

**CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES/
ÉTUDES ETHNIQUES AU CANADA**
VOL. 50, NO. 2, 2018

**SPECIAL ISSUE: CANADA'S SYRIAN REFUGEE PROGRAM,
INTERGROUP RELATIONSHIPS AND IDENTITIES**
**NUMÉRO SPÉCIAL : PROGRAMME DES RÉFUGIÉS SYRIENS
DU CANADA, RELATIONS INTERGROUPE ET IDENTITÉS**

CONTENTS/TABLE DES MATIÈRES

		Introduction
Michaela Hynie	1	Canada's Syrian Refugee Program, Intergroup Relationships and Identities
		Articles
Elke Winter, Anke Patzelt et Mélanie Beauregard	15	L'imaginaire national, l'asile et les réfugiés syriens en Allemagne et au Canada : une analyse discursive
Audrey Macklin, Kathryn Barber, Luin Goldring, Jennifer Hyndman, Anna Korteweg, Shauna Labman, Jona Zyfi	35	A Preliminary Investigation into Private Refugee Sponsors
Christopher Kyriakides, Lubna Bajjali, Arthur McLuhan, and Karen Anderson	59	Beyond Refuge: Contested Orientalism and Persons of Self-Rescue
Luisa Veronis, Zac Tabler, and Rukhsana Ahmed	79	Syrian refugee youth use social media: Building transcultural spaces and connections for resettlement in Ottawa, Canada
Julie Drolet and Gayatri Moorthi	101	The settlement experiences of Syrian newcomers in Alberta: Social connections and interactions

Jill Hanley et al.	123	The Social Networks, Social Support and Social Capital of Syrian Refugees Sponsored to Settle in Montreal: Indications from their early experiences of integration
		Reviews/Recensions
Will Langford	151	Mansoor Ladha. <i>Memoirs of a Muhindi: Fleeing East Africa for the West.</i>
	155	Information on Other Journals/ Informations sur d'autres revues
	160	Permission Policies/ Politique des autorisations
	161	Advice to Contributors/ Avis aux Auteurs
	162	CESA Conference: Call for papers/ L'ACÉE Conférence: Appel à des soumissions d'articles
	166	Subscription Renewal/ Formulaire de renouvellement d'abonnement

INTRODUCTION

MICHAELA HYNIE – SPECIAL GUEST EDITOR

Canada's Syrian Refugee Program, Intergroup Relationships and Identities

This decade has seen a rapid escalation in forced migration. Never before has the world seen so many people forcibly displaced, both within their countries, and across international borders (UNHCR 2017). Those who are displaced across international borders as a result of violence and/or persecution, and whose country of origin cannot, or will not, protect them, are refugees. Not only has the number of refugees increased, but so too has the length of displacement for those in protracted situations (Devictor and Do 2016). Unfortunately, the number of refugees who find permanent solutions to this displacement (*integration* in the country of asylum, *return* to the country of origin, or *resettlement* in a third country) make up a tiny proportion of those who are displaced; only 765,500 out of 22.5 million refugees in 2016 (or 3.5%) achieved a permanent solution, of whom only 189,300 were offered resettlement (UNHCR 2017). It is therefore important to examine the conditions under which a greater number of permanent solutions are made possible, as models that could be taken up more broadly. Canada's initiative to permanently resettle a relatively large number of Syrian refugees is one such example, with Canada's unique private sponsorship model being of particular interest internationally as a way of increasing resettlement opportunities.

The continuing conflict in Syria is just one of many drivers of forced migration in recent years, but one that has displaced 6.6 million people internally, and 5.6 million across international borders in the past seven years (UNHCR 2018). In 2015, the newly elected Canadian federal Liberal government undertook a widely publicized initiative to resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees under the slogan "Welcome Refugees." This initiative harkened back to the resettlement of 60,000 Indochinese refugees in Canada in 1979-1980, which marked the beginning of Canada's private sponsorship program (Labman 2016). Mirroring the earlier initiative, the Welcome Refugees program engaged large numbers of citizens, many as private sponsors, and garnered

broad media coverage, both in Canada and abroad. Between November, 2015, and February, 2017, more than 40,000 Syrians resettled across Canada, in over 350 communities. Almost a third were sponsored by private citizens or non-governmental organizations who provided financial and settlement support for the newcomers' first year (Government of Canada 2017). Moreover, at a time when attitudes towards refugees and immigrants are becoming increasingly hostile across Europe, in the USA and Australia, Canadian attitudes towards migration are among the most positive in the world, with 92% of Canadians saying that where they currently live is a good place to live for immigrants from other countries. By comparison, the average is 65% for other OECD countries (EnviroNics Institute for Survey Research 2018). This special issue of *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études ethniques au Canada* explores whether the Welcome Refugees resettlement initiative was made possible by the role that refugee resettlement plays in Canadian notions of identity and citizenship, and the implications this has for the relationships between established Canadians and Syrian newcomers to Canada.

REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE

Discourses both supporting and rejecting refugees and asylum seekers requires a co-creation of two identities: that of a refugee “other”, and a national “self” (Bauder 2008). These constructions are nuanced by national identities and current political realities (Akbari and MacDonald 2014; Berry, Garica-Blanco and Moore 2016; Krzy anowski, Triandafyllidou and Wodak 2018; Triandafyllidou 2018). Nonetheless, there are common themes that emerge, particularly across high-income countries that have been destinations for refugee resettlement and asylum and these discourses have been affected by highly publicized and debated events. These discourses tend to focus on refugee identities rather than explicitly describing national identities, the latter of which are assumed to be in opposition or contrast to the refugee “other”. The Welcome Refugee initiative in Canada coincided with the time of the greatest increase in asylum requests in Europe and multiple deaths during Mediterranean crossings, from 2015 to 2016. Triandafyllidou (2018) identifies a critical discursive shift among political, media and civic society debates in European media coverage during this time. Discourse shifted from a focus on management of newcomers into Europe, to the loss of life and dire conditions for refugees following several highly publicized deaths of asylum seekers. The discourse shifted again following highly publicized attacks in Germany and France, returning to a trend of framing refugees as a threat to security, social order, and economic stability and of their arrival as a crisis for Europe. As noted by Winter and colleagues, however, Canada’s discourse did not shift in the same way (Winter, Patzelt and Beaugard 2018).

Refugee and asylum seeker identities are constructed as (often essentialized) “others” whose nature is dangerous or incompatible with “our” cherished local values. Kyriakides and colleagues (Kyriakides, Bajjali, McLuhan and Anderson 2018) draw on Edward Said’s (1978) theory of Orientalism in describing how this process is applied to Syrian refugees (cf. Tyyska, Blower, DeBoer, Kawai and Walcott 2017). Syrian refugees, as non-Western “others”, are constructed as barbaric and uncivilized in contrast to “our” Western morality and civilization. These identities can be observed in media and policy discourse on refugees and asylum seekers (Esses, Medianu and Lawson 2012). For example, in a study of memes on the internet platform, Reddit, Gl veanu and colleagues (Gl veanu, de Saint-Laurent and Literat 2018) identified that refugees, and particularly Muslim refugees, are depicted as violent and disrespectful towards women. Another common theme that surfaced across multiple studies is that refugees and asylum seekers are economic migrants who are seeking entry in order to abuse welfare services and thus asylum seekers are not deserving of protection (Berry et al. 2016; Gl veanu et al. 2018; Goodman, Sirriyeh and McMahon 2017; Guidry, Austin, Carlyle, Freberg, Cacciatore, Jin and Messner 2018; Krzy anowski et al. 2018).

Negative discourses also construct refugee migration in dehumanizing ways by representing refugees as an uncontrolled and deindividuated mass (Haslam and Loughnan 2014). In the Slovenia the media portrayal of the refugee situation, as noted by Vezovnik (2018), there is repeated use of the metaphor of water (flow, river, flood, tsunami) to denote an out-of-control, dehumanized and agentless catastrophe. Common themes across multiple studies are that these large and deindividuated refugee/asylum migration flows are hiding terrorists within them, and that the (large but unspecified) numbers will overwhelm available resources (Berry et al. 2016; Guidry et al. 2018; Huot, Bobadilla, Bailliard and Rudman 2016; Triandafyllidou 2018). In this case the threat does not come from individuals and so the denial of asylum is not directed towards people but rather a catastrophic event. With the increase in these discourses regarding asylum seekers has come an escalation of hostility towards refugees and asylum seekers in Europe (with the terms refugee, asylum seeker, and migrant often used interchangeably), and particularly towards Muslim refugees (Bansak, Hainmueller and Hangartner 2016; IPSOS 2017). These discourses are also connected to beliefs that those claiming asylum do not deserve protection or that protection is impossible. Challenging the validity of these claims anticipates and counters humanitarian arguments for providing asylum, resettlement and support thereby protecting the morality or humanity of those who would deny asylum.

Humanitarian themes focus on the suffering and hardship experienced by refugees and asylum seekers prior to migration and on their migration pathway.

Some news and social media portrayals individuate refugees and emphasize perspective taking, inviting the reader to “put themselves in the shoes” of people coping with difficult situations (Cooper, Olejniczak, Lennette and Smedley 2017; Gl veanu et al. 2018; Guidry et al. 2018). But many humanitarian discourses still speak of undifferentiated masses of people and portray refugees as passive victims (Berry et al. 2016; Gl veanu et al. 2018; Goodman, Sirriyeh and McMahon 2017). In this way, humanitarian discourses also fall into the Orientalist construction of an agentic “us” and a passive “them” (Kyriakides et al. 2018). Vollmer and Karakayalf (2018) argue that the discourse around refugees “deserving” protection actually depends on a representation of them being forced to move, as opposed to choosing to save themselves. Thus, for example, in their analysis of UK news media, Goodman and colleagues (2017) noted that a discursive shift occurred around the death of Alan Kurdi, a three-year-old Syrian boy who drowned during an attempted Mediterranean crossing, asylum seekers entering Europe were now identified as refugees in need of support. However, the language describing their movements now showed a marked decrease in agency. For instance, media now described refugees as “reaching” Europe and being rescued, as opposed to actively “entering”.

Canada also has a number of different discourses around immigration and refugees (Molnar 2016; Wallace 2018). Policy and discourse in Canada had been shifting to greater criminalization of immigration in recent decades (Aiken, Lyon and Thorburn 2014). In 2013 the federal Conservative government introduced Bill C-31 (known as Protecting Canada’s Immigration Security Act, House of Commons 2013), which separated out different refugee claimant groups by country of origin and their entitlements (Diop 2014; Huot et al. 2016). The policy and media discourse around these changes focused on the familiar themes of security threats, economic threats, and the legitimacy of refugee claims, and remained dominant until 2015. In January 2015, consistent with the European Union framing Syrian refugee migration as a problem of management at the time, the governing Conservative government agreed to accept 10,000 Syrian refugees; six months later, however, only about 1000 had been resettled. In September of 2015, following the death of Alan Kurdi, and in the midst of a federal election campaign, the Conservative government pledged to bring in another 10,000 Syrian refugees, distributed over four years. Citing security concerns, Prime Minister Stephen Harper stated that increasing settlement of refugees from Syria beyond the numbers proposed would be “reckless and irresponsible” (Campion-Smith 2015). This too paralleled shifts in discourse in Europe (Triandafyllidou 2018). In contrast, however, Justin Trudeau and the Liberal Party promised to bring, by the end of 2016, 25,000 Syrian refugees to Canada during their campaign, stating that it was just a matter of political will. Following their election as the governing party in October 2015, the Liberal Party acted on this

promise, in partnership with thousands of Canadians who volunteered to serve as private sponsors for Syrian refugees newcomers.

The Canadian public was particularly moved by Alan Kurdi's death and there were demands that the Canadian government accept more Syrian refugees. Alan Kurdi's aunt lived in Canada and had tried, but failed, to privately sponsor the family to come to Canada (Winter et al. 2018). This child's death therefore seemed easily preventable, and Canada seemed particularly culpable. Moreover, Canada had a history of resettling a large number of forced migrants from Southeast Asia in 1979-1980, creating a model for a similar response in this case. However, a third reason may be that one representation of Canadian identity includes humanitarian resettlement of "deserving" migrants as an important reflection of the nation's compassionate nature (Bauder 2008). In other words, Canadian identity may be particularly amenable to a self-representation that includes refugee resettlement in ways that made the Welcome Refugees initiative possible.

THE CO-CONSTRUCTION OF REFUGEE AND CANADIAN IDENTITIES IN THE REFUGEES WELCOME RESETTLEMENT INITIATIVE

Two papers in this special issue explore the Liberal government's initiative to resettle Syrian refugees in terms of the construction of a Canadian identity. Drawing on the work of Harold Bauder, Winter and her colleagues (2018) use media coverage in "mainstream" national newspapers in Canada and Germany to document how the media construction of Syrian refugee identities reflect each country's general stance with regards to immigration. In analyzing articles published between September 2015 and January 2016 in two national newspapers, Winter and colleagues found both countries' newspapers reported common themes of refugees needing assistance, and of refugees posing a threat. In Germany, there was also a debate about whether refugees and asylum seekers could integrate into German society. This latter theme suggested an essentialized refugee "other" at odds with the German self. In the Canadian media, Winter and colleagues found that the vulnerability and need of Syrian refugees was accompanied by a critique of the Conservative government for not doing more to assist, contrasted against descriptions of how "true Canadians" were providing support to refugees. This line of discourse emphasized Canada's history of and commitment to helping refugees, thus explicitly aligning resettlement with Canadian identity, while also drawing attention to Canadian virtuous helping behaviour, rather than the experience from the perspective of the Syrian newcomers. Winter and colleagues also found evidence of Bauder's thesis regarding the sublimation of refugee "others" into the Canadian self, with reports of how earlier refugee newcomers had successfully integrated into Canadian society and promises of how

these refugees would also become new Canadians. Critical to these discourses, however, is the emphasis on the “deserving” refugee, one who is passive, grateful, needy and female and/or a child, with the male Muslim refugee still portrayed as a threat, and with assurances being offered during this resettlement initiative that only those refugees who fit the “good refugee” identity were being resettled.

Like Winter et al., Macklin and her colleagues (Macklin, Barber, Goldring, Hyndman, Korteweg, Labman and Zyfi 2018) evoke an underlying assumption that refugee resettlement involves the making of new Canadian citizens, transforming the “other” into “us”. One of the routes to privately sponsor refugees allows Canadian private citizens to unite as groups of five (or larger) to personally undertake sponsorship, providing financial and settlement support to sponsored individuals and families, and personally engaging in this act of creating new citizens. Private sponsors’ engagement in refugee resettlement can therefore have direct implications for their own sense of identity. Macklin et al. (2018) surveyed 530 private sponsors in Canada, theorizing that private sponsorship could be construed as the “performance” or practice of active Canadian citizenship and identity. The authors explored this theory in private sponsors’ motivations for sponsorship, and also whether the act of sponsoring changed sponsors’ sense of self as citizens.

Many of the sponsors who responded to the survey were sponsoring for the first time, and indeed reported being motivated by a sense that private sponsorship was an expression of Canadian responsibility and identity. Other motivations included religious or ethical commitments (e.g., to “welcome the stranger”) and having a personal or family history of migration, reflecting how Canada’s history as a settler nation may be influencing how refugee resettlement and sublimation of the refugee “other” is incorporated into Canadian identity. However, a striking aspect of Macklin et al.’s survey is the homogeneity of the sample. Respondents were predominantly highly educated, older, upper middle class white women in Ontario. There was also an almost complete lack of representation of Conservative party voters. These differences seem too large to be attributable to self-selection by participants. As noted by the authors, refugee sponsorship may have been particularly identified with the Liberal government, since it formed a clear part of their election campaign. However, it may also reflect a deeper disconnect in Canadian identity, which is supported by the presence of contradictory themes in Canadian media (Molnar 2016; Tyyska, Blower, DeBoer, Kawai and Walcott 2017). While the media focus on the extent to which refugee resettlement reflects the “generous” nature of Canadians, there is also a continued focus on constructions of refugees as a threat; Canadian identity thus includes the dialectic between these positions and in this sense may mirror the divisions seen in the German media reviewed by Winter and colleagues. What seems unique, though, is the perspective of refugees as “citizens in the making.”

IDENTITY AND INTERGROUP RELATIONSHIPS

and colleagues (2018) re-label privately sponsored refugees (PSRs) as “persons of self rescue” to challenge the ongoing discourse of the passive refugee in need of saving and explore the consequences of these co-constructed identities for relationships in private sponsorship. In their interviews with 109 sponsors (hosts), sponsored refugees, and community agencies, they found numerous examples of private hosts failing to acknowledge the agency, dignity and competencies of the people they are sponsoring, resulting in misunderstandings, conflict and mistrust when sponsored newcomers tried to assert their agency and challenge the unequal power relationship being imposed on them (Bauder 2008). Research in the psychology of intergroup relationships finds that those in a “helper” role can persist in offering help that imposes or encourages passivity and helplessness in the recipient. Doing so reinforces the power imbalance between them, which can generate discomfort and resistance from those being helped, and this resistance is often received with hurt and surprise by those offering the help (Nadler, Halabi, Harapz-Gorodeisky and Ben-David 2010). However, Kyriakides et al. (2018) also identify ways in which hosts and sponsored newcomers can and did challenge these constructed identities, actively asserting and/or acknowledging newcomers’ pre-migration identities, and the need for resettlement programs to recognize and support agency and autonomy for newcomers. In so doing, hosts also developed a new understanding of their own identities as sponsorship groups and, indeed, as Canadians.

Veronis, Tabler and Ahmed (2018) explore the co-creation of newcomer and Canadian identities from the perspective of Syrian Canadian youth. Veronis and her colleagues conducted focus groups with 29 Syrian newcomer youth to document how they explore and communicate their identity as Syrian Canadians and develop relationships with other Canadians through their use of social media. The authors challenge the “us-them” demarcation that is inherent in the discourses of refugees and asylum seekers. Drawing from theories of transculturalism, hybridity and borderlands, Veronis and colleagues emphasize the fluidity of the constructed self, particularly in the space between cultures. Social media, such as Facebook and Instagram, are a source of information about Canada for newcomers seeking to learn about their peers and community. However, they are also platforms for sharing information about Syria with their new Canadian peers. These youth were not the subject of social media but rather the authors of their representations, and curators of the information that is shared about them. In this way, youth in these focus groups actively challenged the refugee identities constructed in social and news media about them, with its unidimensional stereotypes and notable silence about their premigration self (Kyriakides et al. 2018).

In contrast to face to face interactions, these virtual interactions also allow youth to have control over the speed and amount of interaction, providing the option of observing social spaces until they are ready to step in with their own contributions. Virtual interactions may lack some of the nuances of physical interactions and thus have their own dangers and difficulties. But for many of these newcomer youth, the virtual world is a safe social space in which to start building relationships, sharing personal histories, and trying out new ideas and behaviours as they navigated the boundaries between cultural spaces to build identities as Syrian Canadians.

THE INTEGRATION OF NEWCOMER AND ESTABLISHED COMMUNITIES

Private sponsorship, in particular, is thought to provide not only immediate settlement support and information, with these social connections translating into social capital for better employment, housing, and educational access, but also friendship across cultural groups (Kumin 2015). Civic engagement and intergroup relationships are expected to shape newcomers' identities by providing general information about national norms and values. The final two papers in this special issue allow us to contrast the representation of Canadian engagement with Syrian newcomers as an expression of Canadian identity, as described in the media, against Syrian refugees' reports of their engagement with other, more established, Canadians, and what role that plays in Syrian newcomers' settlement.

Hanley and her colleagues (Hanley, Al Mhamied, Cleveland, Hajjar, Hassan, Ives, Khyar and Hynie 2018) conducted surveys with 697 Syrian refugees in Montreal, Quebec, 90% of whom arrived through some form of private sponsorship. A range of initiatives were developed around the city to enhance settlement support for Syrian newcomers in the areas of health, employment, housing and legal rights, and to create opportunities for intergroup relationships with other Montrealers. Nonetheless, respondents reported that it was primarily friends and family who helped them find employment. Respondents were actively engaged in their social networks, with almost all reporting having friends in the city. Two thirds reported having four or more friends locally, and 70% reporting seeing them on a weekly basis. Most respondents' friends came from their own ethnic community, which is particularly likely in Montreal given that the province had a relatively large Syrian Canadian community prior to the conflict, and that many of those sponsored were sponsored by the pre-conflict Syrian Canadian community. On the advice of their sponsoring organizations, the majority settled in neighbourhoods with a pre-existing Arab community presence and thus may have formed co-ethnic clusters. Participants in their sample did build friendships with members of other ethnic communities over time, but only half of those in Canada for over a year reported

having friends from other communities. The strength of relationship with those in their co-ethnic community did not seem to be a barrier to forming a sense of local identity, however. Sense of belonging to the city overall (71%) was comparable to that with their ethnic group in the city (69%).

Drolet and her colleagues (Drolet and Moorthi 2018) conducted surveys with 100 Syrian refugees who had resettled into five cities in Alberta: the large cities of Calgary and Edmonton, and the smaller cities of Lethbridge, Medicine Hat and Red Deer. In addition they collected in-depth interviews with 20 individuals in all of the cities except Lethbridge. Drolet and colleagues compared large and small cities because larger urban centres are thought to result in more segregation between communities, and thus the goal of developing strong intergroup relationships may be more challenging in larger cities. However, the authors note that smaller centres may not be able to provide the resources and services refugee newcomers need for settlement, such as employment and language support. Social connections played a central role in the settlement pathway of Syrian refugees in all five cities. Syrian newcomer respondents, the majority of whom were government rather than privately sponsored, reported relying on settlement agencies and community organizations for the material aspects of settlement support and found these supports helpful. Relationships with other members of the Syrian community were also very important for a range of social supports and these co-ethnic and co-religious relationships formed the core of their social lives. For those who were privately sponsored, however, relationships with private sponsors were variable, with some forming strong relationships but many others reporting little assistance.

Respondents reported actively seeking out relationships with more established residents from other ethnic communities, explicitly acknowledging the expectation for integration into local norms and values and the role that intergroup relationships play in this process. Their efforts demonstrate that the process of “becoming Canadian citizens” is actively undertaken by refugees, rather than something that they are passively exposed to. Respondents reported both welcoming and discriminatory interactions with other Canadians, with just under two-thirds reporting that they found Canadians welcoming and supportive. Almost all reported a sense of belonging to Canada, but respondents also identified barriers of cultural distance, difficult living conditions, and a loss of social connections, emphasizing that building social relationships is an important step in developing a Canadian identity but so is inclusion in economic and material aspects of Canadian life.

CANADIAN IDENTITY, REFUGEE IDENTITY, AND BECOMING CANADIAN

The papers in this special issue reveal the heterogeneity of discourses and attitudes regarding refugee resettlement and Canadian identity. Policy, news and social media

discourses construct refugee identities as dangerous and dishonest and threats to Canadian morality and decency; as helpless victims for whom Canadians feel compassion but who threaten Canadian well-being by overwhelming their resources; or as grateful and passive recipients of Canadian generosity. However, one aspect of Canadian identity also includes the act of reproducing itself in the making of new Canadians out of refugee “others”, particularly through the engagement of civil society in private sponsorship. It is the latter discourse that may be particularly effective at opening the door for more refugee resettlement in Canada, that may underlie Canada’s relatively positive attitudes towards refugees and immigrants. This discourse, and that may also be open to reconstruction and challenge.

Nonetheless, suspicion and mistrust of the “other” are not far below the surface, and the representation of Canadian identity that motivated so many private sponsors in Macklin et al.’s (2018) paper to participate in refugee sponsorship may not be so widely embraced. The narrowness of the demographic profile of the private sponsors in Macklin et al.’s study may be indicative of tensions that exist within Canadians’ self-representations vis-a-vis refugee newcomers, dichotomies that are revealed not only in the multiple discourses present in the media, but also by national surveys on attitudes towards immigrants and refugees (Environics Institute for Survey Research 2018). Studies asking Syrian Canadians to report on their experiences of resettlement show that their social relationships with individuals from other social groups are generally fairly limited, at least in early years, and Kyriakides et al.’s (2018) paper warns that the nature of these relationships may in themselves be “othering” and be barriers to meaningful inclusion. The “othering” of these newcomers also occurs through material exclusions, in the form of housing, employment and income, and the data presented here suggest that both forms of exclusion have implications for resettled refugees’ sense of belonging to Canada.

Symbolic “others” become real people once they arrive in communities. Newcomer Syrians come with their own agendas, personal narratives, expectations, motivations and identities. The papers in this special issue indicate the range of ways in which they are actively engaged in constructing their own Syrian Canadian identities, representations and intergroup relationships, both virtually and physically, and independent of what sponsors, government and media may have expected. This may lead to tension, but it also leads to the opportunities for real relationships, and the construction of new Canadian identities for all involved. The papers in this special issue also reveal the optimism, resilience and openness of many people involved in the Welcome Refugees Syrian resettlement initiative, from the Syrian newcomers, to the sponsors, to the media, to government policy makers who supported this initiative. Perhaps this is a new shared identity that could be created out of the Welcome Refugees initiative as a model of a dignified, respectful and humanitarian response to forced migration.

REFERENCES

- Aiken, Sharryn J., David Lyon and Malcolm Thorburn. 2014. Introduction: 'Crimmigration, Surveillance and Security Threats': A Multidisciplinary Dialogue. *Queen's Law Journal* 40.1: 8 pages.
- Akbari, Ather H., and Martha MacDonald. 2014. Immigration Policy in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States: An Overview of Recent Trends. *International Migration Review* 48.3: 801-822.
- Bansak, Kirk, Jens Hainmueller and Dominik Hangartner. 2016. How Economic, Humanitarian, and Religious Concerns Shape European Attitudes Toward Asylum Seekers. *Science* 22 Sep.
- Bauder, Harald. 2008. Dialectics of Humanitarian Immigration and National Identity in Canadian Public Discourse. *Refuge* 25.1: 84-93.
- Berry, Mike, Inaki Garcia-Blanco and Kerry Moore. 2016. *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries*. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. <http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html>.
- Campion-Smith, Bruce. 2015. Stephen Harper Defends Refugee Response as 'Generous'. *Toronto Star*. September 20, 2015. <https://www.thestar.com/news/federal-election/2015/09/20/stephen-harper-defends-refugee-response-as-generous.html>.
- Cooper, Samantha, Erin Olejniczak, Caroline Lennette and Charolette Smedley. 2017. Media coverage of refugees and asylum seekers in regional Australia: a critical discourse analysis. *Media International Australia* 162.1: 78-89.
- Devictor, Xavier, and Quy-Toan Do. 2016. How Many Years Have Refugees Been in Exile? Policy Research working paper; no. WPS 7810. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/549261472764700982/How-many-years-have-refugees-been-in-exile>.
- Diop, Petra Molnar. 2014. The "Bogus" Refugee: Roma Asylum Claimants and the Discourses of Fraud in Canada's Bill C-31. *Refuge* 30.1: 67-80.
- Drolet, Julie, and Gayatri Moorathi. 2018. The Settlement Experiences of Syrian Newcomers in Alberta: Social Connections and Interactions. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50.2:
- Environics Institute for Survey Research. 2018. Canadian Public Opinion about Immigration and Minority Groups. *Focus Canada—Winter 2018*. March 22.
- Esses, Victoria. M., Stelian Medianu and Andrea S. Lawson. 2012. Uncertainty, Threat, and the Role of the Media in Promoting the Dehumanization of Immigrants and Refugees. *Social Issues* 69.3: 518-536.
- Gl veanu, Vlad Petre, Constance de Saint-Laurent and Ioana Literat. 2018. Making Sense of Refugees Online: Perspective Taking, Political Imagination, and Internet Memes. *American Behavioral Scientist* 62.4: 440-457.
- Goodman, Simon, Ala Sirriyeh and Simon McMahon. 2017. The Evolving (Re)categorisations of Refugees Throughout the "Refugee/Migrant Crisis". *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 27: 105-114.
- Government of Canada. 2017. #WelcomeRefugees: Key Figures. Accessed from: <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/welcome-syrian-refugees/key-figures.html>.
- Guidry, Jeanine P. D., Lucinda L. Austin, Kellie E. Carlyle, Karen Freberg, Michael Cacciatore, Yan Jin and Marcus Messner. 2018. Welcome or Not: Comparing #Refugee Posts on Instagram and Pinterest. *American Behavioral Scientist* 62.4: 512-531.
- Hanley, Jill, Adnan Al Mhamied, Janet Cleveland, Oula Hajjar, Ghayda Hassan, Nicole Ives, Rim Khyar and Michaela Hynie. 2018. The Social Networks, Social Support and Social Capital of Syrian Refugees Privately Sponsored to Settle in Montreal: Indications from their Early Experiences of Integration. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50.2:
- Haslam, Nick, and Steve Loughnan. 2014. Dehumanization and Infrahumanization. *Annual Review of Psychology* 65: 399-423.
- House of Commons. 2013. Bill C-31: A act to amend the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, the Balanced Refugee Reform Act, the Marin Transportation Security Act and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Act. Ottawa, Canada: Parliament of Canada. Accessed at: <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Committees/en/CIMM/StudyActivity?studyActivityId=7523846>.
- Huot, Suzanne, Andrea Bobadilla, Antoine Bailliard and Debbie Laliberte Rudman. 2016. Constructing

- Undesirables: A Critical Discourse Analysis of “Othering” within the Protecting Canada’s Immigration System Act. *International Migration* 54.2: 131-143.
- IPSOS. 2017. Global Views on Immigration and the Refugee Crisis. Accessed from: https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2017-09/Global_Advisor_Immigration.pdf.
- Kumin, Judith. 2015. Welcoming Engagement: How Private Sponsorship Can Strengthen Refugee Resettlement in the European Union. Migration Policy Institute Europe. Available from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/welcoming-engagement-how-private-sponsorship-can-strengthen-refugee-resettlement-european>.
- Krzyanowski, Michal, Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruth Wodak. 2018. The Mediatization and the Politization of the “Refugee Crisis” in Europe. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 16.1-2: 1-14. DOI: 10.1080/15562948.2017.13531189.
- Kyriakides, Christopher, Lubna Bajjali, Arthur McLuhan and Karen Anderson. 2018. Beyond Refuge: Contested Orientalism and Persons of Self-Rescue. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50.2:
- Labman, Shauna. 2016. Private Sponsorship: Complementary or Conflicting Interests? *Refuge* 32.2: 67-80.
- Macklin, Audrey, Kathryn Barber, Luin Goldring, Jennifer Hyndman, Anna Korteweg, Shauna Labman and Jona Zyfi. 2018. A Preliminary Investigation into Private Refugee Sponsors. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50.2:
- Molnar, Petra. 2016. The Boy on the Beach: The Fragility of Canada’s Discourses on the Syrian Refugee ‘Crisis’. *Contention: The Multidisciplinary Journal of Social Protest* 4.1-2: 67-75.
- Nadler, Arie, Samer Halabi, Gal Harapz-Gorodeisky and Yael Ben-David. 2010. Helping relations as status relations. In M. Mikulincer and P. R. Shaver (Eds.), *Prosocial Motives, Emotions, and Behavior: The Better Angels of Our Nature* (181-200). Washington, USA: American Psychological Association.
- Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Triandafyllidou, Anna. 2018. A “Refugee Crisis” Unfolding: “Real” Events and their Interpretation in Media and Political Debates. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 16.1-2: 198-216.
- Tyyska, Vappu, Jenna Blower, Samantha DeBoer, Shunya Kawai and Ashley Walcott. 2017. The Syrian Refugee Crisis in Canadian Media. *RCIS Working Paper No. 2107/3*.
- UNHCR. 2017. Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2016. Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Accessed at: <http://www.unhcr.org/statistics/unhcrstats/5943e8a34/global-trends-forced-displacement-2016.html>.
- . 2018. Syria Emergency. Accessed from <http://www.unhcr.org/syria-emergency.html>.
- Veronis, Luisa, Zac Tabler, and Rukhsana Ahmed. 2018. Syrian Refugee Youth Use Social Media: Building Transcultural Spaces and Connections for Resettlement in Ottawa, Canada. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50.2:
- Vezovnik, Andreja. 2018. Securitizing Migration in Slovenia: A Discourse Analysis of the Slovenian Refugee Situation. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 16.1-2: 39-56.
- Vollmer, Bastian, and Serhat Karakayalf. 2018. The Volatility of the Discourse on Refugees in Germany. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 16.1-2: 118-139.
- Wallace, Rebecca. 2018. Contextualizing the Crisis: The Framing of Syrian Refugees in Canadian Print Media. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 51.2: 207-231.
- Winter, Elke, Anke Patzelt and Mélanie Beauregard. 2018. L’Imaginaire National, l’Asile et les Réfugiés Syriens en Allemagne et au Canada: Une Analyse Discursive. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50.2:

MICHAELA HYNIE, Ph.D., is a social and cultural psychologist in the Department of Psychology and the Centre for Refugee Studies at York University and past president of the Canadian Association for Refugee and Forced Migration Studies. Dr. Hynie conducts both qualitative and quantitative community-based research with a focus on situations of social conflict and forced displacement, and the development and evaluation of interventions that can strengthen social and institutional relationships to improve health and well-being in different cultural, political and physical

environments. Her work in Canada, India, Nepal, Rwanda and South Africa has been funded by the *Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council*, *Grand Challenges Canada* and the *Canadian Institutes for Health Research*. She is currently leading *Syria.LTH*, a five-year longitudinal study on Syrian refugee integration in Canada.



ELKE WINTER, ANKE PATZELT ET MÉLANIE
BEAUREGARD

L'imaginaire national, l'asile et les réfugiés syriens en Allemagne et au Canada : une analyse discursive

Abstract

This paper presents a comparison of the representation of Syrian refugees in one German (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*) and one Canadian (*The Globe and Mail*) newspaper. Inspired by the notion of sublimation (i.e., allowing others to become us) as developed by Bauder (2011) and drawing on critical discourse analysis, the paper examines newspaper articles that were published between September 2015 and January 2016. Our results show that the representations of Syrian refugees in these newspapers generally reflect the national traditions of both countries (i.e., Germany as an ethnic nation and Canada as a settler society), however, they also highlight some peculiarities and contradictions: The articles in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* reveal stark divisions within German society regarding "the refugee question" (supporters versus opponents), as a result of which the German national solidarity seems to be compromised in favour of an alliance between Germans supporting refugees (the majority) and the refugees. The articles analysed in *The Globe and Mail* demonstrate that the media coverage of Syrian refugees in Canada is less negative in comparison to that of other refugee groups. However, this positive representation is mainly used to highlight the "true" character of the Canadian nation, i.e., its generosity and benevolence toward minority groups.

Keywords: Germany, refugees, Syriens, national identity, integration, media.

Résumé

Cet article compare les représentations des réfugiés au sein d'un journal allemand (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*) et au sein d'un journal canadien (*The Globe and Mail*). Inspirées par la notion de sublimation (permettre l'intégration de l'« autre » à la nation), comme développée par Bauder (2011), et par l'analyse critique du discours, nous étudions les articles publiés entre septembre 2015 et janvier 2016. Nos résultats démontrent que les représentations des réfugiés syriens reflètent généralement les traditions nationales des deux pays (soit l'Allemagne en tant que nation ethnique et le Canada en tant que nation de pionniers multiculturelle), tout en témoignant de certaines particularités et contradictions. Alors que les articles du *Süddeutsche Zeitung* démontrent que l'enjeu des réfugiés divise la société allemande (entre ceux soutenant les réfugiés et ceux s'y opposant), la solidarité nationale allemande semble également s'effondrer en faveur d'une alliance entre la population allemande (majoritaire) soutenant les réfugiés et les réfugiés. Les articles analysés dans le *Globe and Mail* démontrent, quant à eux, que la couverture médiatique des réfugiés syriens est moins négative que celle portant sur d'autres groupes de migrants forcés.

Toutefois, ces représentations positives sont principalement utilisées afin de souligner la « vraie » nature de la nation canadienne, soit sa générosité et sa bienveillance envers les minorités.

Mots clés : Allemagne, réfugiés, Syriens, identité nationale, intégration, médias.



INTRODUCTION

Entre 2011 et 2017, près de 5,5 millions de Syriens ont cherché refuge dans un autre pays, 6,3 millions ont dû être déplacés au sein même de la Syrie et plus de 13 millions de Syriens ont eu besoin d'aide humanitaire (International Displacement Monitoring Centre 2017). Dans ce contexte, de nombreux pays sont appelés à accueillir des réfugiés syriens. Cet article s'intéresse à deux pays ayant reçu un nombre considérable de ces réfugiés, soit l'Allemagne et le Canada.

Malgré leurs différences considérables (situations géographiques, imaginaire national et procédures d'admission de réfugiés), en septembre 2015 et sous la pression de leurs populations respectives, les deux pays ont ouvert leurs frontières aux Syriens qui fuient une guerre civile de plus en plus virulente. Deux ans plus tard, les deux pays sont passés des enjeux liés à l'accueil des réfugiés aux enjeux liés à l'intégration à long terme, enjeux qui commencent à dominer tant les discours publics que les interventions pratiques.

Dans cet article, nous nous intéressons à la représentation des réfugiés dans les discours publics de ces deux pays. En effet, en Occident, la compréhension de la crise syrienne ainsi que de l'intégration des réfugiés syriens sont principalement façonnées par les discours médiatiques. Ceux-ci ont joué un rôle crucial dans la création des représentations des réfugiés en exposant leurs parcours, leur exode ainsi que leur intégration au sein des diverses sociétés qui les accueillent. Si le discours reflète et (re)produit en quelque sorte les réalités sociales (Fairclough et Wodak 1997), nous considérons qu'il est possible d'appréhender l'état de l'intégration des réfugiés dans deux sociétés différentes par le biais d'une analyse discursive. Plus particulièrement, comme démontré par Esses *et al.* (2017), les représentations des réfugiés, dans les médias, influencent les attitudes que la population de la société d'accueil adopte à leur égard et influencent donc les processus d'intégration. Par conséquent, l'analyse des représentations médiatiques des réfugiés peut nous informer sur leur trajectoire d'intégration.

Inspiré par les travaux de Bauder (2011) portant sur le traitement médiatique de l'immigration en Allemagne et au Canada, cet article analyse la conception de ces réfugiés en tant que membres (potentiels) de la communauté nationale. En com-

parant un journal allemand (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*) et un journal canadien (*The Globe and Mail*), nous examinons les représentations des réfugiés syriens de septembre 2015 à janvier 2016. Plus précisément, nous observons ces représentations dans les contextes de compassion massive face aux désespoirs des réfugiés à l'automne, jusqu'aux réserves et soupçons formulés suite aux attentats de Paris et aux agressions sexuelles survenues à Cologne dans la nuit du 31 décembre.

Notre analyse apporte des contributions à la connaissance sur trois niveaux. Premièrement, il existe à ce jour encore très peu d'analyses du traitement médiatique des réfugiés syriens au Canada et encore moins d'analyses comparatives. Notre étude aide à combler cette lacune.

Deuxièmement, nos résultats confirment l'idée soutenue par beaucoup de chercheurs que les deux pays se trouvent à des pôles opposés en ce qui concerne leurs traditions et leurs réputations face à l'intégration des migrants, forcés ou non (Bauder 2011; Brubaker 1992; Winter 2014). L'Allemagne est souvent vue comme la « nation ethnique » par excellence, c'est-à-dire une nation qui s'identifie à une croyance où le peuple est considéré comme homogène et partagerait une langue, une culture ou même une ascendance. Elle est alors caractérisée non pas par l'absence de migrants, mais plutôt par le refus de leur acceptation au sein de l'imaginaire national. Le Canada, quant à lui, est reconnu comme une nation de pionniers multiculturelle historiquement associée à l'immigration, au mélange des peuples et, depuis 1971, à l'appui normatif de l'expression de la diversité ethnique, culturelle et linguistique au sein de l'espace public. Les représentations des réfugiés syriens dans le *Süddeutsche Zeitung* et *The Globe and Mail* reflètent ces traditions nationales tout en témoignant des particularités quant à la réception des réfugiés syriens.

Troisièmement, la couverture médiatique que nous avons analysée nous permet de constater qu'en Allemagne, les positions en faveur et celles opposées à l'accueil des réfugiés syriens divisent le pays en deux. Conséquence, la solidarité nationale semble s'effondrer en faveur d'une alliance entre un segment de la population allemande (majoritaire) et les personnes réfugiées. Au Canada, par contre, la couverture médiatique analysée des réfugiés syriens est moins négative que celle portant sur d'autres groupes de migrants forcés. Toutefois, les représentations véhiculées sont très paternalistes et elles sont principalement utilisées afin de construire ce qui serait la « vraie nature » de la nation canadienne, soit sa générosité et sa bienveillance à l'égard des minorités.

Quant aux procédures d'admission des réfugiés syriens en Allemagne et au Canada, une précision importante est de mise. Au Canada, la grande majorité d'entre eux sont arrivés, en 2015 et en 2016, par le biais de l'un de trois programmes de réinstallation (Gouvernement du Canada 2017b), programme accordant aux réfugiés le statut de résidents permanents. De plus, même s'il est possible de deman-

der l'asile en entrant sur le territoire canadien, il faut noter qu'en raison de sa situation géographique, cette mesure est, pour la plupart des individus, difficile. La situation allemande et celle de l'Union européenne, quant à elles, sont inverses : bien que les programmes de réinstallation existent, ceux-ci sont peu utilisés. En effet, il est plus fréquent que les migrants arrivent par voie terrestre ou maritime et qu'ils obtiennent le statut de réfugié en demandant l'asile lors de leur arrivée dans un pays (Korntheuer, Maehler, et Pritchard 2017). Face à l'arrivée massive d'un grand nombre de migrants arrivés par la route des Balkans et provenant, notamment, de la Syrie, de l'Afghanistan et de l'Irak, l'Allemagne décida, à l'été 2015, d'accueillir, temporairement, 800 000 demandeurs d'asile (Winter et Zyla 2016).

Terminons cette introduction avec une note de précaution : en Allemagne, au sens strictement légal, les Syriens correspondent, pour la plupart, à la catégorie des demandeurs d'asile. En revanche, au Canada, les Syriens qui sont arrivés par le biais des programmes de réinstallation sont, au sens légal, des réfugiés. Toutefois, dans les discours publics – dont les médias – le terme « réfugié » est fréquemment utilisé pour décrire un individu fuyant son pays d'origine, et ce, indépendamment de ses motivations ou de ses chances d'obtenir l'asile. Le terme « réfugié » n'est donc pas compris qu'au sens strictement légal, celui-ci incluant, bien souvent, les demandeurs d'asile dans sa définition. Par conséquent, dans cet article, lorsque le terme « réfugié » est associé aux Syriens en Allemagne, il fait référence à des individus ayant fui leur pays d'origine, qui ont soumis (ou soumettront) une demande d'asile ainsi qu'à des Syriens dont la demande d'asile a été acceptée et qui ont obtenu un statut de résidence temporaire en Allemagne. Lorsque le terme « réfugié » est utilisé pour désigner des Syriens au Canada, il fait référence à des personnes réinstallées qui ont déjà obtenu la résidence permanente dans ce pays.

L'ALLEMAGNE ET LE CANADA FACE À LA CRISE DES RÉFUGIÉS SYRIENS

Reconnue comme l'une des principales destinations pour les réfugiés syriens, l'Allemagne accorde, depuis 2013, une protection temporaire à ces réfugiés. En 2015 et 2016, l'Allemagne était le pays européen acceptant le plus grand nombre de réfugiés syriens (Eurostat s. d.). Alors que la plupart des réfugiés syriens entrent en Allemagne par voie terrestre, soit via la route des Balkans, plusieurs pays sur cette route ferment leurs frontières, introduisent de stricts contrôles frontaliers et installent même des clôtures (par exemple, la Hongrie) (Tränhardt 2017). Dans ce contexte de contrôles frontaliers, l'Allemagne fit les manchettes de l'actualité internationale. En effet, le 31 août 2015, en réponse au nombre croissant de demandeurs d'asile entrant en Allemagne, la chancelière Angela Merkel affirma : « Nous y arriverons! » (*Wir schaffen das!*). Peu de temps après, elle ouvrit les frontières, per-

mettant ainsi à un grand nombre de demandeurs d'asile d'entrer sur le territoire allemand. Cette décision de la chancelière fut, en grande partie, soutenue par la société allemande et aboutie à une vague de soutien de la part des bénévoles souhaitant aider les nouveaux arrivants (Tränhardt 2017).

Toutefois, il est également possible de constater une montée des mouvements de droite et des mouvements anti-réfugiés, tels que les « Européens patriotiques contre l'islamisation de l'Occident » (PEGIDA) et le parti politique eurosceptique « l'Alternative pour l'Allemagne » (AfD). Ces mouvements considèrent que l'Allemagne a perdu le contrôle de ses frontières, qu'un grand nombre des demandeurs d'asile ne sont que des « réfugiés économiques » et qu'il existerait une menace de domination culturelle (*Überfremdung*) en raison du grand nombre de personnes arrivant en Allemagne en provenance de pays musulmans (Tränhardt 2017). Suite aux incidents de Cologne où plus de 1 200 femmes ont été agressées sexuellement le soir du Nouvel An 2015/2016, ces mouvements ont gagné en popularité. Lors de ces incidents, il est estimé qu'environ 2 000 hommes furent impliqués dans ces agressions sexuelles. Parmi les 120 hommes identifiés par la police, la majorité était des demandeurs d'asile et/ou des réfugiés en provenance, principalement, de pays d'Afrique du Nord. Conséquemment, un lien entre le nombre élevé de migrants arrivés en Allemagne et ces agressions sexuelles fut rapidement établi, changeant alors profondément le « climat de la vie publique » concernant la question des réfugiés en Allemagne (Tränhardt 2017, 6).

En examinant les discours politiques et les représentations médiatiques des réfugiés, plusieurs études ont documenté ces tensions au sein de la société allemande (Haller 2017; Holmes et Castañeda 2016; Oltmer 2016). Bauder (2016, 72), par exemple, revendique qu'il y a des divisions – voire une « contradiction » – au sein des discours publics et politiques entre des individus « optimistes » qui pensent que l'Allemagne peut gérer la situation et entre des individus qui craignent les problèmes d'intégration. En effet, il y a, d'une part, au sein des discours médiatiques, une grande solidarité – voire un sentiment de responsabilité – vis-à-vis des réfugiés ainsi qu'une conception de ces derniers comme étant reconnaissants (Holmes et Castañeda 2016). D'autre part, il existe des discours percevant l'arrivée de ce nombre élevé de réfugiés entrant en Allemagne comme une crise nationale (Holmes et Castañeda 2016). Cette contradiction se manifeste suite aux attentats de Paris, en novembre 2015, quand les médias ont dépeint les réfugiés comme des criminels et des terroristes potentiels (Holmes et Castañeda 2016). Ces attentats ont causé la mort de 130 personnes et ont blessé plus d'une centaine d'individus (BBC News 2015). Un (faux) passeport syrien fut trouvé près du corps de l'un des présumés assaillants, suscitant alors l'idée que l'un des terroristes serait arrivé en Europe en se posant comme réfugié (BBC News 2016). Par ailleurs, pour Oltmer (2016), suite aux agressions sexuelles survenues à Cologne au Nouvel An, les médias auraient blâmé

les réfugiés tout en soulignant qu'il existe des « exceptions » et en construisant positivement les femmes réfugiées. Bref, pour la plupart des auteurs, les médias représentent les divisions existantes au sein de la société allemande à l'égard de la question des réfugiés (Haller 2017).

Alors qu'en Allemagne, l'arrivée massive de réfugiés s'annonçait depuis l'été 2015, le Canada porte peu attention à ce phénomène, le considérant plutôt comme une crise touchant majoritairement l'Europe. Ce faible intérêt pour la crise changea le 3 septembre 2015 lorsque la photo du corps d'Alan Kurdi, mort noyé sur une plage de Turquie, fut médiatisée. La mort du jeune garçon a eu un impact majeur sur le Canada puisque sa tante, Tima Kurdi, est citoyenne canadienne. Celle-ci avait tenté, avant le décès d'Alan, de parrainer, sans succès, la famille de l'oncle d'Alan et elle avait prévu, éventuellement, de parrainer la famille d'Alan. Suite à la mort du jeune Kurdi, la « crise » des réfugiés est devenue un « enjeu central lors des élections » fédérales (Ramos 2016). Alors que de nombreux Canadiens considéraient que le gouvernement devait accueillir plus de réfugiés, Justin Trudeau, chef du Parti libéral du Canada promis, lors de la campagne électorale, d'accueillir, en quelques mois, 25 000 réfugiés syriens.

