Université de Montréal

Security, Displaced:

Understanding refugees' sense of safety and security through their resettlement experiences

par

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Understanding refugees' sense of safety and security through their resettlement experiences

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 Résumé

Le concept de sécurité fait référence aux notions de sauvetage, de protection et de refuge. Le Canada se présente comme un site sécuritaire de réinstallation pour les personnes réfugiées (Gouvernement du Canada 2019) bien qu'il ait été suggéré qu'elles peuvent être accueillies avec des soupçons de criminalité, de terrorisme et d'agression. Dans ce climat de peur, les personnes réfugiées font l'objet de stéréotypes et de malentendus culturels ou de communications erronées dans les sociétés d'accueil (Rousseau 2002), même si, dans les discours juridiques aux niveaux local et mondial, les droits des personnes réfugiées sont garantis par la *Convention des Nations Unies relative au statut des réfugiés*. Par conséquent, la définition légale d'une personne réfugiée au Canada est liée à la définition sociopolitique qui contribue au discours national sur les personnes réfugiées. Néanmoins, l'acceptation légale des personnes réfugiées ne signifie pas nécessairement qu'elles sont acceptées dans le contexte sociopolitique de la société canadienne (Razack 2002).

Ce mémoire de maîtrise apporte une contribution aux études sur les réfugiés au Canada en examinant le sentiment concurrent de sécurité éprouvé par des personnes réfugiées dans la ville de Montréal entre 2012 et 2021. Les données issues d'entretiens semi-structurés mettant en évidence la manière dont la catégorisation politique, juridique et sociale de l'étiquette « réfugié », contribue positivement et/ou négativement à la construction de la sécurité par les personnes réfugiées. Ce mémoire soulève des questions sur les politiques de réinstallation et la manifestation sociale de ce que, où et quand une personne réfugiée est supposée être.

Mots-clés : Immigration, Refugiés, Intersectionnalité, Sécurité, Montréal

Abstract

The concept of safety/security speaks to the notions of being safe, being saved, being protected and being in a safe haven. Canada presents itself as a safe resettlement site for refugees (Government of Canada 2019) although there is evidence that refugees may be welcomed with suspicions of criminality, terrorism, and aggression. In this climate of fear, refugees are subjected to stereotypes and cultural misunderstandings or miscommunications in receiving societies (Rousseau 2002), even though in legal discourses at a local/global level, their rights are guaranteed by the *United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*. The legal definition of a refugee in Canada is linked to the sociopolitical definition that contributes to the national discourse on refugees. Notwithstanding, the legal acceptance of refugees does not necessarily mean that they are accepted in the socio-political context of Canadian society (Razack 2002).

This master's thesis makes a contribution to refugee studies in Canada by examining the competing sense of security experienced by refugees in the city of Montreal between 2012 and 2021. Data collected from semi-structured interviews highlights how political, legal and social categorization of the label "refugee", contribute positively and/or negatively to refugees' construction of safety. This thesis raises questions about resettlement policies, the social manifestation of what, where or when a refugee is supposed to be and problematizes the normative discourse of safety and security in Canada.

Keywords: Immigration, Refugees, Intersectionality, Security, Safety, Montreal

Table of Contents

Résumé **3**

Abstract **4**

Table of Contents **5**

List of Tables **11**

List of Acronyms **12**

List of Abbreviations **13**

Acknowledgements **15**

Introduction **17**

Conceptual Articulation 17

Rationale for the Study 19

Overview of the Study and Research Question 20

Chapter 1. What Do We Know About Refugees? **23**

1.1 What Shapes Refugees' Subjectivities? 25

1.1.1 Refugee Regime 25

1.1.1.1 Global Structure 26
1.1.1.2 Canada 26

1.1.2 Neoliberal Discourse 27

1.1.3 Policy Making 28

1.1.3.1 Governmental Institutions 28
1.1.3.2 Agencies 30

1.1.3.3 Support Groups 32
1.1.3.4 Sponsors 32
1.1.3.5 Employment 33
1.1.3.6 Public Discourse 34

1.2 Performativity 36

1.2.1 Governmental Institutions 37

1.2.2 Support Groups 38

1.2.3 Sponsors 39

1.2.4 How Do They Respond? 39

1.2.4.1 Conforming 39
1.2.4.2 Finding Allies 40
1.2.4.3 Discouragement 41
1.2.4.4 Reclaiming 41

1.3 Successes and Shortcomings 42

1.4 Problematizing Migration Categories 43

1.5 *Refugeeness* in Québec 44

Chapter 2. Social Inequalities and Space 46

2.1 Social Inequalities 46

2.1.1 Intersectionality 48

2.1.2 Refugees Performing Intersectionality 50

2.1.2.1 Race and Origin 50
2.1.2.2 Migration Status 51
2.1.2.3 Sex and Gender 52
2.1.2.4 Class 53

2.2 How is Space Conceived? 53

2.3 What Does Space Do? 56

2.3.1 Operationalizing Inequalities 57

2.4 What Does This Mean for Refugees? 59

2.5 Crossing Canadian Borders 61

2.5.1 Québec 63

Chapter 3. Safety and Security 66

3.1 National Security 67

3.1.1 Threats 68
3.1.2 Critiques 69

3.2 Societal Security 71

3.2.1 Critiques 72

3.3 Human Security 73

3.3.1 Economic/Financial Security 73
3.3.2 Food Security 74
3.3.3 Environmental Security 76
3.3.4 Personal Safety 77
3.3.5 Psychological Safety 78
3.3.6 Critiques 79

