

**FINAL REPORT**

**Refugee  
Research Synthesis  
2009 - 2013**

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## Executive Summary

This paper presents an overview of recent evidence-based research (2009-2014) on refugee policy and integration in Canada. The paper is structured to address the broad thematic areas regarding refugees detailed in the Knowledge Framework. The knowledge and research priorities include the following components: 1) understanding outcomes of resettled refugees; 2) understanding the motivation of refugee claimants and outcomes of refugees landed in Canada; 3) secondary migration of refugees; 4) Canada's refugee protection systems in the international context; and 5) irregular migration and refugee protection.

The salient research findings are listed below.

- Canada has gone from being a major destination for asylum seekers to a minor one. In 2008 and 2009, Canada was the second and third highest destination country for asylum seekers among the group of 44 industrialized countries. In 2013, Canada was 16<sup>th</sup> in this same ranking (UNHCR 2014).

The numbers of both refugee claimants and resettled refugees declined precipitously between 2012 and 2013. While worldwide numbers of asylum applications are up 28%, refugee claims in Canada have declined by more than 49% (UNHCR 2014).

- The number of Government-Assisted Refugees (GARs) is down overall.
- Since the implementation of IRPA in 2002, little has changed in the economic outcomes of resettled refugees. The economic outcomes of resettled refugees are less a reflection of their human capital or integration potential and more a result of the age cohort and of support provided upon arrival.
- Existing federal data and subsequent analyses on the economic outcomes of GARs are flawed. A methodological error may have deleterious consequences for GARs who appear to perform less well than other groups. While GARs may seek employment immediately, they are also encouraged to access English/French language learning and settlement services, where relevant, to ready them for the labour market.
- Specific Canadian cities, such as Vancouver, are proving to be difficult places of settlement for resettled refugees. A high cost of living and an expensive housing market add additional settlement barriers for GARs who face the repayment of transportation loans upon arrival in Canada.
- Challenges to integration and settlement for resettled refugees are more acute for youth. Recent findings show that many youth act as “heads of household” for their families,

brokering medical decisions, interpreting and responding to official correspondence, in addition to attending school and holding part-time employment (Maine 2014).

- Resettled refugee youth are exposed to racism and discrimination in the Canadian labour market and in the local education system. This is complicated by expectations around their heritage culture at home.
- Refugee claimants and refugees landed in Canada are facing barriers to employment. This is a result of a Canadian labour market that does not recognize foreign skills and education. Refugee claimants take longer to find their first job and may be more likely to be unemployed than resettled refugees.
- Levels of social support and strength of social networks, both within refugee communities and between resettled refugees and the host community, are among the most critical factors in how both resettled refugees and refugee claimants integrate into Canadian society.
- Approximately one-fifth of GARs move away from their original place of settlement. These numbers vary depending on the location of settlement with more secondary migration taking place among refugees destined to the Atlantic Provinces and Saskatchewan.
- There is no published research on visa-office referred refugees.

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## Glossary

BVOR – Blended Visa-office Referred

CBSA – Canada Border Services Agency

CIC – Citizenship and Immigration Canada

DCO – Designated Country of Origin

DMR – Destination Matching Request

GAR – Government Assisted Refugees

HC – Humanitarian and Compassionate

IFH – Interim Federal Health

IRB – Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada

IRPA – Immigration and Refugee Protection Act

JAR – Joint Assisted Refugee (ie, assistance is shared between the Canadian government and private sponsors)

LCR – Landed in Canada Refugee (ie, those who claim asylum from inside Canada)

MBS – Multiple Borders Strategy

MC – Matching Centre (CIC office)

PSR – Private Sponsorship of Refugees / Privately Sponsored Refugee

PRS - Protracted Refugee Situations

RAP – Refugee Assistance Program

RHRP – Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program

RLC – Refugees Landed in Canada

SAH – Sponsorship Agreement Holder – service provider or other organization with a standing agreement for private sponsorship of refugees with CIC.

SPO – Service Provider Organization

VOR – Visa-Office Referred



# Overview

## 1. Introduction

Until recently, Canada has been a destination of choice for refugees (Pressé 2011). In 2008 and 2009, Canada was the second and third highest destination country for asylum seekers among the group of 44 industrialized countries (UNHCR 2014). Canada is home to two broad groups of refugees: refugees landed in Canada and resettled refugees. The distinct natures of these groups directly impact refugees' experience of displacement, migration and settlement. In this context we refer to a Refugee Landed in Canada (RLC) as a person who has made an inland claim for protection under international refugee law at a Canadian port of entry or designated office.

Throughout the formal determination process, a refugee claimant is legally entitled to reside in Canada. Before new legislation introduced in December 2012 accelerated the refugee adjudication process, determination times could be months, even years. Under the new law, a refugee claim is heard in a matter of weeks. A resettled refugee, in contrast, is an individual who has passed through the refugee determination process of the Canadian government and been approved before arriving in Canada. Resettled refugees are selected while still outside of the country, usually while residing in countries of first asylum, and are offered permanent residence upon arrival in Canada. A resettled refugee may refer to a) Government Assisted Refugees (GARs); b) Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs); or c) VORs/BVORs, Visa-Office Referred or Blended Visa-Office Referred (RSTP 2013). This report draws on data that reflect the experiences of PSRs, GARs, and RLC refugees; we did not find published research on VORs or BVORs, as this stream of resettled refugees is relatively new. Where possible, we compare the settlement outcomes of different groups.

Understanding refugees' outcomes is important for at least three reasons: 1) to ensure optimal social cohesion in the context of nation-building; 2) to optimize the social and economic prosperity of both new arrivals to Canada and of Canadian society; and 3) to gauge the fiscal realities of cost and benefit given diminishing resources. Social, economic, cultural and political integration is normally the goal of all immigrants, but it is especially important among resettled refugees who arrive with distinct experiences of displacement and dispossession. Settlement services are key resources that can help refugees achieve integration; some data show the positive impact of such services for prosperity, health, and well-being (Hyndman 2011).

At the beginning of 2011, 10.5 million people were displaced outside their home countries worldwide. Of these, 7.2 million were in conditions of extended exile in excess of five years, referred to as “Protracted Refugee Situations” or PRS (UNHCR 2012). UNHCR’s statistics exclude the long-term displacement of Palestinian refugees, who are supported by a different UN organization, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). The Government of Canada, and CIC in particular, has been an advocate for solutions to address the problem of PRS: “[t]he consequences of having so many human beings in a static state include wasted lives, squandered resources and increased threats to security” (CIC 2013:24). Further research on this intractable issue is vital.

Canada has long been a country of refugee resettlement, with its first large-scale group processing occurring in the late 1970s as part of the Comprehensive Plan of Action in Indochina (Crisp 2012). Canada’s generosity at that time brought some 74,000 refugees in a five-year period from Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos and other locations in the region to Canadian communities, mostly through private sponsorship (CIHS 2014). The 1976 Immigration Act took effect in 1978 between the two waves of Indochinese refugee arrivals, and founded the concept of “designated class” (section 6.2). This new legal structure added capacity for resettling refugees beyond the 1951 Convention refugee definition by affirming that “any Convention refugee or any person *who is a member of a class designated by the Governor in Council as... in accordance with Canada’s humanitarian tradition* with respect to the displaced and the persecuted” could be eligible for resettlement (Government of Canada 2014). In 1978, the Governor in Council adopted the Indochinese Designated Class Regulation. Key to the success of this massive resettlement program was the fortunate alignment of Soviet-era geopolitics, Canadian public opinion (as shaped by the politicized media coverage of the conflict in Southeast Asia), and government policy (CIHS 2014).

In 2014, Canada is situated in a very different political landscape. The Cold War is long over, and in the absence of ideological imperatives once-positive attitudes towards refugees are declining. Governments in the global North learn migration management strategies from one another and regularly cross-transfer policies designed to restrict access to sovereign territory (Mountz 2010). In the Canadian context, access to Canadian territory is highly managed. Canada’s legal obligations under the 1951 Convention Relating to Refugees and the 1967 Protocol state that asylum seekers who arrive on sovereign Canadian territory have the right to seek asylum. Nonetheless, the two most prominent modes of managing migration that have emerged in this context are 1) *preclusion*, or the prevention of access by potential asylum

seekers in relation to sovereign territory of a state; and 2) *externalization*, or the processing of asylum claims offshore, often conducted in tandem with detention (we address these approaches in more detail under themes 4 and 5).

Preclusion has been ushered in by Canada's Multiple Borders Strategy (CBSA 2009). The Multiple Borders Strategy conceives of the border not merely as a territorial boundary or geopolitical line between the US and Canada; rather,

[t]he strategy strives to “push the border out” so that people posing a risk to Canada's security and prosperity are identified as far away from the actual border as possible, ideally before a person departs their country of origin. Admissibility screening occurs prior to the arrival of an individual in Canada or after they have entered the country in order to ensure that those who are inadmissible do not enter or cannot remain in Canada (CBSA 2009).

The border is reconceived as any point at which the identity of the traveller can be verified (Arbel and Brenner 2013).

Preclusion may involve *neo-refoulement*, a set of geographical tactics that prevent access to asylum so to indirectly force return—in itself an act forbidden by international laws and norms—by making a refugee claimant's arrival at their destination impossible (Hyndman and Mountz 2008). While global asylum claims rose 28% (133,000) in 2013 over 2012 levels, refugee claims in Canada declined almost 50%, from 20,500 in 2012 to 10,400 in 2013 (UNHCR 2014). Of 612,700 asylum applications worldwide, Europe received 484,600 (79% of all claims). Interestingly, while the EU registered an increase of 32% of refugee claims in 2013 compared to 2012, Southern Europe saw a 49% increase during this period. Geography appears to play a large part in these patterns, given the top five source countries from which asylum seekers came: the Syrian Arab Republic, the Russian Federation, Afghanistan, Iraq and Serbia (including Kosovo). Some 56,400 Syrians claimed asylum worldwide in 2013 (UNHCR 2014).

In 2013, Canada dropped to 16<sup>th</sup> place, from second and third places in 2008 and 2009, respectively, as a destination for asylum seekers. Canada's share of applications fell from 10% of the total in 2008 to 2% in 2013. Since 2009, Canada's asylum applications fell by two-thirds, from 33,250 in 2009 to 10,380 in 2013. The US, in contrast, ranked second in 2013, after being

the top destination for refugee claimants in 2009, 2011, and 2012. Between 2009 and 2013, the US received 311,700 claims, the largest number during that period, followed by Germany, Sweden, and the UK (UNHCR 2014).

These data substantiate the point that Canada's *preclusion* measures may obstruct access to Canadian territory for the purpose of seeking asylum. With a 28% rise in asylum applications worldwide and a concomitant decline of almost 50% in Canada, access to the refugee determination process in Canada appears difficult for those who seek protection.

Canada's world-renowned resettlement program continues to provide permanent solutions as resettled refugees. And yet, in 2012 the number of resettled refugees overall was down 26%, the second lowest in 30 years. The government settled 10,624 refugees, only 74% of its commitment. Given that Canada accepted 14,000 refugees annually in the early 1990s, resettlement is certainly down along with asylum claims. Government-Assisted Refugees (GARs) remain a major stream of resettlement to Canada, with Privately-Sponsored Refugees (PSRs) making up a significant portion as well. Outcomes of the new visa-office referrals categories, where UNHCR makes referrals of refugees who meet the Convention eligibility criteria but sponsors are still either private or providing joint assistance with the federal government, have yet to be studied in detail.

## **2. Guiding Questions**

Questions addressed in this synthesis are derived from the CIC Refugee Knowledge Framework (draft) provided by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC).

## **3. Development of the Synthesis and Bibliography**

The annotated bibliography is included here at Appendix A, so as not to interrupt the flow of the report.

## **4. Outcome of Literature Search**

The report addresses five themes from the Refugee Knowledge Framework and is included below under the header "Research Synthesis."

## **5. Major Themes Identified**

The research report addresses the following six themes:

1. Outcomes of settled refugees
2. The motivation and outcomes of refugees landed in Canada
3. Settlement and sponsorship models/approaches for refugees
4. Secondary migration
5. Canada's refugee protection system in the international context
6. Irregular migration and refugee protection

## Research Synthesis

### 1. Key Theme: Outcomes of Resettled Refugees

#### Introduction

The resettlement of refugees to Canada represents a discretionary and generous humanitarian act on the part of Canada. Thousands of people each year are granted a permanent residence, legal status, and a new start in Canada. In this section, the term *Resettled Refugees* refers to the experiences of both Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) and Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs). Where possible, we differentiate between the experiences of GARs and PSRs. However, in some cases the experiences of resettled refugees as a group are unique because barriers to integration for resettled refugees are often linked to their displacement and experiences of extended exile abroad. Two-thirds of all refugees live in protracted situations (UNHCR 2012) and their experience is often accompanied by trauma and harm that have repercussions on settlement in Canada. As a result, resettled refugees often arrive with physical and mental health issues alongside low literacy levels in their original languages, larger households, and single headed households (Hiebert and Sherrell 2009).

The source countries of resettled refugees to Canada have fluctuated over time and reflect geopolitical situations around the world and broader international events that displace people (CIC 2012b, 2012c). The vast majority of resettled refugees come from a small number of countries. In fact, in 2010, 82% of GARs and 90% of PSRs originated from ten source countries. According to CIC (2012b), recent GARs are likely to come from Africa (Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Congo) and Middle Eastern Countries (Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan). The same data reveal that recent PSRs originate from similar countries in Africa (Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia) and Middle Eastern countries (Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran) (CIC 2012c). The vast majority of resettled refugees settle in Ontario. Between 1980 and 2010, 58% of PSRs and 40% of GARs settled in the province. However, IMDB data suggest that since the 1990s, the number of GARs

destined to Ontario has dropped with increasing numbers settling in Quebec and Atlantic Canada (CIC 2012b, 2012c).

## Economic Outcomes

The unique conditions of selection and arrival in Canada can affect the economic circumstances of resettled refugees, including labour market experiences and income levels. Recent research reveals that since the implementation of IRPA in 2002, little has changed in the economic outcomes of resettled refugees. Therefore, the economic outcomes of resettled refugees are less likely a reflection of their human capital or individual integration potential and more likely a result of the support provided upon arrival (Iriyama 2011). Still, measuring the impact of support services for resettled refugees remains elusive, a part to which we return in the conclusion.

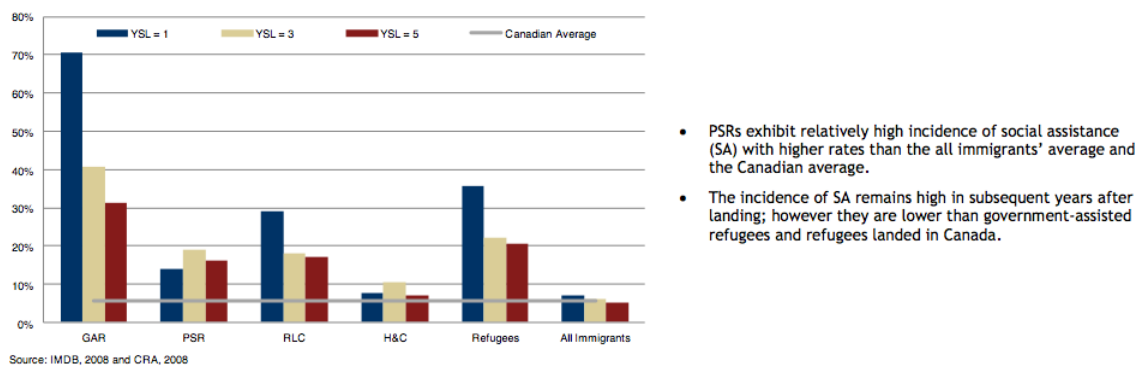
Income support is not in fact social assistance (which is a provincial source of supplemental income), but refers to “income assistance” provided by the federal government to all government-assisted refugees for up to one year. It is statistically incorrect and substantively problematic to compare GARs on income assistance in year one with PSRs on social assistance in year one. Figure 1 depicts Table 10 found in CIC’s 2012 report entitled “*IMDB 2008 Immigration Category Profiles: Government-Assisted Refugees*”. The table, labelled “Incidence of social assistance for selected immigrant categories,” shows 70.5% of GARs as relying on social assistance in year one. Income assistance is an entitlement that GARs receive, not a welfare payment. This methodological error may serve to stigmatize GARs for accessing official language training and other settlement services that they utilize at higher rates than PSRs (Hyndman 2011). This higher utilization of, for example, English or French language learning by GARs may also explain higher growth in their incomes after year one.

GARs automatically receive RAP income support from the Federal government during their first year in Canada at a rate equivalent to social assistance rates in each province. Unlike provincial social assistance, which is means and asset tested, federal income support is meant to bridge GARs’ entry into Canadian society, help them to pay back transportation loans (which neither PSRs nor RLCs have), learn English or French, and segue into the labour market. To compare the income assistance data with the social assistance data (as in figure 1 below) is a methodological error, but one that can be fixed in future evaluations. These data and the comparisons made below, however, should not be cited or repeated any further in order to avoid circulating the error further. The comparison is noted on page 13 (bullet point 2) of the

Evaluation: “The high initial SA rates recorded are due to the presence of the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) – which is captured in the IMDB as a social assistance payment usually during the initial 12 months after landing for GARs.” However, it remains incorrect to attribute high social assistance rates to the presence of a program (RAP). Rather, RAP is a very imperfect proxy for social assistance; it is not the same thing.

**Figure 1 – Incidence of social assistance for selected immigrant categories, 2008**

**Figure 10: Incidence of social assistance for selected immigrant categories, by years since landing (YSL), in tax year 2008**



Source: CIC (2012b).

At present this methodological error in the IMDB analysis is *repeated* often and widely in other government reports such as *Evaluation of Government Assisted Refugees (GAR) and Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP)* (2011), which states that “Analysis of IMDB data shows that GARs were reliant on social assistance, especially in the first years following arrival.” The feedback-loop effect of repeating this error is damaging to public opinion towards GARs, government policy in relation to GARs, and distracts from the needs of GARs and associated gaps in service provision. What might motivate GARs to stay on income assistance?