Suite à son élection, le premier ministre Trudeau respecta sa promesse électorale : à l'aide de trois programmes de réinstallation, plus de 25 000 réfugiés syriens furent réinstallés au Canada entre novembre 2015 et février 2016 (Gouvernement du Canada 2017b). Arrivées par avion, ces personnes détiennent le statut de réfugié au sens strict dans la mesure où ils ont été sélectionnés et admis par le gouvernement canadien. En date du 31 janvier 2018, environ 51 240 réfugiés syriens furent accueillis au Canada (depuis novembre 2015) dont la plupart en Ontario et au Québec (Gouvernement du Canada 2017a). Par ailleurs, notons que contrairement à l'Europe et à l'Allemagne, il n'y a pas eu, sur le territoire canadien, d'attaques terroristes ou d'agressions sexuelles associées aux réfugiés syriens (Amarasingam 2017).

Au moment de la rédaction de cet article, peu d'études ont été réalisées sur la représentation médiatique des réfugiés syriens récemment arrivés au Canada. Dans un court article, Déry et Winter (2017) constatent que le Québec figure à peine dans la couverture médiatique anglophone des réfugiés. L'analyse de contenu des médias canadiens anglophones entre septembre 2015 et avril 2016, réalisée par Tyyskä *et al.* (2017), s'inscrit dans la lignée des travaux qui démontrent qu'au Canada, la relation entre médias et minorités reste épineuse malgré la politique multiculturelle du pays (Fleras 2011). Diverses recherches illustrent les manifestations du racisme envers des membres des groupes jugés non-blancs (Henry et Tator 2002). Le traitement médiatique réservé aux demandeurs d'asile s'inscrit souvent dans la même logique de représentation négative. Les médias les représentent comme des « migrants illégaux » (Greenberg et Hier 2001), des « réfugiés frauduleux » (Diop 2014) ou des

« terroristes » (Medianu, Sutter, et Esses 2015, 3). Les médias auraient ainsi « tendance à créer chez le public un sentiment de panique et d'anxiété face à la vulnérabilité du système d'immigration canadien » (Medianu, Sutter, et Esses 2015, 3).

Pour Tyyskä *et al.* (2017), la représentation médiatique des Syriens semble moins dramatique et négative. Ceci est peut-être lié au fait qu'il s'agit des personnes dont le statut de réfugié est reconnu bien avant qu'ils arrivent sur le sol canadien. En fait, par codification automatique de presque 5 000 articles publiés au sein de divers journaux anglo-canadiens tout au long de l'année 2015, Wallace (2018, 3 et 15) démontrent que, suite aux élections fédérales, les journaux décrivent les réfugiés de façon « humanisée », et ce, en abordant les thèmes de la famille, de la citoyenneté ainsi que des services sociaux. Par contre, pour Tyyskä *et al.* (2017), les médias canadiens participent quand même à la marginalisation de cette population en les représentant comme vulnérables, désespérés, passifs et en représentant, principalement les hommes, comme une menace potentielle à la sécurité du Canada. Cette représentation serait contrastée par l'agentivité des Canadiens, soit la mise en œuvre d'initiatives citoyennes privées pour aider les réfugiés, illustrant ainsi « les valeurs canadiennes de générosité et d'implication bénévole au sein de la communauté » (Tyyskä *et al.* 2017, 7).

Bref, contrairement à l'Allemagne où les divisions existantes au sein de la société allemande à l'égard des réfugiés (au sens commun) sont reflétées par les représentations médiatiques, la couverture médiatique canadienne des réfugiés syriens renforce un autoportrait flatteur du Canada comme une nation humanitaire, généreuse et accueillante.

LA « DIALECTIQUE NATION-IMMIGRATION » ET LA SUBLIMATION POTENTIELLE DE L'« AUTRE RÉFUGIÉ »

Nous proposons d'aborder les réponses médiatiques allemande et canadienne à la « crise » des réfugiés syriens en nous inspirant des travaux d'Harald Bauder (2011). Cet auteur propose une approche dialectique où le migrant est incorporé (ou non) au sein de l'imaginaire national et, par conséquent, au sein de la société majoritaire. Pour Bauder (2011), les politiques d'immigration ainsi que les débats médiatiques sur l'immigration déterminent qui sont les membres de la communauté nationale et qui doivent en être exclus. L'immigration influence alors l'imagination nationale de manière importante. Selon Bauder (2011, 17), la dialectique nous aide à mieux comprendre la formation de l'identité individuelle ou collective. La « dialectique nation-immigration » intègre deux processus de la philosophie hégélienne. Le premier moment de la dialectique, la négation, suppose que la nation ne peut se concevoir que si les membres de la nation définissent ce qu'ils ne sont pas (Bauder 2011, 20-

25). Quant au second moment, la sublimation implique que la nation permet l'intégration de l'« autre » (ce que la nation n'est pas) à la nation (Bauder 2011, 25-32). Dans la dialectique nation-immigration, ces deux processus mettent en relation le migrant à la nation. Premièrement, les membres de la nation se définissent en considérant le migrant comme symbole de l'altérité; différents mécanismes d'exclusion sont alors mis en place dans le but d'assurer leur non-intégration à la communauté nationale (Bauder 2011, 20-25). Deuxièmement, la sublimation peut survenir. Par l'utilisation de divers dispositifs politiques et sociaux, les membres de la nation considèrent que le migrant peut faire partie de l'imaginaire national (Bauder 2011, 25-27) : il ou elle peut devenir non seulement « immigrant » au sens strict, c'est-à-dire une personne avec permission de résidence permanente, mais également une personne qui fait partie – à part entière – du « nous national ». En plus de permettre l'insertion de migrant à l'imaginaire national, la sublimation permet également aux membres de la nation de s'identifier comme membre du collectif et surtout de s'accorder une identité positive et flatteuse : la nation, en accueillant des immigrants et des réfugiés sur son territoire, est représentée comme étant « bonne » – voire généreuse (Bauder 2011, 26).

Selon Bauder (2011, 27-32), la dialectique nation-immigration ne se manifeste pas de la même manière au sein des divers pays. Elle opère différemment au sein des nations dites « ethniques » et au sein des nations dites « de pionniers ». Dans ces deux types de nations, les différentes représentations historiques de « qui et quoi nous sommes » sont « fortement inscrites dans la mémoire collective » (Bauder 2011, 5), continuant ainsi à influencer la perception et le traitement de la migration et des migrants tant économiques que forcés. Ainsi, la théorie de Bauder stipule que seule la négation peut être observée dans les nations ethniques tandis que dans les nations de pionniers, les deux processus de la dialectique devraient être présents (2011, 25-32). En effet, en observant la « crise » européenne des réfugiés en 2015, Bauder (2016) observe que la seconde négation, la sublimation, n'opère pas en Allemagne : la société allemande « s'attend à ce que plusieurs réfugiés retournent, éventuellement, dans leurs pays d'origine » (Bauder 2016, 74), et ce, contrairement au Canada, où on envisage la possibilité que l'« autre réfugié » devienne, éventuellement, membre de la nation.

MÉTHODOLOGIE

Dans cet article, nous limitons notre analyse à deux journaux, soit le *Süddeutsche Zeitung* en Allemagne et *The Globe and Mail* au Canada. Nous avons sélectionné ces deux journaux parce qu'ils occupent le même espace au sein de l'échiquier politique – le centre – et qu'ils sont tous les deux des journaux nationaux, soit des journaux

offerts et lus dans l'ensemble de leur pays respectif. Même si ces journaux ne reflètent pas forcément l'opinion publique et même si nous ne pouvons pas généraliser les résultats obtenus, nous jugeons que l'étude des représentations discursives produites et reproduites dans ces deux journaux nous permet de comprendre l'une des voix de l'imaginaire national. En effet, l'observation comparative de deux journaux permet de saisir une partie de la complexité de l'imaginaire national, imaginaire composé à la fois des discours publics (médiatiques, politiques, etc.) et des discours individuels.

Pour la collecte de données, deux bases de données ont été utilisées: *Factiva* et *Canadian Major Dailies*. Afin de tenir compte des impacts politiques externes et du changement des représentations à travers le temps, nous avons analysé les articles médiatiques produits dans les deux semaines suivant trois événements ayant eu une influence sur la perception des réfugiés à l'échelle nationale et internationale, notamment, la noyade d'Alan Kurdi le 2 septembre 2015, les attentats de Paris le 13 novembre 2015 ainsi que le harcèlement sexuel et les viols survenus au Nouvel An 2015/2016 à Cologne. Pour chaque événement, nous avons collecté les articles qui traitent à la fois des réfugiés syriens et de l'événement en question, nonobstant s'il s'agit des articles du genre « nouvelles » ou d'opinion. Seuls les articles publiés dans la version papier du journal furent sélectionnés. Plusieurs séries de mots-clés ont guidé notre collecte de données :

Pour le *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, trois séries de mots-clés furent sélectionnées : (syr* AND Flüchtling* AND Kurdi), (syr* AND Flüchtling* AND Paris) et (syr* AND Flüchtling* AND Köln AND Silverster*);

Pour le *Globe and Mail*, les mots-clés suivants ont été sélectionnés : (syr* AND refuge* AND Kurdi), (syr* AND refuge* AND Paris) et (syr* AND refuge* AND (Germany OR Cologne)).

Au total, soixante-quatorze articles du *Süddeutsche Zeitung* et quatre-vingt-quatorze articles du *Globe and Mail* ont été retenus. Par manque d'espace, les références ont été codifiées selon le nom du journal, année, mois, jour et nom du journaliste (par exemple, SZ20151119-Neshitov). Toutes les traductions sont les nôtres.

Inspirées par les théories et les méthodes développées au sein de l'analyse critique du discours (CDA), nous avons mis en place une grille d'analyse nous permettant de cibler les pratiques discursives employées par les auteurs des articles sélectionnés pour construire et représenter les réfugiés ainsi que la nation (allemande ou canadienne). Plus précisément, par notre grille d'analyse, nous avons dégagé les indicateurs discursifs nous permettant de saisir les différentes représentations associées aux réfugiés (l'« autre ») ainsi qu'aux sociétés allemande et canadienne (le « nous »). Les thèmes, les principaux acteurs mobilisés et leurs prises de parole au sein des articles

ainsi que le vocabulaire utilisé pour décrire les réfugiés et l'Allemagne ou le Canada furent observés.

LE SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG ET LES RÉFUGIÉS EN ALLEMAGNE

Par notre analyse, il nous est possible d'articuler les articles du *Süddeutsche Zeitung* à trois thèmes, soit la nécessité d'aider les réfugiés, les enjeux de sécurité liés à l'admission de réfugiés ainsi que l'intégration des réfugiés à la société allemande.

Premièrement, la majorité d'articles du *Süddeutsche Zeitung* porte sur la nécessité d'aider et de protéger les réfugiés. Dans ces textes, ils sont représentés comme étant des victimes impuissantes qui fuient l'État islamique et diverses guerres civiles. En représentant les réfugiés comme des « victimes », les articles impliquent que les réfugiés sont contraints de fuir leurs pays dans le but d'échapper au « meurtrier » (SZ20151116-Prantl) terrorisme de l'État islamique. En effet, en soulignant que la plupart des réfugiés syriens sont eux-mêmes victimes de l'État islamique, et non responsable de celui-ci, certains articles du *Süddeutsche Zeitung* réagissent aux tensions et aux débats sécuritaires soulevés par l'avènement des réfugiés suite aux attentats de Paris en novembre 2015 et tentent de souligner le besoin de protéger les réfugiés syriens plutôt que les criminaliser. Cela signifie que la négation (ou l'altérité) des réfugiés syriens à la société allemande se manifeste par leur besoin d'aide et de sécurité tandis que l'Allemagne est construite par sa capacité à offrir de l'aide. Cette construction de la relation Allemagne/réfugiés se manifeste aussi par un discours représentant une partie de la société allemande comme des activistes en faveur des droits humains et en faveur des (politiques soutenant les) réfugiés. Plusieurs articles soulignent alors le grand nombre d'Allemands s'engageant comme bénévoles auprès des réfugiés, en offrant des traductions ou des soins médicaux (par exemple SZ20160111-Kanamüller). Dans les articles, on insiste également sur l'importance de ces bénévoles pour l'intégration des réfugiés (« eux » au « nous ») à la société allemande (par exemple, SZ20160111-Prantl).

Quant au deuxième thème, un grand nombre des articles du *Süddeutsche Zeitung* s'intéresse aux enjeux de sécurité liés à l'admission de réfugiés. L'arrivée de ces réfugiés en Allemagne est perçue comme une crise articulée autour de deux discours. D'une part, le grand nombre de réfugiés arrivant en Allemagne est représenté comme un défi pour le pays. On les traite d'« immigrations incontrôlées et illégales » (SZ20151116-Gammelin) et l'on insiste sur les capacités de l'Allemagne à héberger et intégrer ces personnes seraient limitées. Pour ce faire, les médias ont utilisé des expressions péjoratives comme « vague de réfugiés » (SZ20151119-Neshitov) et « problématique de réfugiés » (SZ20160111-Kanamüller). D'autre part, suite aux attentats de Paris et aux harcèlements sexuels survenus à Cologne, les réfugiés masculins sont considérés, dans

plusieurs articles, comme étant des terroristes et/ou des prédateurs sexuels; ceux-ci posant des risques pour la sécurité du pays. Par exemple, on suggère que les combattants de l'État islamique « s'infiltrèrent parmi les réfugiés » (SZ20151116-Krüger). La combinaison de ces deux discours est utilisée pour construire un portrait où, en raison de l'arrivée de réfugiés, la sécurité publique en Allemagne est en danger. L'État doit alors augmenter les mesures de sécurité en intensifiant le contrôle des frontières, en limitant le nombre de réfugiés pouvant être accueilli et en expulsant les réfugiés qui ne respectent pas les lois et les règles de la société allemande. Au sein de ces articles du *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, l'altérité des réfugiés, à l'Allemagne, s'exprime en lien avec les enjeux de sécurité. L'Allemagne y serait alors une nation sécuritaire où la sécurité est menacée par l'arrivée de l'« autre ». Les réfugiés (« eux ») posent alors un risque potentiel pour la société allemande (« nous »).

Troisièmement, l'un des thèmes abordés au sein du *Süddeutsche Zeitung* consiste à problématiser l'intégration des réfugiés à la société allemande. Cette question est principalement adressée dans les articles publiés suite aux agressions sexuelles survenues à Cologne au Nouvel An 2015/2016. Au sein de ces articles, il est possible d'identifier deux types de discours. Pour le premier discours, les réfugiés sont représentés comme n'étant pas familiers avec les normes et valeurs allemandes et, plus particulièrement, celles concernant l'égalité des sexes. Pour ce faire, les articles font référence aux réactions politiques suite aux événements de Cologne. Par exemple, un article cite la Chancelière qui affirme qu'il est nécessaire de s'« opposer » aux groupes qui encouragent « le mépris contre les femmes » (SZ20160108-Dörris-Osel). Par ailleurs, la présomption que les réfugiés ne sont pas familiers avec les normes et valeurs allemandes se manifeste également par des explications suggérant qu'il faut leur expliquer « comment notre société fonctionne » (SZ20160115-Setzwein). Dans ce premier discours, il est alors possible de constater que l'altérité est exprimée par la non-connaissance des normes et valeurs allemandes. L'Allemagne est construite comme une nation où les rapports de genre sont égalitaires et où tous adhèrent aux mêmes valeurs et pratiquent les mêmes mœurs. Dans ce contexte, les réfugiés sont perçus comme adhérant à un système de normes et valeurs étranger et inférieur; leur intégration nécessite alors l'apprentissage de « nos » valeurs (allemandes).

Le second discours revendique exactement le contraire du premier : il conteste véhément toute représentation des réfugiés comme fondamentalement « différents ». Il les représente comme tentant de s'intégrer à la société allemande, par exemple, en apprenant la langue (SZ20160114-Bielicki) ou bien en essayant de se trouver un emploi (SZ20151117-Geschwendtner). Pour ce faire, les articles utilisent des exemples mettant en scène de « bons réfugiés », soit des réfugiés qui veulent s'intégrer, qui condamnent les attaques à Paris et les agressions sexuelles survenues à

Cologne et qui sont très reconnaissants d'avoir l'opportunité de vivre en Allemagne. En effet, un article aborde une lettre écrite par quelques réfugiés suite aux harcèlements sexuels et viols à Cologne. Cette lettre souligne que ces réfugiés sont « consternés par ce qui s'est passé au Nouvel An à Cologne et dans d'autres villes », ils condamnent « les agressions sexuelles et les vols commis », partagent « les valeurs de la population de ce pays [l'Allemagne] » et ils s'engagent « à protéger la dignité et l'honneur des femmes » (SZ20160112-Ludwig). En donnant une voix aux réfugiés, ces articles déconstruisent alors l'image du réfugié violent, hypersexué, moralement pourri et islamiste. De plus, en exposant le désir de s'intégrer à la société allemande, ces articles témoignent que la sublimation, l'appartenance des réfugiés au « nous » allemand, est possible.

LE GLOBE AND MAIL ET LES RÉFUGIÉS AU CANADA

Parmi les articles du *Globe and Mail*, il est possible d'organiser les représentations des réfugiés et du Canada autour de deux thèmes, soit la réponse politique et citoyenne au besoin d'aide des réfugiés ainsi que la question de la sécurité implicite à l'accueil et l'intégration des réfugiés.

Par rapport au premier thème, la réponse politique du Canada face à la crise des réfugiés syriens, notons que, dans les articles étudiés, les réfugiés sont fréquemment représentés comme ayant besoin d'aide – voire menacés et « désespérés » (GM20150904-Fine). Plus précisément, les articles insistent sur la nécessité, pour les réfugiés, d'être secourus face aux difficultés et obstacles rencontrés (par exemple, guerre, maladies et blessures (GM20150907-Picard)). Dans ce contexte, les articles étudiés du *Globe and Mail* s'intéressent à la réponse de la classe politique et des citoyens à l'égard du besoin d'aide de ces réfugiés. Au sein de ces textes, le Canada est défini de deux façons. D'une part, plusieurs textes rapportent ou formulent des critiques à l'égard du manque d'initiative du Canada face à la crise des réfugiés syriens. L'inaction du gouvernement conservateur de Stephan Harper et l'absence d'une aide systématique accordée aux réfugiés sont alors fortement critiquées. Ces discours s'inscrivent en lien avec le décès d'Alan Kurdi (et la relation de sa famille avec le Canada), la réponse politique, jugée inadéquate, du gouvernement Harper au décès de ce jeune garçon, ainsi que la campagne électorale fédérale. Dans ce contexte, différents acteurs de la société canadienne appellent alors à ce que le gouvernement canadien s'implique davantage auprès des réfugiés syriens.

D'autre part, parallèlement au constat que la classe politique « fait trop peu » pour aider les réfugiés, il existe un discours représentant le « vrai » Canada comme étant une nation généreuse et engagée à aider les réfugiés. Plusieurs articles insistent alors sur les initiatives mises en œuvre pour accueillir les réfugiés par des organ-

ismes, des citoyens ou des politiciens (locaux). En effet, suite au décès d'Alan Kurdi, les articles étudiés font ressortir que les membres de la société canadienne tentent, individuellement, de s'impliquer auprès de ces réfugiés. Les représentations des Canadiens qui s'informent sur la façon de les aider (GM20150904.Sachgau-Chowdhry) et qui s'organisent pour parrainer des réfugiés (GM20150904-Howlett) sont mises de l'avant dans les articles. Bref, par rapport au premier thème, il y a deux types de discours qui se renforcent et se complètent mutuellement : le premier insiste sur l'inaction politique – voire la faible implication du gouvernement Harper – et le deuxième souligne la générosité des (« vrais ») Canadiens.

Quant au deuxième thème, il s'agit d'articles s'intéressant à ce que le Canada offre (ou peut offrir) aux réfugiés syriens installés sur son territoire, soit la sécurité. S'ajoute alors à la définition du Canada comme nation aidante, la dimension sécuritaire qu'offre le Canada aux réfugiés. L'altérité est alors exprimée par (l'offre ou le besoin) de sécurité. Plus précisément, le Canada serait « un sanctuaire accueillant » (GM20151119-Mason) ou « une société de paix » (GM20151121-Éditorial) alors que les réfugiés syriens tenteraient de fuir les violences du conflit syrien ainsi que celles de l'État islamique : « Les réfugiés syriens sont victimes du terrorisme et non des agents de ce dernier » (GM20151119-Gee). Ce déplacement de l'altérité – le besoin (ou non) d'aide devenant (l'offre ou le besoin) de sécurité – s'inscrit dans l'évolution de la « crise » et la promesse électorale du gouvernement libéral de Justin Trudeau d'accueillir 25 000 réfugiés syriens avant la fin de l'année 2015. Dans ce contexte, se posent alors les enjeux d'accueil et d'intégration des réfugiés qui posent un double risque (potentiel) de sécurité pour les Canadiens, et ce en tant que personnes venant d'une région et (en partie) appartenant à une culture/religion vraisemblablement « non-sécuritaires ». Ce déplacement de l'altérité s'inscrit également en lien avec les attentats de Paris en novembre 2015 et les agressions sexuelles survenues au Nouvel An 2016 à Cologne. On insiste sur le fait qu'un ou deux réfugiés (syriens) auraient été impliqués dans ces attaques terroristes et sexuelles. Sans prendre position définitive, les articles du *Globe and Mail* s'interrogent dorénavant sur la question si et dans quelle mesure l'accueil des réfugiés syriens pose un risque pour la sécurité des Canadiens. D'une part, en citant, par exemple, Jason Kenney, ancien ministre fédéral de l'immigration, on insiste : « Est-il possible de traiter les demandes de 25 000 réfugiés en provenance de zones de guerre où plusieurs organisations terroristes opèrent, et ce, en procédant à des vérifications de sécurité appropriées? Absolument pas' » (GM20151116-Curry). D'autre part, on souligne que la possibilité d'agressions sexuelles commises par des réfugiés en Allemagne « n'est pas une source de préoccupation dans le contexte canadien » (GM20160114-Leblanc) puisque les réfugiés syriens, au Canada, « ne sont pas, pour la plupart, des hommes seuls' » (GM20160114-Leblanc). Dans la citation ci-haut, le journaliste s'appuie sur

les propos de John McCallum, ministre de l'Immigration, des réfugiés et de la Citoyenneté du Canada pendant la période en question (soit du 4 novembre 2015 au 10 janvier 2017). Au niveau de la « sécurité » (ou non), l'altérité est alors profondément genrée : « eux », la menace, ce sont les réfugiés masculins, « nous » les Canadiens et surtout « nos » femmes sont potentiellement menacé(e)s, « eux », les femmes et familles syriennes (nous) servent pour mitiger le danger.

Pour conclure, même si la plupart d'articles du *Globe and Mail* construisent les réfugiés comme figure de l'altérité à la nation canadienne, l'appartenance des réfugiés au « nous » canadien, la sublimation, se manifeste également au sein de certains articles. En effet, quelques articles soulignent la contribution apportée au Canada par des individus arrivés en tant que réfugiés, ces derniers « contribuant activement au succès du Canada » (GM20151116-Curry). De plus, ceux-ci sont reconnus comme étant de « nouveaux Canadiens » (GM20150910-Hager). La société canadienne se doit alors d'offrir, aux réfugiés, les outils leur permettant de réaliser le « rêve canadien » (GM20150909-Dhillon-Morrow). Inscrite dans le contexte social, la sublimation des réfugiés se manifeste à la fois au sein des articles construisant le Canada comme nation aidante ainsi qu'au sein des articles le construisant comme nation sécuritaire potentiellement en danger. Toutefois, notons que la sublimation est plus apparente dans les articles où le Canada est compris comme nation aidante : ces articles rappellent l'apport des réfugiés à la société canadienne. En effet, ces articles rapportent l'intégration réussie de différents groupes de réfugiés accueillis au cours de l'histoire canadienne, ces réfugiés « s'en sortant exceptionnellement bien » (GM20150904-Hager). En d'autres mots, dans les discours sécurisants, la sublimation se manifeste peu, et si elle se manifeste, elle ne s'applique qu'aux femmes.

DISCUSSION

Bien que nos données ne soient pas généralisables à l'ensemble des voix médiatiques constituant les imaginaires nationaux allemand et canadien, cette recherche nous permet de saisir quelques tendances discursives nuancant les interprétations dominantes quant au traitement médiatique des réfugiés (au sens commun) en Allemagne et au Canada.

En ce qui trait à l'Allemagne, plusieurs des représentations véhiculées au sein des articles du *Süddeutsche Zeitung* correspondent aux lignes de pensées généralement associées aux « nations ethniques ». En effet, comme démontré par des chercheurs ayant travaillé sur les représentations médiatiques des réfugiés syriens en Allemagne (Bauder 2016; Haller 2017; Holmes et Castañeda 2016; Oltmer 2016), il existe une forte opposition à l'accueil des réfugiés de la part des Allemands ou, du moins, d'une grande partie d'entre eux. Les représentations identifiées au sein du

Süddeutsche Zeitung illustrent la peur d'une « domination culturelle », de la « perte de la patrie allemande », et conçoivent les migrants comme étant « différents » au niveau de leur culture, de leur religion et de leurs mœurs. De plus, on fait une distinction nette entre l'asile (protection temporaire) et l'immigration (réinstallation de longue durée) : une fois que la situation en Syrie sera améliorée, on s'attend que les réfugiés (au sens commun) y retournent. Dans ce contexte, les « réfugiés » sont compris comme des individus protégés pour une période de temps limitée. Dans ce sens, Bauder (2011, 197) a raison : l'Allemagne, contrairement au Canada, « n'est pas encore parvenue à se définir comme un pays d'immigration ».

Toutefois, dans les pages du *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, la grande division au sein de la population entre ceux et celles qui soutiennent – voire défendent – l'accueil des réfugiés et entre les individus qui s'y opposent d'une manière véhémente est frappante. Dans les pages de ce journal, les représentations qui suggèrent une ambiance du renouveau, un climat de confiance (exemplifié par *Wir schaffen das*, la version allemande du *Yes, we can* américain) et une volonté d'aider ancrée dans un sentiment d'« enfin faire la bonne chose » sont plus dominantes que les représentations de l'Allemagne comme « nation ethnique ». On accorde alors aux Allemands une agentivité, une volonté et une capacité à surmonter le poids de leur histoire. Ils ont alors la responsabilité d'agir non seulement en tant qu'Allemands, mais également en tant que « pionniers multiculturels » de l'Europe. Quant aux réfugiés, le *Süddeutsche Zeitung* les représente non seulement comme étant des victimes qui ont besoin d'aide et de protection, mais aussi comme ayant l'agentivité, la capacité et la volonté de s'intégrer à la société allemande. Certains articles construisent une solidarité, voire une proximité, entre les bénévoles allemands et les réfugiés (au sens commun) plus forte que celle entre les Allemands. Celle-ci étant, par ailleurs, très marquée entre les Allemands et les réfugiés syriens considérés comme étant des « vrais » réfugiés. En d'autres mots, il y a dans les représentations véhiculées, au sein du *Süddeutsche Zeitung* à l'automne/hiver 2015, des instances de *sublimation*, soit des représentations où les réfugiés syriens appartiennent à la société allemande. Cette sublimation reste sporadique et contestée, mais elle se manifeste néanmoins. Au lieu d'interpréter l'identité nationale allemande comme étant figée dans un passé « ethnique », les discours étudiés suggèrent plutôt des tendances de transition au sein de l'identité nationale allemande vers une perception plus aisée de l'« Autre » (im)migré et de sa « différence » culturelle.

En ce qui a trait au Canada, au sein de plusieurs articles du *Globe and Mail*, les réfugiés syriens sont traités comme des futurs Canadiens ou comme étant de nouveaux Canadiens, et ce, en raison du fait que les Syriens, au Canada, sont des réfugiés réinstallés ayant obtenu la résidence permanente. Il n'est donc pas abordé, au sein de ce journal, l'idée que les réfugiés souhaiteraient, éventuellement, retourner en Syrie

lorsque la guerre et la violence seraient terminées. Cette idée est hors de l'imaginaire de la nation de pionniers multiculturelle et ne cadrerait pas avec la manière donc le Canada est représenté dans les articles analysés du *Globe and Mail*, soit une nation accueillante, bienveillante, généreuse, (culturellement) tolérante et désirable. Bref, notre analyse du *Globe and Mail* confirme le fait que les médias ont tendance à « construire une image du Canada comme étant une nation libérale et compatissante » (Bauder 2011, 98).

Ainsi, le *Globe and Mail* représente positivement les initiatives individuelles permettant l'accueil et la réinstallation des réfugiés tandis qu'il représente négativement l'inaction du gouvernement Harper (2006-2015). Bien que ces représentations soient évidemment influencées par l'orientation politique – plutôt libérale que conservatrice – du journal, il est frappant d'observer jusqu'à quel point l'arrivée des réfugiés syriens permet, dans les discours analysés, à la société canadienne de se célébrer elle-même. Selon le *Globe and Mail*, la « véritable » nature du Canada serait d'être une nation généreuse, socialement intégrative, et impliquée auprès de ceux dans le besoin. Dans ce contexte, ce ne sont pas les réfugiés qui semblent œuvrer d'une manière active envers leur intégration. Sur ce point, nos résultats rejoignent ceux de Tyyskä *et al.* (2017). En effet, parmi les représentations médiatiques étudiées, l'agentivité est associée aux Canadiens. Autrement dit, c'est par des initiatives citoyennes privées qu'il est possible d'aider et d'intégrer les réfugiés ainsi que de mitiger la vraisemblable menace d'une radicalisation religieuse des hommes. Conséquemment, la sublimation des réfugiés est présente, au sein du *Globe and Mail*, mais cette appartenance à la société canadienne reste précaire : l'« Autre » étant si diminué que son intégration dépend de la bonne volonté des Canadiens.

Par ailleurs, en continuité avec Wallace (2018), nous constatons que les tensions au sein de la société canadienne sont peu médiatisées. Rappelons que, pour cette chercheuse, le cadre (*frame*) du conflit se réfère plutôt au contexte syrien et, lorsque les réfugiés sont installés au Canada, les cadres dominants dans les médias canadiens relèvent de la citoyenneté, de la famille et des services sociaux (Wallace 2018). Sont alors absentes, dans le cas des réfugiés syriens, les représentations médiatiques, explicitement ou implicitement, discriminatoires ou racistes. Ces représentations sont pourtant présentes dans le traitement discursif d'autres cohortes de demandeurs d'asile au Canada (Diop 2014; Greenberg et Hier 2001; Medianu, Sutter, et Esses 2015).

Le fait que la célébration du crédo de la nation de pionniers multiculturelle bienveillante est peu importunée par des représentations médiatiques négatives ou sécurisantes semble être dû à la spécificité de l'accueil des réfugiés syriens. Tout d'abord, les réfugiés syriens, au Canada, arrivent dans le cadre de programmes de réinstallation et non en tant que demandeurs d'asile. Ces réfugiés sont alors perçus

comme étant de « vrais » réfugiés méritants dans la mesure où ils ont passé par divers contrôles de sécurité (vérification identitaire et examen de santé) jugés nécessaires par le gouvernement canadien. De plus, comparativement à l'Allemagne, les réfugiés syriens, au Canada, représentent un nombre modeste de personnes : selon nos calculs, ils représenteraient 0,13% de la population canadienne versus 1,2% de la population allemande). Enfin, notons l'absence, sur le territoire canadien, d'attaques terroristes ou d'agressions sexuelles associées aux réfugiés syriens. En effet, aucun incident conflictuel n'est survenu, entre les réfugiés syriens et le groupe majoritaire, au Canada, et ce, contrairement à l'Allemagne (où les agressions sexuelles ont été liées aux réfugiés) et à la France (où les attentats terroristes ont été associés aux réfugiés). En effet, le traitement médiatique canadien de situations conflictuelles impliquant les réfugiés est avant tout présenté selon un cadre international plutôt qu'un cadre national. En conséquence, le discours conflictuel semble éloigné de la réalité canadienne.

CONCLUSION

Pour conclure, notons que le *Süddeutsche Zeitung* et le *Globe and Mail* créent et reproduisent une certaine image de l'Allemagne et du Canada. Ces imaginaires créés et reproduits s'inscrivent en continuité avec les orientations politiques des journaux et avec le public qu'ils souhaitent atteindre. À première vue, nos résultats confirment l'idée que l'Allemagne et le Canada se trouvent à des pôles opposés en ce qui concerne leurs traditions nationales et leurs réputations face à l'asile et à l'immigration (Bauder 2011; Brubaker 1992; Winter 2014). En revanche, une analyse textuelle plus précise nous permet de constater que ce regard polarisant doit être nuancé pour le cas en question : celui de l'accueil des Syriens en 2015. Dans les deux pays, l'arrivée des réfugiés syriens a donné lieu à des représentations positives de la nation des deux côtés (nations aidantes et généreuses). Toutefois, ces images coexistent à d'autres représentations de la nation, soit des représentations où l'Allemagne et le Canada adhèrent à des valeurs culturelles et civiques non-partagées par les réfugiés et où les autorités doivent adopter des mesures restrictives face à l'arrivée des demandeurs d'asile (par exemple, l'arrivée, au Canada, des demandeurs d'asile haïtiens en provenance des États-Unis). Bien que notre analyse comparative d'un journal allemand et d'un journal canadien nous permet de cibler certaines tendances discursives, il nous faut noter qu'une analyse plus vaste est nécessaire pour saisir la pluralité des discours sur les réfugiés syriens. Ces recherches devront étudier des journaux d'orientation politique, de région et de langues diverses (au Canada).

REMERCIEMENTS

Cette recherche a bénéficié d'une subvention du Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada (PI: Michael Ungar). Elle n'aurait pas été possible sans l'assistance précieuse de Charlotte Murret-Labarthe et de Bianca Stumpf. Nous sommes également reconnaissantes des commentaires judicieux qui nous ont été faits à travers le processus d'évaluation anonyme et d'un *fellowship* pour Elke Winter à l'Institut des études avancées de l'Université de Constance, Allemagne.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Amarasingam, Amarnath. 2017. « Is There a Terrorist Threat to Canada from Syrian Refugees ». *Diversité canadienne* 14.3: 22-24.
- Bauder, Harald. 2011. *Immigration dialectic imagining community, economy, and nation*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- . 2016. « Understanding Europe's Refugee Crisis: A Dialectical Approach ». *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations* 8.2: 64-75.
- BBC News. 2015. « Paris Attacks: What Happened on the Night ». BBC News. 9 décembre. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34818994>, consulté le 30 octobre 2017.
- . 2016. « Who Were the Paris Attackers? ». BBC News. 27 avril. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34832512>, consulté le 30 octobre 2017.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, Mass; London: Harvard University Press.
- Déry, J. A., et Elke Winter. 2017. « L'accueil des réfugiés syriens face à la "dualité canadienne" ». *Diversité canadienne* 14.3: 22-24.
- Diop, Petra Molnar. 2014. « The "Bogus" Refugee: Roma Asylum Claimants and Discourses of Fraud in Canada's Bill C-31 ». *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 30.1: 67-80.
- Esses, Victoria M., Leah K. Hamilton, et Danielle Gaucher. 2017. « The global refugee crisis: empirical evidence and policy implications for improving public attitudes and facilitating refugee resettlement ». *Social Issues and Policy Review* 11.1: 78-123.
- Eurostat. 2017. « Asylum statistics - Statistics Explained ». http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics, consulté le 13 novembre 2017.
- Fairclough, Norman, et Ruth Wodak. 1997. « Critical Discourse Analysis ». Dans *Discourse as social interaction*, édité par Teun Adrianus van Dijk, 258-84. Londres: Sage Publications.
- Fleras, Augie. 2011. *The Media Gaze: Representations of Diversities in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Gouvernement du Canada. 2017a. « Syrian Refugees – Monthly IRCC Updates - Open Government Portal ». <https://open.canada.ca/data/en/dataset/01c85d28-2a81-4295-9c06-4af792a7c209>, consulté le 12 février 2018.
- . 2017b. « #Bienvenueauxréfugiés : Faits importants ». <http://www.cic.gc.ca/francais/refugies/bienvenue/jalons.asp>, consulté le 30 octobre 2017.
- Greenberg, Joshua, et Sean Hier. 2001. « Crisis, Mobilization and Collective Problematization: "illegal" Chinese migrants and the Canadian news media ». *Journalism Studies* 2.4: 563-583.
- Haller, Michael. 2017. *Die « Flüchtlingskrise » in den Medien*. Frankfurt Am Main: Otto Brenner Stiftung.
- Henry, Frances, et Carol Tator. 2002. *Discourses of domination: racial bias in the Canadian English-language press*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Holmes, Seth, et Heide Castañeda. 2016. « Representing the "European refugee crisis" in Germany and beyond: Deservingness and difference, life and death ». *American Ethnologist* 43.1: 12-24.
- International Displacement Monitoring Centre. 2017. « Syria ». http://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/syria/#link_overview, consulté le 11 février 2018.
- Korntheuer, Annette, Déborah B. Maehler, et Paul Pritchard. 2017. « The Canadian and German Context for Refugee Integration ». Dans *Structural Context of Refugee Integration in Canada and Germany*, édité par Annette Korntheuer, Paul Pritchard, et Déborah B. Maehler, 11-18. Köln: GESIS - Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences.

- Medianu, Stelian, Alina Sutter, et Victoria Esses. 2015. « The portrayal of refugees in Canadian newspapers: The impact of the arrival of Tamil refugees by sea in 2010 ». *IdeAs* 6 (octobre): 1-14.
- Oltmer, Marie. 2016. « Gender-Specific Representations of Syrian Refugees in Europe – A Discourse-Historical Approach on British and German Print Media ». Master Thesis, Leiden: Universiteit Leiden.
- Ostrand, Nicole. 2015. « The Syrian Refugee Crisis: A Comparison of Responses by Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States ». *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 3.3: 255-79.
- Ramos, Howard. 2016. « L'accueil de réfugiés: un moment décisif pour le Canada ». *Diversité canadienne* 13.2: 5-7.
- Tränhardt, Dietrich. à paraître. « From Welcome Culture to Welcome Realism. Refugee Integration in Germany ». Dans *Refugees and the Media in Germany, Austria and Greece*, édité par Giovanna dell'Orto et Irmgard Wetzstein.
- Tyyskä, Vappu, Jenna Blower, Shunya Kawai, et Ashley Walcott. 2017. « The Syrian Refugee Crisis in Canadian Media ». RCIS Working Paper. Ryerson Centre for Immigration and Settlement.
- Wallace, Rebecca. 2018. « Contextualizing the Crisis: The Framing of Syrian Refugees in Canadian Print Media ». *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, publié en ligne; à paraître en février, 1-25.
- Winter, Elke. 2014. « Traditions of Nationhood or Political Conjuncture?: Debating Citizenship in Canada and Germany ». *Comparative Migration Studies* 2.1: 29-55.
- Winter, Elke, et Benjamin Zyla. 2016. « Parcours vers la crise des réfugiés syriens et quelques issues de secours possibles ». *Diversité canadienne* 13.2: 11-17.

ELKE WINTER est professeure agrégée à l'École des études sociologiques et anthropologiques à l'Université d'Ottawa et membre du Centre interdisciplinaire des recherches sur la citoyenneté et les minorités (CIRCEM) de l'Université où elle dirige l'axe thématique Migration, pluralisme et citoyenneté. Les travaux de la professeure Winter abordent les relations entre la diversité ethnique, l'inégalité sociale et les frontières de l'appartenance. Elle est l'auteure de *Max Weber et les relations ethniques : Du refus du biologisme racial à l'État multinational* (Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2004), et de *Us, Them and Others : Pluralism and National Identity in Diverse Societies* (University of Toronto Press, 2011), ouvrage pour lequel elle s'est vue décerner le prix de livre John Porter de la Société canadienne de sociologie. En 2017/2018 elle est chercheure invitée (*fellow*) à l'Institut des études avancées de l'Université de Constance, Allemagne.

ANKE PATZELT est candidate au doctorat en sociologie à l'Université d'Ottawa et récipiendaire de la bourse ontarienne d'études Trillium. Sa thèse de doctorat porte sur les migrants hautement qualifiés et les « élites mobiles ». Plus précisément, Anke s'intéresse aux modèles de mobilité, d'intégration et d'établissement de ces migrants. Anke est titulaire d'une maîtrise en migration internationale et relations ethniques de l'Université de Malmö. En 2014, elle a obtenu, pour sa thèse de maîtrise, le prix de thèse de maîtrise en études germano-canadiennes de l'Université de Winnipeg. Anke est également titulaire d'un baccalauréat en anthropologie culturelle et sociale ainsi qu'en études scandinaves de l'Université de Münster. Anke a étudié et a publié sur les immigrants allemands au Canada, sur les concepts de la construction de l'i-

dentité, sur les sentiments d'appartenance et sur la citoyenneté en Allemagne et au Canada. Récemment, elle a publié un article sur les migrants vieillissants au sein de la revue *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.

MÉLANIE BEAUREGARD est candidate au doctorat en sociologie à l'Université d'Ottawa, et elle est titulaire d'un baccalauréat et d'une maîtrise en sociologie (Université du Québec à Montréal). Sa thèse de doctorat, supervisée par la professeure Elke Winter (Université d'Ottawa), s'intitule *Dominer par l'écriture. Une analyse critique des discours d'opinion médiatiques canadiens sur les femmes musulmanes*. Inspirée par l'analyse critique du discours, par la sociologie du racisme ainsi que par les approches intersectionnelles, ses travaux de recherche portent sur la façon dont les groupes dominants construisent et se représentent, discursivement, les groupes dominés. Dans le cadre de ses études doctorales, elle est récipiendaire d'une bourse d'études supérieures du Canada Joseph-Armand-Bombardier (Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines).

**AUDREY MACKLIN, KATHRYN BARBER,
LUIN GOLDRING, JENNIFER HYNDMAN,
ANNA KORTEWEG, SHAUNA LABMAN,
AND JONA ZYFI**

A Preliminary Investigation Into Private Refugee Sponsors

Abstract

Faith-based and other civil society organizations, along with more ad-hoc groups of Canadians, have sustained a continuous program of private refugee sponsorship in Canada for 40 years. The Syrian refugee exodus inspired thousands of Canadians with little or no prior experience to also take up refugee sponsorship. Little is known about private sponsors, their characteristics and experiences, and the impact of sponsorship on them. This article undertakes two tasks. First, it sketches the contours of a large, interdisciplinary project investigating the phenomenon of private refugee sponsorship from the perspective of Canadian sponsors of Syrians, including both long-term and new sponsors. The project asks how the project of welcoming refugees remakes the citizenship of Canadians. Second, the article presents original data selected from a survey of over 500 sponsors of recently arrived Syrians. We conclude with future directions for research and analysis.

Keywords: Refugees, private sponsorship, Syrian refugees, citizenship, Canadian national identity, cosmopolitanism.

Résumé

Au cours des 40 dernières années, des organisations religieuses et civiques ainsi que des regroupements citoyens ad hoc ont soutenu un programme continu de parrainage collectif au Canada. Récemment, l'exode syrien a inspiré des milliers des canadiens avec peu ou pas d'expérience de parrainage collectif à devenir parrains. Jusqu'à présent, il existe peu de données sur ces personnes, leurs caractéristiques démographiques, leurs motivations et leurs expériences de parrainage collectif. Le présent article accomplit deux tâches distinctes. Premièrement, il décrit les objectifs d'un grand projet interdisciplinaire qui examine l'expérience du parrainage collectif du point de vue des parrains canadiens. Le projet cherche à comprendre comment la réception des réfugiés a influencé la perception de la citoyenneté canadienne de la part des parrains. Deuxièmement, cet article présente les résultats inédits d'un sondage auprès de plus de 500 parrains de familles syriennes. L'article conclut en identifiant les futures orientations de la recherche.

Mots clés : Réfugiés, parrainage privé, réfugiés syriens, citoyenneté, identité nationale canadienne, cosmopolitisme.



INTRODUCTION

The Syrian civil war, and the human displacement it precipitated, has reinvigorated domestic and international interest in Canada's unique model of private refugee sponsorship.¹ A fall 2015 federal election replaced a government that cultivated antipathy toward asylum seekers and refugees with one that campaigned on a pledge to resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees in a matter of months. In December 2015, media images of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau welcoming Syrian refugees at a Toronto airport went viral around the world as thousands of Canadians formed groups and undertook preparations to privately sponsor refugees from Syria.

Academic research about private refugee sponsorship lags behind the recent flurry of activity and attention, and this special issue of *Canadian Ethnic Studies* adds momentum to the closure of that gap, with a focus on the Syrian experience (except see AAISA 2017; Drolet et al. 2017; Oda et al. 2017; Munson and Ataullahjan 2016). Refugee resettlement is one of three 'durable solutions' for refugees espoused by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, along with voluntary return to the country of origin and local integration in the country of first asylum. As a distinctly Canadian mode of resettlement, private sponsorship has sparked a range of policy-relevant research questions about its benefits in terms of refugee outcomes in comparison to a public model of resettlement. However, the impact of private refugee sponsorship on sponsors and the communities in which they live remains virtually unaddressed.²

Why study sponsors? From an academic perspective, private sponsorship offers a unique opportunity to explore perceptions and experiences of an encounter between citizen (member) and refugee (other) that is both highly personal and constituted and mediated by the state. Refugee sponsors interact with refugees at the granular, quotidian level of daily life, but the possibility, structure, and terms of that relationship are set by government regulation. While many scholars conduct important research with partners in established civil society organizations, we probe the meanings, motivations, and experiences of individual refugee sponsors, thereby offering a way to examine everyday enactments of 'civil society' from a distinct angle. For purposes of advancing both research and policy, it is vital to understand better who does private refugee sponsorship, why they do it, how they do it, and whether they would do it again and/or encourage others to do it.

Owing to the dearth of empirical data on private sponsors and the absence of public (or publicly available) datasets about them, our research team created a comprehensive survey of private citizens who sponsored Syrian refugees. We focused specifically on those whose sponsored party (usually a family, but sometimes a single person) arrived after November 2015. We offer here selected initial findings from

Audrey Macklin, Kathryn Barber, Luin Goldring, Jennifer Hyndman,
Anna Korteweg, Shauna Labman, and Jona Zyfi

| 37

the results of that survey, which closed early after the first quarter of 2018. This survey and the resulting dataset constitute the first phase in a two-phase research project and the survey forms the basis for qualitative interviews with sponsors that we will conduct during 2018-19.

The paper is organized as follows: first, we outline Canada's unique model of private sponsorship (Labman 2016). Second, we sketch the conceptual framework of the project, its aims and objectives. Third, we describe survey design and methodology. Next, we present data from the survey that address the demographic characteristics of survey respondents, their motivation for sponsorship, and the mechanisms by which individuals assembled into groups. Some of the findings presented here speak directly to elements of our conceptual and theoretical framework; others are antecedent or ancillary to the framework, in that they provide information that will aid in contextualizing other data and/or guide us toward future paths of inquiry for the next phase of research. Thus, while the findings presented here do not fully answer the overarching conceptual and theoretical questions posed by our project, the data stand on their own as a contribution to knowledge about private sponsorship of refugees.