3.4 Migration and Security 80

3.4.1 National Security 80
3.4.2 Human Security 81
3.4.2.1 Premigration 81
3.4.2.2 Camps 82
3.4.2.3 Post-migration 82
3.4.2.4 Critiques 84

Chapter 4. Outline of Research Design 86

4.1 Conceptual Framework 86

4.2 Research Question Revisited 87

4.3 Methodology 87

4.3.1 Sample 88
4.3.2 Recruitment 89

4.3.3 The Interviews 89
4.3.4 The Interview Guide 90
4.3.5 Presentation of Participants 91
4.8 Posture During Interviews 93
4.9 Presentation of Main Findings and Analysis 95
Chapter 5. Before 97
5.1 Participants' Demographics 97
5.2 Migration Process 98
5.2.1 Why leave home? 100
5.2.1.1 Ethnoreligious Differences 100
5.2.1.2 Male Dominance 101
5.2.1.3 Violence 103
5.2.2 How Did They Leave Their Home Countries? 104
5.2.2.1 Transitory Countries 104
5.2.2.2 Travelling Directly to Canada 107
Chapter 6. During 109
6.1 Housing 109
6.1.1 Refugee Claimants 109
6.1.2 Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program 110
6.2 Income and Finances 112
6.2.1 Refugee Claimants Subletting 112
6.2.2 Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program 113
6.2.3 Work 113
6.2.3.1 Pandemic 115
6.3 Education 116
6.3.1 Francisation 116
6.3.2 Retraining 118

6.4 Children ... 119
6.4.1 Daycare ... 119
6.4.2 School ... 120
6.5 Systemic Inconsistencies ... 121
6.6 Mental Health Risk ... 122
6.7 Stigma and Discrimination ... 122
6.8 Inherent Challenges ... 125
Chapter 7. After ... 128
7.1 Coping Strategies ... 128
7.1.1 Support Systems ... 128
7.1.1.2 Arrival Infrastructures ... 131
7.1.2 Self-Reliance ... 132
7.1.3 Social Solidarity ... 133
7.1.4 Philosophies ... 134
7.2 Safety and Security ... 135
7.2.1 Pandemic ... 139
7.3 The Future ... 140
Chapter 8. Analysis ... 141
8.1 Before ... 142
8.2 Transitory Countries ... 143
8.3 During ... 144
8.3.1 Financial Security ... 145
8.3.2 Housing Security ... 146

8.3.3 Psychological Safety ... 147
8.3.3.1 Support Systems ... 149
8.3.4 Environmental Security ... 149
8.3.5 Pandemic Security ... 150
8.4 Analysis: Conclusion ... 151
Conclusion ... 153
Theoretical and Methodological Implications ... 153
Practical Implications ... 154
Limitations and Future Work ... 154
References ... 156
Annex I ... 169
Annex II ... 171
Annex III ... 175
Annex IV ... 179

List of Tables

Table 1 92

List of Acronyms

CBSA: Canada Border Services Agency

CCB: Canada Child Benefit

CEGEP: *Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel*

CERB: Canada Emergency Response Benefit

CLSC: *Centre local de services communautaires*

COVID-19: Coronavirus disease 2019

CPE: *Centre de la petite enfance*

CSAI: *Centre Social D'Aide Aux Immigrants*

CV: *Curriculum vitae*

NAP: New Arrivals Program

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

PAB: *Préposé aux bénéficiaires*

PR: Permanent Resident

PSW: Personal Support Worker

RN: Registered Nurse

SIN: Social Insurance Number

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

WHO: World Health Organization

List of Abbreviations

Etc.: Et cætera

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Introduction

This study explores the concept of safety/security as it underpins the lived realities of refugees in Montréal. The specific focus of this study focuses on the experiences of refugees aged 18 and older who arrived in Canada less than 10 years ago and live in the Greater Montréal area. Do refugees' lived realities reveal a multiplicity of experiences of security? That is, do their narratives of the social, political and economic impact of being a refugee reveal a fragmentary sense of security in Canada?

At the height of the Syrian refugee crisis, Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau sought to uphold Canada's tradition of extending asylum to seekers and refugees by declaring to Canadians that he would intervene by welcoming up to 25,000 government sponsored Syrian refugees (Immigration 2015). Prior to the prime minister's announcement, Canada had historically opened its doors to other Middle Eastern asylum seekers, including individuals and families from Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine and other nations (Canada 2017). This was a key part of the political backdrop at that sociohistorical juncture for an influx of refugees.

This government initiative resulted in the largest refugee resettlement operation in 35 years (Rose 2020). As a community liaison worker, in Ontario, at the time, I worked with a diverse clientele that included newcomers, individuals struggling with addictions, refugees, seniors and other vulnerable populations. Over the years, my clients had posed a variety of questions and requested different services, but after the increase of refugees, beginning in the fall of 2015, a pattern of recurring questions emerged from refugees that informs this research study on safety and security.

Conceptual Articulation

The concepts of safety and security speak to notions of being safe, being saved, being protected, or being in a safe haven. Within the confines of this study, *safety/security* is conceptualized as a social construct from a human security perspective with the refugee as the object of security. I make a distinction between security and safety where security refers to the interdependence of multiple security issues and safety to the absence of physical violence and verbal aggression towards an individual. Whereas, the concept of *refugee* alludes to a particular group of migrants, where in the Canadian national context, politically contracted suspicions of

criminality, terrorism, and aggression, precede refugees (Rousseau 2002). In this climate of fear, refugees are subjected to stereotypes and cultural misunderstandings or miscommunications in receiving societies (Rousseau 2002; Blain et al. 2019; Gass 2014; Kyriakides et al. 2018). Whereas, within the legal discourses at a local/global level their rights are guaranteed by the *United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*.