Below Sherrell (2010) reports that GARs spent less on housing upon arrival because they felt obligated to pay back their loans as quickly as possible out of fear that they would not qualify for Canadian citizenship. Income assistance from RAP allows GARs to earn up to 50% of one’s total stipend through outside employment after which earnings are deducted dollar for dollar from one’s monthly cheque. Given the need to pay back transportation loans and the allowable scope for additional earning through paid work (on top of income assistance), the picture is

more complicated than the quantitative data show. The current method of data collection does not appear to capture whether GARs are employed as well as receiving income assistance, and if GARs are employed, if this counts them as employed in the data.

GARs destined to Vancouver reported struggling with the exceedingly high cost of living, with no additional provision reflecting the increased expenditure required. The limited assistance in the first year, coupled with an inability to work due to unaffordable daycare, possibility of lasting trauma from experiences before resettlement, and lack of English language proficiency, results in many GARs relying on social assistance (Francis 2010). Francis' (2009, 2010) research found that many GARs from Africa faced additional economic setbacks. African<sup>1</sup> GARs who are in the Vancouver labour market are often concentrated in precarious employment characterized by low pay, no benefits and poor and unsafe working conditions. Francis reports that eighty percent of GAR participants from Africa were underemployed, unemployed or earned less than \$10 per hour.

Economic potential is strongly influenced by language capacity and language literacy rates and refugees tend to fall below the immigrant average for both categories (Hiebert 2009). While refugees score the lowest in the Canadian Language Benchmarks, this is to be expected: unlike other immigrant categories, the criteria for selecting refugees are not centred on human capital and official language skills (Derwing et al. 2010). Sherrell's research in Vancouver and Winnipeg (2010) notes that that even though GARs had access to settlement services and language training programs, their lack of English language proficiency was cited as the greatest barrier to finding employment. Bokore's (2013) research on resettled Somali refugees found that lack of language proficiency and professional training along with labour market restrictions keep most Somali-Canadians at the poverty level.

According to IMDB data (CIC 2012c), PSRs are more likely to be employed in their first year of arrival than GARs. In fact, PSRs outperform native-born Canadians in their *incidence of*

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<sup>1</sup>Francis' (2009, 2010) African GAR participants arrived from 28 countries in East, West, South and Central Africa. The top source countries for her study included: Congo DRC, Sudan, Kenya, Burundi and Togo.



*employment* at 76% (compared to 67% for the Canadian average). This seemingly positive statistic is misleading, however, as GARs are more likely to report higher employment *income* than PSRs from their first year in Canada. Despite their higher overall levels of employment, net earnings for PSRs are far below Statistics Canada low-income cut-off point (Hyndman 2011). Incidence of employment cannot be cited as the only significant statistic, as sufficient income levels are essential to ensuring sustainable self-sufficiency.

Despite many economic setbacks, IMDB data illustrate that GARs experience a steady improvement in employment earnings over time. Upon arrival, GARs' employment earnings are below the Canadian average; however, by their fifth year after landing, employment earnings are on par with the Canadian average (CIC 2012b). Hiebert's (2009) research paints an optimistic picture of how refugees (across all classes) fare in comparison with other immigrant groups. Drawing on a special tabulation of 2005 data from the longitudinal immigration database, Hiebert found that in Vancouver, refugees fare better in income earnings than business principal applicants.<sup>2</sup> His findings further demonstrate that male refugees and skilled workers with similar circumstances (no official language ability and low education levels) report roughly the same income levels. Interestingly, a refugee who possesses a university degree and who either is or is not fluent in English reports a higher income level than a business migrant under the same circumstances. While refugees still earn less across the board, the findings indicate that refugees are not reporting the lowest earnings when compared with other groups of immigrants (Hiebert 2009).<sup>3</sup>

## Housing Outcomes

Resettled refugees often face considerable economic barriers owing to their lack of knowledge of Canada's official languages, customs, and appropriate strategies for accessing basic amenities and services in Canada (Hari et al. 2013; Hyndman 2011). Resettled refugees

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<sup>2</sup>Only one third of business class immigrants had reported any earnings in 2005. Hyndman (2011) elaborates on these findings by raising the question of whether immigration policies designed to recruit economic immigrants are effective.

<sup>3</sup>Daniel Hiebert is currently updating this research on the economic performance of refugees with findings from the 2011 National Household Survey for CIC.

often arrive with limited assets and financial resources, and this situation places considerable strain on their ability to find adequate housing and employment. This strain is regularly exacerbated by the repayment of transportation loans extended to GARs. Sherrell (2010) reported that housing experiences for GARs were compromised since they felt obligated to pay back their loans as quickly as possible out of fear that they would not qualify for Canadian citizenship. Brunner et al. (2010, 2012) reported that some Acehnese GARs also wanted to pay back transportation loans as quickly as possible, before interest began to accrue on the loans, because paying interest is forbidden according to some interpretations of Islamic faith. They also feel that impending debt may negatively affect the individuals' ability to sponsor family members or a spouse.

Even though resettled refugees often require assistance in accessing adequate, affordable and safe housing, research shows that few seek out formal avenues of housing assistance (Preston et al. 2011). Instead many resettled refugees turn to informal systems of support for shelter and housing information, such as that provided by friends and relatives (Hari et al. 2013; Murdie 2010). This is especially often the case for racialized refugees who face additional barriers of discrimination; for example, Francis' (2010) research revealed that Vancouver's housing market was inaccessible for many GARs from Africa due to racial discrimination. When coupled with unfamiliarity with the norms and laws of Canadian housing system, restrictions on the availability of subsidized housing, low vacancy rates, and large family sizes, discrimination places GARs and other refugees at high risk for episodes of homelessness.

In Toronto, research shows that sponsored refugees face obstacles when accessing housing. Refugee claimants whose status has yet to be approved, however, face even greater challenges in securing appropriate housing. Sponsored refugees reported having a more positive experience in the housing market than claimants thanks to increased likelihood of connections with established networks of friends and family. Privately sponsored refugees reported securing access to housing within approximately one month after arrival; this was much faster than refugee claimants, who reported needing up to seven months to find housing (Murdie 2010). Despite these advantages, Preston et al. (2011) found that sponsored refugees had similar complaints about their housing situation as refugee claimants, which included affordability, overcrowding, poor maintenance, and discriminatory treatment from landlords. Their research revealed that sponsored refugees were more likely than refugee claimants to consider their dwelling "unhealthy." Common conditions included mould, bedbugs and other vermin, and inadequate ventilation.

Overcrowding among refugees is also a well-cited concern for resettled refugee families, who often find that Canadian rental or subsidized units are not suitably sized for large families. For example, Sherrell's (2010) research found that Afghan GARs in both Vancouver and Winnipeg were likely to be living in crowded conditions since nearly a third of this group reported having six or more household members.

## Social

Social support and social networks can have extensive benefits in relation to the integration of resettled refugees. Both formal and informal support systems can reduce refugees' level of isolation, enhance their sense of belonging, decrease the stress of discrimination and ease integration into a new society (Stewart et al. 2012). Simich (2010) found that refugees' sense of "home" is directly linked to the proximity of family and social networks. In her research, Simich found that some GARs perceived the proximity of family and friends as more important than access to employment opportunities. She noted that GARs were willing to move away from their initially assigned destinations in order to be closer to family and friends (Simich 2010).

Makwarimba et al.'s (2013) study of Sudanese and Somalian refugees in Toronto and Edmonton demonstrated that social support increases emotional well-being and facilitates integration. Resettlement can lead to diminished social networks as newcomers are removed from their social networks, potentially resulting in depression and other mental health conditions (see also Simich 2010). Respondents voiced a need to strengthen existing networks but also to design and implement services that are culturally and ethnically intelligible. Appropriate support and services would serve to help resettled refugees cope with challenges involving employment, finances, family and children, housing, discrimination, and language (Makwarimba et al. 2013).

In recent years the role of gender in the refugee experience has been recognized. Women often experience unequal treatment in flight, exile, resettlement, and repatriation (Hari et al. 2013). Gender can influence experiences of displacement, resettlement, human rights abuses, and access to social services and financial resources in the host country (ibid). In their research on Acehnese GARs in Vancouver, Brunner et al. (2012) reported that men greatly outnumber women and that the extreme gender imbalance among this group reflects the conditions of flight and detention in Malaysia. While not new, their 2010 research on Acehnese refugees in Vancouver uncovered other ways that gender influences settlement experiences. Upon resettlement, women's experiences of integration were complicated by traditionally prescribed

Acehnese gender roles. Because Canada had not previously settled refugees from Aceh, there were no co-ethnic groups of women to whom they could turn to for reference or support. Some women encountered tensions upon entering the Canadian labour force because of their husbands' expectations of domestic and child care obligations at home. Even if a woman is employed outside of the household, unpaid domestic work was still considered a woman's responsibility despite her husband's employment status, leading to debilitating imbalances in workloads (Brunner et al. 2010).

## Health Outcomes

According to McMurray et al. (2013) GARs often arrive in Canada after long periods of time spent in refugee camps, which can lead to complex and non-local health issues that Canadian health care providers may not be familiar with. Language barriers can prevent GARs from accessing adequate healthcare; moreover, GARs have experienced service refusal because of confusion over billing procedures.

GARS may experience psychological distress based on both social and economic factors here in Canada. For example, Simich (2010) argues that mental health issues can be linked to economic difficulties because limited economic resources can diminish one's ability to care for loved ones remaining in their home country—this is especially acute when those left behind face the threat of violence and hardship. This research found that resettled Sudanese who experienced economic hardship were two to four times more likely to experience mental distress. The fear of being unable to support family members back home was the primary reason for these refugees' mental distress.

## Outcomes for Refugee Youth

Recent research shows that the negative experiences and challenges to integration and settlement for resettled refugees are more acute for youth (Hari et al. 2013). Bokore (2013) found that Canadian-Somali youth face racism and Islamophobia both in the labour market and in the educational system, which contribute to overall youth isolation and disengagement. Beiser et al.'s (2012) research on pre-adolescent Ethiopian resettled refugees in Toronto indicates that these youth report high levels of emotional distress. Respondents also reported challenges due to racial discrimination in the community and household conflict over adherence to traditional culture within the family. These stressors can challenge identity formation and can compromise the mental and emotional health of refugee youth.

“Trauma transference” describes a situation where children of resettled refugees are affected by the trauma experienced by their parents (Bokore 2013). Bokore’s participants report seeing *murug*—sadness or depression—in their teenage children reminiscent of that caused by experiences before migration or during the challenging integration process. The research finds that nearly three quarters of Canadian-Somali youth exhibit the effects of trauma, the symptoms of which include behavioural problems, addictions, gang membership and participation in extremist religious groups which use youth’s vulnerability as a recruitment strategy. Hari et al. (2013) add that resettled refugees who lack friendship networks can have issues with their sense of belonging in Canada. These issues faced by youth can place strain on household relations. Makwarimba et al. (2013) reported that Somali and Sudanese refugees in Toronto and Edmonton experienced tension around cultural and traditional customs with their adolescent children.

Michaela Hynie (2014) finds in her evaluation of YMCA Ontario data on youth that services for older youth are lacking. Younger refugees and teenagers end up in the high school system where they are supported by guidance counsellors and school activities that a) reinforce their integration linguistically or culturally; b) facilitate access to employment opportunities through student internships and summer jobs; and c) directly provide access to university education. In contrast, older youth who seek access to university programs face multiple barriers for which there is little support. These young adults are forced to navigate access to unfamiliar bureaucratic systems on their own; in the process, they are often directed into English language courses that are not part of a degree-granting university program. Lack of access to proper university education reinforces the challenges refugees face in breaking out of the low-skill job market. The insistence of employers on “Canadian experience” remains a huge frustration and a dangerous trap for refugee youth seeking employment. Dr. Hynie has been contracted to assess YMCA data from the client-based data system, but results were not forthcoming at the time this report was due.

Nicole Maine (2014) looks at the role of pre-departure orientation abroad for Bhutanese refugee youth who have come to Canada within the last three years, and more broadly probes the question of how youth are faring in five cities across Canada. The study follows up on Sherrell et al.’s (2011) work with Bhutanese refugees in British Columbia, examining the effectiveness of a pilot “cultural orientation abroad” curriculum developed by refugee youth in Vancouver in conjunction with the Immigrant Services Society of BC and delivered to Bhutanese youth destined for Canada. Maine interviews groups of youth in Vancouver who participated in the

pilot in Nepal, who attended with their parents, and who had no orientation at all. Her preliminary findings suggest the need for more pre-departure training, but also a need for settlement services specifically tailored to the cultural frames of refugee youth in Canada.

Maine (2014) finds that many Bhutanese refugee youth in Vancouver are the main decision-makers and household managers at home, translating documents, filling forms, sorting junk mail from the important correspondence, and making health decisions in the absence of an English-speaking parent. The stress some youth voiced based on school, employment and family management is remarkable, and presents a specific barrier to integration that service programming should be tailored to address.

## 2. Key theme: Outcomes of Refugees Landed in Canada

### Introduction

In 2014, CIC Minister Chris Alexander (2014) stated that asylum claims to Canada dropped by 87% in 2013 compared to 2012. This dramatic shift is attributable to massive reforms in the Canadian asylum system and refugee determination process implemented in 2010 and 2012. One point is clear: the outcomes of refugee claims made in Canada will now be decided in a matter of months, not years. This massive reordering of the refugee determination process has only recently begun to come into effect, and at the point of writing there are insufficient data to produce any meaningful analysis of the new system. Therefore, the literature presented here refers to what will soon become the “old caseload” of refugee claimants, referring primarily to the individuals who make up the backlog of refugee claims still being processed under the old rules.

Despite the decline in refugee claims, Refugees Landed in Canada (RLC) account for the largest share of refugees in Canada (CIC 2012a, 2012d, 2012e). This group is increasingly geographically concentrated in Ontario and Quebec; the proportion of RLC settling in Ontario has risen from 47% in 1990 to 71% in 2010. Overall, RLC are arriving from a concentrated number of source countries, with 64% of all RLC originating from ten source countries. In 2010, the top source country for RLC was Colombia, accounting for 25% of all RLC. Other top source countries include: Sri Lanka, Haiti, Mexico and China. There exists a strong gender imbalance in RLC with almost twice as many male principal applicants as female applicants between 1990

and 2010. This means that the majority of spouses and dependants during this period were female (CIC 2012d).

## Economic Outcomes

Recent literature demonstrates that RLC experience feelings of insecurity due to the long wait times in the refugee status determination process and the resultant feelings of being “in limbo.” This issue should be eliminated by the shorter timelines of the new refugee determination process. The feelings of insecurity coupled with a lengthy determination process can hinder claimants’ social and economic integration (Hari et al. 2013). Their uncertainty around their legal status translates into economic uncertainty and difficulty in the labour market. In both Vancouver and Winnipeg, delays in obtaining work permits (which took up to one year) prohibit many claimants from finding work or attending school (Sherrell 2010). This can often lead to dependence on social assistance due to limited work options (Francis 2010). Hiebert et al. (2009) reported that many RLC deal with a local labour market that does not recognize foreign experience or skills. Their study revealed that none of their participants who possessed a post-secondary degree from their host countries were able to use their education in order to obtain a skilled job. IMDB data illustrate that RLC have lower employment earnings than other groups of immigrants and also the Canadian-born. However, among other refugee groups, RLCs have a higher incidence of employment earnings than GARs in the first three years in Canada, and yet a lower incidence than PSRs in the first five years after arrival (CIC 2012a).

When RLC are able to find employment in Canada, it is reportedly precarious work characterized by low pay, limited or no security and benefits and few opportunities for advancement (Hiebert et al. 2009; Francis 2010). In their Toronto study of Tamil and Latin American RLC, Anderson and Sullen (2013) found that economic distress had led to food insecurity for the majority of their participants. High levels of unemployment, underemployment, and insufficient income at social assistance rates to meet household food needs were cited as the major factors.

In their study of the experiences of refugee parents and their children, Morantz (2011) found that despite the obstacles that parents faced in the labour force, children had a positive experience accessing proper education in Montreal. Upon arrival, children are placed in schools and attend welcome classes until their French speaking skills are adequate enough for regular classes. Parents and children expressed optimism about the education system and future opportunities in the labour market.

There are few studies to date that directly compare the settlement and integration experiences for RLCs and resettled refugees. In the recent literature that exists, there is some indication that RLCs face greater obstacles in the labour market. This research suggests that it may take RLCs longer to find their first job and may be more likely to be unemployed than their refugee counterparts who are selected abroad (Hari et al. 2013; Hyndman 2011; Preston et al. 2011).

## Housing Outcomes

Recent research demonstrates that RLCs are often in the most precarious housing situation of any immigrant class in Canada, characterized by poor housing conditions, overcrowding, and high rent-to-income ratios (Preston et al. 2011; Hiebert et al. 2009). RLCs experience a more difficult pathway to housing than sponsored refugees, especially in the initial stages of settlement (Murdie 2010). RLCs in Toronto took longer than sponsored refugees to access housing and were more likely to acquire less desirable dwelling types. Owing to long wait times before obtaining work permits, many RLC are forced to rely on social assistance. Research in Vancouver reveals that social assistance is not enough to cover shelter costs and as a result, RLCs are often forced into substandard and precarious housing (Francis 2010; Sherrell 2010). RLCs who contacted housing services were, however, more likely to access housing more quickly than those who did not. Over time, RLC were able to improve their housing situation and approach the better outcomes reported for sponsored refugees, even though their incomes still lagged behind other immigrant classes. Affordability is a chronic barrier for RLCs in their housing experiences as a majority spend more than half of their income on shelter (ibid). Housing stress and issues of affordability are also noted among refugees living in suburban areas of Toronto (Preston et al. 2010).