BACKGROUND: CANADIAN REFUGEE SPONSORSHIP

This is a propitious moment to study sponsors. Not since the Indochinese refugee movement inaugurated the contemporary refugee sponsorship system have so many Canadians undertaken to financially and personally support the resettlement of refugees through private sponsorship (Molloy et al. 2017). From the nineteenth century onwards, diasporic communities mobilized informally to assist ethnic, religious, or personal kin to flee oppression, war, and persecution, but it was not until the 1976 *Immigration Act* that public and private refugee resettlement was legislated into formal and stable existence (Canada 1976; Labman 2016). Shortly after the *Immigration Act* came into force in 1978, Canada resettled over 60,000 refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos between 1979-80. Admissions subsequently tapered to annual levels of around 10,000-13,000 for most years post-1994 (CCR 2016). For most years post-1994, privately-sponsored refugees comprised between 25-40% of the annual total resettlement numbers (CCR 2016).

The policy framework governing private sponsorship establishes different categories of private sponsorship. A sponsorship group may be formed under the auspices of a Sponsorship Agreement Holder (SAH), where the SAH acts as institutional intermediary between sponsorship groups and the government. Groups of Five (G5) and Community Groups (CG), on the other hand, operate autonomously and interact directly with government. SAH sponsorship groups, G5s and CGs usually spon-

sor through the privately-sponsored refugee (PSR) model, which permits the group to name specific refugees for sponsorship, and requires the group to provide the equivalent of twelve months of income assistance. Since 2013, prospective sponsors may also sponsor through a Blended Visa Office Referral (BVOR) program, whereby refugees referred to the Canadian government by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees are proposed to sponsor groups (Labman and Pearlman 2018). Sponsors of BVOR refugees split the cost of support with the government on a 50/50 basis.³ For the period 4 November 2015-28 February 2018, 51,835 Syrian refugees were resettled in Canada, half as Government Assisted Refugees, 41% as Privately Sponsored Refugees, and 9% as Blended Visa Office Referrals (IRCC 2018, Table 1).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: MAKING AND REMAKING CITIZENSHIP

The overarching question animating our research into refugee sponsors is ‘how does the project of resettling refugees as future citizens remake the citizenship of sponsors?’ Put another way, does refugee sponsorship figure in the civic imagination of sponsors, and the way they see themselves as citizens? We pose these questions fully aware that citizenship is a remarkably capacious analytic category (Macklin 2007). We adopt a pluralistic approach to citizenship, while recognizing that different definitions of citizenship may overlap. Refugee sponsorship furnishes a context for bringing varied conceptions of citizenship to the fore and into conversation with one another (Macklin 2007).

Citizenship as legal status is the subfloor underlying the edifice of the refugee regime. Under international law, states are obliged only to admit citizens and retain nearly unfettered discretion to exclude non-citizens. The 1951 UN *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* creates an exception by obliging States Party to the Refugee Convention not to *refouler* refugees who arrive as asylum seekers at or inside a state’s border. The *Refugee Convention* does not address refugee resettlement; the selection and resettlement of refugees from abroad remains a purely discretionary act. In Canada, both asylum seekers who obtain refugee status and resettled refugees are normally granted permanent resident status, which, in turn, eventually enables access to citizenship.⁵ The role of private sponsors is to contribute constructively to that transition from refugee to citizen.

Citizenship as national identity, or *nation-ness* (Amarasingam et al. 2016; Anderson 2016) also matters to this project. In a speech before the UN General Assembly, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau summed up the ethos behind Canada’s commitment to refugee resettlement as ‘We are Canadian. We are here to help’ (Macleans 2016). Trudeau’s maple-syrupy pronouncement suggests that what it means to be Canadian is linked to helping others. Citizenship as [Canadian] identity

may thus be relevant to individuals' self-conception as sponsors; the content they ascribe to national identity may also inflect whether and how they understand themselves to be engaging in a process of 'Canadianizing' refugees in a national context.

Citizenship as identity shades into citizenship in the substantive sense. Inspired by T. H. Marshall's (1950) account of political, civic and social citizenship, contemporary accounts of substantive citizenship invite critical scrutiny of the ways in which the democratic ideal of equal citizenship is challenged by laws, practices, norms and structures that situate people's membership differentially and hierarchically within a polity. Citizenship as membership is not monotone: it is striated by race, class, culture, religion, gender identity, ability, and so on (Goldring and Landolt 2013; Korteweg 2006). Those who exhibit certain traits, characteristics or behaviours are valorized above others as better or more genuine citizens; those who are disadvantaged by these metrics may be denigrated as 'second class' or partial citizens from the perspective of identity or belonging (Yuval-Davis 2011). Sponsors and those they sponsor are positioned differently along the metrics of membership. Sponsors' conception of what it means to be a good citizen may inflect their views of the people they sponsor and their measure of 'successful' refugee resettlement.

Active citizenship – engagement in the political and civic life of the polity – occupies a central role in this project. If legal citizenship is concerned with status, and substantive citizenship attends to recognition (through enjoyment of rights and entitlements), active citizenship focuses on the performative dimension of citizenship or the practices of citizenship. Drawing on the Greek and civic republican traditions, active citizenship attends to how citizens exhibit 'civic virtue' by engaging as members within their communities through practices of deliberation, participation and collaboration. Refugee sponsorship activates the citizenship of those who do it. It requires people to constitute themselves into groups, and commit time, energy and resources to a cooperative undertaking of public and civic value: the enrolment of newcomers into substantive, identarian and, ultimately, legal citizenship. The performance of these tasks occurs within a tacit belief that citizenship in its various dimensions is genuinely available and accessible to refugees. As such, the act of 'making citizens', or including new members in the polity, is itself an act of citizenship, and is shaped by underlying ideas about the content of citizenship. The project will explore private sponsorship as a citizenship practice, with a view to ascertaining whether sponsorship not only activates citizens but also alters them, possibly reconfiguring sponsors' own understanding and practice of citizenship. In this sense, we are interested in how sponsorship potentially 'remakes' the citizenship of sponsors.

Our empirical analysis is then organized around three main questions: Why do people decide to sponsor refugees? What are the distinctive features of private

sponsorship as a program devised by the state and how do these shape the sponsorship dynamic⁶? Finally, how does the experience of sponsorship constitute sponsors as citizens?

Why sponsor? We identify four potential factors motivating action: religion, diasporic attachments, national identity, and cosmopolitanism. Religiosity would appear to be a strong motivator; many of the sponsorship groups in existence since private sponsorship became formalized in the 1970s have had a religious affiliation. Indeed, the majority of SAHs are faith-based institutions. The practice of hospitality resonates deeply in sacred texts of several religions that enjoin us to ‘welcome the stranger’ (Bhabha 2018; McKinlay 2008). Yet, both private sponsors and bureaucrats share a mutually enforced ‘don’t ask, don’t tell’ sensibility that obscures that faith-based communities perform so much of the ‘heavy lifting’ of resettlement (Bramadat 2014, 24).

Another motivation for sponsorship is national rather than religious commitment. When Justin Trudeau addressed the United Nations General Assembly early in 2016, he implied that part of what it means to be a good citizen of Canada is to reach out and welcome strangers – specifically, those in need of refuge. This move resonates with what Kymlicka and Walker (2012, 4) label ‘rooted cosmopolitanism.’ Building on Anthony Appiah’s insights, they postulate that “people become good citizens of the world because this is part of what it means to be a good Canadian: being Canadian motivates being or becoming cosmopolitan” (Kymlicka and Walker 2012, 4-5). Cosmopolitanism may also be expressed as a wider set of political commitments and practices related to migrants and refugees, human rights, or international solidarity. For present purposes, we define cosmopolitanism at the level of the individual, as a sense of personal moral obligation owed to others with whom we may share little more than common humanity (Appiah 2007).

Finally, reasons for sponsorship may be expressed in more affective or experiential terms. For example, a personal or familial history of immigration (which is very common among Canadians) may be cited as a factor in the decision to sponsor. This feeling of connection to the migratory experience – whether expressed in personal or national terms – may mediate the meaning of being ‘Canadian’, or inform sentiments of empathy and obligation toward the refugee. Some of these currents may be revealed in reactions to the death of Alan Kurdi. The image of his lifeless body washed up on a Turkish beach awakened deeply felt emotion. The photo of him horrified people across the globe and created a (fleeting) hope that a shared sense of the innocence of children could overcome differences generated by race, ethnicity or religion and generate a broad humanitarian impulse to intervene. Within a day or two, it emerged that Alan had a Canadian aunt, and that prior to Alan’s parents’ desperate act of loading their family onto a rickety boat, she had repeatedly and unsus-

cessfully entreated the Canadian government to admit her relatives to Canada. The Canadian connection to Alan Kurdi, an otherwise random and contingent fact, added to the mix the possibility of a different outcome both imaginable and notionally linked to actions taken (or not taken) in Canada.

The character of private sponsorship as a collective undertaking distinguishes it from individualized interventions, such as financial donation, or volunteering for an organization. Therefore, it may also be important to consider 'second order' motivations for engaging in collective rather than individualized action. This may become apparent upon closer investigation of how sponsorship groups form, and the significance of a prior, stable institutional structure for continuity and future sponsorship. For example, some church congregations make an institutional commitment to ongoing refugee sponsorship. This may, in turn, motivate 'repeat players' to participate in sponsorship in order to support and sustain the institution's undertaking. Some people may respond favourably to an invitation to join a sponsorship group because of their affinity to the person who invited them, or the attractions of a collective enterprise. We do not purport to exhaust the range of possible explanations for action, only to signal the range and multiplicity of sources.

How does the way in which the government structures private sponsorship affect the sponsorship experience? To understand the potential remaking of sponsors' citizenship, we also aim to investigate how sponsors operate within a given legal and institutional architecture. Despite the label, it is probably more accurate to regard the 'private' sponsorship program as a 'public-private partnership', where volunteer sponsor groups (rather than business interests) represent the private side of the equation. Note that the private sponsorship program retains a significant role for government: the program depends for its existence on a legislated structure creating the space for it (Labman 2016). The government regulates numbers of privately sponsored refugees through annual levels, governs the criteria for sponsorship, screens nominated refugees against the refugee definition, conducts medical, criminality and security checks, and organizes refugees' transport to Canada. During the sponsorship period, privately sponsored refugees can also access various government-funded settlement services, such as language training and employment programs.⁷ They are also entitled to education for school-aged children and health care. Once the twelve-month sponsorship period ends, sponsored refugees may access provincial social assistance on the same terms as any other permanent resident. In all these respects, government remains an important public presence in private sponsorship.

From the other side, private sponsors undertake a quintessentially public function associated with nation-building in settler societies, namely the integration of newcomers as 'new Canadians'. Yet they do so through the creation of a relationship

that entails financial dependence, partiality, and bonds of affect that are typically associated with private relationships of kinship.

How does the experience of sponsorship constitute sponsors as active citizens? The various activities that comprise refugee sponsorship constitute a distinctive exercise of civic engagement. It aligns with what James Boyte (2011, 633) calls ‘public work’, which he defines as “self-organized efforts by a mix of people who solve common problems and create things, material or symbolic, of lasting civic value”. Private refugee sponsorship is a form of public work in which sponsors must embark on deliberation, dialogue, trust-building and compromise with the sponsored refugee family, and within the group itself.

Understanding how people engage in sponsorship activities allows us to see how people engage in active citizenship in ways that potentially transform their experience of and engagement with citizenship itself. Does sponsorship confer any of the benefits sometimes attributed to active citizenship, such as creating, strengthening, or extending networks of solidarity, trust and cohesion?⁸ These potential effects on individuals who undertake collective action, independent of the direct impact of those actions on refugees and sponsors, warrant empirical investigation. We also attend to the potential significance of how groups coalesce, and the nature of the connections between members, in relation to commitment to future refugee sponsorship.

EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

Our framework for situating and understanding the elements of private sponsorship directly informs the design of our empirical research, probing how private refugee sponsorship relates to the citizenship of sponsors. Our project consists of two parts, an online survey and in-depth qualitative interviews. This article focuses on the first part, an online survey which documents demographic data about sponsors, as well as information about their motivations for sponsorship, the relationship of sponsorship group members to one another and to sponsored refugees, and sponsors’ evaluation of their experience. Below, we report our preliminary findings regarding the demographics of the survey respondents, their motives for sponsorship, and the mechanism by which they formed or joined a sponsorship group.

We begin with an account of the demographic characteristics of private sponsors who responded to the online survey created by the authors. The identity markers include location, race/ethnicity, gender, age, education, income, legal status, occupation and religious affiliation. We turn next to the questions of why and how individuals embark on sponsorship. We report data about motivations, and since private sponsorship is a collective undertaking requiring a minimum of five participants (two in the Quebec model), we also sought information about the process by which individuals form or join sponsorship groups, and the type of group they form.

Our goal in this paper is to supply original, descriptive findings about sponsors that will consolidate knowledge about private sponsorship and catalyze the next stage of research. Learning more about *who* sponsors necessarily precedes an analysis of *why* and *how* they sponsor. In short, our survey findings not only provide original data about refugee sponsors, but also lay the foundation for the next phase of the empirical research.

Method

The team of authors developed a national online survey directed at individual sponsors of Syrian refugees who arrived post-November 2015.⁹ The format varied slightly, depending on whether the sponsors were still within the twelve-month sponsorship period or had already completed it.¹⁰ Most respondents completed the survey in approximately 30 minutes. The topics addressed by the survey tracked the trajectory of refugee sponsorship from pre-arrival to post-sponsorship. The survey posed questions about the personal and demographic characteristics of sponsors; motives for sponsorship; formation of sponsorship group; sponsorship activities across time; time dedicated to sponsorship activities; governance of the sponsorship group; dynamics between sponsors and sponsored refugees; post-sponsorship relationships; future sponsorship intentions; impact of sponsorship and evaluation of experience. The survey instrument also provided respondents with the opportunity to add written comments, and to share contact information if they wished to participate in future interviews.

The survey was piloted in summer 2017 and launched in August 2017. IRCC publishes information on more than 300 destinations across Canada for resettled Syrian refugees. However, there is no data set containing information on sponsors and as a result, there is no sampling frame of private sponsors. We might infer the location of concentrations of sponsors by the location of refugees, but there is no way to determine anything about their demographic or other characteristics. Without such a sampling frame, non-probability sampling was necessary. The authors developed a convenience sample based on multiple-points of entry network and snowball sampling techniques to recruit participants.

Invitations to complete the survey were sent to the Canadian Refugee SAH Association, the national sponsorship agreement holders network, for circulation among its 102 SAH members across Canada. Individual SAHs, both faith-based and secular, were sent invitations directly where emails could be found online. The funder of the survey research, Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) sent out a link inviting SAHs to distribute the survey to their sponsors who might be willing to complete the survey, indicating clearly that the survey was being conducted by independent researchers. Invitations were also extended to all sponsorship

organizations known to the authors through their personal and professional circles, with a call to circulate across all national networks. Another invitation was issued on the Canadian Council of Refugees listserv, again with a stipulation that the link be shared with any interested sponsors.

We were confident that this multiple-point of entry recruitment approach would reach a wide range of respondents. When the survey closed in April 2018, we found that the 530 sponsors who finished the English-language survey had responded online from all over Canada, though the majority of sponsors reside in Ontario, Toronto in particular. (In December 2017, the authors finalized and launched a Quebec version [in French] of the survey adapted to the specificities of the Quebec model of private sponsorship; the results from QC are not included here).

To the best of the authors' knowledge, this 500+ person survey constitutes the largest data set to date about refugee sponsors. Since participants self-select, the survey does not purport to offer a comprehensive profile of refugee sponsors as such. We cannot ascertain how representative the sample of survey respondents is in relation to the number of Canadians involved in sponsorship of Syrian refugees (whom we conservatively estimate at approximately 40,000¹¹). However, anecdotal evidence leads the authors to hypothesize that survey respondents are likely drawn from among those who dedicated comparatively more time to sponsorship activities than other sponsors. If this is a plausible assumption, then the findings of the survey may fairly represent the characteristics, experiences and perceptions of that segment of refugee sponsors located at the more active end of the spectrum.

Private sponsorship has operated "on the books" since the late 1970s and through informal and ad hoc mechanisms prior to that. However, at least two features stand out about the present moment, which make it somewhat distinctive: first, a sizeable proportion of sponsors of Syrian refugees were participating in private sponsorship for the first time. Second, while some Syrian refugees had kin in Canada, many did not. For at least two decades prior to the private sponsorship of Syrian refugees, a significant segment of private sponsorship had evolved into an avenue for extended family reunification through refugee resettlement (Labman and Pearlman 2018). Private sponsors would nominate relatives of previously resettled refugees (who also qualified as refugees). This pattern became known as the 'echo effect' (Chapman 2014). While our dataset provides evidence that many PSR and BVOR sponsors were asked to consider additional family members for future sponsorship, illustrative of this 'echo effect', we do not explore these data here.

Below we focus on three aspects of the survey data: first, survey respondents' demographic profiles; second, their motivations for embarking on refugee sponsorship and third, the process by which they formed or joined a sponsorship group.

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

Who Sponsors?

Formal eligibility to participate in private sponsorship requires access to funds, and sufficiently robust social networks to form a sustainable sponsorship group. Functionally, performance of the myriad tasks associated with newcomer settlement and integration also demands a significant investment of time, flexibility, a range of interpersonal and intercultural skills, and a willingness to leverage social capital in the form of connections, information and ‘know how’ on behalf of the sponsored refugees. What we present here are demographic data that begin to give insight into who engages in these efforts as indicated by those who responded to our invitation to take the survey.

In terms of demographic characteristics, we found that the 530 respondents who had completed the survey represent a particular slice of the Canadian population. They were likely to be highly educated, older women of European ancestry, many of whom had before-tax household incomes well above the Canadian 2015 median of \$70,336 (Statistics Canada 2017c). Because we do not know who constitutes the entire body of sponsors in Canada, we cannot determine whether highly educated, older white women were simply more likely than others to respond to the online survey.

Women represent almost three-quarters of survey respondents (74%), and almost three-quarters (74%) of respondents were over 50 years of age. The income and education levels of our survey respondents suggest they are largely upper middle class. Of the 479 respondents who chose to answer the question, more than half (54%) had before-tax household incomes above \$100,000 with more than half of those having incomes above \$200,000. Slightly more than half (52%) of respondents earned at least part of their income through employment (32% worked more than 30 hours a week). This income did not result solely from employment: the largest group of respondents, more than a third, identified as retired (36%) or semi-retired (7%).

The respondents were highly educated. More than 84% of those who filled out the question about educational attainment had obtained a BA or above (with the largest group, 35%, earning an MA or equivalent degree). This is a significantly larger proportion than the 29% of all Canadians ages 25-64 who have earned a Bachelor’s degree or higher (Statistics Canada 2018).

In terms of cultural and ethnic background, the survey respondents also represent a fairly homogeneous group. The majority of our respondents identified as ‘European heritage’ (88%), with 11% of the remainder of the respondents identifying as ‘visible minority’ and 2% as Indigenous. Again, this is not representative of the Canadian population at large, where the last census reports that 22% of the

Canadian population identified as 'visible minority' and 5% as Indigenous (Statistics Canada 2017a; 2017b). A disproportionate number of respondents are from Ontario, and Toronto in particular (though almost all provinces and territories are represented in the sample). Both Ontario and Toronto are far more diverse than Canada in general, suggesting that our survey respondents are even less representative of the cities and towns where they live than the aggregate numbers reveal.

These numbers also suggest that many of those who sponsor Syrian refugees are building relationships that bridge outwards from their own ethnic and cultural heritage groups. Indeed, while people of Arab or non-Arab Middle Eastern descent combine to be the second largest category in our survey, they constitute only 3% and 2% of respondents respectively (5% total).

The religious identity of the respondents is not as homogenous. Christians make up the largest category amongst our survey respondents at 47%. An almost equivalently large percentage identifies as non-religious, agnostic, or atheist (combined 38%), with the remainder of respondents identifying as Jewish (6%) or Muslim (2%).

The survey assesses formal connection to Canada through questions on country of birth and citizenship status. More than three-quarters of our survey respondents were born in Canada, making them *jus soli* citizens (79%); 21% of respondents were born outside the country. This does not differ dramatically from the overall Canadian population, of whom more than one in five is foreign born (Statistics Canada 2017b). However, in our survey, of the 21% born outside the country, 90% are citizens (by naturalization). Only 9% of our respondents were permanent residents. This suggests that our survey respondents have firm citizenship ties to Canada, and the majority of respondents are unlikely to have direct personal experience as immigrant or refugee.

Eighty percent of sponsors in our survey are first-timers. What is noteworthy is that half of all respondents indicate a willingness to sponsor again, though at this stage we do not know how many have already initiated a subsequent sponsorship. The 20% of sponsors with prior experience tended to have a similar demographic profile as the survey respondents taken together. They were mostly older women, though with a slightly higher proportion of men (28% versus 25% in the group as a whole – see Table 1), highly educated (see Table 2), and even more likely to be retired compared to the survey respondents as a whole (54% were retired versus 36% in the overall survey – see Table 3). While first-time prospective sponsors will know the formal requirements, they may possess less awareness of the functional and temporal demands than do 'repeat players' with prior experience of refugee sponsorship. However, the largely overlapping demographic profile of first-timers compared to those having sponsored at least once before, suggests that those in our survey who

TABLE 1. Gender identification by first time sponsorship

Gender identification	First-time sponsor?		
	No	Yes	Overall
Men	28%	24%	25%
Women	70%	75%	74%
Trans	0%	0%	0%
Decline to answer	2%	1%	1%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: Authors' survey of Syrian refugee sponsors (2018).

TABLE 2. Highest level of education achieved by first time sponsorship

Highest level of education	First-time sponsor?	
	No	Yes
Some high school	0%	0%
High school (equivalence)	2%	3%
College, CEGEP or non-university certificate or diploma (other than trade or diploma)	9%	9%
Registered apprenticeship or other trade certificate	0%	1%
University certificate or diploma below bachelor's level	7%	2%
Bachelor	30%	31%
Master	35%	34%
Professional degree	8%	10%
Doctorate	8%	9%
Total	100%	100%

are first-timers share many demographic characteristics of repeat sponsors. Age and stage, together with time and resources, are clearly important factors shaping people's interest in and ability to undertake sponsorship.

Politically, respondents situated themselves as centrist or left, with 53% voting for the Liberal Party and 25% for the NDP in 2015, parties that respectively won 39% and 19% of the popular vote in that federal election. Particularly striking is the low number of Conservative Party voters amongst the respondents (6%), a party that won 31% of the popular vote. Conservative Party representation among survey

TABLE 3. Employment situation by first time sponsorship

Employment situation	First-time sponsor?		
	No	Yes	Overall
Employed full time (30 hrs/wk)	20%	35%	32%
Employed part-time (<30 hours/wk)	10%	6%	7%
Social assistance, disability, workers comp or other income support	1%	1%	1%
Not employed outside the home	1%	3%	3%
Other	3%	1%	1%
Retired	54%	31%	36%
Seeking employment	2%	0%	0%
Self-employed	4%	16%	14%
Semi-retired	6%	7%	7%
Total	100%	100%	101%

respondents is outstripped by the proportion of Green Party voters in our survey (7%) who took only 4% of the popular vote in 2015 (Canadian Broadcasting Company 2015).

Why Sponsor?

What do our preliminary findings indicate about what motivates people to sponsor Syrian refugees? The survey asked respondents to consider a series of reasons behind their decision to sponsor Syrian refugees, and to check off how important each was for them. The reasons included the impact of media coverage; the image of Alan Kurdi; past personal experience with immigration; personal connection to the region; prior sponsorship experience; and experience with community advocacy. These are shown in Table 4. A cross-tabulation of this “ethical” motive by the basis of group formation (discussed in the next section) shows that respondents in groups that formed based on faith-based connections and those in groups that came together based on family, friendship and neighbourhood networks hold these values in very similar and high regard (see Table 5).

Media coverage in general was cited as an important motivation for sponsorship, with 76% of respondents ranking this as very important and only 2% saying it was not at all important. The role of previous sponsorship experience emerges as a potentially distinguishing factor here. For first-time sponsors, media coverage was more important than for experienced sponsors (80% vs. 60% respectively).

TABLE 4. Sponsorship motivation by first time sponsorship

Sponsorship Motivation	First-time sponsor?		
	No	Yes	Overall
“It’s the ethically right thing to do” (n = 519)			
Very	88%	90%	90%
Somewhat	11%	10%	10%
Not at all	1%	0%	0%
Death of Alan Kurdi (n= 444)			
Very	27%	40%	37%
Somewhat	47%	46%	46%
Not at all	27%	14%	16%
Past experience of sponsorship (n= 180)			
Very	80%	28%	58%
Somewhat	18%	33%	24%
Not at all	2%	39%	18%
Past experience community advocacy (n = 397)			
Very	59%	38%	43%
Somewhat	35%	51%	48%
Not at all	6%	10%	9%
Personal or family history of migration (n = 318)			
Very	34%	32%	33%
Somewhat	34%	46%	43%
Not at all	31%	22%	24%
Personal connection to region by first time sponsorship (n = 224)			
Very	11%	20%	17%
Somewhat	18%	22%	21%
Not at all	71%	58%	62%
Invited to join a group by first time sponsorship (n = 366)			
Very	60%	67%	66%
Somewhat	19%	24%	23%
Not at all	21%	9%	11%
Information session by first time sponsorship (n = 294)			
Very	29%	44%	41%
Somewhat	29%	41%	38%
Not at all	42%	16%	21%

TABLE 5. Sponsorship Motivation: “It’s the ethically right thing to do” by type of sponsorship association

Sponsorship Motivation	Type of sponsorship association					
	Civic, community or advocacy association ^a	Employment-based	Faith-based ^b	Family, neighbourhood or friendship-based	Other	Overall
Very	96%	100%	90%	89%	80%	96%
Somewhat	4%	0%	10%	10%	17%	4%
Not at all	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%

^a immigrant/ethnic association, local school, university.

^b church, mosque, synagogue, temple, gurdwaras, etc.

Although the image of Alan Kurdi shocked and transfixed many, its role in mobilizing sponsors is ambiguous. Survey responses suggest the impact of Alan Kurdi’s image was mixed and comparatively less important compared to ethical concerns and general media coverage: 37% of respondents ranked it as very important, 46% as somewhat important, and 16% as not very important. Prior sponsorship experience matters somewhat here. Experienced sponsors were less likely to report being strongly motivated to sponsor Syrians because of Alan Kurdi’s image, perhaps because experienced sponsors’ commitment preceded the Syrian crisis.

The importance of prior collective organizing (in various forms) warrants attention. A high number of respondents indicated prior experience of community advocacy (n=397). Among the number of respondents who replied to the query on prior sponsorship experience (n=180), a majority (58%) ranked having had such experiences as a very important motive for their current sponsorship.¹²

The survey reveals that personal or family history of migration are important motivators for sponsorship. Three out of four respondents (76%) stated that a personal or family history of migration was either somewhat or very important (43% and 33%). However, having a personal connection to the region was not as important a motivation for sponsorship. These findings are interesting, given the demographic profile of the sample (older, wealthy, educated, retired and white). The relative importance of personal or family history of migration may be a result of sponsors being children or grandchildren of immigrants. The significance of a connection to the experience of migration warrants further exploration. It may underwrite cosmopolitan connection to the outsider, as sponsors recall themselves or their ancestors as once having been outsiders to Canada. It may also be the personal

*Audrey Macklin, Kathryn Barber, Luin Goldring, Jennifer Hyndman,
Anna Korteweg, Shauna Labman, and Jona Zyfi*

| 51

expression of Canada's national narrative as a 'country of immigrants'. Sponsors may see refugee resettlement as an episode in that narrative. Canada's official policy of multiculturalism may play a supporting role as well. Amarasingam et al. (2016) argue that multiculturalism can be understood as an expression of 'banal nationalism' among refugees to Canada, conceptually linking it with rooted cosmopolitanism (Kymlicka and Walker 2012).

The limited significance to sponsors of a personal connection to the region suggests that repeat sponsors are continuing to sponsor without needing a connection to the region. Among sponsors with prior experience, 71% said personal connections to the region were not at all important. In contrast, the comparable figure for first time sponsors was 58%. This figure is notable, potentially in terms of motivation among the majority of sponsors in our survey, and demands further scrutiny and research.

Social networks can play a role as stimulus or catalyst to sponsor, and warrants examination when considering how groups form and how people engage in sponsorship activities. Invitations matter. An invitation to join a sponsorship group was cited as very important by 66% of respondents and as somewhat important by 23%. Information sessions were rated less highly as motivations for sponsorship. These data suggest that personal invitations or direct network contact is an important catalyst for sponsorship. The second phase of the project will allow us to further explore the connections between the social networks that facilitate sponsorship and the broader normative commitments that frame motivation (e.g., faith, nationalism, cosmopolitanism).

How to Sponsor?

Individuals can enact their desire to reach beyond borders to assist refugees only because the state has created the institutional architecture to facilitate creation of that relationship.¹³ Requirements such as minimum group size and financial criteria regulate eligibility to privately sponsor. The survey sought information about the nature of the connections around which sponsorship groups coalesced. In addition, we gathered data about the type of private sponsor (constituent groups working with SAHs or G5) as well as the 'sponsees' (privately-sponsored refugee-PSR) or blended visa office-referred refugee (BVOR); sponsorship groups organized through a SAH had the benefits and constraints of the SAH's guidance and rules, while G5 and constituent groups (CS) did not. PSRs could be selected by the sponsorship group, whereas BVORs could not, but BVORs imposed less of a financial burden than PSRs on the sponsorship group.

In response to a question about how the respondent's sponsorship group came together, the most frequent response was "family, friendship and neighbourhood networks" (43%), followed by shared faith (38%) Among shared faith-based sponsors, the majority reported being part of a Christian denomination (83%); followed

TABLE 6. Type of sponsorship association by first time sponsorship

Type of sponsorship association	First time sponsorship?	
	No	Yes
Civic, community or advocacy association (immigrant/ethnic association, local school, university)	8%	9%
Employment-based	2%	2%
Faith-based (church, mosque, synagogue, temple, gurdwaras, etc.)	60%	33%
Family, neighbourhood or friendship-based	21%	49%
Other	9%	8%
TOTAL	100%	100%

Source: Authors' survey of Syrian refugee sponsors (2018).

by small shares of Jews (7%), Muslims (2%) and other religions (not Christian, Jewish or Muslim) (6%).

The importance of family, friendship and neighborhood connections, in contrast to faith-based connections, may be related to the high proportion of first-time sponsors in our sample, and signals a potentially significant distinction between experienced sponsors and first-timers. As noted earlier, eight out of ten respondents were first-time sponsors ($n = 424$ of 530 responses). A cross-tabulation of basis of group formation and prior sponsorship experience suggests, not surprisingly, that prior sponsorship experience is associated with faith as a basis of sponsorship group formation, and first-time sponsorship is associated with family/friendship/neighborhood and civic bases of group formation (see Table 6). Approximately half of first-time sponsors were in groups that came together based on family, friendship and neighbourhood networks (49%), whereas 60% of those with prior sponsorship experience came together based on shared faith.

We anticipated that some survey respondents would not know the type of sponsorship that their group engaged in, and this was true for about 7% of respondents ($n=37$). Among those able to identify the type of sponsorship, private sponsorship accounted for over half of all sponsorships in our sample (56% or 275) with the remainder (44% or 218) choosing the BVOR option. Most sponsors were part of SAHs (72% or 319 people), followed by community groups (16% or 73), and Groups of 5 (12% or 52). IRCC data indicates that between 2010 and 2014, SAHs accounted for an average of 66% of sponsorships, Groups of 5 for 31% and Community Sponsors for 3% (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada

Audrey Macklin, Kathryn Barber, Luin Goldring, Jennifer Hyndman,
Anna Korteweg, Shauna Labman, and Jona Zyfi

| 53

2016a). In October 2012, the regulations were changed so that groups other than SAHs could only sponsor refugees recognized by UNHCR or a state (Government of Canada 2012). In December 2016 IRCC announced a temporary policy that ran until January 2017 allowing Groups of 5 and Community Sponsors to submit applications to sponsor 1,000 Syrian and Iraqi applicants without individualized Convention refugee recognition, but rather a group, *prima facie* designation (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada 2016b).

CONCLUSION

Based on 530 completed responses from active refugee sponsors, we can provide the following profile of our respondents: Sponsors are disproportionately white, well-educated, middle to upper class women over fifty. Many are retired. The formal requirements for sponsorship favour those with financial resources, and the functional requirements favour those with time and social capital. Repeat sponsors will know about the time commitments demanded of sponsorship, whereas new sponsors may not. The large share of first-time sponsors among our respondents (80%) suggests that this is a new cohort or generation of sponsors. Will these first-time sponsors become repeat performers, part of the new face of sponsorship, driven less by the faith and infrastructure of religious organizations? The social networks that produced recent sponsorship groups vary considerably in type, strength, and duration. This invites inquiry into whether continuity of sponsorship as ongoing practice requires or benefits from being institutionally embedded. Further research into the similarities and differences between first-timers and repeat sponsors may yield a more nuanced portrait.

Another question raised by our data concerns the fact that a third of our respondents are employed more than 30 hours a week. This suggests that a relatively large number of sponsors find time to dedicate to sponsoring despite significant work responsibilities, and we aim to better understand how many hours they spend on sponsorship, and the division of labour in their groups. A related question is whether those who are employed provide relatively more financial resources while those who are not engaged in paid employment contribute relatively more time.

The disproportionate representation of women among sponsors is significant and parallels the overrepresentation of women in the non-profit immigration settlement sector, albeit the settlement sector is also highly racialized and not highly paid. Over a century ago, the settlement house movement featured upper and upper-middle class white women, often women of means with high levels of education, finding employment in settling newcomers. The gendered and racialized dimension of unpaid and paid settlement work warrants closer study.

In terms of motivation, some may respond to a spiritual commitment to 'welcome the stranger'; for others, hospitality is filtered through an ethic of humanitarianism, international solidarity, or a belief that it instantiates Canadian identity, which in turn may be connected to personal, familial, or national narratives of migration history. Given the salience of a negative securitization discourse that represents refugees as undeserving and/or as threats (in Canada and elsewhere), we are curious about how sponsors imagined Syrian refugees in the course of deciding to sponsor. We do not presume to exhaust the possible reasons for action, nor deny the possibility of multiple and coexisting motives.

Preliminary findings regarding motivation do hint at possible clusters of motivating factors, along axes of spiritual/secular, connected/unconnected and apolitical/political. In terms of group formation, we observe that the institutional centrality of faith-based institutions among SAHs (and the dominance of SAHs in private sponsorship) does not necessarily correspond to faith as the 'glue' binding sponsorship groups together. First-time sponsors are less likely to form or join groups that come together based on faith-based institutions and more likely to do so based on friendship and place-based networks. Whether this will affect people's long-term engagement with sponsorship, and if so, how, remains to be seen.

The relatively weak representation of Conservative voters among sponsors is interesting. As a general matter, one might expect that at least some who identify as politically conservative would favour private philanthropy and volunteerism as a preferred vehicle for redistribution over public mechanisms. Private sponsorship as a mode of assisting refugees should appeal to such individuals because it relies on private rather than public support.¹⁴ It is possible that the Conservative government's increasingly overt anti-Muslim and anti-refugee stance before and during the 2015 election campaign drove some previous Conservative voters to cast their ballot for other parties in 2015, while remaining Conservative voters were more likely to support the government's position toward Muslims and refugees. More research is required. Our survey did not inquire into pre-2015 voting patterns, so we cannot test this hypothesis. One might also wonder whether the political context in which private sponsorship surged during and after the 2015 federal election permits a reading of that spike as a form of protest against the Conservative government's disregard for Syrian refugees, and its lack of consideration of Alan Kurdi's family's appeal. It is equally possible that some Conservative voters who are sponsors were disinclined to participate in an initiative so tied to the new Liberal government.¹⁵

The data included here represent a first look into selected dimensions of sponsorship, with the caveat that it only surveys the sponsors. We anticipate that the clarity and breadth of this preliminary discussion will be enhanced by the nuance and depth that interview data can furnish.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors gratefully acknowledge the financial support provided by a grant from Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The authors also thank Karen Chen for excellent editorial assistance.

NOTES

1. The Global Refugee Sponsorship Initiative, a collaborative project supported by the government of Canada, legal experts, the UNHCR and civil society donors, has developed a platform to explain and export the Canadian model Global Refugee Sponsorship Initiative, <http://www.refugeesponsorship.org> (accessed 11 December 2017).

2. An early attempt to profile private sponsors from the Indochinese refugee resettlement (1979-81) foundered on an inability to gain access to the relevant files in the National Archives (Fine-Meyer 2002, vii-ix)

3. For a brief explanation of these categories, see text and links in Refugee Sponsorship Training Program, "The Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program", <http://www.rstp.ca/en/refugee-sponsorship/the-private-sponsorship-of-refugees-program/> (accessed 8 January 2018).

4. *Refoulement* is the technical term for returning a refugee to the place where s/he fled due to a well-founded fear of persecution.

5. Most refugees are eager to access the security of citizenship status, and are most likely to naturalize compared to all other immigrant groups in Canada. Thus, both a successful asylum claim and resettlement in Canada are pathways to the acquisition of citizenship (Griffith 2018).

6. The contrast between public and private is admittedly stylized. It would be more accurate to describe private sponsorship as akin to a public-private partnership, where the private partner is not a profit-seeking corporate entity, but rather an other-regarding collective formed for the specific purposes of refugee sponsorship. Note that the BVOR model represents a recent variant on the configuration of public and private responsibilities.

7. Like all non-citizens, children are entitled to primary and secondary education.

8. In this context, it is noteworthy that a sponsor interviewed about church-based sponsorship reported that refugee sponsorship strengthened the congregation because "we worked together on a tangible goal" (McKinlay 2008, 44).

9. Survey content was translated into French and modified slightly for Quebec because the rules governing the formation of private sponsorship groups in Quebec are established by the province and vary slightly from the federal model.

10. The survey is limited to private sponsors of Syrian refugees who came to Canada after November 4, 2015, when the Liberal Government led by Trudeau was elected and executed its election promise of bringing 25,000 Syrian refugees to Canada. Initially, the pledge was for this to happen by December 31, 2015, but the Government extended its deadline to February 28, 2016.

11. We arrive at this number through an admittedly impressionistic calculus: We start with the total number of sponsored Syrian refugees (approximately 25,000), divide by the estimated average number of Syrians per family (5), for a total of about 5,000 families. We conservatively estimate an average number of 8 sponsors per group, and $8 \times 5,000 = 40,000$ sponsors.

12. These are presumably respondents who had sponsored before, although the number that responded to this item is higher than the figure that reported having previous sponsorship experience ($n=106$).

13. The centrality of public power over private sponsorship is also evident in the government's tight grip on the number and origin of privately sponsored refugees resettled to Canada each year as seen in the significant shift in private sponsorship numbers following the change of government in 2015.

14. The same logic would predict that private sponsorship would not appeal to those who see it as inappropriately devolving a public responsibility to the sphere of private charity.

15. The focus on Syrian resettlement in our survey does not offer insight into the broader private sponsorship of other nationalities in the same time frame. A total of 18,362 refugees were privately sponsored in 2016 while the total number of Syrians privately sponsored between November 4, 2015 and January 29, 2017 was 14,274 (Government of Canada 2017a; Government of Canada 2017b).

REFERENCES

2017. *Global Refugee Sponsorship Initiative*. Accessed December 11. <http://www.refugeesponsorship.org/>.
- Agrawal, S., and S. Zeitouny. 2017. Settlement Experience of Syrian Refugees in Alberta. October. Rep. *Settlement Experience of Syrian Refugees in Alberta*. Retrieved from: <https://cms.eas.ualberta.ca/UrbanEnvOb/wp-content/uploads/sites/21/2017/12/IRCC-presentation-agrawal.pdf>.
- Alberta Syrian Refugee Resettlement Experience Study. 2017. Publication. *Alberta Syrian Refugee Resettlement Experience Study*. Alberta Association of Immigrant Serving Agencies (AAISA). Retrieved from http://aaisa.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/alberta-syrian-refugee-resettlement-study_final.pdf.
- Amarasingam, A., G. Naganathan, and J. Hyndman. 2016. Canadian Multiculturalism as Banal Nationalism: Understanding Everyday Meanings Among Sri Lankan Tamils in Toronto. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 48.2: 119-142.
- Anderson, B. 2016. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. ed. London: Verso.
- Appiah, K. A. 2007. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: W.W. Norton and Co.
- Bhabha, J. 2018. *Can We Solve the Migration Crisis?* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Boyte, H. 2011. Constructive Politics as Public Work: Organizing the Literature. *Political Theory* 39.5: 630-60.
- Bramadat, P. 2014. Don't Ask, Don't Tell: Refugee Settlement and Religion in British Columbia. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 82.4: 907-37.
- Federal Election Results 2015. 2015. Map. *CBC News Interactives*. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news2/interactives/results-2015/>.
- Canadian Council for Refugees. 2016. Canada is a Global Leader in Resettlement. http://ccrweb.ca/sites/ccrweb.ca/files/infographic_refugee_resettlement_pdf.pdf.
- Chapman, A. 2014. Private Sponsorship and Public Policy: Political Barriers to Church-connected Refugee Resettlement in Canada. Rep. *Citizens for Public Justice*. Retrieved from <https://www.cpj.ca/private-sponsorship-and-public-policy>.
- Drolet, Julie, Richard Enns, Linda Kreitzer, Janki Shankar, and Anne-Marie McLaughlin. 2017. Supporting the Resettlement of a Syrian Family in Canada: The Social Work Resettlement Practice Experience of Social Justice Matters. *International Social Work*. Retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0020872817725143>.
- Fine-Meyer, R. 2002. Unique refugees: The sponsorship and resettlement of Vietnamese 'Boat People' in Ontario. Thesis. University of Toronto.
- Government of Canada. 1976. *Immigration Act*. S.C. 1976-77, c.52. Retrieved from <https://www.pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/immigration-act-1976>.
- _____. 2012. *Regulations Amending the Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations*. Retrieved from <http://www.gazette.gc.ca/rp-pr/p2/2012/2012-11-07/html/sor-dors225-eng.html>.
- _____. 2017a. 2017 Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration. Retrieved from https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/annual-report-parliament-immigration-2017.html#sec1_1.
- _____. 2017b. #WelcomeRefugees: Key figures. Retrieved from <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/welcome-syrian-refugees/key-figures.html>.
- Griffith, A. 2018. What the Census Tells Us about Citizenship. *Policy Options*, March 20. Retrieved from <http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/march-2018/what-the-census-tells-us-about-citizenship>.
- Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. 2016a. Evaluation of the Resettlement Programs (GAR, PSR, BVOR, and RAP). Retrieved from <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/reports-statistics/evaluations/resettlement-programs.html#tbl-7>.
- _____. 2016b. Temporary public policy to facilitate the sponsorship of Syrian and Iraqi refugees by Groups of Five and Community Sponsors. Retrieved from <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/mandate/policies-operational-instructions-agreements/sponsorship-syrian-iraqi-refugees-groups-five-community-sponsors-2017.html>.

- _____. 2018. Syrian Refugees: Monthly IRCC Update. Canada - Admissions of Syrian Refugees by Province/Territory and Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) of Intended Destination and Immigration Category, November 4th, 2015 – February 28th, 2018. Retrieved from https://open.canada.ca/data/en/dataset/01c85d28-2a81-4295-9c06-4af792a7c209?sort=time_descend&pagelimit=100.
- Korteweg, A. C. 2006. The Construction of Gendered Citizenship at the Welfare Office: An Ethnographic Comparison of Welfare-to-Work Workshops in the United States and the Netherlands. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 13.3: 314-40.
- Kymlicka, W., and K. Walker, eds. 2013. *Rooted Cosmopolitanism: Canada and the World*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Labman, S. 2016. Private Sponsorship: Complementary or Conflicting Interests. *Refuge* 32.2: 67-80.
- Labman, S., and M. Pearlman. 2018. Blending, Bargaining, and Burden-Sharing: Canada's Resettlement Programs. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 19.2: 439-49.
- Landolt, P., and L. Goldring, eds. 2013. *Producing and Negotiating Non-Citizenship: Precarious Legal Status in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Macklin, A. 2007. Who Is the Citizens Other? Considering the Heft of Citizenship. *Theoretical Inquiries in Law* 8.2: 333-66.
- Maclean's*. 2016. Justin Trudeau at UN: 'We're Canadian. And We're Here to Help.' September 20. Retrieved from <https://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/justin-trudeau-at-the-un-were-canadian-and-were-here-to-help/>.
- Marshall, T. H. 1950. *Citizenship and Social Class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McKinlay, C. 2008. *Welcoming the Stranger: The Canadian Church and the Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program*. Thesis. Ryerson University.
- Molloy, M., P. Duschinsky, K. F. Jensen and R. J. Shalka. 2017. *Running on Empty: Canada and the Indochinese Refugees, 1975-1980*. Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Munson, J., and S. Ataullahjan. 2016. *Finding Refuge in Canada: A Syrian Resettlement Story*. Senate Committee on Human Rights. Retrieved from https://senCanada.ca/content/sen/committee/421/RIDR/Reports/RIDR_RPT_SyrianResettlement_FINAL_E.pdf.
- Oda, A., A. Tuck, B. Agic, M. Hynie, B. Roche, and K. McKenzie. 2017. Health Needs and Services Use of Newly Arrived Syrian Refugees in Toronto: A Cross-Sectional Study. *CMAJ Open* 5.2: 354-58.
- Statistics Canada. 2017a. Aboriginal peoples in Canada: Key Results from the 2016 Census. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/171025/dq171025b-eng.htm>.
- _____. 2017b. Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity: Key Results from the 2016 Census. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/171025/dq171025b-eng.htm>.
- _____. 2017c. Income highlight tables, 2016 Census: Median household total income and after-tax income by household type (total-household type including census family structure), Canada, province and territories. Retrieved from <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/hlt-fst/inc-rev/Table.cfm?Lang=Eng&T=101&S=99&O=A>.
- _____. 2018. Census Program. Retrieved from <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/index-eng.cfm>.
- Yuval-Davis, N. 2011. *The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestations*. London: Sage Publications.

AUDREY MACKLIN is Director of the Centre for Criminology and Sociolegal Studies and Professor and Chair in Human Rights at the Faculty of Law at the University of Toronto. She teaches, researches and writes on all aspects of migration and citizenship law. She became a Trudeau Fellow in 2017.

KATHRYN BARBER is a Ph.D candidate in Sociology at York University. She is interested in the topics of migration, nation and epistemology.

LUIN GOLDRING is Professor of Sociology at York University. Her research focuses on the nexus between transnational migration, precarious work and citizenship.

JENNIFER HYNDMAN is Professor in Social Science and Geography and Director of the Centre for Refugee Studies at York University in Toronto. She is co-author with Wenona Giles of *Refugees in Extended Exile: Living on the Edge* (Routledge, 2017), author of *Dual Disasters: Humanitarian Aid after the 2004 Tsunami* (Kumarian Press, 2011), *Managing Displacement: Refugees and the Politics of Humanitarianism* (University of Minnesota Press, 2000), and co-editor with Giles of *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones* (University of California Press, 2004).

ANNA KORTEWEG is Professor of Sociology at the University of Toronto. You can read about her work at www.korteweg.wordpress.com.

SHAUNA LABMAN is Assistant Professor of Law at the University of Manitoba. She writes and speaks extensively on refugee issues and her published work covers questions of human rights, discrimination, refugee protection, gender, resettlement and the government-citizen dynamic in private refugee sponsorship.

JONA ZYFI is a doctoral student at the Centre for Criminology & Sociolegal Studies at the University of Toronto and the Student Director for the Canadian Association of Refugee Forced Migration Studies. Her research interests include the criminalization and securitization of irregular migrants and asylum seekers, the intersections between human smuggling and trafficking, refugee protection, and cross-border governance and policy.

CHRISTOPHER KYRIAKIDES, LUBNA BAJJALI, ARTHUR MCLUHAN, AND KAREN ANDERSON

Beyond Refuge: Contested Orientalism and Persons of Self-Rescue

Abstract

Drawing on empirical data from a recent study of the resettlement practices, challenges and concerns of privately sponsored refugees and sponsor groups in Ontario, Canada, we examine how Orientalist scripts of refuge frame “the Syrian refugee crisis” but are interactively challenged and reconfigured in the sponsor-sponsored relationship. Key to this contestation are the pre-conflict practical identities through which “refugees” assert their authority to act as “persons of self-rescue” in pursuit of a life beyond refuge. Relatedly, their authority to act is impeded or enhanced in their interaction with sponsors whose corporate group identity, formed in response to community expectations, policy obligations, media representations, and personal motivations, is a conduit of (mis)recognition. Focusing on resettlement practices of refugeeness, we argue that the Canadian private sponsorship scheme provides deep insight into refugee-host relations.

