of resettled Syrian refugees: A practical cross-cultural guide for practitioners. *The Journal of Mental Health Training, Education and Practice*, *15*(1), 20–32. https://doi.org/10.1108/JMHTEP-03-2019-0013

Austenfeld, J. L., & Stanton, A. L. (2004). Coping through emotional approach: A new look at emotion, coping, and health-related outcomes. *Journal of Personality*, *72*(6), 1335–1364. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2004.00299.x

Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, *55*(3), 303–332. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.2006.00256.x

Brannan, D., Biswas-Diener, R., Mohr, C. D., Mortazavi, S., & Stein, N. (2013). Friends and family: A cross-cultural investigation of social support and subjective well-being among college students. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *8*(1), 65–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2012.743573

Chan, K. J., Young, M. Y., & Sharif, N. (2016). Well-being after trauma: A review of posttraumatic growth among refugees. *Canadian Psychology / Psychologie canadienne*, *57*(4), 291–299. https://doi.org/10.1037/cap0000065

Coyne, J. C., & Downey, G. (1991). Social factors and psychopathology: Stress, social support, and coping processes. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *42*, 401–425. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.42.020191.002153

Csordas, T. J. (2015). Cultural phenomenology and psychiatric illness. In C. A. Cummings, L. J. Kirmayer, & R. Lemelson (Eds.), *Re-visioning psychiatry: Cultural phenomenology, critical neuroscience, and global mental health* (pp. 117–140). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139424745.008

de Lima Sá, F. H., Waikamp, V., Freitas, L. H. M., & Baeza, F. L. C. (2022). Mental health outcomes in Syrian refugees: A systematic review. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, *68*(5), 933–953. https://doi.org/10.1177/00207640221099404

Dubois, D. L., Felner, R. D., Brand, S., Adan, A. M., & Evans, E. G. (1992). A prospective study of life stress, social support, and adaptation in early adolescence. *Child Development*, *63*(3), 542–5557. https://doi.org/10.2307/1131345

Dwyer, A. L., & Cummings, A. (2001). Stress, self-efficacy, social support, and coping strategies in university students. *Canadian Journal of Counselling and Psychotherapy*, *35*(3). https://doi.org/https://cjc-rcc.ucalgary.ca/article/view/58672

Goveas, J., & Coomarasamy, S. (2018). Why am I still here? The impact of survivor guilt on the mental health and settlement process of refugee youth. In S. Pashang, N. Khanlou, & J. Clarke (Eds.), *Today's youth and mental health: Advances in mental*

health and addiction (pp. 101–117). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64838-5_6

Guo, Y., Maitra, S., & Guo, S. (2019). "I belong to nowhere": Syrian refugee children's perspectives on school integration. *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education*, *14*(1), 89–105. https://doi.org/10.20355/jcie29362

Hanley, J., Mhamied, A. A., Cleveland, J., Hajjar, O., Hassan, G., Ives, N., Khyar, R., & Hynie, M. (2018). The social networks, social support and social capital of Syrian refugees privately sponsored to settle in Montreal: Indications for employment and housing during their early experiences of integration. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *50*(2), 123–148. https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2018.0018

Hassan, G., Ventevogel, P., Jefee-Bahloul, H., Barkil-Oteo, A., & Kirmayer, L. J. (2016). Mental health and psychosocial well-being of Syrians affected by armed conflict. *Epidemiology and Psychiatric Sciences*, *25*(2), 129–141. https://doi.org/10.1017/S2045796016000044

International Medical Corps. (2017). *Understanding the mental health and psychosocial needs, and service utilization of Syrian refugees and Jordanian nationals-A qualitative & quantitative analysis in the Kingdom of Jordan*. https://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/understanding-mental-health-and-psychosocial-needs-and-service-utilization-syrian

Kessler, R. C., Aguilar-Gaxiola, S., Alonso, J., Chatterji, S., Lee, S., Ormel, J., Üstün, T. B., & Wang, P. S. (2009). The global burden of mental disorders: An update from the WHO World Mental Health (WMH) Surveys. *Epidemiologia e Psichiatria Sociale*, *18*(1), 23–33. https://doi.org/10.1017/s1121189x00001421

Kuo, B. C. H. (2010). Culture's consequences on coping: Theories, evidences, and dimensionalities. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *42*(6), 1084–1100. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022110381126

Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping*. Springer Publishing Company.

Massfeller, H., & Hamm, L. D. (2019). "I'm thinking I want to live a better life": Syrian refugee student adjustment in New Brunswick. *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education*, *14*(1). https://doi.org/10.20355/jcie29354

Moore, J. L., & Constantine, M. G. (2005). Development and initial validation of the collectivistic coping styles measure with African, Asian, and Latin American international students. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*, *27*(4), 329–347. https://doi.org/10.17744/mehc.27.4.frcqxuy1we5nwpqe

Noh, S., Beiser, M., Kaspar, V., Hou, F., & Rummens, J. (1999). Perceived racial discrimination, depression, and coping: A study of Southeast Asian refugees in Canada. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *40*(3), 193–207. https://doi.org/10.2307/2676348

Noh, S., & Kaspar, V. (2003). Perceived discrimination and depression: Moderating effects of coping, acculturation, and ethnic support. *American Journal of Public Health*, *93*, 232–238. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.93.2.232

Pineles, S. L., Mostoufi, S. M., Ready, C. B., Street, A. E., Griffin, M. G., & Resick, P. A. (2011). Trauma reactivity, avoidant coping, and PTSD symptoms: A moderating relationship? *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *120*(1), 240–246. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022123

Salam, Z., Gajaria, A., Wahoush, O., & Nouvet, E. (2022a). "What was your home country like?"- Syrian refugee youths' experiences of school belonging. *Educational and Developmental Psychologist*. https://doi.org/10.1080/20590776.2022.2111209

Salam, Z., Nouvet, E., & Schwartz, L. (2022b). Reflections of methodological and ethical challenges in conducting research during COVID-19 involving resettled refugee youth in Canada. *Journal of Medical Ethics*, *48*, 769–773. https://doi.org/10.1136/medethics-2021-107291

Scharpf, F., Kaltenbach, E., Nickerson, A., & Hecker, T. (2021). A systematic review of socio-ecological factors contributing to risk and protection of the mental health of refugee children and adolescents. *Clinical Psychology Review*, *83*, 101930–101930. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2020.101930

Shields, J., Drolet, J., Valenzuela, K., for Immigration, R. C., & Settlement (2016). *mmigrant settlement and integration services and the role of nonprofit service providers: A cross-national perspective on trends, issues and evidence*. Ryerson Centre for Immigration and Settlement. http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/10050361

Simich, L., Beiser, M., & Mawani, F. N. (2003). Social Support and the Significance of Shared Experience in Refugee Migration and Resettlement. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, *25*(7), 872–891. https://doi.org/10.1177/0193945903256705

Sirin, S., & Rogers-Sirin, L. (2015). *The educational and mental health needs of Syrian refugee children*. Migration Policy Institute. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/educational-and-mental-health-needs-syrian-refugee-children

Smith, J. A., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research*. Sage Publications. https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/interpretative-phenomenological-analysis/book250130

Stanton, A. L., Kirk, S. B., Cameron, C. L., & Danoff-Burg, S. (2000). Coping through emotional approach: Scale construction and validation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *78*(6), 1150–1169. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.78.6.1150

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2022). *Syria regional refugee response*. https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria

Walker, J., & Zuberi, D. (2019). School-aged Syrian refugees resettling in Canada: Mitigating the effect of pre-migration trauma and post-migration discrimination on academic achievement and psychological well-being. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *21*(2), 397–411. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-019-00665-0

Yeh, C. J., Arora, A. K., & Wu, K. A. (2006). A new theoretical model of collectivistic coping. In P. T. P. Wong, & L. C. J. Wong (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural perspectives on stress and coping* (pp. 55–72). Springer US. https://doi.org/10.1007/0-387-26238-5_3

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés
2022, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1–19
https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.40878

Refuge

Check for updates

Un geste d'hospitalité aux demandeurs d'asile. Une analyse de la mobilisation du collectif « *Bridges not Borders – Créons des ponts* »

Chedly Belkhodja[a] et Cassandre Gratton[b]

RÉSUME

Cet article s'intéresse à la mobilisation d'un collectif de citoyens, *Bridges not Borders – Créons des ponts* (BnotB), qui s'est porté à la défense des demandeurs d'asile qui ont traversé de façon irrégulière la frontière canado-américaine au chemin Roxham (Québec) depuis 2017. Le cas de BnotB contribue à la littérature sur les frontières en y apportant une perspective qui s'intéresse aux dynamiques et mobilisations citoyennes venant en aide aux personnes vulnérables le long de passages frontaliers. À partir d'une analyse documentaire et d'entretiens semi-dirigés, nous présentons une action « par le bas », menée par des citoyens et citoyennes mobilisés par les enjeux migratoires, que nous définissons par le geste de l'hospitalité.

KEYWORDS

Frontière; hospitalité; demandeurs d'asile; mobilisation citoyenne; réfugiés; chemin Roxham; Québec

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the mobilization of a collective created by citizens, *Bridges not Borders* (BnotB), that has been working to defend the asylum seekers that cross the Canada-U.S. border "irregularly" since 2017. The case of BnotB contributes to the literature on borders by bringing a perspective interested in the dynamics and mobilizations of citizens coming to the help of vulnerable persons across border crossings. Based on content analyses and semi-structured interviews, this case study allows us to present a "bottom up" form of action, led by citizens mobilized by migration issues, which we define under the gesture of hospitality.

KEYWORDS

border; hospitality; asylum seekers; citizen mobilization; refugees; Roxham Road; Quebec

HISTORY Published 29 November 2022

INTRODUCTION

En 2015 et 2016, l'accueil de plus de 40 000 réfugiés syriens mobilise le Canada (Hamilton et al., 2020). Un élan de compassion, de solidarité et d'ouverture s'empare de la population canadienne, très favorable à l'accueil des réfugiés syriens sélectionnés

CONTACT

[a] **(Corresponding author)** chedly.belkhodja@concordia.ca

School of Community and Public Affairs, Concordia University, Montreal, QC, Canada

[b] cassandre.gratton@mail.concordia.ca

Department of Political Science, Concordia University, Montreal, QC, Canada

par le gouvernement fédéral ou parrainés par des organismes privés et des individus. Cette vaste opération s'inscrit dans une narration nationale légitimée par des expériences du passé réussies, notamment l'accueil des réfugiés vietnamiens à la fin des années 1970 (Alboim, 2016). En 2017, l'arrivée de migrants en situation irrégulière à la frontière canado-américaine crée un dilemme pour les autorités fédérales. Le pays a toujours accueilli des demandeurs d'asile sur son territoire à des points d'entrée terrestres et maritimes, notamment les aéroports et les postes frontaliers. Toutefois, vu sa situation géographique favorable, il a historiquement maîtrisé les flux migratoires à ses frontières (Mountz, 2011). Le thème de la migration dite « irrégulière » va faire irruption dans le débat public canadien. L'arrivée plus soudaine de migrants à des points d'entrée irréguliers – plus de 20 000 en 2017 (Immigration, Réfugiés et Citoyenneté Canada [IRCC], 2021) – va susciter des réactions de la part des autorités gouvernementales et de l'opinion publique. Le chemin Roxham, petite route située dans la région de la Montérégie au sud de Montréal, le long d'une frontière parsemée de forêts et de terres agricoles, va devenir le lieu d'une intense activité politique et médiatique (Bourgeon et al., 2017). Autour de cette frontière va se développer une narration surtout sécuritaire visant à protéger la souveraineté canadienne d'un afflux de migrants irréguliers.

Cet article s'intéresse à mieux cerner les actions d'un groupe de citoyens qui s'est porté à la défense des demandeurs d'asile à la frontière canado-américaine. Fondé en 2017, le collectif *Bridges not Borders* (BnotB) a mis en évidence la situation de ces personnes en situation de vulnérabilité et les politiques restrictives à l'égard des demandeurs d'asile.

Constitué d'une quinzaine de membres actifs, la plupart habitant la localité de Hemmingford (village tout proche du chemin Roxham), BnotB a développé trois axes principaux d'action, soit le partage de l'information sur les enjeux des réfugiés, le lobbying auprès des instances politiques au niveau fédéral, provincial et municipal, et le soutien des réfugiés à la frontière. Toutefois, nous abordons trois aspects plus restreints de ces axes d'intervention, que nous désignons comme : la solidarité à la frontière, la surveillance des pratiques frontalières et la sensibilisation politique et communautaire à l'enjeu frontalier. Nous avons choisi d'étudier le cas du collectif BnotB car il permet de mettre de l'avant une expérience de la frontière comparable à celle de d'autres types de mobilisations citoyennes dans des contextes frontaliers (Agier, 2016; Observatoire des migrations dans les Alpes-Maritimes, 2020). Depuis 2015, la situation migratoire mondiale provoque des mobilisations aux frontières dites « sensibles », comme Calais, Lampedusa et Lesbos (Le Blanc et Brugère, 2017). Au-delà des expressions plus militantes de groupes opposés à la dérive sécuritaire du régime migratoire et favorables à l'abolition des frontières, il est apparu dans des espaces multiples, des organismes et des citoyens mobilisés pour venir en aide aux migrants (Bontemps et al., 2018). Notre étude de BnotB contribue à souligner ce que certaines mobilisations citoyennes révèlent sur les façons dont des citoyen.nes peuvent penser et agir par rapport à la frontière. Elle permet de présenter une action « par le bas », menée par des citoyen.nes mobilisés par la question migrante, engagement que nous allons qualifier comme un geste d'hospitalité (Agier, 2018; Boudou, 2021). Nous mettons de l'avant que le contexte de la « crise migratoire » actuelle et la dégradation des politiques nationales envers les migrants ont donné à l'hospitalité un nouveau sens qui désigne et articule une dynamique moins

institutionnalisée de solidarité et d'accueil des personnes immigrantes aux passages des frontières.

SUR LA LIGNE DE LA FRONTIÈRE

Une vaste littérature existe au sujet de la frontière et mobilise de nombreux champs des sciences sociales. Des travaux s'intéressent aux mécanismes de restriction aux frontières, policières et administratives (Tyler et Marciniak, 2013). Ces dernières années, l'option de sécurité est mise de l'avant pour contenir les flux migratoires : zones de contrôle, murs, militarisation et camps deviennent des outils au service des États (dell'Agnese et Amilhat-Szari, 2015). Dans le contexte de la mondialisation, des approches économiques libérales mettent l'accent sur la circulation, les flux transfrontaliers, la fluidité, le passage de marchandises, de biens et de personnes « désirables » (Hirst et al., 2009). Des analyses sociologiques et politiques étudient les enjeux de la migration par rapport aux questions de la souveraineté et de la nation qui placent l'étranger dans un rapport particulier, soit d'inclusion ou d'exclusion. La frontière devient un marqueur complexe de l'appartenance (Balibar, 2018; Dubet, 2019). Enfin des études s'intéressent à la géographie de la mobilité : les frontières sont extensibles, souples, épaisses ou fines. Elles s'aventurent dans le territoire pour s'assurer de contrôler les déplacements; elles sont déplacées à l'extérieur de l'État-nation pour freiner les migrants dans leur projet de « monter vers le Nord ». Elles sont devenues des paysages, des *borderscapes* (dell'Agnese et Amilhat-Szari, 2015).

Notre analyse de BnotB s'intéresse aux dynamiques et aux histoires humaines en présence le long de la frontière, à ce que l'Observatoire des migrations dans les Alpes-Maritimes, en France, appelle un « manège de la frontière » :

> La frontière n'est pas seulement le lieu de l'affrontement entre police et personnes en migration, mais aussi un lieu de savoirs professionnels variés, ou le terrain d'action de multiples logiques professionnelles, du domaine sécuritaires jusqu'aux champs intellectuel et artistique en passant par le secteur humanitaire .
>
> *(Observatoire des migrations dans les Alpes-Maritimes : p. 20)*

Ce que la frontière dévoile c'est un ensemble de protagonistes qui se croisent et luttent pour des raisons différentes.[1] Dans le cas de la frontière entre l'Italie et la France, mais comme sur beaucoup d'autres frontières, celle par exemple entre le Mexique et les États-Unis ou celle de la Méditerranée entre l'Afrique du nord et l'Europe, la frontière se dresse devant les « indésirables » réfugiés et demandeurs d'asile mais demeure un corridor plus fluide pour les personnes « désirables », immigrants économiques, touristes et résidents (Cuttitta, 2015; Nicolosi, 2017). L'action du collectif BnotB rejoint cette vision de la frontière, plus proche des dynamiques de solidarité et d'entraide aux migrants que des actions militantes et activistes de groupes qui contestent le système migratoire (Ataç et al., 2016; Skogberg Eastman, 2012; Della Porta, 2018). Ce qui rapproche BnotB de multiples initiatives citoyennes ce sont les gestes ordinaires de personnes préoccupées par le sort de ces personnes vulnérables et prêtes à venir en aide pour améliorer les conditions de vie de ces individus dans des contextes bien spécifiques (Bouagga, 2018; Goudreau, 2019). On y voit des actions individuelles de personnes engagées dans leur milieu de vie.

[1] Consulter la série de balados *Sur la frontière* de France Inter. Ce sont des illustrations d'histoires se déroulant sur ligne de la frontière. https://www.franceinter.fr/emissions/sur-la-frontiere

MÉTHODOLOGIE

L'étude du collectif *Bridges not Borders* présente une lecture particulière de la frontière. Pour y arriver, de nombreuses sources documentaires ont été considérées : le site web et la page Facebook du collectif, les interventions dans l'espace public, la couverture médiatique des actions menées par le collectif. Nous avons aussi effectué, via Zoom, des entretiens semi-structurés avec trois fondatrices du collectif qui permettent de clarifier et valider plusieurs informations sur le processus de la formation du groupe. Notre analyse s'est focalisée sur un corpus en particulier, soit 108 billets de blogs publiés par le collectif du 16 novembre 2017 au 8 mars 2020, moment où le collectif a dû cesser ces visites à la frontière au chemin Roxham suite à la fermeture des frontières en raison de la pandémie du Covid-19. Ces billets se veulent des observations réalistes des visites que des bénévoles du groupe effectuent au chemin Roxham. Ces visites permettent de se situer à la frontière et de mettre en relief la réalité du passage de la frontière. Publiés sur le site du collectif, les billets ont pour but de démystifier les traversées autant pour la population locale que pour les réfugiés eux-mêmes. On les considère comme une sorte de compte rendu des visites à la frontière, qui peut servir de source d'information pour les personnes cherchant à savoir plus sur la réalité des traversées. Ils ont été collectés, lus et analysés en portant une attention particulière à ce qu'ils révèlent sur le travail du groupe et sur les réalités à la frontière. Des extraits serviront à développer notre réflexion autour des deux premiers axes d'intervention du groupe.

Notre analyse de BnotB permet de démontrer le contraste entre la frontière imaginée, celle présentée par les grands médias, et la frontière vécue, plus proche des considérations humaines caractérisées par l'émotion et la symbolique du moment fort du passage de la frontière. La première section présente une brève mise en contexte de la frontière canado-américaine ainsi qu'une lecture médiatique qui permet de relever les éléments principaux narratifs entourant la frontière canado-américaine durant la période de 2017 à 2018. La deuxième section analyse le collectif BnotB et comment la nature de ses actions permet de mettre en évidence une lecture de la frontière différente de celle plus souvent présentée. La troisième section éclaire le cas de BnotB à partir d'une littérature foisonnante autour du terme de l'hospitalité comme thème central de l'expérience migratoire. Finalement, la conclusion revient sur l'importance de faire place à une autre narration de la migration et des frontières.

CONTEXTE : LA FRONTIÈRE CANADO-AMÉRICAINE

La frontière que le Canada partage avec les États-Unis est la plus longue au monde, s'étalant sur plus de 8 880 km (Statistique Canada, 2012). Malgré sa porosité, elle a fait l'objet de relativement peu de controverses dans les dernières décennies (Bourgeon et al., 2017). Toutefois, à l'été 2017, cette frontière deviendra l'objet de réactions au sein de l'opinion publique qui perçoit l'intégrité (supposée) de cette frontière comme fragilisée, voir menacée par les arrivées irrégulières de migrants. Une lecture alarmiste et sensationnaliste de ces chiffres sera présentée dans les médias, avec le déploiement d'un vocabulaire parlant d'« afflux » (La Haye, 2017) ou encore de « vague » (Lecavalier, 2017).

Plusieurs facteurs vont contribuer à augmenter de manière significative le nombre

de personnes déplacées cherchant à partir des États-Unis pour rejoindre le Canada. L'élection de Donald Trump en novembre 2016, avec son discours et ses politiques largement hostiles à l'immigration, y est pour beaucoup (Paquet et Schertzer, 2020). Par exemple, en juin 2017, le gouvernement américain renouvelle pour six mois seulement le programme de « Temporary Protected Status (TPS) » (Jordan, 2017). Ce programme, mis en place en 2010 suite au séisme qu'avait subi Haïti, offrait clémence aux ressortissants haïtiens déjà présents en sol américain. En novembre 2017, le programme est finalement aboli. Ses bénéficiaires se retrouvent donc menacés d'expulsion s'ils ne quittent pas le pays d'ici 2019. Haïti sera le premier pays de citoyenneté des demandeurs d'asile arrivant au Canada en 2017 (Statistique Canada, 2019). Parmi les autres pays d'origine très représentés on trouve le Nigeria et la Colombie (UNCHR, 2018). De son côté, le Canada présente un discours qui se veut plus accueillant, illustré entre autres par un tweet du premier ministre, Justin Trudeau, déclarant « À ceux qui fuient la persécution, la terreur et la guerre, sachez que le Canada vous accueillira, indépendamment de votre foi » (Trudeau, J. [@Justin-Trudeau], 28 janvier, 2017), faisant suite au décret présidentiel du 27 janvier 2017 de Donald Trump, qui bannissait l'arrivée de ressortissants de plusieurs pays musulmans. De façon assez soudaine ce ton va changer. Par la voix de plusieurs ministres du gouvernement Trudeau dépêchés aux États-Unis, le Canada informe qu'il n'est pas une terre d'accueil pour tout le monde et que le processus d'admission est sélectif (Belkhodja et Xhardez, 2020).

C'est par le chemin Roxham, près du village Québécois de Saint-Bernard-de-Lacolle, que traverseront la grande majorité des migrants (consulter **Figure 1**). Cet endroit offre l'un des passages les plus accessibles le long de la frontière (consulter **Figure 2**). En dehors de ce chemin tracé, il n'y a que des grandes forêts et des terres agricoles. Une grande partie de l'augmentation des demandes d'asile s'explique par des arrivées dites « irrégulières », c'est-à-dire des migrants qui viennent franchir la frontière canado-américaine à pied entre deux postes frontaliers officiels. En 2017, la Gendarmerie royale du Canada (GRC), le service de police fédérale responsable des interceptions à la frontière, en effectuera 20 593. Ce chiffre baissera légèrement en 2018 avec 19 419 interceptions (IRCC, 2021).

Cette manière de se présenter à la frontière, entre deux postes frontaliers officiels, s'explique par l'application entre le Canada et les États-Unis de l'Entente sur les tiers pays sûrs[2] (Bourgeon et al., 2017). Entrée en vigueur en 2004, elle a pour but de limiter le phénomène du « venue-shopping » en restreignant les déplacements de réfugiés entre les deux pays. L'accord prévoit que toute personne cherchant à demander l'asile au Canada en passant par les États-Unis, sauf pour quelques exceptions limitées, sera refoulée, le pays étant considéré comme « sûr ». Il existe toutefois une clause particulière dans cette entente : s'il est prévu que toute demande présentée à un poste frontalier sera refusée, l'entente ne s'applique pas aux « personnes qui sont entrées au Canada entre les points d'entrée » (Sécurité publique Canada, 2020). En d'autres termes, si une personne parvient à traverser la frontière autrement qu'en passant par un poste frontalier officiel, elle sera en mesure de déposer une demande d'asile. De ce fait, beaucoup des réfugiés cherchant à rejoindre

[2]Il est à noter que cette entente sera prochainement revue par la Cour suprême du Canada, après avoir été d'abord invalidée par la Cour fédérale en juillet 2020, puis jugée constitutionnelle par la Cour d'appel fédérale en avril 2021 (Dib, 2017).

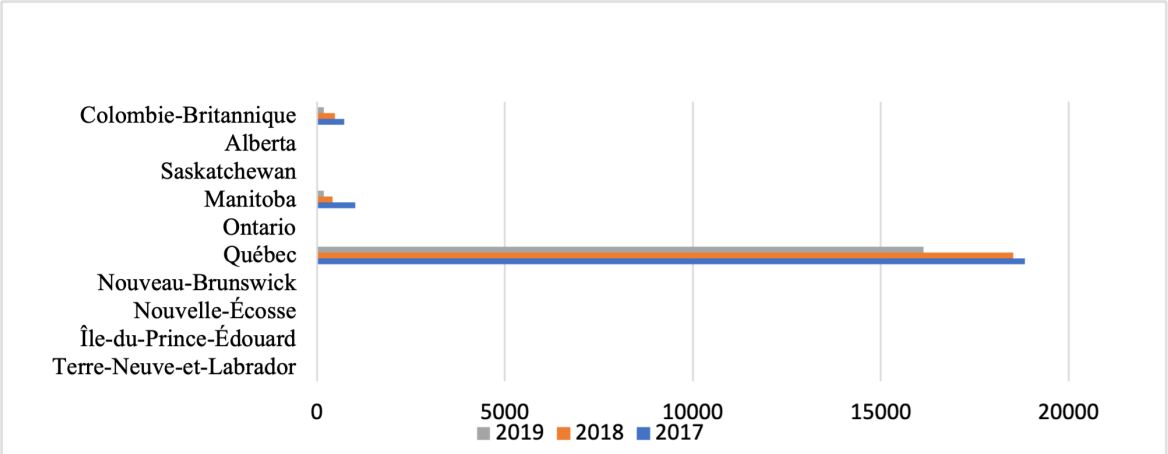

Figure 1
(IRCC, 2021) https://www.canada.ca/fr/immigration-refugies-citoyennete/services/refugies/demandes-asile/demandes-asile-2017.html

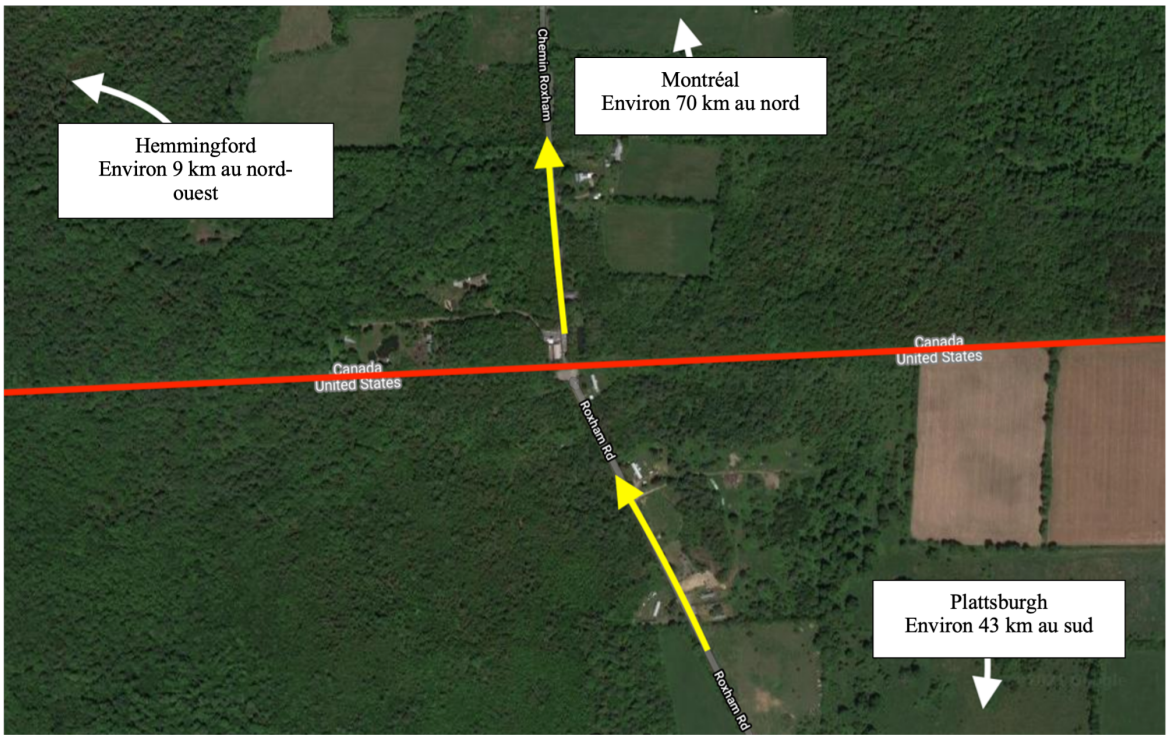

Figure 2
Le chemin Roxham (Google Maps, 8 février 2021) https://www.google.com/maps/place/Chemin+Roxham

le Canada depuis les États-Unis n'ont d'autre option que de traverser la frontière hors des points de contrôle réguliers.

L'utilisation de ce passage dit « irrégulier » va faire l'objet d'une intense couverture médiatique au Québec (consulter **Figure 3**).

Nous avons analysé 689 articles de journaux, s'échelonnant sur la période de janvier 2017 à août 2018 et publiés par les principaux quotidiens québécois, soit *Le Devoir*, *La Presse*, le *Journal de Montréal* et *The Montreal Gazette*. Il s'agit de textes de nouvelles, d'éditoriaux et de textes d'opinions (chroniques). Les articles ont été récoltés à l'aide de mots clés sur la base de données Eureka, classifiés, puis lus afin d'en identifier les grandes lignes. Cela nous a permis de cartographier les principaux acteurs gravitant autour de cette frontière, mais également les principaux thèmes du discours hégémonique entourant cet enjeu socio-politique. Nous avons mobilisé une méthode inductive afin d'identifier les événements centraux et les termes les plus utilisées, pour ensuite écrire une synthèse des tendances discursives les plus marquées pour chaque publication.

Le nombre d'articles augmente considérablement en août 2017, lorsque que les traversées atteignent un sommet mensuel de 5 530 nouveaux arrivants. Le *Journal de Montréal* se démarque des autres quotidiens par le nombre d'articles consacrés aux événements à la frontière.

Cette analyse médiatique sommaire nous permet de dégager quelques grandes tendances du portrait dressé par les médias conventionnels. Premièrement, la légitimité de la frontière est très rarement questionnée. La nécessité de son existence est généralement prise pour acquise, tandis que la légitimité des demandeurs d'asile est rarement reconnue. Ainsi, on perçoit la frontière comme un objet politique, tangible et intégral à l'idée même de la nation. Par exemple, on rapporte des mesures au niveau fédéral qui cherchent à « assurer l'intégrité des frontières canadiennes » (Bellavance et Pélloquin, 2017), sans toutefois expliquer ce que cela peut vouloir dire exactement.

Deuxièmement, la frontière est présentée comme un outil de contrôle et de protection. Le discours exprimant cette vision tend à simplifier les enjeux frontaliers et surestimer la capacité de la frontière à jouer ce rôle protecteur. Par exemple, on note les avertissements d'acteurs politiques selon lesquels la frontière risque de devenir une « passoire » face à un « afflux hors contrôle » de « migrants illégaux » et qui soulignent les risques que cela poserait à la société québécoise (Lecavalier, 2017). On critique la lenteur de la réponse politique, qu'on accuse de pas écouter la volonté de la « majorité des Québécois » qui souhaiterait « voir refouler cette masse de migrants à la frontière » (Parent, 2017). On se concentre largement sur son rôle théorique, tout en négligeant les contradictions et les limites inhérentes à ces attentes vu la réalité physique des frontières.

Finalement, on se concentre surtout sur les conséquences que l'arrivée des demandeurs d'asile peuvent avoir sur la société d'accueil. En ce sens, les médias rapportent plusieurs événement clés qui vont créer une certaine anxiété collective. L'ouverture du Stade olympique à Montréal comme refuge aux migrants le 2 août 2017 (Garnier et Dumont, 2017) et l'arrivée de l'armée canadienne le 9 août 2017 près de la frontière (Payen, 2017) pour aider à la construction d'installations d'accueil seront largement couvertes. On utilise des termes comme « afflux massif » et on met largement l'emphase sur les coûts associés à cet accueil et le poids que cela représente pour le Québec. Les articles sur ces événements font particulièrement référence à la peur de l'envahissement et à la perte de contrôle du système. Ces

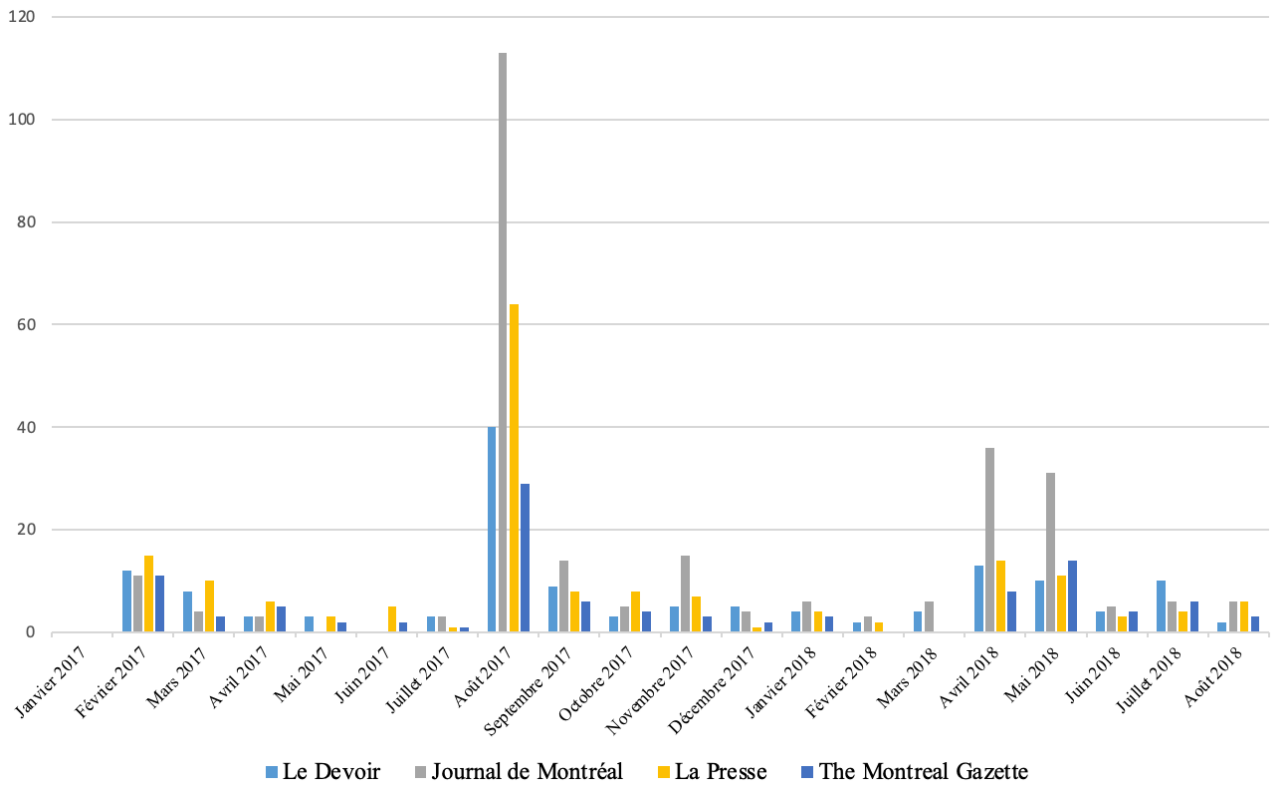

Figure 3
Nombre d'articles au sujet des traverseés au chemin Roxham, janvier 2017 à août 2018

événements et la forte couverture qui les entoure mettent l'emphase sur la *capacité d'accueil*, considérant le scénario éventuel d'un « trop-plein » d'arrivants au Québec. Ces inquiétudes révèlent le contraste dressé entre la frontière « normale », implicitement perçue comme « imperméable », et celle d'aujourd'hui, perçue comme menacée ou défaillante.

En somme, la couverture médiatique de la frontière contribue à tisser une trame narrative où l'État demeure l'acteur central au cœur de la gestion de cette frontière fragilisée, et où la question de la sécurité est une préoccupation majeure. Or, il apparaît que ce discours tend à négliger d'importantes dynamiques qui façonnent également notre relation à la frontière. Afin de mieux saisir cet aspect, et éclairer certains angles morts du discours médiatique, nous nous intéressons à la mobilisation du collectif *Bridges not Borders*, et ce qu'une action citoyenne permet de relever d'une situation vécue à cette frontière.

LE COLLECTIF BRIDGES NOT BORDERS

Afficher sa solidarité et se mobiliser pour les migrants, réfugiés et demandeurs d'asile sont devenus des actions communes à de nombreuses situations frontalières : « L'engagement est motivé par une indignation très ponctuelle et locale, par la situation des migrants » (Poinsot, 2018, p. 41). Fondé en 2017, *Bridges not Borders* se mobilise pour les personnes migrantes qui traversent la frontière canado-américaine au chemin Roxham. Sur la page d'accueil, on peut lire cet extrait :

> *Bridges Not Borders* est un regroupement de personnes vivant à Hemmingford et les environs, près de Roxham Road, en bordure de la frontière canado-

> américaine. C'est un lieu de passage 'irrégulier' utilisé par des personnes en provenance des USA, désirant obtenir le statut de réfugié au Canada. Nous sommes préoccupés par leur bien-être et nous voulons attirer l'attention sur les difficultés qu'ils rencontrent pour entrer au Canada.
>
> *(http://www.bridgesnotborders.ca, About Us)*

Le noyau fondateur de BnotB est constitué de personnes engagées dans leur communauté, soit Hemmingford, Havelock, Sherrington et Saint-Bernard-de-Lacolle, localités rurales dans la région de la Montérégie. Ces résidents ont déjà participé à des mobilisations autour de plusieurs enjeux, tels que la lutte contre les pluies acides au courant des années 1980, le refus de l'agriculture industrielle, la présence de porcheries dans la région, etc. Ces actions s'inscrivent dans les particularités d'une culture régionale façonnée par plusieurs éléments, soit un peuplement fondé sur des vagues migratoires, un développement rural, un tissu communautaire anglophone, un activisme local et une tradition d'entraide et de solidarité entre les membres de la communauté (Kesteman, 2006).

Le besoin de se mobiliser et de venir en aide aux migrants est au cœur de la formation de BnotB. En mars 2017, une première rencontre d'information est organisée à Hemmingford par l'Église Unie (*United Church*). On y retrouve des résidents de la région, mais également des organisations venues de Montréal, tels Solidarité sans frontières, Action Réfugiés Montréal et Amnistie internationale Canada. Comme le souligne une membre fondatrice, cette rencontre va permettre de poser les bases du collectif et proposer des initiatives locales: « Out of that came an opportunity for a whole bunch of us to spend some time at the border during the summer of 2017, just giving out muffins, juice and sanitary pads and that sort of things to people who were crossing in large numbers » (Neigh, 2019). Ce projet s'est développé suite à une demande d'assistance de l'Agence des services frontaliers du Canada du poste de Lacolle pour fournir de la nourriture au poste frontalier. Le 1juillet 2017, une manifestation organisée à la frontière par les groupes d'extrême droite, La Meute et Storm Alliance (Agence QMI, 2017), mobilise plusieurs membres du collectif qui considèrent nécessaire de s'organiser et d'offrir un message accueillant devant une hostilité croissante à l'égard des migrants. L'impact de cette présence sur le groupe est direct, comme l'indique une membre du groupe: « It was clear, because the far-right had a second demonstration in September of that year, that we couldn't allow them to take up all the oxygen of the media and to be the only voice » (Entrevue 1, 20 janvier 2021). Ce besoin de venir en aide aux migrants se veut l'expression d'une communauté soudée et engagée :

> Dans le dernier bulletin, je vous parlais de Sue Heller et du «Woolgathering» qu'elle organise depuis 25 ans. La ferme de Sue est située sur le chemin Roxham, à l'angle de James Fisher. Ce coin de notre pays a par ailleurs beaucoup fait parler de lui depuis le début de l'année (2017) à cause des milliers de demandeurs d'asile qui y traversent illégalement la frontière. Inévitablement cette situation est pénible pour les riverains de ce cul-de-sac qui, autrefois si calme, s'est transformé en véritable autoroute pour autobus et véhicules des services policiers et frontaliers. Nuit et jour, ils sont importunés. Par contre, quand on en parle à Sue, elle répond tout bonnement : « Pourquoi je me plaindrais? J'ai tout et ils n'ont rien. »
>
> *(Bleau, 2017, 17 octobre)*

Devant l'arrivée de migrants à la frontière, « faire quelque chose » revient souvent dans le discours comme une raison pouvant expliquer la mise sur pied de BnotB. En d'autres termes, les membres sont mobilisés par un

besoin d'agir. Selon l'une des fondatrices du groupe, la situation à la frontière semble importuner certains résidents: elle entend des propos désobligeants à l'endroit des personnes qui traversent la frontière (Ravensbergen, 2018). Les membres du groupe se préoccupent de ce qui se passe dans leur milieu de vie et réagissent aux enjeux plus globaux qui s'entremêlent dans cette réalité locale. Une bénévole du groupe explique cet intérêt ainsi: « It just seemed to me the right thing to do and very important, because attacks on asylum seekers and migrants are definitely part of the international picture of the rise of authoritarianism and far-right ideology » (Entrevue 1, 20 janvier 2021). En novembre 2017, une seconde rencontre va permettre de préciser des axes d'action et de former des comités. La description d'une des fondatrices résume bien l'esprit de communauté qui se dégage de cette rencontre et la tradition locale dans laquelle elle s'inscrit :

> We had a meeting in December, and it was a typical Hemmingford approach. I made a pot of lentil soup, and invited people to come, and talk about if we wanted to make this a little more organized. And the closer we got to the date, the more lentil soup I realized I needed to make. And finally the evening of, I was worrying about not having enough lentil soup for everyone! And I thought, isn't that a great thing to worry about, right? Because so many people seemed to be coming. People came, people brought food! There was a potluck, like, it was so Hemmingford.
>
> *(Entrevue 3, 22 janvier 2021).*

Suite à cette rencontre, et au fur et à mesure des actions entreprises, le collectif va développer ses différentes interventions. Ici, nous nous concentrons sur trois aspects du travail entreprit, soit la solidarité avec les réfugiés qui traversent la frontière, la surveillance des pratiques frontalières et la diffusion d'informations aux concitoyens sur les questions entourant les réfugiés.

SOLIDARITÉ À LA FRONTIÈRE

Le premier aspect des actions du collectif sur lequel nous nous penchons est celui des gestes de solidarité à la frontière. Cette initiative d'une grande simplicité offre un soutien aux réfugiés lors du passage de la frontière. La présentation qui en est faite dans les billets de blog révèle bien le sens et l'importance du moment de la traversée.

À partir du mois de novembre 2017, une fois par semaine, le dimanche après-midi, le collectif traverse la frontière pour se situer du côté américain. Les bénévoles passent au poste frontalier de Saint-Bernard de Lacolle pour rejoindre le chemin Roxham près du village de Champlain dans l'état de New York et y passer quelques heures. Cette activité rejoint le travail d'un autre collectif américain, Plattsburgh Cares, qui se présente à la frontière durant la semaine.[3] L'objectif premier de cette initiative est simple : il s'agit d'être là pour ceux et celles qui vont traverser de façon irrégulière, de les accompagner. Une membre du groupe explique le choix de cette approche en soulignant « There's a lot going on for these people at that moment in time, so we just wanted to be a friendly, welcoming presence » (Entrevue 1, 20 janvier 2021).

Le collectif publie des descriptions de ces passages avec l'intention de faire le récit d'un trajet. En les lisant, nous retrouvons des passages fort réalistes et émouvants qui montrent une fragilité et une assignation de l'étranger par les agents à la personne qui traverse la frontière de façon irrégulière. On comprend bien que ce migrant n'est pas le bienvenu : il est assigné à une place de « voyou » (Derrida et Dufourmantelle, 1997)

[3] Plattsburgh Cares est un regroupement de citoyens qui vient entre autres en aide aux migrants qui viennent traverser la frontière au chemin Roxham (https://plattsburghcares.org/).

ou d'un « corps étranger » (Balibar, 2018). BnotB souhaite au contraire apporter un témoignage de l'humanité de ce parcours et du moment du passage. C'est l'idée de rendre visible les aspects de l'étranger moins montrés, de le saisir dans sa fragilité et sa précarité et de le présenter comme un être humain qui agit dans un lieu particulier. Passer la frontière est un long processus. Le migrant arrive au bout d'un chemin. Son voyage a été éprouvant et il débarque le jour et parfois en pleine nuit par bus dans une station-service à Plattsburgh dans l'état de New York. Il poursuit ensuite son périple vers le nord dans un taxi ou un minibus. Il écoute ce que lui dit un chauffeur de taxi, comment procéder à la frontière, ce qu'il faut dire et ne pas dire à l'autorité policière.[4] Dans les billets, on découvre ces traversées comme un moment plein d'humanité, texturé par les émotions vives et profondes ressenties par les réfugiés qui arrivent à Roxham.

Certaines personnes, inquiètes ou mal informées, hésitent à passer tandis que d'autres se déplacent avec confiance pour répondre aux questions des agents de la GRC. En présentant et décrivant ces moments, le groupe humanise ces personnes (Bailey et Harindranath, 2005).

> A total of eight people crossed over into Canada. The first was a Nigerian woman in her 50's who had been living for some time in the US. She was very stressed and in tears as she prepared to cross and very appreciative of some warm things.
>
> *March 4th, 2018*

> She remained frozen in place for several more minutes and turned to us again. We repeated our encouragement and she finally and very tentatively took those few steps over the border. We felt so badly that she had to go through what feels like a kind of game, but for her was clearly a terrifying step to take on her own.
>
> *January 26, 2020*

> We speak first with a single woman in her 30's from the Democratic Republic of Congo. She holds the hands of the volunteer. Her smile is beautiful and sad as she shares how hard it is in her country. She is afraid of to cross into Canada and be arrested and yet brave at the same time.
>
> *October 14, 2018.*

Ce portrait peint par les bénévoles de BnotB contraste avec le narratif très présent dans plusieurs médias selon lequel ces personnes choisissent ce passage non par contrainte, mais bien avec l'intention délibérée de « contourner les règles ». Les blogs présentent une réalité plus nuancée des traversées, qui sont souvent semées de doutes, d'hésitation et de peur. Certaines personnes rencontrées expliquent aussi que la traversée relève aussi moins d'un choix que d'une nécessité.

> He was very polite with the police officer, replying 'yes sir' and when he was told it was his choice whether to cross or not he replied in accented English: "I have no choice. I need protection."
>
> *October 6, 2019.*

En plus d'assurer une présence, le groupe offre régulièrement des petits cadeaux (verres d'eau, mitaines et tuques, etc.) aux réfugiés selon leurs besoins. Il donne également un support moral significatif pour aider les réfugiés qui doivent souvent traverser seuls, ce qui demeure un moment assez éprouvant et intimidant. Plusieurs billets postés en ligne racontent l'aide apportée par les bénévoles à plusieurs migrants qui, une fois à la frontière, sont incertains de la marche à suivre ou trop apeurés par la réalité et la grandeur du moment. Raconter cette réalité offre aussi une vision plus complète des différentes formes que peuvent prendre ces traversées, qui sont parfois le résultat de mauvaise information et très souvent entourées d'incertitudes.

[4] Voir le développement d'une économie du taxi pour les migrants. Road to Roxham, CBC Shortdocs/Real Stories, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k9EC6CZ1T5U

> She carried only a small backpack and was happy to take mittens and a hat. When we let her know she would be arrested she became terrified and started to cry. We were able to reassure her she would not be hurt and that this was temporary.
>
> *November 4, 2018*
>
> One spoke English and the other French and they were overjoyed with the hats and mitts we offered. They insisted on hugging all of us.
>
> *December 30, 2018*
>
> The young man from Yemen was made to wait in front of the door to the RCMP building for a few minutes. I waved at him and wished him good luck. He waved back and put his hand on his heart. Our presence at the border, even if minimal and brief for the people who cross, does make a difference.
>
> *September 16, 2019.*

Ces textes font référence à des gestes simples, mais dotés d'une forte portée symbolique. Le groupe cherche non seulement à être présent auprès de ces personnes et assurer leur bien-être; il souhaite également leur offrir, avec générosité et douceur, des moments d'humanité. On perçoit cet effet dans les réactions décrites de plusieurs arrivants parfois figés devant la présence policière ou devant les petits gestes du groupe. Toutefois, le travail du groupe ne se limite pas à la scène de la frontière. Des pique-niques seront aussi organisés afin d'inviter des demandeurs d'asile ayant traversé à Roxham à revenir à Hemmingford afin de rencontrer la communauté (Entrevue 3, 22 Janvier 2021). Ces moments permettront encore une fois d'humaniser et donc d'encourager l'ouverture et l'écoute de la communauté envers ces personnes. Au-delà de ce soutien direct, par sa présence à la frontière le groupe vise à améliorer les conditions du contexte dans lequel les demandeurs d'asile arrivent au chemin Roxham. Ces gestes de solidarité à la frontière constituent un premier geste important vers une reconstruction de la frontière qui fait contrepoids au tissu narratif habituel, en humanisant et soutenant les réfugiés qui s'y présentent.