As a signatory of the UN *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, Canada has a legal obligation to accept refugees. In 1989 Canada amended its 1985 *Immigration Act* (c. I-2) after an increase in asylum claims and a Supreme Court ruling (*Singh v. Canada*, [1985] 1 S.C.R. 177) that found Canada's lack of hearing on the merits of refugee claims unconstitutional. The ruling and the amendment called for the implementation of a quasi-judicial hearing of refugee claimants' cases which responded to and sat within extant discourses on the inconsistency of the refugee determination process prior to the introduction of the hearing. Two board members of the Refugee Division of the newly created Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) and the Refugee Claim Officer heard claims on the merits that determined eventual asylum in Canada (Rousseau 2002).

Since, Canada's legal definition of a refugee has interconnected with the sociopolitical definition that contributes to national discourse on this group of migrants. Notwithstanding, the legal acceptance of refugees does not mean a sociopolitical acceptance. Indeed, according to Razack (2002), in Canada, laws have been tailored to ensure that refugees are "given time to learn respect for Canadian culture, and original citizens must be given time to know who they can trust" (Razack 2002:5), through citizens' focus on the legitimacy of migrants' claims, the acceptance of refugees in the country generally, and the portrayal of their plight. This perception of refugees leaves little room for discussion of this group's distinct need for protection.

At the most general level, a refugee is a person who must flee their place of residence when caught in a situation of turmoil posing an imminent threat to their person (Rousseau 2002). Refugees' need for protection usually categorizes them as a subgroup of migrants. As a result of their distinct need, these displaced persons possess internationally endorsed rights by virtue of their forced emigration caused by a threat to their safety in their city or country of origin (Feller 2005) and thus *refugee* is a legal concept while *migrant* is a more generally conceived category.

After they have fled in search of asylum, refugees may find a safe haven internally within their national borders or may have to travel beyond national boundaries for refuge. Once in a place considered safe, refugees may receive state or humanitarian aid for their basic needs. Host countries differ in the benefits they offer to refugees. Some nations do not protect refugees, and even aggressively pursue deportations and deny claims to asylum, while some nations provide refugees permanent shelter and others offer temporary shelter until a refugee's country of origin becomes safe again. Integration may not be encouraged in countries with temporary protection, though in countries with permanent resettlement, refugees should become progressively more autonomous and less reliant on state or humanitarian aid (Feller 2005).

Rationale for the Study

Over the last two decades, a shift in the movement of peoples has occurred; places and nations previously deemed *secure* or *safe* have abruptly changed their classification due to internal political tensions and conflict or environmental disasters, forcing individuals and families that both resided and found refuge in these places to flee to security elsewhere (Refugees 2012).

Before I undertook graduate studies, when I worked in social services, many of my clients who had sought refuge in Syria from their own unstable countries (including Iraq, Lebanon and elsewhere) had to seek asylum again as result of the outbreak of the Syrian war. Many of them sought refuge in Canada. Arriving in a new space of security, in Ontario, these newcomers interrogated me about their personal, physical and psychological security. Many of them, I remarked, grappled with their conceptions of belonging and possessed an eroded sense of security. They wanted to know if they would be secure in Canada. They desired to reconstruct and reconceptualize security in their new country, especially when they had been separated from familiar anchors and their families.

Though my inspiration for this master's thesis is drawn from my experience, in the exploratory phase of my research, I found that the discourse surrounding refugees revealed a convergence between those having emigrated from countries with and without risk of imminent danger, propelling me to dive deeper into understanding refugees' distinct needs as against other categories of migrants. Feller (2005), she enumerates the dangers of fusing the two identities of *migran*t and *refugee*. Among her critiques of this approach to viewing refugees, is the

privileging of migration control, while ignoring the protection of refugees, since in grouping refugees along with all migrants, the primary need of refugees for a haven is overlooked. Attenuating the urgency of a refugee's flight can further complicate an already complex sense of security (Rousseau 2002). As a result, the classification of *refugee* raises a range of questions and discussions in the Canadian context, articulating psychological, political and social security. Is it possible that our present classifications of asylum seekers and refugees are incommensurable with these migrants' realities? Does the UN convention take too narrow a view of asylum? Whose security and protection are being considered in these classifications and policies? Do the refugee and asylum claim processes create insecurity among migrants?

Out of these questions, I started to question my own construction of security and how it is informed by the intersectionalities of my lived realities as a physically disabled, racialized woman. My race, class, gender, ability to speak English and French or lack thereof, in large measure, determine my access to social, political and economic resources in Canadian society. While I am not a refugee, my lived experiences frequently led me to think of the obstacles faced by refugees and asylum seekers in Canada and I juxtaposed my construction of myself with that of the refugees I encountered. While in no way claiming to have the same experience as refugees, despite being Canadian-born, our subject positions were more proximate than might be expected. I frequently had the sense that my construction of security, and the fact that I do not feel safe or secure echoes in the narratives that refugees shared with me. Increasingly as I was a partner to these narratives, I started to share my construction of security and I also questioned, "what is security/safety"? If the experiences of a native-born Canadian share many similarities with refugees in the area of security, then this study needs pursuing. Normatively, the concept of *security* informs daily discourses with an assumption that, in Canada, everyone is safe. Depending on your epistemology, ontology and methodology, interrogating the popular notion of security presents many conceptual, legal and theoretical challenges.