Research also demonstrates that experiences of the housing market for RLCs vary depending on their location in Canada. Refugees Landed in Canada (RLC) are all refugee claimants until their cases are heard by the Immigration and Refugee Board. Hence data collection on refugee claimants captures both this group and failed claimants, a methodological weakness but not a flaw. Analyzing the outcomes of refugees landed in Canada once they have permanent resident status has proven difficult for qualitative researchers. Federal Government data on RLCs appear to be the best available with respect to this particular group.

Sherrell (2010) found that refugee claimants in Vancouver and Winnipeg had differential access to shelter, housing information and social assistance. RLCs in Winnipeg have access to the same orientation services and temporary accommodations available to GARs. As a result,



Sherrell found that access to social support and networks for newly arrived RLCs may be amplified by their access to these settlement services. The provision of orientation services, financial assistance and temporary accommodations for newly arrived RLCs in Winnipeg also provides a base from which they can connect with existing co-ethnic communities and look for housing. In contrast, RLCs in Vancouver experienced a lag time between arrival and access to services leaving them with no immediate housing or financial options (Sherrell 2010).

## Social Outcomes

Settlement experiences of RLCs are heavily influenced by their ability to access formal and informal forms of social support (Hiebert et al. 2009). In Montreal, Morantz et al. (2011) reported that RLCs' children and parents experience migration and relocation processes differently. Much of these differences stemmed from divergent experiences in their social networks. The children of refugee claimants learned the official languages more quickly and easily than their parents, who tend to rely on children as interpreters. This reliance often strained family relationships. Challenges in acquiring language skills limited parents' social interactions to new arrivals who spoke the same language or, via telephone or Skype, with those still living in countries of origin. Children, on the other hand, were more likely to make diverse friendships in English or French. The results of this study indicate that children often had an easier integration process and could better adjust to Canadian society than their claimant parents.

In their study of RLCs in Vancouver, Hiebert et al. (2009) found that the settlement of RLCs was heavily influenced by the social capital available in existing ethno-cultural communities. Despite their lack of established social networks, RLCs often relied on members of their established communities for settlement assistance. Their research, however, uncovers that those offering help to newcomers are also themselves living in precarious situations. Preston et al. (2011) also reported that RLCs in Toronto rely heavily on established social networks for settlement support; however, their findings reveal that this can often lead to the dissemination of inaccurate information and even exploitation.

Informal social ties can link RLCs to additional forms of support such as informal child care. Morantz et al. (2013) found that RLCs in Montreal often face additional barriers to accessing formal child care. Fees for formal child care services are often beyond the reach of RLCs; participants stated that they were unable to afford child care fees and were not eligible for any subsidies because of their immigration status. Since RLCs often arrive without a social support system, informal forms of child care are also limited. An inability to access child care makes it

difficult to find employment outside of the residence, to attend official language training, and even to run daily errands, especially for single-parent households. These challenges reduce household income, limit language acquisition and decrease social integration, leading to heightened feelings of social isolation and depression for RLC mothers (Morantz et al. 2013).

Preparedness of the host country to receive refugee claimants can have immediate effects on settlement experiences of RLCs. While a lack of language proficiency in Canada's official languages can pose barriers to settlement, Hiebert et al. (2009) found that RLCs who were fluent in French were unable to communicate with Canadian officials upon arrival at the Vancouver airport, since none of the border staff on duty were fluent. Despite fluency in one of Canada's official languages, these refugees faced additional difficulties in the claims process and in understanding their initial settlement options.

## Health Outcomes

Asylum seekers can have unique health and mental health conditions related to their migration circumstances, but also to the specific challenges of the Canadian claims process. Recent research reveals that RLCs are at a higher risk for mental health conditions: in 2013, Cleveland and Rousseau published a study that examined the psychiatric outcomes of asylum seekers who were detained in Canada. The study concluded that detained asylum seekers had a significantly higher risk of mental health disorder than those that were not detained upon arrival. These mental health conditions, including symptoms of post-traumatic stress, depression, and anxiety, began to appear in refugees who were detained on average as few as 17.5 days. Therefore, even very brief periods of detention are associated with increased psychiatric symptoms. The authors strongly recommend that alternatives to incarceration, such as temporary placement in a supervised residence, be considered for this vulnerable group in order to minimize the risks of psychological harm which may impact longer term integration outcomes (Cleveland and Rousseau 2013).

Research conducted on the post-partum health of recent mother and child asylum-seekers in Toronto and Montreal revealed that asylum seeking mothers were more likely to be at risk for psycho-social conditions than non-claimant immigrants and Canadian-born mothers (Gagnon et al. 2013). Mental health disorders such as depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder and post-partum disorder can be understood as a result of the dual set of challenges they face. Claimants' mental health is directly affected by often violent situations from which they are fleeing; this is compounded by an existence in legal "limbo" during the refugee status

determination process. The uncertain futures of asylum claimants and limited access to services and programs produce new stressors which may persist long after they are accepted as refugees in Canada. Perhaps most importantly, the stress of deciding what to do with newborn Canadian infants—a frequent experience for asylum claimants who become parents while waiting for status determination—cannot be understated (Gagnon et al. 2013).

## **Sponsorship and Settlement Approaches/Models for Refugees**

Both government and civil society sponsor and help settle refugees in Canada. Yet there is a lack of published discussion on refugee resettlement approaches outside of CIC's GAR/PSR framing. Below, we outline a few examples that inspire innovation in refugee settlement through community-based initiatives.

### **Case Study 1: Peace Village**

Located in Vaughan, Ontario, Peace Village is a suburb just north of Toronto. The community almost exclusively houses members of the Ahmadi Muslim faith. During the 1980s the government of Pakistan refused to recognize the Ahmadiyya community as Muslims, which exposed this group to acts of state and non-state violence. A mass exodus of Ahmadis ensued, and many escaped persecution through resettlement in Canada. D'Addario et al. (2007) write that Peace Village is a successful faith-based community that has fostered a sense of social cohesion and permanence. The neighbourhood is built around the Bai'tul Mosque, which is a powerful cultural and religious marker of Ahmadi presence in the multicultural mosaic of the Toronto CMA.

Peace Village consists of approximately 300 semi-detached and detached homes that are designed to meet the cultural and religious needs of the Ahmadiyya Muslim lifestyle. All of the streets are named after Muslim leaders and other prominent Ahmadiyya Muslim figures, which has brought a sense of ownership to residents (ibid). This faith-centred community has served as a supportive place for asylum seekers to settle and successfully integrate into the social, cultural and economic fabric of Canadian society.

### **Case Study 2: Scarborough, The City of Integrative Multiplicity**

Basu et al. (2013) have found that the diverse suburban community of Scarborough, ON, located in Toronto, is comprised of a large number of refugees and immigrants who share a strong sense of community, both internally and with Toronto as a whole. Much more than the

negative stereotypes associated with the region, Scarborough proves to be a “*City of Integrative Multiplicity*” that provides refugees and newcomers with a rich environment for integration. Public space provides refugees with opportunities to meet, interact, and come to a broader understanding of society. The diverse social spaces range from local grocery stores to religious institutions, and vary in scale from storefront temples to large mosques. Plentiful post-war buildings in Scarborough provide affordable rental locations for planned or ad hoc social activities to take place and community structures to form, such as educational centres and temples or mosques. Refugees are able to use these rich public spaces to build and expand relationships that can facilitate the settlement process. In the diverse neighbourhoods of Scarborough, cultural institutions and stores are frequently managed and attended by multiple ethnic groups which work to create new cross-cultural alliances and spaces of integration.

Ranu Basu’s (2011) research in Toronto has further examined the role that education plays in one’s sense of belonging. Education is more than human capital: instead, education is as a geographical site where newcomers are assisted in their integration through processes of “multifarious multiculturalism” (see Hyndman 2011:19 for a summary). Broader processes of integration and the formulation of a sense of belonging take place within schools. Basu contends that schools are not just sites of social provision, but instead create places where immigrants and refugees are active agents in their integration.

### **Case Study 3: Welcoming Communities**

“Swaagatem” means *welcome* in Nepalese. Operation “Swaagatem” refers to the first formal planning framework produced to assist settlement of a community of protracted refugees in Canada (Sherrell 2011). Undertaken by the Immigrant Services Society of BC (ISSofBC), this framework was designed to ease the integration of Bhutanese GARs resettled in groups to British Columbia in 2008. Prior to these efforts there was no pre-existing Bhutanese community in British Columbia. The goal of this welcoming strategy was to create a supportive settlement infrastructure for these protracted refugees. Stakeholder and public discussions led to a decision to establish a home for this community in Coquitlam, BC – a city with a population of 120,000 located approximately 25km east of Vancouver (ibid).

Sherrell et al. (2011) report that for the first time in the history of refugee resettlement in BC, partnerships between all levels of government (federal, provincial, and municipal) along with the school board, religious organizations and local health authorities were formed in order to

organize a unified settlement strategy for the Bhutanese. New programs were developed and community support was built to aid in the integration of these GARs.

Fewer Bhutanese arrived and settled in Coquitlam than expected (approximately 100 to date); however, interviews with those living in the Bhutanese community demonstrate that pre-planning efforts were helpful. While obstacles still exist to finding work and housing, this group reports fewer affordability challenges and better employment outcomes than earlier groups of resettled refugees (for example, Acehnese and Karen refugees settled in Vancouver). This research also reveals that the Bhutanese are also benefitting from formal services and programs such as English language classes, employment programs, and community host programs. The integrated planning process produced tailored programming which addressed and responded to the unique needs of this specific group (Sherrell 2011).

### **3. Key Theme: Secondary Migration of Resettled Refugees**

Little is known about the secondary patterns of refugees in Canada. According to the Evaluation of Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) and Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) report produced by CIC in 2011, approximately one-fifth of GARs moved away from their destined community. This was also revealed in analysis of data from the IMDB, which indicated that 22% of GARs had moved away from their province of destination two years after landing. According to SPOs, secondary migration is motivated to better connect with social networks, labour market opportunities, and settlement programs and services not available in the destined community (CIC 2011).

Okonny-Myers (2010) illustrates secondary migration patterns of refugees after initial settlement in Canada. The vast majority of refugees stay in the province to which they were originally destined: in the 2006 tax year, refugees who settled in Ontario and Alberta between 2000 and 2006 were most likely to remain there (more than 90%). BC and Quebec also retained 80% or more of refugees originally resettled in those provinces. However, refugees destined to the Atlantic provinces and Saskatchewan were more likely to move elsewhere, with 48% to 50% remaining in the original province of destination.

Research from British Columbia among Kosovar refugees illustrates how family size and connection to extended family within the community can present unique challenges to

secondary migration when desired. Unlike most GARs in British Columbia who usually are settled in Vancouver, extended families of Kosovars were destined to small and medium-sized cities outside of mainland Vancouver. This was intended to foster community development, offer mutual support, and aid in settlement, all the while avoiding settlement in larger centres where service provision organizations are perceived to be saturated. Sherrell et al.'s (2005) research revealed that most Kosovars stayed in their initial place of settlement and were satisfied with the support and services in their host community. However, some respondents were dissatisfied with their location due to a lack of employment opportunities and other service provision. Households considering secondary migration were reluctant to abandon the extended family, but the cost of moving the entire family prohibited them from relocating. These findings suggest that while Kosovars benefited from the retention of pre-existing social networks after resettlement to Canada, larger Canadian cities have the potential to offer more dense ethnic community support, more employment programs and relevant labour options.

#### **4. Key Theme: Canada's Refugee Protection System in the International Context**

At the end of 2011, 10.5 million people were living in displacement outside their home countries. Some 7.2 million of these were in conditions of extended exile, in excess of five years (UNHCR 2012). Thus, two-thirds of all refugees lacked proper legal status and a permanent place to call home in some 30 recognized crises of indefinite exile (Long 2011; Hyndman and Giles 2011). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines a Protracted Refugee Situation (PRS) to exist when refugees find themselves in a long-lasting and intractable state of limbo with little chance of repatriation or local integration: “[t]heir lives may not be at risk, but their basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years in exile” (2006:106). An EXCOM (Executive Committee of the UNHCR) conclusion passed in December 2009 identified PRS as a key concern due to the scope and intransigence of the problem (UNHCR 2014).

Groups of Afghan refugees have lived in Iran, Pakistan, and India for as long as thirty years (UNHCR 2012). The Kenyan government forcibly encamps Somali refugees—some for up to two decades—and Somalia remains one of the most dangerous countries in the world, according to UNHCR (2012). The UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr. Antonio Guterres,

has called Somalis a “quasi-permanent’ refugee population” (cited in UNHCR 2012:6). Afghans and Somalis, together with Iraqis living in similar long-term displacement, comprised 52% of all refugees recognized worldwide by UNHCR at the beginning of 2011.

One of the few lines of hope available to refugees in PRS is permanent resettlement in a third country. In 2009, approximately 85,000 refugees were resettled in stable third countries on a permanent basis. While lauding the generosity of donor states for taking in refugees, in 2011 UNHCR estimated that 805,000 people were in need of resettlement—only 10% could be provided with such spaces (UNHCR 2012). Third country resettlement is a humanitarian act that provides a solution to the temporary and marginalized status of refugees in protracted situations.

In 2010, 94% of all resettled refugees were provided residency in Australia, Canada, Sweden, and the US (ibid.). There is an increasing emphasis on vulnerability and need in the selection of refugees for third country resettlement; however, integration criteria sometimes trump protection needs in some states’ refugee protection law. Canada’s Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) is considered among the most progressive refugee legislation in the world because it places clear weight on the need for protection over measurements of integration potential. UNHCR (2012) notes that integration potential is hard to assess *a priori* and a focus on integration serves to strip refugee communities of their most educated and wealthy members, while leaving behind those with fewer resources who may be in the greatest need.

Sweden sets a strong example, having taken in more than 14,000 refugees from Syria since 2012 (CBC 2014). The Government of Sweden hopes to use this generous strategy to leverage more refugee resettlement in the European Union, but to date only Britain has considered addressing the Syrian crisis through resettlement. In the European Union, only 13 states have resettlement programs, and most of them are modest in comparison to Sweden’s or Canada’s. Fifteen of the 28 members have none. Along with Sweden, Australia, and the US, Canada’s resettlement program sets it apart from most EU countries as well as states like Japan, who choose not to engage in international humanitarian cooperation.

Strategic resettlement is a policy approach that attempts to use resettlement offers to leverage more opportunities and support for other refugees without a permanent solution. For example, refugees in protracted situations have been sponsored in large numbers by persuading other countries to do the same through international cooperation (Van Selm 2004). A country like Canada might pledge to permanently resettle 1,000 refugees where another (such as Germany)

might not want to do this, but can allow for temporary protection for 2,000. Another country, say Norway, might opt to provide \$10m in support for refugees left behind in camps, rather than temporary or permanent resettlement. However, Van Selm cautions strongly against the use of strategic resettlement as a replacement for robust legal structures to protect asylum claimants. Because refugee resettlement in Canada is a discretionary humanitarian activity and not a legal obligation, there is more legal leeway to reshape this program to mirror state goals; this can lead to a bureaucratic favouring of strategic resettlement over maintenance of policy towards potential refugees who have made spontaneous asylum claims at a Canadian port of entry. If eligible, people from this latter group obtain access to the asylum process through a less malleable network of obligatory international law, national legislation, regulations and policies. Van Selm argues that strong refugee legal structure should equally emphasize the protection of asylum claimants and the strategic resettlement of refugees from abroad.

In 2013, Canada chaired the Annual Tripartite Consultations and Working Group on Resettlement (ATCR/WGR). During that year, the ATCR was co-chaired by the Director of Refugee Affairs at CIC and a Canadian refugee-serving settlement organization. In its newsletter, the role of strategic settlement comes to the fore in terms of the theme selected:

This year, we have chosen to retain the ATCR theme “One refugee resettled, many lives protected,” as an important reminder of the power of resettlement at a time when all too many people are being forcibly displaced. The theme also serves to remind us, collectively, of the need to expand opportunities for those we serve – in both the number of refugees who are resettled and in the integration support provided once they have arrived in their new home (Pressé and Friesen 2013:2).

Canada’s decision to adopt group processing for refugees from several protracted situations was a strong act of strategic resettlement because the policy was enacted in tandem with other resettlement countries doing the same. Together, donor states were able to make a serious impact on the two-decade-long displacement of Bhutanese refugees in Nepal. By April 2013, total referrals of Bhutanese refugees for worldwide resettlement hit 100,000; some 38,000 remain in Nepal and most have expressed interest in resettlement (ATCR/WGR 2013).

The recent *Evaluation of Government Assisted Refugees (GAR) and Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP)*, a report conducted by CIC in 2011, states that



[r]efugee needs for support services has [sic] likely increased following the introduction of IRPA.

With the enactment of IRPA in 2002...there was a greater emphasis placed on the need for protection and less emphasis placed on the ability of a refugee to become established in Canada. Resettled refugees are also exempt from inadmissibility to Canada for financial needs, or for excess demand on health care and social services.

This change in selection criteria has had far reaching impact in terms of the types of clients RAP Service Provider Organizations (SPOs) provide service to as compared to the pre-IRPA GAR clients. As noted in the evaluation, GAR clients now face more “obstacles,” as demonstrated by the percentage increase in the proportion of clients (2009 compared to 2000) with no official language skills (+14%), no formal education (+26%), or those 65 years of age or older (+150%).

It must be reiterated that this report finds no definitive research to prove that a) refugee needs are higher since IRPA took effect in 2002; and b) that group processing demands higher levels of settlement services categorically. In 2010, CIC found that post-IRPA GARs are younger, on average, than GARs from the 1990s, with about 60% (compared to 50%) under the age of 24. Hence, they have less education than their pre-IRPA counterparts, and this may have resource implications (Hyndman 2011). However, CIC observed no major shifts in the economic outcomes for pre-versus post-IRPA refugees, despite a slight decline in earnings if one does not control for the lower average age of post-IRPA GARs.