OBSERVER ET INFLUENCER L'ÉTAT

Par sa présence physique à la frontière, le groupe développe également une expertise qui lui permet d'exercer une certaine surveillance à la frontière, qui consiste à observer les comportements des officiers de la GRC responsables de l'accueil des réfugiés. En ce sens, le collectif pose des gestes de « sousveillance » (Gill et al., 2013; Trucco, 2021). Alors que les acteurs étatiques de la frontière (les agents de la GRC) viennent surveiller et contrôler les réfugiés, les bénévoles de BnotB occupent inversement un certain rôle de surveillance de l'État en observant et prenant note du comportement des agents envers les réfugiés. Ils assurent une présence citoyenne et un témoignage qui sert à garder l'État redevable de ses gestes. Il ne s'agit donc pas de questionner ou de confronter le rôle des agents, mais plutôt d'assurer un respect des règles et minimaliser les risques ou la souffrance vécue par les réfugiés. Cette forme d'activisme existe en complément du travail de groupes plus militants (qui misent sur une confrontation avec l'ordre politique) et invite un questionnement et un examen plus attentif des pratiques étatiques entourant le contrôle des frontières (Gill et al., 2013).

L'exemple le plus éclairant de ce travail se trouve dans la manière dont le collectif agit auprès de la GRC afin d'assurer et clarifier le respect d'un certain protocole d'accueil de la part des agents. Plusieurs billets du blog soulignent que certains agents tentent de dissuader les réfugiés de passer en leur affirmant qu'il serait préférable pour eux de passer par le poste frontalier de Lacolle (ce qui est faux, pour les raisons expliquées plus haut). Certains se font même insistants ou agressifs. Or, ces propos, tels qu'expliqués

par le groupe dans un billet, vont à l'encontre du protocole que les agents de la GRC doivent suivre lors de ces interceptions. Normalement, les agents doivent se limiter à avertir qu'il est illégal de traverser à Roxham, que si la personne souhaite traverser à un point d'entré régulier elle doit se rendre à Lacolle, et que si elle traverse elle sera mise en état d'arrestation.

> The RCMP officer repeatedly (4-5 times) told her to go to the official border crossing at Lacolle and questioned her extensively about where she came from how she knew about Roxham road, why she was crossing at Roxham etc.
>
> *December 10, 2017*

> The taxi driver (who we have often seen at Roxham) said that he had observed this sort of behavior a lot he said 'They (the RCMP) are being rude to these people. They won't let them cross, that they are going to get deported back to their country....and they are telling families that. It's getting worse again.'
>
> *March 18, 2018.*

Suite à ces observations, le groupe aura des rencontres avec la GRC. Pour soulever le manque de constance, le groupe fera une présentation afin de partager ses observations du comportement de plusieurs agents. Ces efforts ne se font pas dans le but de confronter la GRC et son rôle, mais bien d'assurer et maximiser le bien-être des nouveaux arrivants. Comme l'explique une membre, « We just felt they needed to be treated as well as they possible could » (Entrevue 2, 21 Janvier 2021). La GRC fera preuve d'une certaine appréciation du travail effectué par le groupe. Comme le souligne l'une des membres, l'organisation semble recevoir ces informations « as a kind of informal quality control » (Entrevue 2, 21 janvier 2021) et promettra notamment une meilleure formation des gardes pour le travail particulier que la frontière requiert. Ces rencontres porteront fruit. Comme l'affirme une membre, « They did start doing some training and in general the quality of the behaviour improved a lot over time » (Entrevue 2, 21 Janvier 2021).

Il ne s'agit donc pas seulement d'observer, mais aussi d'appliquer des actions concrètes. En ce sens, le groupe adopte également une stratégie particulière à l'échelle locale et communautaire qui contribue à faciliter l'acceptation, la compréhension et même l'accueil des nouveaux arrivants. On offre donc non seulement un contrepoids au narratif collectif, mais aussi, d'une certaine façon, à l'État lui-même en parvenant à assurer un certain contrôle ou surveillance de ses agents et de leurs comportements.

SENSIBILISER LE PUBLIC LOCAL ET DÉBOULONNER LES MYTHES

Le troisième aspect du travail du groupe que nous analysons est celui de sensibilisation. Le groupe adopte différentes stratégies afin de mieux informer la population locale aux réalités vécues par les demandeurs d'asile et de déconstruire l'idée que la traversée de la frontière est illégale. La sensibilisation se fait à travers une présence médiatique régulière à l'échelle locale, mais aussi à l'aide des billets du blog, qui deviennent des sources d'information sur les différents pays d'origine des demandeurs d'asile, les politiques d'immigration en place, et le contexte de la migration internationale.

La sensibilisation s'effectue aussi à travers des gestes communs du quotidien qui se veulent une réponse à l'apathie, voire à l'hostilité, de la population locale à l'endroit des migrants. Une membre nous explique comment le collectif a procédé : au lieu de confronter la population locale, notamment les élus de la municipalité, il est préférable de participer à des activités du quotidien, par exemple, lors d'un retrait au guichet automatique à la banque. On aborde amicalement

pour expliquer la situation à la frontière. On souligne également les difficultés d'un effort plus organisé, car les personnes mobilisées sont généralement celles déjà favorables à la cause des demandeurs d'asile.

Ces efforts s'inscrivent aussi dans un contexte plus global qui se caractérise par l'émergence de discours extrémistes et de mobilisations de l'extrême-droite, mais également de militants et activistes de la gauche. Le groupe cherche à se démarquer de ses deux camps dans ses façons de faire. Il ne s'agit pas nécessairement de dépolitiser les actions posées, mais plutôt d'agir d'une façon moins conflictuelle que certains autres groupes. Devant des groupes d'extrême-droite nativistes qui font acte de présence dans la communauté à quelques reprises, la stratégie du groupe est de demeurer ouvert au dialogue lorsque possible. Ainsi, lors d'une manifestation par ces groupes, BnotB organisera un « tea party » sur la même route. Le but est donc d'offrir un contre-poids, mais tout en douceur, en présentant une autre narration de la migration basée sur l'ouverture, l'acceptation et l'échange.

Si le justificatif offert par l'État quant aux bienfaits de l'immigration tend à reposer largement sur des considérations économiques, la vision proposée par le collectif présente des idées plus humanistes et sociales sur le rôle que le migrant joue dans la société d'accueil. Il y a très peu de considération qui est donnée par le groupe à la question de si la société d'accueil a « besoin » ou non de ces personnes. On remplace ce discours utilitariste pour se concentrer sur le respect et la reconnaissance des droits de ces personnes et sur les motivations ou les contextes expliquant leurs décisions de venir au Canada.

Ces trois axes d'intervention constituent les activités principales de BnotB. Bien que distincts, ces « secteurs » d'intervention se complémentent et valorisent des formes d'engagement et de soutien différentes aux migrants. C'est à partir d'une lecture du terme de l'hospitalité que nous situons les actions du collectif dans une compréhension différente de la migration et de la frontière. Cette lecture, plus nuancée et humaniste, place les migrants au centre des préoccupations et des actions de ces citoyens mobilisés.

L'HOSPITALITÉ COMME TERRAIN DE RENCONTRE AVEC LES EXILÉS

Afin de mieux cerner le rôle de BnotB au chemin Roxham, nous introduisons le thème de l'hospitalité qui, depuis la « crise migratoire de 2015 », est très présent dans le champ des études migratoires et la couverture médiatique : « Dans ce déferlement d'hostilité, de murs et de dispositifs de contrôle, il s'est pourtant passé quelque chose ces dernières années qui a pour nom 'hospitalité' » (Brugère et Le Blanc, 2018, p. 51). Nous nous intéressons à une forme de l'hospitalité, celle qui permet de réfléchir à des situations où des personnes sont confrontées à la réalité migratoire et à la manière dont certaines personnes se mobilisent pour venir en aide aux migrants (Merikoski, 2021). L'hospitalité mise de l'avant par BnotB se distingue des pratiques plus intentionnalisées et conventionnelles des politiques d'accueil et d'établissement des personnes réfugiées, ce qui nous apparaît comme un aspect peu étudié au Canada en comparaison aux enquêtes menées en Europe, qui mettent de l'avant des pratiques locales, associatives et communales (Agier, 2018, p. 140).

L'hospitalité a une signification ancienne et classique, soit celle d'un devoir éthique envers un visiteur dans un monde inhospitalier et d'une relation entre celui qui arrive et celui qui accueille (Derrida et Dufourmantelle, 1997). Dans l'acte d'être hospitalier, il

y a une dimension éthique et morale dans le sens où des organisations et des individus se sentent investis d'un devoir de venir en aide aux plus démunis. On y voit un geste inconditionnel qui rejoint un devoir du croyant à venir en aide au démuni. Dans l'étude des mobilisations citoyennes récentes envers les migrants, plusieurs travaux soulignent qu'il est nécessaire de se détacher de cette vision abstraite et d'adopter une posture plus pragmatique et dynamique de la solidarité et de l'hospitalité envers des populations vulnérables (Boudou, 2021; Trucco, 2021). Il s'agit de faire avec l'étranger une jonction/un rapprochement entre les citoyens et les migrants, d'une inclusion dans la communauté qui vise à considérer la relation entre l'étranger et l'hôte (Millet, 2019). L'hospitalité se présente par des gestes du quotidien, de simples actions d'individus marqués par le besoin de faire quelque chose qui sort de leur vie ordinaire et du cadre plus conventionnel de l'accueil des migrants (Chamoiseau, 2017). Comment lire un geste peu visible qui s'inscrit dans la vie de tous les jours de personnes mobilisées par ce que Isabelle Coutant appelle des engagements individuels aux résonnances intimes (Coutant, 2018)?[5] Dans cette façon de penser, l'hospitalité, c'est la logique d'une affirmation de ce que Brugère et Le Blanc qualifient de « presque rien » : « Être hospitalier, c'est créer un milieu de vie dans lequel le « presque rien » redevient possible » (2019, p. 199). Dans sa manière de venir en aide aux migrants à la frontière, BnotB pose un geste du « presque rien » qui vise à rendre visible et réel le passage de la frontière qui contraste avec une approche gouvernementale qui cherche à mettre en scène le migrant comme un acteur « indésirable » et dangereux (De Genova, 2017).

Dans le geste de l'hospitalité il y a « l'événement qui marque tout le monde » (Krafft, 2021) qui déclenche un élan de compassion, par exemple, lors de la « crise des réfugiés syriens » avec la photo du jeune garçon Alan Kurdi échoué sur une plage turque le 2 septembre 2015. Cette image tragique mène à une réaction gouvernementale en Allemagne et au Canada et de la part de nombreuses associations de la société civile, mais des citoyens aussi, qui se sentent appelés par cette tragédie humanitaire (Belkhodja et Xhardez, 2020). Dans le cas de la mobilisation de BnotB, c'est la situation à la frontière canado-américaine qui suscite de l'inquiétude, notamment des histoires de traversées risquées par grand froid durant l'hiver 2017 à Emmerson au Manitoba (Grabish et Glowacki, 2017).

Notre étude de BnotB permet de montrer que l'hospitalité est également un geste à connotation politique. Trois caractéristiques nous semblent importantes à considérer à cet égard. La première, c'est que l'hospitalité répond à un déficit de politiques gouvernementales (Agier, 2018). Par sa présence le long de la frontière, l'État canadien cherche à dissuader les migrants de traverser au chemin Roxham. Il cherche à tromper la vigilance du migrant, à le piéger pour l'envoyer ailleurs. Devant cette situation, des individus pratiquent l'hospitalité pour répondre à l'inhospitalité/hostilité des gouvernements, et l'action de BnotB et des autres collectifs, va en quelque sorte au-delà des pratiques étatiques afin de dévoiler les manques d'une gestion de la politique migratoire.

La deuxième caractéristique, c'est que l'hospitalité n'est pas uniquement une

[5]Il y a également des auteurs, comme Raphaël Krafft et Davide Enia qui explorent la relation entre l'écriture et l'engagement pour les migrants. Dans *Passeur*, Krafft accompagne deux jeunes Soudanais dans leur projet de franchir la frontière entre l'Italie et la France par un col montagneux des Alpes (Krafft, 2017). Enia raconte ce qui se passe sur l'île de Lampedusa lorsque des migrants se retrouvent dans le paysage du quotidien (Enia, 2018).

expression de compassion humanitaire venant de la personne qui accueille, mais doit être vue comme un processus qui permet aux migrants et aux citoyens de dépasser la démarcation entre les migrants et la société d'accueil. Il ne s'agit pas seulement d'accueillir l'étranger, de lui fournir aide et assistance, mais de considérer la place que l'étranger doit prendre au sein de la communauté politique. On s'intéresse au dispositif qui permet au migrant de sortir de sa différence et ne pas rester dans l'invisibilité, dans une sorte de *no man's land* à l'image des migrants avant et après avoir traversé la frontière. Dans ce lieu très symbolique du passage de la frontière, il y a une première apparition du migrant et un premier geste de rapprochement par une organisation citoyenne qui se trouve au même endroit. C'est de lui apporter un soutien, un réconfort, mais aussi de lui donner une appartenance. Comme le souligne plusieurs auteurs, la distinction entre l'humanitaire et le politique se brouille :

> Même l'aide au franchissement de la frontière est un répertoire difficile à classer et soulève plus d'un dilemme au sein des groupes mobilisés : d'un côté, elle réduit l'action à un soutien individualisé, partiel et discret, renonçant à exiger des institutions une réponse collective et généralisée, mais de l'autre elle va dans le sens de l'autodétermination et de la subjectivité politique des personnes migrantes en actualisant le droit de mouvement, et donne de la chair à l'idéal radical d'un monde sans frontières.
>
> *Observatoire des migrations dans les Alpes-Maritimes , 2020, p. 130).*

Enfin, le geste de l'hospitalité dévoile des pratiques citoyennes qui se distinguent des politiques institutionnelles et administratives de l'accueil (Cusset et Cusset, 2019). En suivant la réflexion de plusieurs chercheurs et observateurs, l'hospitalité pratiquée par des collectifs citoyens devient une « intervention démocratique », c'est-à-dire une activité qui amène à se questionner sur des enjeux de la société et à mettre de l'avant une autre forme de mobilisation orientée vers le principe du commun (Balibar, 2022; Tassin, 2017; Louis, 2021). Selon le philosophe Étienne Tassin : « La migration change quelque peu les formes et le sens du militantisme. Il ne s'agit pas tant de la concevoir sous la forme solidariste et assistancielle, mais de déployer des formes inventives de copartage ou de co-édification de mondes significatifs soustraits par leurs combats aux logiques intéressées du capitalisme » (Tassin, 2018, p. 194–195). Tassin développait son propos à partir de la philosophie politique, principalement à partir de l'œuvre de Hannah Arendt, mais aussi sur le terrain dans son intervention avec la réalité migrante, notamment dans la « Jungle » de Calais (Tassin, 2018). Par cette forme d'intervention, la frontière devient un lieu où peut se construire une nouvelle relation entre les individus. Il faut la voir tel un horizon démocratique qui se caractérise par une impulsion démocratique qui se fait dans une forme d'agissement et de rencontre (Louis, 2021). Selon cette perspective, l'acte politique de l'hospitalité doit se dégager d'une politique préfabriquée, des politiques publiques étatiques et d'une gestion sécuritaire de la question migratoire qui assigne le migrant à une place. Il est plutôt nécessaire de valoriser une politique du monde commun, un univers social où l'appartenance se déclare par le fait d'habiter un territoire et non par le titre de la citoyenneté. Cette vision sensible et poétique d'appartenir à un monde commun anime cette pensée de l'hospitalité qui se retrouve dans la mobilisation de divers groupes impliqués dans la réalité migrante aux frontières (Trucco, 2021).

CONCLUSION

Notre étude du collectif Bridges not Borders a permis de développer un autre regard de la migration et de la frontière. Par des actions ancrées dans des idéaux de solidarité, d'engagement communautaire et de justice sociale, ce groupe de citoyens s'est mobilisé pour la cause des migrants. Par le geste d'hospitalité à la frontière, le collectif envoie un message clair et chargé : il est là pour ces individus qui ont besoin d'être accompagnés et reconnus dans leur passage de la frontière.

Cette histoire particulière de la frontière nous montre une caractéristique importante d'une mobilisation citoyenne à la fois centrée sur comment répondre à ce que peuvent vivre des individus en situation de vulnérabilité qui passent à un moment bien précis dans leur localité, mais aussi l'engagement de citoyens d'une localité qui défendent une autre vision d'un monde commun plus juste et humain. L'hospitalité n'est pas seulement un acte de charité, mais une affirmation politique et sociale qui s'inscrit dans cette action pour les migrants.

Dans le contexte de la pandémie du Covid-19, la décision à la fin du mois de mars 2020 de fermer le point de passage au chemin Roxham, pour des « raisons sanitaires », a modifié les activités du collectif. Les membres se sont surtout préoccupés du sort des personnes refoulées qui se trouvent sous la menace des autorités américaines (Coletta, 2020). Le groupe a également développé des collaborations avec d'autres groupes en vue de partager et développer son expérience. Voulant être prêt lorsque la frontière ouvrira à nouveau dans un contexte politique incertain, le collectif entend toujours poser le geste de l'hospitalité en tant que pratique d'accueil et de reconnaissance des personnes migrantes qui traversent la frontière au chemin Roxham. Le 21 novembre 2021, le passage est réouvert et les arrivées augmentent à nouveau. Cette situation sera fort médiatisée avec la sortie du gouvernement provincial demandant aux autorités fédérales la fermeture du chemin Roxham (Gagnon, 2022). Ce que notre recherche démontre est l'importance de l'hospitalité comme réponse à ces moments où le discours se durcit. L'hospitalité peut assurer une présence solidaire à la frontière et, ultimement, un accueil plus humain pour les arrivants.

À PROPOS DES AUTEUR.ES

Chedly Belkhodja est professeur titulaire à l'École des affaires publiques et communautaires à l'Université Concordia. Il peut être rejoint à chedly.belkhodja@concordia.ca.

Cassendre Gratton est une étudiante de de maîtrise en science politique, à l'Université Concordia. Elle peut être rejoint à cassandre.gratton@mail.concordia.ca.

ORCID

Chedly Belkhodja https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3381-7917

Cassandre Gratton https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2052-806X

REFERENCES

Agence QMI. (2017). Tensions à la frontière entre pro et anti-immigration à St-Bernard-de-Lacolle. *Journal de Montréal*. https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2017/07/01/tensions-a-la-frontiere-entre-pro-et-anti-immigration-a-saint-bernard-de-lacolle

Agier, M. (2016). *Les migrants et nous : comprendre Babel*. CNRS Éditions.

Agier, M. (2018). *L'étranger qui vient : repenser l'hospitalité*. Seuil.

Alboim, N. (2016, May 18). Lessons learned from the Indochinese and Syrian refugee movements. *Policy Options*. https://policyoptions.irpp.org/fr/magazines/mai-2016/lessons-learned-from-the-indochinese-and-syrian-refugee-movements/

Ataç, I., Rygiel, K., et Stierl, M. (2016). Introduction: The contentious politics of refugee and migrant protest and solidarity movements: Remaking citizenship from the margins.

Citizenship Studies, *20*(5), 527–544. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2016.118268

Bailey, O. G., et Harindranath, R. (2005). Racialized 'othering' : the representation of asylum seekers in the news media. Dans A. Stuart (dir.), *Journalism: Critical issues* (pp. 274–286). Open University Press.

Balibar, E. (2018). Le fantasme du corps étranger : Entretien avec Étienne Balibar. *Esprit*, *7*, 173–182. https://doi.org/10.3917/espri.1807.0173

Balibar, E. (2022). *Cosmopolitique. Des frontières à l'espèce humaine*. La Découverte.

Belkhodja, C., et Xhardez, C. (2020). « Nous sommes de retour ! » : Justin Trudeau et la gestion de l'immigration. *Canadian Studies/Études canadiennes*, *89*, 179–204. https://doi.org/10.4000/eccs.4123

Bellavance, J. D., et Pélloquin, T. (2017, février 22). Ottawa songe à renforcer la sécurité à la frontière. *La Presse*. https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/politique/politique-canadienne/201702/21/01-5071942-ottawa-songe-a-renforcer-la-securite-a-la-frontiere.php

Bleau, B. (2017, 17 octobre). « Des richesses à partager ». *Info Hemmingford*, *9*(5). https://infohemmingford.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/octobre-2017.pdf

Bontemps, V., Makaremi, C., Mazouz, S., et Bernard, H. (2018). *Entre accueil et rejet: ce que les villes font aux migrants*. Le Passager clandestin.

Bouagga, Y. (2018). Calais, carrefour des solidarités citoyennes. *Mouvements*, *93*(1), 137–148. https://doi.org/10.3917/mouv.093.0137

Boudou, B. (2021). Beyond the welcoming rhetoric: Hospitality as a principle of care for the displaced. *Essays in Philosophy*, *22*(1-2), 85–101. https://doi.org/10.5840/eip20212225

Bourgeon, M., D'aragon-Giguère, T., et Vallet, E. (2017). Les flux migratoires à la frontière québéco-américaine. *Quebec Studies*, *64*(1), 141–156. https://doi.org/10.3828/qs.2017.20

Brugère, F., et Le Blanc, G. (2018). Le conflit des hospitalités. *Esprit*, *7*, 55–64. https://doi.org/10.3917/espri.1807.0055

Brugère, F., et Le Blanc, G. (2019). À propos d'un bus. *Lignes*, *58*, 195–199. https://doi.org/10.3917/lignes.058.0195

Chamoiseau, P. (2017). *Frères migrants*. Seuil.

Coletta, A. (2020, décember 29). Canada is turning asylum seekers away at the border. In the U.S., they face deportation. *Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/canada-asylum-coronavirus-border-deportation/2020/12/28/28a8c588-40cc-11eb-9453-fc36ba051781_story.html

Coutant, I. (2018). *Les migrants en bas de chez-moi*. Seuil.

Cusset, F., et Cusset, Y. (2019). Reconnaître l'hospitalité. *Lignes*, *58*(1), 209–209. https://doi.org/10.3917/lignes.058.0209

Cuttitta, P. (2015). La frontière Lampedusa. Mises en intrigue du sécuritaire et de l'humanitaire . *Culture et conflits*, *99/100*, 99–115. https://doi.org/10.4000/conflits.19101

De Genova, N. (2017). *The borders of "Europe." Autonomy of migration, tactics of bordering*. Duke University Press.

Della Porta, D. (dir.). (2018). Solidarity mobilizations in the « refugee crisis » : Contentious moves. Palgrave MacMillan.

dell'Agnese, E., et Amilhat-Szari, A. L. (2015). Borderscapes: From Border Landscapes to Border Aesthetics. *Geopolitics*, *20*(1), 4–13. https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2015.1014284

Derrida, J., et Dufourmantelle, A. (1997). *De l'hospitalité*. Calmann-Lévy.

Dib, L. (2017, avril 15). L'Entente sur les tiers pays sûrs jugée constitutionnelle. *La Presse*. https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/national/2021-04-15/l-entente-sur-les-tiers-pays-surs-jugee-constitutionnelle.php

Dubet, F. (dir.). (2019). Politiques des frontières. La Découverte.

Enia, D. (2018). *La loi de la mer*. Albin Michel.

Gagnon, M.-A. (2022, mai 11). Fermeture du chemin Roxham : Legault interpelle Trudeau. *Journal de Montréal*. https://www.journaldequebec.com/2022/05/11/immigration-irreguliere-francois-legault-demande-la-fermeture-du-chemin-roxham

Garnier, C., et Dumont, M. (2017, août 2). Des autobus et des lits de camps au Stade olympique. *Journal de Montréal*. https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2017/08/02/le-stade-olympique-se-transforme-en-refuge-pour-les-migrants-1

Gill, N., Conlon, D., Tyler, I., et Oeppen, C. (2013). The Tactics of Asylum and Irregular Migrant Support Groups: Disrupting Bodily, Technological, and Neoliberal Strategies of Control. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *104*(2), 373–381. https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2013.857544

Goudreau, C. (2019). L'hospitalité en actes. Quand des habitants viennent en aide aux migrants en transit à Ouistreham. *Revue du MAUSS*, *n° 53*(1), 309–312. https://doi.org/10.3917/rdm.053.0309

Grabish, A., et Glowacki, L. (2017, January 9). New numbers show spike in asylum seekers crossing from U.S. to Manitoba. *CBC News*. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/refugees-manitoba-emerson-crossing-1.3926754https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/refugees-manitoba-emerson-crossing-1.3926754

Hamilton, L., Veronis, L., & Walton-Roberts, M. (dir.). (2020). *A national project. Syrian refugee resettlement in Canada* (pp. 280–310). McGill-Queen's University Press.

Hirst, P., Thompson, G., et Bromley, S. (2009). *Globalization in Question* (3 éd.). Polity.

Immigration Réfugiés et Citoyenneté Canada (IRCC). (2021). *Demandes d'asile par année*. https://www.canada.ca/fr/immigration-refugies-citoyennete/services/refugies/demandes-asile.html

Jordan, M. (2017, November 20). Trump administration ends temporary protection for Haitians. *New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/20/us/haitians-temporary-status.html

Kesteman, J. P. (2006). Ruralité et mondialisation dans les Cantons de l'Est du Québec. *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies*, *29-30*, 5–18.

Krafft, R. (2017). *Passeur*. Buchet-Castel.

Krafft, R. (2021). *Les enfants de la clarée*. Marchialy.

La Haye, D. (2017, février 21). Le gouvernement dit contrôler l'afflux de réfugiés illégaux. *Le Journal de Montréal*. .https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2017/02/21/le-gouvernement-dit-controler-lafflux-de-refugies-illegaux

Le Blanc, G., et Brugère, F. (2017). *La fin de l'hospitalité. Lampedusa, Lesbos, Calais… jusqu'où irons-nous?*. Flammation.

Lecavalier, C. (2017, août 9). Legault veut stopper la vague des migrants haïtiens en provenance des États-Unis. *Le Journal de Québec*. https://www.journaldequebec.com/2017/08/09/legault-veut-stopper-la-vague-des-migrants-haitiens-en-provenance-des-etats-unis

Louis, C. (2021). *La conspiration des enfants*. Presses Universitaires de France.

Merikoski, P. (2021). 'At least they are welcome in my home!' Contentious hospitality in home accommodation of asylum seekers in Finland. *Citizenship Studies*, *25*(1), 90–105. https://doi.org/https://doi.org.10.1080/13621025.2020.1769558

Millet, J. P. (2019). L'hospitalité d'après l'hospitalité. *Lignes*, *60*, 51–75. https://doi.org/10.3917/lignes.060.0051

Mountz, A. (2011). Specters at the Port of Entry:Understanding State Mobilities through an Ontology of Exclusion. *Mobilities*, *6*(3), 317–334. https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2011.

590033

Neigh, S. (2019, April 16). Supporting refugees in a small Quebec border town. Talking Radical Radio. https://talkingradical.ca/2019/04/16/trr-bridges_not_borders/

Nicolosi, D. (2017). *Lampedusa. Les damnés de la terre*. Éditions de l'Aube.

Observatoire des migrations dans les Alpes-Maritimes. (2020). *La manège des frontières. Criminalisation des migrations et solidarités dans les Alpes-Maritimes*. Le passager clandestin.

Paquet, M., et Schertzer, R. (2020). Irregular border crossings and asylum seekers in Canada: A complex intergovernmental problem. *IRPP Study*, *80*. https://centre.irpp.org/research-studies/irregular-border-crossings-and-asylum-seekers-in-canada-a-complex-intergovernmental-problem/

Parent, R. (2017, août 17). Couillard, catalyseur de l'extrême-droite. *Journal de Montréal*. https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2017/08/17/couillard-catalyseur-de-lextreme-droite

Payen, M. (2017, août 9). 900 migrants hébergés temporairement à la frontière. *TVA Nouvelles*. https://www.tvanouvelles.ca/2017/08/09/une-centaine-de-tentes-installees-pour-accueillir-500-demandeurs-dasile

Poinsot, M. (2018). Les migrants en bas de chez soi : Entretien avec Isabelle Coutant, sociologue au CNRS (Iris), auteure de Les migrants en bas de chez soi. *Hommes & Migrations*, *1323*(4), 39–45. https://doi.org/10.4000/hommesmigrations.7222

Ravensbergen, F. (2018, November 23). *Hospitality in Action at the Border in Hemmingford: What it Looks Like and the Impact it Has* [proposition de conférence]. voies vers la prosperité, Montreal.

Sécurité publique Canada. (2020). *Entente sur les tiers pays sûrs*. https://www.securitepublique.gc.ca/cnt/trnsprnc/brfng-mtrls/prlmntry-bndrs/20200621/028/index-fr.aspx, accessed date 2022-10-18.

Skogberg Eastman, C. L. (2012). *Shaping the immigration debate: Contending civil societies on the US-Mexico border*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781626374966

Statistique Canada. (2012). *Annuaire du Canada 2011 - Géographie* . n° 11-402-X au catalogue. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/fr/pub/11-402-x/2012000/pdf/geography-geographie-fra.pdf?st=GSXeD38_

Statistique Canada. (2019). *Les faits, tout simplement - Les demandeurs d'asile*. n° 89-28-0001 au catalogue. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-28-0001/2018001/article/00013-fra.htm

Tassin, E. (2017). Philosophie /et/ politique de la migration. *Raison publique*, *1*(21), 197–215. https://doi.org/10.3917/rpub.021.0197

Tassin, E. (2018). La condition migrante. Pour une nouvelle approche du cosmopolitisme. *Tumultes*, *2*(51), 193–221. https://doi.org/10.3917/tumu.051.0193

Trucco, D. (2021). Un)Politicising a European border: No border and solidarity mobilisations in Ventimiglia after 2015. Dans L. Amigoni, S. Aru, I. Bonnin, G. Proglio, & C. Vergnano (dir.), *Debordering Europe migration and control across the Ventimiglia region* (pp. 179–204). Palgrave.

Trudeau, J. [@JustinTrudeau] (28 janvier, 2017). À ceux qui fuient la persécution, la terreur et la guerre, sachez que le Canada vous accueillera. [Tweet] Twitter. https://twitter.com/justintrudeau/status/825438187279499265?lang=fr

Tyler, I., et Marciniak, K. (2013). Immigrant protest: An introduction. *Citizenship Studies*, *17*(2), 143–156. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2013.780728

UNHCR, et Agence des Nations Unies pour les réfugiées. (2018). *Les arrivées irrégulières à la frontière : informations générales janvier-septembre*. https://www.unhcr.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Les-arriv%C3%A9es-irr%C3%A9guli%C3%A8res-%C3%A0-la-fronti%C3%A8re-entre-janvier-septembre-2018-with-IRB-stats.pdf

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés
2022, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1–21
https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.40892

Life Beyond Refuge: A System Theory of Change for Supporting Refugee Newcomers

Rich Janzen[a], Mischa Taylor[b] and Rebecca Gokiert[b]

ABSTRACT

Canada is internationally recognized as a leader in welcoming refugee newcomers. However, there is limited evidence about how well refugee newcomers fare after arriving in Canada and the effectiveness of resettlement services and supports. A system theory of change was developed to guide assessments of complexity across the refugee-serving sector that seek to investigate refugees' lived experiences and evaluate practice across multiple levels. This article describes the process of developing the *Life Beyond Refuge* system theory of change and the implications for community-level practice, public policy, and, ultimately, resettlement outcomes for refugee newcomers.

KEYWORDS

refugees; resettlement; theory of change; community-based evaluation; evaluation framework

RESUMÉ

Le Canada est reconnu internationalement comme un chef de file dans l'accueil des nouveaux arrivants réfugiés. Cependant, il y a peu de données sur la manière dont les réfugiés se portent après leur arrivée au Canada et sur l'efficacité des services et des soutiens à la réinstallation. Une théorie systémique du changement a été développée afin de guider les évaluations de la complexité dans le secteur des services aux réfugiés qui cherchent à examiner les expériences vécues des réfugiés et à évaluer les pratiques à plusieurs niveaux. Cet article décrit le processus d'élaboration de la théorie systémique du changement *Life Beyond Refuge* et ce qu'elle implique pour la pratique au niveau communautaire, les politiques publiques, et, enfin, le bilan de la réinstallation des nouveaux arrivants réfugiés.

HISTORY Published 08 November 2022

CONTACT

[a] **(Corresponding author)** rich@communitybasedresearch.ca
Centre for Community Based Research, Waterloo, ON, Canada

[b] mischa@ualberta.ca
School of Public Health, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB, Canada

[b] rgokiert@ualberta.ca
School of Public Health, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB, Canada

INTRODUCTION

Canada is a world leader in welcoming refugees. In 1986, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) awarded "the people of Canada" the Nansen Medal for their sustained contribution to the cause of refugees (Beiser, 1999). More recently, Canada's positive response to the Syrian refugee crisis won international praise (UNHCR, 2017). The reality of Canada's welcoming of refugees may not in fact be as rosy as its reputation. The country's history of being "unwelcoming" includes examples in which refugees in need of protection were denied (Scotti, 2017), where refugees were selected for economic gain at the expense of the most vulnerable (Canadian Council for Refugees [CCR] 2009), and where refugee claimants seeking asylum at the country's borders experienced lukewarm reception (CCR, 1996). Still, the welcome of refugees on humanitarian grounds has remained an enduring component of Canada's national immigration strategy (El-Assal, 2015).

To distinguish newcomers admitted to Canada on humanitarian grounds from those arriving on economic grounds or through family reunification, Canada created a designated immigration class for refugees in 1976. Since that time, the majority of refugee newcomers have arrived through a proactive **resettlement** process where refugees are identified overseas and resettled in Canada via three primary streams: as government-assisted refugees (GARs), as privately sponsored refugees (PSRs), and through the newer and smaller shared sponsorship programs (i.e., Blended Visa Office-Referred [BVOR]; Joint Assistance Sponsorship [JAS]). Others have come through the reactive **asylum** process as refugee claimants who seek asylum after arrival in Canada (Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada [IRCC], 2017a). From 2010 to 2017, between 23,000 and 58,000 refugee newcomers were admitted each year through these streams, constituting 12% of all newcomers arriving within the country's borders during this period (IRCC, 2019b).

A system of support has unfolded over time to aid refugee newcomers as they resettle and begin the integration process in Canada. For example, federal policy ensures that resettled refugees are financially supported for their first year (whether by the government for GARs or by private sponsors for PSRs). Local, community-based supports are also available to refugee newcomers in the form of informal groups, ethnic associations, and faith communities, as well as professionalized service provider organizations. Some organizations are devoted to serving refugee newcomers by providing resettlement services, while others serve all newcomers through settlement services and/or all residents in the form of public services. As part of the nonprofit sector, these organizations are funded through different levels of government, foundations, and private donations. The federal government provides the main source of funding to the sector, allocating approximately $785 million each year to supporting 550 newcomer service provider organizations across the country (IRCC, 2020a). The federal government views its investment in this system of support as helping newcomers to integrate and succeed in their new life in Canada and contributing to nation-building (IRCC, 2019a).

Despite this intentionality in resettlement, Canada does poorly in assessing refugee outcomes. There is a limited body of evidence about how well refugee newcomers fare after arriving in Canada and the

effectiveness of available resettlement services and supports (Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Past assessments have been sporadic and piecemeal, typically considering limited dimensions of resettlement, such as labour-market integration (Bevelander & Pendakur, 2014), social integration (Simich et al., 2005), language (Benseman, 2014), and health (Dorman et al., 2017), or considering specific categories of refugees, such as privately sponsored (Hyndman et al., 2017), government-assisted (Citizenship and Immigration Canada [CIC], 2011), or refugee claimants (Jackson & Bauder, 2014). Other assessments have focused on specific refugee groups or particular geographic locations (e.g., Alberta Association of Immigrant Serving Agencies [AAISA], 2017; IRCC, 2016b; Janzen, Leis, & Ochocka, 2021a; Plasterer, 2011). Equally concerning is the minimal use of evaluation data that do exist among leaders of community-based programs, a fact that hampers the quality of decision-making for local newcomer support (Diener & Thibedeau, 2019). While one comprehensive evaluation of Canada's refugee programs was recently completed by IRCC (2016a), it is unclear why, given its global leadership role in refugee resettlement, Canada has not played a similarly consistent and robust leadership role in the evaluation of refugee resettlement programs. Canada is not alone in this challenge, even if there are many examples of individual resettlement evaluations globally (Dumann & Tissot, 2020; Dunn et al., 2021; Murray et al., 2010). The study of migration more generally lacks a clear vision about how best to evaluate migrant well-being in a comprehensive manner (Hendriks & Bartram, 2018).

The purpose of this article is to address the current ad hoc nature of resettlement assessment by proposing a system theory of change that could serve as a holistic framework when evaluating how refugee newcomers are supported. This theory of change was developed through a comprehensive review of the literature that identified outcomes related to refugee resettlement and how these are currently being evaluated. This article describes what a system theory of change is and how it can frame the evaluation of refugee supports within a given country. Next, the parameters of the review are provided before detailing the key components of a consolidated system theory of change for refugee newcomer support. A discussion of the contribution of the system theory of change for both the creation of evidence (conducting evaluation) and the use of evidence in decision-making (mobilizing knowledge) in policy and practice is provided. While the article is grounded primarily in the resettlement sector in Canada, it has implications for other societies impacted by migration in the twenty-first century.

SYSTEM THEORY OF CHANGE

A system theory of change has the potential to facilitate the comprehensive creation and use of evidence in the resettlement sector. In the field of program evaluation, a theory of change explains how the activities of a given intervention are expected to contribute to a chain of intended outcomes (Funnell & Rogers, 2011). A theory of change provides evaluators with a framework when assessing the effectiveness of a given set of activities (process evaluation) and the extent to which the intended outcomes of these activities are reached (outcome evaluation).

A system theory of change is an explanation of interventions within a social system. A social system can be understood as various components (i.e., structures) functioning together as a whole (i.e., process) with intention (i.e., vision) (Foster-Fishman & Behrens,

2007; Janzen et al., 2012a; Kelly et al., 2000). System components are therefore not seen as self-contained units but as interconnected and interdependent within a dynamic and multi-layered context (Schensul, 2009). The health of the system is dependent on developing and accessing resources that facilitate system functioning (Trickett, 2009).

Applied to refugee newcomers, a system theory of change suggests that refugee resettlement cannot be understood in isolation or as a result of a single factor; rather, refugee newcomers and their families are embedded within layers of system components that can both affect and be affected by their resettlement (Janzen et al., 2021a). A system theory of change identifies and links the activities and corresponding outcomes across various ecological levels of the refugee system of support. Ecological levels include the micro (e.g., family members, sponsor groups, neighbourhoods, faith community), the exo (e.g., resettlement organizations and other groups in the community with resources and power), and the macro (e.g., policy-makers, media, and other influencers of dominant society). A system theory of change provides a framework for assessing how these various components and their functioning can be improved upon in order to reach desired outcomes. Such a view is consistent with refugee literature in which resettlement is often framed as a negotiation between local realities and external influences that provide higher-level direction to the flow of migration (Janzen et al., 2021a).

METHODOLOGY

Our proposed system theory of change was developed by conducting a review of the literature identifying outcomes related to refugee resettlement and how these are currently being evaluated. The theory of change was created by inductively categorizing outcomes found in the literature according to the ecological level of impact and according to how refugee outcomes change over time. Throughout the process of theory development, the emerging system theory of change was shared with stakeholders across the country for verification and resonance. The detailed methodology used in developing the system theory of change, and the project in which it was embedded, is described below.

The system theory of change was developed as part of an evaluation capacity-building initiative led by the Centre for Community Based Research (CCBR) in partnership with the University of Alberta. Funded by the federal immigration department (IRCC), the purpose of this initiative was to equip resettlement organizations and groups to conduct community-based evaluation to improve supports and outcomes for newcomers who come as refugees.

The national project was guided by an intersectoral advisory committee representing various stakeholder perspectives that included people with lived refugee experience, settlement service providers, sponsorship agreement holders, newcomer umbrella network leaders, academics, and the federal government (see http://www.eval4refugee.ca). Over the three-year project (2018–2021), numerous capacity-building strategies were developed and implemented, highlighting the four phases of community-based evaluation and its emphasis on being stakeholder driven, participatory, and action oriented (Janzen et al., 2016). Strategies included introductory videos, evaluation readiness tools, ethics support, in-person workshops, a mentorship pool, recorded webinars and online live events, and individualized coaching (see http://www.eval4refu

gee.ca). Combined, these activities endeavoured to enhance the resources, knowledge, and skills needed to implement community-based approaches for producing and using evaluation evidence and, in turn, to improve Canada's refugee newcomer system of support. A detailed description and reflection of this capacity-building initiative is available elsewhere (Gokiert et al., 2022).

One foundational activity of the project was to conduct an ongoing literature review. The purpose of the review was to develop a comprehensive understanding of how intended outcomes for refugee resettlement are being conceptualized and evaluated. Research team members from both partner organizations (nine in total) searched online academic journal databases and sectoral websites to identify studies related to refugees, resettlement, evaluation, and outcomes. The review included Canadian and international academic research with refugee newcomers and grey literature produced by community-based organizations, as well as by government (including relevant publications authored by IRCC). Articles included were compiled in an **annotated bibliography** listing the identified refugee outcomes, indicators of these outcomes, and methods of data collection (Janzen et al., 2020a). The annotated bibliography included 46 Canadian-based articles and 39 articles from international research for a total of 85 articles. Approximately half of these were peer-reviewed journal articles, while the remaining half were produced by government and community-based organizations. The majority of articles described primary research or secondary analysis of data with refugee newcomers or community-based organizations, with theoretical articles, literature reviews, and practice notes making up a smaller number. Of the 85 articles included in the annotated bibliography, 16 were evaluations of programs, practices, or policies designed to support refugee newcomers. The vast majority of articles focused on outcomes at the individual level, with a few addressing community- or macro-level outcomes.

Based on this annotated bibliography, the research team then created an **outcome inventory** document that conceptually organized the outcomes identified in the literature (Janzen et al., 2020b). Grounded theory was used to inductively examine how the various refugee outcomes documented in the literature could be meaningfully organized as a whole. Outcomes were first organized by their dominant attributes into categories, referred to as **outcome domains**. Team members further arranged outcome domains according to ecological level of impact (individual, community, macro), as well as temporally, according to the process of change that refugee newcomers are expected to experience over time in their new home country (claim process, resettlement, settlement and adaptation, integration, and wellness). The outcome inventory used three tables to display outcome domains, arranged by level of impact and colour coded based on time period. The tables elucidate each outcome domain by listing sample outcomes from the literature, and these sample outcomes were cross-referenced to the annotated bibliography. As a living document updated regularly from recent publications, the outcome inventory evolved over the three years of the project to incorporate new insights on refugee outcomes.

The system theory of change, described in the following section, was grounded in this outcome inventory document. Team members synthesized the various dimensions of the resettlement experience as outlined in the outcome inventory into a coherent theory of change capable of charting how inter-

ventions to support refugee newcomers and their given activities can contribute to a chain of intended outcomes for refugee newcomers (Funnell & Rogers, 2011). Various iterations of the summary figure were discussed by the nine members of the research team. Member checking was completed by sharing and discussing the theory of change figure with advisory committee members. In addition, two other mechanisms were used to invite broader stakeholder feedback in refining the theory of change so that it optimally reflected current contexts and realities in policy and practice. First, the theory of change was presented and discussed with participants of the Evaluating Refugee Programs capacity-building workshops. In total, 13 full-day workshops were held in communities across the country. Over 300 participants attended these workshops, representing community organizations, newcomer umbrella networks, government, and evaluators (whether academic or private consultants). Second, the theory of change was also presented and discussed at two online live events that the project organized as it shifted to a virtual platform during the global pandemic. In both cases, stakeholder reaction to the theory of change added to the iterative process of honing its conceptualization, verifying its utility, and confirming its resonance with stakeholder experiences.

RESULTS

The system theory of change represents the dynamic and multi-layered context of refugee newcomers' system of support. As a framework highlighting supportive interventions and corresponding intended outcomes for newcomers arriving in Canada as refugees, it articulates the ecological levels where interventions occur and the time periods during which the process of change from "refugeeness" to "life beyond refuge" (Kyriakides et al., 2018) takes place. **Figure 1** visually describes these levels and components while linking activities and intended outcomes related to this process. The figure's title, "Life Beyond Refuge," suggests that the experience of being a refugee is neither static nor powerless. Instead, it is a process of change where refugee newcomers can be supported over time to achieve meaningful outcomes in life during the claim process (if applicable), during initial resettlement, in settlement and adaptation, and ultimately in attaining integration and wellness in Canadian society. The "Life Beyond Refuge" figure pairs with the outcome inventory, where a full list of outcomes found in the literature are organized. Below, we present and describe the key components of the system theory of change as summarized in **Figure 1**.

The figure organizes outcomes for refugees according to the ecological level of impact, organized vertically on the figure, and period of time in refugee newcomers' ideal process of change, presented from left to right. Horizontal arrows show the time period categories from the initial stages of the refugee experience (claim process, resettlement) to the ideal final outcomes where integration and wellness are achieved. Ecological levels of impact include the individual, community, and macro levels. Bi-directional arrows between levels indicate that a reciprocal relationship exists; system components interact across levels to both affect and be affected by corresponding components. The figure includes activities of a given level and time period and the associated outcome domains. The dotted circle on the left indicates that this period does not apply to all refugee newcomers to Canada but only to refugee claimants, while the bold circle on the right represents outcomes ideally shared by refugee newcomers, other newcomers,

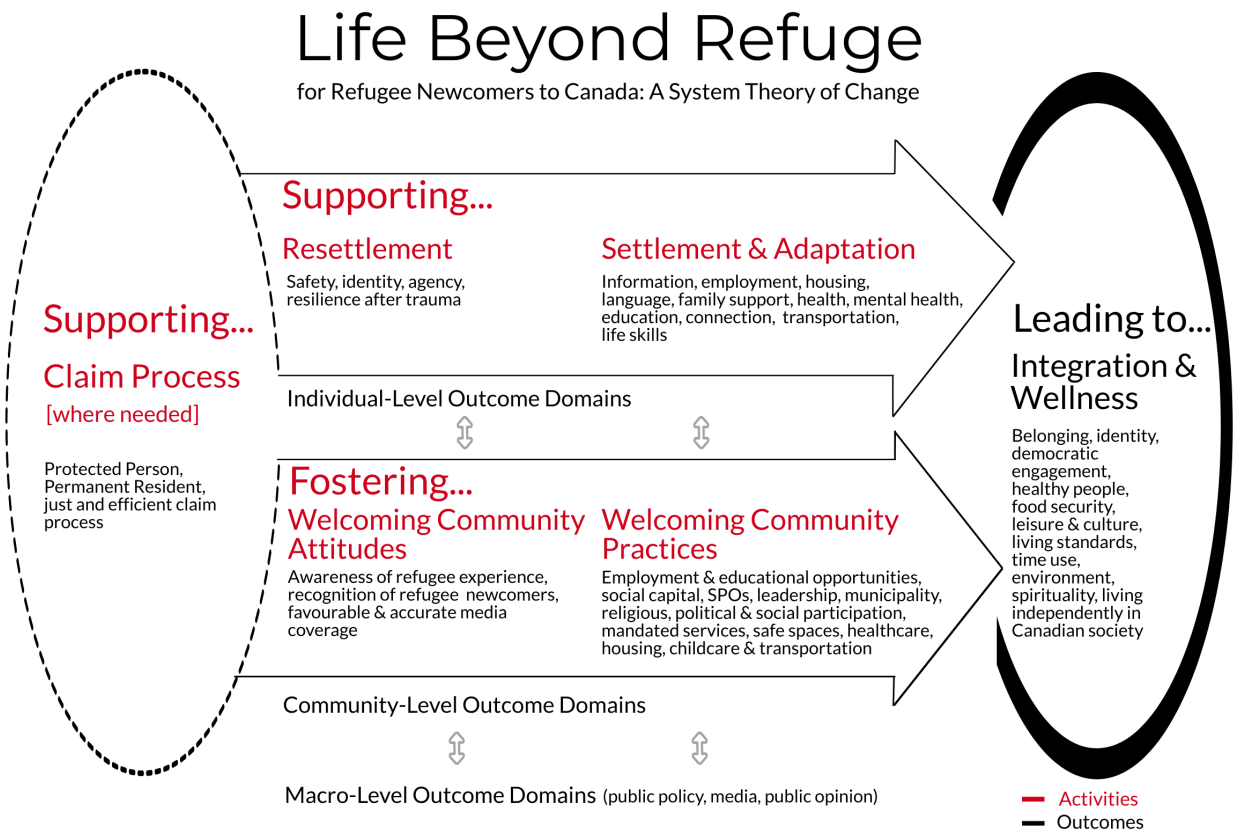

Figure 1
Life Beyond Refuge

and all residents of Canada.

Ecological Levels

Individual-Level Outcomes

Individual-, community-, and macro-level outcome domains are organized vertically in the "Life Beyond Refuge" figure. At the top of the figure, individual-level outcomes capture the intended impacts of refugee-serving programs and supports on the lives of individual newcomers who arrived as refugees and their families. The figure makes the point that intended individual-level outcomes evolve and are shared over time and among different subsections of the Canadian population. At the heart of the system, refugee newcomers can move over time beyond their refugeeness in ways that they share with other refugee newcomers (through the claim and resettlement process), with other newcomers (through the settlement and adaptation process), and with other permanent residents in Canada (towards integration and wellness) (Canadian Index of Wellbeing [CIW], 2016; Jedwab & Soroka 2014; Kyriakides et al., 2018). Consequently, activities of the individual outcome domains focus on **supporting** refugee newcomers to achieve outcomes at each time period (e.g., Alberta Association of Immigrant Serving Agencies [AAISA], 2017; IRCC, 2016b; Janzen, Leis, & Ochocka, 2021a;

Plasterer, 2011). In contrast to the community and macro domain levels, most literature discusses outcomes affecting refugees at the individual level. The activities and outcomes associated with the individual level of impact interact with and influence aspects of the community and macro levels while also being shaped by them in turn.