Keywords: Orientalism; private sponsorship; refugee resettlement; ‘Syrian refugee crisis’.

Résumé

À partir de données empiriques tirées d’une étude récente sur les pratiques, les défis et les préoccupations des réfugiés parrainés par le secteur privé et des groupes de parrainage en Ontario, nous examinons comment les scénarios de refuge orientalistes encadrent «la crise des réfugiés syriens» mais sont interactifs et reconfigurés dans une relation sponsorisée. La clé de ce défi réside dans les identités pratiques d’avant-conflit par lesquelles les «réfugiés» affirment leur autorité à agir comme des «personnes d’auto-sauvetage» dans la poursuite d’une vie au-delà du refuge. Parallèlement, leur pouvoir d’agir est entravé ou renforcé dans leur interaction avec des parrains dont l’identité de groupe, formée en réponse aux attentes de la communauté, aux obligations politiques, aux représentations médiatiques et aux motivations personnelles, est un moyen de reconnaissance. En mettant l’accent sur les pratiques de réinstallation, nous soutenons que le Programme canadien de parrainage privé de réfugiés offre un aperçu approfondi des relations entre les réfugiés et les hôtes.

Mots clés : Orientalisme; parrainage privé; réinstallation des réfugiés; “la crise des réfugiés syriens.”



INTRODUCTION

Refugee-host relations in Western receiving states are such that the “host group” assumes a position of dominance due to social, economic, political and cultural

resources afforded by citizenship and national belonging. Inter-group relations of power can be exacerbated by cultural representations of “refugee group members” as objects of rescue, particularly as refugee status requires applicants to prove they are involuntary non-economic migrants in need of third-country protections. Questions related to the assertion of agency and autonomy are inherently implicated in the power-dynamic of refugee reception. Inclusion and exclusion in Western resettlement contexts is further complicated for refugees from the Global East and South, where reception activates Orientalist representations of passivity and infantilization which must be negotiated as part of the resettlement experience.

The Canadian Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program (PSRP) provides a unique opportunity to investigate this dynamic. PSRP formalizes a state-sanctioned “private” relationship between “sponsors” and “sponsored” who interact on a regular basis during the first twelve months of resettlement. Sponsor group “hosts” are expected to help sponsored “refugees” attain self-sufficiency. The interactive sponsor-sponsored relationship offers a micro-level lens into the dynamic of refugee-host relations. This paper reports on the findings from a study of the sponsor-sponsored interactive relationship, contextualized within the representational frame of “the Syrian refugee crisis.”

ORIENTALISED REFUGEE RECEPTION – THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Scholars working in refugee studies recognize that persons receiving refugee status must navigate the everyday terrain of “refugeeness” (Brücker 2017; Dobson 2004; Lacroix 2004; Lee and Brotman 2011; Malkki 1996; Schrijvers 1999; Szczepanikova 2010), a contested condition of existence in which the figure of the refugee is constructed by policy practices (Zetter 2007) and media representations (Philo, Briant and Donald 2013) that together constitute a media-policy-migration nexus (Kyriakides 2017a,b). A set of political and media-validated scripts play out – particularly in the cultural construction of a war-induced “refugee crisis” – which informs Western assumptions of what a refugee is (Lubkemann 2010), and which *excludes* the “non-deserving” (Kyriakides 2017a). In the West, migrants and refugees from the Global South and East are (in)validated within a “victim-pariah” representational status couplet, where entrants must prove they do not constitute a threat to the receiving state (*ibid*). There follows a publicly anticipated performance of the refugee role informed by understandings of war, violence and their impact on persons displaced by conflict. The performative expectations of refuge construct refugees as involuntary, non-wilful objects shaped and moved by forces of conflict: “refugees” must fit the “victim” role in order to gain entry, and act so as to retain host acceptance. In the cultural script of refuge, refugees are victims who “deserve” rescue; receiving societies are saviours who provide it.

Edward Said's Orientalism thesis offers a partial way into deconstructing cultural scripts of refuge. The Western historical construction of the "non-Western other" as uncivilised, unruly, and lacking in cultural sophistication, contrasts with "the West" where the cultivation of self assumes a superior and dominant vantage point from which Western imperial interventions are justified. The West (self) is constructed as active (masculine), knowledgeable and moral; the East (other) as passive (feminine), to be led by Western virtue. In the macro-context of East-West geopolitics, Middle East self-determination movements and anti-colonial struggles of the 20th century broke "the principle of confinement" (Said 1994, 327), and were interpreted through the Western lens of unruly barbarity (Said 1995, 329-352). Yet, as a considerable body of scholarship has demonstrated, the activities of "displaced persons" cannot be understood as orientated around a conflict-induced bare life existence – a universal condition devoid of "pre-conflict" historical and cultural practices (Krulfeld 1994; Ramsay 2017; Sanyal 2014; Suzuki 2016; Turner 2016; Utas 2005). The identities and behaviours of refugees are affected, but not defined, by conflict and war. Framing refugees as victims "with no histories" whose existence "merely starts with the war" (Lubkemann 2010, 28) silences the interactive contestation that pre-conflict histories and cultural practices potentially mobilise against the media and policy scripts that currently underpin reception in Western states.

Cultural constructs of Eastern passivity have particular Western resettlement implications for those signified as "Arab refugees." The post-9/11 culture of fear has been well documented (Altheide 2006; Linke and Smith 2009; Mythen and Walklate 2006), as has the impact of the "war on terror" on Middle Eastern migrants/minority citizens (Jamal and Naber 2008; Khan and Ecklund 2012; Kyriakides and Torres 2015; Salaita 2006). Post-9/11 scholarship has addressed negative significations of "the Arab" and "the Muslim" as "threat" mobilized through media representations of migrants, refugees and minority ethnic citizens (Alsultany 2013; Nacos and Torres-Reyna 2003; Poynting et al. 2004). Consequently, recognition is oriented according to geopolitical processes which manifest in the domestic context of receiving states; contexts in which persons designated as "Middle Eastern" in origin must navigate a precarious line between inclusion as deserving victim and exclusion as undeserving pariah. The influence of victim-pariah ascriptions on day-to-day "refugee-host" interactions is significant in determining the experience of resettlement.

The invisibility of pre-conflict identities and social roles, entailed by "refugeeness," is potentially reinforced in a liberal multiculturalist reception context, which seeks to pluralistically accommodate essentialized ethno-cultural identities within a racialized national framework of tolerance (Balibar 1991; Bannerji 2000). Moreover, if *recognition* is primarily concerned with making liberal citizens out of marginalized constituents (Coulthard 2014; Levey 2015; Simpson 2014; Taylor 1994), the potential

for exclusionary practices of (mis)recognition abounds, particularly for those granted refugee status by liberal democratic states and who subsequently challenge the passive/active construct associated with “the Syrian refugee crisis.” Challenging the ascription of passivity entailed by “victim recognition” could activate pariah ascriptions.

CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY

The Canadian government’s Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program (PSRP) provides a way to examine practices of “inclusion and exclusion” pertaining to refugee-host relations, particularly how the wider dynamic of Orientalized reception plays out in Western refugee reception contexts. Established in 1979, PSRP is unique to Canada (Van Selm 2014), though there have been recent moves to export the program as a model for successful resettlement (Harris 2016). Canada recognizes refugees to be “those who are outside their home country, cannot return there due to a well-founded fear of persecution, or who have been seriously affected by civil war or armed conflict, or have been denied basic human rights on an ongoing basis” (IRCC 2018). To be admitted to Canada, refugees must be referred by the United Nations Refugee Agency or by a private sponsorship group. Vetted refugees can be sponsored by the Government of Canada (government-assisted refugees), a group of people or an organization (privately sponsored refugees) or a mix of both (blended visa office-referred refugees). Under PSRP, Canadian citizens can form a group of five or more private individuals, raise funds (usually through voluntary donations) to support an individual or family for a year, and assist them attain economic self-sufficiency by month 13. Both refugee and host are placed in direct and formalized interactive relationships. While there is an informative body of academic research on private sponsorship (Beiser 2003; 2009; Denton 2003; Derwing and Mulder 2003; Hyndman, Payne, and Jimenez 2017; Lanphier 2003; Murdie 2008; Simich 2003), when we began this study in 2016, few systematic research studies on the private resettlement of Syrian refugees had been published (Agrawal and Zeitouny 2017; Drolet et al. 2017; Munson and Atallahjan 2016). Moreover, there was a significant lack of in-depth work on how the complexity of sponsor-sponsored interaction might positively or negatively affect resettlement.

This study focuses on the resettlement of Syrian refugees located in a sparsely populated municipality in Southern Ontario, part of the approximately 36,000 Syrian refugees admitted to Canada between November 2015 and November 2016, the result of the newly elected Trudeau government’s pledge to increase refugee resettlement to Canada. In all, 109 participants were purposively sampled and interviewed by a four-person research team between December 2016 and March 2017. The sample included 13 one-to-one interviews with public sector agencies (PSA); 13

focus group interviews with private sponsor groups (PSG) (47 individuals); and one-to-one interviews with 49 private sponsored refugees (PSR). A refugee-referred cohort of 10 private sponsored and 6 government assisted refugees resettled in Toronto facilitated rural-urban and government-private comparisons. All PSA and PSG interviews were conducted in English by a two-person interview team. All refugee interviews were conducted in Arabic by a native Arabic-speaking interviewer. Consent forms and research descriptions were provided in both Arabic and English as appropriate. All interviews were voice-recorded with consent.

This study commenced with the research goal of revealing and understanding “the inclusion and exclusion of sponsored Syrian refugees.” Given the highly politicized reception context, the relative absence of prior research into the exclusion of privately sponsored Syrian refugees, and cognizant that PSRP had already been publicly hailed as a success (Harris 2016), we adopted a grounded theory approach which situated “resettlement success” as highly subjective, with the possibility of meaning different things to the various sponsorship parties. We orientated our approach around: “what constitutes the meaning of ‘successful resettlement’ from the perspective of sponsorship participants?” We began by probing through innocuous and broad questions such as: “If you had the option to change anything about private sponsorship what would you change and why?”; “Would you recommend private sponsorship as a route to resettlement? Why/why not?”; “Would you recommend (location of resettlement withheld) to others as a place of resettlement? Why/why not?”. Group-specific questions were also included for the sponsors – “If you had the opportunity to sponsor again would you? If yes/no, why?”; and for the refugees – “Do you think you will remain in (location of resettlement withheld) after your twelve-month support ends? Why/not?” From these questions we were able to draw out a clear understanding of “the meaning of resettlement success” from both refugee and sponsor group perspectives.

The abductive grounded approach used here indicates we deliberately adopted a position of relative ignorance at research-start; with no knowledge base of problems related to the resettlement of private sponsored Syrian refugees until we were engaged in the interview process. However, our ability to comprehend unanticipated and surprising data was aided by our pre-existing knowledge of theories which allowed for the generation of novel concepts (Timmermans and Tavory 2012). Memo-sending, sorting and writing was continuous as was discussion of various theoretical perspectives and their degree of fit in making sense of the data. Analysis followed accordingly, at the end of each interview, in team meetings where significant thematic areas were discussed, appraised and re-visited to identify fruitful questions for developing concepts.

REFUSING REFUGEENESS: THE SALIENCE OF PRACTICAL IDENTITIES

It was Rasha¹, a 46-year-old woman from Aleppo who first alerted us to refugeeness as a contested status: “I always try to think like a refugee,” she said, “but I don’t know how.” Along with her family, Rasha resettled in Canada in 2016 as part of the Federal Government’s Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program (PSRP). With these words, Rasha contested refugeeness. In her experience, being a refugee had nothing to do with her perception of self. Instead, she alerted us to the existence of a set of host expectations and assumptions that inform the refugee role in the Canadian reception context. As much as she tried, Rasha could not perform a role that was alien to her experience and sense of self. Rasha recalled her arrival to Canada, meeting her sponsors for the first time, and entering the furnished house they had prepared in advance. Mortified by the “condition of the bedsheets,” and much to the consternation of her sponsors, she immediately stripped the bed. Initially the sponsors expressed shock that she should have such “high standards of cleanliness.”

For Rasha, “clean sheets” symbolize the status roles she had as “housewife” and “mother” and the pride she took in maintaining a spotless and welcoming home in Aleppo. “Clean sheets” reflected her expectation of a certain level of social esteem and worth. By stripping the bed in front of her sponsors, Rasha asserted her authority to act, not according to the expectations her sponsors held about behavior appropriate to a refugee, but as a person in her own right. In Rasha’s narrative of “successful resettlement” she derives authority from her pre-conflict practical identity as “home maker” which she asserts by stripping the bed. She narrates her sense of self by highlighting her pre-conflict practical identity: “a description under which you value yourself, a description under which you find your life to be worth living and your actions to be worth undertaking” (Korsgaard 1996, 101). By asserting her authority to act she demands recognition that her identity did not begin with the onset of “the Syrian refugee crisis,” nor on being granted refugee status in Canada. It began 46 years prior to refuge, comprising a set of experiences, identities, competencies, and dispositions that served her well in navigating the conflict and arriving with her family in Canada. And now she wanted a life beyond conflict and refugeeness.

Manal recalled her life in Syria prior to the conflict: “... my life in Syria was very good. I could buy my children new clothes every month, our house was full of food and all your heart desires. I always took my kids to eat at restaurants.” Like Rasha, Manal expressed a desire for a life beyond the one ascribed to her by refugee status. “Now all I get here is from charity,” she told us. “I cannot buy anything new for my children, I cannot take them to restaurants. We do not have a good income to allow us to live the life we desire.”

Ali, in his early 30s, explicitly drew our attention to how his sponsors’ expectations about his performance of refugeeness contrasted with his prior life. Ali’s expect-

tations of resettlement in Canada were shaped by his pre-conflict status; they were challenged but not relinquished once he arrived in Canada:

My wife and I travelled a lot as tourists before coming to Canada. When we arrived as refugees at the airport we actually didn't know how to act. The reason was that coming to a specific country as a refugee is different from travelling as a tourist. I think that implicitly we rejected the idea that we came here as refugees. Instead we thought 'we're coming to Canada to build a new life, just like any other immigrant.' We didn't accept the categorization 'refugees' and we didn't know how to act based on this categorization.

In the narration of their pre-conflict practical identities, what Rasha, Ali, Manal and others alerted us to was their desire for a life in which their status as persons, with authority to act, is not bound by cultural scripts of refuge which deny pre-conflict histories and post-refuge aspirations. They reject the identity refuge entails and view themselves as deliberate authors of their own rescue.

PERSONS OF SELF-RESCUE AND THE EXISTENTIAL TRANSACTIONS OF WORTH

If refugees are thought of as deliberative and purposive actors with pre-conflict histories, and if pre-conflict roles, cultures and identities are considered, how might we alter our understanding of resettling persons granted refugee status by Western states? Interviewees repeated confirmation of their eligibility to exist through the assertion of their authority to act as persons of self-rescue against disconfirming forces alerted us to an under-examined condition of resettlement that contests (in)visibility – the “existential transactions of worth.”

According to orientalist scripts of refuge, refugees are not agents capable of self-rescue; they are in need of rescue. Yet, a key narrative expressed by interviewees was that in fleeing Syria they had successfully navigated a “voyage of death” in which forces of conflict challenged their eligibility to exist. In the face of the material threat of conflict, pre-conflict statuses, roles and identities were key to countering existential threat. Hadi's recollections illustrate how his affirmation of self as a deliberate actor against displacement drew on his pre-conflict practical identities of father, worker, and breadwinner. Through a series of calculated moves, Hadi and his family became persons of self-rescue, not helpless victims to be saved by the West.

When the civil war intensified, we left Syria and went to Lebanon because I lost my job and I was no longer able to support my family. At first, I went alone to Lebanon and rented a house and then, four months later, I returned to Syria, brought my family, and went back to Lebanon.

The formation of persons of self-rescue should be understood as a means for preventing, anticipating, and protecting against uncertainty while assuring worthiness. When sponsors acted towards them in the resettlement context as involuntary victims of force devoid of a meaningful pre-conflict history, this undermined their (legitimate) claims to being persons of worth in their own right. As Manal recollects:

We lived a difficult life in the camp, a life we were not accustomed to... especially since my husband had an accident inside the camp where a Jordanian man ran him over with his car and then fled. That was the reason my husband had to stay at home without work for five months ... I had to sell all my gold ... I sold half the aid we got so I could spend on my children and buy gas and other necessities. Living in the camp was very tiring. There was no electricity or water except at certain hours. We never thought we'd have to live such a life.

Manal's act of selling her gold is validated through pre-conflict Islamic personal status law, and enshrined in Muslim marital custom, under which the Mahr (in this instance "gold") is bequeathed to the bride by the groom as security that can be used by her to counter the effects of catastrophic events such as spousal death or divorce.² By selling her gold, Manal asserts her authority to act as a Muslim woman, mother, and spouse – pre-conflict roles that enable her to confirm her family's eligibility to exist against the disconfirming conditions of camp-life. A series of calculated and deliberate actions not conducive to categorisation as conflict-induced involuntarism underpin her family's status as persons of self-rescue. Such actions can be understood as existential transactions that facilitate the self-affirmation of worth against the ineligibility to exist represented by forces of conflict. Yet, autonomy should be understood here as relational (Christman 2009), emerging from pre-conflict social roles, in that the deliberative authority being asserted through practical identities confirms and is confirmed by the material existence of the family against the disconfirming forces of conflict. Consequently, the (mis)recognition of persons of self-rescue by sponsors can have a significant impact on the dynamic of resettlement.

CONTESTING ORIENTALISM

Taking Said's Orientalism as our cue, we can discern the presence of passive-active East-West binaries in refugee-host relations. The image of "the refugee" as a passive object of force is revealed in the media spectacle of war and attendant "refugee crisis" which frames how Western publics often first encounter "the refugee" whose plight "requires intervention." Members of all the sponsor groups we interviewed spoke impassionedly of TV news stories that called them to action, in particular the image of drowned three-year-old Aylan Kurdi, circulated globally by the media on 2 and 3

September 2015. Media and political spheres were congruent, in that states responded to the photograph by pressing the moral imperative for greater intervention in the Syrian crisis (see ABC News 2015). One sponsor group member recalled how a community meeting, called to discuss the possibility of sponsoring a family, was influenced by the image of Aylan Kurdi: “We all had the visual memories of the boy on the beach. The timing was right, if you like. It was certainly up there in our minds.” The observation is poignant for our discussion when we consider Malkki’s (1995, 11) insight that “the refugee” is often constructed as a socially unformed infantilised figure, “a powerless being with no consciousness of history, traditions, culture or nationality...”

Relatedly, orientalist scripts of refuge exhibit a romanticised image of the “frail but resilient female refugee” (Munt 2012; for a related critique see Pupavac 2008), and studies have revealed that gendered mistrust complicates the notion of “resilient resettlement” (Lenette 2015). While “resilience” connotes the ability to survive victimisation, a Western culture of mistrust (Kyriakides 2017a), particularly of Muslim masculinities (Khalid 2011; Maira 2009; Razack 2004), entails that the “overly resilient refugee” who demands recognition beyond a “victim identity” (Behrman 2014; Johnson 2011), can easily be accommodated within the representational category of “pariah,” especially where securitization has come to exert its force through “war on terror” tropes (Mogire 2011; Nagra 2017).

Among the cohort of privately sponsored refugees we interviewed were two Iranian sisters in their early 20s, whose experience allowed us to develop a deeper understanding of the salience of the “war-torn migrant” signifier in Syrian refugee reception. Malak and Nahid did not claim refugee status as a consequence of war. As covert converts from Islam to Christianity, they had been arrested and imprisoned on suspicion of being “apostates,” which can carry a sentence of death in Iran. They fled to Turkey where they lived for four years before private sponsorship brought them to Canada. Being Iranian meant they did not fit the cultural scripts of refuge implied by the “Syrian refugee crisis,” which proved to be a challenge to their sponsor group’s corporate identity.

We found that when individuals form private sponsor groups, they also form a sponsor group identity. This identity can be shaped by a variety of influences: the expectations of community donors, the obligations of private sponsorship policy, media representations of refugees, and personal motivations inspired by altruism and sometimes guided by prior experience of refugee sponsorship. An idealized image of the prospective refugee emerges and is incorporated as a structural “support” identity for sponsor group members, providing them with a “road map” of sponsorship goals. However, the various influences on corporate sponsorship identity are not necessarily congruent. Conflicting influences can institutionalize tension within the sponsor group that may be exacerbated when confronted by the everyday needs of sponsored refugees.

Malak and Nahid's sponsor group had set out with the specific aim of supporting single or widowed Syrian women. The sponsor group chair told us:

I live in a big house by myself. I was really moved by everything that was going on in Syria.... The whole concept was the women were going to be the ones that were left behind, particularly if they were widowed in a male-dominated culture. I was thinking as a single female, you know, what if I lost my house? What if my hometown was bombed? What if I'm sitting in my house and boom everything is gone? Who would look after me?I was brought up with [many] sisters... living in the house... I thought, 'I could do that [live with women].' They could use all the rooms, and we could cook and eat together. I thought that this would be a safe haven. It was a little idealistic. Turns out we couldn't find any women, or single women, a mother and daughter or couple of sisters who were Syrian.

The Canadian national political and community cultural dynamic of inclusion/exclusion had positioned war-torn Syrians, not religious-convert Iranians, in crisis and in need of Western rescue. The sponsor group experienced backlash, particularly from some who had made financial contributions to the sponsorship: "When we first sponsored the two Iranian sisters, we got a huge amount of flack, from people who... responded with, 'What do you mean? What's going on? Why are you sponsoring Iranians?'" That really surprised me."

The sponsor group proceeded despite community criticisms. However, the feminised ideal "Middle Eastern refugee woman," was incongruent with the status eligibilities – eligibility to exist, and authority to act – sought by Malak and Nahid, neither of which conformed to the performative expectations of grateful refugee and fragile feminised victimhood entailed by "the Syrian refugee crisis." The sisters were increasingly positioned as pariahs.

Initially they were really, really sweet and quite thankful and quite polite.... They are drop-dead gorgeous and have this lovely demeanour, but do you know the expression 'wolves in sheep's clothing'? It's all about the money.... We had a very, very difficult time with the two Iranian sisters. Whatever we did it was not enough.... Whether their sense of entitlement comes from being Iranian, I have no idea. They just have this sense of superiority over Arabs and over us....

Wider cultural scripts of refuge, which had framed the passive, dependent, war-torn Arab woman as deserving, coalesced with liberal multiculturalism to negatively position the "ethnically intolerant Iranian" outside the moral limits of refuge, providing the sponsor with an explanation for Malak's and Nahid's refusal to perform to the expectations institutionalised in the sponsor group's corporate identity.

Malak and Nahid experienced the expectations placed on them as overbearing and controlling. They increasingly expressed their wish to move out of the sponsor's

home, and felt that doing so was actively discouraged. Under sponsorship policy, sponsored refugees who move away from the proximate area of their sponsors can, following arbitration and mutual consent, lose or relinquish entitlement to sponsorship monies if the move is part of the dissolution of the sponsorship. Moving house without sponsor group consent could deprive the sisters of financial support.

Some sponsor group members were concerned that if Malak and Nahid moved this would signal that the group had failed in its mission, leading to a “loss of face” in the wider community and donors. However, local communities are not homogeneous, and belief systems, expectations, and interpretations vary. One group volunteer from the local community, with whom Malak and Nahid had developed a “trusted” relationship, recalled a sponsor group meeting where the sisters expressed their wish to leave the sponsor’s home and requested that rental monies to which they believed they were entitled be released for this purpose: “In my mind it was abusive...the sisters said we found this apartment, we want to move out. If you don’t give us first and last month’s rent, we will lose the apartment. The response was, ‘So you want us to take the money away from real refugees from Syria, from bombings, from torture? And you want us to give it to you?’” One former sponsor group member confirmed that Malak and Nahid were able to move only because their rent money was donated by individuals who were not sponsor group members: “The chair was very much opposed to them moving. Next thing I know they’ve moved. And it’s because [someone from outside the sponsorship group] gave them first and last months’ rent...”

The sister’s assertion of their authority to act challenged the expected passivity of orientalist refuge and brought out the implicit tension embodied in the sponsor group’s formation, polarising members of the group, some of whom withdrew in protest: “Well, I’m sorry, but the [sponsor group] board shouldn’t decide whether the refugee will be living with one of them. The refugee has to be involved... You can’t operate like that. So I resigned.”

But the validity of Malak and Nahid’s status as refugees had been called into question; rumours were spread about their moral worth, and aspersions cast against them in the local community. “One sponsor told people bad things about us and we heard this from people we trust; she told people that we used our looks and our bodies in Turkey to get what we wanted.” For Malak and Nahid, such aspersions were congruent with the hypersexualised stereotypes promoted against female apostates in Iran, an untenable set of existential conditions against which they had asserted their eligibility to exist and authority to act. Still, the support they received from some sponsor-group and community members facilitated a mutual challenge to the economic-structural constraints of the rental market, sponsorship policy, and cultural scripts of refuge, and loosened the grip of refugeeness: “We left the sponsor’s

house and we rented this place and we found part time jobs. Here we can have our own life and we can decide for ourselves and choose friends from different age groups and backgrounds.” While Malak and Nahid’s deliberate actions in defiance of dependent victim status laid out in cultural scripts of refuge placed them in the pariah category, by asserting their authority to act they confirmed their eligibility to exist beyond refuge.

RECOGNISING PERSONS OF SELF-RESCUE

The complexity of possible interpretations and motivations becomes starker still when we consider the wider Canadian political context in which “the Syrian refugee crisis” emerged. The Trudeau government came to power in 2015 in part against the Harper government’s less than enthusiastic response to Syrian refugees, with a pledge to increase resettlement to Canada. Does Trudeau’s victory entail that the Canadian population is largely pro-refugee, and if so, what does it mean to be pro-refugee? Following Said and Malkki’s theoretical lead, we could infer that Canadian pro-refugeeness is deeply patronising, derived from a paternalistic saviour complex legitimised by the state (Cole 2012). The image of Aylan Kurdi played into a narcissistic national self-image; representation of his lifeless body serving as a metaphor for a socially unformed passive and feminised Middle Eastern refugee population in need of Western rescue.

Yet, our study suggests otherwise. While we uncovered narcissism and paternalism, it was not sufficient to support a homogenising interpretation of the sponsoring population. Consider the following:

It wasn’t the boy on the beach for me. It was coverage of the Syrians trying to get on the trains. And they blocked the trains. There was a young couple with a baby and they wouldn’t let them on trains, and the trains were the only way out. The man took his wife, who was holding his daughter, and threw them on the tracks and laid on top of her. It was the frustration of the man, the protector, the provider; the vulnerability of the woman who is trying to save her child; and the child who is innocent. That was the catalyst for me.

For this sponsor, socially informed roles – father, wife, mother, protector, provider – imbue displacement with pre-conflict biography, history, active existence, and a clear differentiation between adult and child. The point here is not whether we agree with the assigned roles, but that social roles are assigned at all. The pariah in this instance is the state and its representatives; “the refugees” are not socially unformed involuntary victims. They defy the disconfirming forces, the status eligibilities of refuge which deny them safe passage. They have a life and practical identities prior to refuge. They are persons of self-rescue.

Other sponsor group members were motivated by political principles and concerns for social justice, which allowed for a differentiation between Canadian and US foreign policy:

Social issues, social justice issues have always been something that I've embraced and advocated strongly. I was an educator. I taught history for 35 years. And it is something I encourage students to get involved in, particularly in the area of critical thinking. So as things began to deteriorate rapidly in the Middle East, especially after the US invasion of Iraq, more and more I got involved in what was going on. And with the issues in Syria, especially regarding refugees, I felt very strongly that something needed to be done. We missed a chance as a nation and community when there were Iraqi refugees. My ambition or hope was that we would not miss the chance when there were Syrian refugees.

Just as "refugees" cannot be homogenised through refugeeness, neither is it valid to deny the capacity for relationally autonomous thought and action on the part of sponsors. What the Orientalism thesis (Said 1994, 326-336) speaks to, but does not sufficiently develop, is the propensity for cultural change and national differentiation within the West and the centrality of existential transactions of worth in precipitating that change. In this instance, "successful resettlement" is the interactional breaking of the discursively essentialised multicultural limits of the sponsor-sponsored relationship.

In the micro-context of refugee-host relations, as represented by sponsor-sponsored relationships, the assertion of self-rescue – the authority to act and eligibility to exist – confronts Orientalised scripts of assumed refugee passivity and this can lead to breakdown and breakthrough. The cultural script breaks down when confronted by actual living, breathing persons of self-rescue. In the case of Iranian sisters Malak and Nahid, their sponsor group reconstituted itself and continued to sponsor others, but there was a significant change in the group's approach. We interviewed a Syrian couple who later received sponsorship from the same group:

[B]efore coming to Canada, [the sponsorship group chair] asked us about the number of bags we will bring with us, and hence she came with a van. She gave us a very warm reception, made us feel like we know her for a long time. Also in these previous messages, she informed us that at the beginning we will be staying with her in her house until we find a place to live. Shortly before our travel, she sent us photos of two apartments as proposals for us to live and we chose one of them and did not ask her why the change of plans. What surprised us was actually the fact of giving us the choice before renting the place. I asked: Why do they give us the choice? We felt very much happy when we selected one of the two places. We were happier that we would be alone without having to live with her. We got to the apartment and it was beautifully furnished and had all our requirements. They put a lot of food, enough for two months. She even put a small bag with a gift for me on the pillow containing creams, shampoos and makeup. I was very happy not only for coming to Canada, but also for the humanitarian way of how she treated us which surpassed our expectations.

The recognition of their deliberative authority in choosing their accommodation and the effect of recognising them as persons of self-rescue illustrates two points of significance. First, as persons of self-rescue Malik and Nahid broke the involuntarist script of refuge validated by Canadian refugee reception policy and operationalized by their sponsor group. Second, their actions precipitated change on the part of the host community as represented by the sponsor group, pushing the group to move beyond Orientalised scripts of refuge.

There were further instances where the sponsor-sponsored relationship had become strained to the point where “the sponsored” wanted to leave. The impact on sponsor groups precipitated a sense of crisis which ranged from feelings of betrayal to “they had experiences and expectations that you didn’t expect” and to the realisation that the approach of the sponsor group was partly responsible:

Part of the problem was me. In the past I had sponsored refugees and they were all fairly unworldly, didn’t know how to use a stove or washing machine, coming out of Vietnam, Malaysia, and El Salvador. They didn’t know how to open a bank account. They didn’t understand the value of money. You had to be more heavy-handed in terms of showing them how to do everything. So we had to get these Syrian folks coming and for me the piece that didn’t click until we hit this crisis was these people were very worldly, they were very competent people who had the internet and knew how to use a stove and washing machine. They watched the news and had cell phones. And so I realized abruptly that I had to pull way back because I’d been inappropriate to their cultural needs...

Formed through the prism of cultural competency, “the refugee,” a figure from the Global South or Global East, is signified through cultural scripts of refuge to which socially formed human beings do not conform. This sponsor came to the realisation that the sponsor group’s approach had diminished the practical identities of persons who contested the corporate personhood embodied in the sponsor group’s identity and operationalized through paternalistic sponsoring practices. The persons they had sought to rescue did not exist.

The experiences of those who had engaged in pre-arrival contact were different. Pre-arrival contact enhanced post-arrival resettlement because cultural scripts of refuge were challenged, and trusted contact laid a foundation for relational autonomy post-arrival. One sponsor group recalled the moment, soon after arrival, when they recognised the family’s identity as persons of self-rescue, an assertion of practical identities with which the sponsors had already become accustomed prior to arrival:

John: Just after they arrived, the little girl was sick. Of course they had no idea where they should take her. So we went over and took them to emergency. This was over the Christmas holidays.

Jackie: And at this point they are brand new and want to stay as a core family. So with one little person sick, then maybe one parent goes? No, the whole family goes because they want to be together.

The sponsors had communicated with the family of five prior to their arrival and doing so affected the formation of the sponsor group's corporate identity. Prior to contact, "there were a lot of news pictures of people coming over in the boats without lifejackets and people not making it because of the dangerous journey. It just broke your heart. ... [T]hey are running away from oppression, and they are landing on a beach with absolutely nothing..." Yet, pre-arrival contact broke the mediated signification of "refugees" as socially unformed war-migrants, providing opportunities "to develop the relationship, to start it now" and challenging understandings of "the sponsored" as objects of rescue. The pre-arrival relationship informed the sponsor group's corporate personhood. By sharing the hospital experience with the family post-arrival, trusted contact established prior to arrival was sustained: sponsors and sponsored formed a we-of-trusted-contact – a temporary and transitional group identity premised on recognition of deliberative action and relational, not "individualised," autonomy.

With relational autonomy, the support structure of the sponsor group recognized the family's socially informed personhood forged against the conflict-induced ineligibility to exist, facilitating their authority to act in dealing with this post-arrival emergency. Orientalised refuge was challenged.

Another sponsor group had engaged in systematic pre-arrival contact helped by an Arabic-speaking acquaintance: "We hadn't done this before. We wanted them to not be afraid to tell us when we are going wrong. And we developed a level of trust from day one." One sponsor recalled how the negative impact of official misinformation was obviated:

I would not draw a picture of a stove and a fridge. That's in my notes. I don't know why the SAH [Sponsorship Agreement Holder]³ made these recommendations about where these people were coming from. When I was preparing the orientation binder I was supposed to draw a picture of a stove and fridge and explain how they worked. Fortunately, I showed it to the interpreter because he came. I said, 'Is this going to be insulting to them when they get here,' and he went, 'Very much so. These people who are coming have had washers and dryers.'

Sponsors recalled how a lunch meeting with the interpreters quickly became pre-arrival communication via telephone calls and texts:

Archie: We didn't know the family at the time, so we were asking questions.

Nicole: And she was texting and calling Jordan to see what colour sheets they would like! And the father was in tears on the other end saying 'I can't believe that you would care that much.' And he said, 'We parents will take anything, but the girls, they like pink.'

This seemingly innocuous exchange – recall Rasha's experience with "clean sheets" – is indicative of practices which had significant effects on post-arrival resettlement. It

implies recognition that persons of self-rescue have the eligibility to exist and authority to act, that the social roles and practical identities of personhood forged prior to conflict could find a place for expression and realisation post-refuge. Through the exchange, the sponsors recognised that:

Education was very important to them. Being in Jordan, the teachers would be tired at night, but they would do these sort of extra lessons for these refugee people who weren't really entitled to go to school. A lot of their education was during after-school hours. That was one of the things that they really missed as refugees, having regular schooling.

This knowledge exchange had a direct impact on how the sponsor group orientated their approach after arrival:

They've made all their own decisions. The first thing that came up was.... They lived about 10-minutes' walk from the Catholic school. We are all Catholics, so we thought that was a natural choice. But we said, 'This is the public school system.' We had to explain both, and they opted for the public school. And that was fine. Our own kids and grandkids go to Catholic school, so it would have been a good fit. But that was their decision. Whatever was behind it, we didn't ask.

Relationally autonomous choice was integral to establishing the authority to act in keeping with the lives persons of self-rescue had led prior to the conflict and to which they aspired beyond refuge:

Although we were sponsoring, we were not going to suffocate. We were not going to make decisions for them, whether it be how they spend their money or even when it came to clothes, we thought we could present things to them and they could choose. There was a very strong sense of 'they make their own decisions.' And I think that's been appreciated by the family.

When it came to choosing a home, because the apartment was a temporary thing, I know that [group member] spent a lot of time driving them around to different residences to get their opinion. There was no way that we would say, 'We found a home for you.' ...And I thought all the way along that this is one of our strongest links, is that they are making their own decisions.

CONCLUSION

Our study is premised on the empirical investigation of "refugee-host" relations and considers the interactive dynamic between private "sponsors" and "sponsored refugees" in the Canadian reception context. Our findings indicate that the resettlement context should be understood as a zone of existential transition – not of cultural transformation or reproduction – in which the experiences and actions of persons of self-rescue shape and synergise the social conditions of conflict *and* of

reception. We found that the reduction of resettlement uncertainty was ultimately predicated on the ability of sponsors to recognise persons of self-rescue and to orient their interactions with “the sponsored” such that the orientalist involuntarism of refugeeness is challenged. The pre-conflict practical identities and social constructs of self, formulated by “refugees” we spoke to, cannot be dismissed as products of the West. They are the existential foundation for the relationally autonomous and deliberative defiance of the forces of conflict in which Western imperialist interventions are implicated. We addressed this point in relation to the dynamics of sponsor group formation, gaining insight into the relative influence of Orientalised scripts of refuge on “the host population” and their concomitant effects.

Reception contexts are complex and nuanced. By reformulating “actions of resilience” as the actions of persons of self-rescue, and not victims/pariahs, and by attending to “refugee” and “host” challenges to the “victim-pariah” construct, we argue that while the media-policy-migration nexus informs “refugeeness”, the concomitant micro-conditions of resettlement are created through contestation which (potentially) move refugee-host relations beyond Orientalist scripts of refuge.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank Michaela Hynie, guest editor of this special issue, and the three anonymous reviewers for their very helpful comments on an early draft of this paper. The study reported on here was supported by a grant from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council and Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, Canada, reference number: 890-2016-4016.

NOTES

1. All names used in this paper are pseudonyms.
2. For an early discussion of Syrian Personal Status Law see Anderson (1955).
3. A Sponsorship Agreement Holder (SAH) is an incorporated organization that has signed an agreement with the Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism Canada to resettle refugees from abroad through the Private Sponsorship of Refugee program. SAHs assume overall responsibility and liability for the management of sponsorships under their agreement and can authorize other groups in the community to sponsor refugees under their agreements.

REFERENCES

- ABC News. Europe migrant crisis: World leaders react to images of drowned toddler washed up on Turkish beach. *ABC News*, September 3, 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-09-04/world-leaders-react-to-dramatic-images-of-drowned-toddler/6748652>.
- Agrawal, S., and S. Zeitouny. 2017. Settlement experience of Syrian refugees in Alberta. Research Report. November. Retrieved from <https://cms.eas.ualberta.ca/UrbanEnvOb/wp-content/uploads/sites/21/2017/11/Syrian-Refugees-final-report-Nov-2017-1.pdf>.
- Alsultany, E. 2013. Arabs and Muslims in the media after 9/11: Representational strategies for a ‘postrace’ era. *American Quarterly* 65.1: 161-169.
- Altheide, D.L. 2006. Terrorism and the politics of fear. *Cultural Studies? Critical Methodologies* 6.4: 415-439.

- Anderson, J.N.D. 1955. The Syrian law of personal status. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 17.1: 34-49.
- Balibar, E. 1991. Is there a 'neo-racism'? In E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein, eds., *Race, nation, class: Ambiguous identities* (pp.17-28). London: Verso.
- Bannerji, H. 2000. *The dark side of the nation: Essays on multiculturalism, nationalism and gender*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Behrman, S. 2014. Accidents, agency and asylum: Constructing the refugee subject. *Law and Critique* 25.3: 249-270.
- Beiser, M. 2003. Sponsorship and resettlement success. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 4.2: 203-15.
- . 2009. Resettling refugees and safeguarding their mental health: Lessons learned from the Canadian Refugee Resettlement Project. *Transcultural Psychiatry* 46.4: 539-83.
- Brücker, P. 2017. refugeeeness: Sudanese struggles for belonging in Egypt and Israel. *Égypte/Monde arabe* 1.15: 95-123.
- Christman, J. 2009. Autonomy, recognition, and social dislocation. *Analyse and Kritik* 31.2: 275-290.
- Cole, T. 2012. The white-savior industrial complex. *The Atlantic*, March 21. Retrieved from <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/03/the-white-savior-industrial-complex/254843/>.
- Coulthard, G.S. 2014. *Red skin, white masks: Rejecting the colonial politics of recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Denton, T. 2003. Understanding private refugee sponsorship in Manitoba. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 4.2: 257-71.
- Derwing, T., and M. Mulder. 2003. The Kosovar sponsoring experience in northern Alberta. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 4.2: 217-36.
- Dobson, S. 2004. *Cultures of exile and the experience of refugeeeness*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Drolet, Julie, Richard Enns, Linda Kreitzer, Janki Shankar, and Anne-Marie McLaughlin. 2017. Supporting the resettlement of a Syrian family in Canada: The social work resettlement practice experience of social justice matters. *International Social Work*. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0020872817725143>.
- Harris, K. 2016. 'Extraordinary initiative': Canada's private refugee sponsorship system exported as Model for the World." *CBC News*, Dec 14. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canada-refugees-privately-sponsored-global-initiative-1.3895704>.
- Hyndman, J., W. Payne, and S. Jimenez. 2017. The state of private refugee sponsorship in Canada: Trends, issues, and impacts. Policy Brief Submitted to the Government of Canada. January 20, 2017. Retrieved from http://jhyndman.info.yorku.ca/files/2017/05/hyndman_et-al.-RRN-brief-Jan-2017-best.pdf.
- IRCC. 2018. Resettlement from outside Canada. Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, Canada. Retrieved from: <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/help-outside-canada.html>.
- Jamal, A.A., and N.C. Naber, eds. 2008. *Race and Arab Americans before and after 9/11: From invisible citizens to visible subjects*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Johnson, H.L. 2011. Click to donate: Visual images, constructing victims and imagining the female refugee. *Third World Quarterly* 32.6: 1015-1037.
- Khan, M., and K. Ecklund. 2012. Attitudes toward Muslim Americans post-9/11. *Journal of Muslim Mental Health* 7.1: 1-16.
- Khalid, M. 2011. Gender, orientalism and representations of the 'other' in the war on terror. *Global Change, Peace & Security* 23.1: 15-29.
- Korsgaard, C.M. 1996. *The sources of normativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Krulfeld, R.M. 1994. Buddhism, maintenance and change: Reinterpreting gender in a Lao refugee community. In L.A. Camino and R.M. Krulfeld, eds., *Reconstructing lives, recapturing meaning: Refugee identity, gender, and culture* (pp. 97-127). New York: Gordon and Breach Publishers.
- Kyriakides, C. 2017a. Words don't come easy: Al Jazeera's migrant-refugee distinction and the European culture of (mis)trust. *Current Sociology* 65.7: 933-952.
- . 2017b. Racialized reception contexts. 2 minutes, 3 questions with Professor Christopher

- Kyriakides, York University, Canada. Video, 2:21. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oOVbVMeLDH4>.
- Kyriakides, C., and R.D. Torres. 2015. 'Other than Mexicans,' 'Islamic fascists' and the transatlantic regulation of risky subjects. *Ethnicities* 15.2: 282-301.
- Lacroix, M. 2004. Canadian refugee policy and the social construction of the refugee claimant subjectivity: Understanding refugeeness. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 17.2: 147-166.
- Lanphier, M. 2003. Sponsorship: organizational, sponsor, and refugee perspectives. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 4.2: 237-56.
- Lee, E.O.J., and S. Brotman. 2011. Identity, refugeeness, belonging: Experiences of sexual minority refugees in Canada. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie* 48.3: 241-274.
- Lenette, C. 2015. Mistrust and refugee women who are lone parents in resettlement contexts. *Qualitative Social Work* 14.1: 119-134.
- Levey, G.B., ed. 2015. *Authenticity, autonomy and multiculturalism*. New York: Routledge.
- Linke, U., and D.T. Smith, eds. 2009. *Cultures of fear: A critical reader*. London: Pluto Press.
- Lubkemann, S.C. 2010. *Culture in chaos: An anthropology of the social condition in war*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Maira, S. 2009. 'Good' and 'bad' Muslim citizens: Feminists, terrorists, and US orientalism. *Feminist Studies* 35.3: 631-656.
- Malkki, L.H. 1995. Refugees and exile: From 'refugee studies' to the national order of things. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24.1: 495-523.
- . 1996. Speechless emissaries: Refugees, humanitarianism, and dehistoricization. *Cultural Anthropology* 11.3: 377-404.
- Mogire, E. 2011. *Victims as security threats: Refugee impact on host state security in Africa*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate.
- Munson, J., and S. Atallahjan. 2016. "Finding refuge in Canada: A Syrian resettlement story. Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights. December 2016. 42nd Parliament – 1st Session. Retrieved from https://sencanada.ca/content/sen/committee/421/RIDR/Reports/RIDR_RPT_SyrianResettlement_FINAL_E.pdf.
- Munt, S.R. 2012. Journeys of resilience: The emotional geographies of refugee women. *Gender, Place & Culture* 19.5: 555-577.
- Murdie, R.A. 2008. Pathways to housing: The experiences of sponsored refugees and refugee claimants in accessing permanent housing in Toronto. *International Migration and Integration* 9.1: 81-101.
- Mythen, G., and S. Walklate. 2006. Communicating the terrorist risk: Harnessing a culture of Fear? *Crime, Media, Culture* 2.2: 123-142.
- Nacos, B.L., and O. Torres-Reyna. 2003. Framing Muslim-Americans before and after 9/11. In Pippa Norris, Montague Kern, and Marion Just, eds., *Framing terrorism: The news media, the government, and the public* (pp. 141-166). New York: Routledge.
- Nagra, B. 2017. *Securitized citizens: Canadian Muslims' experiences of race relations and identity formation post-9/11*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Philo, G., E. Briant, and P. Donald. 2013. *Bad news for refugees*. London: Pluto Press.
- Poynting, S., G. Noble, P. Tabar, and J. Collins. 2004. *Bin Laden in the suburbs: Criminalising the Arab other*. Sydney: Sydney Institute of Criminology.
- Pupavac, V. 2008. Refugee Advocacy, Traumatic Representations and Political Disenchantment. *Government and Opposition* 43.2: 270-292.
- Ramsay, G. 2017. *Impossible refuge: The control and constraint of refugee futures*. New York: Routledge.
- Razack, S.H. 2004. Imperilled Muslim women, dangerous Muslim men and civilised Europeans: Legal and social responses to forced marriages. *Feminist Legal Studies* 12.2: 129-174.
- Said, E. 1994. *Culture and imperialism*. New York: Vintage.
- . 1995. *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the orient*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin.
- Salaita, S. 2006. *Anti-Arab racism in the USA: Where it comes from and what it means for politics today*. London: Pluto Press.
- Sanyal, R. 2014. Urbanizing refuge: Interrogating spaces of displacement. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38.2: 558-572.

- Schrijvers, J. 1999. Fighters, victims and survivors: Constructions of ethnicity, gender and refugeeness among Tamils in Sri Lanka. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 12.3: 307-333.
- Shahrani, M. N. 1995. Afghanistan's Muhajirin (Muslim 'Refugee -Warriors'): Politics of Mistrust and Distrust of Politics. In E. Valentine Daniel and John Chr. Knudsen, eds., *Mistrusting Refugees* (pp. 13-35). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Simich, L. 2003. Reinforcing refugee resettlement: An introduction to private sponsorship and partnerships. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 4.2: 153-6.
- Simpson, A. 2014. *Mohawk interruptus: Political life Across the Borders of Settler States*. Duke University Press.
- Suzuki, M. 2016. Performing the human: Refugees, the body, and the politics of universalism. University of Oxford Refugee Studies Centre Working Paper Series, 117.
- Szczepanikova, A. 2010. Performing refugeeness in the Czech Republic: Gendered depoliticisation through NGO assistance. *Gender, Place & Culture* 17.4: 461-477.
- Taylor, C. 1994. *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Timmermans, S., and I. Tavory. 2012. Theory construction in qualitative research: From grounded theory to abductive analysis. *Sociological Theory* 30.3: 167-186.
- Turner, S. 2016. What is a refugee camp? Explorations of the limits and effects of the camp. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 29.2: 139-148.
- Utas, M. 2005. Victimcy, girlfriending, soldiering: Tactic agency in a young woman's social navigation of the Liberian war zone. *Anthropological Quarterly* 78.2: 403-430.
- Van Selm, J. 2014. Refugee resettlement. In E. Fiddian-Qasmieh, G. Loescher, K. Long, N. Sigona, eds., *The Oxford handbook of refugee and forced migration studies* (pp. 512-524). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zetter, R. 2007. More labels, fewer refugees: Remaking the refugee label in an era of globalization. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20.2: 172-192.