Overview of the Study and Research Question

This study seeks to interrogate the concept of security, to whom it applies, and what it means to be safe in Canada. Though Canada is meant to be a physical safe haven for displaced peoples, this thesis seeks to determine whether refugees feel "secure" in Canada. Guiding my

research and interviews with refugees is the following question: How do refugees' lived realities influence their conceptualization of the dimensions of security in Canada?

The concept of safety and security in Canada is often presented as a question of extending rights to the most vulnerable members of society, but I argue that this needs to be more problematized. Central to this study is the exploration of how the political, legal and social categorization, that is, the label *refugee*, contributes, positively and/or negatively to marginalized communities' construction of security. For example, does the legal construction contradict the social manifestation of what, where and when a refugee is supposed to be and their lived realities? Do individuals' local and global connections impact their construction of security? Does the acknowledgment of being a *convention refugee* contribute to the consciousness of a new beginning? The common assumption is that being accepted as a convention refugee amplifies feelings of security, do these refugees feel safe or secure?

The task of interrogating the concept of safety in Canada necessitates an engagement with the literature on migration, as well as social theory on what it means to be a refugee. The literature review of this master's thesis is divided into four subcategories of social sciences, the first one presented in *Chapter 1* examines what we know about refugees at international, national and local (Québec) levels. *Chapter 2* relates to social inequalities and space and spatialization. The final section of the literature review, *Chapter 3,* mobilizes literature across various disciplines on the concepts of security and safety, and emphasizes the relationship between security and power.

This literature review incorporates migratory texts on integration and refugees to highlight the distinct nature of refugees' trajectories, and how they differ from those of other migrants. Texts related to spatial sociology are used as they present valuable conceptions to better understand how populations internalize and interact with their space. Given the multiple displacements of individuals included in my sample, it is important to have insight into how space can influence one's perception and construction of security. Building on an appreciation of space and its place in my research question, a fourth field emerges. Texts on social inequalities are pivotal for grasping migration, integration and space in the context of refugees.

Chapter 4 presents the outline of the research design that includes qualitative interviews with 1 non-binary person, 3 men and 4 women with accepted refugee status in Montréal, Canada, while *Chapters 5* to *8* include my main findings and analysis of social identity, infrastructures

of security and fluidity of security. The *eighth chapter* comes back to the literature, linking the works presented in my literature reviews with my fieldwork data. Lastly, the theoretical, methodological and practical implications of this study, along with its limitations and how it can lead to future work are discussed.

Chapter 1. What Do We Know About Refugees?

Canada allows the permanent resettlement of migrants entering the country through and from a diverse range of migration channels including permanent residents, temporary workers, refugee claimants and more (Goldring et al. 2009; El-Bialy and Mulay 2018). Individuals arrive in Canada with a background, a story, and a history. Migrant's pasts must often be re-examined and re-evaluated as they settle in Canada. This discontinuity is particularly pronounced in the case of refugees. Their subjectivities are often interrupted once their countries of origin's government's fail to provide them with adequate protection (Arendt 1958).

Refugees, as understood in a contemporary sense, are displaced people in exile protected under international law "who have fled their countries due to persecution or a lack of effective state protection" (Bradley 2014:104). Having lost their homes and social realities (Bradley 2014), these individuals transition from citizens of a state to refugees (Arendt 1958). Refugees possess diverse premigratory identities that are interrupted by events that trigger displacement. This type of crisis migration is structured by international legal standards that are implemented differently by countries that host or welcome refugees. Arriving in these countries, refugees must navigate the countries' administrative tools as well as their change in identity.

Refugees' experiences differ markedly depending on their premigratory realities and the geopolitical situation of their host countries. Various factors affect how refugees negotiate and navigate their receiving countries' policies. Despite the array of profiles, international and national policies and practices conceive refugees as a homogeneous group (Gass 2014). The juncture between heterogeneous premigratory identities and standard policies shapes refugees' internalized social position in a process that Malkki (1995) calls *refugeeness*, that is, the process of becoming refugees.

The relationship between refugee subjectivity and international and national policies reveals an incommensurability between the two. Building on Malkki's (1995) constructivist conception of *refugeeness*, authors like Lee and Brotman (2011) explain that their Canadian study results align with those of other researchers who conclude that refugee claimant hearing officials conceptualize refugees as victims and racialized individuals. They reveal that race has

evolved into a salient characteristic of the refugee identity. This representation transitions away from the Geneva Refugee Convention's initial 1951 standardization of a convention refugee. *Refugee*, under international law at that time, only extended to Europeans recovering from World War II and the Holocaust (Weiß 2018; Beiser 2009). European internment camps rapidly transformed into refugee camps (Malkki 1995). Those who had been denationalized by persecuting states (Arendt 1958) and were stateless, or those who had fled their nations as a political act, became the monolithic category of "refugee" (Malkki 1995). This mid-twentieth century perspective on migration allows us to situate who was and who was not a refugee (Weiß 2018), as international resettlement and refugee law reflected these postwar specificities.

Tanya Aberman (2014) describes the post-World War II to pre-Cold War *refugee* identity as the result of a politicized act performed by political dissidents; that is, the flight of those threatened by the state for their opposition to the state's rule and governance. Post-9/11, she contends, the refugee identity has become "depoliticized, criminalized and de-historicized" (Aberman 2014:59); an identity that she suggests relates either to someone constructed as a victim or a false claimant to be expelled or prosecuted. As the category *refugee* has expanded and has become more heterogeneous, who is considered a refugee and who "merits" safety has become more complex, often causing international migration policies to become anachronistic to the needs of refugees of security.