Community-Level Outcomes

Located below the individual level of impact, community-level outcomes are organized by activities related to "welcoming community attitudes" and "welcoming community practices." Adapted from the Characteristics of a Welcoming Community project (Esses et al., 2010; Ravanera et al., 2013), these activities capture how elements of a local community such as its organizations, institutions, local government, businesses, neighbours, and ethnic, faith, and sponsor groups hold attitudes and practices that influence the degree of welcome and support shown to newcomers in their community. Instead of focusing on refugee newcomers themselves, community-level outcome domains highlight the community context into which refugees are placed, emphasizing the responsibility for welcoming newcomers that is shared by all members of the community and its local institutions. Activities devoted to fostering welcoming community **attitudes** create the conditions for awareness of the refugee experience, recognizing refugee newcomers as members of the community (Atwell et al., 2009), and favourable and accurate media coverage. Similarly, welcoming community **practices** create conditions that foster relevant and meaningful employment and educational opportunities (Fang et al., 2018), enhance intra- and inter-group social capital (Im, 2018; Im & Rosenberg, 2016), and support the presence of service provider organizations that effectively meet the needs of newcomers. Additionally, these conditions promote leadership skills development (Im & Rosenberg, 2016); provide newcomer-friendly municipal resources and services that address their needs; foster meaningful religious, political, and social participation (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Donaldson, 2017); ensure mandated services are available and accessible; promote and maintain safe spaces; provide accessible and suitable health care; offer adequate and affordable housing (Rose, 2019); ensure childcare supports are accessible and affordable (CIW, 2016; IRCC, 2019d) and provide accessible transportation options (English et al., 2017; IRCC, 2019d; Stewart et al., 2012). Compared to the individual-level outcome domains, much less attention is given in the literature to community-level outcomes. In particular, beyond the conceptual framework on welcoming communities produced by Esses et al. (2010), research offers little additional insight on the activities or outcomes related to welcoming community attitudes.

Macro-Level Outcomes

Moving down to the bottom of the figure, macro-level outcomes capture how the broader Canadian society can impact the lives of refugee newcomers. Macro-level system components include those entities that influence broad societal conditions of welcome/unwelcome, such as public policy related to immigration and multiculturalism in particularco, media representations of refugees, public institutions including education and government bodies (Gouin, 2016), and public opinion and discourse (Caidi & Allard, 2005; Hinger et al., 2016). Consequently, outcomes achieved at the macro level have the potential to reinforce and stim-

ulate change at the individual and community levels. Despite its critical role in supporting positive outcomes for refugee newcomers, research related to macro-level system components, and subsequently, refugee outcomes at this level, is limited compared with that of the other two levels.

Time Period in the Process of Change

At the individual level, refugee newcomers can be supported to move beyond their refugeeness following the process of change they are expected to experience over time in their new host country. There are four main time period categories represented in the figure: immediate claim process, immediate resettlement and settlement, intermediate adaptation, and ultimate integration and wellness. These periods are organized horizontally in the "Life Beyond Refuge" figure, progressing from left to right.

Immediate Claim Process

For some refugee newcomers, the claim process marks the initial stage of their engagement with Canada. The dotted circle on the left side of the figure represents intended outcomes for those who arrive to Canada seeking asylum as refugee claimants. The circle is dotted to indicate that this domain does not apply to all refugee newcomers to Canada as the majority come as resettled refugees through proactive refugee streams (i.e., private sponsorship, government assistance, or the smaller shared programs). Supporting activities at this stage are primarily intended to help refugee claimants through the claim process. For example, specific outcomes may include increased access to legal support (Yu et al., 2007; Wilkinson et al., 2017), decreased wait times for claim decisions (Morantz et al., 2013), and more just and efficient resolutions of claim applications (IRCC, 2016a). Experiencing positive outcomes in the claim process enables refugee claimants to begin the transition to resettling in their new host country as permanent residents. Despite the importance of this stage in the lives of many refugees, discussions about claimant outcomes are underrepresented in the literature; only three articles in the annotated bibliography identified outcomes associated with the claim process (IRCC, 2016a; Morantz et al., 2013; Yu et al., 2007).

Immediate Settlement and Resettlement

Proceeding right on the figure, all refugee newcomers who become permanent residents can be supported to begin resettlement in their new home country. Support is aimed at achieving immediate resettlement outcomes that are unique to the forced migration experience of refugees. These outcomes can be shared by all refugee newcomers to Canada whether they arrived as claimants or as resettled refugees via any of the proactive refugee streams. As refugee newcomers shift from a life of fleeing persecution or harm to one of resettlement, establishing a new sense of safety (Esses et al., 2010; Marks, 2014; Puma et al., 2018), identity (Fantino & Colak, 2001; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Silove, 2013; Steimel, 2017), and agency (Atwell et al., 2009; Kyriakides et al., 2018; Steimel, 2017) and developing resilience after trauma (Broughton & Shields, 2020; Silove, 2013) are critical. Safety refers to feeling safe from physical harm as well as a psychological sense of economic, social, and physical security (Marks, 2014; Panter-Brick et al., 2018). In the resettlement phase, identity outcomes for refugee newcomers involve shifts away from being narrowly framed as a victim in need of rescuing to defining oneself according to the whole

person, including their pre-conflict histories and post-refuge aspirations (Kyriakides et al., 2018). Agency describes refugee newcomers as having the "ability to act" by making decisions that shape their current and future circumstances (Kyriakides et al., 2018). As refugee newcomers begin to resettle, reclaiming their authority to make personal life decisions "confirm[s] their eligibility to exist beyond refuge" (Kyriakides et al. 2018, p. 70). Outcomes related to developing resilience after trauma include the ability to settle, adapt, and prosper despite personal experiences of trauma and ongoing post-traumatic responses (Broughton & Shields, 2020; Silove, 2013).

Activities supporting these outcome domains can foster positive immediate resettlement outcomes for refugee newcomers. A possible intended outcome of identity, for example, may be a decreased personal affinity with being a refugee as individuals develop a stronger association with becoming a permanent resident (Silove, 2013). While more literature discusses outcomes related to refugee resettlement than the claim process, data for resettlement outcome domains are also relatively limited.

Intermediate Adaptation

Continuing right on the figure, refugee newcomers can be supported in ways that are common for all newcomers to Canada, whether their migration was forced (as in the case of refugees) or voluntary (i.e., newcomers arriving via Canada's economic or family classes). Corresponding outcomes include those dealing with immediate settlement as well as longer-term (intermediate) adaptation to a new host society. Here is where the majority of literature was found. Activities at this stage support newcomers to achieve outcomes related to receiving accurate and timely settlement information (Agrawal & Zeitouny, 2017; Dorman et al., 2017; Veronis et al., 2018), finding meaningful employment in their desired field (Canadian Index for Measuring Integration [CIMI], 2017; Rioseco et al., 2017; Shields et al., 2016; 1999) securing adequate and affordable housing (CCR, 2011; CIW, 2016; Hanley et al., 2018) developing and improving language competency (Atwell et al., 2009, Hyndman, 2011; IRCC, 2019d), navigating shifting family roles and dynamics (Balaghi et al., 2017; English et al., 2017), achieving and maintaining standards of physical health (Agrawal & Zeitouny, 2017; CCR, 2011; Rioseco et al., 2017) and achieving and maintaining a positive state of mental health (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Mitra & Hodes, 2019; Sirin et al., 2018). Additional literature supporting activities at this stage included accessing quality educational opportunities (Godin et al., 2017; Hyndman, 2011; Puma et al., 2018), building social connections within and across ethnic groups (Ager & Strang, 2008; AAISA, 2017; Beaman, 2012) accessing public transportation options or acquiring means of transport (Woodgate et al., 2017), and attaining skills necessary for navigating a new cultural and social environment (Puma et al., 2018). Employment and language outcomes for newcomers are especially well documented. For example, numerous studies examine newcomers' labour force participation rates (Bevelander & Pendakur, 2014; Mulvey, 2015; CIMI, 2017; Wilkinson et al., 2017) or their employment satisfaction (AAISA, 2017; Jackson & Bauder, 2014; Marks, 2014).

Integration and Wellness

Finally, the system theory of change suggests that the combination of individual-level, community-level, and macro-level sup-

ports are necessary if the ultimate outcomes of integration and wellness, identified on the far right of the figure, are to be attained. Newcomer integration refers to the process that immigrant and refugee newcomers undergo as they develop a sense of belonging and contribution to their new host country (IRCC, 2019c). In our system theory of change, the notion of integration was broadened to include life outcomes pursued by all Canadian residents, both newcomers and non-newcomers alike. In Canada, one common approach to assessing general life outcomes of individuals is through the construct known as well-being (CIW, 2016). All residents, including refugee newcomers, can pursue wellness through 10 domains adapted from the Canadian Index of Wellbeing (2016). These include having a sense of belonging (CIMI, 2017; Hanley et al., 2018; IRCC, 2019d) engaging in democratic activities (CIMI, 2017), becoming healthy people (Esses et al., 2010; Hansen et al., 2016; Hyman & Guruge, 2002), achieving and maintaining food security (CIC, 2011; IRCC, 2019d) accessing leisure and cultural activities (Nakeyar et al., 2018; Shields et al., 2016), attaining an acceptable standard of living (Rioseco et al., 2017), determining personal use and designation of time, contributing to environmental goals, pursuing spirituality (Rioseco et al., 2017; Silove, 2013), and living independently in Canadian society (Im & Rosenberg, 2016; Stewart et al., 2012). Each of these outcome domains are further divided into specific indicators. For example, one indicator of democratic engagement includes volunteer involvement through advocacy or political groups (CIW, 2016). Little research has been conducted to date on some of these outcomes such as time use and environment, while outcomes related to a sense of community or national belonging are more comprehensively documented in the literature (CIMI, 2017; Hanley et al., 2018; IRCC, 2019d).

DISCUSSION

Although Canada is a leader in welcoming refugees, the same level of intentionality does not exist for evaluating the policies, programs, and practices intended to support refugee newcomers in the process of their resettlement. In general, a system theory of change can be useful in addressing this gap. The "Life Beyond Refuge" figure illustrates the system theory of change for those at the heart of the system by charting refugee newcomers' journey beyond their refugeeness across ecological levels and over time and identifying intended outcomes at each stage. Consequently, this framework holds potential to contextualize the evaluation of resettlement supports within a given host country. To begin, it provides a comprehensive yet flexible framework, capable of engaging interdisciplinary researchers and evaluators and useful for linking public policy with community-level practice. It is broad enough to incorporate and synthesize different dimensions of the resettlement experience, drawing from the various available indicators of immigrant settlement and integration (Esses et al., 2010; Jedwab & Soroka, 2014). Perhaps most importantly, as a system theory of change, it is useful in guiding assessments of complexity that seek to investigate lived experience and evaluate practice across multiple levels (Foster-Fishman & Long, 2009) and across locations (Janzen et al., 2007). In this section, we discuss implications of the system theory of change for systems actors, including policy implications at the macro level, practice implications at the community level, and interactions between the macro and community levels that can influence evaluation in the refugee-serving sector. We conclude with

implications for further research, including gaps in the literature of refugee outcomes, as well as the current methodology applied to evaluating supports for refugee newcomers.

Implications for System Actors

Macro-Level System Actors

The system theory of change presented in this article addresses the current gap in the resettlement sector for a holistic framework for evaluating outcomes of refugee support. At the macro level, it provides a framework for system-level research and evaluation through public policy. The macro level in this context includes funders of all types that resource resettlement activities across civil society, including both government and non-governmental sources of funding. Without such a framework to guide policy in the refugee-serving sector, outcomes to be evaluated and associated indicators are often determined at the organizational level, where processes of evaluation and outcomes may vary widely (Thomson, 2010). Furthermore, even in cases where funders require common outcomes to guide evaluation within organizations, documentation and reporting remains piecemeal, allowing organizations to selectively determine what evaluation data they share and how the data are presented (Arvidson & Lyon, 2014). Without evidence generated and documented according to a consistent framework of conceptualizing and reporting outcomes, it becomes difficult to identify similarities or differences in outcomes across the sector, which, in turn, hampers efforts to develop or shift policy intended to support the resettlement of refugee newcomers.

A holistic framework makes it possible to establish a broadly cohesive yet particularly flexible lens through which to assess the collective impact of system components in supporting refugee resettlement. The system theory of change demonstrates that outcomes of each ecological level are interdependent (Schensul, 2009), which should be recognized by macro players as they create evaluation guidelines and build evaluation capacity to reflect this complexity. For example, national-level funders of resettlement support, such as IRCC in Canada, can apply the Life Beyond Refuge theory of change to guide and resource evaluations that collectively assesses outcomes at various levels (individual, community, macro). Such a common evaluation framework can help civil society to broadly gauge its performance nationally, regionally, and locally. Granted, there are limits to the macro-level utility that this system theory of change offers. We are not suggesting that it form the basis of a monolithic evaluation strategy that is standardized; rather, it can serve as a general framework for organizing and reporting on evaluative evidence. It can also guide system players in further examining and improving their practice in a targeted way, ultimately enhancing outcomes for refugee newcomers (Ahad et al., 2020; Beiser, 1999).

Community-Level System Actors

At the community level, the system theory of change can be applied to the evaluative practices of local service provider organizations and networks. In response to the sporadic and piecemeal approach that tends to characterize current evaluation practice in the refugee-serving sector (Ahad et al., 2020), the Life Beyond Refuge framework can act as a compass for planning and conducting multi-faceted assessments within local communities. Specifically, this system theory of change provides a useful menu of outcome options to guide community-based evaluation of individual programs, as well as inform

the development of organization-specific or community-wide theories of change (Janzen et al., 2016). The Life Beyond Refuge framework provides structure by identifying outcomes common across the sector while simultaneously being adaptable to the unique circumstances of each local organization and initiative.

Including time periods and ecological levels as components of the framework also serves to influence evaluative practice. The time periods within the process of change highlight the similarities and differences that exist between refugees, other newcomers, and all residents of Canada, making it possible to align activities with target outcomes for a particular group or groups. By recognizing the three ecological levels that can impact refugee newcomers' experiences of resettlement and the interconnection of these levels, the system theory of change also invites local players to consider the extent of their activities' impact beyond their primary level of focus (Schensul, 2009). Since the majority of programs and practices tend to focus on addressing individual-level outcomes for refugee newcomers (IRCC, 2016b), the framework provides the opportunity to evaluate the broader scope of impact by incorporating and synthesizing community- or macro-level outcomes as well. In this way, the creation of real-time evidence makes it possible for local organizations and networks to view their role and location within the broader community context, responding to uncertainty in adaptive and innovative ways and identifying new opportunities to support refugee newcomers' journeys beyond refuge (Janzen et al., 2012b; Suárez-Herrera et al., 2009). Similarly, creating more accurate evidence facilitates utilization of this evidence to adjust or improve the practices and programs of those supporting refugee newcomers.

Indeed, we have already witnessed the utility of this system theory of change in informing community-level evaluative practice. Participants of the aforementioned Evaluating Refugee Programs national capacity-building workshops drew on this system theory of change as a menu of options when developing their own localized theories of change in their community-based programs. Participants were able to consider what methodologies would be best to answer the questions they had about their particular theory of change, even while embedding their evaluation within the broader system theory of change. Similarly, we are using this system theory of change to inform the building of an evaluation framework for the private sponsorship of refugees in Canada, and as a reference within an evaluation toolkit for the Global Refugee Sponsorship Initiative (see CCBR, 2022a; 2022b). All three projects mentioned above were funded by IRCC and demonstrate how the system theory of change can be helpful in designing community-based evaluations and in linking these particular evaluations to the broader resettlement ecosystem.

Interaction of Macro- and Community-Level System Actors

When evaluating refugee-serving programs, there is often the perception of competing agendas between a community-based approach driven by the organization and a standardized assessment process mandated by funders. Community-based organizations face pressure to demonstrate evidence of success according to top-down, funder-driven measures that may be incongruous with their bottom-up, particular theory of change (Arvidson & Lyon, 2014; Liket et al., 2014). Evaluation evidence generated in these conditions runs the risk of lacking util-

ity (Liket et al., 2014) and limiting the genuine assessment of collective impact across the refugee-serving sector. It is not surprising, then, that there is general agreement among practitioners (Sherrell, 2017) and federal policy-makers alike (Donaldson, 2017) about the pressing need for a system-wide, coordinated approach to evaluation.

The system theory of change offers a common framework that can act as a shared foundation for linking the macro and community approaches to evaluation. While the challenges of imposing policy-level evaluation frameworks across community-based settings have long been documented (Sehl, 2004), the Life Beyond Refuge theory of change provides a common language to describe outcomes for refugee newcomers and a shared starting point for conceptualizing integrated policy and programming responses. Instead of continual attempts to fit the square peg of local activities into the round hole of funders' requirements, funders and civil society can work together to successfully implement their respective theories of change. Cross-sectoral collaboration in developing, implementing, and using evaluations shares responsibility for evaluation processes and outcomes, relieving funders of primary responsibility and empowering civil society to produce useful, verifiable evidence that can be used to improve practices and programs at the community level (Janzen et al., 2021b). Such collaboration will require stakeholders to agree upon common core elements of a system-wide evaluation framework while also allowing flexibility for unique community-based elements (consult Janzen et al., 2006, for an example outside of the resettlement field).

Adopting such a system-wide community-based approach to evaluation requires community-based organizations to possess a shared understanding of their common system theory of change and the capacity to conduct effective evaluations (Janzen et al., 2016). Recognizing the need for evaluation capacity building among community-based organizations in Canada (Lasby, 2019, 2018), a multi-pronged strategy and corresponding resources have already been developed to provide expert guidance and enhance collective evaluation knowledge and skills across the refugee-serving sector (for examples, see http://www.eval4refugee.ca and http://www.evaluationcapacitynetwork.com). By building capacity for evaluation and adopting a shared approach to assessing and synthesizing theories of change at both the policy and practice levels through the Life Beyond Refuge theory of change, transformative cross-sectoral change becomes attainable.

The system theory of change can further be applied to research by operationalizing well-known theories of refugee integration. For instance, Ager and Strang's (2008) Domains of Integration framework identifies and describes the key contributors to successful integration for refugees. According to their framework, rights and citizenship, safety and stability, language and cultural knowledge, and social connections are critical to refugees' integration experiences, as well as for attaining employment, education, and health standards (referred to as "Markers and Means" in the framework). Given its expansive scope and inclusion of multiple domains that contribute to the integration experience, this framework has been widely applied to examining integration primarily from a policy lens (Phillimore, 2012; Puma et al., 2018) and in relation to programs and practices implemented at the community level (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Yohani et al., 2019). Ager and Strang's framework, however, offers less insight on how to achieve

these domains of integration, leaving the application of their framework open to interpretation. Mapping the outcomes of the Life Beyond Refuge theory of change onto the Domains of Integration framework attaches outcomes to Ager and Strang's corresponding domains, creating a more comprehensive understanding of integration in theory. The system theory of change can be applied to other theories of refugee integration as well, including the recently developed multidimensional integration model that focuses on the role and impact of receiving societies upon integration outcomes for refugee newcomers (Phillimore, 2021). In this way, the system theory of change is adaptable and can be applied to relevant theoretical frameworks as they emerge or evolve.

Implications for Further Research

The process of developing the Life Beyond Refuge system theory of change identified gaps in the literature's current knowledge of outcomes for refugee newcomers and in current evaluation methodology. We address both of these gaps in turn below.

Gaps in Literature on Outcomes

The literature review revealed that documented outcomes to date primarily relate to the individual level of support for refugee newcomers (Agrawal & Zeitouny, 2017; CCR, 2011; Marks, 2014; Puma et al., 2018) with fewer articles describing community- and macro-level outcomes. This disproportionately overemphasizes some outcome domains and minimizes others. With little evidence of welcoming community attitudes and practices, for instance, or of systemic and societal influences, it is difficult to integrate these dimensions into local theories of change or resettlement assessments. Similarly, at the individual level, outcome evidence to date tends to be concentrated within specific time periods in the process of change. The literature review revealed that the bulk of studies at the individual level describe settlement outcomes that apply to all newcomers (AAISA, 2017; English et al., 2017; Kwon & Lee, 2018; Wilkinson et al., 2017). By contrast, fewer evaluations have examined the unique resettlement experiences of refugee newcomers, and even less pertain to refugee claimants. This gap produces an incomplete picture of outcomes related to the vulnerability in the refugee experience. Perhaps more importantly, it suggests a limitation in understanding how refugee newcomers can best be supported through that vulnerability in their new home country.

Clearly, more evidence is needed to fill the existing gaps in outcomes evidence. Informal groups, organizations, and networks across civil society can conduct more evaluations of underrepresented aspects of the system theory of change (i.e., claims process, resettlement outcomes, community-/macro-level outcomes) and share more widely existing evaluations that can contribute to knowledge of these aspects. Generating and mobilizing evaluation findings where currently few exist is essential to expanding understanding of effective refugee newcomer support for both policy and practice. With more evidence comes a greater depth and breadth of common outcomes and a clearer picture of the current state of supports offered to refugee newcomers (Ahad et al., 2020). In particular, studies that draw on socio-ecological models (Bronfenbrenner, 1977), that consider the multiple ecological layers of resettlement, would be of particular relevance. In sum, the literature review and system theory of change illustrate where more evaluative evidence is needed and how it can be applied to system-level improvements.

Gaps in Evaluation Methodology

From a methodological perspective, there is also a gap in understanding of current approaches to evaluating refugee supports. The literature review indicated that evaluation methods of policy, programs, and practices differ across the sector according to the unique circumstances of each study. To date, no comprehensive inventory exists to identify the various assessment strategies used in the refugee-serving sector, which limits knowledge and implementation of best practices and prevents improvements and coordination of evaluation efforts. Further investigation of both quantitative and qualitative assessment strategies is necessary to understand how evidence is gathered, which then can be shared broadly with relevant stakeholders. Compiling and sharing data-gathering methods used in evaluations of refugee-serving supports will boost collective awareness and understanding of evaluation in the sector and improve future evaluation processes and outcomes as a result. Finally, a limitation of this system theory of change is that it is primarily based on Canadian literature. Future studies could expand on or adapt this theory of change through an examination of evaluations from other countries.

CONCLUSION

This article is timely given that Canada's recently released annual targets predict refugee arrivals increasing from 43,000 in 2018 to 61,000 by 2023 (IRCC, 2017b; 2020b). These numbers signal a strategic federal policy shift towards sustained growth across all immigration classes, including refugees. As the number of refugee newcomers welcomed to Canada increases, policy, programs, and practices across the refugee-serving sector will have to expand proportional to the increasing need. In these circumstances, it becomes especially important to establish common outcomes and a guiding theory of change at the policy level, which can then be applied to practice among local organizations and networks at the community level. The Life Beyond Refuge system theory of change presented in this article provides both. With Canada as the world leader in refugee resettlement on a per capita basis (Hyndman et al., 2017), other nations are looking to its resettlement model (Levitz, 2016), even as global refugee flows are expected to increase due to climate change (Epule et al., 2015; Brown, 2008). In other words, this system theory of change has the potential to both inform Canada's internal policy and practice and allow Canada to play a global leadership role in assessing refugee outcomes. If Canada becomes a leader not only in accepting refugee newcomers within its borders but also in its coordinated approach to evaluating resettlement initiatives, it can drive a global shift towards enhanced outcomes for refugee newcomers in all nations of their resettlement and, in turn, support their progress beyond refugeeness towards integration and well-being.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Rich Janzen is Executive Director at the Centre for Community Based Research, and Adjunct Associate Professor at Renison University College at the University of Waterloo. He can be reached at rich@communitybasedresearch.ca.

Mischa Taylor is a Research Coordinator at the University of Alberta. She can be reached at mischa@ualberta.ca.

Rebecca Gokiert, PhD, RPsych is a Professor in the School of Public Health and the Director of the Evaluation Capacity Network at the University of Alberta. She can be reached at rgokiert@ualberta.ca.

FUNDING

This work was supported by Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) under its Service Delivery Improvements program.

ORCID

Rich Janzen https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0505-6057

Mischa Taylor https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5983-477X

Rebecca Gokiert https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7472-9545

REFERENCES

Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding integration: A conceptual framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *21*(2), 166–191. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016

Agrawal, S., & Zeitouny, S. (2017, October). *Settlement experience of Syrian refugees in Alberta*. Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. https://cms.eas.ualberta.ca/UrbanEnvOb/wp-content/uploads/sites/21/2017/11/Syrian-Refugees-final-report

Ahad, A., Le Coz, C., & Beirens, H. (2020). *Using evidence to improve refugee resettlement: A monitoring and evaluation road map*. Migration Policy Institute Europe. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/MPIE_Resettlement-MonitoringEval-Final.pdf

Alberta Association of Immigrant Serving Agencies (AAISA). (2017). *Alberta Syrian refugee resettlement experience study*. https://aaisa.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Alberta-Syrian-Refugee-Resettlement-Study_Final.pdf

Arvidson, M., & Lyon, F. (2014). Social impact measurement and non-profit organisations: Compliance, resistance, and promotion. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, *25*, 869–886. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-013-9373-6

Atwell, R., Gifford, S. M., & McDonald-Wilmsen, B. (2009). Resettled refugee families and their children's futures: Coherence, hope and support. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, *40*(5), 677–697. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41604320

Balaghi, D. A., Westdal, J. N., & Rispoli, K. (2017). Social context during resettlement and its influence on Arab refugee youth's well-being. *School Psychology Forum: Research in Practice*, *11*(4), 145–159. https://psycnet.apa.org/record/2017-55457-005

Beaman, L. A. (2012). Social networks and the dynamics of labour market outcomes: Evidence from refugees resettled in the U.S. *The Review of Economic Studies*, *79*(1), 128–161. https://doi.org/10.1093/restud/rdr017

Beiser, M. (1999). *Strangers at the gate: The "boat people's" first ten years in Canada*. University of Toronto Press. https://utorontopress.com/9780802081179/strangers-at-the-gate/

Benseman, J. (2014). Adult refugee learners with limited literacy: Needs and effective responses. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, *30*(1), 93–103. https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.38606

Bevelander, P., & Pendakur, R. (2014). The labour market integration of refugee and family reunion immigrants: A comparison of outcomes in Canada and Sweden. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *40*(5), 689–709. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.849569

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist*, *32*(7), 513–531. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.32.7.513

Broughton, S., & Shields, J. (2020). *Resilience and the immigrant settlement sector: A consideration of the place of accountability and performance measurement*. York University. https://bmrc-irmu.info.yorku.ca/files/2020/04/April-2020-Shields-Full-Report-FINAL.pdf?x82641

Brown, O. (2008, February 15). *Migration and climate change (IOM Migration Research Series No. 31)*. International Organization for Migration. https://www.iom.int/news/iom-migration-research-series-no-31-migration-and-climate-change

Caidi, N., & Allard, D. (2005). Social inclusion of newcomers to Canada: An information problem? *Library & Information Science Research*, *27*(3), 302–324. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lisr.2005.04.003

Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR). (1996, April). *An uncertain welcome: Refugees at Canada's visa posts*. http://ccrweb.ca/en/uncertain-welcome-refugees-canadas-visa-posts

Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR). (2009, April). *Brief history of Canada's responses to refugees*. https://ccrweb.ca/en/brief-history-canadas-responses-refugees

Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR). (2011, December 23). *Refugee integration: Key concerns and areas for further research*. http://ccrweb.ca/files/refugee-integration-research-report.pdf

Canadian Index for Measuring Integration (CIMI). (2017, May). *Methodology overview*. https://www.integrationindex.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/CIMI-Methodology-Overview.pdf

Canadian Index of Wellbeing (CIW). (2016). *How are Canadians really doing? The 2016 CIW national report*. CIW & University of Waterloo. https://uwaterloo.ca/canadian-index-wellbeing/sites/ca.canadian-index-wellbeing/files/uploads/files/c011676-nationalreport-ciw_final-s_0.pdf

Centre for Community Based Research (CCBR). (2022a). *Global refugee sponsorship evaluation toolkit*. https://projects.communitybasedresearch.ca/projects/8958_refugee-evaluation-toolkit/

Centre for Community Based Research (CCBR). (2022b). *Private refugee sponsorship evaluation framework*. https://projects.communitybasedresearch.ca/projects/8960_refugee-private-sponsorship-evaluation-framework/

Cheyne-Hazineh, L. (2020). Creating new possibilities: Service provider perspectives on the settlement and integration of Syrian refugee youth in a Canadian community. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *52*(2), 115–137. https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2020.0008

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). (2011, March). *Evaluation of Government Assisted Refugees (GAR) and Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP)*. https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/pdf/pub/gar-rap.pdf

Diener, B., & Thibedeau, J. (2019, October 31). Measuring outcomes of newcomers, settlement services and of LIP and RIF activities. *Pathways to Prosperity 2019 National Conference*. http://p2pcanada.ca/wp-content/blogs.dir/1/files/2019/12/2019W-Th11-All.pdf

Donaldson, T. (2017, November 17). Let's talk about outcomes: Our approach to settlement and integration. *Pathways to Prosperity 2017 National Conference*. http://p2pcanada.ca/wp-content/blogs.dir/1/files/2017/11/Session-2_Tracey-Donaldson-ENGLISH.pdf

Dorman, K., Bozinoff, N., Vanessa Redditt, Kim, E., Glazier, R. H., & Rashid, M. (2017). Health status of North Korean refugees in Toronto: A community based participatory research study. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, *19*, 15–23. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-015-0307-9

Dumann, N., & Tissot, F. (2020). *Evaluation of the German community-based sponsorship programme "NesT-New Start in a Team."* . Federal Office for Migration and Refugees. https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/ProjekteReportagen/EN/Forschung/Migration/evaluation-resettlement-programm-nest.html;jsessionid=EDCB7D3B63E111DCF0972427176BDCC6.intranet252?nn=403976

Dunn, T. J., Browne, A., Haworth, S., Wurie, F., & Campos-Matos, I. (2021). Service evaluation of the English refugee health information system: Considerations and recommendations for effective resettlement. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *18*(19), 10331–10331. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph181910331

El-Assal, K. (2015). *Why does Canada accept refugees*. Conference Board of Canada.

English, K., Ochocka, J., & Janzen, R. (2017). *Exploring the pathways to social isolation: A community-based study with Syrian refugee parents and older adults in Waterloo region*. Centre for Community-Based Research.

Epule, T. E., Peng, C., & Lepage, L. (2015). Environmental refugees in sub-Saharan Africa: a review of perspectives on the trends, causes, challenges and way forward. *GeoJournal*, *80*(1), 79–92. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-014-9528-z

Esses, V. M., Hamilton, L. K., Bennett-AbuAyyash, C., & Burnstein, M. (2010, March). *Characteristics of a welcoming community*. Pathway to Prosperity: Canada. http://p2pcanada.ca/library/characteristics-of-a-welcoming-community-report/

Fang, T., Sapeha, H., & Neil, K. (2018). Integration and retention of refugees in smaller communities. *International Migration*, *56*(6), 83–99. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12517

Fantino, A. M., & Colak, A. (2001). Refugee children in Canada: Searching for identity. *Child Welfare League of America*, *80*(5), 587–596. https://doi.org/http://www.jstor.org/stable/45400291

Foster-Fishman, P., & Long, R. (2009). The challenges of place, capacity, and systems change: The story of yes we can! *The Foundation Review*, *1*(1), 69–84. https://doi.org/10.4087/FOUNDATIONREVIEW-D-09-00005

Foster-Fishman, P. G., & Behrens, T. R. (2007). Systems change reborn: Rethinking our theories, methods, and efforts in human services reform and community-based change. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *39*(3-4), 191–196. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-007-9104-5

Funnell, S., & Rogers, P. (2011). *Purposeful program theory: Effective use of theories of change and logic models*. John Wiley & Sons.

Godin, K., English, K., Ochocka, J., & Janzen, R. (2017). *Understanding the experiences of Syrian refugee youth: A community-based research study examining the barriers and successes faced by Syrian refugee youth in Ontario*. Centre for Community Based Research. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/317007788_Understanding_the_experiences_of_Syrian_refugee_youth_A_community-based_study_examining_the_barrier_and_successes_faced_by_Syrian_refugee_youth_in_Ontario

Gokiert, R. J., Daniels, J., Rezvani, S., & Janzen, R. (2022). *Practice what you teach: Lessons in community-based evaluation capacity building* [Manuscript in preparation].

Gouin, R. (2016, May). *Facilitating the integration of newcomer children and youth: Study on the integration of newly-arrived Syrian refugees*. Submission to Senate Standing Committee on Human Rights. https://sencanada.ca/content/sen/committee/421/RIDR/Briefs/BoysandGirlsClub_e.pdf

Hanley, J., Mhamied, A. A., Cleveland, J., Hajjar, O., Hassan, G., Ives, N., Khyar, R., & Hynie, M. (2018). The social networks, social support and social capital of Syrian refugees privately sponsored to settle in Montreal: Indications for employment and housing during their early experiences of integration. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *50*(2), 123–148. https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2018.0018

Hansen, L., Maidment, L., & Ahmad, R. (2016). Early observations on the health of Syrian refugees in Canada. *Canada Communicable Disease Report*, *42*(S2), S8–S10. https://doi.org/10.14745/ccdr.v42is2a03

Hendriks, M., & Bartram, D. (2018). Bringing happiness into the study of migration and its consequences: What, why, and how? *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, *17*(3), 279–298. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2018.1458169

Hinger, S., Schäfer, P., & Pott, A. (2016). The local production of asylum. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *29*(4), 440–463. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/few029

Hyman, I., & Guruge, S. (2002). A review of theory and health promotion strategies for new immigrant. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, *93*, 183–187. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03404997

Hyndman, J. (2011, May 2). *Research summary on resettled refugee integration in Canada*. Centre for Refugee Studies, York University. https://www.unhcr.ca/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/RPT-2011-02-resettled-refugee-e.pdf

Hyndman, J., Payne, W., & Jimenez, S. (2017). Private refugee sponsorship in Canada. *Forced Migration Review*, *54*, 56–59. https://doi.org/https://www.fmreview.org/resettlement/hyndman-payne-jimenez

Im, H. (2018). Constructing health capital in ecological systems: A qualitative evaluation of community-based health workshops in the refugee community. *Health & Social Care in the Community*, *26*(4), e541–e551. https://doi.org/10.1111/hsc.12568

Im, H., & Rosenberg, R. (2016). Building social capital through a peer-led community health workshop: A pilot with the Bhutanese refugee community. *Journal of Community Health*, *41*, 509–517. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10900-015-0124-z

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2016a, July). *Evaluation of the Resettlement Programs (GAR, PSR, BVOR and RAP)*. Government of Canada. https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/pdf/pub/resettlement.pdf

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2016b, December 21). *Rapid impact evaluation of the Syrian refugee initiative*. Government of Canada. https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/reports-statistics/evaluations/rapid-impact-evaluation-syrian-refugee-initiative.html

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2017a). *How Canada's refugee system works*. Government of Canada. http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/canada.asp

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2017b, November 1). *Notice-Supplementary information 2018-2020 immigration levels plan*. Government of Canada. https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/news/notices/supplementary-immigration-levels-2018.html

Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2019a). *Annual report to Parliament on immigration 2018*. Government

of Canada. https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/annual-report-parliament-immigration-2018/report.html

Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2019b). *Facts and figures 2017: Immigration overview-Permanent residents*. Government of Canada. https://open.canada.ca/data/en/dataset/082f05ba-e333-4132-ba42-72828d95200b

Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2019c). *Settlement logic model*. Government of Canada. https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/partners-service-providers/funding/resources/settlement-logic-model.html

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2019d, June). *Syrian outcomes report*. Government of Canada. https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/documents/pdf/english/corporate/reports-statistics/evaluations/syria-outcomes-report-may-2019.pdf

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2020a). *CIMM-Settlement program and resettlement assistance program. Government of Canada*. Government of Canada. https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/transparency/committees/march-12-2020/settlement-program-and-resettlement-assistance-program.html

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2020b). *Notice—Supplementary information for the 2021–2023 immigration levels plan*. Government of Canada. https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/news/notices/supplementary-immigration-levels-2021-2023.html

Jackson, S., & Bauder, H. (2014). Neither temporary, nor permanent: The precarious employment experiences of refugee claimants in Canada. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *27*(3), 360–381. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fet048

Janzen, R., Bandabla, S., Yang, L., Jun, S., Taylor, M., & Notwell, J. (2020a). *Annotated bibliography: Evaluating refugee programs*. Centre for Community Based Research. https://www.eval4refugee.ca/bibliography

Janzen, R., Chapman, M. D., & Watson, J. W. (2012a). Integrating immigrants into the life of Canadian urban Christian congregations: Findings from a national survey. *Review of Religious Research*, *53*(4), 441–470. https://doi.org/http://www.jstor.org/stable/41940752

Janzen, R., Enns, T., Yang, L., Jun, S., Taylor, M., Ochocka, J., Notwell, J., Rezvani, S., & Vandenberg, R. (2020b). *Outcome inventory: Evaluating refugee programs*. Centre for Community-Based Research. https://www.eval4refugee.ca/outcome-inventory

Janzen, R., Leis, K. E., & Ochocka, J. (2021a). The impact of Syrian refugee arrivals on local systems of support in Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *22*, 1221–1242. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-020-00792-z

Janzen, R., Nelson, G., Hausfather, N., & Ochocka, J. (2007). Capturing system level activities and impacts of consumer-run organizations: Methods that inform future action. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *39*, 287–299. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-007-9107-2

Janzen, R., Nelson, G., Trainor, J., & Ochocka, J. (2006). A Longitudinal study of mental health consumer/survivor initiatives: Part IV—Benefits beyond the self? A quantitative and qualitative study of system-level activities and impacts. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *34*(3), 285–303. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20100

Janzen, R., Ochocka, J., Kurfurst, D., Biles, J., Sherrell, K., Sinclair, V., & Hamilton, L. (2021b). Competing agendas?: Bridging funder and organization expectations in evaluation [Webinar]. https://www.eval4refugee.ca/webinars

Janzen, R., Ochocka, J., & Stobbe, A. (2016). Towards a theory of change for community-based research projects. *Engaged Scholar Journal: Community-Engaged Research, Teaching, and Learning*, *2*(2), 44–64. https://doi.org/10.15402/esj.v2i2.165

Janzen, R., Seskar-Hencic, D., Dildar, Y., & Mcfadden, P. (2012b). Using evaluation to shape and direct comprehensive community initiatives: Evaluation, reflective practice, and interventions dealing with complexity. *Canadian Journal of Program Evaluation*, *25*(2), 61–88. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/289603701_Using_evaluation_to_shape_and_direct_comprehensive_community_initiatives_Evaluation_reflective_practice_and_interventions_dealing_with_complexity

Jedwab, J., & Soroka, S. (2014). *Indexing integration: A review of national and international models*. Canadian Institute for Identities and Migration. https://www.integrationindex.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Indexing-Integration.pdf

Kelly, J. G., Ryan, A. M., Altman, B. E., & Stelzner, S. P. (2000). Understanding and changing social systems: An ecological view. In J. Rappaport, & E. Seidman (Eds.), *Handbook for community psychology* (pp. 133–159). Springer US. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4615-4193-6_7

Kwon, Y. J., & Lee, K. (2018). Group child-centered play therapy for school-aged North Korean refugee children. *International Journal of Play Therapy*, *27*(4), 256–271. https://doi.org/10.1037/pla0000077

Kyriakides, C., Bajjali, L., Mcluhan, A., & Anderson, K. (2018). Beyond refuge: Contested orientalism and persons of self-rescue. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *50*(2), 59–78. https://doi.org/https://doi-org/10.1177/0011392120946387

Lasby, D. (2018). *The state of evaluation: Measurement and evaluation practices in Ontario's non-profit sector*. Ontario Nonprofit Network. https://theonn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/State-of-Evauation-October-2018.pdf

Lasby, D. (2019, March). *The state of evaluation: Measurement and evaluation practices in Canada's charitable sector*. https://www.imaginecanada.ca/en/research/state-of-evaluation

Levitz, S. (2016, March 21). Canada's refugee effort hailed as model for world by head of UN agency. *CBC News*. https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/un-refugee-private-government-sponsor-1.3501400

Liket, K. C., Rey-Garcia, M., & Maas, K. E. H. (2014). Why aren't evaluations working and what to do about it: A framework for negotiating meaningful evaluation in nonprofits. *American Journal of Evaluation*, *35*(2), 171–188. https://doi.org/10.1177/1098214013517736

Marks, J. A. (2014). *Rural refugee resettlement: Secondary migration and community integration in Fort Morgan, Colorado*. (New Issues in Refugee Research, Research Paper No. 269). Policy Development and Evaluation Service, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee. http://www.unhcr.org/afr/5326c7cd9.pdf

Mitra, R., & Hodes, M. (2019). Prevention of psychological distress and promotion of resilience amongst unaccompanied refugee minors in resettlement countries. *Child: Care, Health and Development*, *45*(2), 198–215. http://www.unhcr.org/afr/5326c7cd9.pdf

Morantz, G., Rousseau, C., Banerji, A., Martin, C., & Heymann, J. (2013). Resettlement challenges faced by refugee claimant families in Montreal: Lack of access to child care. *Child & Family Social Work*, *18*(3), 318–328. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2206.2012.00848.x

Mulvey, G. (2015). Refugee integration policy: The effects of UK policy-making on refugees in Scotland. *Journal of Social Policy*, *44*(2), 357–375. https://doi.org/10.1017/S004727941500001X

Murray, K. E., Davidson, G. R., & Schweitzer, R. D. (2010). Review of refugee mental health interventions following resettlement: Best practices and recommendations. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *80*(4), 576–585. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-0025.2010.01062.x

Nakeyar, C., Esses, V., & Reid, G. J. (2018). The psychosocial needs of refugee children and youth and best practices for filling these needs: A systematic review. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, *23*(2), 186–208. https://doi.org/10.1177/1359104517742188

Panter-Brick, C., Dajani, R., Eggerman, M., Hermosilla, S., Sancilio, A., & Ager, A. (2018). Insecurity, distress and mental health: Experimental and randomized controlled trials of a psychosocial intervention for youth affected by the Syrian crisis. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, *59*(5), 523–541. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.12832

Phillimore, J. (2012). Implementing integration in the UK: Lessons for integration theory, policy and practice. *Policy & Politics*, *40*(4), 525–545. https://doi.org/10.1332/030557312X643795

Phillimore, J. (2021). Refugee-integration-opportunity structures: Shifting the focus from refugees to context. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *34*(2), 1946–1966. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feaa012

Plasterer, R. (2011). Investigating integration: The geographies of the WUSC student refugee program at the University of British Columbia. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, *27*(1), 59–74. https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.34349

Puma, J. E., Lichtenstein, G., & Stein, P. (2018). The RISE survey: Developing and implementing a valid and reliable quantitative measure of refugee integration in the United States. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *31*(4), 605–625. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fex047

Ravanera, Z. R., Esses, V., & Fernando, R. (2013). Integration and "welcome-ability" indexes: Measures of community capacity to integrate immigrants. *Population Change and Lifecourse Strategic Knowledge Cluster Discussion Paper Series*, *1*(1), Article 6–Article 6. https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/pclc/vol1/iss1/6

Rioseco, P., De Maio, J., & Hoang, C. (2017). The building a new life in Australia (BNLA) dataset: A longitudinal study of humanitarian migrants in Australia. *Australian Economic Review*, *50*(3), 356–362. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8462.12234

Rose, D. (2019). *Creating a home in Canada: Refugee housing challenges and potential policy solutions*. Migration Policy Institute. http://espace.inrs.ca/id/eprint/9472

Schensul, J. J. (2009). Community, culture and sustainability in multilevel dynamic systems intervention science. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *43*(3-4), 241–256. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-009-9228-x

Scotti, M. (2017, June 10). Is Canada's reputation as a safe haven for refugee's deserved? *Global News*. https://globalnews.ca/news/3502905/is-canadas-reputation-as-a-safe-haven-for-refugees-deserved

Sehl, M. (2004). Stakeholder involvement in government-funded outcome evaluation: Lessons from the front line. *Canadian Journal of Program Evaluation*, *19*(2), 37–56. https://www.evaluationcanada.ca/secure/19-2-037.pdf

Sherrell, K. (2017, November 17). On our way to determining settlement outcomes … or bust [Conference Session Video]. In and others (Ed.), *Pathways to Prosperity 2017 National Conference*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=30GRv4S38QI&feature=youtu.be

Shields, J., Drolet, J., & Valenzuela, K. (2016). *Immigrant settlement and integration services and the role of non-profit providers: A cross-national perspective on trends, issues and evidence*. (RCIS Working Paper No. 2016/1). Ryerson Centre for Immigration & Settlement. https://doi.org/10.32920/ryerson.14652747.v1

Silove, D. (2013). The ADAPT model: A conceptual framework for mental health and psychosocial programming in post conflict settings. *Psychosocial Work & Counselling in Areas of Armed Conflict*, *11*(3), 237–248. https://doi.org/10.1017/S2045796016000925

Simich, L., Beiser, M., Stewart, M., & Mwakarimba, E. (2005). Providing social support for immigrants and refugees in Canada: Challenges and directions. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, *7*, 259–268. https://doi.org/ttps://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-005-5123-1

Sirin, S., Plass, J. L., Homer, B. D., Vatanartiran, S., & Tsai, T. (2018). Digital game-based education for Syrian refugee children: Project hope. *Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies: An International Interdisciplinary Journal for Research, Policy and Care*, *13*(1), 7–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/17450128.2017.1412551

Steimel, S. (2017). Neegotiating refugee empowerment(s) in resettlement organizations. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, *15*(1), 90–107. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2016.1180470

Stewart, M., Simich, L., Shizha, E., Makumbe, K., & Makwarimba, E. (2012). Supporting African refugees in Canada: Insights from a support intervention. *Health & Social Care in the Community*, *20*(5), 516–527. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2524.2012.01069.x

Suárez-Herrera, J. C., Springett, J., & Kagan, C. (2009). Critical connections between participatory evaluation, organizational learning and intentional change in pluralistic organizations. *Evaluation*, *15*(3), 321–342. https://doi.org/10.1177/1356389009105884

Thomson, D. (2010). Exploring the role of funders' performance reporting mandates in nonprofit performance measurement. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *39*(4), 611–629. https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764009360575

Trickett, E. J. (2009). Multiple-level community-based culturally situated interventions and community impact: An ecological perspective. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *43*(3-4), 257–266. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-009-9227-y

United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). (2017, April 24). *Canada's 2016 record high level of resettlement praised by UNHCR* [Press Release]. https://www.unhcr.org/news/press/2017/4/58fe15464/canadas-2016-record-high-level-resettlement-praised-unhcr.html

Veronis, L., Tabler, Z., & Ahmed, R. (2018). Syrian refugee youth use social media: Building transcultural spaced and connections for resettlement in Ottawa, Canada. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *50*(2), 79–99. https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2018.0016

Wilkinson, L., & Garcea, J. (2017). *The economic integration of refugees in Canada: A mixed record?* Migration Policy Institute. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/TCM-Asylum_Canada-FINAL.pdf

Wilkinson, L., Garcea, J., Bhattacharyya, P., Abdul-Karim, A. B., & Riziki, A. (2017, June 27). Resettling in the Canadian prairies: A survey of Syrian refugees in Canada. http://umanitoba.ca/faculties/arts/media/revised_Oct19_FINAL_REPORT_JUNE_27.pdf

Woodgate, R. L., Busolo, D. S., Crockett, M., Dean, R. A., Amaladas, M. R., & Plourde, P. J. (2017). A qualitative study on African immigrant and refugee families' experiences of accessing primary health care services in Manitoba, Canada: It's not easy! *International Journal for Equity in Health*, *16*(5), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-016-0510-x

Yohani, S., Kirova, A., Georgis, R., Gokiert, R. J., Mejia, T., & Chiu, Y. (2019). Cultural brokering with Syrian refugee families with young children: An exploration of challenges and best practices in psychosocial adaptation. *Journal of International*

Migration and Integration, *20*, 1181–1202. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-019-00651-6

Yu, S., Ouellet, E., & Warmington, A. (2007). Refugee integration in Canada: A survey of empirical evidence and existing services. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, *24*(2), 17–34. https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.21381

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés
2022, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1–21
https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.40935

The Mental Health of Male Sexual Minority Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Nairobi, Kenya: A Qualitative Assessment

Lourence Misedah-Robinson[a], Vanessa Schick[a], Michael W. Ross[b] and Solomon Wambua[c]

ABSTRACT

Very little information exists about the experiences of asylum seekers and refugees who are men who have sex with men (MSM). Therefore, this study explores the psychological distress of MSM asylum seekers and refugees in the Nairobi metropolitan area. We collected data using in-depth interviews transcribed verbatim, coded using NVivo 12 Plus, and analyzed using the six-step thematic analysis framework. Four major themes emerged from the study: psychological distress, traumatic stress symptoms, mental health care access, and coping strategies. Although we did not use any diagnoses, the results indicate that MSM asylum seekers and refugees share mental health problems with other refugees. However, MSM have specific needs that derive from their persecution based on their sexual minority status. The results confirm extant findings, as seen in the discussion, and encourage more research. Further research will inform collaborative, culturally sensitive, and targeted interventions that decrease adverse mental health outcomes for MSM asylum seekers and refugees in the Nairobi metropolitan area.

KEYWORDS

MSM asylum seekers; MSM refugees; mental health

RESUMÉ

Peu d'informations existent sur le vécu des demandeurs d'asile et réfugiés qui sont des hommes ayant des relations sexuelles avec des hommes (HARSAH). Par conséquent, cette étude explore la détresse psychologique des demandeurs d'asile et réfugiés HARSAH dans la région métropolitaine de Nairobi. Nous avons procédé à la collecte de données en effectuant des entretiens approfondis dont les verbatims retranscrits ont été codés à l'aide de NVivo Plus 12, puis analysés suivant une analyse thématique en six étapes. Quatre thèmes principaux émergent de cette étude: la détresse psychologique, les symptômes de stress post-traumatique, l'accès aux services de santé mentale et les stratégies d'adaptation. Bien que nous n'ayons utilisé aucun diagnostic, les résultats indiquent que les demandeurs d'asile et réfugiés HARSAH partagent des problèmes de santé mentale

CONTACT

[a] **(Corresponding author)** lourence.misedah@uth.tmc.edu

School of Public Health, The University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston, Houston, TX, U.S.