CHRISTOPHER KYRIAKIDES holds the Canada Research Chair in Citizenship, Social Justice and Ethno-Racialization with the Department of Sociology and is an Executive Committee Member of the Centre for Refugee Studies at York University. Kyriakides leads the Reception Contexts Research Team which carried out this study.

LUBNA BAJJALI is a Research Fellow with the Reception Contexts Research Team, Department of Sociology, York University. Bajjali has over twenty years of experience as a practitioner and researcher in human rights and conflict in the Middle East, Europe and North America.

ARTHUR MCLUHAN is a Research Fellow with the Reception Contexts Research Team, Department of Sociology, York University. McLuhan is an accomplished scholar in the field of social interactionism with a specific focus on intersubjective identity negotiation.

KAREN ANDERSON is Associate Professor of Sociology and a member of the Reception Contexts Research Team, Department of Sociology, York University. Anderson is author of *Think About Sociology* (OUP, 2016). Her most recent work focuses on the emerging field of cognitive sociology.

**LUISA VERONIS, ZAC TABLER, AND
RUKHSANA AHMED**

Syrian refugee youth use social media: Building transcultural spaces and connections for resettlement in Ottawa, Canada

Abstract

In this paper, we examine the role of social media in facilitating and building transcultural communication and connections for forced migrants in today's contexts of resettlement. For refugees, Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) and mobile technologies can help with relocation, provide the means to stay connected to family and friends, and learn about the new cultural environment. Our focus is on recently resettled Syrian refugee youth in Ottawa, who arrived in Canada as part of a federal government resettlement initiative in 2015-2016. Based on the findings of a qualitative study comprised of focus groups with Syrian refugee youth, both female and male between the ages of 16-25, we investigate the everyday use of social media in the process of resettlement and integration. Using thematic analysis, we draw on the concept of transculturality to discuss the role of social media as a space for transcultural coming-together that can assist in becoming familiarized with a new culture and society. We suggest that social media serve as a 'contact zone' that enables cultural sharing and learning, a mechanism for cultural and linguistic 'translation', and a 'borderlands' that may help bridge cultural differences and build connections while also negotiating a sense of belonging. Through a critical engagement with these findings we ponder the significance of social media for enabling refugee agency and as a transcultural 'virtual' space that enhances refugees' resettlement and integration.

Keywords: Syrian refugees, refugee resettlement, social media, ICTs, transculturality, transcultural space.

Résumé

Dans cet article, nous examinons comment l'usage des médias sociaux peut faciliter et bâtir la communication transculturelle et des réseaux sociaux pour les migrants forcés dans les contextes actuels de ré-établissement. Pour les réfugiés, les technologies de l'information et de la communication (TIC) et les technologies mobiles peuvent aider lors du ré-établissement en fournissant les moyens de rester en contact avec la famille et les amis, et pour en apprendre davantage sur le nouvel environnement culturel. Nous nous concentrons sur le cas de jeunes réfugiés syriens récemment ré-établis à Ottawa, qui sont arrivés au Canada dans le cadre d'une initiative de ré-établissement du gouvernement fédéral en 2015-2016. Sur la base des résultats d'une étude qualitative comprenant des groupes de discussion avec des jeunes réfugiés syriens, hommes et femmes âgés de 16 à 25 ans, nous étudions l'utilisation quotidienne des médias sociaux dans le processus de ré-établissement et d'intégration. En utilisant une analyse thématique, nous nous appuyons sur le concept de transculturalité pour discuter du rôle des médias sociaux en tant qu'espace de rencontre transculturelle pouvant aider à se familiariser avec une nouvelle culture et une nouvelle société. Nous suggérons que les médias sociaux servent de « zone de contact » permettant les

échanges et l'apprentissage culturels, de mécanisme de « traduction » culturelle et linguistique et d' « espaces transfrontaliers » qui peuvent aider à combler les différences culturelles et à établir des liens tout en négociant un sentiment d'appartenance. À travers un engagement critique avec ces résultats, nous nous interrogeons sur l'importance des médias sociaux pour soutenir l'agentivité des réfugiés et comme un espace transculturel « virtuel » qui facilite le ré-établissement et l'intégration des réfugiés.

Mots clés : Réfugiés syriens, ré-établissement des réfugiés, médias sociaux, TIC, transculturalité, espace transculturel.



INTRODUCTION

Since the 19th century, new communication and transportation technologies have greatly accelerated global interconnectedness, including the movement of people, goods, capital, and ideas, and thus have become part of the mechanisms driving transculturality. In this paper, we discuss the role of social media in facilitating and building transcultural communication and connections for forced migrants in today's contexts of resettlement by examining the experiences of recently resettled Syrian refugee youth in Ottawa, Canada. As of January 2017, Canada had welcomed over 40,000 Syrian refugees (IRCC 2017) as part of a special resettlement program initiated by the federal government in 2015-2016. According to government reports (CIC 2015, 2016), a majority of Syrian refugees who resettled in Canada are youth – 25 years old and under. In a study of mobile phone use among youth in the Za'atari Syrian refugee camp based in Jordan (Maitland and Xu 2015), it was reported that 86% of Syrian youth owned a mobile phone and more than 50% were using the Internet at least once daily. In fact, a UNHCR report (2016) described the Internet and mobile connectivity as “lifelines” for refugees.

In today's network society (Castells 1996), refugees may bring their mobile phones and technological skills when they arrive at a new destination (Maitland and Xu 2015). Emerging research suggests that Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) can help refugees with relocation (Witteborn 2015). Witteborn discussed how through the use of new technologies, including social interactions through Facebook posts, blogging, and Skype calls, asylum seekers and refugees in Germany were afforded the opportunity to transform “the perceived social and economic stigma” (2015, 353) associated with their status and became “visible...through self-presentation, co-presence and mobilization” (353). Available research also shows that ICTs and social media use can provide the means for refugees and asylum seekers to stay connected to family and friends (Charmarkeh

2013). Charmarkeh demonstrated how Somali refugees in France utilize social media, including Facebook and YouTube, and digital tools such as Skype and MSN Messenger, and the vital role these media and technologies play in helping the refugees to navigate “during their migratory trajectories and settlement” (2013, 44). Additionally ICTs and social media assist refugees with learning about the new cultural environment (Tudsri and Hebbani 2015). Tudsri and Hebbani revealed how Hazara asylum seekers in Australia make use of mobile phone, television, the Internet, and social media such as Facebook and YouTube, to improve their English language skills and knowledge of Australia.

Our aim in this study is to advance understanding of how Syrian refugee youth use social media in the resettlement process, paying particular attention to their level of agency in so doing. Moreover, we examine the role of social media as a space for transcultural coming-together that can assist in becoming familiarized with a new culture and society with a focus on the complex dynamics between physical and virtual space. Based on the findings of a qualitative study with Syrian refugee youth in Ottawa, Canada, we suggest that social media provide a virtual ‘contact zone’ (Pratt 1991) that enables cultural sharing and learning, a mechanism for cultural and linguistic ‘translation’ (Hall 1992), a ‘borderlands’ (Anzaldúa 1999) that helps to bridge cultural differences and build connections, and to negotiate a sense of belonging. After a presentation of our conceptual framework and methodology, we will discuss our research findings.

TRANSCULTURALITY AND CULTURAL COMING-TOGETHER

We adopt the notion of transculturality as an umbrella term to recognize that cultures “are extremely interconnected and entangled with each other” (Welsch 1999, §16). Our conceptual framework builds on the foundational work of Wolfgang Welsch (1999) on transculturality, combined with Stuart Hall’s (1992) ideas of cultural hybridity. Writing in the late 1990s, Welsch challenged dominant understandings of culture and identity as bound to the political territory of the nation-state. He advanced the concept of transculturality to stress the growing interconnectedness of a globalizing world and processes of cultural flows and exchange beyond and across national borders. Understood as such, transculturality echoes Hall’s anti-essentialist conceptualizations of identity and culture as being in constant flux, rather than fixed and bound. In particular, Hall was influential in conceptualizing cultural identity as ‘hybrid’, (*omit the comma*) that results from the interaction or coming together of two or more cultures.

Hall and Welsh focused primarily on transcending the primacy of the nation and nation-state in conceptualizations of culture and identity and in deconstructing the fixity and boundedness of these notions. Since the 1990s, a wealth of scholarship

spanning disciplines (from literature, anthropology, sociology, geography to education, media and communication) – especially in the fields of diaspora, transnationalism, and migration studies (e.g., Basch et al. 1994; Bhabha 2005; Faist 1998; Mitchell 2003; Vertovec 1999) – have pushed further these notions to signal that cultures and identities are in a constant process of change and transformation, a process that occurs everywhere and at all times (Flüchter and Schöttli 2015, 3). The concept of transculturality as used here is “built upon a processual understanding of culture and thus challenges the traditional idea that cultures are internally cohesive, homogeneous, self-contained, or hermetically sealed against external influences” (Flüchter and Schöttli 2015, 2).

Yet it is important to underline that processes and experiences of transculturality are uneven and can vary significantly across time and space. Put differently, we need to avoid a simplistic and uncritical notion of transculturality. While transculturality may occur all the time and everywhere, it differs depending on the actors, places, factors, structures, and processes involved. In other words, transculturality is both contingent on space-time and a multiscale process that unfolds at various levels simultaneously, from the individual and community, to the urban, national, and global. Moreover, the process of “transculturalization” (Flüchter and Schöttli 2015) implicates actors occupying a range of differential social locations and thus involves unequal relations of power forming a complex tapestry of “power geometries” (Massey 1994). Analysis of the agency of actors is therefore important to understanding processes of transculturalization with factors such as location, context and structures all playing important roles in shaping the dynamics of cultural intertwining.

Over the past century, communication and transportation technologies have become part of the mechanisms driving transculturality, with ICTs increasingly contributing to these processes (Schachtner 2015). But clearly not everyone participates in and benefits from these processes equally (Ong 1999; Sassen 1998). We can illustrate with migration flows that arguably represent a significant component of transculturalization as people move to reside, temporarily or permanently, in one place or another. In the contemporary context, the implementation of increasingly strict immigration controls and regulations means that only some groups (e.g., from given countries of origin, class, ethnicity/race, religion, language, levels of education, etc.) can reach certain destinations, thus shaping processes of cultural mixing in specific locations in particular ways, with unique outcomes of transculturalization. In this paper, the focus is on Syrian refugee youth who were resettled in Canada through a special government initiative after fleeing or being displaced by the conflict in their home country. Our interest is in how these refugee youth as individuals use social media in the resettlement process and the opportunities social media offer to create a space for transcultural coming-together and interconnectedness.

Novel here is our examination of these processes of transculturalization at the interface of physical (face-to-face) space and the virtual (digital) space of social media. While original debates focused on the dichotomy between physical vs. virtual worlds (Castells 1996), there now is increasing interest in better understanding the relationship between the two, especially with regard to social networking, educational learning, and political activism (Adams 2015; Anstadt et al. 2013; Marra e Rosa et al. 2016; Papp 2009). These more recent studies reveal that users of ICTs and social media, while highly aware of the differences between physical and virtual space, do not consider them as separate; rather the two are increasingly seen as influencing one another through complex dynamics of appropriation, connection, interaction, and representation that lead users to question both. As such, it is argued that these online and virtual technologies afford new opportunities for interpreting, learning, and communicating in critical ways. We draw on these insights to examine how social media provide a virtual space for transcultural communication and learning that supports resettlement in a new society.

Transculturality refers to a broader process of cultural mixing and entanglement that itself may take on multiple forms. Scholars have developed a variety of notions to capture and conceptualize the many mechanisms of transculturalization (Flüchter and Schöttli 2015), including contact zone, borderlands and translation. The spatial metaphor of the contact zone refers “to social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power” (Pratt 1991, 34). As our findings suggest, social media shape contact zones, albeit virtually, whereby Syrian refugee youth can learn about Canadian culture in ways that help them navigate their new environment in the physical world. Further, social media offer a means of transcultural exchange between these refugees and Canadians more broadly, thus contributing to processes of cultural coming-together, whereby the youth can exercise a degree of control.

In a similar vein, cultural theorist Gloria Anzaldúa (1999, 2005) used the concept of the “Borderlands” to describe a state of being in constant shift between two places (2005, 208). This concept is often used to describe the ambiguity of being between two or more places and cultures, being neither this nor that, a bit of both, or a mix (209). Anzaldúa described borderlands as a place of “the straddling of two or more cultures” (210). In other words, whereas contact zone describes spaces where cultures interact, borderlands serve to illustrate the ambiguity which these spaces create.

The notion of hybridity is also useful in relation to cultural translation. According to Hall, identities “draw on different cultural traditions at the same time; and [which] are the product of those complicated cross-overs and cultural mixes which are increasingly common in a globalized world” (Hall 1992, 310). Hall used hybridity to suggest that cultural identities are “irrevocably translated,” and whose

members “belong to two worlds at once” (ibid.). Speaking to the literal linguistic definition of translation, culture is also a phenomenon that is “translated” via language. For instance, humour is notoriously difficult to translate between languages, yet a successful translation evokes the appropriate cultural cues in both the original and target contexts. In this regard, translation can manifest a sense of hybridity by bridging information across two or more cultures.

We build on this literature to suggest that social media offer a virtual contact zone where individuals from different cultures can meet, have an opportunity to exchange and learn, potentially leading to a process of cultural mixing and hybridity. As we will show, social media also allow for cultural and linguistic translation that helps Syrian refugees to understand Canadians, and vice versa. Moreover, certain usage of social media may be interpreted as a borderlands, a space that offers the possibility to shift between cultures, places, worldviews and even ideologies, and thus to communicate between and across them. Lastly, our findings reveal that social media can provide a space for individuals to reflect on their experiences of cultural transformation and changing identities, and thus negotiate a sense of belonging to multiple places. Considering these, we contend that social media provide a (virtual) space for transculturalization that can assist refugees in negotiating cultural differences during resettlement.

METHODOLOGY

Data for this study are part of a larger project that adopted a qualitative research design, relying on focus group discussions in order to investigate social media use behavior of newly arrived Syrian refugee youth, including the potential for social media to facilitate their wellbeing, inclusion, and integration in Canadian society. After obtaining approval from the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board, from January to May 2017, we conducted five focus group discussions with recently resettled Syrian refugee youth.

We used a combination of professional networks and snowball sampling techniques to recruit participants (Creswell 2007). Syrian refugee youth who were between the ages of 16-25, able to communicate in English, and had arrived in Canada as part of the resettlement effort in 2015-2016 as government assisted refugees or under private sponsorship met the inclusion criteria. The focus group discussions lasted from approximately 1.5-2 hours. Participants were provided with snacks and refreshments, and a CAD \$20 compensation in recognition of their time and contribution.

The focus group participants included a total of 29 recently resettled Syrian refugee youths, 19 male and 10 female. Twenty participants reported being between

the ages of 16 and 19 and five participants reported being between the ages of 20 and 25, with 4 participants providing no answer. Nineteen participants were Government-Assisted Refugees (GARs) and 3 participants were Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs), with 5 participants declining to answer, 1 reporting having Church-sponsorship, and 1 declaring to be both a GAR and a PSR. The length of stay in Canada ranged from 12 months to only 13 days.

Focus group participants filled out a brief demographic questionnaire and responded to questions about their experiences with, practices of, and perspectives on social media use. For each focus group, a native Arabic speaker was present to help with translation. Each focus group session was digitally recorded with participants' written consent and transcribed verbatim. The constraints of our study include the small sample of participants, challenges with language proficiency, and the group nature of the data. Some participants may have felt shy to share due to a lower level of English and/or the group setting of the discussion. In other words, our use of an interpreter allowed us to hear the thoughts of certain participants, but not in their own words. Finally, the gender of participants may have affected their willingness to participate due to the fact that we had both young men and women participate in the same groups.

Data analysis followed an interpretive and constructivist paradigm (Cloke et al. 2004), whereby we developed a coding tree using predetermined themes (e.g., social media access and use; local, national, transnational connections; etc.), all the while being open to emerging themes from the data. In this article, we analyzed focus group data relating to accessing information about Canada, language acquisition, social networks, and belonging. Specifically, we employed thematic analysis to understand the role of social media in facilitating transcultural communication and connection, including: transcultural learning and sharing, cultural and linguistic translation, building social networks and sense of belonging.

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS: SOCIAL MEDIA AS A SPACE FOR TRANSCULTURAL COMING-TOGETHER

We begin with analysis of our findings on the role of social media as a contact zone with the potential to facilitate transcultural learning and exchange, while also assisting with cultural and linguistic translation and transcultural communication. Next, we reflect on the use of social media as a borderlands that help bridge cultural differences and build new social networks in Canada, and how in so doing social media support Syrian refugee youth adaptation through the negotiation of their sense of belonging. In particular, the focus will be on participants' agency in using social media and the dynamics between virtual and physical spaces. Meanwhile, we are

attentive to the limitations of social media use and underline participants' critical views towards social media reliance.

Social media as contact zone: Transcultural learning and sharing

One central finding emerging from focus group discussions was the role of social media as a contact zone that helped Syrian refugee youth to learn about Canada, its culture, languages, and everyday life. Moreover, participants indicated that they used social media to share information about Canada with other Syrians (both in Canada and elsewhere), while also sharing information about Syria, thus effectively creating opportunities for transcultural meeting and exchange. In this section, we suggest that social media represent a space for transculturalization to the extent that they facilitate transcultural learning and sharing in ways that support refugee adaptation through resettlement. Our findings reveal that Syrian refugee youth can exercise a degree of control when using social media to help them access the information they need in the resettlement process, especially in regard to language use and code switching on social media platforms. Moreover, we found that the use of social media can help these youth navigate a new society by providing digital tools of cultural and linguistic translation.

A small number of participants mentioned that they had turned to ICTs to find information about Canada before the resettlement process. The majority, however, explained that it was not until after arriving in Canada that they used both online tools (e.g., Google search) and various social media (Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, Snapchat) to learn more about the country, including its geography, people, culture and traditions:

When I came here, I looked at this website [Wikipedia], and looked up everything about Ottawa. I just typed 'Ottawa'. And for the culture, and for how the people think here. (FGD#3)

(Through translator) He said he likes to know the culture of Canadians through Facebook, and how they live; these kind of information. (FGD#2)

Participants relied on both online tools and social media; the latter seemed especially useful to these youth because of their interactive features and the opportunities for active transcultural exchange in the process of learning and adapting to a new society. For example, participants said that they used social media primarily in English to help them both with learning the language and becoming familiarized with Canada simultaneously. One participant said: "I spend my time on Facebook because it makes me learn another language [English], information about another country [Canada]" (FGD #5). Several participants explained that they found social media convenient for learning one or both of Canada's official languages (English

and French). For some, the simple fact of using social media in English (reading in English, doing keyword searches in English, etc.) provided them with exposure to the language and with opportunities to practice:

If I don't know anything, I can just search in the social media and get all the information from this. And for my study, not for just connect with friends. Now I can write the English, both languages. Sometimes I write little bit in French, because you know here in Canada (...) you are learning another language, and this is good for here. (FGD#3)

Others shared that they were proactively and systematically using a variety of social media with the intention of learning English:

I use Facebook and Instagram. Now WhatsApp. I use it to see the news, just in English, not in Arabic, to learn from videos. (FGD#3)

I learned a lot of English watching YouTube. There's one guy – I spoke English, like not really good, when I started following the guy – I started watching him. Watching wrestling, music, everything. I got an idea what they're talking about, so I knew what they meant and everything. So now my English is pretty good. (FGD#4)

In contrast, others relied on social media in Arabic, which helped to make the information more accessible:

There is a page in Facebook, it's in Arabic, it's called Canada Day. And they post every day, posts about Syrian news and also about the Syrian refugees and how they adapt with Canadian culture. (FGD#5)

These findings illustrate the ways in which social media enable Syrian refugees to search the information they need through their own means. Furthermore, the quotes underline the multifarious role of social media as a contact zone that gives access to a range of different types of information while also providing a form of both cultural and linguistic translation. In this sense, social media offer a virtual space for transcultural learning that is useful in supporting Syrian refugees' resettlement and adaptation to Canadian culture.

Participants also explained the ease with which ICTs and social media applications allow for switching or alternating between languages, also known as “code switching” (Grosjean 1982; Milroy and Muysken 1995):

(Through translator) So before they came to Canada it was Arabic. (...) So, after they came to Canada they converted so they can have two-in-one to learn the language. It depends even for the social media application itself. Sometimes it doesn't support Arabic so they have to use it in English. (...) [Visuals like] the arrows and signs. Some basic words, they say, like 'start' and 'on', 'off'. (FGD#2)

From these observations, we see that the participants were acutely aware of the linguistic tools available to them within the ICTs they use. In this sense, participants were able to manifest a sense of empowerment in choosing which languages they used for each platform. Despite being limited to only English in some situations, this in turn developed a sense of linguistic control as they developed code switching skills between English and Arabic. Moreover, of interest here is that social media, in spite of being virtual, also encompass a very practical dimension through their everyday use. The very use of social media (the interaction with visual symbols, the typing of keywords, contents such as text and videos, etc.) provides an interface for learning and practicing a new language. Beyond the fact that a new language can be learned through the use of ICTs (Tudsri and Hebbani 2015; Witteborn 2015), we wish to highlight the role of social media as a translation tool that supports this learning.

Participants shared examples of active practices of transcultural exchange with Canadians. One young woman explained that she consults a Canadian friend's Snapchat (social media application that consists of posting temporary pictures on one's personal account for others to view) on a daily basis as a resource to learn more about Canadian culture:

It is like some kinds of applications that give you means and to find out about our culture. For Canadian culture like for example at Snapchat, (...) I saw this tree of Christmas. My friends send it to me and then I learned about it. (...) I daily saw my friends' Snapchat. They are Canadians. (FGD#1)

In addition to showing a degree of empowerment in terms of using Snapchat as a tool for cultural learning, this case provides a concrete illustration of social media as a space for transcultural sharing and learning between Syrian refugees and Canadians. In this instance, Snapchat serves as a virtual contact zone of transcultural exchange whereby this participant can actively engage with Canadian friends to learn about typical Canadian cultural traditions.

In addition, we found that Syrian refugee youth actively use social media to share with other Syrians about their new country. Put differently, they are not simply passive learners through social media, but rather are engaged in the process of cultural exchange.

I made a video about the celebrations and I shared to my friends in Syria. And people [will] maybe love this place and come to visit, Parliament. I had a lot of pictures about Parliament in my account Facebook. And I have maybe 200 friends on Facebook. (FGD#5)

Participants explained that they also use social media to share information about Syria, including news relating to the conflict and about the conditions of other

Syrian displacees. One participant said: “I share a video about what happened in Syria, see, like video [of] what happened in Aleppo. I share” (FGD#1). We argue that social media provide opportunities for two-way cultural exchange – not only for Syrians to learn about Canada, but also for Canadians to become better informed about Syria and thus better understand the Syrian refugees they have welcomed. Although this exchange may be uneven (we do not know the impact on informing Canadians), our point is that it exemplifies social media as a conduit to creating a virtual cultural contact zone where Syrian youth can engage with their Canadian counterparts.

Based on the focus group discussions, social media platforms are especially useful in meeting immediate settlement needs by providing practical information relating to everyday life in Canada. For example, participants relied on a combination of online tools (e.g., Google Maps) and social media to find services, language courses, and educational opportunities. Beyond accessing such information, we found that through the use of ICTs and social media Syrian refugee youth were able to not only meet settlement needs but also familiarize themselves with everyday Canadian practices. To illustrate, one participant explained how he was able to find out about how to undertake relatively simple transactions, such as buying a car:

Last week, when I buy a car, I don't have insurance [sic]. And I ask my sponsor [through WhatsApp]. This is something new for me because we don't have insurance in Syria. But she comes and just sends, by phone, “Just give me your account number. Tell me. That's it.” At 12 o'clock, you have insurance. It's easy. It's like magic now. (FGD#3)

This participant's experience provides a concrete example of how the simultaneous use of multiple virtual tools – ICTs and social media – help to fulfill several core settlement needs – combining accessible means of communication (contacting a sponsor), information (insurance), and transaction (setting up auto insurance) – thus facilitating this young Syrian man's adaptation to life in Canada. Put differently, the practical and accessible nature of ICTs and social media serves as a mechanism of transculturalization that supports a smoother transition to a new country and culture. This being said, participants in each focus group expressed concern with matters of trust when sharing personal and confidential information (e.g., banking), which they were reluctant to do over the Internet or social media.

Overall, participants explicitly said that they found social media helped them better understand and navigate Canadian culture in general. When asked about the usefulness of social media since arriving in Canada, participants shared:

When I go on Instagram, I see a lot of things, about Canadian people and what they do, what they eat, about their religion. All of that I see on social media, so it helps a lot. (...) Like now I totally know about everything. (FGD#4)

Beyond the notion of social media as contact zone, the quotes also gesture to the notion of translation – that is, movement between cultures in the sense of negotiating or juggling between cultures. In particular, our findings reveal that social media represent a channel for transculturalization by facilitating transcultural communication, including language acquisition and more broadly cultural and linguistic translation, whereby virtual space and physical space become integrated. Facilitating this process, many participants explained that they were relying on Google Translate to help them communicate, to understand and get understood on a daily basis. Through the convenience of mobile devices such as smartphones, and much improved translation technology, Google Translate has been helpful when communicating with their sponsors, during daily transactions, as well as at school. This use of ICTs and social media reflects the deep integration of virtual and face-to-face interactions and practices in everyday life that are characteristic of contemporary society (Marra e Rosa et al. 2016).

When I came to Canada, like I don't know any English and maybe [for] one month I just used Google Translate and my friends just like pick up in the street and to mall, like that. And I'm here [for] 11 month (sic) and learned a lot. This is really great. (FGD #1)

Another case where translation was useful was when grocery shopping. One participant explained that, being Muslim, he wanted to verify the ingredients of the products he was purchasing. To do so, he was relying on a special app that allowed him to scan a product with his phone and find out whether it contained any pork. The results were then displayed to him in Arabic. When asked about whether this app was useful to him in his daily life, he responded:

Yes, very useful and helpful. Because when I came here, I don't speak English. Just if I need to buy something, I don't know if it has gelatin or not. Just I would scan and [it would] translate. (FGD #3)

Here again we see an example where virtual tools – ICTs and social media – are facilitating everyday life during refugee resettlement by providing support with cultural and linguistic translation. To this extent, social media represent a mechanism of transculturalization that can assist refugees in the process of adaptation to a new society. These findings also offer further evidence of how mobile technologies and social media can provide refugees with a sense of autonomy and control during resettlement by giving them a means to communicate in and navigate a new environment.

Lastly, a number of participants raised the issue of cross-cultural misunderstanding that may occur when using social media. In spite of various supports in terms of transcultural learning and exchange, they suggested that the ability to communicate more complex cultural meanings and practices through social media may be limited:

Sometimes I find difficulty when I post something on Facebook. Like, for example, if it was a joke and it was an Arabic joke, in the English culture or obviously in the Canadian culture it doesn't make sense. (...) Like for my Canadian friends, I worry about them, because they might criticize. (...) Sometimes I get afraid of that, because it's very difficult to organize between two cultures. And I have like Arabic friends, you know, Turkish friends, and English, and French friends, on Facebook. (FGD#5)

This quote evokes the limitations of social media as a virtual space for transcultural exchange. The participant highlights that portraying humour across cultures virtually may actually be detrimental to facilitating communication, as he cites his worries that he might accidentally offend his Canadian friends or that they might criticize his humour. In other words, social media use may lack key contextual cultural signifiers necessary for certain information to be shared or translated successfully from one culture to another. For instance, a joke translated from Arabic to English in the virtual world may only make sense to someone who has a high proficiency in both languages, as well as the cultural know-how to provide the contextual elements. As such, complex cultural meanings may be so-to-speak lost in translation when conveyed through social media only. Indeed, many participants shared that while they are comfortable with using social media, they also think it important to have face-to-face interaction, as we will explain below.

In this section, we discussed the role of social media in helping with transcultural learning and sharing and as a mechanism of transculturalization. We also examined the roles and effects of language and cultural translation as experienced through social media and ICTs. As a contact zone, we consider social media as a virtual space for transcultural meeting and coming-together that is integrated with everyday life and practices and can assist with resettlement. Furthermore, these findings suggest that the use of mobile technologies and social media can empower our participants in the resettlement process by helping them access needed information, learn about their new society, and actively share and exchange with Canadians through bridging cultural and linguistic divides. In other words, social media use enables them to exert more control over the resettlement process and thus better "manoeuvre their lives" (Witteborn 2015, 350) amidst their circumstances.

Building new social networks and sense of belonging

The use of social media to build social networks was another major theme raised by Syrian refugee youth during the focus group discussions. These social networks took three primary forms: connecting with family and friends in Syria and/or in other countries, connecting with other Syrians in Ottawa, and connecting with Canadians and developing new friendships in Ottawa. In all cases, participants stressed the importance of using social media such as WhatsApp, Snapchat, and Facebook in

order to help bridge cultural differences and strengthen ties in a new country. In this sense, social media represent not only a contact zone, but also a borderlands that allows Syrian refugee youth to maintain, develop and negotiate networks with people located in multiple places and in different cultures, while also mediating the creation of new connections in a new cultural context. In this process, it emerged that social media use contributes to a sense of belonging both 'here' and 'there'. Moreover, our findings provide insight into the agency of Syrian refugee youth through the use of social media to build connections, and the complex dynamics between virtual, physical, and social spaces in so doing.

Participants across the five focus groups spoke of the significance of social media in helping them stay connected with family and friends who have stayed behind in Syria, or who have been displaced or resettled in other countries. Many explained that they use a variety of social media (Facebook, WhatsApp, and Viber) to communicate with their loved ones:

The good thing about social media is that you see your friends, part of a video. And you talk with your family, for example grandma or grandpa, uncles, aunts. (...) The thing that I like about the social media, like I actually love it, is that it helps you to communicate with your country. Like, don't forget them and they don't forget you. (FGD#4)

Another aspect that social media use helped our participants to manage was to not forget their past lives. The use of social media enabled them to stay connected with people in the place of origin; to some extent this connection helps to maintain a sense of belonging over 'there', or to a place outside of Canada. These findings support existing research on the role of ICTs in assisting with maintaining sustained communication across borders, especially for separated families (Charmarkeh 2013; Pratt 2009; Sigad and Eisikovits 2015). Such practices are not new in themselves, and effectively contribute to the creation of "transnational social fields" that have been much discussed in the migration studies literature over the past two decades (Basch et al. 1994; Faist 1998; Vertovec 1999). Here, we suggest that in doing so, social media also support transcultural communication and connection, offering a space for transcultural sharing and exchange.

Participants mentioned that social media helped them to connect with other Syrians in Canada, whom they did not know before arriving, through Facebook and WhatsApp groups specifically dedicated to the Syrian refugee community in Ottawa:

(Through translator) They say that on the Facebook there is a group for newcomer Syrians — they go and see other Syrians; also, there is another group for Syrian immigrants in Canada. (FGD#2)

In this example, social media (Facebook) serve as a contact zone to meet other Syrians in Ottawa, and Canada more broadly, and forge connections with them. This

was important to help them develop a sense of belonging. When asked about whether social media help them to feel part of a community, one participant responded:

We make a Syrian [Facebook] group, all the Syrian people in Ottawa. Yeah, because before I didn't have many friends, I just had A. and M. But right now, I have many friends from Syria, and I don't know them before. (FGD#3)

This quote indicates that Syrian refugees created a Facebook page to help them not only connect but also forge friendships among themselves. Arguably, our participants can use the virtual space of social media as a means to build strong ties among the local Syrian refugee community, and thus enhance their sense of belonging in Canada.

For the purposes of this paper, we wish to stress that social media proved especially useful for Syrian refugee youth to connect with Canadians and to negotiate a sense of belonging in Canada. In particular, participants discussed the fact that social media helped them to build new friendships by easing communication with Canadians. They said that when meeting someone, they can take their name and contact information, find them through social media, and then build a relationship with them over time. Moreover, in the context of their school, a few participants mentioned that they used social media to help break the ice by befriending schoolmates on Facebook first, and then developing a friendship with them in person. One participant also explained that social media actually allow him to improve his relationship with Canadians, by facilitating contact with them through a virtual space:

I have a lot of Canadian friends. (...) Canada can help you to get friends from all races. Like black, white, Arab, all races. That is the good part about it. And social media can take that relationship to the next level, you know? You can meet a person but many times they cannot be with you. So social media will take that relationship to the next level. (FGD #4)

These findings provide insights into how these young people use social media to develop new social networks. Social media provide a virtual contact zone where Syrian refugee youth can connect with Canadians with relative ease. Specifically, participants indicated that they are using social media as a tool to negotiate Syrian and Canadian cultures. In this sense, social media represent a borderlands where these youth can forge new friendships across cultural differences. Furthermore, the findings illustrate complex dynamics between virtual and physical space; social media can facilitate the development of in-person contact and vice versa. In so doing, refugee youth may arguably feel they have some control in building new connections through the complementary use of social media and face-to-face communication. Here again, social media can be seen as a resource that allows refugees to negotiate the process of resettlement on their own terms.

Despite the skill with which these Syrian refugee youth used various apps as tools for building social networks, a number of them also exhibited critical attitudes toward social media. The majority expressed concern with the fact that information on social media may not be trustworthy and also that they avoided sharing personal information. In addition, they were aware of the risks involved when communicating with strangers over social media. Overall, their practices indicated that social media are not replacing face-to-face interactions, but rather are complementary, and that they are using them in ways that help to overcome cultural differences. In this sense, social media offer opportunities for transcultural contact and translation, and for negotiating and navigating feelings of belonging that stem from moving from one culture to a new one through resettlement.

Many participants cited a feeling of not belonging in either their country of origin or Canada. Through social media, however, they were able to better manage this feeling and, in some cases, negotiate or even construct a sense of belonging to both or to multiple places. A young man who was using Facebook to simultaneously learn about Canada and stay connected with his friends who stayed behind said:

I learn all day (...), new information, new events, and talk with my friends in Jordan, in other countries. I don't know, it makes me happy when I work on Facebook. (FGD #5)

Here, Facebook literally becomes a borderlands that connects 'here' and 'there', thus helping this participant to nurture a greater sense of belonging. Another participant explicitly explained that by allowing him to easily communicate with both those left behind and new people in Canada, social media facilitated his sense of belonging:

You can feel that you belong to Canada, and you also can feel that you belong to wherever you're coming from. Because you can communicate with people here, and people there, which can make like two things, you can even understand what's wrong there, and what's wrong here, so it's kind of fitting in. By the way, I'm talking about Facebook and everything. So, you are like between two things. Like me, I communicate with the people here, and I also communicate with the people in my country. So I get two views: here, and there. (FGD #4)

In addition to social media as a borderlands, this participant eloquently evokes awareness not only of the role social media play in helping him to build transcultural connections across places and peoples, but also to critically understand cultures 'here' and 'there', and thus how to negotiate them in order to fit in. He suggests social media provide a vantage point to two worldviews ("I get two views") by the virtue of being "between two things" – a borderlands where this participant is conscious of shifting between two (or more) cultures – that ultimately help him to feel he belongs

in both places. Here again, we note complex dynamics between virtual and physical space, whereby the vantage point of the virtual world represents a borderlands of consciousness about a place and culture (i.e., a worldview) that helps to understand and connect to that place and culture.

Lastly, our participants expressed the challenge of changing themselves as they adapt to their new cultural context. One young woman said: “It’s hard, like to change yourself, because you have to live with them [Canadians] and you have to learn more about them, like it’s really different, yeah the identity, you know” (FGD #4). One participant demonstrated an acute awareness of the effects his time in Canada have had on his sense of self, and even his identity. His comments on how resettling to Canada and learning about opportunities available to him changed his attitude to a process of transformation through transcultural contact:

Life here in Canada can change so much for you, like when I came here, I didn’t really care about education or anything. But when I came here, and I found out about it from people, social media, Internet. Just being able to live in Canada, I think people should be grateful for it, because just being able to live your life can make a future for you. Like, people...before I came here, I didn’t have a plan, and when I came here then, I started to begin...I changed my attitude. (FGD#4)

As this participant explains, social media and the Internet, as mechanisms of transculturation, have contributed to this process of transformation through resettlement. Here, the virtual world is part of this process of change both as a tool or resource that helps Syrian refugee youth to adapt to a new environment, and as a mechanism that supports transculturalization.

In this section, we examined how our participants used social media to navigate and manage the challenges and difficulties of finding a sense of belonging in a new cultural context, in part by building new networks while remaining connected to their places of origin. Some participants displayed an awareness of how much they have changed since arriving in Canada, and noted the many different ways in which social media played a role in their processes of adaptation, complementing face-to-face interactions, facilitating transcultural connections and promoting social change.

CONCLUSION

We regard ICTs and social media as technologies that support transculturality. Specifically the data from this study suggest that they represent mechanisms of transculturalization by supporting virtual spaces for transcultural learning and sharing, by facilitating cultural and linguistic translation, and for building transcultural con-

nections and bridging cultural differences. In this way, social media use in contexts of forced migration and resettlement can help refugees to negotiate and even construct a sense of belonging to two (or more) cultures and places simultaneously. To this end, we recognize social media as a virtual transcultural space, a contact zone of multiple cultures, and a borderlands where refugees as individuals can negotiate cultural differences. Furthermore, social media can serve as a mechanism for Hall's (1992) aspect of cultural translation, or as a space of cultural flow and movement where cultural identity can potentially be renegotiated. Lastly, our findings shed new light on how the use of social media at the complex interface between physical (face-to-face) and virtual spaces can facilitate a degree of agency and sense of control in the process of resettlement and adaptation in a new society.

As such, our paper contributes to advancing conceptualizations of the fluid and complementary relationship between physical and virtual worlds, and that as individuals, participating refugee youth possess a keen understanding of how to navigate such fluidity in ways that can serve to meet their everyday, practical needs. As refugee youth, these young men and women were able to make successful use of their technological skills to alleviate and actively address some of the social and cultural challenges typically attributed to resettlement: access to information, language acquisition, transcultural communication, missing home, making friends, fitting in, and building a sense of belonging. To this extent, our study adds empirical evidence to emerging research on immigrants' strategic use of multiple media sources in the settlement and integration process, and on the integrative potential of various types of media (Veronis and Ahmed 2015). Moreover, our findings point to the potential benefits of using ICTs and social media to complement, develop and consolidate the provision of resettlement services. For example, settlement agencies can make use of social groups on Facebook, WhatsApp, and Instagram to disseminate essential information to refugees regarding services and resources, while also following up after face-to-face services on an individual basis. With this in mind, policy makers should take into account refugees' usage of ICTs and social media as means to communicate and transmit information when designing and implementing resettlement initiatives.

Our paper also adds to the literature on transculturality by contributing to the conceptualizations of hybridity and identity. First, our findings show that social media and ICTs as mechanisms of transculturalization contribute to identity hybridization through cultural contact and mixing. Participating Syrian refugee youth demonstrated notions of hybrid identities when discussing their use of social media to negotiate personal change through resettlement and belonging to multiple places and cultures, as well as awareness of the transformation they were undergoing and the use of social media in the process. Second, our participants also demonstrated other notions of hybrid identities that result from the intertwining of

physical and virtual space. Transitioning between these spaces necessitates a certain hybridity, as identities can be created and constructed anew and in complementary fashion in both physical and virtual spaces. For instance, our participants highlighted how someone's online persona is not an accurate representation of how the individual is in person. This critical awareness demonstrates an additional level of agency in that our participants could control how they acted and performed their identities virtually. This continual motion between the physical and virtual worlds shows a hybridity of personality and culture. Although Welsch and Hall's respective notions of hybridity focused on the nation-state and cultural identity, our findings suggest that hybridity can in fact be influenced by the dynamic relationship between physical and virtual space.

Further research therefore needs to be conducted to produce more evidence on these processes and experiences using in-depth personal interviews with Syrian refugee youth to probe further into the potential and limitations of social media as mechanisms of transculturalization. While the gender of our participants did not appear to have noticeable effects on their use and experience of social media as mechanisms of transculturalization, in-depth study of the gendered practices and experiences of social media in refugee resettlement is needed to explore this further (Ahmed and Veronis 2017). The role of age and linguistic ability as possible factors that may affect experiences navigating virtual spaces are other topics that merit further research. Moreover, it is important to undertake similar research with other refugee groups to better understand variations in social media use across ethnocultural communities and in different contexts, thus avoiding a static perspective of transculturality. Indeed, one issue that was not discussed here is that of access to ICTs and gaps in digital literacy among refugees (Khorshed and Imran 2015). These factors need to be taken into account in order to fully grasp the potential of social media as a space for transcultural communication and connection that can assist refugees in resettlement more broadly.

In conclusion, it is essential to highlight that the use of social media and ICTs allows refugees to exercise agency and have a sense of control over their resettlement experience. Our research participants' adept navigation of social media demonstrates their resilience and creativity in staying up-to-date with the growing technology trends and in making the most of them in rebuilding their lives. As young people in a new country, these Syrian youth turned to digital tools as a means to enact change and take control of their future. A major theme resonating through our findings was the level of personal empowerment that these technologies afford individuals in contexts of displacement, leading us to believe in the power of new possibilities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We acknowledge funding received for this study from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) and Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) (Project Number: 890-2016-4032). We greatly benefited from the support of our community partners, the Catholic Centre for Immigrants (CCI) Ottawa and the Ottawa Community Immigrant Services Organization (OCISO). Most importantly, we thank the focus group participants for their time and contribution. Our research assistants and the Undergraduate Research Opportunity Program (UROP) at the University of Ottawa also provided invaluable support. Finally, we are grateful to the guest editor and the three anonymous reviewers for their generous and constructive comments; they greatly helped to improve our paper.

REFERENCES

- Adams, P. C. 2015. Social media. In J. Agnew, V. Mamadouh, A. J. Secor, and J. Sharp, eds., *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Political Geography* (pp. 393-406). Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Ahmed, R., and L. Veronis. 2017. Tracing gendered practices in social media use among Syrian refugee youth in Ottawa, Canada. *Canadian Diversity: A Publication of the Association for Canadian Studies* 14.2: 52-57.
- Anstadt, S. P., S. Bradley, A. Burnette, and L. L. Medley. 2013. Virtual Worlds: Relationship Between Real Life and Experience in Second Life. *The International Review of Research in Open and Distance Learning* 14.4: 1-31. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.19173/irrodl.v14i4.1454>.
- Anzaldúa, G. 1999. *Borderlands: La Frontera* (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.
- . 2005. Towards a New Consciousness. In B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, and H. Tiffin, eds., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (pp. 208-10). New York: Routledge.
- Basch, L., N. G. Schiller, and C. S. Blanc. 1994. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. London: Routledge.
- Bhabha, H. K. 2005. Cultural Diversity and Cultural Differences. In B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, and H. Tiffin, eds., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (pp. 155-7). New York: Routledge.
- Castells, M. 1996. *The rise of the network society: The information age: Economy, society, and culture. Volume 1*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Charmarkeh, H. 2013. Social Media Usage, Tahriib (Migration), and Settlement Among Somali Refugees in France. *Refuge* 29.1: 43-52.
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). 2015. Population Profile: Syrian Refugees. Ottawa: Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Retrieved from https://www.cmacan.org/uploads/content/EN%20Syrian%20Population%20Profile_1.pdf.
- . 2016. Syrian Refugee Profile: Addendum – January 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.cmacan.org/uploads/content/Syrian%20Refugee%20Profile%20Addendum%20-%20January%202016.pdf>.
- Cloke, P., I. Cook, P. Crang, M. Goodwin, J. Painter, and C. Philo. 2004. *Practicing Human Geography*. London: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. 2007. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Faist, T. 1998. Transnational social spaces out of international migration: evolution, significance and future prospects. *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie / Europäische Archiv für Soziologie* 39.2: 213-247.
- Flüchter, A., and J. Schöttli. 2015. Introduction. In A. Flüchter and J. Schöttli, eds., *The Dynamics of Transculturality* (pp. 1-26). Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.
- Grosjean, F. 1982. *Life with Two Languages. An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hall, S. 1992. The Question of Cultural Identity. In T. McGrew, S. Hall, and D. Held, eds., *Modernity and Its Futures* (pp. 274-316). Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). 2017. #WelcomeRefugees: Key figures. Retrieved from <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/welcome/milestones.asp>.

- Khorshed, A., and S. Imran. 2015. The digital divide and social inclusion among refugee migrants: A case in regional Australia. *Information Technology & People* 28.2: 344-365. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1108/ITP-04-2014-0083>.
- Maitland, C., and Y. Xu. 2015. A Social Informatics Analysis of Refugee Mobile Phone Use: A Case Study of Za'atari Syrian Refugee Camp. *TPRC 43: The 43rd Research Conference on Communication, Information and Internet Policy Paper*. Arlington, Virginia.
- Marra e, R., G. Artur, B. Rodrigues dos Santos, and V. de Paula Faleiros. 2016. Opacity of the boundaries between real and virtual worlds from the perspective of Facebook users. *Psicologia USP* 27.2: 263-272. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/0103-656420130026>.
- Massey, D. 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Milroy, L., and P. Muysken, eds. 1995. *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-Switching*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mitchell, K. 2003. Cultural Geographies of Transnationality. In K. Anderson, M. Domosh, S. Pile, and N. Thrift, eds., *Handbook of Cultural Geography* (pp. 74-87). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ong, A. 1999. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Papp, R. 2009. Virtual worlds and social networking: Reaching the Millennials. *Journal of Technology Research*. Retrieved from <http://www.aabri.com/manuscripts/10427.pdf>.
- Pratt, G. 2009. Circulating sadness: witnessing Filipina mothers' stories of family separation. *Gender, place & culture* 16.1: 3-22. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25595469>.
- Pratt, M. L. 1991. Arts of the Contact Zone. *Profession* (pp. 33-40).
- Sassen, S. 1998. *Globalization and its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money*. New York: New Press.
- Schachtner, C. 2015. Transculturality in the Internet: Culture Flows and Virtual Publics. *Current Sociology Monograph* 63.2: 228-243. DOI: 10.1177/0011392114556585.
- Sigad, L. I., and R. A. Eisikovits. 2015. The Transnational Lives of American-Israeli Mothers. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 16:455-467. DOI 10.1007/s12134-014-0350-8.
- Tudsri, P., and A. Hebbani. 2015. 'Now I'm Part of Australia and I Need to Know What Is Happening Here': Case of Hazara Male Former Refugees in Brisbane Strategically Selecting Media to Aid Acculturation. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 16: 1273-1289. DOI: 10.1007/s12134-014-0373-1.
- UNHCR. 2016. Connecting Refugees. How Internet and Mobile Connectivity can Improve Refugee Well-Being and Transform Humanitarian Action. Geneva: UNHCR. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/5770d43c4>.
- Veronis, L., and R. Ahmed. 2015. The Role of Multicultural Media in Connecting Local Municipal Governments with Ethnocultural and Immigrant Communities: The Case of Ottawa. *Global Media Journal — Canadian Edition* 8.2: 73-95.
- Vertovec, S. 1999. Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22.2: 447-462. DOI: 10.1080/014198799329558.
- Welsch, W. 1999. Transculturality – The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today. In M. Featherstone and S. Lash, eds., *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World* (pp. 194-213). London: Sage. Retrieved from http://www2.unijena.de/welsch/papers/W_Welsch_Transculturality.html.
- Witteborn, S. 2015. Becoming (Im)Perceptible: Forced Migrants and Virtual Practice. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 28.3: 350-367. DOI:10.1093/jrs/feu036.

LUISA VERONIS is Associate Professor in the Department of Geography, Environment and Geomatics at the University of Ottawa. Inspired by feminist and community-based approaches and methodologies, her research examines the social and political geographies of (im)migration, settlement, belonging and identity formation with a focus on migrant and minority groups in Canadian cities.