In popular international discourse and policy, the category *refugee* becomes conflated with that of other migrant categories (Feller 2005). Often the concept of *immigrant* in an immigrant-refugee dialectic informs our understanding of refugees (Lawlor and Tolley 2017). History shapes how we first make sense of immigrants and subsequently of the migrant population of refugees. This symbiotic relationship becomes pertinent as conflict becomes centralized outside Western states. Though once conceived as those who were engaging in a political act, the faces of refugees change towards more racialized populations from the global South that receiving populations think of as victims. According to Aberman (2014), this tendency has influenced the perception of current refugees as economic migrants as opposed to political actors evacuating their state.

Drawing from the example of the Guatemalan repatriation movement, Bradley (2014) explains that the twenty-first century iteration of the *refugee* does not presume statelessness;

rather nations interpret refugees as originating from or being linked to a state even when refugees do not possess official state identification (Bradley 2014). Transitioning from state to state and from residence to residence has become a process not just governed by international law but also by state politics. According to Bolzoni et al. (2013), in 2011, more than half of the world's refugees resided outside camps; they were in urban areas that relied on municipal involvement to operationalize state policies related to migrants.

The literature describes how refugees negotiate the process of becoming refugees. Kirkwood et al. (2016) submit that the essentialization of this migration category reinforces perceptions of receiving nations as normatively charged "saviour states" that, according to Gass (2014), are meant to be safe places extending charity to refugees although these states paint refugees as victims, pariahs and sometimes criminals. The literature suggests that neoliberalism and refugees' willingness to perform or conform to these neoliberal ideals of free-market capitalism, decentralized government and reduction of state interventions structure the process of becoming a refugee (Nawyn 2011; Pozniak 2009; Kallio et al. 2019). The permeation of neoliberal discourse into all spheres of refugees' subjectivities is examined, as well as how refugees adopt strategies and tools to adapt to international expectations of refugees on a global scale, then more specifically in Canada.

1.1 What Shapes Refugees' Subjectivities?

1.1.1 Refugee Regime

Complex categories of crisis migration, labour migration, internally displaced peoples, voluntary migration and migration under duress are interpreted through the Geneva Refugee Convention, structuring policymakers' legal conceptualization of refugees and migrants (Weiß 2018). International movements, politics, popular media and academia further inform this regime (Gass 2014). Using a constructivist approach, a broad examination of refugee categories and legal structures clarifies how this construction of refugee migration determines the type of assistance offered to this category of people who are shaped by and who shape the refugee regime.

1.1.1.1 Global Structure

According to Arendt (1958) international refugee law became a postwar necessity to address "emigration naturalization, nationality, and expulsion" (Arendt 1958) and to discourage any criminality that could arise as individuals' human rights became unrecognized. Today, these international laws globally underpin refugee laws that are further structured by local enactments of these laws. For Arendt (1958), it is the arrival of these individuals across borders that challenge and force receiving nations to design legal structures to govern and define concepts of *citizen* and *nationality*. She suggests that exiled individuals' presence creates cyclical events: refugees elicit the creation or formalization of the concepts of *citizen* and *nationality* while these concepts shape refugees' subjectivity. Once these concepts have been standardized, local communities operationalize them, informing the realities of displaced individuals, directly impacting their sense of security.

1.1.1.2 Canada

In Canada, the federal *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* permits individuals to obtain refugee status through three avenues. Through the first avenue, individuals can claim refugee status at land or sea borders, airports or at a Canada Border Service Agency if already on Canadian soil (Germain et al. 2021). The second is to be selected as a government-assisted refugee or through the final avenue, individuals can be privately sponsored as refugees by private citizen or community groups. These migrants can settle or be resettled anywhere in any region of Canada. Though federally governed, provincial and municipal bodies distribute resources and render services to refugees locally. Whether they have been granted refugee status or are a refugee claimant will be a predictor of the types of services to which the migrant is entitled (Goldring et al. 2009).

Refugee claimants apply for asylum status once they arrive in Canada. The Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada must hear claimants' stories before being granted or denied refugee status based on the merits of their cases. For those accepted, this determination process becomes the reconciliation of the claimant's understanding of self as a refugee and the state's perception of them as a refugee (Lacroix 2004). In the case of government-assisted and privately sponsored refugees, their migration statuses are resolved before their arrival in Canada. The

private sponsorship program entails 12 months of support for refugees from sponsors which is complemented by governmental assistance (Blain et al. 2019). Private sponsorship is a resettlement process that is structured by the assistance provided by sponsors, while the government-assisted program provides standardized assistance to refugees for the same duration. Provision of these resources and programs acknowledges refugees' initial need of assistance and helps alleviate some of the difficulties that arise from refugees' unfamiliarity with the Canadian system. Therefore, it can be argued that the diversity of these refugees' histories, statuses and local logistics and administration of resources creates a non-homogeneous category of migrants.