[a] Vanessa.Schick@uth.tmc.edu

School of Public Health, The University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston, Houston, TX, U.S.

[b] mwross@umn.edu

Medical School, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, U.S.

[c] solomonwambuad@gmail.com

Key Population Consortium of Kenya [KP Consortium]

avec d'autres réfugiés. Les HARSAH ont cependant des besoins spécifiques qui découlent de leur persécution sur la base de leur appartenance à une minorité sexuelle. Ces résultats confirment ceux des travaux existants, comme le démontre la discussion, et appellent à davantage de recherches. Des recherches plus approfondies contribueront à l'élaboration d'interventions collaboratives, culturellement adaptées et ciblées afin de réduire les effets néfastes sur la santé mentale des demandeurs d'asile et réfugiés HARSAH dans la région métropolitaine de Nairobi.

HISTORY Published 25 October 2022

INTRODUCTION

Sexual and gender minorities (SGM), including men who have sex with men (MSM), are at a higher risk of psychological distress than their cisgender heterosexual counterparts (Semlyen et al., 2016). Some studies have also linked sexual minority–based persecution with a heightened vulnerability to depression, anxiety, and suicide compared with the general population (Shidlo & Ahola, 2013). The minority stress model is a tool that has long been used for understanding stress in stigmatized and disadvantaged groups (Meyer, 2003). According to the model, certain environmental circumstances or sexual minority status can result in various stress processes. Such processes—for example, the expectation of rejection—can result in self-hate and fear of identity disclosure, thus heightening stress and adverse health outcomes (Meyer, 1995).

There is little research on the mental health of MSM within East Africa. However, evidence indicates that MSM status intensifies stress, trauma, and mental health sequelae due to discrimination, violence, and abuse. For example, a third of the MSM in a study in Coastal Kenya met the criteria for depressive disorder, with 42% reporting moderate to severe depressive symptoms (Secor et al., 2015). The distress rates of MSM were thus significantly higher than the estimated 4% among the general Kenyan population (Ferrari et al., 2013).

Globally, many people flee their countries of origin or residence because of persecution, war, and conflict. Consequently, many experience traumatic events and stressors throughout their migration life course that may increase psychological distress (Henrickson et al., 2013). Ample evidence supports the association between fleeing persecution and adverse mental health outcomes, such as depression and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Porter & Haslam, 2005). Numerous studies also suggest that pre-immigration traumatic experiences and post-immigration stressors contribute to the adverse mental health of refugees (Steel et al., 2017).

Because of discrimination, physical abuse, and injuries, many MSM flee their home countries, even crossing multiple borders to seek protection from sexual orientation–based persecution (Nilsson et al., 2020). Unfortunately, the vast majority of persecuted MSM lack resources to travel to countries with sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI)–based protections (such as South Africa), and they flee to Kenya instead (Johnson, 2014). However, sections 162 and 165 of Kenya's Penal Code outlaw same-sex acts. The violations can carry sentences of up to 14 years in prison "for having carnal knowledge … against the order of

nature" (Laws Of Kenya, 2014; Meyer, 2003). Although the laws are rarely implemented, they are used to justify various human rights abuses of SGM, such as housing and employment discrimination, violence, police harassment, and extortion (International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex Association (ILGA), 2017; Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2011; Misedah et al., 2021b).

MSM asylum seekers and non-MSM refugees may experience traumatic events that cause them to flee. However, there are important differences in their experiences. For example, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) collaborates with various service providers to increase refugees' and asylum seekers' access to reproductive health, HIV, and mental health services. Nevertheless, MSM asylum seekers and refugees are still most likely to experience further persecution because of societal, legal, cultural, and religious norms and practices that outlaw same-sex practices (Misedah et al., 2021b; Ross et al., 2021). The UNHCR acknowledges these disparities and has released various guidelines on working with claims based on SOGI in 2008 and 2012, followed by a more comprehensive report in 2015 (UNHCR, 2012; 2008; 2015). Despite these guidelines, MSM and other SGM continue to face persecution. In addition, unlike other refugees who may benefit from support from refugee communities, MSM asylum seekers and refugees are often alienated and physically abused by other refugees and community members where they live. For example, in 2016, other refugees attacked SGM asylum seekers and refugees at the Kakuma camp. As a result, the UNHCR relocated SGM refugees to Nairobi (Bhalla, 2019). Experiences of discrimination can lead to distrust and fear of disclosing same-sex behavior. Consequently, providers can overlook SGM refugees' and asylum seekers' specific needs and exacerbate their psychological distress (Bhugra et al., 2011).

Some studies have found an association between adverse mental health outcomes among general refugees in Kenya. For example, a study of Somali refugees in Kenya found a high prevalence of comorbid common mental disorders (Antebi-Gruszka & Schrimshaw, 2018; Im et al., 2022). However, the specific case of MSM asylum seekers' and refugees' migration experiences and the associated psychological distress have rarely been studied. This study's aim was to explore MSM asylum seekers' and refugees' mental health in the Nairobi metropolitan area to address this gap. Increased understanding of the mental health needs of MSM asylum seekers and refugees is critical to develop targeted interventions, policies, and programs to improve their health.

METHODS

Study Design and Setting

This study is a qualitative analysis of a more comprehensive project exploring MSM refugees' and asylum seekers' experiences in the Nairobi metropolitan area. The Nairobi metropolitan area includes the cities of Nairobi, Kiambu, Kikuyu, and Kajiado. The analysis focuses specifically on asylum seekers' and refugees' psychological distress. The study adapted the life story interview (LSI), a semi-structured interview guide with various prompts to explore and collect data on individuals' past and present lives (McAdams, 2007). In addition, we conducted stakeholder mapping to ensure community involvement and the project's success (Newcombe, 2003). We brainstormed to identify stakeholders and local partners, including refugee service providers and SGM-led refugee community-based organizations.

We then mapped, grouped, and prioritized them to identify those with interest and the likelihood of contributing to the project's success. As a result of these efforts, we collaborated with Community Support Initiatives for Refugees, the Refugee Organization for Security and Cooperation in East Africa, the Nature Network, and the Community Empowerment and Self Support Organization to conduct the study. The study lasted for two weeks in the first quarter of 2020. Aspects of this research have also been reported elsewhere (Misedah et al., 2021a,b).

Participants

The participants were MSM asylum seekers and refugees. To participate, they had to be (a) a refugee or asylum seeker, (b) 18 years of age or older, (c) a cisgender male, (d) gay, bisexual, or other MSM, (e) able to communicate in English or Swahili, and (f) a resident of the Nairobi metropolitan area. Participants also had to provide oral consent. The interviewer collected oral consent with Qualtrics using a laptop. In the study, **MSM** referred to men assigned males at birth who engaged in sexual activities with other males regardless of their identity. This included sexual minority men who were gay or bisexual men, men who have sex with men and women (MSMW), and non-gay-identified MSM. We only included cisgender males in the study because research and policies highlight that aggregating transgender and gender non-conforming individuals with cis men or women erases and ignores their specific health needs, further increasing health disparities (Minor Peters, 2016; Poteat et al., 2016). As per the 1951; 2003 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, we defined **refugees** as people who had fled their country because of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a social group, or political opinion. **SGM** are recognized as members of a social group based on the 1981 ruling of the Dutch Judicial Department of the Council of State (Jansen, 2013). **Asylum seekers** included those seeking their right to protection in the host country (Kenya) but still awaiting a decision on their protection claims.

Sampling Design

We used purposive sampling to select participants (Tongco, 2007). Purposive sampling is widely used in qualitative studies and is appropriate for hard-to-reach populations, including SGM refugees and asylum seekers (Alessi, 2016; Alessi et al., 2017; Etikan et al., 2016). We estimated our final sample size of 19 respondents based on saturation. The study team debriefed and conducted a preliminary analysis focusing on duration of stay in Nairobi and registration as refugees. Nine participants had received their refugee status in the last year. Therefore, we agreed that there would be no major differences and that no new information was emerging. Thus, we ceased gathering new information from the participants (Suen et al., 2014). We therefore did not make further recruitment attempts.

Data Collection

The identified community-based organization partners sent out emails or text messages to advertise the study. The study coordinator followed up by contacting those interested. Next, the study team screened the participants for eligibility. They also collected other demographic data—for example, native language, nationality, and education—using Qualtrics. Next, the principal investigator (PI) used an interview guide to administer one-time anonymous in-depth face-to-face interviews. Participants were encouraged to

share their narratives with the interviewer by asking follow-up questions and probes. The interviews averaged 80 minutes (range: 32.32–115.20 minutes). Each interview was audio-recorded using two recorders, one as a backup to prevent data loss. Seventeen of the interviews were in English, and two were in Swahili. All interviews were conducted at the participant's residence or a private location to ensure each participant's security and comfort. Each participant received 1,000 Kenyan shillings (Kshs) (US$8.74) for each visit recommended by the community partners. Participants reported that they previously received a stipend of 6,000 Kshs (US$52.63) a month from the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) refugee trust of Kenya. This was consistent with other researchers' findings that almost half of refugees earned below 10,000 Kshs (US$87.31) compared with the 2015 national average by Kenyans, estimated at 30,861 Kshs (US$262.69) by the government of Kenya (Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK), 2015; Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), 2015; Meyer, 2003).

Initial transcription was done with NVivo transcription software. However, substantive transcription errors occurred due to dialect differences and certain regional words. Therefore, the PI and an independent consultant transcribed the remaining interviews verbatim to Microsoft Word. The consultant was a community member with current knowledge of the local vocabulary and helped translate the transcripts from Swahili to English. All transcripts were then checked and anonymized where participants had shared any identifying information to protect participants' privacy. Because the study was anonymous, participants were not contacted for a follow-up interview to review and give feedback on the research findings. However, the researchers shared feedback and findings with the community partners.

Data Analysis

We uploaded the transcripts to NVivo 12 Plus for analysis. The analysis was inductive and guided by the study aim based on Braun and Clarke's six-step thematic analysis framework to identify key codes and themes from the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), 2015; Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK), 2015). NVivo assisted the researchers in efficiently coding, sorting, and merging the data and offered easy cross-referencing for clarity. The PI conducted the coding using the following steps:

1. **Familiarization :** The PI read and reread the transcripts and listened to the audio files to understand the data.

2. **Coding:** Each file was reviewed in detail, highlighting key ideas, phrases, and words grouped into initial codes. Quotes were then added to existing codes, or new codes were created. Finally, the transcripts were cross-referenced with the interview audio files to clarify and identify codes and assumptions that were not evident. The PI also used NVivo's query function to search for common recurring words that had emerged during initial coding.

3. **Generation of initial themes:** The codes were assessed to identify patterns and then grouped and sorted into common themes.

4. **Reviewing of themes:** The initial themes were reviewed. Then, similar themes were merged into subthemes, and minor themes were collapsed where necessary.

5. **Defining and naming themes :** The themes were manually downloaded to

a Microsoft Excel sheet. The codebook identified the codes and themes and the descriptions for each theme. It also described when to use them and when not to use them.

6. **Write- up:** The codebook was then used to contextualize and write the analysis.

The thematic analysis provided a flexible approach that ensured a rich, detailed account of the participants' experiences. The method also allowed a well-structured system to summarize and prioritize the final data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Credibility is critical in qualitative studies to demonstrate the truth of the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998). We used various methods to ensure the credibility and trustworthiness of the data. We pilot-tested the interview guide and revised it to ensure it was clear, relevant, and easy to understand. We also used member checks, which are used in qualitative studies to get feedback from participants to ensure that data are accurate and reflective of the participants' narratives. In addition, we used triangulation of sources to cross-check the data, including written documents, meeting minutes, field notes, and literature review (Cope, 2014).

Furthermore, the PI was a doctor of public health candidate majoring in community health, an MSM of Kenyan descent, and fluent in English and Swahili. This enabled him to conduct the interviews in both languages. He also had a shared experience of fleeing SOGI-based persecution and extensive training in working with diverse communities. As a result, participants trusted the interviewer and shared their stories. The interviewer only asked the participants follow-up questions as needed. The connection with the community could have created researcher bias. However, the research team and community members, having diverse backgrounds and knowledge in qualitative methods, as well as having worked with marginalized and hard-to-reach communities that include MSM within the East and Horn of Africa, extensively discussed the data. Their reviews helped to minimize research bias, thus enhancing the trustworthiness and credibility of the analysis. The data publication followed the "Consolidated Criteria for Reporting Qualitative Research" (Tong et al., 2007).

Ethical Considerations

This study was approved by the University of Texas School of Public Health Institutional Review Board (IRB Number: HSC-SPH-19-1090). The larger study was approved by the University of Minnesota Institutional Review Board (IRB Number: 00000-8209). Although the study was anonymous, the researchers reviewed the transcripts to redact any participants' identifiable information.

RESULTS

Demographic Characteristics

The participants consisted of refugees (n = 18, 95%) and one asylum seeker (n = 1, 5%). The mean age for the participants was 26.21, with the largest group aged 18–24 (9, 47%), followed by the 25–34-year (7, 37%) and 35–44-year (3, 16%) age groups. Participants were Ugandan (15, 79%), Sudanese (2, 11%), Somalian (1, 5%) and Congolese (1, 5%). The mean duration of stay in Kenya was 3.63 years, with the majority (13, 68%) having stayed in Kenya for over four years (see **Table 1**).

The themes and subthemes from the analysis are organized into three broad categories and subcategories, summarized in **Table 2**.

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Description	n	%
Age		
18–24	9	47
25–34	7	37
35–44	3	16
Country of origin		
Democratic Republic of the Congo	1	5
Somalia	1	5
Sudan	2	11
Uganda	15	79
Status		
Asylum seeker	1	5
Refugee	18	95
Duration in Kenya (years)		
1	6	32
4	4	21
5+	9	47
Education		
Primary or lower	4	21
High school	9	48
College (middle-level)	5	26
University	1	5

Table 2
Themes and Subthemes

No.	Theme	Subthemes
1	Psychological distress	Asylum-seeking/refugee registration process Separation from loved ones Physical health
2	Traumatic stress symptoms	Worthlessness Sleeplessness Suicidal ideation Flashbacks
3	Mental health care access	No subthemes
4	Coping strategies	Avoidance Substance use Religion Psychotherapy

Psychological Distress

Participants mainly described traumatic exposures, including the asylum-seeking and/or refugee registration process, separation from loved ones, and physical health as significant stressors in Kenya.

Asylum-Seeking/Refugee Registration Process

All participants described asylum seeking, refugee registration, and resettlement as highly stressful. As per the 2006 Refugee Act of Kenya, the Refugee Affairs Secretariat (RAS) is responsible for registering and processing refugees. Therefore, all persons seeking asylum in Kenya must submit their asylum applications to the RAS. They must then attend an interview to determine if they have a well-founded fear of persecution based on the categories provided by the 1951 UN Refugee Convention. The RAS officers make a recommendation to the refugee affairs commissioner, who decides and sends an acceptance or rejection letter. Participants described various challenges upon reaching Nairobi that increased their anxiety and distress. For example, some had to walk about eight miles from the UNHCR offices in Westlands to the RAS Shauri Moyo[1] for registration. Often with no shelter, most were left to camp outside the UNHCR offices, as participant 13 (24 years old) described:

> First, my process, my process gives me a lot of stress. Cause I did eligibility at UNHCR. The next time they were to call me, they never called. I am the one who went there. Uh, I wish I could show you some pictures of where we slept outside the UN. Outside there, like chokoras,[2] you know? We went there and spent about three weeks. So, you are like, now, where should I go? Where should I find the government? They are telling you to go to Shauri Moyo. Going to Shauri Moyo, they cannot allow you to even step at that door when you do not have an appointment.

Although the UNHCR has tried to expedite claims, it only does so for the most vulnerable, leaving others with a long resettlement process. In addition, the UN General Assembly Resolutions Statute mandates the UNHCR to assist refugees' resettlement[3] to third countries (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2011). Resettlement is essential for MSM asylum seekers and refugees because some countries they seek protection in criminalize same-sex practices, making it challenging to integrate. The long wait times, therefore, frustrated some MSM:

> I think stress has come because of the delay in the process because I always called the toll-free line. But they [UNHCR] keep telling us that we must be patient. Wait for your case at the UNHCR. You go for the interviews. You sit for the interviews. Years pass, and they do not even call you for resettlement interviews. They keep telling you about the same thing for so many years. The same thing because you have been around for so many years, you just get fed up. It gives you stress, which is mental stress.
>
> *(Participant 4, 26 years old)*

While the participants' descriptions may be like those of other refugees, many expressed specific instances of ostracism and discrimination because of their sexual orientation. For example, one participant described his experience while at the Refugee Registration Offices in Shauri Moyo:

> Reaching Shauri Moyo, those people who work for the Kenyan government, when they hear about Ugandans, they know [assume] that we are all gay. I was just by myself, so when they said I was Ugandan, they wanted to know the other people I went with, but I refused to tell them. So, they told me I should leave the compound or else go back to my country. I had to sleep again outside in a place I didn't know.

[1] Shauri Moyo is a neighborhood in East Nairobi City where the RAS is located.

[2] Chokora is a Kenyan slang word derived from Swahili. It is used to refer particularly to children experiencing homelessness.

[3] Resettlement is the process in which the UNHCR relocates refugees to a third country when it is the most appropriate and durable solution.

> I slept outside, I waited for the next day, and then I went. But they were asking me why I brought my curses to their country.
>
> *(Participant 10, 23 years old)*

Separation from Loved Ones

Separation from loved ones and the associated loneliness and isolation are common to refugees in general. However, MSM did not have support from their families, who were most often the perpetrators of the abuse that they fled from. As a result, they continued to experience isolation and persecution and were left with little or no support. For example, one participant described his experience when he reached out to his father:

> Since the day they [my family] realized I am gay, they disowned me. Even my dad, to see, to call me, nothing. I was really suffering, and I called my dad and told him, dad, I am dying. He told me that I [he] was there, I would have helped you to die.
>
> *(Participant 7, 22 years old)*

Another participant described the fear of leaving his partner when relocated:

> My processes are almost in the last stages. I was even given a flight date … but the biggest challenge now is my boyfriend. I feel so sorry for him. His case was brought here in Nairobi in October, and it has been so bad for us. I contacted UNHCR and told them to put us on the same file. I even changed and said I would wait for him. They said they couldn't add our files together. They also told me they didn't know how long his case will take and so I should leave my case as it is. So right now, I might leave him behind, and it's really stressing me. But I pray for him and will continue to support him if I reach there [country of resettlement].
>
> *(Participant 9, 36 years old)*

Physical Health

Past traumatic events subjected some participants to multiple stressors while in Kenya. For example, one participant described how his past gang rape led to his AIDS diagnosis after prolonged periods without care.[4] The participant constantly worried about others finding out about his AIDS status, leading to distress and worry about his health:

> I went to HOYMAS,[5] and they took my blood, so they told me you have HIV. … My health is so bad because they checked my CD4 count …, and they told me it is 150. I have this stress because sometimes I can sit there and cry because I know I am taking medicine every time. So, I just sit there and cry. That is a big problem for me. Sometimes I say I am not going to have a future. Maybe I will die. So, I am just like thinking. Sometimes I get malaria. I say, oh my God! I am going to die like that. So that is the stress I have.
>
> *(Participant 11, 26 years old)*

Traumatic Stress Symptoms

We did not seek whether interviewees had received any diagnoses. Nevertheless, participants described various symptoms that indicate traumatic stress resulting from their histories of persecution and lack of needed mental health care.

Worthlessness

Participants reported feeling worthless or hopeless because of their past persecution experiences and rejection by their family and other community members. Some, therefore, felt guilty and responsible for their current plight as asylum seekers or refugees. Participant 6 (41 years old) described his frustration with being unable to provide for himself and others:

> When I go back to my room, I sometimes blame myself for being the way I am. I think back in my fam-

[4] Even though the participant had started treatment, he reported that his CD4 cell count was still below 200 cells per millimetre.

[5] Health Options for Young Men on HIV/AIDS/STI (HOYMAS) is a male sex worker led Community Based Organization whose aim is to promote health and human rights of MSM sex workers, particularly those living with HIV.

> ily. I mean, I could be someone. Also, I look at myself like I am useless to the community. First, I am not sick. I should be a productive person. But from sunrise to sunset, I am in my room doing nothing, not earning anything, not being productive. I am looking at myself like I am useless.

Those with children were overwhelmed with their inability to provide for themselves and their children, who were also persecuted. A 35-year-old participant from Uganda (participant 2) described the discrimination his children underwent and his guilt for his inability to provide for them:

> I also feel guilty because even the mother ostracized the kids because I broke the relationship. Even she started dating someone else and started a new life. So, the kids were left alone. Kids were now sent to grandmother, to my mum. Personally, it is psychologically affecting me. I did not even know the word deadbeat dad until I realized many Americans [use the word], you know. I am not into the kids' lives. I am never there. The worry is money, like where they need school fees. They tell me they want 90,000 Kenyan shillings. A refugee without a job, where am I going to get 90,000, honestly?

The stories highlight how rejection and discrimination of MSM asylum seekers and refugees may intensify their feelings of guilt and worthlessness. In addition, those with families and children had heightened guilt and self-hate and felt personally responsible for the persecution of their loved ones.

Suicidal Ideation

Some participants who experienced traumatic events and feared facing further violence and discrimination reported having suicidal thoughts or harming themselves to escape their emotional distress. For example, a 21-year-old participant (participant 8) described trying to commit suicide on multiple occasions while experiencing rape for about a year when he was between 14 and 15 years old:

> I tried many ways to kill myself, but I failed. Then, one day, I managed to go out of the camp. Because they had told them, anyone who saw me trying to escape this camp could, they should shoot him immediately. So, I said let me run, and they shoot me, and I die at once. It was also a way to be killed because I was tired of my life. I was tired of living like this with these people raping me, beating me, and making me feel hungry for three days.

For other participants, dealing with unknown health issues contributed to further stress, increasing suicidal ideation. For example, another participant expressed the difficulty and stress he experienced before being diagnosed with Hepatitis B. As a result, he was unable to self-diagnose and get adequate treatment. He thus thought his sickness was a punishment for being gay. Therefore, he contemplated suicide to escape the internal conflict between his health, sexuality, and spirituality:

> There was so much going through my mind. You feel the only way you can rest this problem is probably … death starts becoming an option. When you die, you are no more; you have peace. So that is the kind of experience I went through. Death became a wonderful option! When you start thinking through these things, you wonder, are you alone, or is something beyond human explanation eating you? Something that surpasses human understanding. So that was a difficult situation.
>
> *(Participant 2, 35 years old)*

The participant experiences highlighted are not unusual and underscore how multiple intersecting social-political factors like culture and religion can contribute to MSM refugees' and asylum seekers' vulnerability to internalizing homophobia, which consequently affects their health and well-being. Furthermore, continued sexual violence while fleeing persecution and in the host country, without adequate access to treatment or needed services, led to continued untreated trauma, thus increasing some participants' suicidality.

Sleeplessness

Most participants experienced homelessness while fleeing persecution and after arrival in Kenya. Therefore, they had a high risk of harassment and feared for their safety. However, even those in safe houses that provided shelter experienced issues such as lack of privacy and anxiety over past traumatic experiences. One participant described the following:

> My life has not been that easy. It is hard for me to sleep. I do rarely sleep. The beatings that I went through, the sufferings and pain when they keep coming into my mind, I fail to sleep. I must be awake the whole night. This tortures me a lot because I also want to sleep and have enough rest, but I cannot. I know this affects my mind or thinking of my past or future, but I do not know what to do. Those behind all those things in the camp, things when I was in South Sudan, things when I was in Uganda, things on the way, they are terrible!
>
> *(Participant 12, 22 years old)*

Most participants struggled to meet their basic needs, for example, rent and food. Worries about this contributed to their sleeplessness:

> Even sleeplessness. You think about what has happened up to now. You think about what happened. Yeah. Sometimes, it reaches a time when you do not have the money to pay the rent; heh, you cannot sleep.
>
> *(Participant 1, 26 years old)*

Participants' descriptions highlight related issues that affected their sleep. Thus, they needed multiple approaches to address the various underlying factors to improve sleep quality and quality of life.

Flashbacks

Participants had flashbacks of their past traumatic experiences during their migration. For some, their living environments triggered involuntarily reliving their near-death experiences, resulting in constant worry and sleeplessness:

> These are the things whereby I never get enough sleep. And in that not getting enough sleep, I usually get flashbacks. So, I was getting flashbacks of what happened. Those are the things whereby I am ever thinking and thinking and thinking. So, it is hard for me to be like I am not thinking about this.
>
> *(Participant 5, 26 years old)*

Another participant described the psychological distress and social anxiety caused by reliving the murder of his partner:

> Also, um, why did I see my boyfriend being killed [by my uncle] and seeing his body lying there. And this being raped. I also have this, in French, they call it trouble. Like I can be with you now as we are talking. Then, like I see my uncle shooting my boyfriend, you do not know if what you see is true, and what has happened?
>
> *(Participant 8, 21 years old)*

Although not all memories of past trauma are flashbacks, participants described how some events adversely affected their health. The stories underscore the need for a professional evaluation to ascertain the etiology of the flashbacks for adequate care and treatment.

Mental Health Care Access

Adequately addressing mental health problems requires sufficient resources to effectively address individual mental health needs. In addition, because participants had unique needs, there was an even higher demand for effective and culturally sensitive services accessible to participants. For example, most participants described one organization that provides mental health services for refugees in Kenya as their point of mental health care:

> There is a clinic or an organization for the refugees. … The organization deals with refugees' mental traumatization, where they sit them down with the counselors. They talk them through their situations, what they went back through at home in Uganda, what they are going through [now] to see how they can overcome [it].
>
> *(Participant 4, 26 years old)*

Nonetheless, participants described that the services were inadequate and not widely available. For example, one participant described the challenges he and others in his shelter faced when one of their members exhibited symptoms of psychosis. However, the mode of communication and the typical response from organizations was prolonged and problematic, especially when participants needed emergency assistance, as participant 16 (24 years old) shared:

> And then another problem is health. We recently had a friend of ours who ran mad, and then we contacted UNHCR, but they did not offer any help. We contacted HIAS[6] and did not get any help. After some … fighting and writing and writing, one of them came out after a long time because we told them this person was sick. They need to go to the hospital.

Despite the general awareness about mental illness among general refugee populations, participants' stories highlight the service gap and other challenges in accessing mental health services. Furthermore, while some of the safe houses utilized forms of social support that were helpful to the participants, they were not equipped to provide mental health care to their members. In emergency cases, the care gap could result in more anxiety and stress for an already vulnerable group and, additionally, significantly affect participants' quality of life.

Coping Strategies

In response to the experiences and difficulties of persecution, the participants described various coping mechanisms, such as affirmative church support through safe houses, art, and psychotherapy. Others included avoidance and substance use.

Avoidance

Some participants developed avoidance as a coping strategy to deal with stressors. For instance, participant 8 (21 years old) described how not thinking about the past traumatic experiences as an escape from the past trauma affected his physical and emotional well-being:

> I could not share my story or the story of my life with anyone. I did not want those things to come back to my mind. Yeah, I started a good life. I started making friends and laughing. I just wanted something to make me forget what I had faced.

For some, it was uncomfortable to relive certain experiences during the interview. However, out of concern for their well-being, participants were reminded to share whatever they were comfortable sharing:

> Some things happened that I cannot even mention. I do not feel like saying now. When they keep coming to my mind, I sometimes feel like I am losing my mind. I do not. I feel like they really take me down—okay—I just want to forget.
>
> *(Participant 12, 22 years old)*

Participants' denial or minimization of persecution led to various coping mechanisms to decrease their stressors. Some, therefore, had untreated trauma that could continue to adversely affect their health and well-being.

[6]HIAS is global Jewish nonprofit organization that provides humanitarian aid to refugees and asylum seekers. Its African office is based in Nairobi, Kenya.

Substance Use

Some participants used drugs and alcohol to cope with daily stressors. For example, one participant expressed how the pressure of being a community leader resulted in him using marijuana to calm his social anxiety:

> Sometimes your friends tell you to go to Kakuma [refugee camp, to get assistance] where the sunshine is like God is chasing the sun from heaven, you know! So that is why we smoke. Like me, I will not lie, sometimes I take weed, but not because I like it, but sometimes I see it as the only thing which can make me peace[ful]. Because, as a leader. I cannot cry and make promises [to] them [other refugees and asylum seekers]. So, I must hide somewhere. I do my thing; I smoke, and I feel okay. I get guts. I be hard.
>
> *(Participant 13, 24 years old)*

Although some participants described alcohol and drug use as a coping mechanism, one participant notably showed resilience abstaining from using drugs and alcohol:

> Most of the time, people, my friends, have tried to drink. They have tried to cope [by] drinking. I love having fun, but I am like, I will not use drugs. I'm not going to let this situation define me. I am a way much better person.
>
> *(Participant 17, 24 years old)*

Some participants also used opioids, particularly for pain management, because of sustained injuries from past persecution experiences. For example, participant 12 (22 years old) talked about how his head injuries had resulted in pain killer dependency:

> Should I say I am addicted to painkillers, because that is a must I have to take every night to rest. When it comes to my head, my skull and this fracture prompt me to take painkillers to kill the pain. I buy painkillers just at a shop, but it is a clinic at that main as you come to that place of ours. I just mentioned painkillers, and they give me painkillers.

Participants' stories highlight self-medication using drugs and/or alcohol to deal with anxiety, stress, and other mental health symptoms. Participants also described how opioid use for pain management could lead to addiction and overdose if repeated over long periods.

Religion

Although participants described religious norms, practices, and attitudes as significant sources of persecution, some highlighted how religious practices, such as prayer, were critical for dealing with past trauma and coping with stress. For example, one participant shared how his self-care included prayers and forgiving his persecutors as an essential step in his recovery:

> So, for me, the people that I do love, God was the first person whereby he is the person who did guide me to run away from there then up to here in Kenya. He was the first person and the friend who received me here in Kenya. So, as God is the first, I tend to go through prayers most of the time. So that may be like, I can forgive. And then I bring people back to me.
>
> *(Participant 5, 26 years old)*

Participants talked about the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) in Nairobi. The church provided an affirming, safe space where all SGM felt welcome and connected to other community members. One participant expressed how he had previously disconnected from religion because of his negative experiences with homophobia and how MCC assisted him in reconnecting to his faith:

> The gay church is in town [Nairobi, Central Business District]. It happens every Sunday from 2:00 to 6:00 p.m. So, yeah. It is an open church because the pastor is gay. And then the other ministers are also gay. Also, all the congregation, I guess so. So, it is like, you go there, and you feel accepted because growing up,

> some issues made me leave the church. So, I feel like a point where I am at good peace with religion.
>
> *(Participant 17, 24 years old)*

Despite most participants' negative experiences with religion and the trauma caused by religious-based persecution, they described religion as a source of motivation in dealing with and healing from past traumatic events throughout their immigration life course, including forgiving persecutors (e.g., family members). Participants also emphasized the importance of affirming and accepting religious organizations in helping them reconnect with their religion. Additionally, some participants described how prayer and sharing with others provided the support they needed to deal with daily stressors, leading to more positive spiritual experiences, self-awareness, and confidence, with no significant differences for those identified as Christian or Muslim.

Psychotherapy

Culturally sensitive services that considered various intersectional factors were limited for participants. Nevertheless, some were able to get psychotherapy from a local refugee service organization:

> I want to be far from Nairobi because it is not very far from home. At any time, anything can happen. So that is just stressing me out. So, I have been attending psychotherapy sessions. … At least they are helping me slowly by slowly.
>
> *(Participant 10, 23 years old)*

Another participant also expressed how the sessions helped him overcome some of his stressors over time:

> I have been attending the [therapy] sessions to overcome what I went through in life to be calm and forget about what I went through and start [afresh]. [The sessions] which help through talking are not a one-day thing. It took several months, but I am done.
>
> *(Participant 4, 26 years old)*

Most participants lived in safe houses and shelters run by refugee organizations or as part of a group of refugees who communally contributed to the shelter's upkeep. Participant 16 (24 years old) expressed how the safe house provided social support through various activities and support systems that helped him cope with his experiences:

> But I thank God now I have people around me to talk to, you know, have psychosocial support sessions, where we come, and share stories. These experiences help us, you know, relieve our minds. Yeah.

Participants' descriptions underscore the importance of therapy and social support. Because of the unique challenges participants faced, ever-changing policies, and persecution in Kenya, the participants required culturally sensitive services that provided targeted and flexible psychological support.

DISCUSSION

This analysis has aimed to contribute to an enhanced understanding of the mental health needs of MSM asylum seekers and refugees. The results provide a link to previous work identifying the complex interplay of continued persecution exacerbated by experiencing multiple layers of discrimination due to sexual identity by numerous actors: family, government, international organizations, police, religions, health care providers, gangs, non-gay refugees, and neighbours (Misedah, 2021; Misedah et al., 2021b). In our findings, we identified similarities to other refugees' experiences—for example, distress caused by the asylum and refugee application processes (Sinnerbrink et al., 1997; Li et al., 2016). However, MSM, particularly those who were Ugandan, faced specific multi-layered challenges. They were mostly assumed to be gay and thus faced further challenges that significantly contributed to their adverse mental health.

Psychological Distress

Consistent with previous research, we found multi-layered factors contributing to stress among MSM refugees and asylum seekers living in the Nairobi metropolitan area. All participants experienced financial stress and described difficulties in meeting their basic needs (e.g., food and shelter) while in Kenya. Additionally, post-migration challenges, such as the stressful asylum application process and inadequate access to health care, can lead to increased mental health distress. Other challenges, including language barriers, unstable housing, and discrimination, can further increase pressure and stress (Nicol et al., 2014).

Asylum and Refugee Application Process

All participants described the refugee application process as one of their major stressors. After travelling by bus for roughly 14 hours and facing language barriers because they could not speak Swahili, they stated that they had to navigate an unclear system in unknown territories. Some studies have linked language barriers to increased distress for refugees (Hynie, 2018). Additionally, Kenya's penal code still criminalizes same-sex behavior (Laws Of Kenya, 2014, s. 162(a), (c)), leaving MSM asylum seekers and refugees prone to negative attitudes, norms, and cultural practices that further disenfranchise them. For example, participants said some local officers ostracized and verbally abused and shamed MSM asylum seekers and refugees for being gay. Prolonged psychological distress increases the risk of other adverse health outcomes, such as coronary heart disease (Cohen et al., 2007). Although numerous studies have found MSM to have higher depression rates than their heterosexual counterparts (Ulanja et al., 2019; Mulqueeny et al., 2021), limited research about the experiences of MSM refugees and asylum seekers with depression is available. Nevertheless, consistent with other emerging research, our study indicates the need to understand further specific mental health disparities among MSM refugees and asylum seekers in Kenya.

Additionally, while resettlement is one durable solution most MSM hope for, unlike refugee status, resettlement is not considered a right (UNHCR, 2011). Processing times depend on various factors for host country policies. Policies may limit the number of refugees accepted each year. The time to vet and relocate refugees after their resettlement case submission may take two years or longer (National Immigration Forum, 2020). In our study, most refugees had been in Kenya for over four years, highlighting the long wait times before relocation. Therefore, MSM asylum seekers and refugees continue to experience prolonged persecution, increasing exposure to trauma and distress (Bentley & Dolezal, 2019). Other studies have also identified long wait times and complicated resettlement processes as significant stressors for refugees (Leiler et al., 2019; Silove et al., 1997; Steel et al., 2011).

Separation from Loved Ones

Evidence suggests that rejection negatively affects the mental health of MSM (Jones et al., 2010). The situation may worsen for MSM asylum seekers and refugees who continue to be rejected and isolated in their host countries by other refugees or the communities they live in (Pincock, 2020; Zomorodi, 2016) . For example, although family members caused most participants' early persecution experiences in our study, separation from oved ones caused anxiety and stress. Other studies have also reported that worrying about loved ones, including fam-

ily or friends, is a significant stressor for refugees (Miller et al., 2018).

Most researchers have also focused on the MSM participants, not their partners or children, and how their separation affects their lives. Nevertheless, studies indicate that many MSM also have sex with women. In addition, some marry because of cultural and family pressure (Onyango-Ouma et al., 2005; Smith et al., 2015; Tamale, 2014). Furthermore, those with (MSM) partners encountered a flawed system that did not process their paperwork together. Therefore, some participants had increased anxiety and stress because of the loneliness caused by the separation. Additionally, some participants lost their families, witnessed loved ones' deaths, or narrowly escaped death themselves. While not participants in our study, the burning of two MSM at Kakuma refugee camp in April 2021, which resulted in second-degree burns, and the subsequent death of one of the refugees a few months later highlight the constant trauma that MSM asylum seekers and refugees continue to go through in Kenya (Lavers, 2021).

Traumatic Stress Symptoms

We did not conduct any formal psychological assessments or diagnoses. However, some participants reported experiencing psychological distress, for example, depression. Our data suggest that the refugee application process and economic factors, such as unemployment and sexual violence, were significant stressors for MSM asylum seekers and refugees. Our data also indicate that many MSM asylum seekers and refugees suffer from untreated cumulative lifetime trauma that started in their teenage years and persisted after arrival in Nairobi (unpublished data). In addition, even though we did not formally assess PTSD, some participants, particularly those who had experienced sexual violence, described signs of PTSD as per the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5) criteria for PTSD (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). The criteria include (a) stressors, (b) intrusion of symptoms, (c) avoidance, (d) negative alterations in mood, (e) alterations in arousal and reactivity, (f) duration, (g) functional significance, and (h) exclusion. All study participants experienced heightened stress, resulting in more psychiatric symptoms. Previous studies have linked such experiences to ongoing trauma. For example, one study found that refugees resettled in Western countries were 10 times more likely to develop PTSD than their age-matched counterparts in their countries of origin (Fazel et al., 2005). An assessment of SGM asylum seekers from 29 countries (including Africa) found that 66% with sexual violence histories had more PTSD symptoms than those without sexual violence histories (Hopkinson et al., 2017).

We found many incidents of suicide attempts by participants (6/19). For some, their persecution began while in high school, exposing them to early aggression. As a result, many had adverse mental health outcomes, including depression, suicide, and self-harming behavior. In addition, because of continuous heightened multi-layered persecution, some had a high risk of adverse health outcomes while in Kenya. Our findings are consistent with those of other researchers who have reported increased suicidal ideation among SGM refugees compared with those who faced non-SOGI-based persecution (Hopkinson et al., 2017). Notably, during our data collection in Nairobi, an MSM refugee committed suicide outside the UNHCR offices in the Nairobi office (Bhalla & Goldsmith, 2020). Even though this person was not a study participant, his death highlighted the importance of our study and the need for further studies

to explore and understand MSM refugees' mental health and asylum seekers in Kenya.

Health Care Access

Other researchers have previously documented that MSM did not seek services due to fear of perceived or actual discrimination (Malebranche et al., 2004). Furthermore, although efforts are made to provide therapy for SGM refugees, some researchers have noted barriers to mental health access. These include language barriers and, in some instances, cultural norms that stigmatize emotional expressions of distress (Kahn et al., 2018). In our research, we found that participants were less likely to seek care when needed because of perceived and actual discrimination in health care settings, increasing their likelihood of poorer health outcomes than their heterosexual counterparts; this is consistent with findings from other studies (e.g., Ogden et al., 2019).

Further research is needed on MSM refugees' and asylum seekers' specific mental health challenges and their broader effects. Some researchers have found a significant association between social support and mental health outcomes for SGM (Ross et al., 2021). Notably, SGM without social support or local social networks were found to have poorer mental health outcomes than their counterparts with more social backing, thus underscoring the importance of social support in mediating mental health outcomes for SGM (Cain et al., 2017). Additionally, evidence suggests that participation in underground ball scenes in African American ballrooms and house culture provided positive affirmative spaces that helped SGM express themselves and positively impacted their lives. For example, some studies have found that ballrooms and house culture helped MSM become resilient and adhere to new therapies (Kubicek et al., 2013). Notably, our study found some forms of resiliency and meaningful support from safe houses and social support structures, as seen in some of the ball and house cultures, with some organizations modelling their shelters following house culture. However, further research is needed to explore the impact on MSM refugees' lives and well-being.

Recommendations

Our findings suggest the need for culturally sensitive and targeted services that meet the immediate needs of MSM asylum seekers and refugees. Additionally, although SGM and related refugee organizations provide some assistance to their members, they are primarily underfunded and rely on support from friends and well-wishers. Therefore, participants would likely benefit from evidence-based interventions that address MSM refugees' and asylum seekers' specific mental health needs. The UNHCR (staffed mainly by locals) and other Kenyan governmental agencies may also benefit from further diversity training, coordination, and support to ensure that MSM receive culturally sensitive services during the registration process, which the participants identified as a significant source of stress. The providers must also be aware of the diverse and individual needs of the participants to ensure they are keen on various issues—for example, language and cultural barriers that may affect their health care access. MSM are also not a homogenous group and may have varied mental health challenges. Knowledge and informed targeted services sensitive to various needs would thus be critical in decreasing mental illness symptoms while enhancing the psychological well-being of MSM asylum seekers and refugees.

LIMITATIONS

This study had some limitations. First, the participants were purposefully selected and were primarily urban Ugandan refugees attached to the partner SGM asylum seekers and refugee–led community-based organizations. Although many participants indicated having gone to Kakuma refugee camp, some differences existed between those who lived in the camps and those who lived in urban centres. For example, our study participants lived in shared shelters with access to various services from the Nairobi metropolitan area rather than living in tents. They experienced high vulnerability to physical violence from other refugees and a lack of culturally sensitive services. However, as our research was qualitative, we did not intend the results to be generalizable. Instead, the goal was to explore and yield results transferable to understanding the mental health of other MSM refugees and asylum seekers. Second, data were self-reported, and therefore recall bias may have occurred. Furthermore, since we did not conduct psychiatric evaluations, we do not know if the participants met diagnostic criteria for psychological distress, for example, anxiety, stress, or PTSD.

CONCLUSION

Limitations notwithstanding, this study is one of the first to explore the mental health of MSM asylum seekers and refugees. It therefore adds to the emerging body of evidence examining the mental health of MSM asylum seekers and refugees. Our findings provide proof of continued traumatic events and post-immigration stressors experienced across borders, leading to increased distress for MSM asylum seekers and refugees. In addition, MSM participants also had mental health symptoms.

The results have implications for informing other urgently needed research to understand the migration stressors of MSM asylum seekers and refugees in the East and Horn of Africa. In addition, further research will equip various stakeholders, including the government, service providers such as the UNHCR, and their partners, to better understand the health needs, make policy changes, and develop targeted culturally sensitive interventions to decrease psychological distress and improve MSM asylum seekers' and refugees' well-being.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Lourence Misedah-Robinson is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at The University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston School of Public Health. He can be reached at lourence.misedah@uth.tmc.edu.

Vanessa Schick, PhD, is an Associate Professor at the University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston School of Public Health. She can be reached at vanessa.schick@uth.tmc.edu.

Michael W. Ross is a Professor of Family Medicine and Community Health at the University of Minnesota. He can be reached at mwross@umn.edu.

Solomon Wambua is a National Coordinator at the Key Population Consortium of Kenya [KP Consortium]. They can be reached at solomonwambuad@gmail.com.

ORCID

Lourence Misedah-Robinson https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6528-1742

Michael W. Ross https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5718-9989

REFERENCES

American Psychiatric Association. (2013). . *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (5 ed.). American Psychiatric Association. https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.books.9780890425596

Alessi, E. J. (2016). Resilience in sexual and gender minority forced migrants: A qualitative exploration. *Traumatology*, *22*(3), 203–213. https://doi.org/10.1037/trm0000077

Alessi, E. J., Kahn, S., & Van Der Horn, R. (2017). A Qualitative Exploration of the Premigration Victimization Experiences of Sexual and Gender Minority Refugees and Asylees in the United States and Canada. *The Journal of Sex Research*, *54*(7), 936–948. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2016.1229738

Antebi-Gruszka, N., & Schrimshaw, E. W. (2018). Negative Attitudes Toward Same-Sex Behavior Inventory: An internalized homonegativity measure for research with bisexual, gay, and other non–gay-identified men who have sex with men. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *5*(2), 156–168. https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000292

Bentley, J. A., & Dolezal, M. L. (2019). Does Time in Migration Exacerbate Posttraumatic Symptoms Among Internationally Displaced East African Refugees? *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, *17*(3), 371–388. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2018.1480824

Bhalla, N. (2019, January 11). *LGBT+ refugees in Kenya accuse U.N. of failing on protection*. Reuters. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-kenya-lgbt-refugees/lgbt-refugees-in-kenya-accuse-u-n-of-failing-on-protection-shelter-idUSKCN1P51Q2

Bhalla, N., & Goldsmith, B. (2020, April 13). Investigation after gay refugee found dead at U.N. refugee office in Kenya. *Reuters*. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-kenya-lgbt-refugees-trfn/investigation-after-gay-refugee-found-dead-at-u-n-refugee-office-in-kenya-idUSKCN21V1Y9

Bhugra, D., Gupta, S., Bhui, K., Craig, T., Dogra, N., Ingleby, J. D., Kirkbride, J., Moussaoui, D., Nazroo, J., Qureshi, A., Stompe, T., & Tribe, R. (2011). WPA guidance on mental health and mental health care in migrants. *World Psychiatry*, *10*(1), 2–10. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2051-5545.2011.tb00002.x

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Cain, D. N., Mirzayi, C., Rendina, H. J., Ventuneac, A., Grov, C., & Parsons, J. T. (2017). Mediating Effects of Social Support and Internalized Homonegativity on the Association Between Population Density and Mental Health Among Gay and Bisexual Men. *LGBT Health*, *4*(5), 352–359. https://doi.org/10.1089/lgbt.2017.0002

Cohen, S., Janicki-Deverts, D., & Miller, G. E. (2007). Psychological Stress and Disease. *JAMA*, *298*(14), 1685–1687. https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.298.14.1685

Cope, D. G. (2014). Methods and Meanings: Credibility and Trustworthiness of Qualitative Research. *Oncology Nursing Forum*, *41*(1), 89–91. https://doi.org/10.1188/14.ONF.89-91

Etikan, I., Musa, S. A., & Alkassim, R. S. (2016). Comparison of Convenience Sampling and Purposive Sampling. *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics*, *5*(1), 1–4. https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ajtas.20160501.11

Fazel, M., Wheeler, J., & Danesh, J. (2005). Prevalence of serious mental disorder in 7000 refugees resettled in western countries: A systematic review. *The Lancet*, *365*(9467), 1309–1314. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(05)61027-6

Ferrari, A. J., Charlson, F. J., Norman, R. E., Patten, S. B., Freedman, G., Murray, C. J. L., Vos, T., & Whiteford, H. A. (2013). Burden of Depressive Disorders by Country, Sex, Age, and Year: Findings from the Global Burden of Disease Study 2010. *PLoS Medicine*, *10*(11), e1001547–e1001547. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1001547

Henrickson, M., Brown, D. B., Fouché, C., Poindexter, C. C., & Scott, K. (2013). 'Just Talking About It Opens Your Heart': meaning-making among Black African migrants and refugees living with HIV. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, *15*(8), 910–923. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2013.790076

Hopkinson, R. A., Keatley, E., Glaeser, E., Erickson-Schroth, L., Fattal, O., & Sullivan, M. N. (2017). Persecution Experiences and Mental Health of LGBT Asylum Seekers. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *64*(12), 1650–1666. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12888-016-0767-z

Hynie, M. (2018). The Social Determinants of Refugee Mental Health in the Post-Migration Context: A Critical Review. *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, *63*(5), 297–303. https://doi.org/10.1177/0706743717746666

Im, H., Swan, L. E., Warsame, A. H., & Isse, M. M. (2022). Risk and protective factors for comorbidity of PTSD, depression, and anxiety among Somali refugees in Kenya. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, *68*(1), 134–146. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020764020978685

International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex Association (ILGA). (2017, May). *State-sponsored homophobia. A world survey of sexual orientation laws: Criminalization, protection, and recognition* (12 ed.). https://www.refworld.org/docid/59e615f64.html

Jansen, S. (2013). Introduction: Fleeing homophobia, asylum claims related to sexual orientation, and gender identity in Europe. In T. Spijkerboer (Ed.), *Fleeing homophobia* (pp. 19–49). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203515723

Johnson, P. (2014). Making Unjust Law: The Parliament of Uganda and the Anti-Homosexuality Act 2014. *Parliamentary Affairs*, *68*(4), 709–736. https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsu021

Jones, K. T., Wilton, L., Millett, G., & Johnson, W. D. (2010). Formulating the stress and severity model of minority social stress for Black men who have sex with men. In D. H. McCree, K. T. Jones, & A. O'Leary (Eds.), *African Americans and HIV/AIDS* (pp. 223–238). Springer New York. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-78321-5_12

Kahn, S., Alessi, E. J., Kim, H., Woolner, L., & Olivieri, C. J. (2018). Facilitating Mental Health Support for LGBT Forced Migrants: A Qualitative Inquiry. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, *96*(3), 316–326. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcad.12205

Kenya Human Rights Commission. (2011). *The outlawed among us: A study of the LGBTI community's search for equality and non-discrimination in Kenya*. http://www.khrc.or.ke/mobile-publications/equality-and-anti-discrimination/70-the-outlawed-amongst-us/file.html

Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS). (2015). *Economic survey 2015*. https://www.knbs.or.ke/download/economic-survey-2015/

Kubicek, K., Mcneeley, M., Holloway, I. W., Weiss, G., & Kipke, M. D. (2013). "It's Like Our Own Little World": Resilience as a Factor in Participating in the Ballroom Community Subculture. *AIDS and Behavior*, *17*(4), 1524–1539. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10461-012-0205-2

Lavers, M. (2021, April 14). A gay man burned in a Kenya refugee camp dies. *Washington Blade*. https://www.washingtonblade.com/2021/04/14/gay-man-burned-in-kenya-refugee-camp-dies/

Laws Of Kenya. (2014). Penal Code: CAP 63. In . http://www.kenyalaw.org/lex/actview.xql?actid=CAP.%2063

Leiler, A., Bjärtå, A., Ekdahl, J., & Wasteson, E. (2019). Mental health and quality of life among asylum seekers and refugees living in refugee housing facilities in Sweden. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, *54*(5), 543–551. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00127-018-1651-6

Li, S. S. Y., Liddell, B. J., & Nickerson, A. (2016). The Relationship Between Post-Migration Stress and Psychological Disorders in Refugees and Asylum Seekers. *Current Psychiatry Reports*, *18*(9), Article 82. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11920-016-0723-0

Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Sage Publications. https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/naturalistic-inquiry/book842

Malebranche, D. J., Peterson, J. L., Fullilove, R. E., & Stackhouse, R. W. (2004). Race and sexual identity: Perceptions about

medical culture and healthcare among Black men who have sex with men. *Journal of the National Medical Association*, *96*(1), 97–107. https://doi.org/https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2594754/

McAdams, D. P. (2007). *The life story interview*. Northwestern University. https://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/sites.northwestern.edu/dist/4/3901/files/2020/11/The-Life-Story-Interview-II-2007.pdf

Merriam, S. B. (1998). Qualitative research and case study applications in education. In . Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Meyer, I. H. (1995). Minority Stress and Mental Health in Gay Men. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *36*(1), 38–56. https://doi.org/10.2307/2137286

Meyer, I. H. (2003). Prejudice, social stress, and mental health in lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations: Conceptual issues and research evidence. *Psychological Bulletin*, *129*(5), 674–697. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.129.5.674

Miller, A., Hess, J. M., Bybee, D., & Goodkind, J. R. (2018). Understanding the mental health consequences of family separation for refugees: Implications for policy and practice. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *88*(1), 26–37. https://doi.org/10.1037/ort0000272

Minor Peters, M. (2016). 'They wrote "gay" on her file': transgender Ugandans in HIV prevention and treatment. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, *18*(1), 84–98. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2015.1060359

Misedah, L. (2021). *A qualitative assessment of persecution experiences and health needs of sexual minority asylum seekers and refugees in Nairobi, Kenya* . [Doctoral dissertation, University of Texas, School of Public Health].