## Family Sponsorship

Refugees in Canada have a one year “window of opportunity” from date of arrival in which to sponsor family members still abroad for resettlement to Canada (CIC 2011c). Without a time limit, they may also apply to sponsor family members through the Family Class. The literature points to two main trends which influence refugees’ likelihood to engage in the family sponsorship program. First, resettled refugees who have been residing in a first country of asylum for extended periods may be separated from their families and therefore unaccompanied by them when they first arrive in Canada as resettled refugees. This is the case with Canada’s refugees from Aceh, Indonesia: all members of this group spent 3-5 years in

Malaysian detention centres. When group processing among a handful of resettlement countries proceeded, these Acehnese refugees were settled in Greater Vancouver, BC, and most remain there. The vast majority came as single men, though some were married and were able to bring their spouses. Many want to sponsor spouses from Aceh, given their observant faith, specific language skills, and valuation of Acehnese culture (Brunner et al. 2010; Brunner et al. 2012). Skewed gender ratios among resettled refugees can create greater demand for family sponsorship. The allocation of limited resources to navigating spousal sponsorship created a barrier to integration for Acehnese men in Vancouver.

Second, geography plays a role in family sponsorship trends for refugees. The Knowledge Framework notes that Sri Lankans are among the most likely to sponsor family. Reasons for this trend include the following: Sri Lanka has never had any in-country/source country processing capacity, and Sri Lanka is an island with only proximate access to India (a state which is not a signatory to either the 1951 Convention or 1967 Protocol). Notably, these facts also explain the motivation for Sri Lankan asylum claimants to access Canada by ship or other “irregular” means, especially if s/he cannot access travel documents and/or visas with which to exit the country. Without a safe first country of asylum nearby, Sri Lankan Tamils are often forced to flee farther afield; often one or two family members will go ahead to try and secure refugee status before sponsoring the family members who have remained behind (CIC 2014). As Canada’s acceptance rate of Sri Lankan refugee claimants in 2012 was 57%, and that human rights violations against the Tamil minority remain a documented problem, it should not be surprising that formally recognized Tamil refugees seek family reunification upon gaining status. Asylum seekers are more likely to come without families than GARs or PSRs.

### **What safeguards are in place to protect against *refoulement*?**

Canada is a signatory to both the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol (UNHCR 2012). Both enshrine *non-refoulement*, or protection against forced return, as a cornerstone of international refugee law (see Article 1 of the 1951 Convention). In Canada, Article 115 of IRPA clearly re-emphasizes the principle of *non-refoulement* as key to federal refugee legislation:

A protected person or a person who is recognized as a Convention refugee by another country to which the person may be returned shall not be removed from Canada to a country where they would be at risk of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political

opinion or at risk of torture or cruel and unusual treatment or punishment  
(Government of Canada 2014a).

The 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol are codified in Canadian legislation.

The legal foundation of refugee law in Canada, however, is being eclipsed by new regulations and policies that make it very difficult for asylum seekers to reach Canadian soil. Given that Canada does not allow appeals for rejected refugee claimants who apply for asylum from a Designated Country of Origin (DCO) and only a procedural review through appeal to the Federal Court, it follows that Canada does not have a robust system in place to protect against *refoulement*.

Canada has created a list of designated safe countries (37) and a list of designated “dangerous countries” where visas are required from visitors (29, plus one territory). For individuals originating from states labelled as “dangerous,” biometric data are collected during the visa application process and subsequently entered into an international database that can be freely accessed by Canada, the US, the UK, Australia and New Zealand (CIC 2014b). The EU has a similar database called EURODAC to share fingerprints among signatories to the Dublin Convention that governs asylum claims in EU territory.

Some of countries which Canada labels—for want of a better term—“Designated Dangerous Countries” (DDCs) have not yet been connected with established “Visa Application Centres” (VAC) where biometric data prerequisite to acquiring a visa can be collected. The new biometric visa application procedure was launched in the fall of 2013.

In both the DCO and DDC lists, safety is cast as an inherent trait of an entire country, rather than contextualized across race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, religion, and political opinion as per UNHCR age, gender and diversity mainstreaming principles. Data shows that RLCs continue to be accepted from DCOs such as Mexico and Hungary (CIC 2012d, 2012e), despite these countries being designated as safe countries of origin. Appeals for failed claims originating from DCOs are not available to failed claimants. Given the data from Mexico and Hungary above, this increases the possibility of *refoulement*. In response to the question posed in the Refugee Knowledge Framework, one policy that would reduce the chances of *refoulement* is the introduction of appeals for failed claimants from DCO countries.

## 5. Key Theme: Irregular Migration and Refugee Protection

The concept of “irregular migration” is on the rise in the industrialized countries of the global North. Definitions of the term capture both genuine asylum seekers and other migrants, which make this an overly broad and flawed concept because rules precluding the entry of all irregular migrants may block a subset of genuine asylum seekers from making a claim. In Canada, being designated by the Minister of Public Safety as part of a group of irregular migrants has particular implications. These include mandatory detention, no right to permanent resident status for five years, and no family reunification during that same time period for those refugee claimants whose applications are accepted. The Canadian Government cannot legally determine whether a claimant is in fact a genuine refugee deserving of protection until the Refugee Determination Process (RDP) is complete.

We begin by addressing concerns related to possible queue-jumping by asylum seekers, as noted in the Knowledge Framework. Reference to “queue-jumping” is an error that finds no purchase in refugee law: there is no queue or sequential order required in making a refugee claim. The suggestion that asylum seekers engage in illegal activity by securing irregular access (i.e., via “smuggling”) to sovereign Canadian territory for the purpose of claiming asylum is also spurious. The 1951 Convention Relating to Refugees is quite clear on this point, stating in Article 31, section 1 that

[t]he Contracting States shall not impose penalties, on account of their illegal entry or presence, on refugees who, coming directly from a territory where their life or freedom was threatened in the sense of article 1, enter or are present in their territory without authorization, provided they present themselves without delay to the authorities and show good cause for their illegal entry or presence. (Article 31, (1))

Therefore, Canada risks creating uneven access to protection for those designated as “irregular migrants” if they are found to be *bona fide* refugees as claimants who arrive by ship or other means.

As Arbel and Brenner (2013:100-101) document, practitioners report that “until the STCA [Safe Third Country Agreement of 2004] came into effect, ‘there was no reason for irregular entry’.” In 2003 Canadian officials estimated that 90% of migrants, including asylum seekers, crossed the border into Canada at official ports of entry. The authors illustrate that several Canadian Government agencies made statements supporting the claim that the STCA is partly

responsible for triggering the rise in unauthorized border crossings. In 2010, the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA), for example, did an evaluation that pointed to an increase in “inland” asylum claims made from within Canadian territory. CBSA suggested that the rise in inland claims is due in part to irregular migrants entering Canada *between* ports of entry to file refugee claims inside of Canada as a strategy to avoid being turned back at the border under the STCA (Arbel and Brenner 2013:101; emphasis added).

Obtained under the Access to Information Act, the Canada-U.S. Integrated Border Enforcement Team (IBET) Threat Assessment in 2012 states that:

Canada-bound human smuggling activity [between ports of entry] has surged in 2011. The number of human apprehensions was 487 in 2011, compared to 308 in 2010, representing a 58% increase in activity (IBET 2012 in Arbel and Brenner 2013:100).

The relationship of human smuggling rates and the STCA is difficult to gauge. Methodologically, measuring the impact of the STCA on refugee claims to Canada has proven difficult for social scientists. By what variables can a researcher determine whether a genuine refugee has been excluded from making a claim through an act of *preclusion*, as we have defined above?

## The “long tunnel thesis”

In a detailed ethnographic analysis of Citizenship and Immigration Canada before the creation of the CBSA, Mountz’s *Seeking Asylum: Human Smuggling and Bureaucracy at the Border* (2010) illustrates Canada’s response to the arrival of four boats from Fujian Province in the summer of 1999. She conducted dozens of interviews with government employees from various departments, lawyers, non-governmental organizations who were first responders, security personnel, and legal representatives of the migrants at the centre of the response. She discusses the ad hoc modus operandi of the government as “policy on the fly,” which at that point had not developed a codified response to boat arrivals.

“Policy on the fly” led directly to the designation of Esquimalt Naval base (outside Victoria, B.C.) a holding centre for the newly arrived asylum seekers. Esquimalt base was selected for its capacity to be bureaucratically excised from Canadian sovereign territory for the duration of the processing; refugee claimants disembarked from their original vessels and Coast Guard boats transported them directly to Esquimalt base. Through this technical circumnavigation, would-be asylum claimants were not considered to have entered Canada, precluding them from the legal opportunity to request consideration for refugee status. Like a *zone d’attente* in an

airport, claimants were given health and age tests, questioned without lawyers, and detained for long periods before being admitted to Canada. Mountz (2010) refers to this as the “long tunnel thesis”—in reference to the long corridors in airports which are not considered sovereign territory of any state—in that asylum seekers were held in legal limbo, in a metaphorical tunnel, until authorities sorted out a plan of action. This emergent strategy—and others like it—developed during the 1999 response are a distant predecessor to the highly formalized measures that characterize contemporary Canadian policy on irregular migrants; troublingly, preclusion and externalization remain a major focus of official Canadian response strategies.

Since the canonization of the “long tunnel thesis,” there has been a marked policy shift to completely external responses to asylum seekers in Australia, the U.S., and the European Union. Rather than establishing “long tunnels” on a state’s territory, new efforts make claiming asylum all but impossible through a “pushing out” of the border to halt irregular migrants—including potential refugees—before departure or during transit (Mountz 2011a, 2011b; Arbel and Brenner 2013; CBSA 2009). Preclusion prevails.

Alexander Betts’ (2013) *Survival Migration* demonstrates how people who are legitimately displaced by violence, war, or human rights violations can fall through the cracks of the Convention definition and the international refugee regime more broadly. He identifies new drivers of forced displacement that render the Convention definition, focused largely on persecution, ill-suited to the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Betts calls on states to take the lead in “stretching” the legal rights and norms which fall under the international refugee regime; he defines “regime stretching” as “the degree to which the scope of a regime at the national or local level takes on tasks that deviate from those prescribed at the global level” (Betts 2013:30). Betts argues for an expansion of asylum to include those who genuinely need protection for reasons beyond the narrow grounds of persecution. His concluding words are sobering:

At the moment, there is an international consensus around the imperative to protect refugees fleeing persecution by states. However, there is far less consensus on whether and how to protect people fleeing fundamental human rights deprivations resulting from the inability or unwillingness of states to ensure those rights (Betts 2013:195).

Policies like Responsibility to Protect (R2P), once championed by Canada before the United Nations, have not been implemented. The case of Syria presently is instructive, where civil war waged by the government continues. With 6 to 7 million internally displaced persons, many without regular access to food and medicine, and already 2.5m refugees who have left the

country, one might expect R2P to instigate humanitarian intervention and possibly more. Without such intervention, more refugees will seek asylum, and the 28% increase in asylum seekers between 2012 and 2013 may well continue. Despite this and pressing international humanitarian crises which could arguably be eased through international intervention, neither the UN nor independent parties of states have come forward with meaningful support of intervention into states creating humanitarian emergencies through persecution and abuse of their own citizens.

## Research Gaps

This report has presented the most recent data and evidence-based research available on refugees in Canada. The recent literature does, however, present significant gaps. Drawing on the questions posed in the Knowledge Framework document, the research gaps that remain are as follows:

### Theme 1: Understanding outcomes of resettled refugees

- Despite evidence of mental health issues among refugees (GARs) from protracted refugee situations, the impact of both mental and physical disabilities on social and economic integration is unknown.
- Virtually no data or research exists on Visa-Office Referred refugees (VORs), or blended VORs. Information on the settlement experience of RLCs who applied for asylum after December 15, 2012 is also virtually absent, understandably perhaps, given the short amount of time since the implementation of the Refugee Protection Division.

### Theme 2: Understanding the motivation of refugee claimants and outcomes of refugees landed in Canada

- Without access to refugee claimants' Personal Information Forms this report could not explore the factors that motivate individual claimants to come to Canada. There is no published data about motivations to apply for asylum that we could find.
- Little is known about the migration pathways for claimants or why some claimants abandon their claims once in Canada. There is no literature on what motivates false claims.
- The report was unable to address questions about the motivations of refugee claimants' migration to Canada.
- There is no data available on the composition of refugees (region/country of origin) whose refugee claims are in the IRB backlog.

### Theme 3: Secondary migration of refugees

- We found no recent data available that compare provincial or municipal retention rates between refugee classes, other classes of immigrants, and Canadian-born inter-provincial migrants. Data that compare secondary migration among RLC, GARs and PSRs are also unavailable.

### Theme 4: Canada's refugee protection system in the international context

- Trends in outcomes of Canada's new refugee adjudication procedures (introduced in December 2012) are still emerging, and analyses of results unpublished. UNHCR (2014) reports a 28% increase in asylum applications world-wide, and yet a 49% decrease in such applications to Canada. Why and how this has transpired remains an unanswered question.
- Strategic resettlement in the form of group processing and/or for refugees from protracted situations may skew data on resettlement outcomes for all GARs and refugees who might be potentially sponsored by government, but no specific studies have been carried out testing this hypothesis.

### Theme 5: Irregular migration and refugee protection

- According to the Integrated Border Enforcement Team (IBET) Threat Assessment in 2012, there has been a steady increase in apprehensions of migrants being smuggled at the US-Canada border. Initial research has suggested this rise is correlated with the introduction of the Safe Third Country Agreement implemented in 2004. In reflection on this claim, it is not known what impact the introduction of other preclusion measures, such as the new biometrics requirements, might have on human smuggling to Canada.
- Research on the number of inland refugee claims made after the implementation of the December 2004 Safe Third Country Agreement as compared with before this time would enrich analysis of migration and refugee claims. CBSA apparently has such data, but no access was available for the purposes of this synthesis.
- No irregular arrivals were designated in 2013, hence no legal or social science research on this issue could be done at the casework or fieldwork level. This remains a gap in knowledge.

## Conclusion

This report finds that over time refugees of all classes on average integrate economically. They may not be high performers, on average, but as noted (Hiebert, 2009) some groups of resettled refugees performed better than investment/entrepreneur/business class



immigrants in 2005 data. If the number of temporary foreign workers visas issues is any indication, Canada needs workers who are not necessarily all professionals with advanced degrees. Access to employment is an ongoing challenge for refugees in Canada; economic outcomes would benefit from better recognition of pre-migration work experience and education and renewed focus on equivalency programs.

Refugees in all classes face major challenges in securing stable housing. Rental cost is a major barrier, especially in big cities; RAP is consistently found to be insufficient, especially in Toronto and Vancouver. A lack of proper orientation to local housing markets makes seeking out housing difficult. Discriminatory treatment by landlords compounds these issues. Overcrowding is a common response to housing challenges. Better funding for housing, more access to social housing, and programs to orient newcomers to local housing markets would be beneficial.

Complex health issues which are uncommon in Canada, and thus unfamiliar to local non-specialist practitioners, are common amongst all classes of refugees. Mental health especially is an “invisible” health issue which is often overlooked, but is commonly associated with pre-migration refugee experiences and post-arrival challenges. These specific health issues must be addressed in new health programs for refugees.

Refugee youth are found to face specific challenges to integration. Often, youth adapt more quickly to Canadian linguistic and social conventions than their parents; however, this imbalance often results in heavier burdens in the household as parents may rely on their children to act as interpreters and translators. Youth should be considered both as a social resource in refugee households and as a vulnerable population in need of support that recognizes their unique and challenging social position.

Social bonds are repeatedly found to be essential to successful integration. Strong social networks within refugee groups which share similar backgrounds, between groups from different backgrounds, and with the long-term community all correlate with better outcomes in all of the above categories. Fostering social connectivity should be a major focus of service provision, and where possibly should begin before refugees arrive in Canada.

Asylum claimants should be recognized as a group in particular crisis. All challenges faced by GARs and PSRs are seen much more acutely amongst LCRs and claimants. While the shortened wait times associated with new Canadian refugee determination policies will certainly shift (not dispel) the challenges which asylum claimants face in Canada, the backlog of refugee claimants processed under older rules should not be forgotten. Immediate action should be

brought about to bring services for asylum claimants into line with GARs and PSRs to improve their long-term integration outcomes; policy in the city of Winnipeg provides a striking case study of the potential of this approach.

Much research remains to be done, especially given recent changes to the resettlement program configuration (i.e., the addition of VORs and BVORs, and the reduction of GAR and PRS numbers) and to the refugee adjudication process in Canada. Stark warnings about the serious effects of even very short term detention on the mental health of asylum claimants should not be ignored. The precipitous drop in claims from 2012 to 2013 is cause for concern and should be probed and analyzed carefully. Do Canada's preclusion measures around migration management impair its ability to meet its obligations to genuine refugees under Canadian and international law? This question is key if Canada is to maintain its standing as an international humanitarian role model, but a full exploration is beyond the terms of reference for this report.

The significant drop in the number of GARs selected for resettlement to Canada is also cause for concern, since this is a major indicator of Canada's commitment to refugee resettlement in relation to humanitarian obligation and international cooperation. Canada's role and reputation as both a safe country of asylum and as a country committed to refugee resettlement hangs in the balance, based on these statistics.

The research gaps are as significant as the findings we present here, given the implications of the new architecture of refugee adjudication and resettlement. We see these findings as a work in progress, with much more to be done to extend the current literature, with a view to looking in-depth at how the new measures play out.

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## Appendices

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## Appendix A: Significant Research In-Progress

### **Understanding diversity and space in Scarborough through 'integrative multiplicity'. (PI: Ranu Basu, Geography, York University at [ranubasu@yorku.ca](mailto:ranubasu@yorku.ca))**

Despite negative public perceptions of Scarborough, ON, refugees and migrants (who make up 57% of the population) describe Scarborough as a “city of refuge and peace.” Among migrant residents, Scarborough is perceived as a space where diverse groups can meet and integrate with the broader community. For example, cultural institutions and stores are both used and managed by multiple ethnic groups. These diverse networks help ease the settlement experience. However, high transit costs enforce the creation and maintenance of strong local communities which are less integrated with the Toronto core. Strong virtual transnational links—for example, via Skype, email, or telephone—to friends and family in countries of origin are common.