ZAC TABLER has an MA in World Literatures and Cultures from the University of Ottawa. Originally from the United States, he completed his undergraduate studies at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, and received a BA in International Studies with a concentration in Global Cultural Relations as well as a BA in French Literature and Language. His MA research focused on questions of identity and belonging, particularly among the refugee/immigrant community in Ottawa and other regions of Canada. He has professional experience in the settlement sector and as an ESL teacher.

RUKHSANA AHMED (PhD, Ohio University) is Associate Professor in the Department of Communication at the University of Ottawa, and Co-Director of the Diversity and Equity Research Group at the Faculty of Arts. With primary research interests in health communication, she also advances studies exploring the challenges and opportunities facing minority and marginalized groups, including immigrant, refugee, ethnic communities, and religious groups within Canadian society.

JULIE DROLET AND GAYATRI MOORTHY

The settlement experiences of Syrian newcomers in Alberta: Social connections and interactions

Abstract

Syrian refugees resettling in Alberta face complex integration challenges. Social connections are a key foundation to successful integration. The goal of this exploratory study was to better understand the nature of social networks, social support and social capital among Syrian refugees arriving in Alberta in 2015 and in 2016. The study also focused on comparing the resettlement experience of refugees from larger centers and small centers in Alberta, differentiating the experience of government assisted refugees (GARs), privately sponsored refugees (PSRs) and blended visa office referred (BVOR) refugees. The data are drawn from a larger study that sought to understand the resettlement experience and the challenges faced by incoming refugees. A mixed method approach including surveys, community forums and interviews was used to collect data from five cities in Alberta. The study found that social relationships are crucial to settlement and integration. The importance of ethno-cultural communities, sponsors and community organizations in settlement and integration is discussed. Overall, the study found that while newcomers were making friends and building ties, these were still nebulous and largely focused on settlement needs or linking to socio-cultural community. GARs had stronger links to settlement agencies as compared to PSRs who were more closely linked to community networks. Refugees in smaller centers reported a higher level of belonging and reported more engagement with settlement or community organizations, but had lower rates of participation in recreation or religious activities. While most participants experienced a certain sense of belonging to Canada, they simultaneously felt challenged while managing settlement concerns and combatting racism and social exclusion.

Keywords: Refugees, settlement, urban areas, integration.

Résumé

Les réfugiés syriens qui se réinstallent en Alberta font face à des défis d'intégration complexes. Les liens sociaux sont une base clé pour une intégration réussie. Le but de cette étude exploratoire était de mieux comprendre la nature des réseaux sociaux, du soutien social et du capital social chez les réfugiés syriens arrivant en Alberta en 2015 et en 2016. L'étude visait également à comparer l'expérience de réinstallation des réfugiés des grands centres et des petits centres en Alberta, différencier l'expérience des réfugiés parrainés par le gouvernement (RPG), des réfugiés parrainés par le secteur privé (RPP) et des réfugiés parrainés par un bureau de visas mixte (BVOR). Les données proviennent d'une étude plus vaste visant à comprendre l'expérience de réinstallation et les défis auxquels sont confrontés les nouveaux réfugiés. Une méthode mixte comprenant des sondages, des forums communautaires et des entrevues a été utilisée pour recueillir des données dans cinq villes de l'Alberta. L'étude a révélé que les relations sociales sont cruciales pour l'établissement et l'intégration. L'importance des communautés ethnoculturelles, des commanditaires et des organismes communautaires dans l'établissement et l'intégration est discutée. Dans l'ensemble, l'étude a révélé que même si les nouveaux arrivants se faisaient des amis et tissaient des liens, ceux-ci étaient encore nébuleux et axés en grande partie sur les besoins d'établissement ou sur les liens

avec la communauté socioculturelle. Les RPG avaient des liens plus étroits avec les organismes d'établissement que les RPS qui étaient plus étroitement liés aux réseaux communautaires. Les réfugiés dans les plus petits centres ont déclaré un plus haut niveau d'appartenance et ont signalé un plus grand engagement avec les organismes d'établissement ou les organismes communautaires, mais avaient des taux plus faibles de participation aux activités récréatives ou religieuses. Même si la plupart des participants ont éprouvé un certain sentiment d'appartenance au Canada, ils se sont sentis simultanément confrontés à des difficultés liées à la gestion des problèmes d'établissement et à la lutte contre le racisme et l'exclusion sociale.

Mots clés : Réfugiés, établissement, zones urbaines, intégration.



INTRODUCTION

The Syrian conflict has displaced more than 5.5 million refugees since 2011 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] 2017). Canada was one of the key refugee destinations for many fleeing Syrians. By early 2017, Canada had received a total of 40,081 Syrian refugees, of whom 21,876 (54.6%) were Government Assisted Refugees (GARs), 14,274 (35.6%) were Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs) and 3,931 (9.8%) were Blended Visa-Office Referred Refugees (BVRs) through the #WelcomeRefugees initiative of the government (Government of Canada 2017)¹. The Canadian government prioritized the most vulnerable and marginalized refugees in need of immediate resettlement such as children, women, families, elderly and disabled and members of the LGBTQ community.

Alberta is one of the top three destinations for refugees after Ontario and Quebec. In 2016, there was an 86% increase in refugees as compared to 2015 (IRCC 2016a). A total of 7415 Syrian refugees were admitted to Alberta from January 2015 until September 2016. Many refugees settled in large centres such as Edmonton and Calgary, but their numbers were also high in smaller cities like Medicine Hat, Red Deer and Lethbridge. The sheer numbers and the pace of their arrival presented several challenges. While some of these cities had well-developed systems and services with cultural tools to support refugees, other communities had to rapidly expand or strengthen their capacity. These refugees also arrived in a contentious socio-political environment. On one hand, there was a significant investment of resources across all levels of government to ensure a smooth resettlement process and a strong surge of support from communities, families, settlement agencies and non-profits to settle incoming refugees² (IRCC 2017). On the other hand, the economic downturn led to some discontentment and tensions around spending public money to support incoming Syrians; issues of racism, Islamophobia, stereotyping, acculturation and

integration also came to the fore during this process (McCarthy 2017; Tyyska et al. 2017). Given this context, an exploratory study was undertaken in 2016 to understand the unique needs, barriers and everyday experience of settlement for Syrian refugees in Alberta. The goal was to provide a platform to hear the stories and understand the challenges of settlement across both large and small centres, and document any differences between GARs, PSRs, and BVORs in order to strengthen client-centered programming in the province. This paper will report specifically on the data about the nature of social connections and social networks among recently arrived Syrian refugees. It will detail how they build community, develop a sense of belonging and adapt their identities to become integrated into Canadian life. The next section provides a profile of Syrian refugees arriving in Alberta and discusses the settlement process; settlement and integration; settlement and city size; social connections, networks and social relationships; and social capital, drawing from the relevant literature. The research methodology is presented, followed by the findings, discussion and conclusion.

SETTLEMENT AND SOCIAL CONNECTIONS

Settlement Process

The resettlement of refugees is part of Canada's humanitarian tradition to offer protection to individuals and families that are displaced and persecuted (Government of Canada 2017). Syrian refugees entering Canada are granted permanent residency status; GARs access a range of services and supports through the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) and settlement programs that include reception, accommodation, orientation, language learning, community and employment services, foreign credential recognition support and settlement information (IRCC 2016a). Additional support services include: childcare, transportation assistance, translation, interpretation, crisis counselling and provisions for disabilities (CIC 2017; IRCC 2017). PSRs and BVORs access similar supports through their sponsors, settlement agencies and community organizations. For the first year, GARs receive monthly income support based on provincial social assistance rates, and BVORs receive similar income support for six months (with the remaining six months provided by the sponsors). Overall, studies show that refugees broadly benefit from government programming and access to public spaces and institutions (Agrawal and Zeitouny 2017; IRCC 2016a). In addition, resettled refugee families are eligible to apply for the Canada Child Benefit that provides \$450 per month per child (CIC 2017).

Evaluation of this wave of Syrian refugees highlighted that as compared to GARs or BVORs, PSRs tended to be older, higher educated, more fluent in official languages and with smaller family sizes (IRCC 2016b). PSRs were more likely to

report that their immediate needs were met and that they received more help as compared to GARs (IRCC 2016b). The report also pointed out that Syrian refugees are “community-oriented and maintain strong connections with their cultural and religious communities” (IRCC 2016b). Further, unlike other refugee groups, there was increased use of social media and mobile applications to connect actively with others, specifically using WhatsApp (IRCC 2016b). Some of the key challenges that the refugees faced included: learning an official language, finding employment, housing, getting their education/work experience recognized, health and social integration (AAISA 2016; IRCC 2016b). The settlement experience of refugees are shaped by factors such as refugee category, age, gender, education, race and migration history (Agrawal and Zeitouny 2017; Earnest 2005; Hyman, Vu and Beiser 2000; Lamba and Krahn, 2003; Makwarimba et al., 2013). Refugee category, especially, is seen as a key factor in differing settlement outcomes.

Some studies show that the PSR program is often more effective than the GAR program in promoting long-term integration of refugees, as sponsors may expose the refugees to a broader range of services as compared to settlement workers (Agrawal and Zeitouny 2017). Further, private sponsors can be flexible and draw on their knowledge and social networks to cater to specific needs of each refugee as compared to generic settlement programming offered to GARs (Beiser 2003). However, research also shows that PSRs’ experiences differed widely based on the sponsor’s capacity and commitment (Agrawal and Zeitouny 2017). The settlement process can be onerous on the sponsor both materially and mentally; cultural, linguistic or religious differences may lead to tensions or challenges between the sponsor and refugee (Agrawal and Zeitouny 2017; Derwing and Mulder 2003; Wood, McGrath and Young 2012). This study was keen to examine these differences in sites of settlement and refugee category to detail the impact on settlement and integration.

Settlement and Integration

Canada’s immigrant integration model is based on mutual adaptation by newcomers and Canadian society. Integration is understood as a multifaceted phenomenon that is ‘individualized, contested and contextual’ (Government of Canada 2016; Robinson 1998). Ager and Strang (2008) have developed a 10-domain conceptual framework for the integration of refugees that includes markers and means such as employment, housing, education and health. The second layer focuses specifically on social connections, particularly social bridges, bonds and links. More recently, Cherti and McNeil (2012) have developed a more grounded approach to integration which acknowledges the fluidity of communities as ever-changing entities and focuses on the crucial domain of everyday experience. Migration is seen as a complex phenomenon where people continually move, settle and constantly “negotiate and renegoti-

ate their own identities and their relationships with others” (18). This paper draws on such an everyday approach toward settlement for Syrians. Refugees face several structural and systemic barriers in their resettlement process and many of the settlement and integration challenges are interconnected. For instance, they may experience challenges in language learning, foreign skill or education recognition, housing, precarious employment or high rates of unemployment, insufficient Canadian references or work experience, health issues, trauma and other forms of discrimination (Bemak and Chung 2017; Brunner, Hyndman and Friesen 2010; Carter et al. 2008; Devoretz, Pivnenko and Beiser 2004; Francis and Hiebert 2014; Krahn, Derwing, Mulder and Wilkinson 2000; Murdie 2008; Murdie and Logan 2011; Noh et al. 1999; Sherrell, D’Addario and Hiebert 2007). This paper embeds their social connections in this broader contested nature of settlement and integration to provide a deeper picture of their struggles and strengths.

Settlement and City Size

This paper studies settlement across both large urban centres and small cities in Alberta to understand the differences in experience (Frideres 2006). Larger centres tend to attract more immigrants and refugees because of their size, diversity, economic opportunity and ethno-cultural or community connections (Hyndman, Schuurman and Fiedler 2006; Krahn, Derwing and Abu-Laban 2005). However, large centers may face challenges of scale or population size, which necessitates the development of “one size fits all” policies while working with immigrants (Collett 2006). Consequently, such policies can in turn lead to disenfranchisement or a lack of belonging among refugees or immigrants. Studies that look at social integration show that larger cities often have stronger boundaries that separate communities and enable the development of ethnic enclaves (Frideres 2006). While such ethnic neighborhoods may provide security, information about housing, employment, and other day-to-day activities, it may also limit interactions with mainstream/host populations (Kazemipur 2008; Lamba 2003). Employment rates among immigrants are the highest outside the three largest urban centers and concurrently income levels of immigrants are higher in these second and third tier cities as well (Frideres 2006). These trends seem to indicate that, in some cases, smaller towns and cities may have developed effective strategies to facilitate integration of immigrants (Derwing and Krahn 2006; Garcea 2006). While some smaller centres may lack resources or opportunities, they often have community members who are more engaged and invested in this process and could mobilize resources more effectively to meet refugee needs (Agrawal and Zeitouny 2017; Bonifacio and Drolet 2017). In contrast, Abu-Laban et al. (1999) studied the settlement experiences of refugees based on the size of communities in Alberta and found that the refugee retention rate was highest in the

largest cities of Edmonton and Calgary and lowest in the smallest cities of Grande Prairie and Ft. McMurray. Among medium-sized cities, Lethbridge had the lowest retention when compared with Red Deer and Medicine Hat. Refugees tended to move to the nearest larger cities in the province for employment, language supports and education. This study, though dated, provides key insights to understand the location dynamics of settlement and integration.

Social Connections, Networks and Social Relationships

Social relationships, ties and connections are key factors for successful refugee resettlement and lay the foundation of citizenship, rights and resettlement (Elliot and Yusuf 2014; Zetter et al. 2006). Social connections and a sense of belonging that come from associations with support groups, new friendships, and community connections are key factors in facilitating acceptance of personal responsibility and recovering from the losses that accompany migration and resettlement (Pottie, Brown and Dunn 2005). Belonging refers to a sense of security, feeling connected to a broader community and vested in the core institutions of society (Reitz 2009).

Most refugees are linked with extended family networks and, as resettlement continues, more extensive extra-familial networks involving neighbors, co-workers, employers, other community members, and a wide range of service providers are constructed (Lamba and Krahn 2003). In fact, some refugees engage in secondary migration to access meaningful social support (Chung, Hong and Newbold 2013; Simich 2003). Menjivar (1995) found that if previously arrived immigrants were well settled, supported by the state and had economic capital, they were more likely to have positive supportive relationships with newcomers. A supportive context becomes critical to establishing and maintaining social networks within their communities (Makwarimba et al. 2013; Riaño-Alcalá and Goldring 2014).

Social support and strength of social networks, both within refugee communities and between resettled refugees and the host community, help resettled refugees integrate into Canadian society (Hyndman, D'Addario and Stevens 2014). Social support is said to have a buffering impact on stress and physical and emotional health and is impacted by personal, social and environmental factors (Finch and Vega 2003; Hagan 1998; Karen, Uddin and Bibas 2016; Simich et al. 2005). Our study explores both quality of social support and level of support through social participation measures.

Social Capital

Social capital (Bourdieu 1986; Putnam 2007), in the context of refugee resettlement, can play a critical role in accessing knowledge and resources or act as opportunities to occupy/access social positions (Coleman 1990; Dahinden 2013; Drever and

Hoffmeister 2008; Engbersen, Van San and Leerkes 2006; Kitching, Smallbone and Athayde 2009; Van Meeteren, Engbersen and Van San 2009). Anthias and Cederberg (2009) argue that social capital does not equate to a resource unless it can be used for social advancement. Bonding social capital underlies relationships amongst families, community members and ethnic groups and helps to strengthen, support and empower refugees (Elliot and Yusuf 2014). For instance, African refugees from Ethiopia and Somalia were found to obtain information on initial settlement through personal networks of friends, family and compatriots (Danso 2002). Bridging social capital supports the development of connections with external groups and encourages participation in broader social life (Edwards 2010). Bridging social capital can be built through friendly neighborhood encounters and community engagement that helps refugees feel welcomed and supported (Ager and Strang 2008). Scholars have argued that bonding social capital can strengthen ties but reduce bridging social capital that may be necessary for integration (Amin 2005; Kindler, Ratcheva and Piechowska 2015). Social capital shapes the nature of social ties and relationships. Next, the paper will detail the methodology and highlight the results of the study.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design and Sites

The data for this paper were drawn from a broader study that focused on settlement, challenges across settings and current needs of Syrian refugees who arrived between 2015 and 2016 (Moorthi, Elford and Drolet 2017). The paper draws specifically on data pertaining to social relationships, networks and ties in the context of settlement and integration. A mixed methods approach was used to understand the resettlement process of three categories of refugees in five cities in Alberta, of which two are large cities (Calgary and Edmonton) and three are small cities (Lethbridge, Medicine Hat and Red Deer). Larger cities have populations over a million, a diversified economy, a fair amount of ethnic and cultural diversity, and a large range of services for immigrants (Krahn, Derwing and Abu-Laban, 2005). In comparison, smaller cities have a population below a million, limited immigrant services, employment opportunities, and diversity (Krahn et al. 2005). The latter cities are also considered small, because they have certain characteristics: 1) a discernable downtown core; 2) an authentic, locally celebrated history in a place physically separate from major metropolitan centres; 3) a measurable level of cultural participation including a tradition of volunteerism, growth coalitions, and leadership; and 4) a creative cultural policy that links the city's centre and heritage to its outlying areas and communities (Drolet et al. 2008).

Community forums were organized in collaboration with Resettlement Assistance Providers (RAP) organizations in all cities to introduce the study to potential participants. This skewed the study sample both in terms of refugee category and gender as it was dependent on attendee profiles. All forum attendees were approached to participate in the survey. Additionally, a sample of 20 participants was approached to participate in in-depth interview in four cities (excluding Lethbridge). They were recruited through the community forums and through existing networks of RAP providers. The interviews were designed to provide a deeper perspective of the newcomers' experiences in their new communities. All data were collected by bilingual research assistants who spoke English and Arabic. The study had several limitations that include, a small sample of PSRs, that makes it difficult to make strong conclusions around the specific findings for PSRs. Additionally, the sample was chosen from immigrant serving agencies increasing the likelihood of a skewed sample that already access settlement services and find them helpful.

Sample

Survey Participants

The survey had a total sample size of 100 participants, of which 56% were men and 44% women; 54% were Arabic, 42% were Arabic Sunni Muslim and 4% were Kurdish (only half of the sample shared their ethnicity). The majority of the survey participants were GARs (83%) and other refugee groups participated as follows: PSRs (10%), BVORs (5%) and other/don't know (2%). Over half (54%) of the sample was from a small city (Red Deer, Lethbridge and Medicine Hat) and 46% were from a large city (Calgary and Edmonton). The sample distribution across cities was as follows: Lethbridge: 13%; Medicine Hat: 15%; Red Deer: 26%; Calgary: 23%; and Edmonton: 23%. The majority (74%) of the sample group was between the ages of 25 to 44. In terms of education, 50% had completed primary school or secondary schooling, 20% had completed high school and 19% of the sample had education beyond high school. A majority of survey participants were students (47%) or unemployed and looking for work (27%). It is likely that the survey participants who identified as students were enrolled in English language classes. Only about 8% of the sample was engaged in either full time or part time work. Seventy-nine per cent of the survey sample was paying market rents and about 15% were paying subsidized rents.

Interview Participants

Men represented 40% of the interview participants while women represented 60% of the interview participants. GARs made up 55% of the interviewees compared to 25% PSRs and 20% BVORs. Smaller cities represented 40% of the sample with 60% from a large city. The sample distribution across cities was as follows: Medicine Hat:

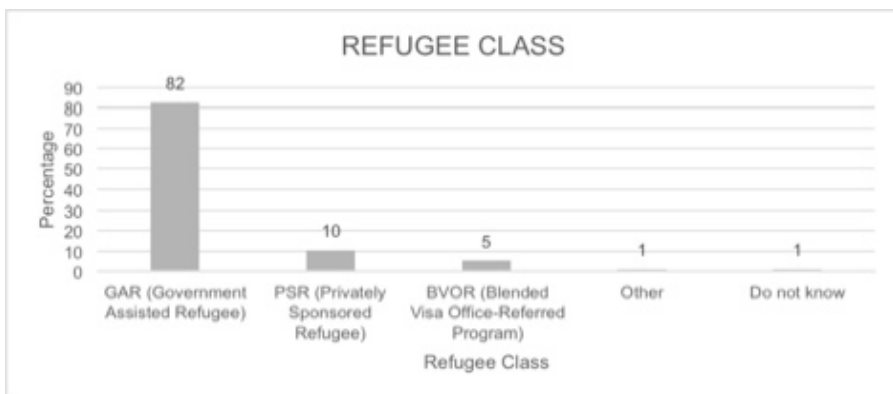


Fig.1. Refugee Class distribution of sample

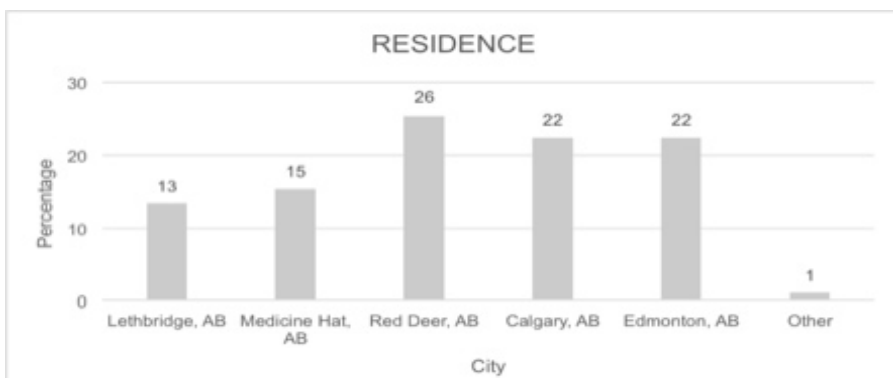


Fig. 2. City distribution of sample

10%; Red Deer: 30%; Calgary: 35%; and Edmonton: 25%. A \$25 gift card was provided to each interview participant to compensate for his or her time in the study.

Analysis

The research team conducted a mixed method analysis process that included the following steps: first, each qualitative interview was translated and transcribed from Arabic to English; next, it was coded to include critical themes and identify important quotes that illustrated key ideas. This process was iterative and followed the broad principles of grounded theory analysis (Glaser, 1992). For the quantitative data analysis, SPSS was used to run both frequencies and cross tabulations. Given the small sample size of the survey data and the categorical nature of the data, the correlations were not calculated. Informed consent of participants was obtained in advance of data collection, and research ethics approval for the study was obtained through the Research Ethics Board at the University of Calgary.

FINDINGS

The goal of this study was to hear the stories and everyday struggles of newly arriving Syrian refugees to Alberta and to understand the role of social connections and interactions in supporting settlement and integration. For refugees in the study, the route to Canada was paved with high risk that placed their lives in danger and came with significant challenges of losing their jobs, homes, belongings and social supports. They often made multiple stops across destinations such as Jordan, Turkey, and Lebanon, facing brutal conditions before settling in their current locations. Study participants' access to basic services, safety, respect and freedom was one of the most critical characteristics of their new environment.

Finding Community: Settlement Needs

The participants built social connections around two key drivers: settlement needs and socio-cultural community, similar to other key research (Lamba and Krahn 2003; Pottie, Brown and Dunn 2005). These settlement-driven social connections and networks were primarily with settlement organizations and workers, private sponsors or charitable organizations that supported their settlement, employers, housing providers and language educators; more distant ties to childcare providers and schools were also seen (Lamba and Krahn 2003). These networks helped to link with both formal and informal resources supporting both material and psychological needs.

Mostly the immigrant-serving agency provided me with hope and a positive attitude. They really try to help you out with anything they can whether it was general inquiries or questions or just providing general information. The immigrant-serving agency is even helping me meet a lawyer to assist me with inquiries. (BVIS woman participant 4)

The quantitative data also supported these qualitative narratives; 67% of survey respondents found settlement organizations very important in helping them settle, and about 28% found them important. About 72% of the survey sample had visited an immigrant serving agency, reflecting the high rate of interactions and connections made for settlement needs and 52% of survey respondents received some type of orientation from a settlement agency.

When comparing results based on city size, there was no significant differences in refugees making connections with both settlement agencies and community organizations. In terms of differences between refugee classes, our study found that all PSRs and BVORs found that the role of community organizations was critical to settlement, more so than GARs who were often more closely linked to settlement agencies. Community organizations included faith-based groups and networks

(faith-based organizations, mosques, religious institutions), neighborhood connections (e.g., Community Leagues), municipal libraries, community centres, among others. In order to explain this anomaly, it is possible that GARs rely on RAP and settlement providers to meet their settlement needs while PSRs and BVORs access more services and programs in the community facilitated through their sponsors.

Sponsors played a key role for PSRs, however the interview respondents highlighted that the level of support was variable or limited in nature. These relationships were often the first social ties that refugees developed within their new social environment and were laden with several expectations and needs (Beiser 2003; Neuwirth and Clarke 1981). Participants in our study discussed how the sponsors provided extensive support and guidance—connecting them to jobs, linking them to immigrant serving organizations, helping them find housing or schooling for their children (Drever and Hoffmeister 2008; Engbersen et al. 2006; Kitching et al. 2009; Van Meeteren et al. 2009). It was also deeply personal and a close relationship for some, with a strong dependency on the sponsor not simply for material resources or social capital but also for emotional or psychological needs.

I passed through an extremely rough time, even more rough than our immigration here, but my sponsors were there to fully support me: I had a nervous breakdown because my brother-in-law was killed in the war back home and I suffered tremendously. My sponsors tried to make me feel better, they hosted a social function for me, they even told me not to worry and that they will sponsor my sister for me... I don't do anything – not even one step – without informing them. (PSR, woman participant 1).

However, some sponsors only provided basic support for a few days and expected the refugees to navigate the community on their own (Agrawal and Zeitouny 2017). PSR interviewees also reported having weaker connections to settlement agencies and reported greater self-reliance, or utilizing networks through sponsors to find work, housing or language education, including community organizations. Only in the case of private sponsors did large cities tend to report a higher percentage (54%) that reported private sponsors important or very important as compared to small cities (45%). Further research is needed to understand these nuances in support. Addressing settlement needs was a crucial foundation for building social connections in their new communities, helping forge strong bonds for refugees, through community organizations and settlement needs, that varies by refugee class and city context.

Making Community Links: Canadian and Ethno-Cultural

The second key driver to build social connections was finding a socio-cultural community in their new community. Refugees reported building social connections with

neighbors, other refugees/immigrants, religious community members or those with a similar ethno-cultural background (Ager and Strang 2008). The study found 63% of survey participants felt that the local community was welcoming and supportive, a sentiment that was echoed by interview participants in the study:

One time, I was doing grocery shopping at the Superstore...then went to the cashier to pay, the lady who was waiting to pay in front me asked me where are you from and I said, Syria. She said, I would like to pay for your groceries. I said, but I have money to pay for that, if you see someone who is more in need than myself, then if you wish you can pay for them...She said, I saw you and your wife, I felt I want to help (GAR male participant 1)

Some refugees were also conscious about making these links with the mainstream community, more so than with the Syrian community, as they emphasized the need to integrate, improve their language skills and build social capital.

I value being connected to both communities; the Arabic and the Canadian. But perhaps I feel that I need the Canadian community support a little more because I am coming to their culture and I need to feel welcomed and also adjusted to their ways. (BVOR participant 3)

...(if) your environment is all Arabic, then you will never advance in the English, in getting accustomed to the culture. If you are surrounded with Canadians, integration is easier... (GAR participant 3)

Participants shared stories of reaching out to socializing with their neighbors, making friends at LINC classes, having picnics or social gatherings, celebrating Ramadan and participating in sports activities with friends. Such interactions, emergent connections and casual exchange both among refugees and between the refugees and the host/mainstream population provided insight into the granular and everyday nature of integration (Cherti and McNeil 2012).

...the truth is that without people and the help of others you cannot live. I value the social connections I made a lot. We benefit and learn a lot from connecting with other people. (GAR male participant 2)

The survey specifically explored social participation and found that the majority of participants are gathering with family or friends outside their homes at least once a day (38%) or once a week (47%). In terms of religious activities, most respondents (60%) indicated they participate in religious activities at least once a week. In terms of sports and physical activities, the rate of participation significantly drops with only 10% of respondents indicating they participate in physical activity once a day. When comparing 'frequent participation' (once a day/once a week) between larger cities and small cities, there was no major difference observed in terms of

gathering with friends and family, sports or educational activities. However, large city respondents reported slightly higher percentages of participation as compared to small cities in terms of recreation and religious activities, and this could be partly due to availability of religious spaces or recreation opportunities. Recreation in Arabic is **ترفيه** (tarfeeh), which is synonymous to entertainment. Many newcomer families are struggling to survive in their new environment and engagement in recreational activities was viewed as less of a priority and more as a luxury.

The next important aspect of building social networks was the role of the Syrian community. The survey found 88% of the respondents indicated that the community was very important or important (Edwards 2010). Only 12% of survey respondents found the existing Syrian community not at all important in settling into a new environment. The Syrian community support helped to buffer the impacts and stress related to migration—from finding good housing, sharing tips about job search, and parenting advice to providing insight on how to adapt to the new community (Finch and Vega 2003; Hagan 1998; IRCC 2016a ; Karen, Uddin and Bibas 2016; Simich et al. 2005).

There are lots of Syrians around me. We visit each other very often, we go to school together, we live in the same community. Most of us came together as refugees. Having all these Syrians together makes it so much easier to adjust to the new environment. (GAR male participant 4)

Having a Syrian community around contributes to our emotional health. (GAR female participant 4)

Within the Syrian refugees, we made a WhatsApp group, if anyone needs anything, like translation, or food, or furniture, immigration papers, etc., they can post it, and anyone who can help will pitch in. (GAR male participant 1)

Interestingly, interview participants highlighted that the Syrian community who had lived in Canada for a significant period were not always very receptive of the newly arrived refugees and preferred to keep their distance. Even though the ethno-cultural community can become a critical source of support, the participants' comments highlighted that the community has inherent social tensions and fissures that produced some challenges in settlement (Menjívar 1995).

I am facing great difficulty with the Syrian community here because it seems like they are all clustered into groups and to be honest, I don't feel welcomed in any of the groups. So, although I tried, I can't seem to get into the community. They say we go way back and we are comfortable with the people we already know, so we don't want to add anyone into the group. I found some might also befriend you for awhile and then they stop. (BVOR female participant 3)

I only have a few Syrian friends because there is a divide between us. One is that we have different backgrounds: some are more urban people so different mentality and the others come from the rural areas. Even being educated and modern plays a role. The other reason is religious views that I prefer not to get into... (GAR female participant 4)

The interview participants not only highlighted the diversity but also the depth of social connections within the Syrian community. While most reported a positive and supportive relationships marked with familiarity and comfort of a shared history and culture, a few spoke of the challenges of establishing close and deep relationships. As seen by the participation rates, many refugees were involved with family and friends as well as in religious activities, which provided them with an outlet for social engagement and integration with Canadian society. Given that most of these connections were new and forged under the stressful context of settlement, participants were yet to establish relationships that were like those back in Syria.

Belonging and Challenges in Making New Connections

The survey and interviews explored Syrian refugees' perspective and level of belonging within Canada and challenges to settlement. The survey found 94% of respondents felt a sense of belonging within Canada; only 6% responded no to this question. However, in a separate question almost 22% reported challenges in terms of belonging.

The survey also found that 33% of the participants found adjusting to the city, town and community as a challenge. Of the respondents who said they felt that they belonged in Canada, 55% of those settled in small cities as compared to 44% who belonged to large cities. Overall, refugees in small cities felt a greater sense of belonging than large cities (Abu-Laban et al. 1999; Agrawal and Zeitouny 2017). The qualitative interviews highlighted some of the reasons why refugees may have felt unwelcomed, isolated and disconnected in Canada. For some, the cultural differences between the newly arrived Syrian refugees and the Canadian community were difficult to overcome. For others, their sense of belonging was impacted by their settlement process during which their expectations were often not met. Participants reported feeling a drop in their standard of living due to loss of adequate income, lack of health resources, employment and lack of recognition of their education, skills and expertise, in comparison to their lives in Syria.

One of the factors that impacted their sense of belonging was the loss of social connections. About 18% of the survey respondents reported that making friends and social connections was another key challenge. The study participants felt both uprooted from their social life and unable to reconcile the new social fabric of the Canadian context. Social connections are embedded in language and culture and for the Syrian refugee population they were now often alienated from both.

Our Syrian culture is all about the social life, and being able to go out with family and friends is a huge part of our lives. It troubles me and my kids that we don't have that anymore. (PSR female respondent 2)

Social connections and participation in social activities were the foundation for all aspects of societal life in Syria. In Syria, participants shared that they had lifelong friendships and relatives that lived around them; people would visit with each other regularly and often without prior scheduling. Even after a long day's work, participants shared stories where they would go out and socialize with friends and family until the late hours of the night. However, in Canada life was more individual focused and newly arrived refugees lacked social networks to build social capital which in turn increased challenges to access resources, find services or participate in the social fabric of Canadian society (Dahinden 2013; Kitching et al. 2009; Van Meeteren et al. 2009;). Lack of public transportation, economic stressors such as long working hours or less money to spend on social activities and language barriers were key issues that prevented social interactions.

Another key challenge to building social connections was related to racism and discrimination. Participants shared stories from the community and workplace interactions where they felt "used" or mistreated because they were considered as outsiders:

One of my kids woke up one day for school and told me he really doesn't want to go because whenever he gets into an argument with his friends at school they yell at him 'go back to your country'. He said that really bothers him. I told him it's normal, he said that it's not the only time that it happened, and that he just never told me before. Another incident was "a kid in the hockey field at a park that asked my son, 'are you Muslim' he replied yes then he told him 'who brought you here', my son replied the prime minister, then he told him 'he brought you here to kill you.'" I am not okay with my kids having to deal with those kinds of comments. (GAR woman 5)

One of the girls were told that Syrians brought the mice and dirt with them...I have faced a person that holds a grudge about the Syrians that are taking the government's money. (GAR woman 2)

In some small cities that had a small refugee population or a relatively small Muslim population, some interview participants shared their concerns around adapting to the local context and the heightened experience of being 'different'. Some others spoke about small cities not having religious spaces to practice their religion or even grocery stores to buy their culturally appropriate food.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Participants in the study found social connections to be a critical component of their resettlement, since it made them feel part of the community. The context of the

social relationships for Syrian refugees was both precarious and new. Refugees at the time of the study were early in their settlement process, largely grateful for the safety of their community and the opportunity to rebuild their lives. However, at the same time they were still coming to terms with their migration journey, the changes in their life circumstances and adapting to new conditions. As the paper discusses later, this adaptation process was not without challenges or concerns. The social connections that were formed were mostly emergent and tenuous, focused on building a social support network and meeting settlement needs. For respondents who were used to leveraging social connections to secure resources and services, the challenges are steep. The study found that overall participants felt supported by ethno-cultural communities, settlement organizations and community organizations. However, the quality of this support varied over time and remained largely restricted to providing material supports.

Refugees from small cities reported greater connections with settlement and community agencies but also reported challenges in terms of access to ethno-cultural resources. PSRs had varied experiences with their sponsors but overall had more extensive community links as compared to GARs or BVORs. Given the small sample size of PSRs and BVORs, the recommendations need to be viewed in the context of this limitation. The small city context may require resettled refugees to access more mainstream services delivered by community organizations than large cities where there are multiple immigrant settlement agencies. In Alberta, there may be only one settlement agency or a satellite office of a settlement agency, given demographics. There is a need to better understand how resettled refugees access mainstream services in small cities. With this finding, policy implications need to consider how to support the settlement of refugees through non-traditional community organizations in the mainstream.

The study identified several opportunities to strengthen professional development for RAP providers, private sponsors, and other frontline staff working with refugees drawing on a peer navigator model (Kelly et al. 2014; Manderson et al. 2012). These include developing stronger skills around trauma-informed practice, strengths-based practice and empowerment focus for refugee clients (British Columbia Provincial Mental Health and Substance Use Planning Council 2013; Graybeal 2001). The study highlighted the need to increase professional development opportunities that allow for sharing of best practices and focus on skills in counselling, crisis care, conflict management, and referral support. Bridging programs and partnerships between settlement agencies and mainstream community organizations in multiple geographic sites could play a role in meeting diverse needs such as translation and interpretation. The final report of the study recommended strengthening social connections in order to find employment, access resources and

express identity, as well as specific service and systems suggestions (Moorthi, Elford and Drolet 2017). Given the current socio-political and economic global climate, these refugees are also facing several challenges in terms of Islamophobia, racism and discrimination, some of which were also reported in this study. This study provides a brief glimpse into the settlement journey; however, more long-term research is needed to track long-term impacts and outcomes of migration.

NOTES

1. GAR: Under the Government-Assisted Refugees (GAR) Program, refugees are referred to Canada for resettlement by the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) or another referral organization. Individuals cannot apply directly.

PSR: Refugees are referred to Canada for resettlement by a private sponsor. Being a privately sponsored refugee means that a group of people in Canada have volunteered to support the refugee. The sponsorship group will support all settlement needs including housing, clothing, and food for one year after arrival or until they can support themselves, whichever comes first.

BVOR: The Blended Visa Office-Referred (BVOR) Program matches refugees identified for resettlement by the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) with private sponsors in Canada. The UNHCR identifies the refugees. The Government of Canada gives up to six months of income support. Private sponsors give another six months of financial support. They also give up to a year of social and emotional support. The Interim Federal Health Program and provincial health care also cover refugees for the length of the sponsorship (one year).

2. In 2017-18, Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada is investing more than \$690 million for immigrants and refugees.

3. Alberta Association for Immigrant Serving Agencies commissioned the research with funding from IRCC.

WORKS CITED

- Abu-Laban, B., Derwing, T., Krahn, H., Mulder, M., and Wilkinson, L. 1999. *The Settlement Experiences of Refugees in Alberta. A Study Prepared for Citizenship and Immigration Canada*. Edmonton, AB: Prairie Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Integration and Population Research Laboratory.
- Ager, A., and Strang, A. 2008. Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21.2: 166-191.
- Agrawal, S., and Zeitouny, S. 2017. *Settlement Experience of Syrian Refugees in Alberta*. SSHRC 2017. <https://cms.eas.ualberta.ca/UrbanEnvOb/wp-content/uploads/sites/21/2017/11/Syrian-Refugees-final-report-Nov-2017-1.pdf>. 2017.
- Alberta Association of Immigrant Serving Agencies (AAISA). 2016. *Provincial Needs Assessment: Improving Refugee Resettlement in Alberta*. <http://aaisa.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/aaisa-provincial-needs-assessment-final-report-october-2016.pdf>
- Amin, A. 2005. Local Community on Trial. *Economy and Society* 34.4: 612-633.
- Anthias, F., and Cederberg, M. 2009. Using Ethnic Bonds in Self-Employment and the Issue of Social Capital. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35.6: 901-917.
- Beiser, M. 2003. Sponsorship and Resettlement Success. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 4.2: 203-215.
- Bemak, Fred, and Chung, Rita ChiYing. 2017. Refugee Trauma: Culturally Responsive Counseling Interventions. *Journal of Counseling & Development* 95.3: 299-308.
- Bonifacio, Glenda Tibe, and Drolet, J. (Eds.) 2017. *Canadian Perspectives on Immigration in Small Cities*. Basel, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

- Bourdieu, P. 1986. The Forms of Capital. In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson, 241-258. New York: Greenwood.
- British Columbia Provincial Mental Health and Substance Use Planning Council. 2013. *Trauma Informed Practice Guide*. http://bccewh.bc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/2013_TIP-Guide.pdf.
- Brunner, L., Hyndman, J., and Friesen, C. 2010. Aceh-Malaysia-Vancouver: Settlement Among Acehnese Refugees Five Years On. *Metropolis British Columbia*. Working Paper, 2010-12.
- Carter, T., Poleyvchok, C., Friesen, A., and Osborne, J. 2008. *The Housing Circumstances of Recently Arrived Refugees: The Winnipeg Experience*. Edmonton, AB: Prairie Metropolis Center.
- Cherti, M., and McNeil, C. 2012. Rethinking Integration. *Briefing Document, Institute of Public Policy Research*. London: UK. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.
- Chung, K., Hong, E., and Newbold, B. 2013. Resilience Among Single Adult Female Refugees in Hamilton, Ontario. *Refuge* 29.1: 65-75.
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada [CIC]. 2017. *How Canada's Refugee System Works*. <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/canada.asp>.
- Coleman, J.S. 1990. *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Collett, E. 2006. One Size Fits All? Tailored Integration Policies for Migrants in the European Union. *Working Paper*, 24. Brussels: European Policy Centre.
- Dahinden, J. 2013. Cities, Migrant Incorporation, and Ethnicity: A Network Perspective on Boundary Work. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 14.1: 39-60.
- Danso, Ransford. 2002. From 'There' to 'Here': An investigation of the Initial Settlement Experiences of Ethiopian and Somali Refugees in Toronto. *GeoJournal* 56.1: 3-14.
- Derwing, T., and Krahn, H. 2006. Edmonton's approach to attracting and retaining new immigrants. *Our Diverse Cities* 2 (Summer): 9-13.
- Derwing, T. M., and Mulder, M. 2003. The Kosovar Sponsoring Experience in Northern Alberta. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 4.2: 783-798.
- Devoretz, D., Pivnenko, S., and Beiser, M. 2004. The Economic Experience of Refugees in Canada. *RIIM Working Paper*, 04-04. Vancouver: Vancouver Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis.
- Drever, A.I., and Hoffmeister, O. 2008. Immigrants and Social Networks in a Job-Scarce Environment: The Case of Germany. *International Migration Review* 42.2: 425-448.
- Drolet, J., Robertson, J., Multani, P., Robinson, W., and Wroz, M. 2008. Settlement Experiences in a Small City: Kamloops, British Columbia. *Small Cities Imprint* 1.1:21-30.
- Earnest, J. 2005. Adolescent and Young Refugee Perspectives on Psychosocial Well-Being. *The International Journal of the Humanities* 3.5:79-86.
- Edwards, M. 2010. *Civil Society*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Elliot, S., and Yusuf, I. 2014. Yes We Can; But Together': Social Capital and Refugee Resettlement. *New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences* 9.2: 101-110.
- Engbersen, G., Van San, M., and Leerkes, A. 2006. A Room With a View: Irregular Immigrants in the Legal Capital of the World. *Ethnography* 7.2: 209-242.
- Finch, B.K., and Vega, W.A. 2003. Acculturation Stress, Social Support, and Self-Rated Health Among Latinos in California. *Journal of Immigrant Health* 5.3: 109-117.
- Francis, J., and Hiebert, D. 2014. Shaky Foundations: Refugees in Vancouver's Housing Market. *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien* 58.1: 63-78.
- Frideres, J.S. 2006. Cities and Immigrant Integration: The Future of Second and Third Tier Centres. *Our Diverse Cities* 2: 3-8.
- Garcea, J. 2006. Attraction and Retention of Immigrants by Saskatchewan's Major Cities. *Our Diverse Cities* 2: 14-19.
- Glaser, B. G. 1992. *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Government of Canada. 2016. *The Settlement Journey for Refugees in Canada*. <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?nid=1156219>.
- . 2017. Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada Departmental Plan 2017-2018. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/departmental-plan-2017-2018/departmental-plan.html>.

- Graybeal, C. 2001. Strengths-Based Social Work Assessment: Transforming the Dominant Paradigm. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services* 82.3: 233-242.
- Hagan, J.M. 1998. Social Networks, Gender, and Immigrant Incorporation: Resources and Constraints. *American Sociological Review* 63.1: 55-67.
- Hyman, I., Vu, N., and Beiser, M. 2000. Post-Migration Stresses Among Southeast Asian Refugees Youth in Canada: A Research Note. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 31.2: 281-293.
- Hyndman, J., D'Addario, S., and Stevens, M. 2014. *Final Report – Refugee Research Synthesis 2009-2013*. Toronto: CERIS.
- Hyndman, J., Schuurman, N., and Fiedler, R. 2006. Size Matters: Attracting New Immigrants to Canadian Cities. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 7.1:1-26.
- IRCC. 2016a. *Notice – supplementary information 2017 immigration levels plan*. www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/notices/2016-10-31.asp.
- . 2016b. *Rapid Impact Evaluation of the Syrian Refugee Initiative. Evaluation*. Ottawa: IRCC.
- . 2017. *Syrian Refugee Resettlement Initiative – Looking to the Future*. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/welcome-syrian-refugees/looking-future.html>.
- Karen, A., Uddin, N., and Bibas, H. 2016. *Longitudinal Study of Stress and Social Support in Married Arab Immigrant Women*. Presentation at the 27th international Nursing Research Congress, Cape Town, South Africa, July 21-25, 2016.
- Kazempur, A. 2008. *Social Capital Profiles: Immigrants and the Native-Born in Canada*. Working Paper. Edmonton, AB: Prairie Metropolis Centre.
- Kelly, E., Fulginiti, A., Pahwa, R., Tallen, L., Duan, L., and Brekke, J.S. 2014. A Pilot Test of a Peer Navigator Intervention for Improving the Health of Individuals With Serious Mental Illness. *Community Mental Health Journal* 50.4: 435-446.
- Kindler, M., Ratcheva, V., and Piechowska, M. 2015. *Social Networks, Social Capital and Migrant Integration at Local Level*. IRIS Working Paper Series Np. 6/2015. Birmingham, UK: IRIS.
- Kitching, J., Smallbone, D., and Athayde, R. 2009. Ethnic Diasporas and Business Competitiveness: Minority-Owned Enterprises in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35.4: 689-705.
- Krahn, H., Derwing, T.M., and Abu-Laban, B. 2005. The Retention of Newcomers in Second- and Third-Tier Canadian Cities. *International Migration Review* 39.4: 872-894.
- Krahn, H., Derwing, T., Mulder, M., and Wilkinson, L. 2000. Educated and Underemployed: Refugee Integration into the Canadian Labour Market. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 1.1: 59-84.
- Lamba, N.K. 2003. The Employment Experiences of Canadian Refugees: Measuring the Impact of Human and Social Capital on Employment Outcomes. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 40.1: 45-64.
- Lamba, Navjot K., and Krahn, H. 2003. Social Capital and Refugee Resettlement: The Social Networks of Refugees in Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration/Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale* 4.3: 335-360.
- Makwarimba, E., Stewart, M., Simich, L., Makumbe, K., Shizha, E., and Anderson, S. 2013. Sudanese and Somali Refugees in Canada: Social Support Needs and Preferences. *International Migration* 51.5: 106-119.
- Manderson, B., McMurray, J., Piraino, E., and Stolee, P. 2012. Navigation Roles Support Chronically Ill Older Adults Through Healthcare Transitions: A Systematic Review of the Literature. *Health & Social Care in the Community* 20.2: 113-127.
- McCarthy, S. 2017. Sizable Minority says Canada is Accepting Too Many Refugees: Poll. Ottawa: *The Global Mail*. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/sizable-minority-says-canada-is-accepting-too-many-refugees-poll/article34087415/>.
- Menjivar, C. 1995. Kinship Networks Among Immigrants. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 36.3-4: 219-232.
- Moorthi, G., Elford, L., and Drolet, J. 2017. *Alberta Syrian Refugee Resettlement Experience: AAISA Study*. Alberta Association of Immigrant Sector Agencies (AAISA). http://aaisa.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/alberta-syrian-refugee-resettlement-study_final.pdf.
- Murdie, R.A. 2008. Pathways to Housing: The Experiences of Sponsored Refugees and Refugee Claimants

- in Accessing Permanent Housing in Toronto. *Journal of International Migration and Integration/Revue de l'intégration et de la migration internationale* 9.1: 81-101.
- Murdie, R.A., and Logan, J. 2011. *Precarious Housing and Hidden Homelessness Among Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and Immigrants: Bibliography and Review of Canadian Literature From 2005 to 2010*. Homelessness Partnering Strategy (HPS) of Human Resources and Skills Development, Canada (HRSDC). Toronto: CERIS – The Ontario Metropolis Centre.
- Neuwirth, G., and Clark, L. 1981. Indochinese Refugees in Canada: Sponsorship and Adjustment. *The International Migration Review* 15.1/2: 131-140.
- Noh, S., Beiser, M., Kaspar, V., Hou, F., and Rummens, J. 1999. Perceived Racial Discrimination, Depression, and Coping: A Study of Southeast Asian Refugees in Canada. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 40.3:193-207.
- Pottie, K., Brown, J.B., and Dunn, S. 2005. The Resettlement of Central American Men in Canada: From Emotional Distress to Successful Integration. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 22.2: 101-111.
- Putnam, R.D. 2007. E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the 21st Century: The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30:137-174.
- Reitz, J.G. 2009. Assessing Multiculturalism as a Behavioural Theory. In *Multiculturalism and Social Cohesion*, eds. Reitz, J.G., Breton, R., Dion, K.K., Dion, K.L., 1-47. Springer: Netherlands.
- Riaño-Alcalá, P., and Goldring, L. 2014. Unpacking Refugee Community Transnational Organizing: The Challenges and Diverse Experiences of Colombians in Canada. *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 33.2: 84-111.
- Robinson V. 1998. *Defining and Measuring Successful Refugee Integration*. Presentation at the Proceedings of European Council on Refugees and Exiles International Conference on Integration of Refugees in Europe, Antwerp, Brussels November.
- Sherrell, K., D'Addario, S., and Hiebert, D. 2007. On the Outside Looking In: The Precarious Housing Situations of Successful Refugee Claimants in the GVRD. *Refuge* 24.2: 64-75.
- Simich, L. 2003. Negotiating Boundaries of Refugee Resettlement: A Study of Settlement Patterns and Social Support. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie* 40.5: 575-591.
- Simich, L., Beiser, M., Stewart, M., and Makwarimba, E. 2005. Providing Social Support for Immigrants and Refugees in Canada: Challenges and Directions. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health* 7.4: 259-268.
- Tyyska, V., Blower, J., DeBoer, S., Kawai, S., and Walcott, A. 2017. *The Syrian Refugee Crisis in Canadian Media*. Working Paper, Toronto: RCIS.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR]. 2017. *Global Trends: Forced Displacement 2016*. Geneva: UNHCR.
- Van Meeteren, M., Engbersen, G., and Van San, M. 2009. Striving For a Better Position: Aspirations and the Role of Cultural, Economic, and Social Capital for Irregular Migrants in Belgium. *International Migration Review* 43.4: 881-907.
- Wood, P., McGrath, S., and Young, J. 2012. The Emotional City: Refugee Settlement and Neoliberalurbanism in Calgary. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 13.1: 21-37.
- Zetter, R., Griffiths, D., Sigona, N., Flynn, D., Pasha, T., and Beynon, R. 2006. *Immigration, Social Cohesion and Social Capital: What are the Links?* York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

JULIE DROLET is Professor (effective July 1 2018) in the Central and Northern Alberta Region of the Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary. She is a co-investigator in *Pathways to Prosperity* (p2pcanada.ca), a research alliance dedicated to fostering welcoming communities that promote the economic, social and civic integration of migrants and minorities in Canada. She was previously a domain leader in the Settlement, Integration, and Welcoming Communities Domain with the Metropolis BC Network. In addition, she has extensive practice experience in the field of international social work. She has published extensively in international

social work and social development with a particular focus on gender and development, climate change and disasters, international social protection initiatives, International and Canadian field education, qualitative research, and international migration and Canadian immigration. Her current interests focus on social work and disasters, immigrant and refugee settlement and integration, social work field education, and social protection in Swaziland.