Misedah, L., Ross, M. W., Wambua, S., & Vanessa Schick (2021a). Sexual Health and HIV/STI Risk in Gay Refugee Men in Nairobi, Kenya: A Qualitative Study. *Venereology*, *1*(1), 9–22.

Misedah, L., Schick, V., Mccurdy, S., Wambua, S., Wilkerson, M., & Ross, M. (2021b). *Persecution experiences and related injuries of men who have sex with men (MSM) asylum seekers and refugees in Nairobi, Kenya* [Manuscript submitted for publication]. University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston, School of Public Health.

Mulqueeny, D. M., Nkabini, S. M., & Pokiya, M. H. (2021). Mapping evidence of depression in HIV-seropositive MSM in sub-Saharan Africa: a scoping review protocol. *Systematic Reviews*, *10*(1), Article 50. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13643-021-01604-w

National Immigration Forum. (2020, November 5). *Fact sheet: U.S. refugee resettlement.* https://immigrationforum.org/article/fact-sheet-u-s-refugee-resettlement/

Newcombe, R. (2003). From client to project stakeholders: a stakeholder mapping approach. *Construction Management and Economics*, *21*(8), 841–848. https://doi.org/10.1080/0144619032000072137

Nicol, N., Gates-Gasse, E., & Mule, N. (2014). Envisioning Global LGBT Human Rights: Strategic Alliances to Advance Knowledge and Social Change. *Scholarly and Research Communication*, *5*(3), Article 0301165. https://doi.org/10.22230/src.2014v5n3a165

Nilsson, J. E., Jeevanba, S. B., Molitoris, A., Stratmann, S., & Kubik, R. (2020). Sexual and Gender Minority Refugees and Asylum Seekers: An Arduous Journey. *Violence Against LGBTQ+ Persons*, pp. 231–239. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-52612-2_18

Ogden, S. N., Scheffey, K. L., Blosnich, J. R., & Dichter, M. E. (2019). "Do I feel safe revealing this information to you?": Patient perspectives on disclosing sexual orientation and gender identity in healthcare. *Journal of American College Health*, *68*(6), 617–623. https://doi.org/10.1080/07448481.2019.1583663

Onyango-Ouma, W., Birungi, H., & Geibel, S. (2005). *Understanding the HIV/STI risks and prevention needs of men who have sex with men in Nairobi, Kenya*. Nairobi, Kenya: Population Council. https://doi.org/10.31899/HIV2.1031

Pincock, K. (2020). UNHCR and LGBTI refugees in Kenya: the limits of 'protection'. *Disasters*, *45*(4), 844–864. https://doi.org/10.1111/disa.12447

Porter, M., & Haslam, N. (2005). Predisplacement and Postdisplacement Factors Associated With Mental Health of Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons. *JAMA*, *294*(5), 602–612. https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.294.5.602

Poteat, T., German, D., & Flynn, C. (2016). The conflation of gender and sex: Gaps and opportunities in HIV data among transgender women and MSM. *Global Public Health*, *11*(7-8), 835–848. https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2015.1134615

Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK). (2015). *Myths and truths: The facts about refugee self-sufficiency and economic contribution in Nairobi*. https://www.rckkenya.org/?media_dl=842

Ross, M. W., Kashiha, J., Misedah, L., Mgopa, L. R., Larsson, M., Agardh, A., & Venkitachalam, K. K. (2021). Addressing the Healthcare Needs of African Men who have Sex with Men: Barriers to Healthcare and Promoting HIV and STI Treatment in Sub-Saharan Africa. *East African Journal of Health and Science*, *3*(1), 59–77. https://doi.org/10.37284/eajhs.3.1.339

Secor, A. M., Wahome, E., Micheni, M., Rao, D., Simoni, J. M., Sanders, E. J., & Graham, S. M. (2015). Depression, substance abuse and stigma among men who have sex with men in coastal Kenya. *AIDS*, *29*(Supplement 3), S251–S259. https://doi.org/10.1097/QAD.0000000000000846

Semlyen, J., King, M., Varney, J., & Hagger-Johnson, G. (2016). Sexual orientation and symptoms of common mental disorder or low wellbeing: combined meta-analysis of 12 UK population health surveys. *BMC Psychiatry*, *16*(67), Article 67. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12888-016-0767-z

Shidlo, A., & Ahola, J. (2013). Mental health challenges of LGBT forced migrants. *Forced Migration Review*, *42*, 9–11. https://www.fmreview.org/sogi/shidlo-ahola

Silove, D., Sinnerbrink, I., Field, A., Manicavasagar, V., & Steel, Z. (1997). Anxiety, depression and PTSD in asylum-seekers: Assocations with pre-migration trauma and post-migration stressors. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, *170*(4), 351–357. https://doi.org/10.1192/bjp.170.4.351

Sinnerbrink, I., Silove, D., Field, A., Steel, Z., & Manicavasagar, V. (1997). Compounding of Premigration Trauma and Postmigration Stress in Asylum Seekers. *The Journal of Psychology*, *131*(5), 463–470. https://doi.org/10.1080/00223989709603533

Smith, A. D., Muhaari, A. D., Agwanda, C., Kowuor, D., Van Der Elst, E., Davies, A., Graham, S. M., Jaffe, H. W., & Sanders, E. J. (2015). Heterosexual behaviours among men who sell sex to men in coastal Kenya. *AIDS (London, England)*, *29*, S201–S210. https://doi.org/10.1097/QAD.0000000000000889

Steel, J. L., Dunlavy, A. C., Harding, C. E., & Theorell, T. (2017). The Psychological Consequences of Pre-Emigration Trauma and Post-Migration Stress in Refugees and Immigrants from Africa. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, *19*(3), 523–532. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-016-0478-z

Steel, Z., Momartin, S., Silove, D., Coello, M., Aroche, J., & Tay, K. W. (2011). Two year psychosocial and mental health outcomes for refugees subjected to restrictive or supportive immigration policies. *Social Science & Medicine*, *72*(7), 1149–1156. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.02.007

Suen, L. W., Huang, H., & Lee, H. (2014). A comparison of convenience sampling and purposive sampling. *Hu Li Za Zhi*, *61*(3),

105–111. https://doi.org/10.6224/JN.61.3.105

Tamale, S. (2014). Exploring the contours of African sexualities: Religion, law, and power. *African Human Rights Law Journal*, *14*(1), 150–177. http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_abstract&pid=S1996-20962014000100011

Tong, A., Sainsbury, P., & Craig, J. (2007). Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ): a 32-item checklist for interviews and focus groups. *International Journal for Quality in Health Care*, *19*(6), 349–357. https://doi.org/10.1093/intqhc/mzm042

Tongco, M. D. C. (2007). Purposive Sampling as a Tool for Informant Selection. *Ethnobotany Research and Applications*, *5*, 147–158. https://ethnobotanyjournal.org/index.php/era/article/view/126

Ulanja, M. B., Lyons, C., Ketende, S., Stahlman, S., Diouf, D., Kouamé, A., Ezouatchi, R., Bamba, A., Drame, F., Liestman, B., & Baral, S. (2019). The relationship between depression and sexual health service utilization among men who have sex with men (MSM) in Côte d'Ivoire, West Africa. *BMC International Health and Human Rights*, *19*, Article 11. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12914-019-0186-6

United Nations General Assembly. (1951). Convention relating to the status of refugees. https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2011, July). *Resettlement Handbook*. https://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain?page=search&docid=4ecb973c2&skip=0&query=Resettlement

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR]. (2015). Protecting persons with diverse sexual orientations and gender identities: A global report on UNHCR's efforts to protect lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex asylum-seekers and refugees. In and others (Ed.). https://www.refworld.org/docid/566140454.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2008). https://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain?page=search&docid=4ecb973c2&skip=0&query=Resettlement

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2012). *Guidelines on international protection no. 9: Claims to refugee status based on sexual orientation and/or gender identity within the context of article 1A (2) of the 1951 Convention and/or its 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees*. https://www.refworld.org/docid/50348afc2.html

Zomorodi, G. (2016). Responding to LGBT forced migration in East Africa. *Forced Migration Review*, *52*, 91–93. https://www.fmreview.org/solutions/zomorodi

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés
2022, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1–17
https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.40920

Print Rights with a Thousand Masks: Migrant Vulnerability, Resistance, and Human Rights Law

Jordan F. Dez

ABSTRACT

PrintRights, a co-operative of undocumented asylum seekers in Amsterdam, manufactured facemasks during the COVID-19 pandemic, first distributing them to undocumented migrants residing in the city's emergency shelter system and then selling them to the wider public. By distributing facemasks with messages, PrintRights framed its action within the human right to freedom of expression to legally resist alienage law prohibitions on employment. Engaging Judith Butler's theory, this article analyzes the relationship between PrintRights' resistance, vulnerability, and strategic engagement with human rights law. Drawing on fieldwork conducted with PrintRights, I explore how vulnerability discourse in human rights law can support undocumented migrant organizing.

KEYWORDS

undocumented; asylum seeker; vulnerability; resistance; COVID-19; freedom of expression; human rights; migrant organizing; performative citizenship; everyday resistance

RESUMÉ

PrintRights, une coopérative de demandeurs d'asile sans papiers à Amsterdam, a confectionné des masques pendant la pandémie de Covid-19, les distribuant d'abord aux migrants sans papiers résidant au sein du système d'hébergement d'urgence de la ville, puis les vendant ensuite à un public plus large. En distribuant des masques avec des messages, PrintRights a inscrit son action dans le cadre du droit humain à la liberté d'expression pour résister de manière légale aux interdictions d'emploi de la loi sur les étrangers. Mobilisant la théorie de Judith Butler, cet article analyse la relation entre la résistance, la vulnérabilité et l'engagement stratégique de PrintRights avec le droit relatif aux droits de la personne. S'appuyant sur un travail de terrain effectué auprès de PrintRights, j'explore la manière dont le discours de la vulnérabilité dans le droit relatif aux droits de la personne peut soutenir l'organisation des migrants sans papiers.

HISTORY Published 23 August 2022

INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 2020, a group of undocumented asylum seekers[1] residing in the shelter system in Amsterdam began manufacturing facemasks with packaging that bore human rights and political messages, such as "Freedom of Movement in the City." The co-operative calling itself PrintRights started

CONTACT

[a] j.f.dez@vu.nl

Faculty of Law, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, Netherlands

[1]This group is composed of asylum seekers who are not currently in procedures. Either they have not succeeded on their initial proceedings (including appeal), or they have an open "Dublin claim." Dublin claimants are asylum seekers who have entered the European Union (EU) through another member state and, under the EU Dublin Regulation No 604/2013, must wait 18 months to

by producing 1,000 free reusable masks for shelter residents. After this project, PrintRights went on to sell their masks, as well as bags and T-shirts, to the public as "products linked to human rights." Directly printed on their products were messages such as "Housing Is a Human Right," "Migration Is Not a Crime," "United Against Racism," "No More Moria,"[2] and "No More Blah, Blah, Blah." The printed messages served a dual function—they communicated the group's political and human rights messages and strategically engaged another human right, the freedom of expression, to protect the distribution of those masks. In the Netherlands, employers are legally prohibited from employing undocumented migrants, including engaging them as volunteers in an organization, and can incur a fine if they are found to be employing migrants without work authorization (Berntsen et al., 2022, ch. 4). There are no employers of PrintRights, which by its own terms is a co-operative of undocumented migrants making and selling their own products. However, as the members of the co-operative are aware of the usual prohibition on employment, the right to distribute printed works (referenced in the name of the group) is engaged to further protect the members from deportability, or the immobilizing fear of detention and deportation (De Genova, 2002), by signalling the legality of their work.

The case study of PrintRights engages qualitative research with the group and political theory on rights-claiming to gain new insight on the human rights of undocumented migrants, the protection of which is perennially inconsistent and insufficient (Crépeau, 2014; Inter-American Court of Human Rights, 2003). Despite universal ambitions of human rights law, undocumented migrants are not included within the personal scope of application of all human rights legal provisions and instruments (e.g., exclusion of undocumented migrants from social and economic rights in the European Social Charter of the Council of Europe) and struggle to access the rights they have (Cholewinski, 2005; Dembour & Kelly, 2011). One way to motivate inclusion of undocumented migrants within the scope of legal protection is through judicial argumentation based on vulnerability. For example, as undocumented asylum seekers, the members of PrintRights are members of a group designated as "vulnerable" under European human rights law, and this designation has been utilized to argue for fulfillment of their basic needs and protection of their human dignity (e.g., Conference of European Churches [CEC] v. the Netherlands, 2014; MSS v. Belgium and Greece, 2011). Though vulnerability discourse is a powerful motivator for human rights protection (Al Tamimi, 2016; Baumgärtel, 2019; Fineman, 2010; Peroni & Timmer, 2013), it creates a discursive risk of reifying a group as definitionally vulnerable (Butler, 2016; Mayrhofer, 2020). The case of PrintRights is unique in that it problematizes monolithic understandings of both vulnerability and human rights law.

With the aim of furthering the project of Judith Butler, Gambetti and Sabsay's edited volume **Vulnerability in Resistance**, which challenges the binary conception of vulnerability as passivity versus resistance as strength/action, this article tracks the way

see if that state of entry will "take back" their asylum application before the asylum application can be lodged in the Netherlands. As such, Dublin claimants do not have an active asylum claim. In this article, I use the term **undocumented** because this is the term that this group uses to refer to themselves, and under Dutch alienage law, asylum seekers who have not succeeded in their claim or do not have an active claim are irregular or undocumented migrants. I begin here with the term **undocumented asylum seekers** to flag the discrepancy between formal use of the term and self-identification.

[2] "No More Moria" refers to the Moria refugee camp in Greece that was set on fire in the spring of 2020.

PrintRights' political and legal mobilization was entwined with different conceptions of vulnerability derived from Butler's essay in that volume (Butler, 2016). This case study problematizes Butler's assertion that her theory is incompatible with human rights law—that "once groups are marked as 'vulnerable' within human rights discourse or legal regimes, those groups become reified as definitionally 'vulnerable,' fixed in a political position of powerlessness and lack of agency" (Butler, 2016, pp. 24–25). The case study of PrintRights demonstrates how Butler's plural understandings of vulnerability can indeed open up new possibilities for harnessing vulnerability discourse to expand the scope of legal protection for migrants, including the rights that protect resistance.

Rather than merely reifying PrintRights in **embodied vulnerability**, human rights law framed its action (Leachman, 2013), uniquely engendering its resistance in light of its **embedded vulnerability** and **vulnerability to power**, concepts that will be developed in the following section. The right to distribute printed works encompassed within the freedom of expression is inhabited by the group as an organizing principle: to work within and through the law to resist their embedded vulnerability to poverty and homelessness due to the prohibition on work, and their vulnerability to state power through deportability. Butler's use of the word **resistance** is broad and could include various practices of activism and rights-claiming. For undocumented migrants, she notes, continuing to migrate, live, work, and be present are in themselves acts of resistance (Butler, 2016). This article will theorize the organizing of PrintRights as engaging practices of "everyday resistance" (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2019) and "performative citizenship" (Isin, 2017). This article suggests that a legal interpretation of the material scope of the freedom of expression that is attentive to undocumented migrants' vulnerability to power and embedded vulnerability could include practices of everyday resistance and performative citizenship within the scope of protection.

This case study contributes to the archive (Stierl & Tazzioli, 2021) of migrant social movements (Chimienti & Solomos, 2020; McNevin, 2011; Nyers, 2010; Oliveri, 2016; Rygiel, 2011), particularly the strategic use of law and human rights in undocumented migrant organizing (Abrego, 2008; Kawar, 2015; Nicholls, 2014). PrintRights engages counter-hegemonic legal frames in practices of performative citizenship to challenge dominant legal narratives about undocumented migrants (Abrams, 2014; Bhimji, 2014). Following Turner (2021) and other scholars (Anderson, 2008; Waite et al., 2015) who challenge assumptions of migrant victimhood, this article assumes the capacity of undocumented migrant organizers (Bloom, 2017) as a starting point, without understating structural disenfranchisement through easy appeals to "resilience" (Bracke, 2016). With an eye on the legal and political disenfranchisement of the undocumented, this article aims to reinforce the human rights legal protections for undocumented migrant resistance by bridging the rich traditions of socio-legal and sociological inquiry on migrant social movements with the burgeoning attention in legal scholarship for the political rights and political practices of migrants (Åberg, 2021; Anthony & Sterkens, 2018; Bender, 2021; Ziegler, 2017, 2021).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I read Butler's essay "Rethinking Vulnerability and Resistance" (2016) as calling upon

three highly overlapping and interactive discourses on vulnerability—embodied vulnerability, embedded vulnerability, and vulnerability to power—each of which uniquely engages her theory of resistance. Applying this three-part vulnerability framework to PrintRights not only reveals how vulnerability discourse in human rights law can motivate protection when providing for material, embodied needs but can also inform the scope of human rights that protect migrant resistance to their embedded vulnerability and vulnerability to power.

First, similar to how legal scholar Martha Fineman (2010) presents it in her work, Butler presents vulnerability as **embodied**. Humans share a universal bodily vulnerability and have a corresponding interdependency (Turner, 2021) and dependency on infrastructural support, experiencing vulnerability when unsupported. Butler connects this embodied vulnerability to mobilizations for the body's needs:

> We could certainly make a list of how this idea of a body, supported yet acting, supported **and** acting, is at work implicitly or explicitly in any number of political movements: struggles for food and shelter, protection from injury and destruction, the right to work, affordable health care, protection from police violence and imprisonment.
>
> *(Butler, 2016, p. 15)*

This embodied vulnerability can be utilized in legal discourse to engage the responsibility of the state as a duty-bearer of social and economic rights to provide for economic and social welfare of "vulnerable" subjects (Fineman, 2010). Embodied vulnerability does not signify helplessness or lack of agency (Waite et al., 2015) but, rather, is entangled with resistance (Huerta & Mclean, 2021). Butler introduces here the idea of "supported action": the vulnerable subject has a dependence on infrastructural support in order to engage in resistance, including basic needs, such as food and shelter, but also the infrastructure of protest, such as streets on which to march. But the vulnerable subject is both "supported **and** acting," sometimes protesting a lack of support itself, as seen in struggles for shelter, labour rights, or health care, or against police violence (Arendt, 1998; Butler, 2015; Fineman, 2010).

Second, **embedded** vulnerability draws attention to the reality that embodied vulnerability is not equally experienced throughout the human population (Cole, 2016) but varies greatly based on social processes, such as discrimination and racialization (Oliveri, 2018), and on legal processes, such as the exclusion of undocumented migrants from social protection that derives from migration and alienage law (Fineman, 2010). The COVID-19 pandemic, for example, while revealing a universal embodied vulnerability, has had a disproportionate impact on racialized people and undocumented migrants (Hasan Bhuiyan et al., 2021; Kumar et al., 2021; Niezna et al., 2021). The embodied vulnerability to the virus is exacerbated by the embedded vulnerability of being undocumented. Embedded vulnerabilities can also change the object and strategies of resistance, as can be seen through the specific examples of undocumented migrant organizing during the pandemic. Migrants mobilize response not only to the pandemic but particularly to the disproportionate impact of the pandemic on undocumented migrants (Irwin & Del Monte, 2020; López-Sala, 2021; Palma-Gutierrez, 2021). Performative citizenship (Isin, 2017; Zivi, 2012) or "acts of citizenship" (Isin & Nielsen, 2008) can be theorized as a form of undocumented migrant resistance uniquely tied to their embedded vulnerability. When performing "acts of citizenship," migrants

resist the exclusions of migration law by performing the rights and duties that would traditionally be recognized with formal citizenship. Excluded individuals harness performative citizenship to present themselves as members of a community whose identity is premised on their exclusion (Zivi, 2012).

Third, Butler describes a **vulnerability to power**, particularly state power, which she illustrates by discussing public acts of resistance and organizing where participating individuals are vulnerable to policing when demonstrating in public. This concept is particularly relevant for undocumented migrants, who are definitionally vulnerable to state power, a phenomenon captured through De Genova's concept of "deportability" or "the possibility of deportation, the possibility of being removed from the space of the nation-state" (De Genova, 2002, p. 439). In light of this deportability, while resistance can be conceptualized as a dramatic and confrontational event, acts of "everyday resistance" can be "even mundane kind[s] of practices of accommodation and non-confrontation" that are "neither individual acts, nor public confrontations with authorities" (Johansson & Vinthagen 2019, pp. 2–3). Johansson and Vinthagen explore this concept, for example, in the Palestinian practice of Sumud, which they translate as maintaining a permanent presence on the land (Johansson & Vinthagen 2019, ch. 9). This persistent presence is neither direct confrontation nor passivity, but the authors argue for a form of everyday resistance. Awareness of vulnerability to power and embedded vulnerability permeates the resistance of undocumented migrants and, as I will argue in this article, can be used to understand the scope of the freedom of expression for undocumented migrants, similar to how embodied vulnerability discourse informs an analysis of socio-economic rights.

METHODOLOGY

The article engages qualitative case study to gain insight from the political and expressive practices of undocumented migrants to inform the interpretation of the scope of freedom of expression for human rights legal analysis (McInerney-Lankford, 2017; Webley, 2016). I used triangulated data collection methods (Ayoub et al., 2014) involving participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and document analysis to understand how the members of PrintRights used human rights in their claim-making. Participant observation for this research took place at the PrintRights workshop, at protests against the closing of the emergency shelter, and during webinars where group members spoke. Documents reviewed included PrintRights products, social media posts from the group, public media about the group, and internal communications regarding legal strategy.

To contextualize my presence in the field, in 2019, I began participating with the Amsterdam City Rights organization as a researcher. Amsterdam City Rights is a collaboration between documented and undocumented people in Amsterdam and is an offshoot of the civil society organization Here to Support, a citizen solidarity organization that will be discussed at greater length in the "Data and Discussion" section. PrintRights was originally organized during the pandemic within Amsterdam City Rights' weekly Zoom meetings. I was introduced to PrintRights by a citizen supporter of the group who worked with Here to Support and Amsterdam City Rights (PR6).[3] I for-

[3] Because the group of participants was small, in order to protect their privacy, I use only the indication "PR" (for PrintRights) with the interview number (e.g., PR6) as pseudonyms of interviewees.

mally requested permission from the PrintRights co-operative to conduct this research. The members approved the research, and thereafter they asked if I could come volunteer to address envelopes to mail facemasks. Throughout fall 2020, I visited the workshop weekly to volunteer and conduct semi-structured recorded interviews. The interviews were loosely structured on questions based on how participants got involved with the co-operative, how they conceptualized their participation, and what they thought about the different messages on the masks. In December 2020, new cases of infection spiked in the Netherlands. On December 14, 2020, the Dutch prime minister, Mark Rutte, announced a lockdown period, which lasted until the end of April 2021. During the lockdown, I ceased coming in person to help with mask distribution and instead interviewed remotely. Five of the interviews were conducted in person, four were via Zoom, and one was over the phone.

PrintRights aims to keep its membership to 10 people. I was able to interview six active members (PR1–5 and PR7), two former members (PR8 and PR10), and two citizen supporters from Here to Support (PR6 and PR9). PR6 and PR9 were active in strategizing the initial concept of PrintRights, including engagement with the right to distribute printed works. Among the interviewees, six were men and four were women. Interviews were conducted in English, except for one, which was conducted in Amharic through a translator. Except for one, the members of PrintRights are from different countries in Africa. The group is diverse in age, ranging from young adults who came to Europe as unaccompanied minors to one member over age 50. The members identified themselves as undocumented migrants, all of them having had either a failed asylum procedure or a pending Dublin claim. I reinforced awareness of my role as a researcher by regularly discussing the progress of the research with members. While participating in the group, I was never completely immersed; I was never referred to as a member nor included in the co-operative's formal meetings (Spradley, 1980). When I began the case, I was not aware of the prominent role the right to printed works played as an organizing strategy. This concept emerged during the interviews. Similarly, the relevance of Butler's theory on vulnerability in resistance emerged during data analysis.

DATA AND DISCUSSION

In the data on PrintRights, themes of vulnerability, resistance, and law interacted with each other—discussions of vulnerability flowed into narratives of resistance, and law played a role in both creating vulnerability and protecting PrintRights' organizing. I will begin discussing the data by showing how the law contextualizing PrintRights interacts with different conceptions of vulnerability and challenge Butler's assertion of reification in vulnerability by law through the example of the right to printed works being used to facilitate resistance. The discussion then follows the temporal arc of the case study. PrintRights' initial 1,000 masks action is shown to be responsive to the members' deportability—a vulnerability to power. Aware of this vulnerability to power, in the second wave of PrintRights, when the co-operative began to sell products, it engaged practices of everyday resistance and performative citizenship under the right to distribute printed works to respond to their embedded vulnerability without making them increasingly vulnerable to deportation and detention.

Legal Context

The vulnerability and resistance of Print-Rights is contextualized by multiple legal orders, case decisions, and bodies of legislation.[4] In this section, I discuss three aspects of this legal context that are necessary to understand the case.

The first is Dutch alienage law,[5] which throughout the 1990s became increasingly restrictive (Van Walsum, S, 2011), starting with the criminalization of undocumented migrants' employment through employer sanctions (Wet arbeid vremdelingen, art. 2) and culminating with the passage of the 1998 Linkage Act (Koppelingswet). The Linkage Act coupled access to social programming in the Netherlands to lawful migration status (Zwaan et al., 2018, ss. 5.4.3, 8.8.1). The goal of the act was to ensure that undocumented migrants were discouraged from remaining in the Netherlands by preventing them from "becoming rooted" (Ombudsman Metropool Amsterdam, 2021), pushing undocumented migrants further to the margins of society (Slingenberg, 2021). Alienage law also includes the deportation and detention of migrants. In addition to the incorporation of the EU Return Directive on migrant deportation (2008/115/EG) into domestic law and article 5 of the European Convention on Human Rights regarding migrant detention, the Dutch Foreigners Law at article 50, paragraph 1(a), states that "officials charged with the supervision of aliens are authorized to detain persons on the basis of facts and circumstances which, measured by objective standards, give a reasonable suspicion of illegal residence" (Zwaan et al., 2018, s. 8.3.3). The Netherlands embeds vulnerability in the status of being undocumented by denying undocumented people access to social programming and employment. Through detention and deportation, and the migration policing that supports it, undocumented migrants are further rendered vulnerable to the power of the state.

Second, while the national government of the Netherlands has trended towards an increasingly restrictive alienage law regime, municipalities have exhibited varying methods of providing services for migrants residing within their cities, including with the support of international human rights law (Baumgärtel & Oomen, 2019; Durmuş, 2020; Oomen & Baumgärtel, 2018; Spencer, 2020; Spencer & Delvino, 2019). In an effort to seek shelter and make themselves visible, in September 2012, a movement of undocumented migrants in Amsterdam called We Are Here employed a strategy of squatting and claiming public spaces in protest of national migration and alienage law (Hajer & Bröer, 2020). The municipality of Amsterdam responded to these protest actions in 2013 by providing an initial bed, bad, brood–, or "bed, bath, bread"–style shelter to provide very basic amenities to some of the We Are Here participants (Ghaeminia, 2013; Kamerman, 2012). In parallel to this municipal provision, in 2013, the Diaconate of Amsterdam, which had long organized in solidarity with We Are Here, joined the Council of European Churches to lodge an ultimately successful collective complaint with the European Committee on Social Rights against the Netherlands for refusal to provide basic shel-

[4] Describing legal orders as "multiple" or "plural" is a response to Butler's theoretical framing of law as reifying the subject in vulnerability. By elaborating law here in its plurality, I hope to then show how there is space in legal analysis for plural understandings of vulnerability and that such plural understandings can inform a legal analysis of resistance. As this section is framed around Butler, I do not engage the literature on legal pluralism directly, though others have described the interplay between Dutch restrictive alienage law and municipal shelter system in Amsterdam in the context of legal pluralism (e.g., Baumgärtel & Oomen, 2019).

[5] **Alienage law** refers to legislation that regulates individuals differently based on their citizenship, migration status, or undocumented status (Bosniak, 2006; Shachar, 2020).

ter, food, and clothing to undocumented migrants under the European Social Charter.[6] The reasoning of the resulting CEC v. the Netherlands decision relies on a human rights discourse of embodied vulnerability and human dignity to expand the restrictive personal scope of the European Social Charter to adult undocumented migrants in certain situations where human dignity is threatened:

> The persons concerned by the current complaint undeniably find themselves at risk of serious irreparable harm to their life and human dignity when being excluded from access to shelter, food and clothing … access to food, water, as well as to such basic amenities as a safe place to sleep and clothes fulfilling the minimum requirements for survival in the prevailing weather conditions are necessary for the basic subsistence of any human being.
>
> *(CEC v. the Netherlands, 2014 , para. 122)*

The committee's decision in favour of the complainants led to the creation of a nationally funded shelter system—the National Foreigners Provision shelter system (Landelijke Vreemdelingenvoorzieningen or LVV) in major cities in the Netherlands. This 18-month shelter program builds on the original bed, bad, brood model but with a wider scope and national funding. This legal context is relevant for PrintRights because many of its members resided in the shelter system. This human rights intervention incorporates human rights argumentation based on embodied vulnerability of homelessness and particularly addresses the way this homelessness is embedded in an experience of being undocumented.

The third legal aspect of this case study is the right to distribute printed material as a facet of an individual's freedom of expression. The relevance of this right emerges from the field, originating with the organization Here to Support, which is a solidarity organization consisting of Dutch citizens who originally organized to support the work of We Are Here, described in the previous paragraph. In 2015, Here to Support engaged legal counsel to explore openings in the law that would allow undocumented people to make money in a legal way. They found that there is broad protection for "the right to sell and distribute printed works." This right falls under the freedom of expression in both Dutch constitutional law (art. 7) and European and international human rights law (e.g., European Convention on Human Rights, art. 10; International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, art. 19), which is also sometimes referred to as the freedom of speech, or speech and expression. The freedom of expression protects "the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print" (Pugach v. Belarus, 2015, para. 7.3). Undocumented migrants are (at least formally) protected by this right, though there is little to no caselaw on this question in the international courts (cf. Sharif Baban v. Australia, 2003). One of the citizen members of Here to Support, who was also active in PrintRights, recounts the initial organizing initiative around this right:

> We did extensive research for what was possible for undocumented migrants to at least earn some money in a legal way. I never talk about salary, or income, because I think that is very difficult. … But what undocumented migrants can do, is they have the right to speak, they have the freedom of speech and the freedom of press. … Nobody can stop you from making a transaction if it's about a printed matter.
>
> *(PR6)*

[6]Complaints before the European Committee on Social Rights can only be brought collectively by groups of organizations, not by individuals.

After employing this strategy in a successful cookbook project to sell and create cookbooks with We Are Here in 2016, the idea was given a second life during the pandemic by PrintRights. The members of Here to Support together with activists from We Are Here served as "legal intermediaries" (Miaz, 2021), who interpreted and made use of the freedom of expression in action and communicated this use of the right to the PrintRights co-operative. During the first wave of the pandemic, when the members of PrintRights approached Amsterdam City Rights initially to say that they wanted to make masks for people in the shelter, Here to Support suggested organizing this action under the right to distribute printed works, and thus PrintRights was chosen as the name for the co-operative and engaged as an organizing principle.

While migration and alienage law create vulnerability to power, and social-economic rights extend protection based on a discourse of embodied vulnerability, freedom of expression (the right to distribute printed works) was used strategically to protect migrant mobilizing in a way that was responsive to their legal vulnerability. In this way, the law has a plural relationship with vulnerability—it causes embedded vulnerability and vulnerability to power; it requires the state to address the basic needs of embodied vulnerability; but even more, it protects the organizing practices of vulnerable migrants to resist legal regimes that make them vulnerable.

Mobilizing Vulnerability to Power Through Supported Action and 1,000 Masks

It is against this backdrop that PrintRights began to manufacture and distribute 1,000 facemasks within the shelter system during the pandemic. Many of the members of PrintRights were either residents in the LVV shelter system (created through the CEC v. the Netherlands decision, discussed above) or a temporary emergency COVID-19 shelter system that was designed to keep people off the streets at night during the pandemic. In May 2020, the national government announced that facemasks would be mandatory on public transportation, which made undocumented shelter residents more vulnerable to detention and deportation:

> It was far beyond protecting ourselves from the virus. Because from the virus I know if you have a facemask, we can be okay, but if you don't have a facemask on the train, we could have a fine. We don't even have money to buy facemask. So, a fine and you get in trouble with the police. Deportation. Your procedure will be disturbed. That was just the kind of mechanisms I was thinking about, so we can create something, we can use our own creativity to solve these kinds of problems.
>
> *(PR10)*

The motivation for the 1,000 masks project as discussed by PR10 was primarily in response to vulnerability to migration policing and a lack of money to buy facemasks due to the prohibition on employment. PR2 identified the inability of undocumented people to buy masks and conform to the regulations due to the prohibition on employment:

> In the end, there were some undocumented people who didn't have money to buy masks because they were not receiving any money and they cannot work as well. … So, we got approval from the Amsterdam City Rights that we should make masks, 1,000 masks, that we can give to the people that are living in the shelters, who cannot be able to buy this mask.

As discussed in the "Legal Context" subsection, the prohibition on employment creates an embedded vulnerability by making a certain group of people unemployable, and is also tied to vulnerability to power because this is a state-enforced prohibition that is

highly policed. In light of this vulnerability, material and technical support were necessary for the 1,000 masks action. Butler's concept of supported action is applicable here, not to prescribe a teleological account of resistance or as causation but, rather, to reveal undocumented people's need for support in order to organize given the extent of their embedded vulnerability and vulnerability to state power. To organize and fund the initial action, the 1,000 masks project, Here to Support facilitated start-up grants from social organizations and from the municipality of Amsterdam.

The members of PrintRights secured sewing machines, fabrics, and other supplies; developed a pattern; and established an assembly line. Space to set up its workshop was lent to the co-operative by different community centres, though often on a temporary (weekly or monthly) basis. The first fabrics purchased were African prints. As recounted by most of the members, within roughly one month, they manufactured 1,000 reusable masks and prepared detailed usage instructions, which came in a pamphlet with the masks bearing the slogans "Right to Mobility in the City" and "Freedom of Movement in the City." The legal technology of the right to printed works is part of the infrastructure of support framing this action. As discussed, it informed the group's name and the inclusion in the packaging of the political claim to be able to move through the city without fear of being detained. The members distributed two masks to each of the 500 residents of the shelter system. When asked about the role of citizens working in solidarity with the group, all undocumented members of the group reacted positively: "They have access that we need" (PR7); "They are also working to serve the community" (PR5). PR4 specifically emphasized the need for citizen volunteers to contribute their language skills for communicating with the Dutch public while emphasizing that they do not interfere with the co-operative's processes of decision making, task distribution, and growth plans.

Embodied Vulnerability and the Pandemic: Resistance as Performative Citizenship

The story of PrintRights does not end with the 1,000 masks project. After this initial action, PrintRights decided to continue with the production and sale of its masks. PrintRights reinvested half of its initial proceeds in the co-operative, expanding to other products, such as bags and T-shirts, and distributing the remaining proceeds among the members. With money raised through the sale of masks, PrintRights was able to rent its own workshop to have a more permanent location. This marks an important transition in the strategy of the group—it went from distributing masks within the undocumented community for free to selling products, particularly facemasks, to the greater public during the first and second waves of the COVID-19 pandemic. While interviewees identified that homelessness and lack of access to health care due to their undocumented status made them increasingly vulnerable to COVID-19, embedding their vulnerability to the virus in their undocumented status, they also noted that they shared an embodied vulnerability to the virus with the wider Dutch society. This shared embodied vulnerability was discussed as an equalizing force, one that PrintRights responded to through performative citizenship:

> My involvement with PrintRights started because of [the] corona [virus]. After noticing that it is something that is needed by the people. We are doing it just for the sake of supporting the community. … Corona doesn't distinguish anyone, so everyone wears the mask and likewise our human rights advocacy work doesn't distinguish a separate group,

> instead it's for the whole community, for the whole people in the Netherlands.
>
> *(PR5)*

This new, shared vulnerability to the virus created a demand for facemasks beyond the shelter system. PR5 connected this universality of vulnerability to the universality of human rights messaging on the masks (e.g., "Housing Is a Human Right") and his service to the community. PR5 discussed later that every mask he made was saving a life, emphasizing the superior craftsmanship of PrintRights' double-layered masks. In the following quote, PR3 also emphasized the service PrintRights has been providing in a time of universal embodied vulnerability:

> We wanted to be part of the government to show that even the migrant people, they care, and they can also fight as the government, try to fight [the] corona [virus]. We can team up together and fight the disease, all of us because it [the virus] is involving everybody, not only the Dutch, or the Dutch people. It involves everybody, it is not specific for the white people.

PR3's and PR5's quotations reflect a performance of citizenship in response to this wider embodied vulnerability. PR3 invoked migrant contributions to the government through the service they are providing, resisting the prevalent reality of the government's exclusion of undocumented migrants via migration and alienage law. Indeed, PR3's quote is heavy with civic duty, harnessing common embodied vulnerability while acknowledging a prevailing narrative of separateness between the "migrant people" and the "white" "Dutch people."

This juxtaposition between the universality of embodied vulnerability with the embedded vulnerability of being undocumented is harnessed in a resistance through performative citizenship. Performative citizenship is engaged by the group to respond to need within society and, in doing so, challenging negative narratives regarding the undocumented. A recurring theme raised by group members was tying the work of PrintRights to resisting the narrative that undocumented migrants are criminals or are a cost or liability to Dutch society:

> Beyond being part of PrintRights, beyond being part of this movement, my ultimate objective is to show another face of the words **undocumented migrant** or **refugee**. Because mostly, there is a kind of stereotype when this is used, people imagine mostly negative, you understand? But, if you can change this into something more positive, it will maybe help people to be more welcoming, help people to start life easier than what we go through. I am not fighting for myself; I am fighting for generations to come.
>
> *(PR1)*

Changing negative narratives was sometimes identified by interviewees as the goal of PrintRights' work. One of the messages that PrintRights printed on the handle of a bag was "Migration Is Not a Crime," because "some people think we are criminals, but we are not criminals" (PR3). This message was identified by multiple members of the group as the message that resonated most with them. Along these lines, at one point, when PrintRights was operating out of a community centre, the group members intercepted the theft of a laptop from the centre. News of this interception came in the paper and was widely circulated by the group to promote their positive contribution within Dutch society, directly countering the stereotype of their criminality.

Narratives that emphasize the deservingness or merit of a group of migrants require reflection, as they raise ambivalence for their potential to exclude (Anderson, 2013; McNevin, 2013). While these narratives can create "niche openings" in the law through regularization schemes for undocumented migrants that appeal to the meritocracy of

good potential citizens (Nicholls, 2013), this technique can leave behind migrants who do not appeal to frames of deservingness (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014; Fiorito, 2021; van Meeteren & Sur, 2020). However, deservingness narratives are not only legally productive; they can also be politically productive. The members of PrintRights saw themselves as cast into the role of criminal migrants and challenged that frame not through a typical trope of the hardworking migrant, exploitable to neoliberal capitalism, but through a practice of civic engagement. PrintRights emphasizes the assistance they provide to the government, to citizens, and to each other in a performance of civic duty that refutes easy classification or dismissal. The "niche opening" in the law that they inhabit is not a regularization scheme for only a few meritorious migrant heroes; rather, here it is a repurposing of the freedom of expression, to open up a political space to challenge their embedded vulnerability and vulnerability to power.

The "Nothingness" of Being Undocumented as Embedded Vulnerability: Work as a Practice of Everyday Resistance

While the societal contribution of PrintRights resisted negative stereotyping through performative citizenship, the activity of work itself can be theorized as a practice of everyday resistance. The shelter system addressed the immediate embodied vulnerability by providing housing and food, but the shelter could not address the embedded vulnerability, the "nothingness," which interviewees said resulted from the combined prohibition on work and the strict regulations regarding the emergency shelter system, such as the set times to leave in the morning and arrive in the late afternoon, which limit their possibility for activity. As discussed in the "Legal Context" subsection, human rights argumentation based on embodied vulnerability motivated and justified the provision of shelter to undocumented migrants in Amsterdam. Having shelter is, of course, a vital support for PrintRights. Nonetheless, even after the provision of shelter, a larger embedded vulnerability of the undocumented is conveyed by interviewees. It is in this "nothingness" that we can see the risk of reification in vulnerability that Butler refers to. PR8 recounts this as a lack of humanity and a rightlessness:

> You just sleep, eat, it doesn't matter where you sleep and what you eat and what you dress, everything doesn't matter. When you do nothing in your life, you are not human. That is why you cannot have any rights.

The nothingness recounted by PR8 is connected to a lack of activity, which she later clarified was due to the prohibition on work. Other interviewees connected this nothingness to their lack of legal migration status and minimal provision of shelter by the government. PR7 analogized the lack of status and shelter system to imprisonment because the lack of alternatives and choice leads to suffering:

> When you stay here without status, you are like in jail, you are like in prison. The difference is, you are just moving out of your house, go and explore, and then come back to the prison. Because you don't have an alternative, but you are in jail. There is no difference. So, we are here, we are suffering too much.

PR7 and PR8 also expressed in their interviews the importance of PrintRights for filling this nothingness. This juxtaposition between nothingness and activity is echoed by PR4:

> The day is empty. Thinking in a negative way is really bad. I saw people suiciding, trying to do stupid things. But to be busy, every day at least two or three hours, working, doing something nice, talking with others, eating together or something, it really changes things.

For PR4, to be busy, and particularly, to be busy in an activity in a group, "changes things." PR1 resisted the nothingness by creation, by making something:

> Being an undocumented migrant is like a death sentence. It is something very large to compare to, but it is because there is a lot of things we can do, just with a machine, a scissors, plastic little, little things, we are able to provide over 4,000 masks.

This nothingness is both similar and distinct from Hage's concept of **stuckedness**, which describes an "existential immobility" that can only be resisted through "waiting it out," for example, waiting out an long-lasting asylum procedure (Hage, 2009; McNevin, 2020) or waiting for a political change that brings a general pardon or large-scale regularization of migration status. Stuckedness fits the description of PrintRights' members in relation to their migration status, such as waiting for the Dublin Regulation's 18-month take-back period to pass before lodging an asylum application. However, the nothingness described by interviewees is not framed in terms of the temporality of a horizon regularization; rather, nothingness is presented as the counterpoint of activity. PR1 and PR4 both recounted that their simple daily activities with PrintRights addressed this imposed nothingness. Rather than (re)joining a governmental temporality of regularization through waiting, PrintRights interrupted an imposed regulatory nothingness with creation, with coming together, and even with eating together.

In this way, PrintRights also interrupts the risk of reification of vulnerability in law. The group engages the right to distribute printed works as a practice of everyday resistance to the nothingness of being undocumented and, particularly, the prohibition on employment. In the following quote, PR8 identifies the prohibition on working as a fundamental problem in the lives of the undocumented:

> You know, with all of these messages, "No More Blah Blah Blah," "No More Moria," it just is a message that people want to hear from us. But if we go deep in this situation, I mean, we need to do something. We need to spend our time working. … And even if you can buy one brood [bread] from money that you worked for, it is not about money, it is about feeling. Even if there is no money, just someone who brings food for someone else, but we know we did something. This is what we eat now. It is ours. It is for us. We did it. This is very important.

PR8 identified the dual nature of the political messages on the facemasks; they communicate and advocate for a political message, but more importantly for PR8, they also performatively engage a right that protects the members' participation in PrintRights. The problem of the prohibition on employment goes "deep in this situation," as PR8 stated, and was one of the most frequent subjects of discussion by interviewees, despite never being asked about in interview questions. Though the work of PrintRights is not prohibited under Dutch alienage law because it is not employment, the right to distribute printed works offers an affirmative legality to a practice that is otherwise in a grey area of the law. The co-operative has harnessed a freedom that is at the bedrock of democracy and repurposed it to access the socio-economic right to work. By engaging the right to distribute printed works, PrintRights members respond to the nothingness of being undocumented in a way that is aware of their vulnerability to power.

Notably, the undocumented members of PrintRights were consistent in not categorizing what they did as "work" and emphasizing that they did not do it for money. In response to the specific question on how they characterized their involvement with PrintRights, I received responses such as "delivering messages," "protest," "creative protest," "creation," and "service":

> That is why I say, some people might take it as work, but me, even if I come, I work, I don't get anything that is not a problem for me. Because, health-wise, it is really helping. Waking up in the morning, finding yourself in bed, doing nothing, and then the next day another one, psychologically it is torture, it is totally torture. And having something to do, whether having something or not, it has really helped me.
>
> *(PR3)*

This engagement in an activity that looks like work but is not legally prohibited employment could be theorized as a practice of "everyday resistance" (Bhimji, 2014; Johansson & Vinthagen, 2019). It is the performance of the activity of work that fills the nothingness of being undocumented and is also highly responsive to this group's vulnerability to power. Bloom applies this idea further in her theorization of vulnerability and the challenge of the noncitizen, noting that "in the case where a person's rights, political agency, and even being, are denied, even mundane activities can be politicized and challenging" (Bloom, 2017, pp. 136–137). By framing their co-operative within the right to distribute printed works, the members of PrintRights have found a legal and political space in which they can resist the alienage law that makes them vulnerable. They access a socio-economic right, the right to work, via a civil and political right of the freedom of expression. In this environment, where employment is prohibited, engaging in an activity that looks like work but is not prohibited employment is itself a form of resistance.

CONCLUSION

The pandemic has exacerbated vulnerabilities in the lives of undocumented migrants in the Netherlands, and as demonstrated in the case study of PrintRights, it has also created new opportunities for resistance. The members of the co-operative resisted their increased vulnerability to policing by organizing the 1,000 masks campaign, a campaign that illustrates Butler's concept of supported action. Though undocumented migrants were disproportionally vulnerable to the pandemic due to embedded vulnerability, the pandemic heightened their awareness of an embodied vulnerability shared with Dutch citizens. They responded with a performance of citizenship. The mobilization of the right to distribute printed works was a means for undocumented people, who were vulnerable to power through deportability, to frame their resistance within a protection from state power through the freedom of expression. By framing their actions within this legal right, their everyday action of performing work could be conceived of as political speech—a more highly protected form of expression than commercial speech (Perinçek v. Switzerland, 2015).

The case study of PrintRights demonstrates how embodied vulnerability discourse in law can form part of the supports for resistance by, for example, requiring the state to provide for basic needs, such as shelter. But there is also a truth in Butler's critique of vulnerability discourse in law—the members of PrintRights recount a "nothingness" of being undocumented and in the shelter system that echoes Butler's concept of reification in vulnerability. The shelter system can fix neither embedded vulnerability, due to alienage and migration law, nor vulnerability to the power of migration policing. But laws, like vulnerabilities, are plural. Members of PrintRights challenge their vulnerability to migration and alienage law by performatively invoking another, separate, legal provision: the right to printed works. I have argued in this article that this plural engagement with human rights opens the possibility for a plural engagement with vulnerabil-

ity discourse in human rights law. If protections of migrant rights to expression, assembly, and association are contextualized to the embedded vulnerability and vulnerability to power that undocumented migrants live in, the scope of these rights can protect the contextualized resistance of the vulnerable subject. For a group that is vulnerable to migrant deportation, political expression may look less like a speech at a rally and more like a message printed on a facemask. For a group of undocumented migrants embedded in vulnerability through the prohibition on employment and enforced inactivity, resistance may look like the act of work itself.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jordan F. Dez is a PhD researcher at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. She can be reached at j.f.dez@vu.nl.