### **The Integration and Inclusion of Newcomers in British Columbia (Dan Hiebert, Geography, UBC at [dhiebert@geog.ubc.ca](mailto:dhiebert@geog.ubc.ca))**

The project links IMDB data with National Household Survey to analyze labour market participation and earned income for different immigrant classes, including resettled and refugees landed in major Canadian cities; depending on the quality of the new NHS data, this analysis will help gauge refugee integration and achievement in the labour force.

### **Youth Refugee Resettlement in Ontario (Michaela Hynie, Centre for Refugee Studies, York University at [mhynie@yorku.ca](mailto:mhynie@yorku.ca))**

Michaela Hynie (2014) finds in her evaluation of YMCA Ontario data on youth that services for older youth are lacking. Younger refugees and teenagers end up in the high school system where they are supported by guidance counsellors and school activities that a) reinforce their integration linguistically or culturally; b) facilitate access to employment opportunities through student internships and summer jobs; and c) directly provide access to university education. In contrast, older youth who seek access to university programs face multiple barriers for which there is little support. These young adults are forced to navigate access to unfamiliar bureaucratic systems on their own; in the process, they are often directed into English language courses that are not part of a degree-granting university program. Lack of access to proper university education reinforces the challenges refugees face in breaking out of the low-skill job market. The insistence of employers on “Canadian experience” remains a huge frustration and a dangerous trap for refugee youth seeking employment.

Dr. Hynie has been also contracted to assess YMCA data from the client-based data system, but results were not forthcoming at the time this report was due.

### **Orienting Refugee Youth Moving to Canada: The Potential of Pre-Departure Programs (Nicole Maine, Centre for Refugee Studies, York University at [nicolemaine6@gmail.com](mailto:nicolemaine6@gmail.com))**

Nicole Maine (2014) looks at the role of pre-departure orientation abroad for Bhutanese refugee youth who have come to Canada within the last three years, and more broadly probes the question of how youth are faring in five cities across Canada. The study follows up Sherrell et al.'s (2011) work with Bhutanese refugees in British Columbia, examining the effectiveness of a pilot “cultural orientation abroad” curriculum developed by refugee youth in Vancouver in conjunction with the Immigrant Services Society of BC and delivered to Bhutanese youth destined for Canada. Maine interviews groups of youth in Vancouver who participated in the pilot in Nepal, who who attended with their parents, and who had no orientation all. Her

preliminary findings suggest the need for more pre-departure training, but also a need for settlement services specifically tailored to the cultural frames of refugee youth in Canada.

Maine (2014) finds that many Bhutanese refugee youth in Vancouver are the main decision-makers and household managers at home, translating documents, filling forms, sorting junk mail from the important correspondence, and making health decisions in the absence of an English-speaking parent. The stress some youth voiced based on school, employment and family management is remarkable, and presents a specific barrier to integration that service programming should be tailored to address. **Published results of this study are not yet forthcoming.**

**Second Generation Success and Marginalization: The Impacts of Race, Gender and Place on Employment and Social Mobility (PI: Valerie Preston, York University, [vpreston@yorku.ca](mailto:vpreston@yorku.ca))**

The labour market experiences of the second generation are highly segmented. While some enjoy remarkable economic success, others are experiencing serious economic difficulties - high unemployment, low wages, and frequent underemployment. The work lives of the second generation vary across metropolitan areas and within them. Employment challenges are compounded for some of the second generation by discrimination in hiring, earnings, and retention related to their status as racialized minorities and by gender segmentation that concentrates many women in under-valued feminized occupations. This research compares the labour market experiences of second generation adults from three racial minorities and from European backgrounds. Specifically, it examines how the job searches of the second generation differ among ethno-racial groups and what are the impacts of discrimination and gender roles on the job searches of each group; the role of different types of social capital in each group's search for employment; and how places significant in everyday life, such as where one lives and where one goes to school, influence the social capital available to each ethno-racial group of the second generation. The research uses information from two General Social Surveys (Cycles 17 and 20) to compare the social contacts used to find jobs by racialized and white second generation adults in Canada's largest urban areas. The second phase utilizes a questionnaire survey of a random sample of second generation young adults in Toronto from five ethno-racial groups: Chinese, South Asian, Black, Northern and Western European and Southern Europeans to ascertain the relative importance of neighbourhood social contacts, and their utility for finding suitable jobs. In the third phase, focus groups will investigate the diverse ways that place shapes the second generation's labour market experiences.

*Funder:* SSHRC, Insight Grant, 2012-2016.

# Appendix B: Key Research Institutions and Researchers

## Research Institutions

### Refugee Research Network

The Refugee Research Network (RRN) has been created to mobilize and sustain a Canadian and international network of researchers and research centres committed to the study of refugee and forced migration issues and to engaging policy makers and practitioners in finding solutions to the plight of refugees and displaced persons. This initiative builds on previous efforts towards establishing a global network of researchers in the field of refugee and forced migration studies funded by the Canadian SSHRC Knowledge Cluster program.

RRN launched the Canadian Association for Refugee and Forced Migration Studies (CARFMS), which meets annually and has cultivated a network of scholars who present refugee-related fields of social science and law. The program for the upcoming meeting in Montreal from May 7-9 is available at <http://www.carfms.org/CARFMS14>

### Examples of Recent Publications

The Detention and Asylum Cluster, led by J. Hyndman (York University, [jhyndman@yorku.ca](mailto:jhyndman@yorku.ca)) was launched April 2014 at <http://refugeersearch.net/ms/detention/> with key academic scholarship in this area reviewed in the form of an annotated bibliography by Dr. Stephanie Silverman. She also identifies gaps in the current literature at <http://refugeersearch.net/ms/detention/publications/literature-gaps/>

An annotated bibliography of research on LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender) Refugees and Sexual Orientation / Gender Identity Asylum - Selected Legal and Social Scientific Publications was compiled by three graduate students under the supervision of Drs. S. Rehaag and J. Hyndman and York University. Contact J. Hyndman ([jhyndman@yorku.ca](mailto:jhyndman@yorku.ca)) for more information.

The Borderless Higher Education for Refugees project is a spin-off of the RRN and is available at <http://crs.yorku.ca/bher-group> works to deliver post-secondary educational services to refugees in the Dadaab camps of Kenya, but also to produce new knowledge on refugee education, protracted refugee situations, and the geopolitics of service delivery in refugee camps housing almost 500,000 people. See the refereed journal special issue in *Refuge* 27 (4), 2010 on this theme at: <http://refugeersearch.net/ms/bher/resources/refuge-special-issue/>

The Age and Generation in Migration Cluster, led by Dr. Christina Clark-Kazak ([CClark-Kazak@glendon.yorku.ca](mailto:CClark-Kazak@glendon.yorku.ca)), explores these conceptions in international contexts in an edited book and special issue of *Canadian Journal of Ethnic Studies*, a refereed periodical available at <http://www.refugeersearch.net/age-generation-cluster>.

The cluster on Environmentally-induced displacement, led by Dr. Libby Lunstrum ([lunstrum@yorku.ca](mailto:lunstrum@yorku.ca)) features another annotated literature review of nature-society relations pertaining to such displacement and of international border theory and practice by doctoral

student, Frances Masse; it is available at

<http://www.refugeereseach.net/sites/default/files/Masse-Lunstrum%20Bib%20on%20NS%20Relatios-Borders%20FINAL%2010-2013.pdf>

A peer-reviewed special issue on environmentally induced displacement was published in 2013 and all eight papers are available through open access at <http://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/refuge/issue/current>

For general queries about the RRN, contact: Dr. Susan McGrath ([smcgrath@yorku.ca](mailto:smcgrath@yorku.ca))

## Research Institutions Abroad: A Selected List

- Refugee Studies Centre at Oxford University [United Kingdom]
- Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown University [United States]
- African Centre for Migration and Society in Johannesburg [South Africa]
- Andrew & Renata Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law in Sydney [Australia]
- Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group in Kolkata [India]
- Forced Migration and Refugee Studies Program at the American University in Cairo [Egypt]
- Group on Political Theory and Legal Theory at Javeriana University in Bogota [Columbia]
- Institute of Social Studies and Research at University of Tehran. [Tehran]
- Center for Forced Migration Studies, Northwestern University [United States]

## Researchers

**Tracey Derwing** (Department of Educational Psychology, University of Alberta, [tracey.derwing@ualberta.ca](mailto:tracey.derwing@ualberta.ca)) has done a great deal of work on refugee settlement issues.

**J. Donald C. Galloway** (Faculty of Law, University of Victoria, [galloway@uvic.ca](mailto:galloway@uvic.ca)): specializes in immigration law, refugee law and citizenship law.

**Randall Hansen** (Department of Political Science, University of Toronto, [r.hansen@utoronto.ca](mailto:r.hansen@utoronto.ca)): current projects include work on immigration and integration in Europe and North America

**Dan Hiebert** (Department of Geography, University of British Columbia, [daniel.hiebert@ubc.ca](mailto:daniel.hiebert@ubc.ca)): Refugee and other immigrant classes' income earnings based on IMDB data and National Household Survey data.

**Michaela Hynie** (Department of Psychology, York University, [mhynie@yorku.ca](mailto:mhynie@yorku.ca)): At present analysing Ontario data with the YMCA on differences in uptake and impact of settlement services among GARs and PSRs.

**J Milner** (Department of Political Science, Carleton University, james.milner@carleton.ca) :  
Researcher, practitioner and policy advisor on issues relating to refugees, peace-building,  
African politics and the United Nations system.

## Appendix C: Annotated Bibliography

**Anderson, Laura and Sellen, Daniel. (2013 March). *Food Insecurity and diet among Toronto refugees and immigrants*. CERIS Research Summary.**

<http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/SELLEN-Food-Insecurity-FINAL.pdf>

In a study carried out with Tamil and Latin American mothers with children under 5 who had come to Canada as refugee claimants or family class immigrants less than five years ago, more than three quarters of participants had experienced food insecurity in the month prior to the interviews. High levels of unemployment, underemployment, and insufficient social assistance to meet household food needs were cited as causes. All participants had experienced food insecurity at some point since arriving in Canada. Those who used food banks found the assistance to be insufficient; some respondents were aware of food banks but chose not to use them, and others were unaware of their existence in the neighbourhood.

**Arbel, Efrat and Brenner, Alletta. (2013 November). *Bordering on Failure: Canada-U.S. Border Policy and the Politics of Refugee Exclusion*. Harvard Immigration and Refugee Law Clinical Program.**

<http://harvardimmigrationclinic.files.wordpress.com/2013/11/bordering-on-failure-harvard-immigration-and-refugee-law-clinical-program1.pdf>

The Safe Third Country Agreement between Canada and the United States ignores clear deficiencies in the U.S. asylum system—deficiencies which have been publicly denounced by UNHCR—and thus violates Canada's obligations under international refugee law. Most notably, the United States imposes an illegal one-year filing deadline on asylum claimants. Returned asylum seekers are frequently detained and/or placed in expedited removal processes. Further, the agreement has encouraged human smuggling, making the border more dangerous/difficult to patrol for other perceived “security threats.”

The CBSA has implemented the “Multiple Borders Strategy,” formally designed to “push the border” outside of Canadian territory. This strategy involves seven securitized “layers” which must be passed (from visa screenings through various points of embarkation to final point of arrival) to travel through regular channels from countries of origin to Canada's “inland”. Each of these layers have the potential to deflect legitimate Convention refugees who seek access to Canadian territory to have their claims assessed.

While this system is not new, it has recently been intensified. 63 Liaison Officers are positioned in 49 strategic international hubs, tasked with blocking individuals with improper documentation. These officers are instructed not to consider specific circumstances of intercepted migrants, whether or not they may be in need of asylum. Liaison Officers have intercepted 73,000 people between 2001 and 2012. Often, these interceptions take place in countries which are not signatories to the 1951 Convention, leaving the would-be asylum claimants with no protection against *refoulement*.

Exacting fines on carriers which fail to prevent arrivals of undocumented migrants at best engages carriers as proxy agents in excluding would-be claimants. At worst, shipping lines have

been found to throw stowaways overboard to avoid fines; as these murders occur in international waters and leave minimal evidence they often go unpunished.

Canada is known to place visa restrictions on refugee producing countries, primarily to block asylum seekers.

**Basok, Tanya; Bélanger, Danièle; Rivas, Eloy. (2013 February). *Choosing to Become Unauthorized: Mexican and Central American Migrant Farm Workers*. CERIS Research Summary.**

<http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/BASOK-Choosing-to-become-unauthorized-FINAL.pdf>

Temporary foreign workers in Canada are more and more routinely threatened by employers with deportation to dissuade protest over poor working conditions. Research was carried out in the municipality of Leamington, Ontario on increasing numbers of temporary foreign workers abandoning contracts to become unauthorized migrants in Canada. The study shows that despite harsh working conditions, “very few” temporary workers are considering abandoning contracts, as they fear long separation from family, coupled with a tight job market and high cost of living. Those who did abandon contracts or were considering contract abandonment to become unauthorized migrants were overwhelmingly single, and did not find living conditions to become easier.

**Basu, Ranu; O'Connor, Kate; Fiedler, Rob; Ko, Connie; Prier, Nate. (2013 February). *Understanding diversity and space in Scarborough through 'integrative multiplicity'*. CERIS Research Summary.**

[http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Basu\\_Research\\_Summary.pdf](http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Basu_Research_Summary.pdf)

Despite negative public perceptions of Scarborough, ON, refugees and migrants (who make up 57% of the population) describe Scarborough as a “city of refuge and peace.” Among migrant residents, Scarborough is perceived as a space where diverse groups can meet and integrate with the broader community. For example, cultural institutions and stores are both used and managed by multiple ethnic groups. These diverse networks help ease the settlement experience. However, high transit costs enforce the creation and maintenance of strong local communities which are less integrated with the Toronto core. Strong virtual transnational links—for example, via Skype, email, or telephone—to friends and family in countries of origin are common.

**Beiser, Morton; Taa, Busha; Fenta-Wube, Haile; Baheretibeb, Yonas; Pain, Claire; Arya, Mesfin. (2012). “A Comparison of Levels and Predictors of Emotional Problems Among Preadolescent Ethiopians in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and Toronto, Canada.” *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 49(5).**

In a comparative study between pre-adolescent Ethiopian children and their parents in Toronto and Addis Ababa, youths were found to self-rate their levels emotional problems higher in Toronto than in Addis Ababa. Levels of parent-child dissonance over adherence to traditional cultural behaviour was found to be higher in Toronto, but that discord was not found to correlate to higher levels of self-reported emotional problems in youth. However, perceptions of discrimination were correlated with emotional problems among youth in Toronto. Notably, youth self-esteem was reported to be higher in Toronto. The study concludes that international migration should not be simplistically assumed to negatively affect the emotional state of youth.



**Betts, Alexander. (2013). *Survival Migration: Failed Governance and the Crisis of Displacement*. Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press.**

Most displaced migrants do not meet the legal understanding of “persecution” as defined in refugee law, leading to the failure to recognize victims of violent circumstances as “refugees.” Betts examines the flight of people from three precarious states in Africa—Zimbabwe, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Somalia—explaining the variation in institutional responses across the neighboring host states. Some survival migrants are offered asylum as refugees; others are rounded up, detained, and deported, often in brutal conditions. The author contends that the inadequacies of the current refugee regime demonstrate a failure of human rights and gravely threaten international security.

**Bhuyan, Rupaleem; Osborne, Bethany J.; Cruz, Janet Flor Juanico. (2013 February). *Unprotected and Unrecognized: The Ontological Insecurity of Migrants Who Are Denied Protection from Domestic Violence in Their Home Countries and as Refugee Claimants in Canada*. CERIS Working Paper Series No. 96.**

[http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/CWP\\_96\\_Bhuyan\\_Osborne\\_Cruz.pdf](http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/CWP_96_Bhuyan_Osborne_Cruz.pdf)

Female refugee claimants from Mexico and Latin America who submit claims outside of Canada based on domestic abuse are frequently denied refugee status. This is because it is difficult to prove that political and judicial institutions of the home country failed to protect them. The report highlights that domestic violence often goes unreported for cultural reasons, that while laws against domestic abuse exist they are often not enforced, and that the decisions of the IRB imply that gendered violence in the home is not sufficiently political to warrant protection. This is out of line with other gender-based refugee claims made from within Canada, which are more likely to be approved.

The Safe Third Country agreement with the United States severely affects the experiences of female refugee claimants from Latin America, as the acceptance rate for asylum claimants from Central America in the States is extremely low (1.6%).

The article discusses at length the “liminal legality” and social ramifications of long waiting periods of waiting for IRB decisions and typical chain of appeals leading to an H&C application that were common before C-31.

**Bokore, Nimo. (2013). “Suffering in Silence: A Canadian-Somali Case Study.” *Journal of Social Work Practice: Psychotherapeutic Approaches in Health, Welfare and the Community*, 27(1).**

The extreme prejudice and brutal abuse which women face in parts of Somali has earned the Horn of Africa the reputation of being one of the worst places in the world for women to live. These traumas intersect with resettlement challenges faced by Somali refugee women in Canada, and Canada's mono-cultural health system does not respond to these specific needs. These unaddressed traumas can in turn be passed down from generation to generation. The establishment of gender-based support groups among Somali communities has been found to help ease trauma. Service programming should focus on individuals, rather than generalizations. Holistic frameworks on intervention should include both physiological knowledge and cultural understandings of traumatic experience.