1.1.2 Neoliberal Discourse

The literature on becoming a refugee identifies a distinctive shift in federal policies and practices affecting all spheres involved in becoming a refugee, including employment (Pozniak 2009), access to housing, transportation (Wood et al. 2012), the emergence of "market citizenship" (Nawyn 2011) and the reduction of governments' role in the asylum process (Blain et al. 2019). These transformations stem from neoliberal ideology. From the outset, refugees must cross borders – and borders exist within the context of a highly unequal global political economy. Minh-Ha (2010) argues border crossing can enforce neocolonial ideas where borders are used as a device of segregation. For example, for border crossers entitled to permanent resettlement, the border may symbolize democracy while for others, exempt from resettlement the crossing of the same border may force them to relocate elsewhere. Minh-Ha adds that border crossers may be agents of aggression and destruction, intent on invading, occupying and disrupting the land into which they have crossed. Once refugees cross borders into "safe" countries (which are frequently Western states), Gass (2014) emphasizes that the refugee regime often produces a "saviour nation" discourse, in which refugees are depicted as helpless victims in need of Western intervention. The shift from state assistance to assistance provided by NGOs also highlights the neoliberal transformation of the refugee regime. Increasingly NGOs are responsible for providing assistance to refugees which results in inconsistencies and inequalities in the services and resources distributed (Nawyn 2011).

In keeping with this theme in Canada, Blain et al. (2019) highlight the shift in resettlement responsibility from the government to citizens through the private sponsorship program. This transformation replicates the neoliberal refugee-host nation relationship in the smaller scale sponsor-sponsored relationships (Kyriakides et al. 2018). Wood et al. (2012) draw attention to the role of Canadian municipalities in the refugee integration process, and the non-involvement of federal and provincial governments due to what they refer to as a neoliberal urbanism shift. These urban centres are often the starting point for refugee employment which Jackson and Bauder (2014) and Pozniak (2009) claim are intrinsic to reproducing an immigrant ethic that creates a refugee identity focused on market performance in the host nation. The structural transition of seeking asylum in Canada, though meant to be a humanitarian act, often becomes the convergence of macrolevel neoliberal ideals such as government decentralization and economic productivity that are displayed at the microlevel through various institutions. The decentralization of government assistance and resettlement of refugees result in a distinct process of becoming refugees that is unique to this particular migratory category.

1.1.3 Policy Making

In the context of neoliberal decentralization, security is standardized and operationalized through state policies and actors. This section outlines the spaces and institutions that enact refugee policies in various countries, with an emphasis on Canada. The literature shows how access to public spaces and institutions become proxies for refugees' emotional attachments to their new homes and how neoliberal aims can inform those institutions (Wood et al. 2012).

1.1.3.1 Governmental Institutions

Policymakers develop the legal structures that govern refugee reception while administrators decide how those policies and practices will be enforced and understood. The literature highlights three Western case studies of how government officials and civil servants administer refugee policy in their countries, and how these policies are critical in the construction of refugee subjectivity that may be incommensurable with that of the individual.

The first case is drawn from Australia. Similarly to Canada, Australia is multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual and nearly a quarter of Australian were born abroad (Teramoto

2010). Newcomers to Australia, including refugees, are funnelled into a government program called the New Arrivals Program (NAP), a pedagogical setting where they receive English-language training among other newcomers-oriented classes. Teramoto (2010) examines how newcomer subjectivities are informed by the NAP in Australia. According to the author, the language instructors interpret the assigned newcomer curriculum through their own lenses of race, class, gender and immigration status according to popular discourse that constructs and reconstructs the instructor's representation of "the newcomer". The instructors' teaching examples and attitude then shape newcomer students' understanding of self as newcomers in the Australian context.

The second example is from Austria. According to Dahlvik (2017), since 2012, Austria has been one of the top 10 receiving countries worldwide of asylum applications. Dahlvik (2017) explains how caseworkers oversee these applications. Caseworkers validate and legitimize applications' credibility through hearings where claimants share their stories. If officials accept the facts presented in claimants' stories, claimants are granted refugee status. Dahlvik conducted interviews with decision-making officials and concluded that officials determine and construct facts, artefacts and credibility of asylum claims, directly influencing the outcome of asylum applications (Dahlvik 2017). She argues that power is unequally distributed between the refugee claimants and administrators whereby the credibilization of a claimant's story is the result of their ability to adhere to dominant discourses about their countries of origin and about refugees read through officials' norm-oriented search for facts (Dahlvik 2017). Dahlvik explains that the subjectivity of the decision-making process is evidenced by the fact that officials reach different decisions on the same case. Decisions are rendered based on caseworkers' knowledge of elements of claimants' stories and countries of origin. If clarification, for example, of a part of a claimant's story or to interpret documents is required, officials decide which experts they will receive information from for clarifying claimant details. Therefore, this constructivist approach demonstrates decisions are constructed through social interaction and not just legal structures (Dahlvik 2017).

Canada's Immigration and Refugee Board hearings of asylum claims unfolds similarly to those of Austria. The Canadian literature reveals that once refugees have received permanent residency in Canada, after five years, individuals can apply for Canadian citizenship (Lee and

Brotman 2011). Lee and Brotman (2011) suggest that the naturalization of refugees becomes perceived as an earned reward or a “gift” given by Canada, rather than a legal guarantee. Naturalization also aids in justifying the structure of Canadian refugee policies and practices. Like Austria, claimants must also undergo a determination process in Canada. Adjudicators hear refugee claims and determine whether the claim is accepted or not. In the case of sexual minority refugee claimants, Lee and Brotman postulate that the Canadian refugee regime is often meant to be humanitarian, but the convergence of adjudicators’ conceptions of *refugeeness* and heteronormativity render its operationalization exclusionary. When claimants do not fit Canadian sexual minority norms or meet adjudicators’ expectations, their applications are less likely to be accepted. Therefore, these authors contend that during claimant hearings, refugee status and citizenship are wielded as tools of power and exclusion. Policy and praxis are mobilized in a way that renders invisible forms of racism, sexism, classicism and heterosexism that sexual minority refugees’ experience through them.