GAYATRI MOORTHI is a Principal Consultant at Habitus Consulting Collective based in Calgary, Alberta. Her work primarily focuses on immigration, health and development. Through her practice she focuses on working with non-profits, government and private institutions to develop strong evaluative frameworks, evidence-based practice and collective impact partnerships.



**JILL HANLEY, ADNAN AL MHAMIED,
JANET CLEVELAND, OULA HAJJAR,
GHAYDA HASSAN, NICOLE IVES, RIM KHYAR, AND
MICHAELA HYNIE**

The Social Networks, Social Support and Social Capital of Syrian Refugees Privately Sponsored to Settle in Montreal: Indications for employment and housing during their early experiences of integration

Abstract

Beginning in 2015, Canada undertook an exceptional undertaking of sponsoring of more than 40,000 Syrian refugees to resettle in Canada. As the excitement of their initial arrivals dissipates, it is important to consider their longer-term settlement and integration in their new communities. This article offers a portrait and analysis of how Syrian refugees sponsored to Montreal are able to create social networks and access social support in order to build social capital for employment and housing purposes. Part of a larger, three-province, 4-year longitudinal study, here we report on the first wave of survey data collected from 626 Privately-Sponsored Refugees living in Quebec. We report on their family support and friendships, as well as the ways that these social connections helped them in terms of employment and housing. Differences in terms of age, gender and time in Canada are analyzed. We find strong evidence of bonding social capital among recently resettled Syrians in Montreal, and growing bridging capital.

Keywords: Syrian refugees; private sponsorship of refugees; Quebec; social capital; employment; housing.

Résumé

Depuis 2015, le Canada est engagé dans un processus exceptionnel de parrainage de plus de 40,000 réfugiés syriens réinstallés au Canada. Alors que l'enthousiasme initial suscité par leur arrivée se dissipe, il est important d'examiner leur installation et leur intégration à long terme au sein de leurs nouvelles communautés. Cet article offre un portrait et une analyse de la manière dont les réfugiés syriens établis à Montréal réussissent à créer des réseaux sociaux et à accéder à l'appui social afin de pouvoir développer du capital social pour les fins de l'emploi et du logement. Faisant partie d'un projet longitudinal de 4 ans dans 3 provinces, ici nous partageons une partie des résultats de la première vague de données provenant de 626 réfugiés parrainés par la collectivité et vivant au Québec. Nous décrivons leur réseau de soutien familial et social et comment ces connexions sociales les ont aidés à accéder à l'emploi et au logement. Les différences en termes d'âge, de genre et de résidences au Canada sont analysées. Nous observons une forte présence du capital social de liaison (bonding) parmi les réfugiés syriens installés dans la région de Montréal, et l'émergence du capital social de transition (bridging).

Mots clés : Réfugiés syriens, parrainage des réfugiés par le secteur privé; Québec; capital social; emploi; logement.



INTRODUCTION

It has long been documented in the literature that social networks have profound influence on the lives of refugees (Koser 1997). Such networks influence the decisions refugees make about when to leave their home countries and where to target as a destination for asylum (Koser and Pinkerton 2002). Once arrived in the destination country, social networks are key sources of information and advice about: acquiring refugee status (Lee and Brotman 2011); housing (Ives et al. 2014; Sherrell and ISSS 2009; Walsh et al. 2016); employment (Beaman 2011; Lamba 2008; Potocky-Tripodi 2004; Williams 2006); and healthcare (Campbell 2012; Szreter and Woolcock 2004;), among other things. On an emotional level, social networks are important in terms of refugee sense of wellbeing and health (Kingsbury 2017; McMichael and Manderson 2004). Finally, the type of social network one possesses – particularly whether one has bonding, bridging and/or linking contacts (Putnam 1995; Ryan et al. 2008) – can make a big difference in terms of the type of information, resources and support a person can access through their network.

For the more than 40,000 Syrian refugees sponsored to resettle in Canada since 2015, we can assume that their social networks – and the social capital that results – matter. Given the exceptional effort – state, community and individual – that went into the recent resettlement of Syrian refugees, there has been a high interest in documenting the experience. As the articles in this journal issue attest, much research has been undertaken with the newly arrived Syrian community. Here, we share the results of the first wave of survey data collected from the 626 privately-sponsored individuals living in Montreal as part of a larger, three-province, 4-year longitudinal study funded by the Canadian Institute for Health Research (CIHR 2017-2021).¹ Our aim is to offer a portrait of the type and quality of social networks possessed by recently arrived Syrian refugees. We explore to what extent these networks seem to be contributing to people's access to employment and housing, and also to their sense of belonging in their new communities and their sense of being welcomed to Canada. We have found that, in this early stage of Syrians' integration into Canadian society, there is strong evidence of bonding networks that are mobilized to find housing, employment and provide emotional support, but bridging and linking networks are in the early stages of development.

The article begins with a review of the literature related to social support, social networks and social capital in the lives of resettled refugees. We then contextualize our study, offering a description of the Quebec policy and practice context into which Syrian refugees are integrating and which provides the backdrop for the development of informal social networks, social support and social capital which are the focus of this article. We describe our methods before sharing our results, again along the same themes of social networks, social support, and social capital for the purposes of employment and housing. We conclude with a discussion of the relative strength of Syrians' access to bonding and bridging social capital, and considerations for service providers wanting to support Syrians' and other refugees' ability to strengthen such connections as their time in Canada goes on.

SOCIAL SUPPORT, SOCIAL NETWORKS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this current analysis, we draw on the literature surrounding the contribution of social support, social networks and social capital – or the lack of it – in the lives of migrants in general and, where possible, resettled refugees in particular. We begin by defining the concepts, before looking at the ways in which refugees' access to these resources affects their decisions around migration and, later, their experiences in terms of employment, housing and sense of belonging.

Social support is important to both individual and collective wellbeing (Simich et al. 2005; Wilkinson and Marmot 2003) and social networks are an important source of such support (Kingsbury 2017; Simich et al. 2003; Wen and Hanley 2016). Furthermore, these social networks can be mobilized into social capital, allowing individuals and collectives to access resources and pursue their goals (Cattell 2001; Lamba and Krahn 2003; Zetter, Griffiths and Sigona 2005).

The **social networks** we are concerned with begin with families, extending to friends, peers, acquaintances and professional contacts. The concept of social network implies relationships between these different people, relationships that can have both a positive and negative influence on the people involved. Social networks should be analyzed along such lines as geography (local, national, transnational), gender, religion, race and class (Mouw et al. 2014; Pittaway, Bartolomei and Doney 2016; Ryan et al. 2008; Wang and Handy 2014). Ryan et al. (2008), in particular, emphasize that one should not assume that simply because an individual shares certain characteristics with others (e.g., ethnicity, gender and neighbourhood) that they are necessarily “networked” with them or able to draw on a given connection for social support or social capital. And, specifically with regard to Syrian refugees, it has been noted that, for most Syrians, the idea of social networking would be limited to

dense and overlapping circles of family and friends (Stevens 2016). Given the difficult political situation in Syria, and the underdeveloped public services, there was little trust in those outside one's immediate circle and little reason to turn to the state or NGOs for support.

For the purposes of this article, we adopt the definition of **social support** proposed by Stewart and Lagille (2000), subsequently adopted by many Canadian and international migration researchers (Gladden 2012; Simich et al. 2005; Stewart et al. 2008; Walker et al. 2015): the "interaction with family members, friends, peers and... professionals that communicate information, esteem, practical, or emotional help" (Stewart and Lagille 2000, 5). Note that having access to some form of social network is necessary to access social support but that social support does not necessarily bring an individual beyond their current situation, in the way that is implied by accessing social capital. As well, the concept of social support is highly cultural, underlining the importance of trying to understand it from the perspective of the population with which one is working (Stewart et al. 2008).

The concept of **social capital** is widely used in migration research. Putnam (1995) considered social capital to be an interaction between individuals and social networks, a reciprocity, and a level of trust established by such networks. Social capital implies a set of direct and indirect resources produced by social networks, based on trust, within family, friends, and community members (Coleman 1988). The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has provided the following definition of social capital: "networks, together with shared norms, values, and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or among groups" (Côté and Healy 2001).

Studies have identified three types of social capital. The first is bonding social capital, which Putnam (1995) described as being personal and based on protection, referring to relationships between members of a network who are somehow similar to each other, such as family and friends. The second type is bridging social capital, which refers to relationships between individuals who do not necessarily belong to a homogeneous group or correspond to one another in age, economic status, or education; instead they are brought together by other bonds, such as work relationships or shared knowledge. The third type is linking social capital, which is based on individuals' relationships with institutions and various types of organizations, such as governmental and non-governmental institutions, political parties, and corporations. This latter category is the weakest type of network or link, despite having, with bridging type, the highest output value and providing the necessary space for developing new ideas, values, and expectations (Gittell and Vidal 1998; Putnam 1995; Szreter and Woolcock 2004; Woolcock and Narayan 2000). Nasr and Hilal (2007) argued that the benefits one derives from social capital depend on a number of fac-

tors, such as gender, age, and social status; or other variables such as education, nationality, and religion. Individual factors that motivate individuals to invest in social capital, such as income, education, gender, social status, number of children, personal experiences, and values, vary from person to person (Christoforou 2011; Halman and Luijckx 2006).

Previous studies on social capital among refugees in Canada have found that refugees rely on both family and ethnic group networks for their settlement. Fifteen years ago, Lamba and Krahn (2003) conducted a survey with many parallels to this study that questioned 525 refugees about their social networks and how they mobilize these networks into social capital to provide “much-needed support and assistance when refugees are faced with financial, employment, personal, or health problems” (335). These Canadian findings are backed up by Cheung and Phillimore in the recent UK context who found a strong link between newly arrived refugees’ social capital and their access to the labour market. They also found that “length of residency and language competency broaden one’s social network” (2014, 591). Moreover, studies have found that connections with religious organizations, co-ethnic associations and even sports clubs contribute to building social capital and can have a positive impact on refugees’ accessing the labour market (Cheung and Phillimore 2014; Spaaij 2012). However, given the structure of the labour market, when refugees’ networks (and therefore their social capital) is limited to newcomers in the same situation as them (bonding capital), these connections may not overcome the devaluation of their human capital, leading them to be trapped in under-employment and precarious work conditions (Allen 2009; Lamba 2008). The good news, however, is it seems that developing strong bonding capital with one’s co-ethnic community can be an important building block to newcomers’ development of bridging capital (Nannestad, Lind Haase Svendsen and Tinggaard Svendsen 2008).

There is comparatively less information about social capital and its relation to refugee housing in Canada, but indications are that the effect of social networks and the resulting social capital are very similar. Contacts with settlement agencies, religious and co-ethnic networks bring help with finding housing, indicating that social networks do play a key role in refugees’ access to the housing market and decisions around locales of residence (Sherrell and ISSS 2009; Cheung and Phillimore 2014) but affordability and poor employment situations make it difficult for many newly arrived refugees to attain adequate housing (Sherrell and ISSS 2009). Several studies have documented, however, that while co-ethnic networks are an important way to access housing for precarious status newcomers, being limited to one’s co-ethnic community for information and connections (whether due to language limitations, fear of authorities or simply lack of knowledge) made one vulnerable to exploitation in housing (Ives et al. 2014; Walsh et al. 2016).

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY: REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT IN QUEBEC VIA PRIVATE SPONSORSHIP

In order to understand the experiences of Syrian refugees sponsored to resettle in Montreal, it is important to understand the unique context of immigration in the province of Quebec. The Quebec provincial government has a special Accord with the federal government, in place since 1991, that gives it the power to select immigrants (including resettled refugees) according to the interests of the province. Although there is quite a bit of debate about what constitutes the legitimate interests of the province (Piché 2017), in terms of economic immigration, this has meant a focus on French-speaking professionals. In terms of resettled refugees, the origin of those selected is influenced by the existing communities in the province, but it also means that the settlement services offered to resettled refugees are defined by the province. Here, we offer an overview of the way in which Immigration Quebec (Ministère de l'immigration, la diversité et l'inclusion – MIDI) organized the reception of Syrian refugees before presenting the services and initiatives organized by the Montreal community settlement sector and ethno-specific organizations.

Private sponsorship of Syrians in Quebec

Between November 2015 and July 2017, there were 9805 Syrians sponsored to settle in Quebec. Most (66 percent) settled in the Metropolitan region of Montreal (6445 people), but there were small numbers who settled in smaller cities such as Trois-Rivières (1605), Quebec City (445) Gatineau (440) and Sherbrooke (380) (IRCC 2017b). Of particular note, the vast majority (79 percent) of the Syrians coming to Quebec were privately sponsored by religious institutions, community organizations and groups of 2 to 5 individuals. In Montreal, 89 percent of resettled refugees who were privately sponsored (IRCC 2017b). This is in contrast to the rest of the country where the proportions were opposite, with 65 percent of Syrian refugees entering the country as government-assisted refugees (GARs) versus 22 percent being privately sponsored (PSRs) and 13 percent Blended-Visa Overseas Refugees (IRCC 2017a, 2017b).²

The high rate of private sponsorship in Quebec is a reflection of the fact that, prior to the conflict in Syria, Quebec was already the Canadian province with the highest population of Syrian origin (in the 2011 National Household Survey, 44% of all Syrians in Canada resided in Quebec and over 95% of these lived in Montreal). The 17,990 Syrians living in Quebec in 2011 were typically first- or second-generation immigrants who came for primarily economic or education reasons, not as refugees. Those who settled in Quebec prior to the recent wave of refugees were most often Christian (71%), highly educated (76% with post-secondary degrees) and with high

rates of employment. They had high levels of English/French bilingualism (67%) and 55% of workers were using primarily French in their workplace (Al Mhamied 2016; StatsCan 2011), all of which indicate that the community enjoyed a high level of integration. Quebec Syrians had high concentrations of study and employment in the fields of architecture, engineering and related technologies, business, management, public administration careers and health (Al Mhamied 2016; StatsCan 2011).

When the war in Syria began, and long before the Liberal government's 2015 commitment to sponsor 25,000 Syrians, members of this community began organizing through their churches and ethnic organizations to begin sponsoring family and other community members to come to Quebec. More extensive extra-familial networks involving neighbours, co-workers and employers, and other community members were constructed, and were ready to submit sponsorship applications. These many formal and informal social networks were extremely valuable, by providing much-needed support and assistance when Syrian refugees arrived and when faced with financial, employment, personal, or health problems. So when the Liberals announced their ambitious plan, MIDI already had thousands of PSR applications in its pipeline who would be assessed according to a number of factors including: overseas recognition as Convention refugees; connections to family or friends in Canada; language abilities; work experience; level of education. Of particular interest were the following:

...personal qualities (flexibility, social skills, vitality, initiative, perseverance, level-headedness, self-confidence, maturity and motivation) are demonstrated through the refugees' previous experiences in their country of origin or in the country of first asylum, as well as through the responsibilities that they have undertaken within their community or through obtaining employment when possible. (MIDI, 2016)

Rather than look for new applicants, they simply began accepting the PSR applications already being put forward by the Syrian community. With a backdrop of a dispute with the federal government about the need for additional funds were they to accept more GARS (CBC 2015), MIDI did accept 2305 GARs (IRCC 2017b), but the predominant private sponsorship in Quebec makes the population and the dynamics unique within Canada. Also of note, the Quebec government did not put any barriers to single men being sponsored as refugees, despite the November 2015 terrorist attack in Paris causing the premier to assert that resettlement was proceeding while making Quebecers' security a priority.

Provincial and municipal government reception of the Syrian refugees

As in other parts of Canada, several different ministries of the provincial government collaborated with Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) to

optimize the reception and settlement of Syrian refugees, whether in terms of the airport reception centre at the height of arrivals, financial support, or access to education and employment. MIDI took the lead in coordinating measures to adapt and ramp up existing procedures for the arrival of refugees. Prior to the first arrivals, MIDI engaged in a number of consultations with key actors who would participate in the welcoming, settlement and integration of resettled refugees (MIDI 2017). After people's arrival at the airport, they were transferred to a reception centre staffed by public and community sector employees (many of whom were Arab and Arabic-speaking themselves, but also including interpreters for all services), where newly arrived Syrians were processed for their official papers (immigration documents, Medicare cards, Social Insurance Numbers), offered medical screening for emergency cases and given basic information and warm clothes (if necessary) before they were brought to their new homes. If they did not have housing already secured by their sponsor or their settlement agency, a hotel room was offered for the first few days. Upon arrival, all Syrian refugees received an appointment to meet a nurse and a social worker within the first 72 hours after their arrival at one of the two refugee clinics created for that purpose. The purpose of these mandatory visits was to assess whether there were any urgent medical or psychological issues that needed follow-up. There were also Syrians whose first landing was in Montreal, where they spent a few days hosted by the Quebec apparatus, before moving on to their final destination in another part of Canada.

A broad range of government ministries were mobilized in the resettlement effort. *Retraite Québec* (Retirement Quebec, the ministry responsible for family allowances), for example, implemented "exceptional" measures to assure that Syrian families' applications for their monthly family allowance would be processed rapidly (*Retraite Québec* 2017), as a way to supplement the financial support they would be receiving in their first year from either private sponsors or from the Quebec social assistance program for GARs (MIDI 2017). *Emploi-Québec* encouraged local employers to take advantage of their *PRIIME* program (a subsidy for the hiring of immigrant and visible minority workers) to hire Syrians in their first jobs in Canada (*Emploi-Québec* 2017).

In order to ease children's integration into schools, the Quebec Ministry of Education (*Ministère de l'éducation et de l'enseignement supérieur*) implemented a number of "intercultural education" programs, offered to both students and teachers, as well as "school cultural activities" (*Éducation Québec* 2017). While Montreal schools are already diverse and used to welcoming newcomer students, the large numbers from a single country, arriving in such a short time, and many children having had traumatic experiences and education interruptions, introduced new challenges in terms of integration in schools (MIDI 2017).

Finally, the Quebec Ministry of Health was mobilized upon Syrians' arrival to offer immediate medical care, if necessary, and screen for potential physical and mental health problems needing follow-up. Supplemental funding was provided and specific clinics mandated to provide care (MIDI 2017; MSSS 2015). As in other parts of the country (Hansen, Maidment and Ahmad 2016), expectations of high immediate health demands were not met and the temporary clinics were quickly disbanded in favour of referrals to existing clinics, with professionals used to working with refugee populations (e.g., Pottie et al. 2016).

The Cities of Montreal and Laval were also active in preparing for the arrival of sponsored Syrian refugees. Both cities created committees to coordinate the integration of Syrian refugees by supporting neighbourhood, ethno-social and community groups, as well as adjusting their public services.

Community contributions to social networking and social support

Individuals, ethnic organizations, religious institutions and community organizations were all mobilized to support Syrian refugees as individuals and families. In 2016, in particular, there was a great groundswell of action to provide direct settlement services, but also opportunities to develop social networks and receive social support.

Direct settlement services

Beyond the initial welcome (and the Welcome Centre), the types of settlement services were not much different for sponsored Syrian refugees as compared to other resettled refugees. The Montreal settlement sector is well organized to provide such services; the challenge was rather the large number of refugees arriving simultaneously. Typical settlement services involve some material support, access to French classes, housing search, orientation for healthcare and children's education, and employment services.

In order to make the initial transition period easier, MIDI provided newcomers with a list of organizations helping Syrian refugees by providing clothes, furniture and household goods. A small number of settlement organizations were granted specific budgets to support the arrival of Syrians, but all settlement agencies in Montreal would be able to offer information related to language courses, housing, employment, health, and other social activities. And most settlement agencies in Montreal would be able to provide these services in Arabic, French and English – or to access interpreters.

Specific initiatives for Syrians were also organized. For example, one organization developed a targeted professional development program and support navigating the Montreal job market, tailored to Syrian professionals. An immigrant workers' centre organized outreach and popular education in Arabic about labour

rights. Another project focused on the mental health challenges of the Syrian community, readying service providers in a range of sectors to address the difficulties faced by a population having experienced war and displacement. A tenant organization provided a workshop with the goal of raising awareness among Syrian refugees about their housing rights and their relationship with the landlord. These are just a few examples of the dozens of initiatives across the city that went beyond the already substantial capacity to offer settlement services.

Finally, several of the religious institutions involved in private sponsorship developed new, and sometimes informal, initiatives to provide direct settlement services such as support for families and youth, employment programs, translation, psychosocial programs, and legal support.

Social networking and social support

In this paper, however, we are concerned with social networks, social support and social capital. So here, we review the many initiatives that were developed to increase these things among the recently arrived Syrians. Efforts were made to connect Syrians to the existing Syrian community in Montreal, but also to link them to other Montrealers.

To begin, there were efforts to increase cultural understanding between Syrians and their new host community. Montreal professionals and interested community members were offered information and training to better understand the Syrian culture and the recent experiences of the people arriving in Montreal. Many community organizations also offered social activities and workshops to introduce Syrians to Montreal and Quebec culture, aiming to increase refugees' capacity to integrate into the community and strengthen the social bonds within the communities. Syrian ethnic organizations also took steps to help Syrian refugees integrate into the community, organizing many social events to help Syrians discover their new city and introduce Quebecois to the newcomers. The goal was to ease the transition period and help Syrian refugees to adapt, especially to places such as public parks and other well-loved Montreal public spaces.

Religious institutions were also prominent actors in the efforts to create social networks and offer social supports. An Armenian religious organization, responsible for the sponsorship of a large proportion of those who came to Montreal, created a network of solidarity and support within the community. They invited their members to participate in traditional and cultural activities, where individuals can meet and support each other. Churches organized workshops with the police department in order to help Syrian refugees understand what to do if they ever had interactions with them, and also with the public transit authority to help them know how the transportation system in the city works. For Muslim Syrians, mosques organized

many activities with established Muslim communities in Montreal, especially for women who were facing language difficulties. Mosques provided humanitarian support, often opening their doors on Saturday and Sunday to host Syrian families and provide meals, where Syrian families and other Muslim communities could meet and exchange experiences. Syrian ethnic organizations offered workshops on various topics, such as family relationships, parenting, family support – challenging issues as people are getting used to their new situation. For example, a group of Syrian students in Montreal took the responsibility to assist Syrian refugees with social integration, language difficulties and helping those who wanted to access the educational system to apply to universities.

There were also initiatives that actively sought to bring Syrians together with the broader Montreal community. A church-based organization in downtown Montreal has been especially active in organizing activities such as apple picking, musical activities, as well as interfaith events to connect Syrians with each other and with the local community. The organization also runs a summer day camp where they offered free spots for Syrian children to be able to integrate and connect their families with each other. Another organization developed an exchange where Syrian women and other women from the local community would come together for cooking, while other community organizations in Montreal offer “twinning programs,” matching newly arrived refugees to Montrealers to learn about each other’s experiences first-hand and to create bonds of friendship, exchange and solidarity.

Finally, Syrian refugees also received informal support by community members, those who were volunteering, donating furniture and materials such as food, clothes and toys – and simply being good neighbours and new friends. Many individuals were seeking out Syrian refugees to support them, asking community members to identify Syrian families in need. This opened the door to developing personal relationships, thereby expanding refugees’ social ties with other community members. With time, these individuals sometimes helped Syrian refugees access services, register in French courses, seek health care and all manner of other concerns.

This strong community and social service infrastructure, while not accessed to its fullest by all newly arrived refugees, nevertheless provides the backdrop for the more personal, informal networks, support and social capital that form the focus of this article.

METHODOLOGY

In this article, we are presenting a sub-set of the first wave of results from the Montreal site of a larger project, *Refugee Integration and Long-Term Health Outcomes in Canada*.³ This 3-province (Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia), 6-site (Montreal,

Toronto, Kitchener-Waterloo, Windsor, Vancouver and Okanagan), 4-year longitudinal study was funded by the Canadian Institute for Health Research (CIHR). The study compares how Canada's two main refugee resettlement programs – Government-Assisted Refugees (GARs) and Privately-Sponsored Refugees (PSRs) – support long-term social integration pathways for refugees, as well as the impact of these pathways on physical and mental health. The study aims to contribute to the improvement of refugee settlement services and policies, and ultimately to the health and well-being of refugees through an increased understanding of what leads to successful integration outcomes.

The study design centres on survey data to be collected annually for four years (2017-2021) from resettled Syrian adult refugees who arrived between January 2015 and April 2017. The first questionnaire is expected to be the longest (291 questions), due to the need to collect basic demographic and background information in the first year. In subsequent years, the survey will be shorter, following through with certain themes and also having a particular focus for that particular year (for example, asking about employment in Years 2 and 4). In Years 2 and 4, the project will also conduct focus groups with a sub-sample of survey participants to validate our understanding of the quantitative data and deepen our understanding of particular themes.

The first wave of survey data collection was conducted from April to July 2017. We were successful in reaching a minimum of 10 percent of all sponsored Syrian refugees who arrived in each site during this timeframe. In addition, we took a household approach, interviewing all eligible and willing adults within a household. Apart from allowing us to eventually study potential household effects, this also allowed us to have an excellent range of participants of different genders, ages and daily occupations. In Quebec, we far surpassed our goal of 375 participants, reaching a total of 697 adults or approximately 19 percent of all the adult Syrian refugees sponsored to resettle in Quebec during our target timeframe.

Participants were recruited in a variety of ways. Without access to a sampling frame of sponsored refugees, we relied on three main strategies: (1) outreach to the members and service-users of refugee-focused ethnic and community organizations; (2) community advertisement through Facebook, attendance at Syrian community events with flyers, leaving flyers in public places frequented by Syrian refugees; (3) word of mouth through social networks. Over the course of our recruitment, we kept track of the profiles of those recruited to adjust our recruitment strategies if it seemed that particular profiles of participants were being over- or under-represented. Ultimately, although not a representative sample, our sample is very close in profile to the overall population of sponsored refugees to Quebec in terms of gender, religion and age.

A team of five research assistants who spoke Arabic as their first language and who were familiar with the newly arrived Syrian refugee community conducted the surveys. Three of them were Syrian newcomers themselves, although none had arrived as sponsored refugees. Once potential participants were screened, a member of the team would meet them at a location of their convenience (usually at their home, but also in their French schools, coffee shops or at the university) to conduct the survey in Arabic. Interviews lasted an hour on average, and all willing adult members of a household were interviewed. The research assistants took field notes about the context of the interview and any stories participants told that were not covered in the survey, qualitative data that were later compiled and analyzed using NVIVO. Survey answers were recorded using a tablet application and submitted directly to a central database housed at York University. Responses were compiled and analyzed using SPSS.

Table 1 summarizes the demographic characteristics of our privately sponsored participants.

We can see that the PSRs who came to the Montreal region had certain things in common with the pre-existing Syrian community, particularly in terms of religion, a high level of education and some of the same areas of employment. As well, we can see that the age range of the PSRs is similar to that of the pre-existing community (more older people than in the rest of Canada), that many of the adults did not have minor children and that families with minors most often only had two children. All of these factors reflect that the PSRs were extended family and community members of people already living in Quebec, sharing similar religious and class backgrounds.

RESULTS: SOCIAL NETWORKS, SOCIAL SUPPORT, SOCIAL CAPITAL AMONG RECENT SYRIAN PRIVATELY SPONSORED REFUGEES

Here we present the results of our survey around three main themes: (1) the social networks of Syrian refugees, mostly in terms of their connections to family, friends and community in Canada; (2) their sense of social support, in terms of having people they can turn to with questions or with problems; and (3) their mobilization of these relationships as social capital to access housing and employment.

As mentioned earlier the majority of Syrian refugees who settled in Quebec were privately sponsored refugees (79%), with a high proportion of the GARS being settled outside the Montreal region. Our sample reflects the reality of these numbers with 84% of the 697 Syrian refugees in our sample having been sponsored by religious or community organizations, and 6% were sponsored by group of 2-5. Because of the high percentage of PSRs, and because of the differences in their pro-

TABLE 1. Demographics summary

Total number of participants	626	
Age groups		
18-25 yrs	101	16%
26-30 yrs	65	10%
31-50 yrs	274	44%
51-64 yrs	129	21%
65+ yrs	57	9%
Gender		
Male	288	46%
Female	337	54%
Religion		
Muslim	52	8%
Christian	568	91%
Ethnicity		
Arab	451	72%
Armenian	133	21%
Other	41	7%
Type of sponsorship (as percentage of all 697 Montreal participants)		
Privately sponsored refugee (PSR) by an organization or religious institution	587	84%
Privately sponsored refugee (PSR) by a Group (2-5 people)	42	6%
Household size		
1 person	31	5%
2 people	83	14%
3 people	193	32%
4 people	161	27%
5 people	77	13%
6 people	38	6%
More than 6 people	21	3%
Adults with minor children		
Adults with no minor children	135	34%
Adults with 1 minor child	70	17%
Adults with 2 minor children	153	38%
Adults with 3 minor children	30	7%
Adults with 4-5 minor children*****	13	4%

TABLE 1. Demographics summary (continued)

Total number of participants	626	
Educational level		
None	6	1%
Elementary school (up to grade 9)	127	20%
High school (up to grade 12)	176	28%
Trade certificate/College diploma	110	18%
Undergraduate university degree	138	22%
Graduate or professional university degree	69	11%
Speak English		
Good - Excellent	210	33%
Fair	182	29%
Poor – Very poor	136	22%
Not at all	95	15%
Speak French		
Good - Excellent	123	20%
Fair	226	36%
Poor – Very poor	202	33%
Not at all	70	11%
Most common previous occupations		
Did not work in Syria	151	24%
Field of trade and economy	66	11%
Field of industry	22	4%
Field of health and medicine	50	8%
Field of education	85	14%
Field of engineering	33	5%
Craftmanship	61	10%
Office employee	26	4%
Other	86	14%

file such as age, marital status, family size, and their experience, we limit our analysis in this article to PSRs. While our data indicates that GARs have different experiences than PSRs, our analysis of their experience is preliminary and beyond the scope of this article.

Social networks of Syrian refugees in Montreal

In this section, we share our findings related to whether our participants have family members in Canada, whether they have friends in the city, whether their friends are Syrian or from other ethnic communities and whether they have a sense of belonging in their new home.³

Family in Canada

Our data shows that most PSRs have relatives in Canada, however 18% of PSRs reported having zero relatives in Canada. Figure 1 demonstrates the findings. Having family nearby can be an important source of social support, help with things like caregiving and (as we will see further on) referrals for housing and employment. In the context of the ongoing conflict in Syria, however, family in Canada are out of potential danger in Syria. However, those without family are an important group; being without any close contact with relatives can lead to stress and isolation. They may also have great concern for family members who remained in Syria or in a precarious situation in the surrounding countries.

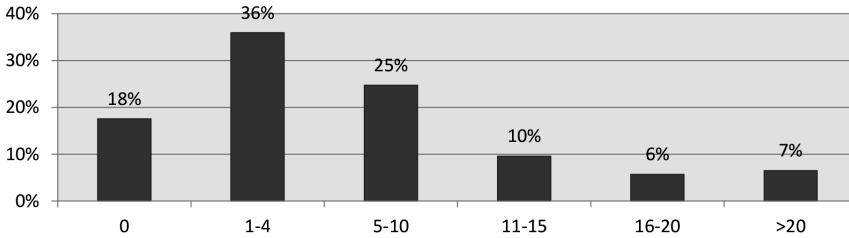


Fig. 1. Number of relatives (not counting spouse and children) - PSR (N=615)

Friendships in Canada

As another indication of social networks, we had a series of questions about friendships. When we asked about the number of people in Montreal they would call friends, 68% of the participants confirmed that they have four or more friends (Figure 2). As seen in Figure 3, unsurprisingly, we can observe that those who have been in Canada for over a year have more friends than those who have yet to complete their first year in Canada.

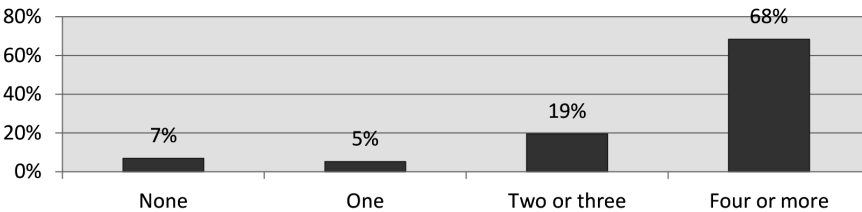


Fig. 2. Number of friends- PSR (N=626)

In terms of gender, Figure 3 shows little variation for men and women’s declared number of friends. Men have a slight higher percentage in terms of not having any friends at all, which is contradictory to the literature where immigrant women are usually more isolated (Casimiro, Hancock and Northcote 2007; Hurtado-de-Mendoza et al. 2014). A majority of both women and men (69% and 68%) reported having more than four friends, whereas 8% of men and 6% of women have no friends.

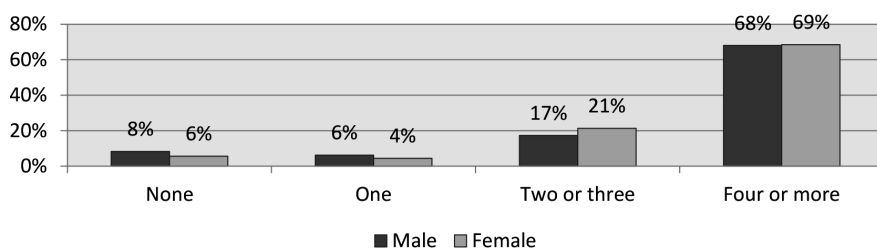


Fig. 3. Number of friends by gender- PSR (N=625)

Age is another factor that plays into the likelihood of having friends, and how many. Of note, participants over 65 years old were the most likely to be friendless (16%) and, of those who do have friends, they tend to have fewer than other age groups (Figure 4).

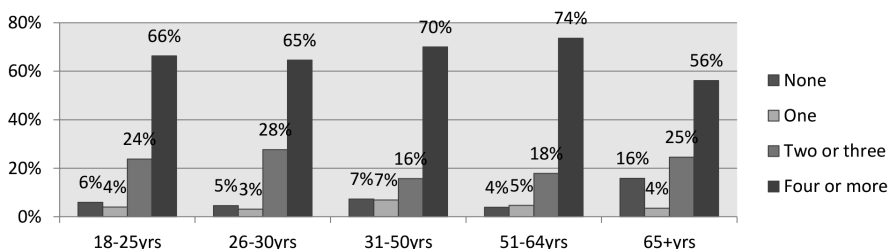


Fig. 4. Friends by age group- PSR (N=626)

It is also helpful to consider the number of friendships with any member of a household perspective; while a single individual may not have outside friendships, they may still benefit from the friendships and networks of other household member. Nearly every household has Syrian friends outside the home (98%), compared to 91% of individuals. In addition, 62% of households have friends from other ethnic communities, significantly more than the 38% of individuals with non-Syrian friends. We have noticed that the participants who have better language abilities either in English or in French have, overall, higher percentages of having friends from other ethnic communities. We have also noticed that 65% of our sample have visited religious institutions since their arrival, which could be another place where people made new connections and friendships.

Sense of belonging

The participants showed a strong sense of belonging to the city they live in and to their ethnic community living in the city (63%) with a bit less attachment to their neighbourhood (52%) (Figure 5).

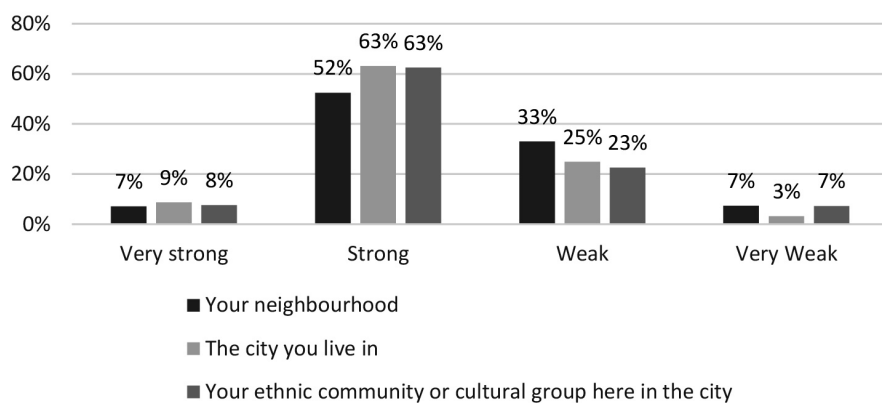


Fig. 5. How would you describe your sense of belonging to: (N=619)

Syrians who arrived in the Montreal region settled mainly, typically with the aid or on the recommendation of their private sponsor or sponsorship organizations, in Laval, Ville Saint-Laurent and Ahuntsic-Cartierville, neighbourhoods that all have an important presence of Arab communities and whose housing prices are within the Montreal average. Most of the participants find that Canadians are welcoming and accepting and that Canadians treat them with respect.

Quality of social support relationships available to resettled Syrians in Montreal

Here, we go beyond the simple existence of social connections and networks to ask our participants about the quality of these relationships. Are they emotionally close? Do they have frequent interactions? In other words, do they have social support?

Less than a quarter (24%) of PSRs had people they can rely on and trust when they have problems or when they feel they need support. Indeed, only 27% of the participants said that they have four or more emotionally close friends at the same time.

Younger Syrians, particularly those between the ages of 18 and 30 years reported having very few friends they are emotionally close to, with 26% of 18-25 year olds and 38% of 26-30 year olds reporting no close friends, as compared to those 51 years and older who seem to have more close friends than younger ones (Figure 6).

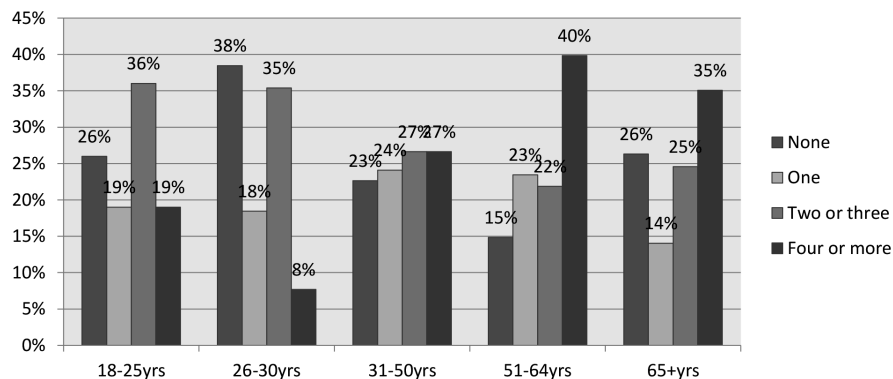


Fig. 6. Number of friends in this city you feel emotionally close to by age group (N=624)

Thus, although younger Syrians report having a greater number of friends, the quality of these friendships seems poorer than those of older Syrians. Also, the number of close friendships (i.e., emotional closeness) does not differ significantly according to gender.

We noticed also that the level of interactions with their friends from the same ethnic community is quite high as 70% of the participants have talked to their friends by phone and 62% have seen them at least once a week (Figure 7).

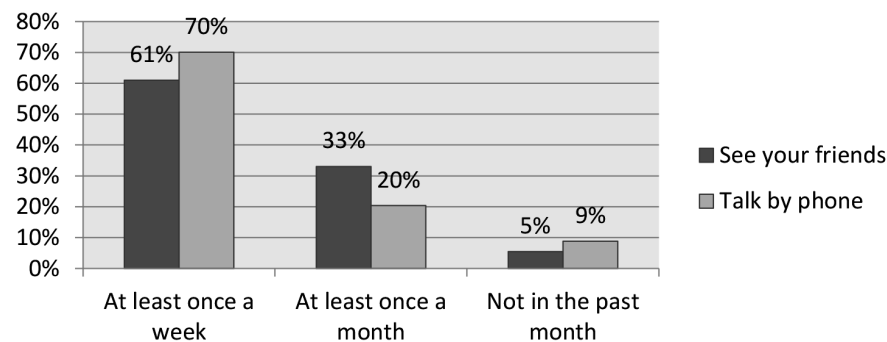


Fig. 7. Number of times you saw or talked by phone to your friends from your ethnic community (N=565)

And if we look at participants' self-assessment of their overall mental health, we see that those with no close friends are more likely to report poor or fair mental health, while those with four or more friends are more likely to report excellent mental health (Figure 8).

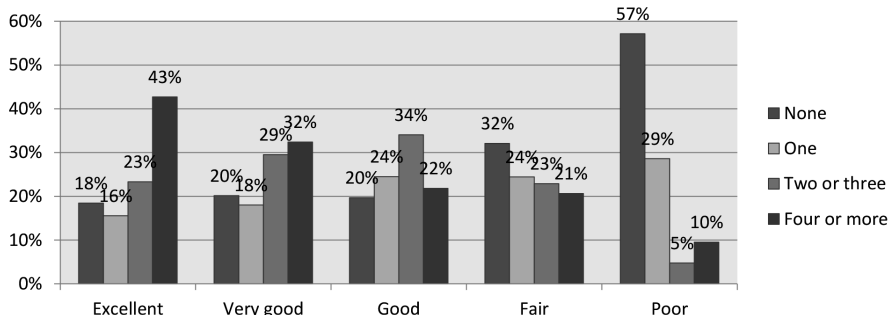


Fig. 8. Self-Assessment of mental health depending on the number of close friends in the city (N=623)

Mobilization of social capital to access employment and housing

Our data indicates that, in this early stage of their settlement, family and friend networks were heavily mobilized as bonding social capital in terms of settlement support for employment and housing.

Employment

In terms of employment, only 30% (N= 189) of the participants are currently employed. However, 70% of the participants are enrolled in French classes, which could give a clear idea of their daily occupation. Among those who work, the majority received help from Syrian or Arab friends (35%) or family (23%) to find a job. Some participants were able to find jobs on their own without anyone's help (21%).

The 31 to 64 years old have mainly counted on the support of their Syrian friends to find their jobs. Those who are under 31 have counted more on their families and themselves to find jobs (Figure 9). Men counted on friends from their community and their family a bit more than women; however, women had slightly more important support from friends from outside their ethnic community (5%) compared to men (2%).

Housing

When it came to housing, most of the participants counted on their family (56%) and their friends (20%) to find their current housing. Although not all members of the same family received support to find housing, the support provided to one member of the family was enough to ensure support for the whole family.

Noteworthy is the fact that 29% of the participants who lived alone are 51 years or older and expressed during the interview that they used to live alone in Syria and wanted to keep their independent life after moving to Canada, because living with their married children was overwhelming for them. Some younger people came alone to Canada and lived on their own as well.

DISCUSSION

Overall, our results provide good news for the initial stages of settlement and show that the recently arrived have good social networks and few are completely socially isolated. This translates into access to basic emotional social support for most of our participants. This is true, to varying degrees, across age and gender lines. We observed noteworthy variations in how these networks and connections are mobilized in terms of social capital and there are observations to make in terms of bonding, bridging and linking social capital.

The strongest social capital available to the recently resettled Syrians in our study is, by far, bonding capital, a situation that echoes earlier studies with other groups of refugees in Canada (Lamba and Krahn 2003) and more recent studies in the UK and Australia (Allen 2009; Cheung and Phillimore 2014). Our participants have access to broad family networks and Syrian friends who they are meeting through religious services, French classes and Syrian social events. Such spaces allowed newly arrived refugees to establish trust with other community members, considered a crucial building block to expanding social networks, but also to get introduced to the resources they can have access to in the city. Our participants rely strongly on these family and friends for support, information, and access to employment and housing, two of the most important elements of successful integration. Our visits to family homes and responses to survey questions suggest there is a lot mutual aid within the community, as has been documented in other studies on housing (Ives et al. 2014; Walsh et al. 2016). However, language barriers, difficulty using public transportation (when living in suburbs or having to travel with small children), and cultural approaches to networks (i.e., distrust of strangers and authority figures) can limit people's opportunities to meet and get to know people from outside their circle of family and ethno-specific friends. As well, most of their Syrian friends and family also came to Canada recently, so they share our participants' profiles, lacking knowledge of local resources and friends outside of their immediate circles as well. Such bonding connections are very important to well-being but are limited in terms of accessing new information, resources or opportunities (Lamba 2008; Wen and Hanley 2016).

Our results show that, as suggested in other studies (Nannestad et al. 2008), participants are beginning to move beyond a strong base of bonding capital to access bridging capital, making friends with non-Syrians, who can give them access to different social networks and therefore different information, resources and opportunities. There are some differences in who is accessing non-Syrian friends, with language classes being the main source of such friendships in the early period of settlement. This bridging capital was, however, less of a factor in finding employment

than we expected, and we note that few people reported making non-Syrian friends at work. On a positive note, greater length of stay in Canada was associated with more access to non-Syrian friends, and it will be interesting to examine the evolution of these relationships in future waves of our study.