**Bradimore, Ashley; Bauder, Harald. (2011). "Mystery ships and risky boat people: Tamil refugee migration in the newsprint media." *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 36.**

<http://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal/article/download/2466/2277>

When 76 Tamil asylum seekers arrived in Canada by boat on 17 October 2009, fleeing escalating violence between the Sri Lankan state and Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), national Canadian media represented the story with terms steeped in "illegality", emphasizing risk and moral panic. The most frequently cited sources (>45%) in these stories were government and police agencies; the authors noted that while initial articles tended to be more neutral, statements by Immigration Minister Jason Kenney throughout the response seemed to sway further publications. Fewer than 5% of articles sourced statements from refugees, despite the Canadian-Tamil community's work to produce counter-discourse emphasizing compassion. Errors in reporting (prices paid for the voyage, migrants' possession of identification, etc) went uncorrected and were in fact taken up and repeated by government sources. Despite the relatively insubstantial number of claimants as compared to annual totals, this event led to the passing of Bill C-11, beginning the harsh reform of the Canadian refugee system's treatment of irregular migrants. Bradimore and Bauder argue that threats have been habitually layered onto general discourse about refugees in order to link sensations of risk to refugees and immigrants who form visible minorities in Canada.

**Brady, Heather. (2013 March). Putting a Foot in the Door: NGO Advocacy and Framing Asylum in Canada. CERIS Research Summary.**

<http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/BRADY-NGO-Advocacy-FINAL.pdf>

NGOs which work with resettled refugees in Toronto often engage both in advocacy and service provision (as SPOs). This is especially important since major shifts in government discourse ("bogus refugees") and policy towards refugees. However, changes in funding structure have restricted the freedom of NGOs to fund advocacy projects. Further, NGOs are increasingly wary of engaging in political advocacy in the current political climate as funding cuts have become an implicit threat to groups critical of policy. There is an increasing importance placed on collective advocacy as a shield against the singling out of individual groups producing criticism.

**Bramadat, Paul. (2013 March). *Refugee Resettlement and Religion in British Columbia*. Metropolis BC Working Paper Series, No 13-05.**

<http://mbc.metropolis.net/assets/uploads/files/wp/2013/WP13-05.pdf>

One third of Canada's refugee arrivals are privately sponsored, most of which are sponsored by groups which "frame their objectives in explicitly religious terms" (6). Benefits of faith-based groups include long-term presence, well-integrated local social networks, capacity for advocacy, and strong self-motivations. Declining religious (specifically Christian) identification among the new generation of Canadians is adversely affecting funding and volunteer labour for these Christian organizations, which is not being replaced by other sources. Volunteers report increasing suspicion toward SPOs on part of the government when carrying out programming, consistent with the changing federal attitude towards asylum claimants and refugees. Religious organizations, it should be noted, generally do not attempt to resettle refugees on the basis of their religion, nor are attempts to proselytize among refugees permitted. No respondents from the faith-based community expressed interest in such proselytizing.

**Brunner, Lisa; Hyndman, Jennifer; Friesen, Chris. (2010 November). *Aceh-Malaysia-Vancouver: Settlement Among Acehnese Refugees Five Years On*. Metropolis BC Working Paper Series, No 10-12.**

<http://mbc.metropolis.net/assets/uploads/files/wp/2010/WP10-12.pdf>

Research builds on a 2005 study on GARs from Aceh, Indonesia settled in Vancouver, aimed at reducing a systemic gap in continuous data on GARs (especially in the context of specific country of origin). The Canadian Acehnese population is small, making the “destining” of newcomers into existing communities challenging. The result is a highly concentrated, relatively new community centred exclusively in Metro Vancouver. Five years after resettlement, employment and language skills remain low and housing in Metro Vancouver is prohibitively expensive. A major gender imbalance towards men exacerbates challenges as a large percentage of newcomers' resources and mental energy are focused on arranging “transnational marriages” with Acehnese women still in Indonesia.

ESL programming in BC does not cater to refugees' specific needs, specifically noting lack of sufficient classroom space and unfamiliarity with Canadian teaching styles. RAP is insufficient to support newcomers through classes, especially in light of the need to pay back transportation loans and pressure to send remittances to family in Aceh. Lack of child support was a major barrier. Temporal limits on enrollment meant that newcomers arriving without English skills could not reach fluency.

Because of high housing costs and the challenging employment market in Vancouver, refugees are found increasingly to undertake secondary migrations either to Vancouver suburbs such as Surrey or further to Alberta where better work opportunities present a draw factor. However, many return due to weakened support networks both among the Acehnese community and from the government. Some have considered returning to Aceh since the signing of the peace treaty there, though this potential return was not considered to be a permanent option.

**Brunner, Lisa; Hyndman, Jennifer; Mountz, Alison. (2012). *Waiting for a Wife: Transnational Marriages and the Social Dimensions of Refugee ‘Integration’*. Metropolis BC Working Paper Series.**

<http://mbc.metropolis.net/assets/uploads/files/wp/2012/WP12-12.pdf>

While the bulk of research on refugee integration focuses on economic outcomes, this paper addresses the gap in research on social dimensions of integration. Goals of state (which have a single-minded economic and security emphasis) are in tension with some goals of refugees (especially regarding starting a family or family reunification). By focusing solely on economic outcomes, without considering social needs, current government policy actively “stalls” both social and economic refugee integration on multiple levels. Social integration as a two-way process, with investment on the part of the refugee group and the local community, is emphasized. Expectations and needs of specific GAR communities should be recognized in a culturally aware context, as refugees specific cultural backgrounds require tailored programming to aid with integration into Canada's unfamiliar social fabric.

**CIC Evaluation Division. (2011a March). *Evaluation of Government Assisted Refugees (GAR) and Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP)*.**

<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/gar-rap.pdf>

Assesses RAP relevance and performance, including annual data from 2005-2009. Some main findings include the following:

- The shift to humanitarian resettlement criteria (as per the IRPA) has resulted in increased need for services (however, this conclusion is unsupported elsewhere in the document).
- 18% of GARs move away from their “destined community” in order to reunite with family or friends, to find work, or to better access services.
- “Three quarters or more” of GARs report being satisfied with RAP assistance; 85% report that RAP helped with immediate needs. SPOs have stated that services were inadequate, however, and should be tailored rather than “one size fits all.” Short time-frames for orientation restricts actual information uptake.
- RAP struggles to assist GARs with accessing affordable housing (more than 56% of RAP income goes to housing), providing for medical needs, and overall income support—57% of GARs use food banks, 61% have difficulty paying their transport loan (many prioritize their loans over basic necessities), and 33% report financial issues as their greatest challenge. CIC income support for GARs matches provincial welfare support—but makes up less than half of the Low Income Cut-Off level in Canada.
- Unemployment amongst GARs arriving in the last five years is 25%; in the last three years, 40%. Employment earnings one year after arrival averaged to \$11,700; after five, \$21,700. Lack of employment services and unrecognized education are cited as the cause.
- Almost half (43%) of SPOs received 20% or more of their yearly arrivals in one month every year for the past five.

A comprehensive set of recommendations is included.

**CIC. (2011b Oct). Operational manual IP (Inland Processing) 3: In Canada Processing of Convention Refugees Abroad and Members of the Humanitarian Protected Persons Abroad Classes. Part 1 (general).**

<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/manuals/ip/ip03-part1-eng.pdf>

This report broadly breaks down the RHRP. It includes the following:

Operational hierarchies and responsibilities (specifically: headquarters, regional, local, SPOs/Sponsoring Groups)(Section 6); local CIC offices are the point of interaction with the government for private sponsors and SPOs. Sponsors and/or SPOs are responsible for nearly all services (notable exception is CIC administration of IFH program).

An extensive set of definitions is included (Section 7).

The process of “destining” GARs and PSRs is outlined (Section 8). The visa office submits a destination matching request” (DMR) to the MC, usually requesting communities where refugees have family or friends. The DMR is then forwarded to the local CIC office for confirmation (except requests to Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, and Winnipeg, which do not require local CIC consultation).

Travel arrangements are outlined (Section 9), including responsibilities of the MC (primarily administrative) and SPOs.

Eligibility for and timespan of IFH coverage is explained (Section 10), including information about how a refugee is informed about IFH coverage (an information sheet and a verbal warning of program limits).

Administrative process of securing transportation loans is outlined (Section 11). This is the responsibility of the local CIC office.

Policy on voluntary repatriation is outlined (Section 12). Refugees wishing to return must obtain travel documents from their country of repatriation and are not eligible for assistance with travel costs.

The “One-Year Window of Opportunity” (OYW) provision is explained (Section 13). Refugees have one year from date of arrival in which to identify family members abroad for resettlement. Family members include only spouse or common-law partner, dependent children, and grandchildren (dependent children of dependent children). Dependent children must be under 22.

**CIC. (2011c Oct). Operational manual IP (Inland Processing) 3: In Canada Processing of Convention Refugees Abroad and Members of the Humanitarian Protected Persons Abroad Classes. Part 2 (Resettlement Assistance Program).**

<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/manuals/ip/ip03-part2-eng.pdf>

This report includes the following:

A basic overview of the RAP (Section 14). This includes an outline of the SOP's responsibilities for initial orientation, eligibility for and amounts of income support (primarily GARs who cannot support themselves, and based on provincial welfare regulations), responsibilities of CIC and “clients” (client responsibilities revolve around achieving self-sufficiency as quickly as possible).

A breakdown of CIC's “allowances” is detailed (Section 15). Monthly food and shelter allowances are based on the provincial social assistance rates, though CIC will contribute more if the family is large by Canadian standards. These amounts are not detailed in the report, making actual support amounts difficult to discern. One-time allowances are provided for staples, clothing and other basic household needs, based on family size (starting at \$175 staple goods + \$1330 household necessities + \$325 clothing for an unaccompanied individual).

Household needs may be provided by a supplier designated by CIC or provided by the SPO. An additional winter clothing allowance of \$175 is provided seasonally. Various miscellaneous allowances may be provided, relating to transport, diet, maternity/newborns, children under 6, etc. Allowances for children starting schooling include a one-time amount of \$150 and a \$20 monthly supplement.

Section 16 explains how income support is managed by CIC.

Section 17 describes how refugee newcomers' personal assets affect income support. An unaccompanied individual can retain only up to \$5000 in personal assets before income support is affected. Any assets above the limit are simply subtracted from the above allowance totals.

Section 18 details the actual calculation of allowance cheques. It also introduces the “assistance loan” which any new immigrant (not only GARs) may apply for.

Section 19 details the issuing of support cheques.

Section 20 explains reassessments of RAP. Key events which require reassessments include changes in employment, marital status, incarceration, or health related events.

Section 21 explains how refugee “clients” are monitored and sampled for monitoring. RAP participants are allowed to earn up to 50% of their RAP income before deductions are made from that amount. If a refugee household earns more than 50% of their RAP income, deductions from RAP income are made dollar-for-dollar (Section 22). It seems that there is no benefit for newcomers to earn more than 50% of their support amount until they supplant the entire amount with employment income.

Section 23 explains ramifications of erroneous overpayments from CIC and punishments for abuses of RAP. Usually the overpayments will be equalized by deductions from future payments, considering potential hardships that the deductions would cause.

Section 24 details the processing procedures for One-Year Window of Opportunity provision (OYW) for reunification with non-accompanying family members. These procedures apply only to GARs. For an explanation of the program, see Part 1, Section 13. For PSRs and JARs, see Part 3 Section 41 and Part 4 Section 51 respectively. Notably, GARs can only nominate family members who were listed during their initial application for resettlement; rejections must be accompanied by an explanation. OYW refugees are eligible for a travel loan and start-up assistance. They may be eligible for RAP assistance, and, in that case, will be eligible for one year from their arrival. A one-time allowance of up to \$1000 may be provided in the case that the united family must move to a larger home.

Section 25 discusses secondary migration, defined as “a refugee-initiated change in destination” after arrival. If a refugee receiving RAP allowances moves to a new city, the individual remains eligible for ongoing assistance as per the original assessment. Income support is sometimes disrupted as CIC offices coordinate to ensure there are no double payments made. Temporary housing is not provided. The CIC office attempts to determine the reason for moving.

Section 25 also discusses self-destination, defined to be “before or upon arrival to Canada, when a refugee or family chooses to move to an alternate destination than what was pre-selected overseas.” CIC and SPOs attempt to accommodate these unexpected changes with as little effect to programming as possible, and to establish the reason for the decision.

Section 26 details procedures relating to separated minors who are considered *de facto* dependents. It is the responsibility of the visa officer in the country of origin to determine *de facto* dependent status. Newcomer refugees must sign a form stating that they understand the responsibilities of an adult to a dependent in Canada. SPOs and CIC are responsible for monitoring the safety of the child or children, including a monitoring mandatory interview seven months after arrival.

**CIC. (2011d Oct). Operational manual IP (Inland Processing) 3: In Canada Processing of Convention Refugees Abroad and Members of the Humanitarian Protected Persons Abroad Classes. Part 3 (Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program).**

<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/manuals/ip/ip03-part3-eng.pdf>

This report provides an overview of the PSR program, which enables private citizens and residents to sponsor individuals recognized by the Canadian Government as refugees.

Section 2 includes an overview of groups that can apply to sponsor refugees. This includes Sponsorship Agreement Holders (SAHs) which are incorporated organizations that have signed an agreement with CIC, groups of five citizens or residents (G5s), community sponsoring organizations, or sections of these groups working in concert (for example, an individual who is collaborating with a SAH).

Section 3 outlines responsibilities of actors. Notably, the local CIC PSR officer is responsible for approving sponsors and mediating conflicts between sponsors and PSRs. The sponsoring group is required to provide all care, lodging, support and settlement assistance for up to 12 months or “until the refugee becomes self-sufficient”. Sponsorship groups are expected to provide a level of support “equal to that of the prevailing rates for social assistance”.

Section 5 outlines eligibility requirements for sponsorship groups. Groups must reside in the same municipality to which refugees will be resettled, and must not include members with criminal records.

Section 6 outlines the application and approval process for becoming a SAH.

Sections 7-14 explain how different classes of sponsorship applications are processed. Similar criteria are found under each. Financial expectations are laid out in detail here, which seem to be similar to GAR provisions. As well, other questions which will be considered in processing applications (topics such as funding, support, planning, settlement, etc) are described. Procedures for communicating approval or disapproval are included.

Section 15 outlines how the One-Year Window of Opportunity program for family reunification interacts with private sponsorship. It is similar to the procedure for GARs.

Section 16 explains the circumstances and procedures involved in extending sponsorships for up to 36 months. This decision takes place before the arrival of the refugees, when the visa office feels the assistance is required and the sponsoring group is willing to provide extended assistance.

Section 17 describes how PSR services are monitored by CIC to ensure that sponsoring groups provide proper financial, moral, and settlement support.

**CIC. (2012a March). IMDB 2008 Immigration Category Profiles: Refugees Landed in Canada. IMDB 2008 Research Series.**

[http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/imdb/LCR\\_3.pdf](http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/imdb/LCR_3.pdf)

Major findings from the 2008 IMDB report on LCRs include the following:

- LCRs accounted for the largest share of refugee arrivals as of 2010 at 37%, only slightly ahead of GARs and PSRs.
- 71% of LCRs landed in Ontario in 2010. 19% landed in Quebec.
- The most common state of last permanent residence of LCRs was Colombia (25%), followed by Sri Lanka and the United States which both showed similar figures (~15%).
- From 1990-2010, almost twice as many men applied under the LCR as females. It was significantly less common for spouses and dependents of LCRs to arrive in Canada than principal applicants (about 1/3 as common).

- 63% of LCRs fell between the ages of 25 and 45. The report does not list this age range as “core working age”, which is the terminology applied in the GAR report.
- LCRs reach the Canadian average for reporting of employment earnings by their third year after landing. They also have a higher incidence than GARs for this indicator. While LCR income in the first years after landing tends to be higher than GARs or PSRs, in the long term, other refugee classes report higher incomes.
- LCRs access social assistance in patterns similar to the average across all refugee classes (approx 30% in their first year of arrival, and 18% five years after arrival). However, GARs have considerably higher rates of access throughout the five year period of measurement, and PSRs have considerably lower rates in their first year after landing (though this approaches the average five years after landing).

Note that this report uses the acronym RLC in place of LCR, which occurs in other CIC documents. LCR has been used here for consistency.

**CIC. (2012b March). IMDB 2008 Immigration Category Profiles: Government-Assisted Refugees. IMDB 2008 Research Series.**

[http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/imdb/GAR\\_3.pdf](http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/imdb/GAR_3.pdf)

Major findings from the 2008 IMDB report on GARs include the following:

- Numbers of GARs have stayed relatively stable since 1990, averaging about 7000 per year. This makes up 3-4% of total landings.
- Ontario was the chief destination for GARs (~40%) closely followed by Quebec.
- States of origin of GARs were very diverse; however, GARs accepted from the 10 most common states of origin made up 82% of landings.
- In the 1980s, principal applicants and their spouses and dependents arrived in a nearly equal proportion; since 2000, greater numbers of spouses and dependents were arriving (with a ratio of approximately 1:1.6). Equal shares of men and women were arriving.
- 70% of principal applicants accepted as GARs fell within the core working age of 25-54. Spouses and dependents tended to be considerably younger.
- Only 45% of GARs reported earnings within their first year of arrival, which is the lowest of all refugee classes. By their 5<sup>th</sup> year in Canada, GARs on average had met the Canadian average. GARs reported lower than average incomes amongst refugees into their 7<sup>th</sup> year.
- The report claims that GARs accessed significantly more social assistance programs than all other refugee or immigrant classes (more than double in first year of arrival). However, this measurement includes RAP, which is separate from provincial social assistance and skews the findings—for example, by this measurement PSRs show significantly lower averages but similar funding support is expected to be provided by private sponsors. These rates fall considerably by fifth year, reflecting the temporary nature of RAP.

**CIC. (2012c March). IMDB 2008 Immigration Category Profiles: Privately Sponsored Refugees. IMDB 2008 Research Series.**

[http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/imdb/PSR\\_3.pdf](http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/imdb/PSR_3.pdf)

Major findings from the 2008 IMDB report on PSRs include the following:

- Since the mid 1990s, PSRs constituted only 1-2% of total landings (all immigrant classes).
- Roughly 50% of PSRs were destined to Ontario.