These three examples show how individual government officials render the process of becoming a refugee a subjective process that reflects officials’ conceptions of race, sex, gender and class and an assertion of dominance.

1.1.3.2 Agencies

The role of agencies in framing *refugeeness* is fundamental to the individual’s experience of becoming a refugee. For my present purposes, *agencies* are understood as tertiary non-governmental organizations that play a role in distributing resources and delivering services to migrants.

Kallio et al. (2019) propose their definition of a humanitarian border, a concept first coined by William Walters, as a mutable shifting social space delineated by regulations, techniques, tactics and practices of humanitarian organizations, including agencies, as well as informal actors that are involved in refugee trajectories, not limited to a particular territory or setting. According to them, the humanitarian border structures expressions of *refugeeness*. They conceptualize *refugeeness* as political subjectivity where refugees negotiate between their sense of self and the refugee identity encountered through humanitarian interactions allowing for subjective political agency. Thusly, how agencies become a part of the humanitarian border,

how the United States and Canada's agencies act as gatekeepers and how they become the site of the intersection of the emotional process of settling and the logistics of the city for refugees are considered.

In the United States, agencies are a social space that adds to refugees' interactions with American institutions. They provide humanitarian assistance such as food, employment services and language training. They also have the capacity to shape refugees' citizenship as a tool of integration and exclusion through neoliberal beliefs. Nawyn (2011) aims to present how different NGOs frame refugee social citizenship in the US depending on their relationship with the US welfare state. He distinguishes resettlement NGOs from assistance NGOs. The former have a contractual relationship with the federal government while the latter are community-based organizations. When framing social citizenship and the rights of refugees, rhetorical distinctions corresponding to different types of NGOs were revealed through interviews with workers, both paid staff and volunteers. Workers articulated ideas of citizenship in relation to economic performance, as opposed to political or legal citizenship. Resettlement workers' discourse reflected economic productivity, or what the author refers to as market citizenship. This discourse was at play in the assistance of NGO workers as well. However, emphasis on market citizenship was divorced from participants' discourse when NGO workers called for greater refugee settlement in the US (Nawyn 2011). Through this example, NGO workers' ability to reconstruct and deconstruct elements of refugees' subjectivities can be seen.

The last example refers to how humanitarian agencies influence the refugee experience in Canada. Migration statuses such as permanent resident, refugee or asylum seeker are predictors of the services that migrants have access to in Canada. Refugees' access to services is often left to the discretion of NGO staff members, complicating access and making it uneven (Goldring et al. 2009). Despite this inequality Wood et al. (2012) found that for refugees, resettlement-oriented social agencies became synonymous with integration into Canadian life. Settlement workers provided social infrastructure to refugees as intermediaries between them and their new cities and countries; this relationship shifted that role from government to local agencies. According to these authors, the logistics and administration of these agencies influence the way refugees navigate their sense of belonging in Calgary.

This subsection showed how humanitarian agencies become vectors that usher refugees into their lives in their host countries. The staff in these agencies are given the power to exclude or include refugees in refugees' new cities based on their judgment. The underscored articles also show a neoliberal urbanism shift where governments transferred the responsibility of integration to NGOs.

1.1.3.3 Support Groups

In Canada, these responsibilities further trickle down to communities where integration and resettlement needs are shouldered by community support groups. Support groups with shared social identities often provide a sense of belonging to refugees, a need identified by refugee agencies and peers and defined as perceived support and inclusive bonds (Ghahari et al. 2019). Beiser (2009) found that these groups contributed to positive mental health and integration of refugees. Chbat (2012) however found that support groups had a negative effect on sexual minority refugees when individuals in groups from the refugees' country of origin displayed attitudes that resembled those the refugee was trying escape through their resettlement in Canada.

1.1.3.4 Sponsors

Analogously, the support of sponsors can have positive or negative impacts on refugees' integration, belonging and sense of security. Individual refugees or families can be accepted to Canada through a private sponsorship that is meant to support refugees for 12 months. The experiences of individual sponsors and refugees differ given the diversity of the sponsor-sponsored relationships. This category of refugee possesses a unique role in operationalizing government policy and in constructing *refugeeness*. Refugee subjectivities can be influenced by very active and involved sponsors or by absent sponsors. Access to government resources and awareness of government resources becomes dependent on the guidance and knowledge of sponsors. The work of Kyriakides and Blain centers on this dimension. Refugee research participants in these articles often discussed lengthy wait times to meet with their sponsors, and difficulty finding work, among other issues (Kyriakides et al. 2018; Blain et al. 2019), mirroring refugee discourse usually reserved to describe Canadian governmental services (Lee and Brotman 2011). These articles demonstrate how refugees' subjective positions were constructed

in relation to their sponsors' level and type of connection with them (Kyriakides et al. 2018; Blain et al. 2019).

1.1.3.5 Employment

In a like manner to the influence of refugee resettlement programs on refugees' outcomes, migration status impacts employment opportunities and security of refugees in Canada. Labour market access is a direct function of the permanency of a migrant, with refugee claimants having the least access to employment and immigrants arriving through the skilled workers program having the greatest access (Jackson and Bauder 2014). Claimants are often confined to temporary and cash work as a result of their status, while migrants with permanent statuses have access and are accepted in more employment opportunities.