FUNDING

This research is funded by the Dutch Research Council (NWO), Project #406.18.RB.020, Claim-Making as Rights-Making: Irregular Migrants Reshaping International Human Rights Law.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

Ethical approval was granted for this case study by the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Faculty of Law, Ethics Committee for Legal and Criminological Research (CERCO).

ORCID

Jordan F. Dez https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2947-6902

REFERENCES

Åberg, K. (2021). Inclusion through conflict: Irregular migrants, Bonnie Honig, and political rights. *Nordic Journal of Human Rights*, *39*(3), 224–242. https://doi.org/10.1080/18918131.2021.2008136

Abrams, K. (2014). *Performative citizenship in the civil rights and immigrant rights movements*. (UC Berkeley Public Law Research Paper No. 2409971). https://repository.law.umich.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?filename=1&article=1031&context=books&type=additional

Abrego, L. (2008). Legitimacy, social identity, and the mobilization of law: The effects of Assembly Bill 540 on undocumented students in California. *Law & Social Inquiry*, *33*(3), 709–734. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20108779

Al Tamimi, Y. (2016). The protection of vulnerable groups and individuals by the European Court of Human Rights. *Journal européen des droits de l'homme*, *2016*(5), 561–583. http://hdl.handle.net/1814/50685

Anderson, B. (2008). *"Illegal immigrant": Victim or villain?* (ESRC Centre on Migration Policy and Society Working Paper No. 64). University of Oxford. https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/WP-2008-064-Anderson_Illegal_Immigrant_Victim_Villain.pdf

Anderson, B. (2013). *Us and them? The dangerous politics of immigration control*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199691593.001.0001

Anthony, F.-V., & Sterkens, C. (2018). Extending political rights to immigrants and refugees. In C. Sterkens, & H. G. Ziebertz (Eds.), *Political and judicial rights through the prism of religious belief* (pp. 145–183). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-77353-7_7

Arendt, H. (1998). *The human condition* (2nd ed.). University of Chicago Press.

Ayoub, P. M., Wallace, S. J., & Zepeda-Millán, C. (2014). Triangulation in social movement research. In D. della Porta (Ed.), *Methodological practices in social movement research* (pp. 67–96). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198719571.003.0004

Baumgärtel, M. (2019). *Demanding rights: Europe's supranational courts and the dilemma of migrant vulnerability*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108677837

Baumgärtel, M., & Oomen, B. (2019). Pulling human rights back in? Local authorities, international law and the reception of undocumented migrants. *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*, *51*(2), 172–191. https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.2019.1624942

Bender, F. (2021). Enfranchising the disenfranchised: Should refugees receive political rights in liberal democracies? *Citizenship Studies*, *25*(1), 56–71. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2020.1825625

Berntsen, L., de Lange, T., & Rijken, C. (2022). *Migranten zonder verblijfsvergunning: Rechten en sociaaleconomische positie in Nederland*. Amsterdam University Press. https://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/52883

Bhimji, F. (2014). Undocumented immigrants' performances and claims of urban citizenship in Los Angeles. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *35*(1), 18–33. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2014.864624

Bloom, T. (2017). *Noncitizenism: Recognising noncitizen capabilities in a world of citizens*. CRC Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315169736

Bosniak, L. (2006). *The citizen and the alien: Dilemmas of contemporary membership*. Princeton University Press.

Bracke, S. (2016). Bouncing back: Vulnerability and resistance in times of resilience. In J. Butler, Z. Gambetti, & L. Sabsay (Eds.), *Vulnerability in resistance* (pp. 52–75). Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822373490-004

Butler, J. (2015). *Notes toward a performative theory of assembly*. Harvard University Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvjghvt2

Butler, J. (2016). Rethinking vulnerability and resistance. In J. Butler, Z. Gambetti, & L. Sabsay (Eds.), *Vulnerability in resistance* (pp. 12–27). Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822373490-002

Chauvin, S., & Garcés-Mascareñas, B. (2014). Becoming less illegal: Deservingness frames and undocumented migrant incorporation. *Sociology Compass*, *8*(4), 422–432. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12145

Chimienti, M., & Solomos, J. (2020). The transnational mobilization of 'irregular migrants'. In S. Spencer, & A. Triandafyllidou (Eds.), *Migrants with irregular status in Europe: Evolving conceptual and policy challenges* (pp. 99–116). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-34324-8_6

Cholewinski, R. (2005). *Study on obstacles to effective access of irregular migrants to minimum social rights*. Council of Europe Publishing. https://www.coe.int/t/dg3/migration/archives/documentation/Legal_texts/5879-7-Effective%20access%20of%20irregular%20migrants%20to%20minimum%20social%20rights_en.pdf

Cole, A. (2016). All of us are vulnerable, but some are more vulnerable than others: The political ambiguity of vulnerability studies, an ambivalent critique. *Critical Horizons*, *17*(2), 260–277. https://doi.org/10.1080/14409917.2016.1153896

Conference of European Churches (CEC) v. the Netherlands, 90/2013. (2014, November 10). European Committee of Social Rights.

Crépeau, F. (2014). *Report of the special rapporteur on the human rights of migrants*. (A/HRC/26/35). UNHCR. https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/129/15/PDF/G1412915.pdf?OpenElement

De Genova, N. P. (2002). Migrant "illegality" and deportability in everyday life. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *31*(1), 419–447. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.31.040402.085432

Dembour, M.B., & Kelly, T. (Eds.). (2011). *Are human rights for migrants? Critical reflections on the status of irregular migrants in Europe and the United States*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203813447

Durmuş, E. (2020). A typology of local governments' engagement with human rights: Legal pluralist contributions to international law and human rights. *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*, *38*(1), 30–54. https://doi.org/10.1177/0924051920903241

Fineman, M. A. (2010). The vulnerable subject and the responsive state. *Emory Law Journal*, *60*(2), 251–276. https://ssrn.com/abstract=1694740

Fiorito, T. (2021). Learning to be legal: Transition narratives of joy and survivor guilt of previously undocumented 1.5-generation Latinx immigrants in the United States. *Citizenship Studies*, *25*(8), 1096–1111. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2021.1979469

Ghaeminia, S. (2013, December 3). Opnieuw verhuizen voor bad, bed en brood. En rust. *Trouw*. https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/opnieuw-verhuizen-voor-bad-bed-en-brood-en-rust~bd2b04b5/

Hage, G. (2009). Waiting out the crisis: On stuckedness and governmentality. *Anthropological Theory*, *5*, 463–475.

Hajer, M., & Bröer, C. (2020). We Are here! Claim-making and claim-placing of undocumented migrants in Amsterdam. *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology*, *7*(4), 431–451. https://doi.org/10.1080/23254823.2020.1774911

Hasan Bhuiyan, M. T., Khan, I. M., Rahman Jony, S. S., Robinson, R., Nguyen, U.-S. D. T., Keellings, D., Rahman, M. S., & Haque, U. (2021). The disproportionate impact of COVID-19 among undocumented immigrants and racial minorities in the US. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *18*(23), Article 12708. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph182312708

Huerta, A. V., & Mclean, L. (2021). From vulnerable victims to insurgent caravaneros: The genesis and consolidation of a new form of migrant self-defence in America. In G. Grappi (Ed.), *Migration and the contested politics of justice: Europe and the global dimension* (pp. 184–203). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003022572

Inter-American Court of Human Rights. (2003, September 17). *Juridical condition and rights of undocumented migrants*. (Advisory Opinion OC-18/03). https://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/opiniones/seriea_18_ing.pdf

Irwin, R. M., & Del Monte, J. A. (2020). Migrant autonomy and wilfulness amidst the onslaught of the Covid-19 pandemic at the Tijuana border. *Crossings: Journal of Migration & Culture*, *11*(2), 153–168. https://doi.org/10.1386/cjmc_00022_1

Isin, E. (2017). Performative citizenship. In A. Shachar, R. Bauböck, I. Bloemraad, & M. Vink (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of citizenship* (pp. 501–520). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198805854.013.22

Isin, E.F., & Nielsen, G.M. (Eds.). (2008). *Acts of citizenship*. Zed Books.

Johansson, A., & Vinthagen, S. (2019). *Conceptualizing everyday resistance: A transdisciplinary approach*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315150154

Kamerman, S. (2012, October 26). Bed, bad en brood. Dat is het minste. *NRC.Next*. https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2012/10/26/bed-bad-en-brood-dat-is-het-minste-12569104-a371987

Kawar, L. (2015). *Contesting immigration policy in court: Legal activism and its radiating effects in the United States and France*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107741980

Koppelingswet. (n.d.). Koppelingswet 1998 (NL), Staatsblad 1998, 203. . https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/stb-1998-203.html

Kumar, B. N., Hargreaves, S., Agyemang, C., James, R. A., Blanchet, K., & Gruer, L. (2021). Reducing the impact of the coronavirus on disadvantaged migrants and ethnic minorities. *European Journal of Public Health*, *31*(S4), iv9–iv13. https://doi.org/10.1093/eurpub/ckab151

Leachman, G. (2013). Legal framing. In A. Sarat (Ed.), *Studies in law, politics, and society* (pp. 25–59). Emerald Group Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1108/S1059-4337(2013)0000061005

López-Sala, A. (2021). Luchando por sus derechos en tiempos de COVID-19. Resistencias y reclamaciones de regularización de los migrantes Sinpapeles en España. *REMHU: Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana*, *29*(61), 83–96. https://doi.org/10.1590/1980-85852503880006106

Mayrhofer, M. (2020). The challenges of the concept of vulnerability in the human rights context from a discourse-analytical perspective. *Zeitschrift für Menschenrechte*, *14*(2), 156–175. https://elibrary.utb.de/doi/10.46499/1584.1882

McInerney-Lankford, S. (2017). Legal methodologies and human rights research: Challenges and opportunities. In B. A. Andreassen, H. O. Sano, & S. McInerney-Lankford (Eds.), *Research methods in human rights: A handbook* (pp. 38–67). Edward Elgar Publishing. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781785367793.00010

McNevin, A. (2011). *Contesting citizenship: Irregular migrants and new frontiers of the political*. Columbia University Press. https://doi.org/10.7312/columbia/9780231151283.001.0001

McNevin, A. (2013). Ambivalence and citizenship: Theorising the political claims of irregular migrants. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, *41*(2), 182–200. https://doi.org/10.1177/0305829812463473

McNevin, A. (2020). Time and the figure of the citizen. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, *33*(4), 545–559. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10767-020-09358-4

Miaz, J. (2021). The adversarial co-production of law. The role of legal intermediaries in the judicialization of the Swiss Asy-

lum Policy. *Droit et Société*, *107*(1), 51–66. https://www.cairn-int.info/journal-droit-et-societe-2021-1-page-51.htm

MSS v. Belgium and Greece, Application no. 3069/09. (2011). European Court of Human Rights.

Nicholls, W. J. (2013). *The DREAMers: How the undocumented youth movement transformed the immigrant rights debate*. Stanford University Press.

Nicholls, W. J. (2014). From political opportunities to niche-openings: The dilemmas of mobilizing for immigrant rights in inhospitable environments. *Theory and Society: Renewal and Critique in Social Theory*, *43*(1), 23–49. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-013-9208-x

Niezna, M., Kurlander, Y., & Shamir, H. (2021). Underlying conditions: The increased vulnerability of migrant workers under COVID-19 in Israel. *Journal of Modern Slavery: A Multidisciplinary Exploration of Human Trafficking Soutions*, *6*(2), 133–158. https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3871818

Nyers, P. (2010). Abject cosmopolitanism: The politics of protection in the anti-deporation movement. In N. D. Genova, & N. Peutz (Eds.), *The deportation regime: Sovereignty, space, and the freedom of movement* (pp. 413–442). Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv120qtc1.19

Oliveri, F. (2016). Struggles at the boundaries of neoliberal citizenship: Theorizing immigrant-led movements in contemporary Europe. In A. Amelina, K. Horvath, & B. Meeus (Eds.), *An anthology of migration and social transformation: European perspectives* (pp. 263–279). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-23666-7_17

Oliveri, F. (2018). Racialization and counter-racialization in times of crisis: Taking migrant struggles in Italy as a critical standpoint on race. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *41*(10), 1855–1873. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2018.1391404

Ombudsman Metropool Amsterdam. (2021). *Onzichtbaar: Onderzoek naar de leefwereld van ongedocumenteerden in Amsterdam en Nederland*. https://www.ombudsmanmetropool.nl/uploaded_files/article/Rapport_Onzichtbaar.pdf

Oomen, B., & Baumgärtel, M. (2018). Frontier cities: The rise of local authorities as an opportunity for international human rights law. *European Journal of International Law*, *29*(2), 607–630. https://doi.org/DOI:10.1093/ejil/chy021

Palma-Gutierrez, M. (2021). A transitory settlement on the way back to Venezuela: A tale of vulnerability, exception, and migrant resistance in times of COVID-19. *REMHU: Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana*, *29*(61), 121–144. https://doi.org/10.1590/1980-85852503880006108

Perinçek v. Switzerland, Application no. 27510/08. (2015, October 15). European Court of Human Rights.

Peroni, L., & Timmer, A. (2013). Vulnerable groups: The promise of an emerging concept in European Human Rights Convention law. *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, *11*(4), 1056–1085. https://doi.org/10.1093/icon/mot042

Pugach v. Belarus. (2015, July 15). Human Rights Committee, Communication No. 1984/2010. UNHCR.

Rygiel, K. (2011). Bordering solidarities: Migrant activism and the politics of movement and camps at Calais. *Citizenship Studies*, *15*(1), 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2011.534911

Shachar, A. (2020). *The shifting border: Legal cartographies of migration and mobility Ayelet Shachar in dialogue*. Manchester University Press.

Sharif Baban v. Australia. (2003, August 6). Human Rights Committee Communication No. 1014/2001. UNCHR.

Slingenberg, L. (2021). Deservingness in judicial discourse. An analysis of the legal reasoning adopted in Dutch case law on irregular migrant families' access to shelter. *Social Policy and Society*, *20*(3), 521–530. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746421000075

Spencer, S. (2020). Cities breaking the mould? Municipal inclusion of irregular migrants in Europe. In S. Spencer, & A. Triandafyllidou (Eds.), *Migrants with irregular status in Europe: Evolving conceptual and policy challenges* (pp. 187–205). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-34324-8_10

Spencer, S., & Delvino, N. (2019). Municipal activism on irregular migrants: The framing of inclusive approaches at the local level. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, *17*(1), 27–43. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2018.1519867

Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Participant observation*. Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Stierl, M., & Tazzioli, M. (2021). Toward an archive of migrant struggles: Critique and the materiality of justice. In G. Grappi (Ed.), *Migration and the contested politics of justice: Europe and the global dimension* (pp. 227–241). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003022572

Turner, L. (2021). The politics of labeling refugee men as "vulnerable". *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, *28*(1), 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxz033

van Meeteren, M., & Sur, M. (2020). Territorial ironies: Deservingness as a struggle for migrant legitimacy in Belgium. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, *33*(4), 575–589. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10767-020-09360-w

Van Walsum, S (2011). Regulating migrant domestic work in the Netherlands: Opportunities and pitfalls. *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, *23*(1), 141–165. https://doi.org/10.3138/cjwl.23.1.141

Waite, L., Lewis, H., Dwyer, P., & Hodkinson, S. (2015). Precarious lives: Refugees and asylum seekers' resistance within unfree labouring. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, *14*(2), 479–491. https://www.acme-journal.org/index.php/acme/article/view/1176

Webley, L. (2016, October). Stumbling blocks in empirical legal research: Case study research. *Law and Method*. https://doi.org/10.5553/REM/.000020

Wet arbeid vremdelingen. (1994). (NL), section 2, article 2. https://wetten.overheid.nl/jci1.3:c

Ziegler, R. (2017). *Voting rights of refugees*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316671443

Ziegler, R. (2021). Political rights of aliens: Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the ECHR and article 3 of Additional Protocol 1. In D. Moya, & G. Milios (Eds.), *Aliens before the European Court of Human Rights: Ensuring minimum standards of human rights protection* (pp. 172–190). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004465695_009

Zivi, K. (2012). *Making rights claims: A practice of democratic citizenship*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199826414.001.0001

Zwaan, K., Terlouw, A., Strik, T., Oosterom-Staples, H., De Lange, T., Grutters, C., & Fernhout, R. (2018). *Nederlands Migratierecht* (2nd ed.). Boom Juridisch.

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés
2022, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1–19
https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.40799

Syrian Refugees' Participation in Language Classes: Motivators and Barriers

Nicole Ives[a], Anna Oda[b], Jonathan Bridekirk[c], Michaela Hynie[c], Susan McGrath[d], Rana Mohammad[e], Mona Awwad[f], Kathy Sherrell[g], Mahi Khalaf[g] and Marcela Diaz[h]

ABSTRACT

Resettlement country language literacy facilitates integration and counteracts social and economic marginalization. Thus, access to language learning is a social justice issue. Resettled refugees in Canada are eligible for free English/French language training. Between 2015-2017, Canada resettled 47,735 Syrian refugees. We explored predictors of language class participation for Syrian refugees, examining data from 1915 adult Syrian refugees in government-funded language classes in British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec. Findings suggest access to language programs are shaped by provincial policies. Factors hindering participation varied by province and included gender, physical/mental health, education, English/French literacy, and employment. Practice and policy recommendations are discussed.

KEYWORDS

CONTACT

[a] nicole.ives@mcgill.ca

School of Social Work, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada

[b] annaoda@yorku.ca

Centre for Refugee Studies, York University, Toronto, ON, Canada

[c] jbride@yorku.ca

Department of Psychology, York University, Toronto, ON, Canada

[c] mhynie@yorku.ca

Department of Psychology, York University, Toronto, ON, Canada

[d] smcgrath@yorku.ca

School of Social Work, York University, Toronto, ON, Canada

[e] ranaamohamad@gmail.com

Carizon Family and Community Services, Kitchener, ON, Canada

[f] mona.awwad.q@gmail.com

OMNI Television

[g] kathy.sherrell@issbc.org

Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada

[g] mahi.khalaf@issbc.org

Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada

[h] mdiaz@themcc.com

Multicultural Council of Windsor and Essex County, ON, Canada

refugees; language; integration; Syria; resettlement; literacy

RESUMÉ

L'alphabétisation dans la langue du pays d'accueil facilite l'intégration et réduit la marginalisation sociale et économique. Ainsi, l'accès à l'apprentissage de la langue est une question de justice sociale. Les réfugiés réinstallés au Canada sont admissibles à une formation gratuite en anglais/français. Entre 2015 et 2017, le Canada a réinstallé 47 735 réfugiés syriens. Nous avons exploré les prédicteurs de la participation aux cours de langue pour les réfugiés syriens, en examinant les données de 1 915 réfugiés syriens adultes dans des cours de langue financés par le gouvernement en Colombie-Britannique, en Ontario et au Québec. Les facteurs entravant la participation variaient selon la province et comprenaient le sexe, la santé physique/mentale, l'éducation, l'alphabétisation en anglais/français et l'emploi. Des recommandations pratiques et politiques sont discutées.

HISTORY Published 23 August 2022

INTRODUCTION

Canada provides protection to refugees from overseas through three different programs: the Government-Assisted Refugees (GAR) program, the Private Sponsorship of Refugees (PSR) program, and the Blended Visa Office-Referred program (BVOR). Regardless of program, all refugees resettled by Canada are provided financial and settlement support for the first year of settlement. They are also entitled to reception, orientation, focused assistance with language training, housing, physical and mental health supports, education, employment, referrals to essential federal/provincial programs and settlement programs, and financial assistance (Hynie et al., 2019). Resettled refugees are eligible for free Government of Canada–funded language training in English and French, delivered through Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC)/Cours de langue pour les immigrants au Canada (CLIC) or Quebec's Linguistic Integration Program.

Myriad environmental forces shape the short-term resettlement experience and long-term integration of newcomers (Ives et al., 2020). Settlement workers typically adopt a holistic systems approach to practice, and those who work with refugees also incorporate an understanding of the importance of context, particularly experiences in the country of origin, during the journey to the host country, and social and material factors in the country of resettlement (Hynie, 2018). In the resettlement phase, there is a particular focus on services that comprise "integration practice," that is, "activities and perspectives relating to long-term integration and its processes" (Valtonen, 2008, p. 15). **Integration** is a contested term but has been defined most broadly as economic and social inclusion (Hynie et al., 2016; Phillimore, 2021). Thus, services or activities that include connecting refugees to services that enable them to improve their job marketability and provide opportunities for training and social participation outside their cultural/linguistic community are included in the conceptualization of integration practice.

Competence in a resettlement country's official language(s) is a key component of successful integration as it facilitates labour market integration, access to necessary information, and development of social

capital (Boyd & Cao, 2009; Ertorer, 2016; Nawyn et al., 2012; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Official language literacy is also important for refugees' overall well-being. It enhances communication and relationship building with the broader society in the long term (Ives & Sinha, 2010; Tip et al., 2019) and addresses the loneliness and isolation that can result from limited to no proficiency in the official language(s) (Casimiro et al., 2007; Choudhry, 2001).

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) funds language training services outside of Quebec for both of Canada's official languages, English and French; these are delivered in multiple formats, including classroom, online, and blended formats, although 94% receive their training in a classroom (IRCC, 2017a, s. 5.5). Language assessments are conducted to assess clients' language skills (in English or French) for placement in a language training program using tools based on the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB) or the Niveaux de compétence linguistique canadiens. Language training clients receive, on average, about 215 hours of training (IRCC, 2017a). The language programs are administered provincially and are usually provided by local service provision organizations (SPOs).

Between November 4, 2015, and July 31, 2017, Canada resettled 47,735 Syrian refugees (24,410 were 18 years or older) (IRCC, 2017b), creating a unique opportunity to evaluate this resettlement effort. As noted, a key aspect of successful integration is proficiency in the resettlement country's official language(s), but newcomers' ability to access language training may be shaped by municipal and provincial policies and the extent to which they accommodate refugee newcomers' diverse needs. Thus, we asked: What are the predictors of language class participation for Syrian refugees resettled in Canada? This article examines participation in government-funded language classes in a sample of Syrian refugees during their first years of resettlement and, specifically, barriers and motivators in relation to different service provision systems across three Canadian provinces: British Columbia (BC), Ontario (ON), and Quebec (QC).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study was informed by critical integration theories (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2018; Phillimore, 2021). These theorists argue that integration discourses and goals are often driven by the state's motivation to minimize disruption to the prevailing social systems. In this framing of integration, success is determined by how quickly refugees are able to transform themselves to find employment, learn the language(s), and adopt the values and customs of the region into which they settle, with little reflection on refugees' priorities (Farrugia, 2009). Many refugees may indeed be motivated to quickly find work, learn the language, and accustom themselves to local practices. But critical integration theories question who actually determines newcomers' primary integration goals. Moreover, they note that despite an increasing shift to defining integration as a process of mutual change between newcomers and the society into which they settle, integration is still typically operationalized and measured in terms of changes within newcomers alone (Phillimore, 2021; Strang & Ager, 2010).

Focusing solely on changes that refugee newcomers make does not acknowledge the ways in which policies, institutions, and social environments produce social and structural barriers to integration. Our goal was to underscore the multi-faceted adaptation involved in integration, purposefully moving away from conceptualizations of inte-

gration that result in "strategic integration" of refugees and immigrants from racialized backgrounds into "bare life" existence and towards a place where the onus to integrate, adjust, and change falls not just on refugees/immigrants but also on the dominant host society (Hynie et al., 2019). At the same time, limited or no language proficiency in the host society's language(s) poses barriers in multiple facets of integration, depleting the capacity for developing social networks and political power, achieving educational goals and meaningful livelihoods, and participating in the broader community (Hynie et al., 2016; Morrice et al., 2021). The absence of English or French language in Canada, particularly for racialized refugees, practically assures that a resettlement experience is characterized by ongoing poverty, under-/unemployment, and overrepresentation in low-income, underserved neighbourhoods, which deepen colonial/racialized and gendered inequalities.

METHODS

This article reports on data collected in the first year of a four-year study on Syrian refugee integration in Canada (SyRIA.lth).[1] The larger study compared integration outcomes for government-assisted and privately sponsored refugees resettled as part of Canada's response to the Syrian conflict. The purpose of this article is to examine how resettlement programs in three Canadian provinces and six cities support long-term social integration pathways for refugees via access to official language learning programs.

PARTICIPANTS

Between January 2015 and June 2017, approximately 9,585 adult Syrian refugees were resettled to Ontario, 6,055 Syrian refugees were resettled in Quebec, and 4,000 Syrian refugees were resettled to BC (IRCC, 2017b). Participants were recruited from six urban centres in three of the largest immigrant-receiving provinces in Canada: British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec. Ontario study sites, comprising Toronto, Kitchener, and Windsor, had 865 participants, representing 9% of the total adult Syrian refugees in Ontario. Montreal was the only survey site in Quebec, with 692 respondents representing approximately 11% of those resettled in the province. BC study sites, Vancouver and Okanagan Valley, had 280 participants, representing 17% of those resettled in BC.

The six cities represented the largest city in each province: Vancouver, BC, with 2,737,698; Toronto, ON, with 6,555,205; and Montreal, QC, with 4,364,189. These are large, ethnically diverse cities that are the primary destinations of many immigrants into each province. The three other cities were also sites for the resettlement of GARs but had smaller populations. In Ontario, the Kitchener–Waterloo metropolitan area has a population of 593,882, and Windsor's population is 356,880. In BC, we also worked in the Okanagan Valley, whose largest city is Kelowna, with a population of 222,748 (Statistics Canada, 2021). Although larger cities have a broader range of employment opportunities and more access to culturally and linguistically diverse services, smaller cities have lower housing costs and

[1] SyRIA.lth is composed of Adnan Al Mhamied, Arman Hamidian, Anas Issa, Anna Oda, Ben C. H. Kuo, Branka Agic, Carolyn Beukeboom, Farah Ahmad, Jennifer Hyndman, Jill Hanley, Jonathan Bridekirk, Joanna Anneke Rummens, Kashmala Qasim, Kathy Sherrell, Kwame McKenzie, Lana Saad, Lina Abdullah, Mahi Khalaf, Marcela Diaz, May Massijeh, Michaela Hynie, Mona Awwad, Neil Arya, Nicole Ives, Oula Hajjar, Rabih (Fakhri) Jamil, Rana Mohammad, Riham Al-Saadi, Rosemary Georges, Susan McGrath, Yogendra Shakya and MHD Youssef Demashkieh. The team can be reached at syrialth@yorku.ca.

more access to work in factories or trades that may not require linguistic fluency and are generally less precarious than work in the sales and service sector. The Okanagan Valley is a unique setting among the six cities in that it has a thriving tourism industry with opportunities for employment in that sector.

The study aimed to enrol at least 10% of the anticipated 18,000 adult PSR and GAR arrivals between January 2015 and June 2017. Inclusion criteria were as follows: Syrian refugee (GAR, PSR, or BVOR), having arrived in Canada between January 2015 and June 2017, and 18 years of age or older. Recruitment occurred over four months in 2017 through a non-random snowball sampling method, and announcements, flyers, and direct requests at settlement and community agencies, food banks, and in buildings and neighbourhoods with high concentrations of Syrian refugees. A maximum of six participants were interviewed from each household. A total of 1,915 adult Syrian refugees representing 854 households participated in the first year.

MEASURES

The survey contained 245 questions addressing multiple aspects of settlement, migration experiences, and integration. Priority was given to standardized scales that have been validated with Arabic-speaking populations. Professional English-to-Arabic translation was obtained for additional survey questions. The survey was also piloted with 24 recent Syrian refugees. Only questions related to socio-demographic information, language, and health are addressed in this article, including sponsorship status, age, length of stay in Canada (months), education level, need for an interpreter, gender, employment, presence of children under 18 years of age, and physical and mental health, as well as attendance in language classes.

PROCEDURES

All participants provided informed consent prior to the participation. They were also given a modest honorarium. Survey responses were collected through face-to-face interviews in Arabic with peer researchers. Each survey took approximately an hour to an hour and a half to complete. Because language programs are provincially funded and implemented, we also consulted service providers working with refugees in settlement contexts in each province. We consulted with one to two community and settlement agency staff who provided or oversaw language class provision at each study site to facilitate interpretation of findings. Additionally, research team members also provided contextualization regarding provincial settlement policies.

DATA ANALYSIS

Descriptive statistics provided the sample's socio-demographic, health, and settlement characteristics by city.

Two sets of binary logistic regressions were used to examine differences in language class attendance across the provinces. The first logistic regression analysis was an omnibus test conducted for the entire sample, entering province as dummy-coded variables in the first step and participant socio-demographic characteristics in the second step. The second set of logistic regression analyses were then used separately within each province to assess the association between socio-demographic characteristics and language class attendance to determine whether there were differences by city for each province. For logistic regression, attendance was coded as 1 for attending

and 2 for not attending. Among the predictor variables, the following were entered as categorical variables: city, gender, employment, and having young children. The remaining variables were treated as numeric variables. Assumptions of multicollinearity were not violated, as variance inflation factors between all variables within the logistic regression models were less than a value of 2. To facilitate interpretation of the regressions, p values are reported. However, these should not be taken to indicate significance of patterns in the population of Syrian refugees as a whole because the sample is not randomly selected; the p values are being used descriptively (Amrhein et al., 2019).

ETHICS APPROVAL

Ethics approval was obtained at each research site affiliated with the study (York University, University of Windsor, McGill University, and the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health).

RESULTS

Descriptive data are presented by city in **Table 1**.

Overall, the majority of research participants were enrolled in language classes (71.9%), with consistent participation across cities and provinces (ON = 72.4%, QC = 70.7%, BC = 74.4%). On average, Syrian refugees have been in Canada for 13.5 months (SD = 5.45); this was similar across cities. Just over half of participants (51.5%) were women, and this was also fairly consistent across sites.

Some important differences did emerge across the sites. In Toronto, Kitchener, and the Okanagan Valley, the proportion of GARs was between half and two-thirds of the sample. In Windsor and Vancouver, it was over 80%, while in Montreal, it was just over 9%, consistent with the ratio among the city population overall and a provincial decision to direct GARs to smaller centres. Given that GARs and PSRs tend to differ substantially in basic education and language ability, particularly among the Syrian refugee cohort, this may affect language needs and class attendance (IRCC, 2016a, 2016b). Indeed, patterns of educational completion mirrored the distribution of GARs and PSRs. The proportion of respondents with primary school education or less was only 13.9% in Montreal but ranged from 29.5% to as high as 41% in Kitchener. This is particularly important given that it may indicate issues with literacy in their first language, and this can impede language learning. Similarly, those in the two highest education categories, who had completed at least some university, represented almost half of the Montreal sample (47.7%) but only 10.7% of those in Vancouver, 16.4% of those in Kitchener, and between 22.2% and 23.9% of those in the other cities.

Consistent with the pattern of education and migration pathway distribution across sites, the proportion who reported always needing an interpreter ranged from about 28% in Montreal and the Okanagan Valley to 43.3% in Kitchener and almost half (47%) in Windsor. The need for an interpreter also showed some of the expected relationship to employment. Employment rates were particularly low in Kitchener (12.2%) and very high in the Okanagan Valley (41.3%). The Montreal sample also differed in terms of the average age, being somewhat older than other cities (42.1 years, whereas the average in the other five cities ranged from 35.4 to 37.0 years) and less likely to have young children at home (only 44.1% had young children, compared with between a half and three quarters of respondents in the other cities).

Table 1
Demographic Information by City

Measure	Toronto, ON (n = 501)	Kitchener, ON (n = 134)	Windsor, ON (n = 230)	Montreal, QC (n = 692)	Vancouver, BC (n = 234)	Okanagan Valley, BC (n = 46)
	n (%)					
Currently attending language classes (yes)	358 (71.5)	97 (72.4)	166 (72.2)	489 (70.7)	177 (75.6)	34 (73.9)
Sponsorship						
GAR	313 (62.5)	86 (64.2)	185 (80.4)	65 (9.4)	186 (79.5)	24 (52.2)
PSR	187 (37.3)	48 (35.8)	45 (19.6)	627 (90.6)	48 (20.5)	22 (47.8)
Gender						
Male	243 (48.5)	62 (46.3)	114 (49.6)	323 (46.7)	124 (53.0)	22 (47.8)
Female	256 (51.1)	72 (53.7)	116 (50.4)	368 (53.2)	110 (47.0)	24 (52.2)
Children under 18 years (yes)	351 (70.0)	95 (70.8)	162 (70.4)	305 (44.1)	151 (64.5)	35 (76.1)
Currently employed (yes)	104 (20.8)	24 (1)	28 (12.2)	193 (27.9)	61 (26.1)	19 (41.3)
Education level						
Very low: elementary school or less	148 (29.5)	55 (41.0)	72 (31.3)	96 (13.9)	84 (36.0%)	16 (34.8)
Low: middle school	101 (20.2)	35 (26.1)	59 (25.7)	75 (10.8)	68 (29.1)	15 (32.6)
Moderate: high school	136 (27.1)	22 (16.4)	48 (20.9)	191 (27.6)	56 (23.9)	4 (8.7)
High: university	45 (9.0)	9 (6.7)	25 (10.9)	144 (16.5)	12 (5.1)	5 (10.9)
Very high: post-graduate	71 (14.2)	13 (9.7)	26 (11.3)	216 (31.2)	13 (5.6)	6 (13.0)
Need interpreter						
Always	183 (36.5)	58 (43.3)	108 (47.0)	197 (28.5)	82 (35.0)	13 (28.3)

Continued on next page

Table 1 continued

Measure	Toronto, ON (n = 501)	Kitchener, ON (n = 134)	Windsor, ON (n = 230)	Montreal, QC (n = 692)	Vancouver, BC (n = 234)	Okanagan Valley, BC (n = 46)
Sometimes	200 (39.9)	55 (41.0)	92 (40.0)	235 (34.0)	122 (52.1)	16 (34.8)
Never	118 (23.6)	21 (15.7)	30 (13.0)	260 (37.6)	30 (12.8)	17 (37.0)
Perceived physical health						
Excellent	93 (18.6)	23 (17.2)	62 (27.0)	115 (16.6)	29 (12.4)	21 (45.7)
Very good	34 (18.8)	22 (16.4)	44 (19.1)	138 (19.9)	37 (15.8)	8 (17.4)
Good	151 (30.1)	46 (34.3)	68 (29.6)	255 (36.8)	79 (33.8)	13 (28.3)
Fair	115 (23.0)	31 (23.1)	39 (17.0)	153 (22.1)	62 (26.5)	4 (8.7)
Poor	48 (9.6)	12 (9.0)	17 (7.4)	31 (4.5)	27 (11.5)	-
Perceived mental health						
Excellent	90 (18.0)	14 (10.4)	65 (28.3)	119 (17.2)	33 (14.1)	24 (52.2)
Very good	112 (22.4)	17 (12.7)	36 (15.7)	146 (21.1)	37 (15.8)	7 (15.2)
Good	144 (28.7)	61 (45.5)	70 (30.4)	249 (36.0)	74 (31.6)	11 (23.9)
Fair	116 (23.2)	35 (26.1)	47 (20.4)	149 (21.5)	62 (26.5)	4 (8.7)
Poor	39 (7.8)	7 (5.2)	11 (4.8)	28 (4.0)	28 (12.0)	-
	M (SD)					
Length of stay in Canada (months)	13.1 (5) (min. = 1, max. = 30)	13.4 (5.5) (min. = 1, max. = 33)	12.7 (5.4) (min. = 2, max. = 24)	13.8 (6) (min. = 1, max. = 35)	14.1 (4.6) (min. = 3, max. = 30)	12.6 (5.7) (min = 1, max. = 19).
Age	37 (13) (min. = 18, max. = 82)	35.4 (12.1) (min = 18, max = 82)	36.6 (12) (min. = 18, max. = 76)	42.1 (15.2) (min. = 18, max. = 90)	35.8 (12) (min. = 18, max. = 70)	35.6 (11.6) (min. = 18, max. =61)

Note. ON = Ontario; QC = Quebec; BC = British Columbia; GAR = Government-Assisted Refugees; PSR = Private Sponsorship of Refugees; M= Median; SD = Standard Deviation.

In terms of perceived health status, there was a cluster of cities where between 16.6% and 18.6% of residents reported excellent health (Toronto, Kitchener, Montreal), with Vancouver slightly lower at 12.4%. A much larger proportion of respondents did so in Windsor (27%) and the Okanagan Valley (45.7%). In terms of poor health, numbers were low in all cities, ranging from 0% and 4.5% in Okanagan and Montreal, respectively, to between 7.4% (Windsor) and 11.5% (Vancouver) in the other cities.

In terms of mental health, the pattern was similar. Mental health was rated as excellent by 28% of those in Windsor and over half (52.2%) of those in Okanagan, while the other cities ranged between 10.4% (Kitchener) and 18% (Toronto). No respondents in the Okanagan Valley rated their mental health as poor. In the other cities, rates were mostly low, ranging from 4% in Montreal to 7.8% in Toronto, with a slightly higher rate of 12% in Vancouver.

LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS

The first regression analysis, which was the omnibus test for the entire sample, explored whether differences existed between provinces in language class attendance. At step 1, the regression model was not significant ($X^2[2] = 2.27$, $p = 0.321$) and accounted for < 1% of the variance (Nagelkerke pseudo R^2) in class attendance. As shown in **Table 2**, there were no significant differences between provinces regarding language class attendance at step 1. When individual characteristics were entered in step 2, the regression model was significant ($X^2[10] = 98.17$, $p < 0.001$) and accounted for 8% of the variance in class attendance. There was still no difference by province, but those who were less likely to attend language classes across provinces were PSRs, never needed an interpreter (i.e., had better language skills), were women, were employed, did not have children under age 18, had poorer perceived physical health, and had better perceived mental health. Overall, all 12 variables in our regression analysis accounted for 8% of the variance in class attendance ($X^2[12] = 100.45$, $p < 0.001$).

The next three analyses explored what factors influence language class attendance within each province. For Ontario, at step 1, the regression was not significant ($X^2[2] = 0.04$, $p = 0.979$) and accounted for < 1% of the variance in class attendance. As seen in **Table 3**, there were no significant differences between cities in Ontario regarding language class attendance at step 1. When individual characteristics were entered in step 2, the regression model was significant ($X^2[10] = 84.56$, $p < 0.001$) and accounted for 14% of the variance in class attendance. There was still no difference by city, but those who were attending language classes across cities were less likely to be younger, women, and employed; have no children under 18; always need an interpreter; and report poorer physical health. Curiously, those reporting poorer mental health were more likely to attend language classes. Overall, all 12 variables in our regression analysis accounted for 14% of the variance in class attendance ($X^2[12] = 84.60$, $p < 0.001$).

For Quebec, which included only one city (Montreal), the regression was significant, ($X^2[10] = 46.77$, $p < 0.001$) and accounted for 9% of the variance in class attendance. As seen in **Table 4**, four factors predicted language class attendance here. Those who were less likely to attend language classes were older adults who had lower education levels, were employed, and reported poor physical health.

Table 2
Predicting Language Class Attendance Across Provinces

Variable	β	SE	p	OR	95% CI OR	Hosmer–Lemeshow test	Sig.	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1						0.00	1.000	0.000	0.000
ON = 1, QC & BC = 2	0.06	0.11	0.590	1.06	0.85–1.33				
BC = 1, QC & ON = 2	0.24	0.16	0.135	1.28	0.93–1.75				
Step 2						5.28	0.728	0.080	0.080
ON = 1, QC & BC = 2	−0.21	0.14	0.134	0.81	0.61–1.07				
BC = 1, QC & ON = 2	0.07	0.19	0.733	1.07	0.73–1.56				
Sponsorship (GAR = 1, PSR = 2)	0.30	0.15	0.045*	1.35	1.01–1.82				
Age	0.00	0.01	0.348	1.00	1.00–1.01				
Length of stay in Canada (months)	0.00	0.01	0.985	1.00	0.98–1.02				
Education level (very low 1, very high = 5)	−0.08	0.05	0.071	0.92	0.84–1.01				
Need for an interpreter (always = 1, sometimes = 2, never = 3)	−0.24	0.09	0.005**	0.79	0.66–0.93				
Gender (male = 1, female = 2)	0.45	0.12	< 0.001***	1.57	1.25–1.98				
Currently working (yes = 1, no = 2)	−0.95	0.14	< 0.001***	0.38	0.29–0.51				
Children under 18 years (yes = 1, no = 2)	−0.40	0.12	0.001***	0.67	0.54–0.84				
Health (excellent = 1, poor = 5)	0.11	0.06	0.040*	1.12	1.01–1.25				
Mental health (excellent = 1, poor = 5)	−.12	0.05	0.019*	0.88	0.80–0.98				

Note. β = unstandardized regression coefficients; SE = standard error; OR = odds ratio; CI = confidence interval; Sig. = significance; R^2 = Nagelkerke pseudo R^2; ON = Ontario; QC = Quebec; BC = British Columbia; GAR = Government-Assisted Refugees; PSR = Private Sponsorship of Refugees.
* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$.

Table 3
Logistic Regression: Factors Predicting Language Class Attendance in Ontario (n = 865)

Variable	β	SE	p	OR	95% CI OR	Hosmer–Lemeshow test	Sig.	R2	△R2
Step 1						0.00	1.000	0.000	0.000
Toronto = 1, Windsor & Kitchener = 2	−0.04	0.22	0.852	0.96	0.63–1.47				
Windsor = 1, Toronto & Kitchener = 2	−0.02	0.24	0.945	0.98	0.61–1.58				
Step 2						5.09	0.748	0.140	0.140
Toronto = 1, Windsor & Kitchener = 2	−0.02	0.23	0.925	0.98	0.62–1.54				
Windsor = 1, Toronto & Kitchener = 2	−0.10	0.26	0.694	0.90	0.54–1.51				
Sponsorship (GAR = 1, PSR = 2)	0.37	0.21	0.074	1.45	0.96–2.18				
Age	−0.01	0.01	0.050*	0.99	0.97–1.00				
Length of stay in Canada (months)	0.02	0.02	0.302	1.02	0.98–1.05				
Education level (very low = 1, very high = 5)	0.10	0.07	0.156	1.11	0.96–1.28				
Need for an interpreter (always = 1, sometimes = 2, never = 3)	−0.42	0.14	0.004**	0.66	0.50–0.87				
Gender (male = 1, female = 2)	0.72	0.17	< 0.001***	2.05	1.46–2.87				
Currently working (yes = 1, no = 2)	−1.13	0.23	< 0.001***	0.32	0.21–0.51				
Children under 18 years (yes = 1, no = 2)	−0.69	0.17	< 0.001***	0.50	0.36–0.71				
Health (excellent = 1, poor = 5)	0.20	0.08	0.014*	1.23	1.04–1.44				
Mental health (excellent = 1, poor = 5)	−0.24	0.08	0.004**	0.79	0.67–0.93				

Note. β = unstandardized regression coefficients; SE = standard error; OR = odds ratio; CI = confidence interval; Sig. = significance; R^2 = Nagelkerke pseudo R^2; GAR = Government-Assisted Refugees; PSR = Private Sponsorship of Refugees.
* p < 0.05. **p < 0.01. *** p < 0.001.

Table 4

Logistic Regression: Factors Predicting Language Class Attendance in Quebec (n = 692)

Variable	β	SE	p	OR	95% CI OR	Hosmer–Lemeshow test	Sig.	R^2
Step 1						10.49	0.232	0.090
Sponsorship (GAR = 1, PSR = 2)	−0.23	0.31	0.448	0.79	0.44–1.44			
Age	0.01	0.01	0.050*	1.01	1.00–1.03			
Length of stay in Canada (months)	−0.001	0.02	0.939	1.00	0.97–1.03			
Education level (very low = 1, very high = 5)	−0.21	0.07	0.002**	0.81	0.71–0.93			
Need for an interpreter (always = 1, sometimes = 2, never = 3)	−0.07	0.12	0.557	0.93	0.73–1.19			
Gender (male = 1, female = 2)	0.00	0.19	1.000	1.00	0.69–1.44			
Currently working (yes = 1, no = 2)	−0.77	0.22	< 0.001***	0.46	0.30–0.71			
Children under 18 years (yes = 1, no = 2)	−0.26	0.18	0.157	0.78	0.54–1.10			
Health (excellent = 1, poor = 5)	0.20	0.09	0.031*	1.22	1.02–1.47			
Mental health (excellent = 1, poor = 5)	−0.09	0.09	0.293	0.91	0.77–1.08			

Note. β = unstandardized regression coefficients; SE = standard error; OR = odds ratio; CI = confidence interval; R^2 = Nagelkerke pseudo R^2; GAR = Government-Assisted Refugees; PSR = Private Sponsorship of Refugees.

* p < 0.05. ** p < 0.01. *** p < 0.001.

Table 5
Logistic Regression: Factors Predicting Language Class Attendance in British Columbia (n = 280)

Variable	β	SE	p	OR	95% CI OR	Hosmer–Lemeshow Test	Sig.	R^2	$\triangle R^2$
Step 1						0.00	1.000	0.000	0.000
Vancouver = 1, Okanagan Valley = 2	0.09	0.06	0.803	1.10	0.53–2.26				
Step 2						6.25	0.619	0.160	0.160
Vancouver 1, Okanagan Valley = 2	−0.45	0.45	0.315	0.64	0.26–1.54				
Sponsorship (GAR = 1, PSR = 2)	0.49	0.36	0.174	1.63	0.81–3.30				
Age	0.01	0.02	0.402	1.01	0.98–1.04				
Length of stay in Canada (months)	−0.04	0.03	0.211	0.96	0.90–1.02				
Education level (very low = 1, very high = 5)	−0.23	0.15	0.122	0.80	0.60–1.06				
Need for an interpreter (always = 1, sometimes = 2, never = 3)	−0.41	0.27	0.128	0.66	0.39–1.13				
Gender (male = 1, female = 2)	1.29	0.40	0.001***	3.65	1.66–8.01				
Currently working (yes = 1, no = 2)	−1.70	0.43	< 0.001***	0.18	0.08–0.43				
Children under 18 years (yes = 1, no = 2)	0.23	0.35	0.508	1.26	0.63–2.51				
Health (excellent = 1, poor = 5)	−0.27	0.16	0.082	0.76	0.56–1.04				
Mental health (excellent = 1, poor = 5)	0.04	0.14	0.790	1.04	0.79–1.36				

Note. β = unstandardized regression coefficients; SE = standard error; OR = odds ratio; CI = confidence interval; Sig. = significance; R^2 = Nagelkerke pseudo R^2; GAR = Government-Assisted Refugees; PSR = Private Sponsorship of Refugees.
* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$.

For BC, at step 1, the regression was not significant (X^2[1] = 0.06, p = 0.804) and accounted for < 1% of the variance in class attendance. As seen in **Table 5**, there were no significant differences between cities in BC regarding language class attendance at step 1. When individual characteristics were entered in step 2, the regression model was significant (X^2[10] = 32.18, p < 0.001) and accounted for 16% of the variance in class attendance. There was still no difference by city, but those who were less likely to attend language classes were women and were employed. Overall, all 11 variables in our regression analysis accounted for 16% of the variance in class attendance (X^2[11] = 32.24, p = 0.001).

FEEDBACK FROM SETTLEMENT WORKERS

In addition to individual interviews with refugees, we consulted community and settlement agency staff across all six sites. To ensure confidentiality, no organization or agency is individually identified.

As facilitators to integration, settlement workers reported that language classes offered participants opportunities to break their isolation by getting out of their homes and mingling within Canadian society. Workers also noted that the availability of settlement resources and of settlement workers at language learning sites increased language learning attendance. However, they emphasized the challenges they saw that refugees faced. Their focus was on the class attendance difficulties faced by women, generally around transportation, childcare, and language course format.

In BC and Ontario, women were less likely than men to attend language classes. Settlement workers reported that men's education was prioritized and that some women found community classes intimidating and were not comfortable with men and women being together. Many stopped going to school because of pregnancy or having newborn children. Many women preferred to stay home to care for young children, and for those who did want to attend classes, access to childcare was an issue. Across sites, settlement workers reported that the presence of preschool children interfered with mothers' attendance at language classes. This did not emerge clearly in the regressions, however, with only Ontario showing a significant effect of young children in the home. Settlement workers also highlighted that employed refugees faced difficult choices between "work and family" and "work and school." They noted that some clients indicated work and school would prevent them from spending time with family, particularly young children.

Settlement workers reported that transportation costs were an issue for Syrian refugees in Ontario and BC, particularly during the first year. Settlement agencies offering LINC are not allowed to give bus tickets to GARs during their first year of settlement as they are already receiving a travel allowance in their monthly stipends. However, these stipends are modest and difficult to live on, particularly given rental housing's high costs. If they have resources, settlement agencies offering LINC can give bus tickets to low-income families on income assistance through the provincial government, which would be after GARs and PSRs finish their first year of settlement. Colleges that offer LINC classes are able to offer students subsidized monthly passes and GARs, and PSRs are eligible for this subsidy during their first year in Canada, making them more attractive.

There is a strict absence policy for LINC; no more than 25% of class time per month can

be missed (although some programs did try to be flexible). Settlement workers reported that while participants had good reasons for missing classes, such as a sick child or a medical appointment, some did not feel comfortable enough to call the program and let them know they would not be attending. When a student loses their program spot, they return to the waiting list for admission, creating an added layer of difficulty for parents to complete classes.

Settlement workers identified the lack of information regarding language learning options available within communities as a barrier to class attendance. Workers in Ontario and BC saw a shortage of evening and weekend sessions for those who were employed or studying full-time. On the other hand, the Kitchener–Waterloo site (ON) has been exemplary in recognizing the power of a local response. A task force of community agencies was formed to identify and address barriers to accessing language services. They created an infographic of locally available language program options and circulated it to frontline service providers.