- The top ten source countries for PSRs accounted for 90% of landings; the vast majority in 2010 were from Iraq.
- There was a selection bias towards males; however, it decreased since the 1980s. New landings of PSRs are now 48% female, 52% male. Slightly more spouses and dependents arrived than principal applications (1.2:1).
- Roughly 70% of PSR principal applicants were between the ages of 25 and 54 (the core working age).
- Even in the first year after landing, PSRs reported higher employment rates than the Canadian average. This trend continues through five years after landing. Despite this seemingly positive statistic, PSRs average the lowest employment earnings amongst all immigrant classes, suggesting chronic underemployment.
- PSRs have the lowest tendency to engage social assistance among refugee classes. However, rather than decrease, engagement with social assistance remains higher after five years than in the first year of landing.

**CIC. (2012d March). IMDB 2008 Immigration Category Profiles: Refugees Landed in Canada. Appendix: Data Tables. IMDB 2008 Research Series.**

[http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/imdb/LCR\\_tables-e.pdf](http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/imdb/LCR_tables-e.pdf)

A set of demographic statistical data on LCRs. Includes destinations in Canada, states of origin, age distributions, and employment data.

**CIC. (2012e March). IMDB 2008 Core Report: National Portrait of Immigrant Outcomes: 2001-2008 Employment Earnings. IMDB 2008 Research Series.**

<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/research-stats/imdb-core-2008.pdf>

Refugees (GARs, PSRs and LCRs) on average earn less than all classes of economic immigrants, and less than half of the Canadian average. Income averages have been slowly gaining since the early 1990s. However, as of 2008 refugee income is still 42% of the Canadian average. Average incomes increase slowly but steadily with time (for example, refugees arriving in 2005 earned 45% of the national average, but by 2008 earned 51%). The report fails to explore the experiences of humanitarian and compassionate claims in detail.

**Cleveland, Janet; Rousseau, Cécile. (2013 July). "Psychiatric Symptoms Associated With Brief Detention of Adult Asylum Seekers in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 58(7).**

<http://publications.cpa-apc.org/media.php?mid=1545>

Comparing groups of detained and non-detained asylum seekers (LSRs) with similar pre-migration experiences in Canada, post-traumatic stress, depression, and anxiety symptom levels are found to be significantly higher after even very brief periods of detention. A median of 17.5 days in detention (mean of 31.2 days) were found to correlate with negative psychological symptoms. These findings correspond to studies carried out in the United States of America and the United Kingdom. High pre-migration trauma exposure in respondents indicates that LSRs should be considered vulnerable populations which should not be subjected to detention. The authors recommend that governments should consider alternative policies to minimize psychological harm.

**D'Addario, Silvia; Kowalski, Jeremy; Lemoine, Maryse; Preston, Valerie. (2008 October). *Finding Home: Exploring Muslim Settlement in the Toronto CMA*. CERIS Working Paper Series No. 68.**

[http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/wp-content/uploads/pdf/research\\_publication/working\\_papers/wp68.pdf](http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/wp-content/uploads/pdf/research_publication/working_papers/wp68.pdf)

Settlement patterns of newcomers who identify as Muslims are moderately shaped by religion. Firstly, Muslims are not to be considered a homogeneous group and come from many different regions, backgrounds, and religious sub-communities. Some low-level residential segregation occurs as individuals and households locate near mosques and in neighbourhoods connected to social support networks, but this is much less pronounced than in many other ethno-religious immigrant populations. These settlement patterns are not found to act counter to integration processes; instead, a case study is presented of Muslim newcomers using the local mosque as a point of outreach to the broader Canadian population. The paper concludes with a call for more research into the various sub-communities of “Muslims in Toronto”, including consideration of sect and country of origin.

**Derwing, Tracey; Munro, Murray; Mulder, Marlene; Abbott, Marilyn. (2010). *An Examination of the Canadian Language Benchmark Data from the Citizenship Language Survey*. Ottawa: Citizenship and Immigration Canada.**

<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/research-stats/language-benchmark.pdf>

In a statistical analysis of existing CIC data, the authors find that among all immigrant classes, refugees score consistently lower on standardized language benchmarks. However, this is unsurprising, as the 2002 IRPA reframed resettlement selection criteria on vulnerability and need rather than on economic benchmarks. Refugees are more likely to take advantage of full-time language education opportunities. The authors note that the data set does not separately track GARs, PSRs, and LCRs and suggest more detailed research is needed as there are likely variations between these groups.

**Drolet, Julie; Yan, Miu Chung; Francis, Jenny. (2012 August). *A Working Paper on Settlement, Integration, and Welcoming Communities Domain in British Columbia, 1996-2012*. Metropolis BC Working Paper Series No. 12-07.**

<http://mbc.metropolis.net/assets/uploads/files/wp/2012/WP12-07.pdf>

This paper is a synthesis of 61 working papers produced by the Settlement, Integration, and Welcoming Communities (SIWC) research domain of Metropolis BC.

Findings relating to refugees include the following:

- Establishment of partnerships before departure and pre-planning for new arrivals assists in responding to problems and challenges in resettlement.
- Settling extended families together increases the likelihood that they will stay in small- or mid-sized cities.
- Language and employment programming falls short of goals, leading to integration challenges that persist even after five years of residency in Canada.

British Columbia is one of only three provinces to have signed an Immigration Agreement with the Federal Government to design and deliver federally funded immigrant settlement programming, provided by non-profit community-based agencies and public school districts.

**Francis, Jenny. (2010). “Poor housing outcomes among African refugees in Metro Vancouver.” *Newcomers' Experience of Housing and Homelessness in Canada*. Montreal: The Metropolis Project, 59-64.**

[http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/aec\\_citc\\_fall2010\\_e.pdf](http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/aec_citc_fall2010_e.pdf)

GARs and asylum claimants from African states in Metro Vancouver are experiencing a crisis in housing. High prices and lack of availability combined with low wages, discrimination, and application processing times create a feedback loop of related problems: poverty, debt, hunger, and high risk of homelessness. Lack of information about Canadian housing markets is a serious issue. Multiple challenges may intersect to prevent refugees from accessing affordable and/or subsidized housing, including gender, marital status, family size, language ability, formal education, and having spent time in refugee camps. Challenges facing asylum claimants are considerably higher: 73% of asylum claimant participants report having experienced at least one episode of homelessness, mostly due to the extreme lack of institutional support for this group. GARs and asylum claimants are particularly vulnerable to unexpected shocks—for example, a fire or being the victim of a violent assault—is found to lead to periods of homelessness.

**Gagnon, Anita; Dougherty, Geoffery; Wahoush, Olive; Saucier, Jean-Francois; Dennis, Cindy-Lee; Stanger, Elizabeth; Palmer, Becky; Merry, Lisa; Stewart, Donna. (2013). “International Migration to Canada: The Post-Birth Health of Mothers and Infants by Immigration Class.” *Social Science and Medicine*, 76.**

In a study based in Montreal and Toronto, all classes of immigrant women are more likely to have professionally-identified post-birth health concerns than Canadian-born women, and are less likely to have those concerns addressed by the Canadian healthcare system. In comparing between immigrant classes, LCRs present a much higher psycho-social risk profile than other immigrants, due to a “dual set of challenges”: potentially traumatic pre-migration experiences and the uncertainty of their post-migration life, especially noting incomplete access to post-natal services and threat of deportation as chief contributors to that uncertainty. In addition, GAR mothers and newborns are more at risk than other immigrants and Canadian-born mothers, though less so than LCRs. The authors suggest that all immigrants residing in Canada less than five years should be targeted for additional case-finding and provision services.

**Hari, Amrita; McGrath, Susan; Preston, Valerie. (2013 March). *Temporariness in Canada: Establishing a research agenda*. CERIS Working Paper Series No. 99.**

[http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/CWP\\_99\\_Hari\\_McGrath\\_Preston.pdf](http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/CWP_99_Hari_McGrath_Preston.pdf)

The “economic calculations” of the Canadian Government, which admit certain migrants considered desirable and jeopardize the rights and entitlements of other, less desirable migrants such as irregular arrivals, is called into question. As in-migration is increasingly conflated with societal “moral panic” in public discourse, more justifications for exclusionary interpretations or circumventions of international refugee law are produced. This leads increasing numbers of desperate asylum claimants to risk living illegally, feeding back into moral crises and security fears.

The paper explores how migrant “illegality” is deliberately produced through discourse and is increasingly being patterned onto the category of “asylum seeker” (and also, broadly, with “terrorism”). Non-status migrants are actively depicted as “problems” and are “made illegal”—stripped of most basic legal rights. Further, non-status migrants are typically denied self-representation, even in scholarly studies; “the face of the imaginary illegal is poor, brown, and destitute.”

The externalization of the border to limit opportunities to claim asylum is discussed; these policies are justified through the produced illegality of human smuggling and the relation of asylum claimants with terrorism. Further, discourse on “bogus refugees” produces support for these policies.

A brief history of Canada's refugee law is provided, detailing Bills C-49, C-4, C-11, and, most recently, C-31. The remainder of the paper provides a broad overview of research on refugees, asylum claimants, and other temporary migrants in Canada, and identifies gaps in the literature.

**Hiebert, Daniel; D'Addario, Silvia; Sherrell, Kathy. (2009). “Chapter 5.2: Taking care of their own? Or falling between the cracks? Absolute and relative homelessness among immigrants, refugees, and refugee claimants in Vancouver.” in Hulchanski, J. David; Campsie, Philippa; Chau, Shirley; Hwang, Stephen; Paradis, Emily (eds.) *Finding Home: Policy Options for Addressing Homelessness in Canada (e-book)*, Toronto: Cities Centre, University of Toronto.**

[www.homelesshub.ca/FindingHome](http://www.homelesshub.ca/FindingHome)

Newcomers are disproportionately affected by changes in the housing market. The authors define homelessness as a spectrum from housing stress (spending 30% of income on shelter), critical housing stress (spending more than 50% of income on shelter), relative homelessness (temporary accommodations), and absolute homelessness (living in shelters or without shelter).

Research carried out in shelters showed few immigrants and refugees use the shelter system. It is suggested that some more established immigrants and refugees tap into social networks to find shelter in moments of housing crisis. Asylum claimants, the least socially connected class in the study, tend to be unaware of assistance available and instead “fall between the cracks.” Because of this, the authors apply the phrase “hidden homelessness” to describe the situation.

All respondents—successful landed-in-Canada claimants—suffered from critical housing stress during the initial stages of settlement, 11% spending upwards of 75% of their income on housing. Some respondents stated there were not sufficient funds for medical needs or food. Difficulty securing employment was cited as a major issue, with previous experience shunned for want of “Canadian experience” no matter the qualifications of the applicants. Claimants openly discussed issues of discrimination and language challenges. Many referred to the disorientation which followed arrival, as landed-in-Canada asylum claimants in Vancouver do not have access to orientation programs available for GARs and PSRs.

**Hiebert, Daniel; Sherrell, Kathy. (2009). *The Integration and Inclusion of Newcomers in British Columbia*. Metropolis Working Paper No. 09 – 11.**

<http://mbc.metropolis.net/assets/uploads/files/wp/2009/2009PBNs.pdf>

The British Columbian government has recently expanded and reinvested in its immigrant integration system. These new systems are increasingly run on business models that focus on economic rather than social outcomes; however, some are considerably creative within spaces of limited resources and do much to bring BC integration programming up to national standards. Major inspirations for these programs come from increased communication between and within local governments and genuine consultation with service provision organizations. Outcomes should be monitored to contribute to “best practices” recommendations for programming throughout Canada. The authors present serious concerns about the future of these programs, however, in the face of massive budget cuts and a blinkered focus on the “bottom line”.

**Hyndman, Jennifer. (2011). Research Summary on Resettled Refugee Integration in Canada. UNHCR.**

<http://www.unhcr.org/4e4123d19.pdf>

In a meta-analysis of research to 2011 on refugee integration in Canada, Hyndman finds that since the implementation of the 2002 IRPA, GARs are younger and less well educated. Despite this, there was no major shift in economic outcomes for GARs, with some sub-populations actually showing increased economic performance. Within the population, lower levels of education and lower ages do correlate with lower incomes. While the report found PSRs were often assumed to become self-supporting more quickly than GARs, median incomes are dramatically lower. Research suggests that PSRs are forced into the labour market more quickly out of desperation.

**Hyndman, Jennifer; Giles, Wenona. (2011). "Waiting for what? The feminization of asylum in protracted situations." *Gender, Place and Culture*, 18(3). 361-379.**

Millions of refugees worldwide spend years involuntarily confined to camps or living without legal status in host countries. These impasses are referred to by the United Nations as "protracted refugee situations" or PRS. These individuals are trapped in a shrinking humanitarian space, neglected by host governments and the international community, with no safe paths forward or back. Would-be asylum-claimants sometimes take desperate risks in order to escape their situations. In seeking the opportunity to travel to more affluent states to make refugee status claims, governments code them "threats" to security or the welfare state. Governments increasingly transform migration into a security issue, employing strategies such as increased detention periods, expedited deportations, and the offshore "externalization" of border controls to prevent or dissuade claimants from attempting to exercise their legal rights.

**Hyndman, Jennifer; Mountz, Alison. (2008). "Another brick in the wall? Neo-refoulement and the externalization of asylum by Australia and Europe." *Government and Opposition*, 43(2). 249-269.**

Article 33 of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention on the Status of Refugees legally guarantees refugees and asylum claimants protection against *refoulement*, or summary deportation. The externalization of North American, Australian, and European border controls on would-be irregular migrants prevents legitimate refugees the access required to sovereign territory that is required to make asylum claims as per the 1951 UN Convention; this legal wrangling allows states to preempt responsibilities regarding *refoulement* by returning irregular migrants seeking asylum to transit countries or regions of origin *before* they are able to make the claims that would guarantee protection. Hyndman and Mountz highlight this violation of the spirit of international refugee law by defining the term *neo-refoulement* to describe these pre-arrival interceptions and subsequent exclusions. *Neo-refoulement* is closely linked to discourses which dubiously cast irregular migrants in general and refugee claimants in particular as potential security threats.

**Iriyama, Yukiko. (2011). Overview of Global Resettlement and Current Challenges. UNHCR Working Paper.**

[http://www.refugeestudies.jp/journal/Iriyama\\_Overview%20of%20Global%20Resettlement\\_2010.pdf](http://www.refugeestudies.jp/journal/Iriyama_Overview%20of%20Global%20Resettlement_2010.pdf)

Since 1990, international resettlement policy has shifted towards individual cases rather than resettlement as a principal or partial solution to refugee situations. Recently, UNHCR has re-centered resettlement as a “durable solution”, despite the vast number of global refugees who will never be granted resettlement to a third country. Integration in host communities, rather than simple arrival in a third country, is required for UNHCR to consider a “durable solution” to have been achieved. In comparing economic outcomes of GARs in Canada arriving before and after the 2002 IRPA, it is found that support provided after arrival is much more important to successful integration than any pre-departure indicators assumed to predict integration potential.

**Labour and Immigration Research Centre, Labour Group. 2012. *New Land, New Life: Long-Term Settlement of Refugees in New Zealand (Main Report)*. Wellington: Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment.**

<http://www.dol.govt.nz/research/migration/pdfs/new-land-new-life-longterm-settlement-refugees-main-report.pdf> .

In a survey of 512 integrated refugees in New Zealand who had under the Refugee Quota Programme between 1993 and 1999, findings are closely congruent with Canadian studies. Employment is the chief challenge of refugees ten years after arrival, with weekly incomes averaging at close to half that of national statistics. Social networks play a major role in integration outcomes. Housing continues to be a challenge. Despite ongoing needs, 94% of refugees had taken up or were in the process of taking up citizenship, and comfortably negotiated identities as New Zealanders as well as belonging to a community associated with country of origin.

**Long, Katy. (2011). *Permanent crises? Unlocking the protracted displacement of refugees and internally displaced persons*. Refugee Studies Centre Working Paper, University of Oxford.**

<http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/4ec22c722.pdf>

UNHCR defines a “protracted refugee situation” (PRS) as a scenario where a population has been internationally displaced for at least five years without immediate prospects for “durable solutions”. 7.2 million refugees fit this definition, in 30 recognized “situations”. As traditional approaches to addressing these ongoing crises have clearly failed, the international community and host states must attempt new and innovative strategies to restore normal citizenship and “unlock” the mechanisms which trap individuals in these situations. Yet state governments (whether host, donor, or origin) tend to reduce refugees to a demographic, dehumanized “problem” to be removed: a “physical presence of unwanted foreign residents on *their* territory” (1). This gap in protection represents an international failure in governance which should be met with more tolerant policies on the part of both host and donor states.

**Makwarimba, Edward; Steward, Miriam; Simich, Laura; Makumbe, Knox; Shizha, Edward; Anderson, Sharon. (2013). “Sudanese and Somali refugees in Canada: Social support needs and preferences”. *International Migration*, 51(5). 106-118.**

Research shows social support increases emotional well-being and facilitates integration among refugee groups. Resettlement leads to diminished social networks as newcomers are removed from their social networks. Respondents emphasized this new disconnection as a challenge, and wanted assistance to “enlarge and strengthen their existing networks” (109) to help cope

with challenges involving employment, finances, family and children, housing, discrimination, and language. Refugees cited loneliness and depression as a barrier in addressing many of these issues.

Navigation of unfamiliar support services offered in a second language was a challenge. Participants were overwhelmed by the amount of information received after arrival, a time at which they were very disoriented. More gradual orientation to support services was suggested. Further, services tended not to emphasize skill-building: refugees resettled from camps lack familiarity with basic tasks such as shopping, interacting with banks, writing resumes or performing in job interviews. Some SPOs were criticized for providing the same orientation programming to individuals coming from protracted stays in refugee camps and directly from war zones.