Finally, although we have not presented the data here and it is beyond the scope of this article, our participants reported very little linking capital (with government or community institutions) in terms of being helpful in regards to either social support or settlement help. The exception is connection to religious institutions, as reported above. We know, however, that there is a lot going on in terms of activities and services for Syrians, as presented above, and that many people are accessing them. This is a topic for future exploration and to follow over time.

CONCLUSION

The results of our study highlight, as described by Stewart et al. (2008), that the forming of social support is strongly cultural. Many of our participants asserted that it is not part of their culture to ask for help outside of their immediate circle of family and friends. Asking for help is feared to make one more vulnerable because strangers and authority figures could be dangerous in Syria but also because, culturally, Syrians are used to counting on themselves with the inexistence of community groups or the difference in the role they play. Consequently, and based on past experiences, many unknown community members, public services and community organizations here in Canada were suspicious to some participants.

Conversely, in Syria, family and trusted friends was considered to be sufficient – or at least safe. Yet here, in Montreal and in Canada, making broader connections can make the difference in terms of accessing better employment, housing and social opportunities – without causing danger. Therefore, many of our participants are exploring a shift in their very concept of “social network”.

For service providers, therefore, there is a need to provide education on the role of public services and community groups, promoting the concept of such services as a right or an entitlement. Without a connection to more formal sources of information, recently arrived Syrians may miss out on social services and benefits that could really improve their quality of life. We see, however, that there is a high degree of mutual aid and information-sharing within the community, so it can be helpful to train community knowledge brokers (local champions, community leaders) to spread the news and to engage in outreach. Service providers should not wait for Syrian refugees to come to ask for help; seeking information from formal sources is simply not their habit.

Practices need to also be adjusted to the specific needs of the community, while recognizing the heterogeneity within the community in terms of level of education, class, health status, family concerns, experience of the war and in secondary countries, local connections and language ability. As Syrians continue on their journey of integration in their new society, we will surely see an evolution of their access to and mobilization of social capital.

NOTES

1. This research was funded by a Canadian Institutes of Health Research Project Grant to Hynie et al. (2016-2021) entitled *Refugee integration and long-term health outcomes in Canada*.
2. The Blended Visa Overseas Refugee (BVOR) program does not apply within Quebec. Any BVOR refugees in the province would have landed elsewhere and moved to Quebec subsequently.
3. One shortcoming of our study is the lack of detailed information regarding Syrian refugees' use of social media to create and maintain connections. Our fieldwork indicates it is a very important tool, and we hope to collect data on this topic in future waves of the survey.

REFERENCES

- Al Mhamied, A. 2016. *A Demographic Analysis of the Syrian Community in Quebec: Past Migration Factors and Social Integration*. MSW Independent Study Project. Montreal: McGill University.
- Allen, R. 2009. Benefit or burden? Social capital, gender, and the economic adaptation of refugees. *International Migration Review* 43.2: 332-365.
- Beaman, L.A. 2011. Social networks and the dynamics of labour market outcomes: Evidence from refugees resettled in the US. *The Review of Economic Studies* 79.1:128-161.
- Campbell, M. 2012. Social determinants of mental health in new refugees in the UK: Cross-sectional and longitudinal analyses. *The Lancet* 380:S27.
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). 24 November 2015. 'Unaccompanied men' prove controversial for Canada's Syrian refugee plan. *The Current* radio show. <http://www.cbc.ca/radio/thecurrent/the-current-for-november-24-2015-1.3332238/unaccompanied-men-prove-controversial-for-canada-s-syrian-refugee-plan-1.3332306>.
- Casimiro, S., P. Hancock, and J. Northcote. 2007. Isolation and insecurity: Resettlement issues among Muslim refugee women in Perth, Western Australia. *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 42.1:55-69.
- Cattell, V. 2001. Poor people, poor places, and poor health: the mediating role of social networks and social capital. *Social science and medicine* 52.10:1501-1516.
- Cheung, S.Y., and J. Phillimore. 2014. Refugees, social capital, and labour market integration in the UK. *Sociology* 48.3: 518-536.
- Christoforou, A. 2011. Social capital across European countries: individual and aggregate determinants of group membership. *American journal of economics and sociology* 70.3: 699-728.
- Coleman, J.S. 1988. Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American journal of sociology* 94: S95-S120.
- Côté, S., and T. Healy. 2001. *The well-being of nations: The role of human and social capital*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.
- Éducation et enseignement supérieur Québec. 2017. *Réfugiés en milieu scolaire*. Québec: Éducation Québec. Retrieved from: <http://www.education.gouv.qc.ca/contenus-communs/societe/immigration-et-education-interculturelle/accueil-et-integration/>.
- Emploi-Québec. 2017. *Programme d'aide à l'intégration des immigrants et des minorités visibles en emploi*. Québec: Emploi-Québec. Retrieved from: <http://www.emploi-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/citoyens/integrer->

- un-emploi/programmes-dintegration-a-lemploi/programme-daide-a-lintegration-des-immigrants-et-des-minorites-visibles-en-emploi-priime/.
- Gittell, R., and A. Vidal. 1998. *Community organizing: Building social capital as a development strategy*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Gladden, J. 2012. The coping skills of East African refugees: A literature review. *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 31.3: 177-196.
- Halman, L., and R. Luijckx. 2006. Social capital in contemporary Europe: evidence from the European Social Survey. *Portuguese journal of social science* 5.1: 65-90.
- Hansen, L., L. Maidment, and R. Ahmad. 2016. Early observations on the health of Syrian refugees in Canada. *Canada Communicable Disease Report* 42: S2-S8.
- Hurtado-de-Mendoza, A., F.A. Gonzales, A.Serrano, and S. Kaltman. 2014. Social isolation and perceived barriers to establishing social networks among Latina immigrants. *American journal of community psychology* 53.1-2: 73-82.
- Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. 2017a. *#Welcome Refugees. Key Figures*. Ottawa: IRCC. Retrieved from: <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/welcome-syrian-refugees/key-figures.html>.
- . 2017b. *Syrian Refugees. Monthly IRCC updates*. Ottawa: IRCC. Retrieved from: <http://open.canada.ca/data/en/dataset/01c85d28-2a81-4295-9c06-4af792a7c209>.
- Ives, N., J. Hanley, C.A. Walsh, and D. Este. 2014. Transnational elements of newcomer women's housing insecurity: remittances and social networks. *Transnational Social Review* 4.2-3: 152-167.
- Kingsbury, D.M. 2017. *The Role of Social Networks in Providing Social Support to Resettled Female Refugees During their Pregnancy in the United States*. Doctoral Thesis. Kent, OH: Kent State University.
- Koser, K. 1997. Social networks and the asylum cycle: The case of Iranians in the Netherlands. *International migration review* 31.3: 591-611.
- Koser, K., and C. Pinkerton. 2002. *The social networks of asylum seekers and the dissemination of information about countries of asylum*. London: Home Office.
- Lamba, N.K. 2008. The employment experiences of Canadian refugees: Measuring the impact of human and social capital on quality of employment. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie* 40.1: 45-64.
- Lamba, N.K., and H. Krahn. 2003. Social capital and refugee resettlement: The social networks of refugees in Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration/Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale* 4.3: 335-360.
- Lee, E.O.J., and S. Brotman. 2011. Identity, refugeeness, belonging: Experiences of sexual minority refugees in Canada. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie* 48.3: 241-274.
- McMichael, C., and L. Manderson. 2004. Somali women and well-being: Social networks and social capital among immigrant women in Australia. *Human organization* 63.1: 88-99.
- Ministère de la santé et des services sociaux (MSSS). 2015. *Accueil des réfugiés, services offerts par le réseau de la santé et des services sociaux du Québec*. Québec : MSSS. Retrieved from: <http://www.msss.gouv.qc.ca/documentation/salle-de-presse/sujet.php?idsuj=142>.
- Ministère de l'immigration, de la diversité et de l'inclusion (MIDI). 2016. *Sharing of responsibilities between the Federal and Québec governments*. Québec: MIDI. Retrieved from: <http://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/immigrate-settle/humanitarian-immigration/humanitarian-immigration/sharing-responsibilities.html>.
- . 2017. *Synthèse du bilan gouvernemental sur l'accueil des personnes réfugiées syriennes*. Québec: MIDI. Retrieved from: http://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/publications/fr/parrainage/SYN_BilanGouv_Consultation2016.pdf.
- Mouw, T., S. Chavez, H. Edelblute, and A. Verdery. 2014. Binational social networks and assimilation: A test of the importance of transnationalism. *Social problems* 61.3: 329-359.
- Nannestad, P., G. Lind Haase Svendsen, and G. Tinggaard Svendsen. 2008. Bridge over troubled water? Migration and social capital. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34.4: 607-631
- Nasr, M., and J. Hilal. 2007. *Measuring Social Capital in the Palestinian Territories*. Jerusalem: Economic Policy Research Institute.
- Piché, V. 2017. The politics of numbers: Quebec's historical struggle with ethnic and linguistic categories. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40.13: 2318-2325.

- Pittaway, E.E., L. Bartolomei, and G. Doney. 2016. The Glue that Binds: an exploration of the way resettled refugee communities define and experience social capital. *Community Development Journal* 51.3: 401-418.
- Potocky-Tripodi, M. 2004. The role of social capital in immigrant and refugee economic adaptation. *Journal of Social Service Research* 31.1: 59-91.
- Pottie, K., C. Greenaway, G. Hassan, C. Hui, and L.J. Kirmayer. 2016. Caring for a newly arrived Syrian refugee family. *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 188.3: 207-211.
- Putnam, R.D. 1995. Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy* 6.1: 65-78.
- Retraite Québec. 2017. *Collaboration pour accueillir les réfugiés Syriens au Québec*. Québec : Retraite Québec. Retrieved from: https://www.rrq.gouv.qc.ca/fr/services/depeches/magazine/edition_62/Pages/article-4.aspx.
- Ryan, L., R. Sales, M. Tilki, and B. Siara. 2008. Social networks, social support and social capital: The experiences of recent Polish migrants in London. *Sociology* 42.4: 672-690.
- Sherrell, K., and Immigrant Services Society of Surrey. 2009. *At home in Surrey: The housing experiences of refugees in Surrey, BC*. Surrey, BC: City of Surrey.
- Shishehgar, S., L. Gholizadeh, M. DiGiacomo, A. Green, and P.M. Davidson. 2017. Health and socio-cultural experiences of refugee women: an integrative review. *Journal of immigrant and minority health* 19.4: 959-973.
- Simich, L., M. Beiser, and F.N. Mawani. 2003. Social support and the significance of shared experience in refugee migration and resettlement. *Western Journal of Nursing Research* 25.7: 872-891.
- Simich, L., M. Beiser, M. Stewart, and E. Mwakarimba. 2005. Providing social support for immigrants and refugees in Canada: Challenges and directions. *Journal of Immigrant Health* 7.4: 259-268.
- Spaaij, R. 2012. Beyond the playing field: Experiences of sport, social capital, and integration among Somalis in Australia. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35.9: 1519-1538.
- Statistics Canada. 2011. *National Household Survey*. Ottawa: StatsCan. <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E>
- Stevens, M.R. 2016. The collapse of social networks among Syrian refugees in urban Jordan. *Contemporary Levant* 1.1: 51-63.
- Stewart, M., J. Anderson, M. Beiser, E. Mwakarimba, A. Neufeld, L. Simich, and D. Spitzer. 2008. Multicultural meanings of social support among immigrants and refugees. *International Migration* 46.3: 123-159.
- Stewart, M.J., and L. Lagille. 2000. A framework for social support assessment and intervention in the context of chronic conditions and caregiving. In Stewart, M.J., ed., *Chronic Conditions and Caregiving in Canada: Social Support Strategies*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 3-28.
- Szreter, S. and M. Woolcock. 2004. Health by association? Social capital, social theory, and the political economy of public health. *International journal of epidemiology* 33.4: 650-667.
- Walker, R., L. Koh, D. Wollersheim, and P. Liamputtong. 2015. Social connectedness and mobile phone use among refugee women in Australia. *Health and Social Care in the Community* 23.3: 325-336.
- Walsh, C.A., J. Hanley, N. Ives, and S.R. Hordyk. 2016. Exploring the experiences of newcomer women with insecure housing in Montréal Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 17.3: 887-904.
- Wang, L., and F. Handy. 2014. Religious and secular voluntary participation by immigrants in Canada: How trust and social networks affect decision to participate. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 25.6: 1559-1582.
- Wen, Y., and J. Hanley. 2016. Enhancing Social Support for Migrant Families: A Case Study of Community Services in a Shanghai Urban Village and Implications for Intervention. *Asian Social Work and Policy Review* 10.1: 76-89.
- Williams, L. 2006. Social networks of refugees in the United Kingdom: tradition, tactics and new community spaces. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32.5: 865-879.
- Wilkinson, R., and M. Marmot. 2003. *Social Determinants of Health: The Solid Facts*. Copenhagen: World Health Organization, Centre for Urban Health.
- Woolcock, M., and D. Narayan. 2000. Social capital: Implications for development theory, research, and policy. *The World Bank Research Observer* 15.2: 225-249.

Zetter, R., D. Griffiths, and N. Sigona. 2005. Social capital or social exclusion? The impact of asylum-seeker dispersal on UK refugee community organizations. *Community Development Journal* 40.2: 169-181.

JILL HANLEY (PhD) is Associate Professor at the McGill School of Social Work where she teaches on social policy, community organizing and migration. Her research focuses on access to social rights (labour, housing, health) for precarious status migrants. She is also a co-founder of the Immigrant Workers Centre where she has been actively involved for nearly 20 years.

ADNAN AL MHAMIED (MSW) is affiliated with the McGill School of Social Work. His area of study is fathers from a refugee background. He is a member of the Mental Health Committee at the Syrian American Medical Society (SAMS) and has worked with internally displaced Syrians and Syrian refugees in Jordan.

JANET CLEVELAND (PhD) is a researcher at the Sherpa Research Centre, affiliated with McGill University. She holds degrees in psychology, anthropology and law. Since 2003, Janet has conducted research on the impact of public policies on the human rights and mental health and of refugee claimants, refugees and undocumented migrants, notably in the fields of immigration detention and access to health care.

OULA HAJJAR is the research coordinator of the Montreal site for the CIHR research project entitled Refugee Integration and Long-Term Health Outcomes in Canada at the School of Social Work at McGill University. She was involved in the initial welcoming of Syrian resettled refugees in Montreal and remains active in the community.

GHAYDA HASSAN is a clinical psychologist and professor of clinical psychology at Université du Québec à Montréal. Her systematic reviews, research and clinical activities are centred around four main areas of clinical cultural psychology: 1) Intervention in family violence & cultural diversity; 2) Identity, belonging and mental health of children and adolescents from ethnic/religious minorities; 3) Cohabitation, intercommunity relations and violent extremism; and 4) working with vulnerable immigrants and refugees

NICOLE IVES (PhD, Associate Professor at McGill University School of Social Work) has been working with refugee populations in the resettlement context for the past 27 years in Canada, Denmark, and the USA. Her areas of research and teaching focus on refugee and immigrant integration issues, refugee sponsorship, compara-

*Jill Hanley, Adnan Al Mhamied, Janet Cleveland, Oula Hajjar,
Ghayda Hassan, Nicole Ives, Rim Khyar, and Michaela Hynie*

| 149

tive social policy, Indigenous social work education and the history and philosophy of social work.

RIM KHYAR (BSc) is a doctoral candidate at the Université du Québec à Montréal, Department of Psychology. She is interested in ethnic and intercultural psychology and social determinants of mental health.

MICHAELA HYNIE, Ph.D., is a social and cultural psychologist in the Department of Psychology, and the Centre for Refugee Studies at York University and past president of the Canadian Association for Refugee and Forced Migration Studies. Dr. Hynie conducts both qualitative and quantitative community-based research with a focus on situations of social conflict and forced displacement, and the development and evaluation of interventions that can strengthen social and institutional relationships to improve health and well-being in different cultural, political and physical environments.



REVIEWS/RECENSIONS

Mansoor Ladha. *Memoirs of a Muhindi: Fleeing East Africa for the West*. Regina: University of Regina Press, 2017. 252 pp. Notes. \$26.95 hc.

Muhindi, Calgary-based journalist Mansoor Ladha explains in his new memoir, is a Swahili word for members of the Indian diaspora (16). For Ladha, it is also an apt identity for those who were born in East Africa, but departed postcolonial societies for North America. Due to the brown colour of their skin, he argues, they faced discrimination and struggled to belong in either place. Race and racism strongly influenced their lives. Ladha brings this thesis to bear in engaging fashion – tracing his childhood in colonial Tanzania, his experiences as a young man in the decade after independence, and his life and career following his immigration to Canada. But the narrative does not turn on race alone. Perhaps unintentionally, Ladha has written an autobiographical account revealing a complex historical interplay between race and class.

The opening two-thirds of the book discuss Ladha's formative years and early career. A third-generation Tanzanian, Ladha was born in 1943 and grew up in small-town Lindi. Colonial racial distinctions had sharp class consequences. British elites exercised indirect rule over the rural black majority. If a few black subjects became ethnic leaders or government clerks, the middle class was largely made up of a small Indo-Tanzanian minority engaged in local commerce or employed as civil servants. Suggesting that racial segregation was "an accepted way of life" (8-11), Ladha notably deploys colonial descriptors: European, Asian, African. His childhood was strikingly insular. Both of his parents were involved in the shipping, retail, and wholesale trades. Their social ties were rooted in the bonds of the Ismaili Muslim community. And his school peers were all part of the Indian diaspora. Life was comfortable. Ladha is frank about colonial race relations: "I had no relationship with Africans outside the master-servant dichotomy" (59). He also underscores the ambivalence of most Indo-Tanzanians to the anti-colonial cause. Independence and a black-majority government were "unthinkable" until their achievement on the mainland in 1961 prompted fears over the security of one's property (75-77). That same year, an 18-year-old Ladha moved to Dar es Salaam to pursue his studies alongside black students. Unlike some "hard-core" Indo-Tanzanians, he became a supporter of President Julius Nyerere's vision of a progressive, multi-racial country. By the time he entered university in 1964, he felt that personal friendships across racial and cultural lines were the best way to foster mutual understanding and a new society.

Ladha expresses frustration that most students make little effort to build such ties (13, 61-69).

Ladha claims that independence merely resulted in a new racial hierarchy, with black citizens benefitting to the detriment of those of Indian descent (15). More subtly, the book reveals how little society was initially transformed. Inequalities remained. Ladha was a nationalist, part of a well-educated, youthful cohort aspiring to lead Tanzanian progress as well-paid civil servants. In 1966, these young people mounted one of the defining protests of the postcolonial years. University students in Dar, disputing the extent of their pay in a proposed two-year national service program, demonstrated against the government. Ladha, a member of the student union's executive, participated out of a sense of duty. He declares that his family was comfortably middle-class and, personally, he had no need of a slightly larger salary. Ladha repeats the point several times, emphasizing his social distance from his peers – largely black students from rural backgrounds. Nyerere responded by expelling the students. Rightly, Ladha notes that the action was characteristic of the authoritarian exercise of power in the one-party state. When the students were re-admitted the following year, Ladha and his fellow executive members were excluded from the reprieve. Without a degree, Ladha could not pursue the diplomatic career he had envisioned. However, the consequences were otherwise few. He easily transitioned into journalism and soon became a copy editor (109-134).

The Arusha Declaration, issued in 1967, is an understated pivot in Ladha's story. Prompted partly by the students' dissent, the declaration appealed to the hopes of rural people. It launched an effort to build a socialist nation rooted in self-reliant development, community, and collective cause. Making only passing reference to these ideals, Ladha betrays how the new project was threatening to the propertied classes in ways that independence was not. Ladha's sense of victimization is understandable (19). When government nationalized urban real estate, it was overwhelmingly Indo-Tanzanians who lost their ownership without compensation (174). Class and race were both at issue. Ladha persuasively demonstrates that, despite an official rhetoric of multi-racialism, politics were hardly race-neutral. In everyday discourse, Indo-Tanzanians were sometimes deemed "money-grabbing foreigners," a charge as populist as it was xenophobic. The harassment of Indo-Tanzanian store owners by authorities recurred (97-99). And the expulsion of Indian descendants from Uganda set a shocking precedent (173). The way racial discrimination felt is visceral in the book. Still, Ladha has mostly failed to tease out the interplay between colonial legacies, race, and inequalities in Tanzanian society. He presents racism as a form of envy and vengeance (15). In the process, he does not weigh the way colonialism actively produced Indo-Tanzanian class privilege. The thinness of Ladha's solidarity with popular aspirations also comes through – in his

anti-socialism (142-151), his often-negative asides regarding the lives of common people (e.g., 160-161), and his praise of Tanzania's latter-day neoliberal transformation (233-237). Passed over for promotion at his newly nationalized newspaper, Ladha decided to leave Tanzania. He was hurt and angered that less experienced black candidates benefitted from the 'Africanization' of government employment. Not only did the decision offend Ladha's commitment to meritocratic achievement, it led him to question the meaningfulness of his Tanzanian citizenship. Via Kenya, he moved his family to Canada – noting that the emigration entailed a steep financial and emotional loss (148-151, 157, 185-189).

Shifting terrain, Ladha provides a blunt account of colloquial racism in 1970s Canada. He details his experiences facing polite – and explicit – racial discrimination. Several newspaper editors, discounting his work at Tanzania's leading English-language daily, wanted to know if Ladha had any Canadian work experience (192-195). Once he did land a job at the *Edmonton Journal* in 1973, it was a chore finding a landlord willing to rent to him (198). Where are you really from, some people wanted to know (205). Ladha took an entrepreneurial route to advance his material circumstances. In 1979, he bought a weekly newspaper near Edmonton, the *Morinville Mirror*, and soon started a second. A competitor declared that a "Paki" newspaperman would not last long; Ladha published both periodicals uninterrupted until 2005, when he sold them. Ladha relished the fact that he himself became an employer. And his vocation afforded him greater social standing in small-town Alberta than he might otherwise have had (205-217). In Canada, Ladha worked to reproduce the values he lauded in middle-class Indo-Tanzanians: hard work, intercultural adaptation, and "the spirit of free enterprise" (xi-xiii). However, Ladha retains a feeling that, due to the brown colour of his skin, he could never fully belong in black-majority Tanzania or white-majority Canada (245).

Race, in concert with class, informs Ladha's fascinating memoir. The book offers a comparative portrait of an Ismaili Muslim living in Tanzania and Canada. It will appeal to readers interested in postcolonial Tanzania, transnational migration, the Ismaili diaspora, race in Canadian society, and the place of Canada in the wider world.

Will Langford,
Department of History, Dalhousie University



BC STUDIES

Peer-reviewed, multi-disciplinary, multi-sensory BC

<p>BC STUDIES The British Columbian Quarterly Spring 2015</p>	<p>BC STUDIES The British Columbian Quarterly Spring 2017</p>	<p>BC STUDIES The British Columbian Quarterly PERSPECTIVES ON GOLD RUSH BC Guest edited by Robert Galois</p>	<p>BC STUDIES The British Columbian Quarterly HISTORIES OF SETTLER COLONIALISM Guest Edited by Laura Ishiguro</p>
<p>BC STUDIES The British Columbian Quarterly NUMBER 174 Summer 2017</p>	<p>BC STUDIES The British Columbian Quarterly NUMBER 173 Spring 2017</p>	<p>Articles, Research Notes, Photo Essays, New Media Reviews, Book Reviews, Film Reviews, Case Comments, and the Bibliography of BC.</p>	
<p>Digital features including Maps, Soundworks, Digital Postcards, Audio Essays, and more.</p>			
<p>BC STUDIES The British Columbian Quarterly THESE OUTER SHORES Archaeological Insights into Indigenous Settlement Along the Explored Coast of British Columbia Guest Edited by Ashli DeMeillon and Iain MacKinnon</p>	<p>BC STUDIES The British Columbian Quarterly NIKKEI HISTORY Guest Edited by Andrea Geiger</p>	<p>BC STUDIES The British Columbian Quarterly NUMBER 171 Autumn 2016</p>	<p>BC STUDIES The British Columbian Quarterly BARKERVILLE Guest Editor Jacqueline Heller</p>

www.bcstudies.com



Canadian
Historical Association



Société historique
du Canada

**The CHA – The Home for
ALL Historians in Canada**

The CHA is the only organization representing the interests of all historians in Canada. While the CHA has always been, and will always remain, the premier organisation for those who research, write and teach Canadian history, we have made considerable progress in recent years to be more inclusive of historians practicing fields other than Canadian history; one issue of the JCHA is dedicated to a non-Canadian theme every year, the CHA publishes, in conjunction with the University of Toronto Press, a series of short books which address themes and issues of international significance, there are an ever increasing number of transnational papers presented at our Annual meeting, and historians of many areas of the globe regularly sit on the Council.

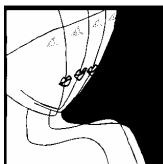
Please do take a minute to join or renew your membership online (<https://forum.ideas-idees.ca/?lid=TNJ5B-ATKFF-WRAGS&pkForm=1>) or by filling the membership form (<http://www.cha-shc.ca/download.php?id=2671>). Your support is very much appreciated.

**La SHC représente les intérêts
de TOUS les historiens au pays**

La SHC est la seule organisation représentant les intérêts de tous les historiens au Canada. Même si la SHC a toujours été, et restera toujours, la première organisation pour ceux qui recherchent, écrivent et enseignent l'histoire canadienne, nous avons fait des progrès considérables ces dernières années pour être plus inclusif des historiens qui œuvrent dans des domaines autres que l'histoire canadienne; un numéro de la RSHC est dédié à un thème d'histoire autre que canadienne chaque année, la SHC publie, conjointement avec The University of Toronto Press, une série de courts ouvrages qui traitent de thèmes et d'enjeux internationaux, il y a un nombre toujours croissant de séances transnationales présentées lors de notre réunion annuelle et les historiens de nombreuses régions du monde siègent régulièrement au Conseil d'administration.

Nous espérons que vous adhérerez ou renouvellerez votre adhésion à la SHC. Vous pouvez le faire en ligne (<https://forum.ideas-idees.ca/?lid=ACKV5-E8447-98B4X&pkForm=1>) ou par courrier en remplissant le formulaire d'adhésion (<http://www.cha-shc.ca/download.php?id=2671>). Nous apprécions grandement votre appui.

Photo | Photographie : Clifford M. Johnston. Library and Archives Canada, PA-056391 | Clifford M. Johnston. Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, PA-056391



MIGRATIONS SOCIÉTÉ

La revue trimestrielle d'analyse et de débat
sur les migrations en France et en Europe

Janvier-mars 2018 – vol. 30 – n° 171 – 144 p.

SOMMAIRE

ÉDITORIAL

Projet de loi sur l'asile et l'immigration : indignation morale *versus* cynisme gouvernemental ? *Vincent Geisser*

DOSSIER

« Politiques d'irrégularisation »

Introduction *La rédaction*

La mesure relative aux « pays d'origine désignés » : une analyse des liens entre la politique d'asile et la migration irrégulière au Canada *Idil Atak*

La production de l'immigration irrégulière en France : une question d'insécurité humaine *Speranta Dumitru*

Comment réduire les coûts de la migration ? L'approche du développement humain *Clément Mougombili*

Étudier et travailler en France : un développement humain au risque de l'irrégularité du séjour *Hicham Jamid*

Statut migratoire et développement humain : le cas des étudiants-migrants en Finlande *Olivia Maury*

L'accès aux soins des étrangers en situation irrégulière en France : une prise en charge au titre de la pauvreté et de la compassion *Céline Gabarro*

Bibliographie sélective *Christine Pelloquin*

VARIA

Lutte contre l'immigration irrégulière et conditionnalité de l'aide au développement *Nora El Qadim*

NOTE DE LECTURE

L'activité des demandeurs d'asile. Se reconstruire en exil *Pedro Vianna*
(*Alexandra Felder*)

NOUVEAUTÉS DOCUMENTAIRES DU CIEMI

Christine Pelloquin

Abonnements - diffusion : CIEMI : 46, rue de Montreuil - 75011 Paris
Tél. : 01 43 72 01 40 ou 01 43 72 49 34 / Fax : 01 43 72 06 42
E-mail : contact@ciemi.org / Site web : www.ciemi.org
France : 60 € Étranger : 70 € Soutien : 80 € Ce numéro : 18 €

LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

REVUE D'ÉTUDES OUVRIÈRES
CANADIENNES



JOURNAL OF CANADIAN
LABOUR STUDIES

VOLUME 81 (SPRING/PRINTEMPS 2018)

INCLUDING / COMPRENANT

La grève générale des charpentiers-menuisiers de Montréal, 1833-1834 :
réévaluation d'un acte fondateur autour du concept de légitimité

Robert Tremblay

"Caterpillar Hates Unions More Than It Loves Profits": The Electro-Motive Closure
and the Dilemmas of Union Strategy

Stephanie Ross and Jason Russell

Becoming A Dependent Class: Quoddy Herring Fishermen in the 1920s

Brian Payne

Austérité, flexibilité et précarité au Québec : la fuite en avant

Marie-Pierre Boucher and Yanick Noisieux

From *Balconville* to *Condroville*, but Where Is Co-opville? Neighbourhood Activism in
1980s Pointe-Saint-Charles

Simon Vickers

Inside the Mobilities Regime of Newfoundland and Labrador's Construction
Megaprojects: Experiences of Rotational Work Close to Home

Lachlan Barber

After Industrial Citizenship: Adapting to Precarious
Employment in the Lanarkshire Coalfield, Scotland,
and Sudbury Hardrock Mining, Canada

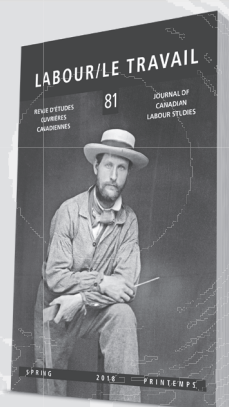
Shelley Condratto and Ewan Gibbs

On the Centennial of the October (Bolshevik)
Revolution: A Canticle

George Elliott Clarke

For subscription information / pour des
renseignements au sujet des abonnements

www.iltjournal.ca
cclh@athabascau.ca





CES PERMISSION POLICIES

Guidelines for photocopying articles: For photocopying or other reprographic copying, a license from Access Copyright (Canadian Copyright Licensing Agency) is required: Access Copyright, One Young Street, Suite 1900, Toronto, Ontario M5E 2E5 Fax: (416) 868-1621 Tel: (416) 868-1620.

Guidelines for securing permission to reproduce materials from CES: Permission to reproduce material, in whole or in part, from CES is required, with appropriate citation of the reference. Requests should include: names of all authors, title of the article, number and year of the volume, and page numbers.

Permission to quote from an article is required if the quotation is in excess of 100 words (total from one article) or if a table or graph is used. If the quotation is less than 100 words, permission is not required, but appropriate citation is required. *All requests must include a statement of the intended use of the article.*

If the request meets all of the above requirements, permission will be granted when CES's permission fee has been paid. All requests for reproduction, and all correspondence relating thereto, should be sent to the Editor at the following address:

Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études ethniques au Canada, SS 909, Department of Sociology, University of Calgary, 2500 University Dr. NW, Calgary AB, T2N 1N4, Canada tel: (403) 220-7372 fax: (403) 282-9298.

email: ces@ucalgary.ca

POLITIQUE DES AUTORISATIONS ÉEC

Directives pour la photocopie d'articles: Pour toute photocopie ou autre reprographie, un permis de Access Copyright (Canadian Copyright Licensing Agency), Access Copyright, One Young Street, Suite 1900, Toronto, Ontario M5E 1E5 est exigé. Fax : (416) 868-1621 Tél : (416) 868-1620.

Directives en vue d'obtenir des ÉEC l'autorisation de reproduire des documents : Toute reproduction de documents entiers ou partiels est interdite sans autorisation des ÉEC, et doit y faire correctement référence. La demande d'autorisation doit comprendre : le nom de tous les auteurs, le titre de l'article, le numéro et l'année du volume, et les numéros des pages.

On doit obtenir une permission pour citer un article si l'extrait de cet article dépasse les 100 mots ou pour se servir d'un tableau ou d'un graphique. Une citation de moins de 100 mots par article cité n'a pas besoin d'autorisation, à condition de donner les références *ad hoc*. *Toutes les demandes doivent indiquer à quoi doit servir l'extrait à citer.*

Si les demandes satisfont aux exigences susmentionnées, les ÉEC accorderont l'autorisation après réception du règlement des droits de reproduction. Toutes les demandes de reproduction, et toute la correspondance y ayant trait, doivent être adressées aux Rédacteurs en chef à l'adresse suivante :

Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études ethniques au Canada, SS 909, Department of Sociology, University of Calgary, 2500 University Dr. NW, Calgary AB, T2N 1N4, Canada tél: (403) 220-7372 fax: (403) 282-9298.

email: ces@ucalgary.ca

ADVICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

Articles should be approximately 8,000 words including references (text in Times 12 pt.). Shorter papers will be considered for inclusion as research notes. Delete all identifying references from your manuscript; the author's name(s) should appear only on the title page. Include an abstract. Manuscripts should conform to the *Chicago Manual of Style* (the author–date system is preferred, although some subjects may require endnotes; *CES* does not publish footnotes).

Electronic submissions are accepted in Microsoft Word format; include an abstract. Please ensure that all identifying references have been removed from the electronic version. Send clearly identified files to ces@ucalgary.ca.

Complete instructions can be found on the journal's web site at <https://soci.ucalgary.ca/ces/submit> *Canadian Ethnic Studies* charges a processing fee equivalent to the cost of an annual individual subscription for each manuscript submitted. This fee must accompany the manuscript for it to be considered for publication. The fee is waived for current members/subscribers. The journal does not assess page charges or any other handling fees. The journal encourages membership in the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association to assist in the dissemination of knowledge regarding various aspects of Canadian ethnicity.

Submission of a manuscript to another professional journal while it is under review by *CES* is unacceptable.

* * *

AVIS AUX AUTEURS

Les articles devraient compter à peu près de 8000 mots (police Times, 12 pts). Les articles plus courts seront éventuellement inclus sous forme de notes de recherche. Les manuscrits ne doivent comporter aucune référence d'identification (le nom de l'auteur ou des auteurs ne devraient apparaître que sur la page titre), mais inclure un résumé du texte. Tout texte doit être conforme aux normes du *Chicago Manual of Style* (il est préférable d'indiquer le nom de l'auteur et l'année, mais, si besoin est, on peut ajouter des notes en fin d'article pour certains sujets; *EEC* n'accepte pas de notes en bas de page).

Les **soumissions électroniques** sont acceptées en format Microsoft Word. Veuillez aussi vérifier que vous avez effacé toute référence d'identification de la version électronique. Les fichiers clairement identifiés devront être envoyés à ces@ucalgary.ca.

Les **instructions complètes** se trouvent sur le site web <https://soci.ucalgary.ca/ces/submit>

Études ethniques au Canada demande des frais de traitement de la valeur d'un abonnement annuel individuel pour la soumission de chaque article. Les membres et abonnés actuels ne seront pas tenus de payer ces frais. Le journal ne facture pas de supplément par page ou tous autres frais administratifs. Le journal encourage de nouveaux membres à adhérer à la Société canadienne d'études ethniques, afin d'aider à faire connaître les diverses faces ethniques du Canada.

La soumission d'un manuscrit à un autre journal professionnel pendant que les *ÉEC* l'examinent en vue de la publication est considérée comme inadmissible.

25TH CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE**October 11-13 2018****Fairmont Banff Springs Hotel, Banff, Alberta****Immigration, Ethnic Mobilities, and
Diasporic Communities in a Transnational World**

The Canadian Ethnic Studies Association (CESA) invites panel and/or paper proposals for its upcoming conference on the theme of “*Immigration, Ethnic Mobilities, Diasporic Communities and Transnationalism in a Transnational World*”. Departing from the traditional ethnic-studies-in-Canada perspective, the theme of this CESA conference intends to explicitly connect with transnationalism allowing reflection of current, dynamic and ongoing transformations of Canada and its ethnic community landscape in a globalized era. Constant population movements within, but also across national borders, alongside a much more extensive and complex communicational, informational and exchange network, are permanent features of a globalized world. Both population movements and intricate exchange networks signal the multiple economic, cultural, social, ideological and symbolic mobilities within and across states in transnational social spaces.

Such radical changes in the Canadian multicultural state necessitate that we recast traditional Canadian ethnic studies beyond ethnic communities to encompass (im)migrant movements, “mobilities,” not only within Canada but also over and beyond Canada. Even if it has been a myth that historians have debunked that previous immigrants to Canada rarely moved again globally, contemporary (im)migrants have complex and diverse forms of mobilities which have surpassed those of any previous imagination and have called into question not just borders, sovereignty and national states but also citizenship, belonging and the very nature of our multicultural mosaic. Furthermore, although for some mobility is a privilege that they enjoy and a tool they utilize to improve their social locations, for many mobility is forced, unwanted, and even resisted. What are the forces behind the creation of transnational social spaces, the mechanisms, routes, and processes, as well as the consequences of these radical changes in Canada and globally? How exactly do they change the Canadian multicultural mosaic, citizenship, identities and belonging? What can we expect of the 21st century with respect to such phenomena? Within this larger problematic, CESA invites theoretical and empirically-based papers, fully formed panels or presentations in other formats, addressing, from a variety of disciplinary or interdisciplinary perspectives, more specific topics such as:

- The future of immigration, ethnic studies, and multiculturalism
- Intersections of immigration and race, class and gender

- Voluntary and forced mobilities: Refugees and the Canadian state
- Youth, ethnicity, and identity in multicultural Canada
- Ethnic communities, global diasporas and transnationalism in Canada
- “Homelands”: Memories, reconstructions, returns and directions forward
- Citizenship and belonging in transnational spaces
- Gender, class, and ethnic intersections in transnationalism
- The future of transnational and ethnic mobilities in an unsettled world

Conference organizers welcome proposals for papers, panels, roundtables, posters and video presentations that address any of these and other related topics. Organizers invite submissions from a variety of perspectives, academic disciplines, and areas of study. We will endeavour to make a decision shortly after the abstract is received in order to facilitate those who need verification of their acceptance for travel funding purposes at their own institutions.

Who should attend? In addition to members of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, the conference will be relevant to a wide range of people interested in history, ethnicity, race, immigration and citizenship issues in Canada and internationally. University professors, graduate students, other researchers and teachers; policymakers and civil servants from all levels of government; those who work in various non-governmental organizations, as well as those involved as frontline workers delivering various kinds of social services – all of these will find that this conference offers them worthwhile information, challenging critical perspectives, and an opportunity to network and discuss important issues with people from across the country and from a variety of academic disciplines and institutional perspectives. A special issue of the *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal* will showcase selected papers from the conference. To be considered for publication, papers must be submitted no later than four weeks after the conference. Papers must be written in accordance with the journal’s guidelines.

All abstracts should be no longer than 250 words and will be refereed by the CESA Program Committee. Individual conference presentations will normally be 20 minutes in length, and conference sessions will be 90 minutes. Abstracts should be directed electronically to cesa@ucalgary.ca.

CESA will provide a \$600 subsidy for conference presenters who stay at the Fairmont Banff Springs Hotel. This subsidy will be provided for the first 50 presenters who register for the conference.

Please visit our new website: <http://www.cesa-scee.ca> for more information.

The deadline for submission of proposals for papers, sessions, panels, roundtables, and poster presentations is March 31st, 2018.

25EME CONFERENCE DE L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE DES ÉTUDES ETHNIQUES**Du 11 au 13 octobre 2018****Fairmont Banff Springs Hotel, Banff, Alberta****Immigration, mobilités ethniques et communautés diasporiques
dans un monde transnational**

L'Association canadienne des études ethniques (ACÉE) invite des propositions de communication de groupes (panels) et / ou individuelles pour sa prochaine conférence sur le thème « *Immigration, mobilités ethniques, communautés diasporiques et transnationalisme dans monde transnational* ». Le thème de cette conférence de l'ACÉE part la perspective traditionnelle des études ethniques au Canada. Son intention est de se connecter explicitement au transnationalisme, permettant de refléter les dynamiques et transformations actuelles, en cours au Canada et de son paysage communautaire ethnique à l'ère de la mondialisation. Les mouvements constants des populations à l'intérieur, mais aussi à travers les frontières nationales, doublés d'un réseau de communication, d'informations et d'échanges beaucoup plus vaste et complexe, sont des caractéristiques permanentes d'un monde globalisé. Les mouvements des populations et les réseaux d'échanges complexes signalent les multiples mobilités économiques, culturelles, sociales, idéologiques et symboliques à l'intérieur et à travers les États dans les espaces sociaux transnationaux.

De tels changements radicaux dans l'État multiculturel canadien exigent que nous reformulions les études ethniques canadiennes traditionnelles au-delà des communautés ethniques pour englober les mouvements de (im) migrants, les « mobilités », non seulement au Canada mais aussi au-delà du Canada. Même s'il a été un mythe que les historiens aient décrypté que les immigrants précédents au Canada se sont rarement déplacés à l'échelle mondiale, les (im) migrants contemporains ont des formes de mobilités complexes et diverses qui ont dépassé ceux de toute imagination antérieure et ont remis en question non seulement les frontières, la Souveraineté et les États nationaux, mais aussi la citoyenneté, l'appartenance et la nature même de notre mosaïque multiculturelle. En outre, bien que pour certains la mobilité soit un privilège qu'ils apprécient et un outil qu'ils utilisent pour améliorer leurs positions sociales, de nombreuses mobilités sont forcées, indésirables et même résistées. Quelles sont les forces qui sous-tendent la création d'espaces sociaux transnationaux, les mécanismes, les itinéraires et les processus, ainsi que les conséquences de ces changements radicaux au Canada et dans le monde ? Comment changent-ils exactement la mosaïque multiculturelle canadienne, la citoyenneté, l'identité et l'appartenance ? Que pouvons-nous attendre du XXI^{ème} siècle à l'égard de tels phénomènes ? Dans cette grande problématique, l'ACÉE invite des propositions théorique et empiriquement, des panels ou des présentations entièrement conçues dans d'autres formats, abondant, sous une variété de points de vue disciplinaires ou interdisciplinaires, des sujets plus spécifiques tels que :

- L'avenir de l'immigration, des études ethniques et du multiculturalisme.
- Intersections entre immigration et race, classe et genre.

- Mobilités volontaires et forcées : les réfugiés et l'État canadien.
- Jeunesse, origine ethnique et identité dans le Canada multiculturel
- Les communautés ethniques, les diasporas locales et le transnationalisme au Canada
- « Patries » : souvenirs, reconstructions, retours et voies vers l'avant.
- Citoyenneté et appartenance dans les espaces transnationaux
- Les intersections genre, classe et ethnie dans le transnationalisme
- L'avenir des mobilités transnationales et ethniques dans un monde instable

Les organisateurs de la conférence attendent et encouragent des propositions de communication individuelles, de panels, de tables rondes, d'affiches et de présentations vidéo qui traitent de ces sujets et d'autres sujets connexes. Les organisateurs invitent les présentations sous diverses perspectives, disciplines académiques et domaines d'études. Nous nous efforcerons de prendre une décision peu de temps après la réception de l'extrait afin de faciliter ceux qui ont besoin de vérification de leur acceptation à des fins de financement de voyage dans leurs propres établissements.

Qui devrait être présent ? En plus des membres de l'Association canadienne des études ethniques (l'ACÉE), la conférence sera pertinente pour un large éventail de personnes intéressées par les questions d'histoire, d'origine ethnique, de race, d'immigration et de citoyenneté au Canada et à l'international. Professeurs universitaires, étudiants gradués, autres chercheurs et enseignants; Les décideurs et les fonctionnaires de tous les ordres de gouvernement; Ceux qui travaillent dans diverses organisations non gouvernementales, ainsi que ceux qui sont impliqués en tant que travailleurs de première ligne fournissant différents types de services sociaux - tout cela permettra de constater que cette conférence leur offre de l'information valable, des perspectives critiques et une opportunité de réseautage et de discussion sur des sujets de haute importance, ainsi que diverses disciplines universitaires et perspectives institutionnelles, avec des personnes venant de partout. Un numéro spécial de la revue Canadienne des études ethniques présentera certains articles de la conférence. Pour être considérés, les articles doivent être soumis au plus tard quatre semaines après la conférence. Les papiers doivent être rédigés conformément aux directives de la revue.

Tous les résumés / propositions ne doivent pas dépasser 250 mots et seront examinés par le comité du programme de l'ACÉE. Les présentations individuelles de la conférence auront normalement une durée de 20 minutes, et les sessions de la conférence seront de 90 minutes. Les résumés doivent être envoyés par voie électronique à cesa@ucalgary.ca.

L'ACÉE fournira une subvention de 600\$ aux conférenciers qui logeront à l'hôtel Fairmont Banff Springs. Cette subvention sera donnée aux 50 présentateurs qui seront les premiers à s'inscrire à la conférence

Veuillez visiter notre nouveau site Web : <http://www.cesa-scee.ca> pour plus d'informations.

La date limite pour la soumission des propositions de communications, de sessions, de panels, de tables rondes et de présentations d'affiches est le 31 mars 2018.

c/o ss 909, Department of Sociology, University of Calgary, 2500 University Drive NW,
Calgary, AB T2N 1N4, Canada Telephone/Téléphone (403) 220-7372 Fax/Télécopieur (403) 282-9298
Email/Courriel: ces@ucalgary.ca Web site/Site Web: <https://soci.ucalgary.ca/ces/>

Membership Application and Subscription Renewal Form 2019 Demande d'adhésion et formulaire de renouvellement d'abonnement 2019

Please complete and return this form with your cheque (payable to the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association) or credit card information to the CES address above. Membership includes a subscription to the Canadian Ethnic Studies journal.

Veillez remplir ce formulaire et le renvoyer par la poste accompagné d'un chèque (payable à l'ordre de la Société canadienne d'études ethniques) ou des renseignements pertinents sur votre carte de crédit au SCÉE à l'adresse ci-dessus. L'adhésion inclut un abonnement à la revue *Études ethniques au Canada*.

Name/Nom: _____

Mailing Address/Adresse d'expédition: _____

E-mail/Courriel: _____ Telephone/Téléphone: _____

Affiliation/Affiliation: _____ Department/Département: _____

Area of Specialization/Domaine de spécialisation: _____

Research Interests/Intérêts de recherche: _____

2019 Rates – Please mark your selection/Frais d'abonnement 2019 – Indiquez votre choix, svp

Category/Catégorie	In Canada/ Au Canada	Outside Canada/ Hors du Canada*	2 Years/ 2 ans	3 Years/ 3 ans
Individual/régulier	\$110.00 CAD	\$120.00 USD	\$210.00 CAD \$230.00 USD	\$310.00 CAD \$340.00 USD
Student/étudiant*	\$70.00 CAD	\$80.00 USD	\$130.00 CAD \$150.00 USD	\$190.00 CAD \$220.00 USD
Retired/retraité	\$70.00 CAD	\$80.00 USD	\$130.00 CAD \$150.00 USD	\$190.00 CAD \$220.00 USD
Institution/institution	\$170.00 CAD	\$170.00 USD	\$330.00 CAD \$330.00 USD	\$490.00 CAD \$490.00 USD

*Please send copy of student ID/Les étudiants doivent inclure une photocopie de leur carte d'étudiant.

Please indicate method of payment/Indiquez le mode de paiement, svp :

Paypal (Please see our web site/Consultez notre site web, svp.)

Cheque enclosed/Chèque inclus Amount/Montant: \$ _____

Payable in Canadian or U.S. funds to the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association/Payable en devises canadiennes ou américaines à l'ordre de la Société canadienne d'études ethniques.

Visa Mastercard Amount/Montant: \$ _____ Expiry Date/Date d'expiration: _____

Name on Card (please print)/Nom figurant sur la carte (en majuscules, svp): _____

Card Number/Numéro de la carte: _____ Signature: _____

**THANK YOU... ON BEHALF OF CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES
AND THE CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES ASSOCIATION
NOUS VOUS REMERCIONS... AU NOM DES ÉTUDES ETHNIQUES AU CANADA
ET DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CANADIENNE D'ÉTUDES ETHNIQUES**