DISCUSSION

Research in resettlement countries has consistently shown that a lack of proficiency in the host society language limits integration and the potential for livelihood (Hynie, 2018; Okyay, 2017; Valenta & Bunar, 2010). However, the socio-political context in which refugees settle generates the policies, institutions, and social environments that can create social and structural barriers to integration. This underlines the importance of understanding integration as a two-way street, with policies and institutions needing to make integration goals possible by ensuring that services are accessible. Indeed, some have argued that the definition of social inclusion requires considering not only economic and social inclusion but also access to services (Bhalla & Lapeyre, 1997).

In this study, we found that most Syrian refugees were in language classes in their first year of settlement, suggesting that these classes are largely accessible. However, the analyses suggest that these classes are not equally accessible for all, in particular, women and older adults, although this was not the case in every province.

Great strides have been made in the development of language learning opportunities for those who cannot attend conventional classes. The Kitchener–Waterloo site in Ontario initiated a program with volunteer tutors who went to the homes of women who were not attending the classes. This program was well received by participants. They had ties to members of the host community who provided useful settlement information in addition to language learning. The women's participation in the agency programs also increased, demonstrating the value of community outreach. BC's Immigrant Settlement Services offers a program to newcomers at CLB level three to improve their English and become more engaged in the community. The program, Learning in Action, provides one-on-one outings with volunteer partners on evenings or weekends, with opportunities to join other participants and volunteers for fun group outings and activities.

Ironically, poor ability to speak and understand the host language was a factor that limited attendance at language classes. Research has shown a major barrier to settlement is the lack of proficiency in the host language (Boyd & Cao, 2009; Ertorer, 2016; Nawyn et al., 2012; Wilkinson & Garcea, 2017). Settlement workers typically link newcomers to information about language

assessment and language classes, but perhaps the process is too difficult for those who have little or no command of the host language. As settlement workers noted, the first level of language classes may prove to be too difficult, resulting in discouragement and withdrawal. In Quebec, people with lower education levels were those not accessing classes. People with low literacy in their native language are not being supported within the current system. A British study found that refugees

> were not benefiting from the ESOL [English for Speakers of Other Languages] classes because the classes were designed for literates who had some knowledge background and could basically read and write in their mother tongue and have some English background as well.
>
> *$, 2019, p. 392*

Research by Holm and Dodd (1996) indicates that illiteracy in one's first language poses significant limitations on that person's abilities to ever be fluent in a second language. Some people may be discouraged from trying; more needs to be done to reach those with the most limited literacy who are struggling with learning a new language in resettlement (Casimiro et al., 2007).

Employment was also a factor limiting attendance at language classes across all sites. Getting a job is typically an urgent goal of working-age refugees. A small number do have competency in the host language and may be better positioned to secure work. While their English- or French-language skills may be sufficient to get a job, it is unclear what the level of fluency is, whether they would benefit from further language training, and whether the job is appropriate to their skills and experience. Our results were consistent with Hauck et al.'s (2014) finding that for refugees who need further language learning, working can limit the time available to attend classes.

Being able to access affordable, quality childcare was a barrier in Ontario. In Windsor, only five LINC sites had childcare for infants older than six months, and only one site had childcare for infants older than three months. According to an IRCC study (2017a), 11% of newcomers who received referrals to IRCC-funded or co-funded language classes were waiting for admission. Reasons included the following: no spaces available in classes at the appropriate CLB or skill level, no classes offered by the client's preferred SPO, and no classes available at the client's preferred schedule or timeslot. Mothers also reported their preference to be home with their young children. Limited support services such as childcare and transportation were also issues (IRCC, 2017a).

A vast majority of both GARs and PSRs in Quebec did not consider childcare a barrier to accessing education, as paid childcare costs, up to a maximum of $25 per day per dependent child, could be reimbursed in that province. Although this amount is sufficient to pay for private daycare where available, this policy does not address parents' financial ability to pay fees first and be reimbursed later. While students who attend part-time French classes receive no financial assistance, they may be eligible for financial aid to help reduce childcare expenses for a dependent child, set to $7 per day of training.

In Quebec, newcomers also receive financial incentive for attending language classes. Unlike countries such as the United States, which provide only tuition-free language courses (Government of the USA, 2018), in addition to tuition-free language courses, full-time students also receive a participation allowance of $141 per week, regardless of immigration category within eligibility criteria. They are also eligible for a transportation

or commuting allowance, if applicable. Having financial support that includes childcare subsidies allows parents with younger children to access language courses. Both groups (GARs and PSRs) are eligible for both Canada and Quebec child benefits, thus increasing the family income.

In Ontario and Quebec, those who perceived poorer physical health were less likely to attend language classes. The presence of ability and/or mobility issues could make it difficult for participants to travel to and sit through classes. The IRCC **Outcomes Report** (2019) notes that hearing problems were a common ailment of Syrian refugees and there was a need for specialized services such as sign language classes. A significant barrier in Montreal was health status; nearly 25% of PSRs and nearly 45% of GSRs reported fair or poor physical health. Physical and mental health status can influence the extent to which one is able to participate effectively in language courses (Finn, 2010; Gordon, 2011).

CONCLUSION

Different issues emerge across provinces with regard to specific populations struggling with accessibility to language learning. A major concern is that those who had the lowest scores in their ability to speak and understand English in Ontario were least likely to take classes. This group is at risk of integrating poorly if at all. Employment and health issues also reduced participation. These findings suggest that language class accessibility may be susceptible to provincial policies that limit or facilitate access.

Although there appear to be provincial differences, a number of strategies could be pursued to promote access to language classes. For some, classes held only in the host language may not be accessible; participants may benefit initially from having instructors who can speak their language. Using their home language in language classes can encourage and empower newcomers as they draw upon their first language skills (Tadayon & Khodi, 2017). Adding lower levels to the LINC curriculum could also facilitate access. The needs of those with lower literacy levels can be addressed through less formal ways of learning in conversation circles. A major message from settlement workers in Ontario was "Don't take literacy for granted" as literacy is foundational to all integration elements.

As shown in Quebec, access to high-quality affordable childcare can improve access to language learning classes, especially for women with young children. In Ontario, there is limited childcare for infants, and waitlists can average a year for toddlers and beyond. To increase women's participation in language learning, funding must be allocated to increasing access to childcare as well as more outside-classroom learning opportunities, especially for those with infants.

Efforts to pursue settlement opportunities should not be hindered because of access barriers. We urge those working in settlement programs and overseeing language learning programs to review integration-focused practices and policies in light of study findings. Resettlement country language literacy facilitates integration and counteracts social, political, and economic marginalization. A recent evaluation of the Canadian settlement program called for a review of the language training program that would do the following: consider the needs of different groups of learners and respective determinants of success; build on the strengths and weaknesses of existing approaches (curricula, modes of training, etc.); leverage best practices from adult education theory and practice and the field of teaching English and French as a second language to adults; and

"consider new and innovative approaches to language training for adult immigrants" (IRCC, 2017a, p. vii).

Our research with Syrian refugees in their first two years in Canada strongly supports such program revisions. Immediate and ongoing investment in host country language learning for resettled refugees contributes to sustainable economic and social integration.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Nicole Ives is an Associate Professor in the School of Social Work, at McGill University. She can be reached at nicole.ives@mcgill.ca.

Anna Oda is the Syrian Refugee Integration and Long-Term Health Outcomes in Canada research study coordinator at the Centre for Refugee Studies, York University. She can be reached at annaoda@yorku.ca.

Jonathan Bridekirk is a PhD candidate in the Department of Psychology at York University. He can be reached at jbride@yorku.ca.

Michaela Hynie is a Professor in the Department of Psychology at York University. She can be reached at mhynie@yorku.ca.

Susan McGrath is a Professor Emerita at the School of Social Work at York University. She can be reached at smcgrath@yorku.ca.

Rana Mohammad is the Newcomer System Navigator at Carizon in Kitchener, Ontario. She can be reached at ranaamohamad@gmail.com.

Mona Awwad is a News Reporter at OMNI Television. She can be reached at mona.awwad.q@gmail.com.

Kathy Sherrell is the Director of Settlement Services at Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia. She can be reached at kathy.sherrell@issbc.org.

Mahi Khalaf is a Program Manager at Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia. She can be reached at mahi.khalaf@issbc.org.

Marcela Diaz is a Settlement and Integration Program Manager at the Multicultural Council of Windsor and Essex County, Ontario. She can be reached at mdiaz@themcc.com.

FUNDING

This work was funded by the Canadian Institute of Health Research (CIHR) grant number PJT-148960.

ORCID

Nicole Ives https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2772-1310

Michaela Hynie https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9266-9902

REFERENCES

Amrhein, V., Trafimow, D., & Greenland, S. (2019). Inferential statistics as descriptive statistics: There is no replication crisis if we don't expect replication. *American Statistician*, *73*(S1), S262–S270. https://doi.org/10.1080/00031305.2018.1543137

Bhalla, A., & Lapeyre, F. (1997). Social exclusion: Towards an analytical and operational framework. *Development and Change*, *28*(3), 413–433. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-7660.00049

Boyd, M., & Cao, X. (2009). Immigrant language proficiency, earnings, and language policies. *Canadian Studies in Population*, *36*(1-2), 63–86. https://doi.org/10.25336/p6np62

Casimiro, S., Hancock, P., & Northcote, J. (2007). Isolation and insecurity: Resettlement issues among Muslim refugee women in Perth, Western Australia. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, *42*(1), 55–69. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1839-4655.2007.tb00039.x

Choudhry, U. K. (2001). Uprooting and resettlement experiences of South Asian immigrant women. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, *23*(4), 376–393. https://doi.org/10.1177/019394590102300405

Ertorer, S. E. (2016). Acculturating into the Canadian society: A case of Karen refugees. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *42*(11), 1864–1884. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2015.1128809

Farrugia, R. (2009). Integration at what cost? Research into what refugees have to say about the integration process. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, *11*(1), 51–74. http://www.unesco.org/shs/ijms/vol11/issue1/art3

Finn, H. B. (2010). Overcoming barriers: Adult refugee trauma survivors in a learning community. *TESOL Quarterly*, *44*(3), 586–596. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27896747

Gordon, D. (2011). Trauma and second language learning among Laotian refugees. *Journal of Southeast Asian American Education and Advancement*, *6*(1), Article 13. https://doi.org/10.7771/2153-8999.1029

Government of the USA. (2018). *UNHCR resettlement handbook: Country chapter—United States of America*. UNHCR. https://www.unhcr.org/protection/resettlement/3c5e5a764/unhcr-resettlement-handbook-country-chapter-united-states-america.html

Grzymala-Kazlowska, A., & Phillimore, J. (2018). Introduction: Rethinking integration. New perspectives on adaptation and settlement in the era of super-diversity. *Journal of Ethnic*

and Migration Studies, *44*(2), 179–196. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2017.1341706

Hauck, F. R., Lo, E., Maxwell, A., & Reynolds, P. P. (2014). Factors influencing the acculturation of Burmese, Bhutanese, and Iraqi refugees into American society: Cross-cultural comparisons. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, *12*(3), 331–352. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2013.848007

Holm, A., & Dodd, B. (1996). The effect of first written language on the acquisition of English literacy. *Cognition*, *59*(2), 119–147. https://doi.org/10.1016/0010-0277(95)00691-5

Hynie, M. (2018). Refugee integration: Research and policy. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *24*(3), 265–276. https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000326

Hynie, M., Korn, A., & Tao, D. (2016). Social context and social integration for government assisted refugees in Ontario. In M. Poteet, & N. Nourpanah (Eds.), *After the flight: The dynamics of refugee settlement and integration* (pp. 183–227). Cambridge Scholars.

Hynie, M., McGrath, S., Bridekirk, J., Oda, A., Ives, N., Hyndman, J., Arya, N., Shakya, Y. B., Hanley, J., & McKenzie, K. (2019). What role does type of sponsorship play in early integration outcomes? Syrian refugees resettled in six Canadian cities. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, *35*(2), 36–52. https://doi.org/10.7202/1064818ar

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. (2016, December). *Rapid impact evaluation of the Syrian refugee initiative*. http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/pdf/evaluation-syrian-refugee-initiative.pdf

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. (2017a, November). *Evaluation of the settlement program*. https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/reports-statistics/evaluations/settlement-program.html

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. (2017b). Syrian refugees—Monthly IRCC updates [Open source data]. http://open.canada.ca/data/en/dataset/01c85d28-2a81-4295-9c06-4af792a7c209

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. (2019, June). *Syrian outcomes report*. https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/reports-statistics/evaluations/syrian-outcomes-report-2019.html

Ives, N., Denov, M., & Sussman, T. (2020). *Introduction to social work in Canada: Histories, contexts, and practices* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Ives, N., & Sinha, J. W. (2010). The religious congregation as community partner in refugee resettlement: An overview of theory and practice for social workers. *Canadian Social Work*, *12*(1), 210–217.

Morrice, L., Tip, L. K., Collyer, M., & Brown, R. (2021). "You can't have a good integration when you don't have a good communication": English-language learning among resettled refugees in England. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *34*(1), 681–699. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fez023

Nawyn, S. J., Gjokaj, L., Agbényiga, D. L., & Grace, B. (2012). Linguistic isolation, social capital, and immigrant belonging. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *41*(3), 255–282. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241611433623

Okyay, A. S. (2017). *Labour market integration of Syrian refugees in Germany and Turkey: Challenges and prospects*. (Global Turkey in Europe working paper 18). https://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/gte_wp_18.pdf

Phillimore, J. (2021). Refugee–integration–opportunity structures: Shifting the focus from refugees to context. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *34*(2), 1946–1966. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feaa012

Statistics Canada. (2021). Population estimates, July 1, by census metropolitan area and census agglomeration boundaries. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=1710013501

Strang, A., & Ager, A. (2010). Refugee integration: Emerging trends and remaining agendas. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *23*(4), 589–607. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feq046

Tadayon, F., & Khodi, A. (2017). Empowerment of refugees by language: Can ESL learners affect the target culture? *TESL Canada Journal*, *33*(10), 129–137. https://doi.org/10.18806/tesl.v33i0.1250

Tip, L. K., Brown, R., Morrice, L., Collyer, M., & Easterbrook, M. J. (2019). Improving refugee well-being with better language skills and more intergroup contact. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *10*(2), 144–151. https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550617752062

Valenta, M., & Bunar, N. (2010). State assisted integration: Refugee integration policies in Scandinavian welfare states: The Swedish and Norwegian experience. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *23*(4), 463–483. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feq028

Valtonen, K. (2008). *Social work and migration: Immigration and refugee settlement and integration*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315609669

Wilkinson, L., & Garcea, J. (2017). *The economic integration of refugees in Canada: A mixed record?* Migration Policy Institute. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/TCM-Asylum_Canada-FINAL.pdf

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés
2022, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1–15
https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.40787

Montreal's Sanctuary Policy for Non-Status Migrants: Opportunity and Obstacles

Idil Atak and Graham Hudson

ABSTRACT

In February 2017, the city of Montreal adopted a policy entitled **Access to Municipal Services Without Fear** with a view to allowing non-status migrants to access some municipal programs and services without fear of being arrested and removed from Canada. This article offers a critical analysis of the city of Montreal's policy. We discuss the main barriers to implementation, namely, the limited jurisdictional power and authority of the city in migration matters and the municipal police's refusal to comply with the policy. We draw on the conceptual framework of the sanctuary city to argue that the municipality crafted creative solutions to barriers as part of its bid to make the city more inclusive.

KEYWORDS

Montreal; Canada; sanctuary city; nonstatus migrants; jurisdiction; police

RESUMÉ

En février 2017, la Ville de Montréal a adopté une politique intitulée **accès aux services municipaux sans peur** dans le but de permettre aux migrants sans status d'accéder à certains programmes et services municipaux sans craindre d'être arrêtés et renvoyés du Canada. Cet article propose une analyse critique de la politique de la ville de Montréal. Nous discutons des principaux obstacles à la mise en œuvre,à savoir le pouvoir juridictionnel et l'autorité limités de la Ville en matière de migration et le refus de la police municipale et de se conformer à la politique. Nous nous appuyons sur le cadre conceptuel de la ville sanctuaire pour soutenir que la municipalité a élaboré des solutions créatives aux obstacles en vue de rendre la ville plus inclusive.

HISTORY Published 28 September 2022

The province of Quebec witnessed a sharp spike in irregular Canada–US land border crossings between 2017 and March 2020, when the border was closed to non-essential travel due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In 2017 alone, nearly 25,000 individuals claimed asylum in Quebec after crossing the border irregularly, mostly through Roxham Road and surrounding areas on the Quebec–Vermont border (Immigration and Refugee

CONTACT

[a] **(Corresponding author)** idil.atak@ryerson.ca

Lincoln Alexander School of Law, Toronto Metropolitan University, Toronto, ON, Canada

[a] graham.hudson@ryerson.ca

Lincoln Alexander School of Law, Toronto Metropolitan University, Toronto, ON, Canada

Board of Canada [IRB], 2020). The vast majority of these migrants made their way to Montreal at least temporarily, where they claimed asylum or moved on to other cities such as Toronto. While some migrants had community networks in Montreal, most chose Canada due to the anti-immigrant rhetoric and changes in US asylum policies (Smith, 2019).

On January 31, 2017, Denis Coderre, then-mayor of Montreal, announced in a tweet: "Montreal proud 'Sanctuary City' Newcomers and refugees are welcome. Diversity is our strength and part of our DNA." (Coderre, 2017). The tweet was directed to the US president. On February 20, 2017, in a unanimous declaration, the Montreal city council made the "sanctuary" designation official when it committed to "ensur[ing] the protection and access to municipal services to whoever does not have a legal status and lives in the city" (Ville de Montréal, 2017, para. 1). A formal **Access to Municipal Services Without Fear** policy was adopted in June 2019, with a view to allowing each Montreal inhabitant to benefit from municipal services, regardless of their immigration status. Another aim of the policy is to address the marginalization and abuse of non-status migrants and alleviate their fear of arrest and deportation (Ville de Montréal, 2019c).[1]

The second largest city in Canada after Toronto, Montreal has a population of about 2 million. It is a major destination for immigrants in Quebec and a diverse city (Ville de Montréal, 2020), where more than 120 cultural communities are represented (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada [IRCC], 2019). The figures about non-status migrants are unknown.[2] It is estimated that about 50,000 people without status live in the city (Mary, 2018). In the last two decades, Canada's in-land refugee policy has become increasingly restrictive and its temporary worker programs have expanded significantly. These developments have contributed to an increase in the number of non-status migrants in Canada (Ellis, 2015; Goldring et al., 2009).

Non-status migrants suffer from poor-quality living and exploitative work conditions (Berinstein et al., 2006; Hanley & Wen, 2017). Montreal City Mission (Mission Communautaire de Montréal, MCM) Solutions Justes, a legal clinic observed that non-status migrants it served lived in financial precarity and suffered from health issues, and in some cases, domestic violence (MCM Solutions Justes, 2018). Access to health care has generally been a major challenge (Ruiz-Casares et al., 2010). According to Doctors of the World (DoW), a non-profit organization that runs a frontline general medical clinic for the uninsured in Montreal since 2011, 13% of non-status migrants served have lived in Canada without insurance for over 10 years (Équipe de recherche sur l'immigration dans le Québec actuel [ÉRIQA], in collaboration with Médecins du Monde Canada, 2020). Canadian children born to non-status parents had no access to health care (Protecteur du citoyen, 2018). A major reform entered into force in September 2021 to remedy this issue (Moratille, 2021). Similarly, many non-status children were excluded from primary and secondary education (Meloni et al., 2017). After a public campaign led by activists and mobilization by civil society organizations, legislative measures were taken in 2013 to ensure children's access to

[1] This article draws on some of the findings published in Atak (2021) .

[2] In Canadian law, there is no reference to the **non-status migrant** concept. Instead, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) defines the categories of individuals with an immigration status—such as permanent resident (s. 21(1)), protected person (s. 21(2)), and temporary resident (s. 22(1))—who are entitled to reside, study, or work in Canada. Those non-citizens without immigration status are considered non-status migrants.

education. However, it has been reported that implementation gaps still exist (Solidarity City—Collectif Education Sans Frontières, 2019).

The fear of being turned over to immigration authorities drives non-status migrants to avoid or delay seeking education, health care, and other services (Ives et al., 2014), as well as using existing legal remedies to denounce exploitation or abuse (Walsh et al., 2016). Cases of brutal police arrest, arbitrary detention, and deportation have heightened this fear (Nyers, 2010, p. 134; Radio-Canada, 2019). During the COVID-19 pandemic, the precarity of non-status migrants has been increased by isolation, limited access to food banks, income loss, and lack of governmental support (Hudson et al., 2020).

Despite this reality, Canadian governments characterize non-status migrants as "abusers" of the immigration system, if not "criminals" or "threats to national security" (Atak et al., 2018). Measures have been implemented to deter and punish unauthorized migration with little regard to international or constitutional rights, much less principles of humanitarianism and equality embedded in our immigration laws (Hudson, 2018). The local approach contrasts with the federal government's stance on non-status migrants. This article offers a critical analysis of the city of Montreal's Access to Municipal Services Without Fear policy (AMSWFP). We draw on the conceptualization of the sanctuary city as an expression of a municipality's claim to an extended responsibility in how migrants are treated. Access of all city residents, including non-status migrants, to fundamental rights and basic services, is considered a matter of justice and a principle to be implemented for the greater good of the city (Ridgley, 2008, p. 56). Accordingly, the mere fact of residing in a city entitles inhabitants to certain rights and services (Paquet et al., 2021). However, sanctuary city policies are in tension with the primacy of the federal or central government's jurisdiction in managing borders and regulating immigration and citizenship policy.

We argue that since the 2017 declaration, the city of Montreal has shown a genuine interest and commitment in promoting access to municipal services for Montreal's non-status inhabitants. As with other sanctuary policies across Canada, though, the city's limited jurisdiction prevents it from contending with the complex and multi-scalar barriers faced by non-status migrants. But Montreal stands out in several respects. On the one hand, it does not see the reordering and reformulation of municipal administration as the centrepiece of its policy. In fact, its policy only applies to libraries, food assistance, sports and recreation, and fire services. On the other hand, it has advanced innovative solutions to the central impediment to accessing services of any kind: fear of detention and deportation. Enjoying sizeable funds, Montreal has subsidized co-implementation strategies in partnership with community organizations as a way of bypassing limited jurisdiction over privacy, provincial policy, and policing. While in a pilot phase, and at present flawed, these projects have the potential to enhance access to courts, rights tribunals, criminal justice, and, under the right conditions, a greater range of provincial services than in other sanctuary cities in Canada.

We aim to contribute to the scholarship on sanctuary city policies in Canada drawing on documentary research, including academic and grey literature, policy documents (e.g., action plans, resolutions, motions, declarations, training guides), and reports. In addition, we conducted 10 semi-structured interviews with 12 stakeholders in Montreal

in May 2019.[3] The participants were selected to capture the role and diversity of the actors involved in policy formulation and implementation. This article reports on the insights and perspectives of three city officials, four practitioners and researchers, four representatives of civil society organizations (CSOs), and one member of the City of Montreal Police Service (SPVM).[4] Furthermore, from June to August 2021, virtual follow-up meetings were organized with five representatives from the city of Montreal, one SPVM representative, and two CSO participants to discuss the progress and limitations in policy implementation during the COVID-19 pandemic. Ethics Approval from the Research Ethics Board of Toronto Metropolitan University (formerly Ryerson University) was granted for the collection and analysis of field study data.

First, we discuss the conceptual framework that informs our research. We then provide an overview of the formal policy to highlight its scope as well as its top-down and incremental nature. Third, we analyze the main obstacles to effective implementation, with a focus on the municipal police's refusal to take part in the policy. In fact, as discussed below, the SPVM, continues to inquire into immigration status and to transfer non-status persons to the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA), the federal agency responsible for border protection and immigration enforcement. Last, we examine the ways in which the city of Montreal has claimed a greater role in matters that concern its non-status inhabitants' well-being, despite the obstacles.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: SANCTUARY CITY

There is no uniform understanding of **sanctuary**. However, many relate it to "urban citizenship," "urban belonging," or "citizenship as inhabitancy," according to which membership in a political community is based on presence in the city or engagement with community rather than national legal status (Varsanyi, 2006). As Isin (2012, p. 109) has remarked, presence has the capacity to articulate a political subjectivity and its expression to rights. But even short of an urban citizenship approach, sanctuary policies empower the civic engagement of non-status migrants and the democratic potential of local institution (Ridgley, 2008). They have historically emerged as a grassroots approach aiming to create a culture of justice and hospitality at a local level (Friese, 2010). They are also part of a broader push by municipalities for greater political and economic independence from national and provincial/state governments and of resistance to the deliberate weakening municipal government (Valverde, 2021). Indeed, migration flows, border control, and border enforcement are inseparable from global policy domains over which cities are increasingly involved, including the environment, foreign investment, real estate, labour, and technological innovation.

In Canada, the crosscutting nature of sanctuary is reflected in solidarity between local migrants' rights, anti-poverty, and anti-racist and anti-colonialism advocates, who have been instrumental in promoting more inclusive practices. Immigration status barriers have been a rising concern for addressing poverty and marginalization in major Canadian cities. In Montreal, Solidarity Across Borders and self-organized committees of non-

[3] Out of these 10 interviews, 2 had two participants each.

[4] Participants are referred to as P-1, P-2, and so on, in the chronological order the interviews were conducted.

status migrants and refugees have mobilized against detentions and removals (Nyers, 2010, p. 129). They have pressured the federal government to regularize non-status migrants (Lowry & Nyers, 2003). Debates on access to education, shelters, and health care have helped frame the topic as a social justice issue and sensitize the public to the plight of this population.

Around the 2010s, some local governments in Canada started to take action. In 2013, Toronto became the first sanctuary city in Canada to enable **all** residents to access municipal services. As of 2022, seven Canadian cities (Toronto, Hamilton, Vancouver, Ajax, Montreal, Edmonton, and London) have official sanctuary or access without fear policies. They aim to allow non-status migrants to access some municipal programs and services without fear of being arrested, detained, or removed from the country. In some cities, policies include "non-co-operation" with the law enforcement authorities or "don't ask, don't tell" policies, whereby the city does not require their staff members to ask about an individual's immigration status and commits to not sharing any personal information with the police (Hudson et al., 2017).

According to Bauder (2017), sanctuary initiatives challenge criminalizing and exclusionary policies and discourses against non-status migrants. They contribute to identity formation by transforming political identities and subjectivities as well as reimagining the city as a space of belonging. Sanctuary city initiatives can also be interpreted as an attempt to rescale migration policies and practices from national to urban scales. While non-status residents have not received explicit consent from the nation-state to enter and remain within the state, they **are** receiving consent to remain in the cities that are enacting these local policies (Varsanyi, 2006, p. 240). Local spaces and institutions become a strategic site for developing a transformative and prefigurative politics (Russell, 2019, p. 991). Montreal's experience illustrates aspects of this process, within the clear political and economic limitations municipalities find themselves in (de Graauw, 2021).

AN EVOLVING FORMAL POLICY

Montreal's sanctuary policy has been refined and renamed three times since its inception. The 2017 **Declaration to Designate Montreal a Sanctuary City** directed the city to develop an action plan that would notably identify "opportunities to improve, for persons without legal status, access to services offered by the City and its partners, without fear of being denounced or deported" (Ville de Montréal, 2017, para. 4a).

The declaration directs the Public Safety Commission to work, in collaboration with the SPVM, to ensure non-status migrants' access to municipal public safety services without fear, "except if a person is subject to a specific compliance order stemming from judicial proceedings, especially pertaining to criminal or safety matters" (Ville de Montréal, 2017, para. 5).

The sanctuary policy is coordinated by the Office for the Integration of Newcomers in Montreal (Bureau d'intégration de nouveaux arrivants à Montréal [BINAM]), a unit, created in March 2016 as a response to the reception and integration needs of some 4,000 Syrian refugees resettled in Montreal from 2015 to 2016 (Global Migration, 2017, p. 56). BINAM has been allocated an adequate budget and dedicated staff to undertake long-term policy planning, and to coordinate, and implement the city's operational activities for the settlement of newcomers (Ville de Montréal, 2019a, p. 16).

It collaborates with the SPVM and the main CSOs working with precarious status migrants in Montreal. Several focus groups and regular consultations with stakeholders have been organized since 2017.

In December 2018, the "sanctuary city" label was replaced by "responsible and committed city," following the criticism by actors that the label was misleading and endangering non-status migrants' safety (Solidarity Across Borders, 2017). The new major, Valérie Plante, who took office in November 2017, stated that the change aimed "to set things straight. It's about being very transparent and not to make false promises to people who are alrady vulnerable because of their status" (Scott, 2018).

The new title was carried over into the city's December 2018 action plan, entitled **Montréal Inclusive 2018–2021**, which included measures to "accelerate the socioeconomic integration of people from immigrant backgrounds" (Ville de Montréal, 2018, p. 2). The action plan was geared to settlement, integration, and general migration policy issues and was not restricted to sanctuary. It acknowledged the vulnerability of people without legal immigration status and the challenges they face to gain support and access to services. The action plan confirmed the desire of "the City of Montreal, as a responsible and committed city, … to protect [this population] from abuse, injustice and crime" (Ville de Montréal, 2018, p. 9).

The current version of the policy, AMSWFP, was adopted in June 2019. It aims to protect persons with precarious or no immigration status living in the city. The policy directs city employees, administrative units, and partners to "(a) make the necessary changes to the identification requirements to access their programs and services; (b) raise employees' and service providers' awareness, improving their knowledge by training them about the different migration statuses and the issues arising from them; and (c) adapt the interventions with this specific clientele" [our translation].

The programs and services made available to everyone regardless of legal status are slim when compared to the range of services the city administers, as well as when compared to other sanctuary cities, like Toronto and Vancouver (Hudson et al., 2017). As stated previously, these programs and services consist of libraries, Bureau Accès Montréal (BAM)—311 (an information and service request line), food assistance services, sports and recreation programs, and the fire department. However, the city showed its determination to implement the AMSWP by defining it as a "strategic operation," thus making it binding on all administrative units—that is, the corporate services and the boroughs of the city of Montreal[5]—that provide municipal services and partner organizations funded by the city to provide services (Charter of Ville de Montréal, metropolis of Québec, CQLR, c C-11.4, s. 57.1).

MAIN OBSTACLES TO EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION

Jurisdictional limitations have been a significant barrier to Montréal's sanctuary policy. In Canada, municipalities do not have autonomous constitutional powers, being created and empowered by provincial legislatures (Constitution Act, 1982, Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982 (UK), 1982, c 11, s. 92.8). Matters related to the settlement and integration of migrants have been managed collaboratively by provincial and federal governments through conventions, customs, and

[5]The Council of Ville de Montréal (the city) consists of 19 boroughs, city territorial subdivisions, that make up 88% of the total population of the Island of Montreal (Charter of Ville de Montréal).

intergovernmental cooperation. In this process, provinces play a more prominent role in the policy design and implementation in socioeconomic matters such as health, education, housing and employment (Paquet, 2019). The city of Montreal, like other Canadian cities, has no direct authority over these matters. The authority held by the City is delegated by the province of Quebec.

Furthermore, "legal residence" in Canada is a core eligibility criteria for the services funded by the federal government. Thus, non-status migrants are excluded from these services. In a similar vein, the city is not allowed to use provincial funds for services provided to non-status migrants. In this jurisdictional context, the municipal sanctuary policy depends on the collaboration between the different orders of government or, more discretely, the informal circulation of funds and resources by local public institutions.

This is perhaps why the Council of Ville de Montréal asked the government of Quebec to "review its policies regarding provincially funded services for non-status residents in order to promote access to health care, emergency services, and housing." We have been told that BINAM has engaged with certain provincial ministries or institutions, including the Ministry of Education and the Regional Directorate of Public Health (P-2). These efforts intensified during the pandemic and have yielded some limited results. A case in point is the Regional Directorate of Public Health's support of the medical clinic for the uninsured run by the DoW (P-12). Nevertheless, due to the limited nature of the municipal jurisdiction, many vital services such as health care, education, work-related protections, and housing support remain unavailable to non-status migrants who still suffer from socio-economic and legal marginalization. Fear of being identified by the municipal police and turned over to the CBSA exacerbates this situation. As mentioned above, the SPVM decided to not take part in the AMSWFP. This validated the concerns of CSOs that the SPVM would be neither a reliable partner nor independently committed to the rights of non-status migrants. What's more, according to figures obtained by **HuffPost Québec**, after the city declared its sanctuary policy, the SPVM continued to report non-status migrants more than any other municipal police force in Canada (Robichaud, 2018, 2019). The main reason why the SPVM officers contact the CBSA was immigration status checks of non-status migrants (Robichaud, 2019).

The SPVM has been known for participating in immigration enforcement although this is not part of its mandate. It investigated a person's immigration status at routine traffic stops, including cases such as jaywalking, riding a bike without a reflector, or being a passenger in a stopped car (P-9; P-11; P-12), before sharing information with the CBSA. The SPVM also reported the presence of non-status migrants to the CBSA when they intervened in family disputes or domestic violence incidents (AQAADI, 2018, p. 14). The Quebec Immigration Lawyers Association (Association québécoise des avocats et des avocates en droit de l'immigration [AQAADI]) pointed to a risk that calls made by the SPVM to the CBSA would be based more on issues of racial and/or socio-economic profiling than on real security considerations (AQAADI, 2018, p. 17).

Faced with increasing pressure from CSOs, Mayor Valérie Plante when deciding to abandon the term **sanctuary city** in favour of **responsible and committed city**, acknowledged that the SPVM had continued to collaborate actively with the CBSA and report non-status migrants (Corriveau, 2018).

In order to address the issue, the 2018 action plan called upon the SPVM, among

frontline services, to train their employees to adapt their services [formation en adaptation des services] when interacting with non-status migrants. Overall, awareness raising and adequate training for policy implementers—in particular, frontline staff—are crucial for making municipal services and programs accessible to all city inhabitants. However, to our knowledge, little training has occurred for frontline staff and municipal police officers.

To summarize this section, the municipality of Montreal has limited jurisdiction to deliver on two key aspects of sanctuary policies: access to services and protection from inland border enforcement. Lacking control over eligibility criteria for most social services, the city has been confined to offering access only to a narrow range of local services. At the same time, it lacks the jurisdiction to mandate the cutting of ties between local police and federal authorities. However, Montreal has found creative ways around these limitations, in good part by situating sanctuary policies in broader fields and discourses that are jurisdictionally looser and aligned with the democratic history and potential of local government.

EFFORTS TO OVERCOME BARRIERS

By promoting a right to access basic services, based on mere presence in the city rather than legal status, Montreal's sanctuary policy expresses a moral responsibility on the part of the municipality to ensure the well-being of its residents. This is visible in the 2017 declaration designating Montreal a sanctuary city, in which city council referred to Montreal's values of "being open, just, fair and supportive" (Ville de Montréal, 2017, p. 1) and to its commitment to an anti-discrimination and rights-oriented policy framework.[6] The then-mayor Coderre's 2017 tweet illustrates how Montreal's sanctuary city policy encapsulates an effort to distinguish Montreal from federal US politics, which have been deemed morally reprehensible. Coderre's choice to use the term **sanctuary city**, which he encased in quotes, also reflects an expression of solidarity with US cities engaged in decades-long resistance to exclusionary and vindictive immigration policy. At the time, Coderre did not express a clear stance on Canadian migration and border policies.

The city staff we interviewed adopted a different perspective, associating sanctuary policy with what they perceived to be long-standing local commitments to anti-discrimination and rights and not a "flash-in-the-pan" symbolic gesture to growing anti-Trump sentiment. A senior city staff noted that

> [the municipality has] a duty to protect the people who are on our territory and to offer them services. … It is a notion that refers to important concepts of protecting rights of vulnerable people. … And being a government of proximity allows … the opportunity to do so. (P-6)

The city's pledge for such politics is evidenced by the initiatives undertaken to overcome the abovementioned obstacles.

BINAM has been engaged nationally and internationally in this endeavour. It initiated informal, ongoing dialogue with other sanctuary cities in Canada, aimed at sharing best practices and lessons learned (P-1; P-2). BINAM has formed a particularly close relationship with the Toronto Newcomers Office, which is unsurprising given their mutual mandates over sanctuary policies as well as settlement and integration. The lead

[6]This includes the Declaration for Cultural Diversity and Inclusion (2004), the Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities (2005), and the Declaration on Living Together (2015).

staff at BINAM has also engaged with municipalities globally.[7]

Generally, BINAM has been effective at engaging with community partners, which has served it well in working around the city's jurisdictional limits. Montreal's city council has not engaged the province or the federal government on policy alignments. Local organizations have shouldered this responsibility with the support of BINAM. To illustrate, $378,000 was allocated, in the city's 2019–2021 operating budget, to meeting "the urgent needs of community organizations who collaborate with BINAM as part of the 'sanctuary city initiative"' (Ville de Montréal, 2019a, p. 16). Since 2017, BINAM has subsidized MCM Solutions Justes and DoW to support them in providing services to non-status migrants in areas such as health care and legal aid that normally fall outside the city's jurisdiction. To illustrate, MCM Solutions Justes led a project to provide legal information, socio-legal support, and medical support to 300 non-status migrants and migrants with precarious status (MCM Solutions Justes, 2018). The city of Montreal covered some $30,000 out of the $45,719 total budget for this project.

During the pandemic, as most city services were closed or operated remotely, the city allocated additional funds to CSOs to support non-status workers. These efforts emphasized that the vast majority of non-status migrants work precarious but essential jobs and suffer from situations such as income loss, lack of access to public health services, and pandemic financial assistance. The city organized consultations with the SPVM, AQAADI, and other community partners to explore ways to mitigate the adverse effects on non-status migrants of the curfew declared on 9 January 2021 (Ville de Montréal, 2021b, p. 4).

These efforts led to a motion adopted unanimously by the Council of the Ville de Montréal on 23 February 2021, which underlined that the public policies implemented in response to the COVID-19 pandemic must ensure equal treatment and non-criminalization of all persons regardless of their immigration and citizenship status. The motion called upon the federal government to regularize non-status migrants and asked the government of Quebec to grant them access to the special pandemic programs available for asylum seekers, to health care and social services, and to support from emergency services and relief (Ville de Montréal, 2021a).

The city's efforts to provide non-status migrants with an identification (ID) document have been part of the initiatives to mitigate the effects of the SPVM's noncompliance with the sanctuary policy. Several organizations in Montreal supported the idea of a municipal ID card and suggested that it would counter excessive control by the police in cases of minor offences or municipal contraventions, thereby reducing a non-status migrant's risk of being turned over to the CBSA (AQAADI, 2018; TCRI et al., n.d.). Montreal's municipal ID card initiative has been informed by the experiences of some US cities (P-1; P-2; P-6). In 2018 and 2019, some Montreal city and SPVM officials met with their counterparts in New York, including representatives from the New York Police Department and officials in charge of IDNYC, a government-issued identification card (P-6).

[7]The city has been instrumental in the establishment, in September 2018, of the Mayors Mechanism within the Global Forum of Migration and Development, which aims to provide the local authorities with, inter alia, an opportunity to find solutions to shared problems. Another example is the involvement of Montreal in the pilot project run by the International Organization for Migration and aimed to develop Local Migration Governance Indicators to foster dialogue on migration between national governments and local authorities.

The ID card initiative has undergone changes since its inception. In September 2019, the city of Montreal started to run a third-party referral pilot program in collaboration with DoW, which agreed to provide non-status migrants with a certificate of identity and residence (carte d'identification et de résidence [BINAM card]) (Ville de Montréal, 2019b). The card allows anyone without immigration status or whose immigration process is in progress, unable to provide proof of identity and address for themselves and their children, to access municipal services and programs: namely, public libraries, swimming and sports facilities, children's summer camps, food supports, and school registration.

A second phase of the project funded by the city of Montreal started up in December 2020 and was scheduled to go until the end of 2021. Over 130 BINAM cards have been issued as of July 2021. According to a DoW representative, the cards have been generally accepted for COVID vaccination bookings (P-18). This participant emphasized how the pandemic had made it difficult for DoW to reach precarious and non-status migrants who were no longer in contact with their community partners. The funds allocated by the city were also used to hire two community outreach workers who work with DoW to establish links and outreach to communities who would need BINAM cards. As this card is not accepted for identification purposes by the SPVM, DoW disseminated flyers advising cardholders not to use the card to identify themselves to the police (DoW, 2021; P-18). Research participants from the city of Montreal and CSOs stressed the importance of making the municipal identification card readily available to all residents, and not exclusively for non-status migrants, who could otherwise be stigmatized and lose trust in the initiative (AQAADI, 2018; P-3; P-6; P-12).

Another notable development has been the SPVM decision to centralize the calls made by its officers to the CBSA at routine police stops (interpellations policières) (Pouliot, 2020). The new policy appears to be part of the measures announced by the city of Montreal chief of police in July 2020 as a response to the criticisms by CSOs about the calls made to the CBSA and, more broadly, racial profiling (Armony et al., 2019; SPVM, 2020).

According to our interview with the SPVM, a street-level police officer can no longer directly make status checks with the CBSA but must contact their supervisor for prior approval. At the time of writing, a central unit within the SPVM is in charge of transferring the call to the CBSA if the criteria for contact are met. The three recognized grounds for contacting the CBSA are (a) to verify the existence of a federal arrest warrant, (b) to protect the lives or safety of persons from an articulable risk, and (c) to verify a driver with a foreign license satisfies provincial residency rules. Simple status checks are prohibited according to this policy.

The SPVM representative noted that a registry has been established to collect data on the number of calls made to the CBSA and the reasons for each call. The registry enables them to identify discrepancies in calls made through official channels and calls documented by the CBSA. Data are reviewed weekly, and noncompliance can result in disciplinary action. The procedure would have resulted in a 70% decline in calls by the SPVM to the CBSA, according to city officials (P-13). The SPVM participant observed a decrease from an average of 10 calls a day to 2 since the procedure came into effect in November 2020. However, it is difficult to establish a causal connection between the new

SPVM policy and these figures, as COVID lockdown measures surely played a role. Few migrant and community organizations are aware of the changes (Ville de Montréal, 2021, p. 3). The SPVM and BINAM representatives noted that they meet regularly and collaborate to address the issue of immigration status checks and calls made to the CBSA without valid reasons. It remains to be seen whether these efforts will have an impact on the reporting of non-status migrants to the CBSA.

Perhaps the best example of BINAM's facilitation of community/provincial relationships is its new Intervention and Protection Unit (IPU) initiative. The IPU is supposed to help non-status migrants interact with local and provincial authorities responsible for investigating victimization, wrongdoing, and crimes. It is coordinated by the Centre for Assistance to Victims of Crime (Centre d'aide aux victimes d'actes criminels de Montréal [CAVAC]), a non-profit organization that provides intervention processes and psychosocial and judicial expertise in 16 locations on the Island of Montreal. This project offers "information, guidance, as well as referral and support services" to victims of labour law violations, landlord abuses, or crime (CAVAC, 2019). The IPU coordinates the mobilization of these supports among local and regional institutional partners.

As a pilot, it is unclear whether or how CAVAC will be able to protect the privacy of non-status migrants, especially with respect to police. While non-status migrants can provide anonymous tips as witnesses, victims will have to be identified by police for charges to be laid. The legal requirements of investigations need to be clarified further in the context of labour or landlord–tenant complaints. Assuming there is a legal basis for protecting privacy, relationships of trust are of utmost importance, with respect paid to CAVAC and both non-status migrants and relevant provincial personnel. Some community representatives were critical of the program, highlighting that non-status migrants already have special relations of trust with select community organizations. In the view of some, the IPU should be more polycentric, including organizations other than (but including) CAVAC. It is also worth noting that many of the legal rights and proceedings notionally made available through this system fall exclusively under provincial jurisdiction or that of local institutions other than the municipality. This means the city cannot provide safe space on the physical premises of courts, tribunals, or public offices, as is done in San Francisco, with the assistance of sanctuary state laws. This underlines the need for provincial sanctuary policies or buy-in from non-municipal local institutions.

CONCLUSION

At the time of writing, implementation of a sanctuary city policy in Montreal has just begun, but the pace of change has been commendable. Facing a complex jurisdictional environment, the city has benefitted from significant funding and continued political engagement; both have enabled BINAM to launch and support important initiatives. These initiatives indicate the city's concern, as a government of proximity, with local governance in the context of migration, as well as supporting rights advocacy. The theme of proximity to residents is important to underline here. It reflects an understanding that provision of local services in the context of migration is not to be taken as an assertion of authority over the governance of migration. To the contrary, the city can proceed with inclusive policies precisely because it need not concern itself with the national scale, including the suite of eco-

nomic, legal, and political causes and consequences of irregular migration.

Indeed, Montreal's sanctuary city policy speaks to the robustly democratic nature of municipalities while at the same time engaging with broader issues of racism, poverty, community health, criminal justice, housing, and children's rights. The work of co-implementation and collaboration with local public institutions working in these fields has enabled the city to exert influence without treading into a mire of jurisdictional conflict. Like other sanctuary cities in Canada, Montreal has developed relationships with school boards, health units, courts and tribunals, and other local institutions. Unlike other cities, though, it seems to have made some headway with local police and has the potential to assuage fear and distrust of local government.

Our research into Montreal shows that the city does not emerge as a viable alternative to national or provincial government simply by default. It does not yet constitute a novel reforming and reorganization of political community as described in urban citizenship literature, but neither is the city's role reduced to its constitutional status as a mere "creature of the province." It occupies a more liminal, ambiguous space, where serious work can be done through local partnerships that span institutional and jurisdictional divides. In the case of Montreal, sanctuary policies are powerful because they align with a historic set of democratic values that are incongruent with the populist and neoliberal mindset of the provincial government. Sanctuary cities have an interest not only in disavowing exclusionary federal policies but also in challenging or reshaping provincial policy. This interest is very much rooted in the broader process through which cities are claiming greater political and economic independence; migration is one among many fault lines in this struggle.

The work of implementation accordingly tends to be circuitous. The choice of Montreal to focus on co-implementation strategies with community organizations signals a creative but necessary strategy of bypassing legal limits to its powers over eligibility criteria for services and, more pointedly, its control over privacy and data. Informal relationships between CSOs and their networks in provincial administrative bodies will help, but legal uncertainties abound, providing space for provincial interventions and counterinfluences.

In kind, the limitations of sanctuary cities are attributable in no small part to the local presence of national sovereignty in the form of urban securitization: the role of local actors in the management of perceived threat to state and citizen (Hudson, 2019). Co-operation between the SPVM and the CBSA loom over all aspects of Montreal's sanctuary policy. Without jurisdiction over the SPVM's operational choices, the city has tested the feasibility of municipal ID cards, but the cards are exclusive to non-status persons and don't provide access to the most important social services.

Against this background, the impact of the city's initiatives to overcome barriers is an open question. The flaws of some of these measures are a reflection of the limited jurisdiction of the city but also of a persistent misrecognition of the unique problems that non-status migrants face. Comprehensive staff training and citywide engagement with community groups that have established relations of trust with non-status migrants would broaden and deepen staff engagement in implementation beyond a select few specialized BINAM leads. The SPVM's co-operation is critical for the policy's success; and so is the continuity of the political sup-

port by Montreal's mayor on sanctuary measures.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Idil Atak is Associate Professor at the Lincoln Alexander School of Law, Toronto Metropolitan University. She can be reached at idil.atak@ryerson.ca.

Graham Hudson is Professor and Associate Dean, Academic at the Lincoln Alexander School of Law, Toronto Metropolitan University. He can be reached at graham.hudson@ryerson.ca.

FUNDING

This article draws on research supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

ORCID

Idil Atak https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5953-0231

REFERENCES

Armony, V., Hassaoui, M., & Mulone, M. (2019, August). *Les interpellations policières à la lumière des identités racisées des personnes interpellées*. (Rapport final remis au SPVM). https://spvm.qc.ca/upload/Rapport_Armony-Hassaoui-Mulone.pdf

Association québécoise des avocats et des avocates en droit de l'immigration (AQAADI). (2018). *Montréal ville sanctuaire: Un pas dans la bonne direction*.

Atak, I. (2021). 'A responsible and committed city': Montréal's sanctuary policy. In H. Sanders, & L. Faret (Eds.), *Cities protecting migrants: Critical perspectives on urban sanctuary and hospitality in the Americas* (pp. 105–130). Palgrave MacMillian.

Atak, I., Hudson, G., & Nakache, D. (2018). The securitization of Canada's refugee system: Reviewing the unintended policy consequences. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, *37*(1), 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdx019

Bauder, H. (2017). Sanctuary cities: Policies and practices in international perspective. *International Migration*, *55*(2), 174–187. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12308

Berinstein, C., McDonald, J., Nyers, P., Wright, C., & Zerehi, S. S. (2006). *"Access not fear": Non-status immigrants and city services*. https://we.riseup.net/assets/17034/Access%20Not%20Fear%20Report%20(Feb%202006).pdf

Centre d'aide aux victimes d'actes criminels de Montréal (CAVAC). (2019, June). Call for professional services: Implementation of an intervention and protection cell (Immigrants in a vulnerable situation) [Job advertisement].