Many refugee newcomers complained lack of information regarding equivalency recognition requirements for foreign certifications. Lack of gradual integration services was criticized; for example, a lack of programming to address specific challenges for newcomers from gendered societies led to a reluctance to engage in services. Parents were concerned about challenges of their children in adapting to a new education system and language, and felt they did not have the time or skills to provide that assistance.

Participants emphasized a need for one-to-one assistance for personal issues, such as emotional or financial challenges. They also emphasized group assistance to build social networks and to address common problems. Group programming with individuals of the same age, gender and background (not simply nationality) saves time and resources while producing stronger social ties. Participants specifically were not comfortable with services provided via the internet. Professional facilitators should speak the same language as participants, and venues should be accessibly located in the community.

**McMurray, Josephine; Breward, Katherine; Breward, Michael; Alder, Bob; Arya, Neil. (2013 January). *Improving access to healthcare for newly arrived refugees*. CERIS Research Summary.**

<http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/RefugeeHealthClinicFinal.pdf>

This study compares health and social outcomes of GARs in the RAP before and after the 2008 establishment of the Centre for Family Medicine Refugee Health Clinic (RHC) in Kitchener, Ontario. The centre aims to address difficulties in connecting newly arrived refugees with family physicians, and to address challenges that family physicians have in diagnosing and treating complex medical conditions which may be uncommon in Canada.

Waiting time to see a healthcare provider dropped from 30 to 21 days (30%) and chances of finding a primary healthcare provider increased by 18%. However, the opening of the clinic did not affect self-reported ability to care for long-term health, nor did it affect employment outcomes.

**Morantz, Gillian; Rousseau, Cecile; Heymann, Jody. (2013). "Resettlement Challenges Faced by Refugee Claimant Families in Montreal: Lack of Access to Child Care." *Child & Family Social Work*, 18.**

Refugee claimants (LCRs) in Canada do not qualify for child care subsidies. Due to depleted social networks, LCRs face challenges in locating informal child care services. 73% of respondents with children described lack of access to childcare as a problem, and 39%

proposed improving access to child care as a primary method to improve their integration experience. Lack of access to formal or informal child care services restricts refugees' ability to access education and employment. Child care services assist in integrating both children and their parents by providing cultural education and access points in the community of resettlement. The authors suggest that policy should be shifted to provide child care access for LCRs for Canada to benefit from these missed opportunities.

**Morantz, Gillian; Rousseau, Cecile; Heymann, Jody. (2011 January). "The Divergent Experiences of Children and Adults in the Relocation Experience: Perspectives of Child and Parent Refugee Claimants in Montreal." *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 25(1).**

This study examines differences in relocation experiences of adult and children asylum claimants in Montreal, Canada. In 2009, 20% of asylum seekers were less than 15 years old. Asylum claimants (LCRs) sometimes suffer from stress-related mental health problems due in part to the uncertainty of the outcomes of their claim review. In particular, because of this vulnerability, LCRs experience mental health problems differently than GARs or PSRs.

Children experience separation from extended family and social networks in countries of origin with less hardship than adults; this relationship seems proportional to age. In addition, children tend to lack feelings of guilt associated with relocation, which are conversely common in adults. Children tend to stay in touch with their social networks via the computer (as compared to adults who rely on phone conversations) and experience separation in a less acute or stressful manner.

Adults mentioned that having a social security number associated with refugee claimants (beginning with 9) means employers are less likely to offer positions, as they know that there is a chance they would lose their new hires to deportation. Adults expressed frustration at being unable to find work of a similar nature (ie administrative work) as that which they had pursued in countries of origin.

Conversely, parents were optimistic about opportunities for their children in Canada. This is in part due to the bureaucratic ease with which children are integrated into schooling systems and widespread support for that integration (in contrast to challenges in securing adequate employment for adults).

Children learn languages more easily than their parents. Parents tend to rely on children as interpreters, which can strain family relationships. Parents tend to make new friends with other new arrivals who tend to speak the same language; children are more likely to make diverse friendships in English or French.

Both children and adults fear deportation, though comprehension of this threat tends to be more common with age. Children who have had friends deported are more severely affected by this threat.

**Mountz, Alison. (2010). *Seeking Asylum: Human Smuggling and Bureaucracy at the Border*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.**

Using four 1999 Canadian naval interceptions of boats carrying asylum seekers as case studies, Mountz examines the bureaucratic processes involved in institutional responses to irregular migration. The establishment of the "long tunnel thesis"—strategically and temporarily stretching the non-sovereign space of the "airport hallway" into spaces traditionally considered Canadian soil, in order to limit would-be asylum claimants' rights—proves only an entry-point



into a larger constellation of bureaucratically mobile enforcement practices involving migration. By artificially creating an air of crisis around irregular migration, exceptional responses seem justifiable to counter uncertain threats. Immigrant-receiving states in North America, Europe, and Australia regularly look to one another to determine successful strategies in excluding migrants in a process called “policy sharing”. Borders become broader and more mobile, and are pushed further and further into the sovereign space of other states, until they metaphorically seek out and surround individual migrants seeking territories on which to claim asylum; Canada's “multiple borders strategy” was one of the first examples of this practice.

Mountz cautions that as the multitudes of individuals who make up “the state” struggle to best manage migration, what the state is and can do shifts and changes, often in unexpected ways. It is only through unfettered critical study that society can come to an understanding of what “state we are in” and thus reflect on how we would like the state to grow and develop. She concludes by noting that displaced persons are often spontaneously dispossessed in ways that do not conform to the norms expected by institutional “displacement management”, yet these bureaucratically mismatched definitions do not erase individuals' needs for humanitarian assistance. Finally, and most importantly, asylum is not an illegal act, but an internationally held right protected by the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees, of which Canada is a full signatory.

**Mountz, Alison. (2011). “The enforcement archipelago: Detention, haunting, and asylum on islands.” *Political Geography*, 30. 118-128.**

Offshore border enforcement and detention centres on remote islands represent spatial strategies of migration control which fit into a larger “enforcement archipelago” of detention, aimed at preventing would-be asylum claimants from accessing sovereign territory. By pushing borders offshore, an in-between space of legal ambiguity is created. Detained migrants become disembodied and dehumanized as access to them is restricted, leaving states free to detain more people for longer periods with little accountability. Island detention centres serving Europe, North America, and Australia represent both powerful case studies of the spatialization of the enforcement archipelago and key sites within the structures of power which increasingly securitize migration.

**Mountz, Alison. (2011). “Spectres at the point of entry: Understanding state mobilities through an ontology of exclusion.” *Mobilities*, 6(3). 317-334**

States are functionally mobile entities with ever-increasing geographical reach. State mobility can be seen in case studies of international interception and detention of would-be asylum claimants, as well as deportations and harsh responses to activism counter to state goals. In the context of state borders, this mobility results in a proliferating and diffuse series of barricades that have obscured or erased the actual, physical locations of ports of entry. At the same time, spaces for asylum actively shrink under increasing state pressure. Detainees are forced to simultaneously become activists who must call out for their own rights to mobility.

**Murdie, Robert. (2010). “Precarious beginnings: The housing situation of Canada's refugees.” *Newcomers' Experience of Housing and Homelessness in Canada*. Montreal: The Metropolis Project, 47-51.**

[http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/aec\\_citc\\_fall2010\\_e.pdf](http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/aec_citc_fall2010_e.pdf)

This article compares the housing security and affordability experiences of GARs and asylum claimants with those of other immigrant classes. Refugees experience the same challenges of other low-income migrant households, compounded by emotional stresses experienced before

departure and in transit, separation from families, and resulting mental and physical health issues. Affordability is found to be the major barrier in achieving appropriate housing, Asylum claimants face by far the greatest challenge in securing housing in Toronto as sponsored refugees tended to have a support network to assist in settlement, leading to much faster procuring of secure, appropriate housing.

**Okonny-Myers, Ima. (2010 June). *The Interprovincial Mobility of Immigrants in Canada*. Ottawa: Citizenship and Immigration Canada.**

<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/research-stats/interprov-mobility.pdf>

Nearly 90% of refugees of all classes who arrived in Canada between 2000 and 2006 filed their 2006 taxes in the original province of landing. There was considerable variation across provinces, however: in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and the Atlantic provinces, these numbers were closer to 50%. The only province with a substantial net gain in refugee migrants was Alberta.

**Preston, Valerie; Murdie, Robert; D'Addario, Silvia; Sibanda, Prince; Murnaghan, Ann Marie; Logan, Jennifer; Hae Ahn, Mi. (2011). *Precarious Housing and Hidden Homelessness Among Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and Immigrants in the Toronto Metropolitan Area*. CERIS Working Paper no. 87.**

[http://mbc.metropolis.net/assets/uploads/files/Precarious\\_Housing\\_Toronto\\_study.pdf](http://mbc.metropolis.net/assets/uploads/files/Precarious_Housing_Toronto_study.pdf)

Increasing housing prices and decreasing wages in households of recent immigrants are driving a crisis of affordable housing among all newcomers: more than 80% surveyed spent more than 30% of their income on housing. This trend is especially acute among refugee classes. When considering only asylum seekers, 33% of claimant respondents spent more than 75% of their household income on housing. These pressures lead to overcrowding in substandard dwellings; the authors suggest that housing-related challenges constitute a major barrier to successful integration in Canada. A leading cause of the income depression which spurs this crisis is a lack of recognition of foreign credentials and a lack of accessible equivalency training opportunities. Newcomers actively combat challenges in securing affordable housing by drawing on both informal social networks and service provision organizations. Nevertheless, newcomers' attempts to independently improve their housing situations are often stymied by structural barriers; this suggests a need for more efficient and better targeted service provision.

**Preston, Valerie; Murnaghan, Ann Marie; Murdie, Robert; Logan, Jennifer; Wedlock, Jane; Anucha, Uzo; Agrawal, Sandeep; D'Addario, Silvia; Kwak, Min Jung. (2010). "Seeking affordable homeownership in the suburbs: A case study of immigrants in York region." *Newcomers' Experience of Housing and Homelessness in Canada*. Montreal: The Metropolis Project, 40-43.**

[http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/aec\\_citc\\_fall2010\\_e.pdf](http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/aec_citc_fall2010_e.pdf)

In a study of newcomers in the York region, a suburb of Toronto, a high proportion of newcomers in their first ten years in Canada were found to be at risk of homelessness. 90% of immigrant families in the York region are homeowners; while renters experience a higher risk of homelessness, more than one in four immigrant homeowners is spending more than 30% of household income on housing. This represents a significantly higher precariousness in housing than the average for Canadian-born residents of the same region.

**Sherrell, Kathy. (2010). "Legal status, place, or something else? The housing experiences of refugees in Winnipeg and Vancouver." *Newcomers' Experience of Housing and Homelessness in Canada*. Montreal: The Metropolis Project, 52-59.**

[http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/aec\\_citc\\_fall2010\\_e.pdf](http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/aec_citc_fall2010_e.pdf)

The study finds that asylum claimants in Vancouver face greater challenges in securing permanent housing than GARs. However, the same gap does not exist in Winnipeg. Unemployment and housing insecurity are found to be mutually reinforcing: claimants and GARs cannot secure employment without stable housing, and cannot secure housing without proof of income. Sharing of accommodation—often leading to overcrowding—and pooling of income are chief strategies to manage risk.

More affordable housing in Winnipeg resulted in better housing outcomes for all refugee classes. Asylum claimants in Winnipeg had equal access to service provision as GARs, which was not the case in Vancouver; this policy gap has led to the differential outcomes for claimants living in the two cities. Further, Winnipeg possesses more social housing and access times to those services are shorter. Social capital (ie, existence of strong social bonds with family and friends) was found to be key in improving outcomes for all respondents.

**Simich, Laura. (2010). "Refugee mental health and the meaning of 'home'." *Newcomers' Experience of Housing and Homelessness in Canada*. Montreal: The Metropolis Project, 68-72.**

[http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/aec\\_citc\\_fall2010\\_e.pdf](http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/aec_citc_fall2010_e.pdf)

Simich argues that a sense of "home" is integral to refugees' mental health. This can mean establishing formal and informal support networks which help contribute to a refugee's sense of being in place. Presence of family and friends are especially important; secondary migration within Canada is often carried out with the goal of re forging of these networks. Memories of home can also be a source of distress, and unexpected challenges (such as economic constraints) as well as strained transnational ties can compound feelings of distress related to experiences from "home". Support in Canada—both social and institutional—is integral to producing a sense of being "at home" here in Canada.

**Stewart, Miriam; Simich, Laura; Shizha, Edward; Makumbe, Knox; Makwarimba, Edward. (2012 February). "Supporting African refugees in Canada: insights from a support intervention." *Health and Social Care*, 20(5). 516-527.**

Social support is important for refugees during the early years of resettlement, but this has not been translated into programming. This study designs and tests a "culturally congruent intervention" for groups from Somalia and Sudan (equal numbers of men and women, ages 18-54, having lived in Canada 10 years or less). Respondents from each group were interviewed to elicit elements of program design. Face-to-face meetings of refugees matched by gender and ethnicity were indicated as an effective and simple response to unmet needs, as respondents sought to replenish depleted social networks. Meetings were facilitated by one trained peer and one professional. Supplementary support via phone was provided by peer facilitators. The project ran for 12 weeks and 60-90 minute sessions ran bi-weekly.

Members of support groups were found to assist one another through information sharing. This was especially useful in learning to navigate service systems. Recognition that other members of the community suffered from similar challenges proved to be an important source of

emotional support. Communal translation and interpretation support helped with immigration and family reunification bureaucracy. Some participants reported advice from the group helped solve workplace issues. Facilitators provided information on conflict management, financial counseling, spousal conflicts, supporting children with school, discrimination issues, accessing services and seeking employment.

Refugees reported support groups were a safe space where they felt accepted. Social and emotional support networks formed between participants. Mixtures of one-on-one and group support services from both peers and professionals provided space for emotional support. Some respondents suggested that support groups could be improved if participants were more closely matched by age and dialect (to facilitate communication).

Select quotations from respondents:

- *"It also gave me a wider vision to see and to ask myself what I can do in order to be a good person in a family. So the knowledge I received from peers during the discussions kept on adding a lot of information and it keeps on changing me from one person to another and giving me the direction to follow in doing the right things. (Somali male)"* (523)

- *"We like to teach each other skills. For example, earlier on I mentioned sewing; it could be one of them including knitting. We could learn skills that can help us in our everyday life. (Sudanese female)"* (522)

- *"It is like very important that we get at least one day of coming together and sharing and getting solutions. I am reminded of home when I was young, when people sat around a fire and seek solutions to these problems and plan everything together understanding each other. (Somali male)"* (522)

- *"I also realized that I am not alone and everyone has problems like mine. That is why talking is beneficial because we exchange opinions and we came together by acknowledging each other problems. (Somali female)"* (522)

**UNHCR. (2014). Asylum Trends 2013: Levels and Trends in Industrialized Countries. Geneva: UNHCR.**

<http://www.unhcr.org/5329b15a9.html>

This report presents statistical data on new asylum claims made directly in selected "industrialized countries" recognized by UNHCR as key destinations for claimants. Globally, 612,730 asylum claims were made in 2013; this represents an increase of 28% from 2012. Canada, conversely, saw approximately a 50% drop in new claims. Germany saw the highest number of new claimants, at nearly 110,00; Canada registered 10,500. Syrians fleeing the third year of civil conflict represented the single largest nationality of asylum claimants. Germany and Sweden recognized the largest numbers of Syrians' requests for asylum, at 11,851 and 16,317. Canada received 493.

**Van Liempt, Ilse; Sersli, Stephanie. (2013). "State responses and migrant experiences with human smuggling: A reality check." *Antipode* 45(4).**

Uncontrolled migration is often accompanied with the construction of associated perceptions of threat through discourse. This reaction is prompted by political fears over loss of control of territorial integrity. Increased criminalization of human smuggling and the discursive association of human smuggling with other types of crime are in part a response to these trends. However, punishing smugglers fails to address motivations a migrant may have in accessing channels of irregular migration and ignores how would-be asylum claimants experience human smuggling. In a brief historical review, the authors point out that human smuggling was a common way for Japanese and Chinese migrants to avoid racist immigration laws of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Smugglers during World War II are today celebrated for their role in facilitating the escape of Jewish refugees from the Nazi regime in a climate of international indifference. “It no longer matters to a border guard if someone is escaping from a despotic regime; the inquiry will focus on how that person crossed the border, with whom, and whether their legal identity papers are in order” (1032).

van Liempt and Sersli highlight the discursive connections created between human smuggling, dramatic boat arrivals, high smuggling fees (theoretically calling the legitimacy of the claimants into question), and organized crime. They find little empirical evidence of high fees or links to organized crime.

The theory that relationships between migrants and smugglers is primarily economic was produced without empirical evidence and does not include the voice of the migrant. Migrants are assumed to be passive recruits of human smugglers, which is not the case. When smuggled migrants are consulted about their experiences, there is little stigma associated with smuggling; human smugglers are described as “helpers” who “save lives,” or as a “necessary alternative” in the present climate of exclusion. Some refuse to use the term “smuggler” to describe their “helpers.” Smugglers are often friends of friends or even family—closeness of relationship between the migrant and smuggler tends to correlate to a more positive recollection of the experience. This undermines the assumption that smugglers are concerned only with profit and furthers the hypothesis that migrants undertake these trips out of necessity.

**Van Selm, Joanne. (2004). “The strategic use of resettlement: Changing the face of protection?” *Refuge*, 22(1). 39-49.**

<https://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/refuge/article/view/21316>

EU Member States have begun to re-instate and re-emphasize resettlement programs in the hopes that it may help to strategically resolve “problems” of increasing irregular asylum-seeker arrivals. Van Selm argues that this discourse threatens to submerge the “essence” of the international refugee system. She warns against the use of resettlement as a “humanitarian alibi” for the introduction more restrictive policies for asylum claimants. Further, she dismisses the theory that resettlement would decrease the number of asylum claims because those processes are somehow linked. Finally, van Selm emphasizes that asylum and resettlement are separate pillars of international refugee law and both must co-exist in a fully functioning international protection regime.