Charte montréalaise des droits et responsabilités. (2005, June 20). (Règlement 05-056). Entered into force on January 1, 2006. https://portail-m4s.s3.montreal.ca/pdf/montreal_charter_of_rights_and_responsabilities.pdf

Charter of Ville de Montréal, metropolis of Québec, CQLR, c C-11.4. (n.d.). https://canlii.ca/t/55dl3

Coderre, D. [@DenisCoderre]. (2017, January 31). *Message Donald @POTUS Trump Montréal est un "Ville Sanctuaire" et fier de l'être. Nouveaux arrivants et réfugiés sont les bienvenus ici* [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/deniscoderre/status/826550692353605637

Constitution Act, 1982, Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982 (UK), 1982, c 11. (1982). https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/const/

Corriveau, J. (2018, March 24). Montréal n'est pas une "ville sanctuaire," reconnaît Valérie Plante. *Le Devoir*. https://www.ledevoir.com/politique/montreal/523554/montreal-n-est-pas-une-ville-sanctuaire-reconnait-valerie-plante

de Graauw, E. (2021). City government activists and the rights of undocumented immigrants: Fostering urban citizenship within the confines of US federalism. *Antipode*, *53*(2), 379–398. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12660

Déclaration de Montréal pour la diversité culturelle et l'inclusion. (2004, March 22). http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/PES_PUBLICATIONS_FR/PUBLICATIONS/DECLARATION_DIVERSITE.PDF

Doctors of the World Canada (DoW). (2021). Carte d'identification et de résidence de la Ville de Montréal. https://doctorsoftheworld.ca/our-work-in-canada/city-of-montreal-identification-and-residence-card

Ellis, B. D. (2015). The production of irregular migration in Canada. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *47*(2), 93–112. https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2015.0011

ÉRIQA, in collaboration with Médecins du Monde Canada. (2020, May 21). Immigration et inégalités en santé au temps de la COVID-19 [Webinar]. https://eriqa.org/video-immigration-et-inegalites-en-sante/

Friese, H. (2010). The limits of hospitality: Political philosophy, undocumented migration and the local arena. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *13*(3), 323–341. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431010371755

Global Migration. (2017, May 8). *Resilient cities at the forefront*. https://resilientcitiesnetwork.org/downloadable_resources/UR/Racial-Equity-Resilient-Cities-at-the-Forefront.pdf

Goldring, L., Berinstein, C., & Bernhard, J. K. (2009). Institutionalizing precarious migratory status in Canada. *Citizenship Studies*, *13*(3), 239–265. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020902850643

Hanley, J., & Wen, Y. (2017). Social policy frameworks of exclusion: the challenge of protecting the social rights of 'undocumented migrants' in Quebec and Shanghai. *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, *10*(3), 249–267. https://doi.org/10.1080/17516234.2016.1195560

Hudson, G. (2018). Ordinary injustices: Persecution, punishment, and the criminalization of asylum in Canada. In D. C. Brotherton, & P. Kretsedemas (Eds.), *Immigration policy in the age of punishment detention, deportation, and border control* (pp. 75–96). Columbia University Press. https://doi.org/10.7312/brot17936-004

Hudson, G. (2019). City of hope, city of fear: Sanctuary and security in Toronto, Canada. In J. Darling, & H. Bauder (Eds.), *Sanctuary cities and urban struggles: Rescaling citizenship, migration and rights* (pp. 77–104). Manchester University Press.

Hudson, G., Atak, I., Manocchi, M., & Hannan, C.-A. (2017, February). (No) access T.O.: A pilot study on sanctuary city policy in Toronto, Canada (RCIS Working Paper No. 2017/1). https://www.ryerson.ca/content/dam/centre-for-immigration-and-settlement/RCIS/publications/workingpapers/2017_1_Hudson_Graham_Atak_Idil_Manocchi_Michele_

Hannan_Charity_Ann_(No)_Access_T.O._A_Pilot_Study_on_Sanctuary_City_Policy_in_Toronto_Canada.pdf

Hudson, G., Cébron, C., & Laberge, R. (2020). Access to health care for precarious and non-status migrants during COVID-19: Ontario and Québec. *Canadian Diversity*, *17*(3), 45–49. https://acs-metropolis.ca/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/canadiandiversity-vol17-no3-2020-d3549.pdf

Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB). (2020). Irregular border crosser statistics. https://irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/statistics/Pages/Irregular-border-crosser-statistics.aspx

Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). (2019). *2018 annual report to Parliament on immigration*. https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/annual-report-parliament-immigration-2018/report.html

IRPA (2001). Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) SC 2001 c. 27. https://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/i-2.5/

Isin, E. F. (2012). *Citizens without frontiers*. Bloomsbury.

Ives, N., Hanley, J., Walsh, C. A., & Este, D. (2014). Transnational elements of newcomer women's housing insecurity: Remittances and social networks. *Transnational Social Review*, *4*(2-3), 152–167. https://doi.org/10.1080/21931674.2014.950107

Lowry, M., & Nyers, P. (2003). Roundtable report "No One Is Illegal": The fight for refugee and migrant rights in Canada. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, *21*(3), 66–72. https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.21303

Mary, A. (2018). The right to the city: Montreal multi-level strategies to ensure the rights and recognition of all migration [PowerPoint presentation]. Bureau d'intégration de nouveaux arrivants à Montréal (BINAM).

Meloni, F., Rousseau, C., Ricard-Guay, A., & Hanley, J. (2017). Invisible students: institutional invisibility and access to education for undocumented children. *International Journal of Migration, Health & Social Care*, *13*(1), 15–25. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJMHSC-01-2014-0001

Mission Communautaire de Montréal (MCM) Solutions Justes. (2018). *Reddition de comptes 2016-2017. Final report. Un chemin vers la regularisation et l'intégration à Montréal*. .

Montréal Declaration on Living Together. (2015, June 11). http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/vivreensemble/en/montreal-declaration/

Moratille, B. (2021, October 13). *Les enfants de parents immigrants au statut précaire désormais couverts par la RAMQ*. Immigrant Québec. https://immigrantquebec.com/fr/actualites/les-enfants-de-parents-immigrants-au-statut-precaire-desormais-couverts-par-la-ramq/

Nyers, P. (2010). No one is illegal between city and nation. *Studies in Social Justice*, *4*(2), 127–143. https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v4i2.998

Paquet, M. (2019). *Province building and the federalization of immigration in Canada*. University of Toronto Press.

Paquet, M., Benoît, N., Atak, I., Joy, M., Hudson, G., & Shields, J. (2021). Sanctuary cities and Covid-19: The case of Canada. In A. Triandafyllidou (Ed.), *Migration and pandemics. Spaces of solidarity and spaces of exception* (pp. 85–102). Springer.

Pouliot, G. (2020, October 8). Les policiers de Montréal ne pourront plus appeler directement les agents frontaliers. *Radio-Canada*. https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1723427/spvm-policiers-montreal-sans-papier-agents-frontaliers

Protecteur du citoyen. (2018). *Donner accès au régime québécois d'assurance maladie aux enfants nés au Québec de parents au statut migratoire précaire, Québec :*. Assemblée nationale du Québec. https://protecteurducitoyen.qc.ca/sites/default/files/pdf/rapports_speciaux/acces-enfants-RAMQ.pdf

Radio-Canada. (2019, November 22). *Les contrôles policiers de routine doivent cesser, dit la Commission des droits*. https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1401895/noirs-autochtones-arabes-spvm-droits-personne

Ridgley, J. (2008). Cities of refuge: Immigration enforcement, police, and the insurgent genealogies of citizenship in U.S. sanctuary cities. *Urban Geography*, *29*(1), 53–77. https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.29.1.53

Robichaud, O. (2018, April 3). Le SPVM ne sait pas pourquoi ses communications avec les services frontaliers ont augmenté. *HuffPost*. https://www.huffpost.com/archive/qc/entry/le-spvm-ne-sait-pas-pourquoi-ses-communications-avec-les-services-frontaliers-ont-augmente_a_23402208

Robichaud, O. (2019, May 17). Montréal: les policiers toujours aux trousses des immigrants sans statut. *HuffPost*. https://www.huffpost.com/archive/qc/entry/montreal-police-menace-immigrants-sans-statut_qc_5cd5b47fe4b0796a95db9a6b

Ruiz-Casares, M., Rousseau, C., Derluyn, I., Watters, C., & Crépeau, F. (2010). Right and access to healthcare for undocumented children: Addressing the gap between international conventions and disparate implementations in North America and Europe. *Social Science & Medicine*, *70*(2), 329–336. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2009.10.013

Russell, B. (2019). Beyond the local trap: New municipalism and the rise of the fearless cities. *Antipode*, *51*(3), 989–1010. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12520

Scott, M. (2018, December 28). Montreal not a sanctuary city, but a responsible one, Plante says. *Montreal Gazette*. https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/plante-unveils-action-plan-on-immigration

Service de police de la Ville de Montréal (SPVM). (2020, July 8). Politique sur les interpellations policières. https://spvm.qc.ca/fr/Fiches/Details/Politique-sur-les-interpellations-policieres-

Smith, C. D. (2019). *Changing U.S. policy and safe-third country "loophole" drive irregular migration to Canada*. Migration Policy Institute. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/us-policy-safe-third-country-loophole-drive-irregular-migration-canada

Solidarity Across Borders. (2017, February 9). *Déclaration pour une cité sans frontières*. http://pasc.ca/fr/article/declaration-pour-une-cite-sans-frontieres

Solidarity City—Collectif Education Sans Frontières. (2019, June 14). Des enfants sans statut attendent toujours que le ministre de l'Éducation fasse ses devoirs [Press release]. http://collectifeducation.org/des-enfants-sans-statut-attendent-toujours-que-le-ministre-de-leducation-fasse-ses-devoirs/

TCRI, Médecins du Monde, & BINAM. (n.d.). *Guide de formation. Personnes sans statut ou à statut précaire d'immigration*. https://rcentres.qc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/TCRI_Formation_Guide_sans-statut.pdf

Valverde, M. (2021). Games of jurisdiction: How local governance realities challenge the "creatures of the province" doctrine. *Journal of Law and Social Policy*, *34*, 21–38. https://digitalcommons.osgoode.yorku.ca/jlsp/vol34/iss1/2

Varsanyi, M. W. (2006). Interrogating "urban citizenship" vis-à-vis undocumented migration. *Citizenship Studies*, *10*(2), 229–249. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020600633168

Ville de Montréal. (2017, 20 February). *Résolution CM17 0106 Déclaration désignant Montreal ville sanctuaire*. https://observatoirevivreensemble.org/sites/observatoirevivreensemble.org/files/declaration_designant_montreal_ville_sanctuaire.pdf

Ville de Montréal. (2018). *Plan d'action, Montréal inclusive 2018–2021*. https://observatoirevivreensemble.org/sites/observatoirevivreensemble.org/files/montreal_inclusive.pdf

Ville de Montréal. (2019a). *Highlights Montreal: 2019 operating budget, 2019-2021 three-year capital works program*. http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/SERVICE_FIN_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/BUDGET-PTI_FAITSSAILLANTS_2019_EN.PDF

Ville de Montréal. (2019b, June 5). La Ville de Montréal dévoile sa Politique d'accès aux services municipaux sans peur et la création d'une Cellule d'intervention et de protection [Press release]. http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=5798,42657625&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL&id=31683&ret=http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/url/page/prt_vdm_fr/rep_annonces_ville/rep_communiques/communiques

Ville de Montréal. (2019c). *Offrir ses services à tous une responsabilité, un engagement: Politique d'accès aux services municipaux sans peur*. http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/INTRA_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/BINAM_POLITIQUE_ACCES_SANS_PEUR.PDF

Ville de Montréal. (2020). *Coup d'œil sur la population immigrante. Agglomération de Montréal, Montreal*. http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/MTL_STATS_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/POPULATION%20IMMIGRANTE%202020.PDF

Ville de Montréal. (2021). Avis. Sortir de l'invisibilité les personnes à statut précaire et sans statut d'immigration [Unpublished notice].

Walsh, C. A., Hanley, J., Ives, N., & Hordyk, S. R. (2016). Exploring the experiences of newcomer women with insecure housing in Montréal Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *17*(3), 887–904. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-015-0444-y

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés
2022, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1–3
https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.41045

Asylum-Seeking Journeys in Asia. Refugees in Hong Kong and Bangkok

Wisnu Adihartono

BOOK REVIEW
Shum, T. C. T. (2019). **Asylum-seeking journeys in Asia: Refugees in Hong Kong and Bangkok**. London and New York : Routledge. 212 pp. ISBN: 9781138551923

HISTORY Published 23 August 2022

Hong Kong et Bangkok ont une riche histoire d'immigration et sont depuis longtemps des destinations pour les réfugiés. Cela indique que la demande d'asile à Hong Kong et à Bangkok n'est pas un phénomène nouveau. *Asylum-Seeking Journeys in Asia* est une ethnographie du déplacement enchevêtré et du comportement de recherche de sécurité qui propulsent les aspirations des réfugiés à un mouvement transnational. Plus précisément, ce livre se concentre sur les processus réels de demande d'asile depuis les pays d'origine des réfugiés jusqu'à Hong Kong ou à Bangkok en mettant en évidence les rôles des agences et des réseaux de réfugiés, ainsi que l'incarnation des expériences. Ce livre est le résultat d'une recherche directe de Shum où il s'est porté volontaire pour plusieurs organisations non gouvernementales à Hong Kong et à Bangkok. Shum a enregistré toutes ses découvertes, puis il les a rassemblées. Par conséquent, nous trouverons de nombreux récits évoqués par des demandeurs d'asile.

Dans le premier et le deuxième chapitre, Shum décrit que ces deux villes asiatiques ont connu trois vagues importantes de réfugiés - Chinois, Indochinois et Birmans - dans la seconde moitié du XXe siècle (circa 1950 jusqu'à 2000). Hong Kong et Bangkok représentent deux principales destinations de migrants en Asie, avec de nombreuses personnes qui vont et viennent chaque jour. De nombreux réfugiés à Hong Kong et à Bangkok fuient la violence de masse dans des États chroniquement fragiles en Afrique, au Moyen-Orient, en Asie du Sud et en Asie du Sud-Est. Dans le contexte du déplacement, tous les réfugiés vivent dans un environnement social instable où des opportunités de fuite peuvent apparaître soudainement

CONTACT

[a] wisnuadi.reksodirdjo@gmail.com

l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), France

et rapidement, la discrimination, l'oppression en raison de l'appartenance à un groupe minoritaire et les incidents tels que la violence policière mettant leur vie en danger.

Actuellement, de nombreux réfugiés dans le monde se retrouvent en déplacement prolongé. Une tragédie qui en découle est que les réfugiés sont souvent piégés dans les villes pendant une période prolongée sans droit au travail, ou n'ont pas accès à l'éducation et à des soins de santé de bonne qualité. À Hong Kong, par exemple, les réfugiés quittent leur pays d'origine pour s'installer dans cette société d'accueil sans droit au travail, et ils reçoivent une protection et une assistance formelle très minimales. Le HCR, ou l'Agence des Nations Unies pour les Réfugiés, a travaillé d'arrache-pied pour trouver des solutions durables, telles que le retour volontaire, la réinstallation et l'intégration des réfugiés lors de leurs voyages de demandeurs d'asile. Chungking Mansions est un exemple de zone pour les réfugiés à Hong Kong. Il est situé sur Nathan Road, Tsim Sha Tsui (Kowloon), qui est le principal quartier d'affaires et touristique de Hong Kong. Ouvert pour la première fois en 1962, cette structure délabrée de 17 étages est remplie de maisons d'hôtes bon marché, de commerces de détail et de gros et de restaurants. Chaque jour, des gens de différents pays entrent et sortent du bâtiment, abordent les problèmes d'argent dans ses bureaux de change, se rassemblent dans ses stands de nourriture, négocient à ses comptoirs de téléphonie mobile, utilisent des ordinateurs dans ses cybercafés et se promènent dans ses couloirs. Mais la plupart des réfugiés ne vivaient pas dans Chungking Mansions. L'un de leurs objectifs était d'aller à Christian Action pour obtenir une aide alimentaire et financière. Christian Action offre aux réfugiés un espace social pour établir et étendre leurs réseaux afin d'accroître leurs moyens de subsistance.

Selon une entrevue menée par Shum, l'un des demandeurs d'asile a déclaré que trouver un logement à Hong Kong était vraiment difficile, non seulement en raison de la discrimination de la part des Chinois de Hong Kong, mais aussi en raison de leurs propres ressources financières limitées. Certains réfugiés ont donc trouvé du travail illégal ou informel auprès de personnes de différentes nationalités en utilisant leurs réseaux de relais. En raison du faible taux de justification, les réfugiés se sentent souvent désespérés quant à leur avenir. Plusieurs réfugiés ont exprimé leur volonté de retourner volontairement dans leur pays, car ils n'avaient guère de choix à Hong Kong.

La situation des réfugiés à Bangkok est différente. Ils ont été convoqués pour des entretiens par le bureau du UNHCR, qui détermine leur sort. En conséquence, des milliers de réfugiés à Bangkok se retrouvent en déplacement prolongé. L'une des tragédies auxquelles ils sont confrontés est qu'ils sont pris au piège sans droit au travail ni liberté de mouvement. Contrairement aux réfugiés à Hong Kong, cependant, les réfugiés à Bangkok vivent dans un contexte de réglementation plus stricte par le gouvernement et les organisations internationales. À leur arrivée, les réfugiés doivent être autonomes, car le gouvernement ne leur fournit aucune aide financière et matérielle. Les réfugiés urbains sont généralement dispersés, non dénombrés et non gérés, vivant en marge de la société urbaine. Les réfugiés vivant au cœur de Bangkok ne font pas exception. Ils mènent une vie discrète et tentent d'éviter d'être détectés par le bureau de l'immigration en attendant leur prochain déménagement. À l'instar de ceux de Hong Kong, les réfugiés de Bangkok sont également isolés socialement, sans droit légal de travailler. En tant que tels, ils sont marginalisés par leur statut illégal. À Bangkok, ni

le certificat de demandeur d'asile ni les documents relatifs au statut de réfugié - tous deux délivrés par le HCR en Thaïlande - ne servent de garantie contre l'arrestation, ce qui rend les réfugiés vulnérables à la détention. La vie des réfugiés à Bangkok est façonnée par l'incertitude, l'insécurité et la peur persistantes. En raison de la position stricte du gouvernement en matière d'immigration, les réfugiés à Bangkok doivent assurer leur subsistance tout en évitant constamment les agents d'immigration qui peuvent les arrêter et les détenir, voire les rapatrier de force dans des pays où ils craignent d'être persécutés. En tant que groupe «d'immigrants illégaux» en Thaïlande, les réfugiés ont développé diverses stratégies pour se soutenir les uns les autres, y compris le partage de logements et d'informations, le prêt et l'emprunt d'argent et l'offre d'un soutien émotionnel. Les réseaux sociaux développés à partir de l'expérience du déplacement et de l'immobilité révèlent les caractéristiques transnationales de ces réfugiés, qui s'engagent dans divers espaces transnationaux dans lesquels ils recherchent de nombreux types d'assistance, comme aider à nettoyer la maison et livrer de la nourriture.

Asylum Seeking Journeys in Asia. Refugees in Hong Kong and Bangkok, par Terence Chun Tat Shum, regorge d'expériences personnelles de réfugiés. Ce livre proposait des comptes rendus ethnographiques détaillés examinant les liens sociaux sous-jacents à la formation de la diaspora de réfugiés. Les histoires de réfugiés issues de leurs entretiens illustrent clairement que le «réfugié» est un statut temporaire et légalement non reconnu dans les deux villes. Hong Kong ou Bangkok ne sont jamais destinées à être un foyer permanent pour les réfugiés. Ce ne sont que des lieux de refuge temporaires. Hong Kong et Bangkok, en tant que premiers ports d'asile, sont un espace-temps de dislocation.

À PROPOS DE L'AUTEUR

Wisnu Adihartono est un sociologue qui a obtenu son doctorat en sociologie à l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), France. Il peut être contacté à wisnuadi.reksodirdjo@gmail.com ou wisnuadihartono@aol.com.

Wisnu Adihartono is a sociologist who obtained his doctorate at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), France. He can be reached at wisnuadi.reksodirdjo@gmail.com or at wisnuadihartono@aol.com,

REFERENCES

Shum, T. C. T. (2019). *Asylum-seeking journeys in Asia. Refugees in Hong Kong and Bangkok*. Routledge.

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés
2022, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1–3
https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.41028

Guest House for Young Widows: Among the Women of ISIS

Jessica Arbing

BOOK REVIEW
Moaveni, A. (2019). ***Guest house for young widows: Among the women of ISIS***. Random House, pp. 338. ISBN: 9780399179754

HISTORY Published 23 August 2022

Guest House for Young Widows: Among the Women of ISIS by Azadeh Moaveni (2019) is a captivating piece of immersive journalism that follows the narratives of 13 women affiliated with the Islamic State (ISIS) at the height of its occupation. Moaveni portrays the lives of ISIS women spread out across the United Kingdom, Germany, Tunisia, Syria, Turkey, Libya, and Iraq as they attempt to migrate towards Syria. The author converts her qualitative interviews with the women directly into gripping historical prose. She emphasizes that this book does not justify the terrors of ISIS but, rather, intends to deconstruct the stereotype of the female jihadist. This is exemplified by the way many young people were manipulated by tactful propaganda that called for aid in the fight for religious equity and social justice. Moaveni explains, "These stories do not tell the comprehensive story of all ISIS women … the context is there to illuminate not to justify" (p. 335). Though the interviewees' names and identifying information are altered to maintain anonymity, as a reader, I could not help but see parts of myself in the text as a young woman: in Nour's passion, in Asma's intellect, in Rahma's stubborn will, and in the infamous vulnerability of the Bethnal Green girls.

Simultaneously, Moaveni emphasizes that the women in these stories share more commonality with the men among them than with women of other countries (p. 329). Although I would be quick to categorize this as a piece of academic feminist research, readers are reminded that Western feminist movements have repeatedly been exclusionary to Muslim women (p. 327). Traditional academia creates a disconnect between the global understanding of ISIS and the qualitative perspective of ISIS women's lived experiences, and it is evident that Moaveni intends to fill this gap. While she panders to the

CONTACT

[a] jessicaarbing@cmail.carleton.ca

Department of Social Work, Carleton University, Ottawa, ON, Canada

empathy of the Western reader, the larger underlying theme is how Western culture, and ever-present Islamophobia, has contributed to the rise of ISIS.

The stories in **Guest House for Young Widows** are divided into five parts, which are bookended by a prelude and epilogue of ethnographical accounts. Parts one to three describe the socio-political lives of the female characters prior to the Syrian civil war. The book subtly highlights how their lives were always politized. For example, at a young age, Nour and Asma struggle, in different ways, with understanding how and if they should outwardly display their religiosity. At the same time, Lina and Emma seek escape from oppressive forces in their lives and embrace their search for autonomy. A real strength of these sections is how Moaveni captures the way ISIS capitalized on the feeling of "otherness" and vulnerability felt by many young Muslims in the post-9/11 world. By doing so, the book challenges the discourse that these women arrived at extremism due to "hard childhoods," lack of a moral upbringing, or some desire to become ISIS brides (p. 322). On the contrary, we see that many of the women's lives included loving families, higher education, and economic stability. What truly led them to extremism had more to do with the socio-political events and structures of the time (e.g., the Arab Spring).

The book's first few sections are at times confusing, as the stories jump around geographical place and time. However, Moaveni holds the reader's hand by effortlessly stringing major themes and commonalities throughout each story. Another strong theme within the book is the instrumentality of social media in the recruitment and rise of ISIS. It is fascinating, yet unsurprising, that platforms such as Tumblr, Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and WhatsApp were used to propagandize resistance narratives and provide a community for which many young Muslim people longed. The author states, "Joining ISIS was not unlike joining a rebellion," and with the string of anti-Muslim hate crimes on the rise in the West, rage among young Muslim people amplified feelings of victimization and misunderstanding that, Moaveni explains, ISIS used as a call to action (p. 114).

The latter parts of the book showcase the grim reality of the ISIS occupation and how it troubled the lives of many of its members. For those residing in Syria at the time, the city shifted to an economy that operated on an ISIS-first basis, while the policing of civilian lives increased. The al-Khansaa Brigade, a harrowing all-female branch of the police, enforced rules on dress code and punished those who did not abide. Moaveni tells of friends whipping friends for wearing abayas that were too tight, and we see how the women married to ISIS soldiers suddenly become widows as quickly as they became wives. While this is a turning point for many of the book's main characters, it also exemplifies the level of perceived power and casual justification for torture that ISIS used. It was at this point that many ISIS women began to notice what we, as readers, know comfortably in hindsight: ISIS was blatantly disregarding the tenants of Islam; its rise to power was never really about religious equity but about control.

As the book enters its conclusionary stages, we read of the "guest houses" that operated for ISIS widows. These were real, hostel-like residences where ISIS widows resided in a limbo state, waiting to remarry. The guest houses in the book function as an overarching metaphor for the female experience within ISIS. It is explained that "the guest house for widows was a place

of such deliberate torment and inhabitability that few women could stay long without going mad. This was precisely the intention" (p. 251). Living within the ISIS occupation was much like residing in a guest house: you either withstand the horrors or you comply with the wishes of ISIS. The unsettling, and real, conclusion to the book leaves many of the women's stories with echoes of grief, isolation, judgment, fear, and uncertainty.

Guest House for Young Widows: Among the Women of ISIS is a heart-breaking and brilliantly researched book that humanizes the experience of ISIS affiliates. Moaveni's fierce writing demands the respect of the reader and provides a controversial perspective that others would likely shy away from. What truly carries her writing to excellence is how likable, relatable, and critical these women's vignettes are. This book debunks stereotypes, leaving the reader with the eerie realization of what mainstream media sources often leave out: the rise of extremism and the "War on Terror" were largely due to oppressive global, social, and political policies. Moaveni expertly dives into these big-picture realities through the captivating lives of everyday women. Expertly investigated and comprehensively written, **Guest House for Young Widows** would appeal to international researchers, policy-makers, historians, and those interested in an alternative perspective on the global rise of the Islamic State.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jessica Arbing is a Master's of Social Work student at Carleton University. She can be reached at jessicaarbing@cmail.carleton.ca.

REFERENCES

Moaveni, A. (2019). Guest House for Young Widows: Among the Women of ISIS. In and others (Ed.). Random House.

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés
2022, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1–3
https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.41027

Home Rule: National Sovereignty and the Separation of Natives and Migrants

Ali Kassem

BOOK REVIEW
Sharma, N. (2020). ***Home rule: National sovereignty and the separation of natives and migrants***. Duke University Press, pp. 384. ISBN: 9781478000952

HISTORY Published 23 August 2022

Engaging in a historical-sociological analysis, **Home Rule: National Sovereignty and the Separation of Natives and Migrants** (2020) is a provocative intervention that thinks through the contemporary production of global order that Nandita Sharma terms "the post-colonial New World Order of nation-states." Sharma explores the colonial and the post-colonial, belonging, nativeness, movement, and migration to offer a series of timely contributions across disciplinary fields.

Home Rule begins by thinking through the "separation" of natives and migrants as a "legacy of imperialism" and this separation's entwinement with the movement from a world order of imperial states to one of nation-states. Drawing out the modern post-colonial world as deeply interconnected, the book builds on both historical and contemporary examples from various geographies to identify a governmentality of control, exclusion, assault, and oppression as a foundational component of the modern logic of nation-states' governance. Conceptualizing the nation-state as "the new racist typology and Nationals the new superior race" (p. 279), Sharma rejects the idea of nation-states as desired horizons as it situates them at the core of the production of global inequalities, destruction, and genocide.

Home Rule consequently argues that the "decolonization" movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the resulting establishment of nation-states are a reproduction of the colonial order under a different guise where the same content of exclusion across physical, social, and juridical scales were maintained and worsened. Sharma rejects the understanding of colonization as limited to "foreign rule" and

CONTACT

[a] akassem@ed.ac.uk
University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK

invites a rethinking of what colonization (and decolonization) means beyond categorical interpretations of the native and the foreigner. Based on ample argumentation that is theoretically and empirically informed by transnational case examples, Sharma offers an extensive critique of twentieth-century decolonization's transformation into a "racist typology" of national sovereignty (p. 240). Consequently, Sharma rejects contemporary and ongoing liberation struggles pursuing the formation of an independent "nation." Argued to be reproducing the underlying rationale of contemporary governance and the legitimacy of this rationale on a global scale, such decolonization struggles are in fact articulating the continued reproduction of contemporary hegemonic global power structures from capitalism to anthropocentrism.

Consequently, decolonization's undelivered promises of a society of equals, of "development," and of social justice, Sharma advances, remain **undeliverable** so long as sovereignty and nationalism shape "resistance." **Home Rule**, in this sense, systematically argues that national liberation has stifled and made impossible the dreams and the demands of people across the globe rather than achieving them. The **global** threat from the continuous reproduction of this suppression is one of this book's most prominent arguments.

Another key theme running through the book regards movement and immigration. Working through a historical-sociological approach, Sharma argues that contemporary discourses around migration (and anti-migration) need to be traced back to the imperial discourses of autochthony, where the construction of "a people of a place" forms the founding condition of claims and rights making. Particularly troubled by the growing portrayal of migrants as colonizers and as the blameworthy root of various nation-states' failures and problems across the Global South and the Global North today, Sharma works to disentangle the conditions of possibility on which such portrayals are (re)produced and to situate such conditions within imperial discourses binding a specific idealized set of people to space and spatialized power.

While **Home Rule** acknowledges the plural forms of current Indigenous politics, it argues that such politics are consistently structured and reproduced by a colonial logic of hierarchical exclusion. In this sense, Sharma presents a scathing rejection of the ideology where migrants and "foreigners" are excluded, or even constructed as "foreign," and calls for a radical delinking from such discourses and practices. **Home Rule** additionally, and aptly, warns that narratives of sovereign indigeneity unwittingly legitimize racist and exclusionary discourses across the globe, including right-wing and white supremacist claims to autochthony across Europe.

In line with her argument that the crises facing the world today are global in nature, Sharma holds that resistance must itself be global. Here, the need to denationalize "society" and the challenges it faces emerges as a key intervention across **Home Rule**, where a shift in thinking both contemporary problems as well as solutions beyond identities, borders, and geographies is vehemently advanced. In her concluding chapter, Sharma describes the desired politics of "postseparation" where we would refuse "to confuse categories of rulers with the people placed within them" (p. 268).

While Sharma's book gives little space to sketching alternative futures, it presents some notes on how such a future might (not) look. A key feature in this respect is the

abolition of nation-states, which Sharma sees unfolding through the abolition of borders. In line with this, sovereignty and differentiating political identities would also be abolished. Both "home" and "rule" are consequently radically excluded, as imagining a state form—a form of rule—appears impossible.

It is here, however, where the book's key limitation lies: **Home Rule** does not offer a substantial engagement with the various modes of governance that have long existed, and continue to exist, beyond the various guises of Eurocentric modern/-colonial logic(s) it very justly critiques. In doing this, it seems to miss what these forms of governance mean across various epistemes and cosmologies, at times reducing difference to the same and to a semblance, even a mimicry, of Europe. Ultimately, it seems to miss and dismiss much in sub-alternized knowledges and epistemes. In this sense, its depiction and engagement with practices of sovereignty, nationhood, and belonging across the world's colonized peoples—from the Kanyen'kehà:ka (Mohawk) to Palestinians—remains wanting. Further, the book's ability to offer or construct possible alternative futures aligned with the world views of such peoples remains significantly limited. With its unsatisfactory conceptualization of modernity and capitalism, ones that requires a potentially longer durée historicization traced back to 1492, these absences leave much to be rethought.

Much in Indigenous quests of homogeneity and national sovereignty is indeed problematic, as Sharma aptly shows. Yet these pursuits also hold much that is deeply dissimilar from the modern/colonial understanding. From the very conception of politics to the imagination of belonging itself, the (heterogenous and plural) epistemes that underwrite various anti-colonial and anti-imperial struggles must not be hastily dismissed or reduced to a pure reproduction of Eurocentric oppressive structures. From the relation to land/earth to the ethics of relating to others within various Indigenous colonized spiritualities, a serious engagement with such knowledges on their own terms would have greatly developed, nuanced, and reinforced **Home Rule**'s many pertinent and timely critiques and contributions.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Ali Kassem is an IASH-Alwaleed Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of Edinburgh. He can be reached at akassem@ed.ac.uk.

REFERENCES

Sharma, N. (2020). *Home Rule: National Sovereignty and the Separation of Natives and Migrants*. Duke University Press.

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés
2022, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1–3
https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.41061

Refugees and Higher Education: Trans-National Perspectives on Access, Equity, and Internationalization

Melissa Hauber-Özer

BOOK REVIEW

Unangst, L., Ergin, H., Khajarian, A., DeLaquil, T., & de Wit, H. (Eds.). (2020). **Refugees and higher education: Trans-national perspectives on access, equity, and internationalization**. Brill, pp. 321. ISBN: 9789004435834

HISTORY Published 23 August 2022

Refugees and Higher Education: Trans-National Perspectives on Access, Equity, and Internationalization (2020) addresses an important gap in the literature on refugee education. This collection, organized by scholars affiliated with Boston College's Center for International Higher Education, provides fundamental insights into issues of higher education (HE) access and equity in numerous displacement and (re)settlement contexts.

Part 1, "Framing the Landscape," begins with a short chapter by the editors setting the scene for the book project in light of increasing forced migration and limited research on HE for refugee populations. The second chapter provides useful background with a concise but somewhat dated review of the literature on barriers to HE for refugees in displacement and resettlement countries and several initiatives to increase access. Chapter 3 examines ethical issues in refugee research and calls for increased research in the developing countries hosting the majority of the world's refugees and asylum seekers.

Part 2, comprising the bulk of the volume, provides regional and national perspectives on the topic. Its first section consists of three chapters set in Latin America. Chapter 4 offers detailed information about the Venezuelan crisis and educational challenges and then speculates about possible examples from Turkey's and Europe's responses to the Syrian crisis that could be applied in Latin America. Next, an exploratory qualitative study reports on barriers to HE for Venezuelans in Colombia, analyzes institutional responses, and offers recommendations. Chapter 5 gives an informative but concise glimpse into national and interna-

CONTACT

[a] mhauber@missouri.edu

College of Education and Human Development, University of Missouri, USA

tional initiatives in the competitive Brazilian HE sector.

The next section focuses on three distinct issues pertinent to migrants in the United States. Chapter 7 illuminates the policy context as well as financial, humanitarian, sociopolitical, and psychological issues and supports for Syrian students in the US. Chapter 8 offers a powerful depiction of the educational difficulties Latin American migrants face and the blurred boundaries between status categories through a qualitative study focused on permanent residents from the Dominican Republic. Chapter 9 wraps up the section with a content analysis study of HE institutions in Maine and Idaho, concluding that a cohesive response for equal access and treatment of refugees is lacking despite many small-scale initiatives.

Section 3 moves to Europe, the nexus of the ongoing "refugee crisis." Chapter 10 provides an informative summary of initiatives in Germany and Europe more generally responding to the needs of Syrian refugees and asylum seekers, including scholarships and credential verification processes. Chapter 11 focuses on vocational training and recertifying and upskilling programs in Germany and Sweden, intended to support refugees' economic integration. Next, Chapter 12 describes Ireland's shifting migration patterns and legal frameworks and highlights related tensions regarding refugees' access to HE.

Asia and Oceania are each represented by one chapter in Section 4. First, Chapter 13 critiques Bangladesh's provisions for stateless Rohingya refugees using Hannah Arendt's conception of human dignity and taking a more conceptual approach than other contributions. For the Australian HE context, Chapter 14 provides interesting insights into policy oversights and suggestions for needed improvements.

The volume dedicates Section 5 to Ethiopia, led by an informative picture of national HE strategies and challenges in a little-known but important refugee context in Chapter 15. Chapter 16 offers a very interesting and informative outline of challenges and supports for self-financed Eritrean refugee students in Ethiopia.

Turkey, the host of the largest number of refugees in the world, receives due attention in Section 6. Chapter 17 takes an asset-based approach to report the experiences of 60 Syrian immigrant and refugee students in Turkish HE and offers a series of useful recommendations to stakeholders in Turkey and other host countries for assessing and responding to refugee students' needs. Chapter 18 focuses on Turkey's multi-stage policy response and HE strategies, drawing on data from surveys with Syrian university students and workshops with Syrian academics working in Turkish universities.

Part 3, titled "The K–12 to University Pipeline," seeks to tie together the insights provided by these regional and national cases. Chapter 19 is packed with information about policy challenges, immigrant identity, and effective instructional practices in the US K–12 context and provides a number of speculative recommendations for applying these insights to HE. Chapter 20 closes the volume by examining disparities between refugee- and non-refugee-background students in the US and offering recommendations to improve experiences and outcomes in both K–12 education and HE.

The cases making up Part 2 reveal common themes, including structural barriers to HE, xenophobia and discrimination, and inadequate national policy, but the book is missing a conclusion that draws together the various threads explored in the chapters. There is some repetition in contributions' discussions of international policy frameworks as

well as larger-scale initiatives. Although it would place more of a burden on editors, it would have been useful to concentrate the relevant background information in an introductory chapter and then devote more space to detailed examinations of the particular cases. In addition, the geographical distribution of cases is noticeably uneven, a common issue in edited volumes that might have been ameliorated by casting a wider net beyond the Boston College community. For example, most sections encompass entire regions such as North America or Europe, but Ethiopia and Turkey each have separate sections, which could have been combined under the Middle East and Northern Africa for consistency. Moreover, while the book provides useful insights into numerous refugee and asylum settings, due to the contemporary nature of the issue, some of the information is already out of date. For instance, Chapter 15 cites UNHCR data from 2014 estimating that 1% of refugees are in HE, but this number has since tripled.

However, several contributions address the gap established in the framing chapters of research on HE for refugees in displacement and asylum countries such as Colombia, Ethiopia, and Turkey. These chapters provide important and timely insights into relevant challenges and responses and will help build the knowledge base for future research. As such, the volume is a valuable resource for scholars of refugee education, secondary and tertiary administrators and faculty hoping to better support refugee students, and other stakeholders developing policy and practices to increase access and equity for displaced young adults.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Melissa Hauber-Özer (PhD) is Assistant Professor of Qualitative Inquiry in the College of Education and Human Development at the University of Missouri. She can be reached at mhauber@missouri.edu.

REFERENCES

Unangst, L., Ergin, H., Khajarian, A., Delaquil, T., & de Wit, H. (Eds.). (2020). *Refugees and higher education: Trans-national perspectives on access, equity, and internationalization*. Brill.

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés
2022, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1–3
https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.41062

Paper Trails: Migrants, Documents, and Legal Insecurity

Sandra King-Savic

BOOK REVIEW
Horton, S. B., & Heyman, J. (Eds). (2020). **Paper trails: Migrants, documents, and legal insecurity**. Duke University Press, pp. 242. ISBN: 9781478008453

HISTORY Published 23 August 2022

Paper Trails: Migrants, Documents, and Legal Insecurity (2020) is an edited volume that traces how migrants conceptualize borders and the process of bordering by way of legal inscription practices within states, specifically high-income, traditionally migrant-receiving countries located in the Global North. Seeing documentation as a prism for understanding how migrants comply, co-operate, interact, and resist governmental authorities, the authors demonstrate the shifting power dynamics between states and migrants by way of eight contributions, an introduction by Sarah B. Horton, and a conclusion by Josiah Heyman.

The chapters are subdivided into three sections. The first conceptualizes how legal documentation, or lack thereof, influences perceptions of time and space among migrants. The second section traces hyper-documentation practices and the subsequent production of migrant categories as racialized and/or undesirable. Migrant agency, and the right to exercise mobility despite the state-cantered administrative monopolies that govern movement, is central in the volume's third section.

The authors discuss inscription processes from a longue durée perspective, the inception of documentation procedures, as well as migration law and practice. Nandita Sharma, for instance, examines how the end of slave labour led to the establishment of documentary practices among imperial subjects during the nineteenth century in Chapter 1. Her contribution is especially pertinent in relation to the production of migrant categories that rendered labour migrants, those without permanent residency status, as replaceable and unequal, in terms of accessing social rights and public services. Sharma further illustrates the triad legacy of forced labour, the regulation of mobility, and the categorization of people into un/desirable

CONTACT

[a] sandra.king-savic@unisg.ch
University of St. Gallen, Switzerland

migrants. Recruiting labour migrants from British India was considered indispensable to (re)supply the slave labour force. And yet, labour migrants from the subcontinent were "negatively racialized" as unassimilable (44) and thus unwanted.

Sharma's research on the need for labour migrants and simultaneous inclination to regulate and constrict movement among un/desirable migrants is fruitful in thinking through other cases in which labour-intensive industries relied on labour migrants, while governing authorities, politicians, and/or society resisted the incorporation of migrants into the fabric of national host societies. For example, the regulatory Rotationsmodell in post–Second World War Switzerland or Germany serves as a case in point here. While Turkish and Yugoslav labour migrants did not travel to Switzerland and Germany as (post-)imperial subjects, they were subject to inequality in terms of unequal access to citizenship and access to rights, especially when compared to the intra-European Union migration regime. Time and temporality, as identified by Bridget Anderson in Chapter 2, is thus a critical factor in this equation. Framed in Anderson's words: "We can start to connect the control of the movement and labour relations of contemporary migrants … with the movement and labour relations of the labouring poor of the past" (67).

Authors of the volume highlight the nexus between the act of drafting legislature, cultural/temporal proclivities, and how ordinary people enact the state's roles in compliance with the law. In Chapter 6, Cecilia Menjívar illustrates the extent to which hyper-documentary practices shape everyday experiences of migrants in Phoenix, Arizona. Routine activities, including, for example, opening bank accounts, renting property, or purchasing goods with a credit card, require documentation, which renders salespeople, bank tellers, and realtors appendices within the executive power of the state. As a result, the law, as one learns from the chapters by way of informants, does not reflect objective criteria. Instead, as illustrated by Susan Bibler Coutin in Chapter 4, legislation appears as a form of "legal craft."

With the burgeoning of bureaucratic inscription practices, belonging to a state is tied to the papers one carries. As such, the reader learns that interviewees live in a hyperaware state of the law. Menjívar illuminates this hyperawareness poignantly by way of quoting Adriana, a Latina immigrant interlocutor: "I used to be able to show without embarrassment my Mexican documents at the bank, at a store, anywhere. And now? If I do that, people immediately think I'm undocumented. Why? Because I'm Mexican" (166). This includes individuals who reside in the state on a temporary protected status visa, or else on a permanent/legal basis.

Yet migrants also resist classification. Juan Thomas Ordóñez identifies, in Chapter 8, how migrants not only reject bureaucratic taxonomies but also make use of their ethnicity to move "unnoticed" across borders. Travelling as musicians and/or merchants from Ecuador and Colombia to places such as Russia, Georgia, or Italy, interviewees in Chapter 8 disclose that, for instance, "police, immigration officers, and even bank tellers really do not check" the identity of "indigenous persons" (223). As such, migrants move within networks to trade identity documents that enable and facilitate mobility. This is a very welcoming perspective as one learns that migrants utilize their racialization and/or ethnicization to navigate travel across international borders, as opposed to merely submitting to hyper-documentation practices.

Overall, the longitudinal analysis imparts on the reader how documentary practices

changed over time, and how migrants co-operate and resist the ways in which hyper-documentation shapes one's sense of belonging. Finally, the synthesis prefacing each of the three sections provides the audience with critical insight about how the eight chapters speak to each other. **Paper Trails** is an important contribution for students and researchers in migration studies, as well as practitioners in the field.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Sandra King-Savic is a Postdoc and Lecturer on Migration and Cultural Studies at the University of St. Gallen in Switzerland. She can be reached at sandra.king-savic@unisg.ch.

REFERENCES

Horton, S. B., & Heyman, J. (2020). In and others (Ed.), *Paper trails: Migrants, documents, and legal insecurity*. Duke University Press.

Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge : revue canadienne sur les réfugiés
2022, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1–3
https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.41029

Do You Think God Loves Immigrant Kids, Mom? Learning to Migrate Before Learning to Fly

Su Baloglu[a] and Cansu Ekmekcioglu[b]

FILM REVIEW
Rena Lusin Bitmez (Director). (2019). **Do You Think God Loves Immigrant Kids, Mom?** [Film]. RenaArt Film. (96 minutes)

HISTORY Published 23 August 2022

Rena Lusin Bitmez's debut documentary **Do You Think God Loves Immigrant Kids, Mom?** explores the daily struggles of four Armenian children—Ruzanna Babaian, Antranik Yedigarian, Hasmik Vertersian, and Harutyun Bogosian—who migrated with their families to Istanbul. Filmed over the course of eight years, the documentary depicts an intimate portrait of the children's lives. This includes not only their immigrant struggles but also their day-to-day interpersonal relationships.

The film starts by showing Antranik and a slightly older boy, Suren, as they take a casual walk on the seaside. Their conversation lays out the central themes of the film: economic instability, uncertainty of the future, longing for the home country, fear of deportation, and, most importantly, the importance of education.

The children attend a makeshift school located in the basement cafeteria of an Armenian church. Their educators are volunteer instructors. Classes include Armenian, English, literature, music, and folk dance. The school remains the children's sole connection to the outside world, where their mobility is restricted because of fears of deportation. Besides school-based instruction, more socially situated, informal forms of learning also exist within the home environment. Antranik's mother, a former journalist and volunteer school instructor, teaches children how to draw, for example. Similarly, Ruzanna is practising on the musical keyboard with her mother.

CONTACT

[a] su.baloglu@mail.utoronto.ca
Cinema Studies, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada
[b] cansu.ekmekcioglu@mail.utoronto.ca
Faculty of Information, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada

The prospect of education occupies almost all discussions among children. At times, we see them connecting with their friends back home, through Skype, and exchanging details about their educational pathways. Other times, conversations are dominated by complex trade-offs between income-earning activities and schooling. For instance, one conversation demonstrates the children's desperation regarding university acceptance in Turkey. The children strive to make up for the formal education they would normally be receiving in Armenia, and the uncertainty as to how long they would have to be living as immigrants is adding to the problem.

Armenians began to immigrate to Turkey after Armenia's declaration of independence in 1991 (Körükmez, 2013). The country's political turmoil, corruption, and economic hardship triggered by the Soviet Union's dissolution worsened around this period, and despite all the negative connotations associated with Armenians in Turkish mainstream media, migrating to Turkey is oftentimes seen as a more viable economic option than migrating to countries such as Russia, Europe, or the United States, due to the ever-decreasing currency rate in Turkey since the mid-2010s.

Armenians are not the only immigrant group in Turkey. However, the discussions surrounding them differ from those of other migrant groups, as Turkey has an official minority of Armenians. Media and public representation of Armenians in Turkey are loaded with negative attributions. Nonetheless, the particularities of being Armenian in Turkey are nowhere to be found in this documentary. The film has no interest in opening a discussion of the events of 1915 or the treatment of Armenians in Turkey in the present. Its focus is strictly on the lives and struggles of these four characters, who happen to be immigrant Armenian children. The children's families do not interact with the minority Armenian population either. In an interview conducted with Bitmez (personal communication, February 6, 2021), she pointed out that the immigrant Armenians have no connection whatsoever with the minority Armenians living in Turkey.

Similarly, characters are not seen interacting with Turks at any point in the film, except for the short conversations Hasmik's mother has with vendors at the neighbourhood market. It appears that no socializing happens and no new relationships are formed in the host country. At school, for instance, children receive English lessons but not Turkish. The narrative makes clear that these individuals are not there to stay but to return. The building they reside in is a temporary shelter, a home away from home where the children spend some years of their lives, hoping to go back sooner than later.

Stylistically, **Do You Think God Loves Immigrant Kids, Mom?** charts a course distinct from many prominent documentary films centring on forced migration. This is due to the fact that Bitmez's earlier work consists mainly of scripted television content. She has also extensively worked with prominent Turkish directors known for their fictional work. As such, Bitmez builds her documentary's narration by way of dramaturgical construction, allowing the viewer to develop attachment towards its characters in a similar way as happens in fiction. There are no interviews with the subjects, no voice-over narration, and no trace of the filmmaker within the universe of the film in any form. Using a cinema verité style, the camera simply records the action unfolding in front of it without any intervention. The use of camera, especially inside the home, is almost entirely static. Instead of following the characters around, the camera allows them to move

freely in and out of the frame. A sense of intimacy is created as families have accepted a film crew into their private space. The camera practically lives with the children, even capturing such private moments as Harutik taking a bath and Hasmik getting lectured by her mother. However, this very same absence of boundaries does not make the viewer uncomfortable in any way. To the contrary, this intimacy is created with respect, through physical distance and minimal camera movements.

We see the children at an outside location, other than their street or their schoolyard, at only a few moments in the film. The majority of the 90-minute documentary takes place inside the multi-storey building where Hasmik, Ruzanna, and Harutyun live. The few shots that show the outside world comprise the children sitting in front of the house, the children playing in the school's backyard during recreation, and, most recurring of all, the view of the street from their windows and tiny balconies. The building's staircases are both the children's playground and the connection between their homes. Running up and down the stairs is their main entertainment. It is from the stairs that they call out to one another to play, to share a meal, and also where they get yelled at by the adults for being too loud. The stairs that lead to the main entrance of the building are the most appealing. The door that opens out to the street is one of mystery, fear, and excitement.

Do You Think God Loves Immigrant Kids, Mom? does more than document the struggles of Armenian immigrants. The film places its subjects in a mechanism of narrative storytelling, where the viewer forms an intimate relationship with the film that goes beyond understanding and caring about its characters. The viewer becomes a part of their close-knit community. This closeness, combined with the subtlety of its narration and its conscious preference not to delve into political discussions, is what makes **Do You Think God Loves Immigrant Kids, Mom?** stand out among countless representations of "adultness" in migratory experiences. It is a humble yet utterly sincere invitation to the world of Ruzanna, Antranik, Hasmik, and Harutyun.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Su Baloglu is a PhD student in Cinema Studies at the University of Toronto. She can be reached at su.baloglu@mail.utoronto.ca.

Cansu Ekmekcioglu is a doctoral candidate at Faculty of Information (iSchool), University of Toronto. She can be reached at cansu.ekmekcioglu@mail.utoronto.ca.

REFERENCES

Körükmez, L. (2013). Öncesi ve sonrası: Ermenistan'dan Türkiye'ye işgücü göçünün nedenleri ve göçmen ilişki ağları [Before and after: Determinants of labour migration from Armenia to Turkey and migrant networks]. *Sosyoloji Dergisi/Journal of Sociology*, *29*, 67–91. https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/sosder/issue/41004/495485