Though refugees face similar employment barriers to other migrants to Canada, policy creates a unique reality for refugees. Refugees and refugee claimants are given social insurance numbers (SIN) that allow them to work. Yet status determines what type of SIN an individual receives. Refugee claimant SINs begin with a 9, revealing their precarious status to employers. This number structures claimants' labour market experiences and puts them in a liminal space where they are typically employed in insecure work sectors (Jackson and Bauder 2014). Jackson and Bauder's research shows that employers often dismiss these individuals as they are seen as temporary residents and the uncertainty of their status is a hiring deterrent for employers. Other migrants with temporary status, as in the case of temporary foreign workers do not face the same SIN challenges. Migration status also determines access to credential recognition and employment training. Claimants' precarious status does not give them access to credential recognition or to postsecondary institutions as Canadian residents, as they are considered international students, until their claimant applications are accepted. Perceived discrimination, according to Ghahari et al. (2019), further complicates each of these elements. The theme of discrimination, including language, race, gender, sex, employment and SIN discrimination is recurrent in Ghahari et al.'s (2019) scoping review of Canadian academic refugee literature.

Refugeeness shapes employment opportunities and experiences for refugee claimants in Canada and drawing from Pozniak's 2009 research, Jackson and Bauder (2014) contend that for employers, public narratives of *refugeeness* structure refugee claimants' employability because

claimants are often assumed to be unsolicited drains on the Canadian economy. This public discourse structures how claimants identify themselves and how they seek to represent themselves.

1.1.3.6 Public Discourse

Information disseminated to the wider public about immigration and refugee policy is portrayed, reproduced and repeated in ways that influence refugees' consciousness and interpretation of their positionality. Refugees either accept or refuse the language of these representations, but these representations nevertheless remain paramount in the construction of refugees' experiences. Three dominant discursive narratives emerge from the literature.

Helplessness

Refugees are sometimes characterized as infantilized victims, in need of a saviour, a nation to rescue them from the perils of war. One of the most common images of the refugee that is evoked in public discourse is that of the "feminized" "helpless" refugee. "The term refugee evokes a certain set of images that can be largely 'feminine' in nature, a, 'sentimentalized, composite figure—at once feminine and maternal, childlike and innocent,' (Malkki 1996). 'Refugeeness' in general is often associated with helplessness" (Gass 2014:119) and powerlessness. Refugees are seen as involuntary victims of war and conflict.

In addition to being portrayed as feminized or infantilized, refugees are depicted as "unwanted" victims, undeserving of asylum because of the cultural elements of their countries of origin they are assumed to embody. Western receiving countries may not want those elements present in their country or feel that those elements threaten the fabric of the nation. This was the case in Kyriakides et al.'s (2018) research; Syrian refugees in Ontario, Canada were interpreted through a highly Orientalized lens, creating a *refugeeness* that erased pre-conflict identities and social roles, replacing them with highly Orientalized identities where refugees were constructed as victim-pariahs or their nation of origin as a pariah (Kyriakides et al. 2018). Among the examples of victim-pariahs provided by Kyriakides et al. were two Iranian sisters who had converted to Christianity from Islam, a crime punishable by death in Iran. They had come to Canada through private sponsorship. The sponsorship group however had anticipated sponsoring Syrian refugees and not Iranians. Members of the sponsorship group were critical of

their financial contribution to refugees who did not fit with the groups' conception of refugees as Arab Syrians escaping war. The sisters were incongruent with their sponsors expectations.

At other times, refugees are represented as victims coming from antagonized Global South or Global East countries with negative and undesirable policies and customs. Using an automated content analysis, Lawlor and Tolley (2017) analyzed articles about refugees and immigration from two national and two local (Vancouver and Toronto) newspapers. Their data that span a 10-year period reveal that the newspapers analyzed frame refugees as potential security threats, who originated from countries like Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and Bangladesh that the newspapers frame negatively. Refugees' ethnicities were also prominently featured, often described in a negative tone by newspapers. Thus, the refugee is often constructed as non-white – or if they are white, that they are somehow "different" from the others, from for example Ukraine or the former Yugoslavia.

Statuses

A second common narrative about refugees pertains to status and credibility of asylum claims. In the US, uncertainly about the credibility and motives of asylum claims, leave asylum seekers "theoretically and categorically, straddl[ing] the line between 'illegality' and 'legality'" (Haas 2012:90). The liminality of legal/illegal migration is a dichotomy and a political ethos that shape and structure asylum seekers' lived experiences in the US (Haas 2012). These opposing identities are further challenged by perceptions of refugee credibility.

Generalized ubiquitous discourse relating to refugees' real need for protection shape social imaginaries on refugees. Zimmerman's (2010) semi-structured interviews with Somali refugees in the UK tackle asylum-shopping and destination countries' suspicions and beliefs about refugees who were not credible. The author broaches the controversial topic of deterrent and preventative measures to asylum claims in host countries. These measures attempt to ascertain asylum seekers' motives for claiming asylum in the UK and to unearth the correlation between these motives and the UK's control measures used to discover whether asylum seekers' host country selection is based on a desire to access free public services or genuine migration under duress. Ultimately these measures are used to prevent "false" asylum claims from "undeserving" migrants.

Just as international discourse contains prescriptions about *refugeeness*, Pozniak (2009) points out that Canadian public discourse also has presuppositions about who and what refugees should be. She explains that Canadian discourse did not demand the possession of the same human capital from refugees as those arriving in Canada as skilled workers. Employment expectations between immigrants and refugees differed significantly. Given that Canada solicits skilled workers, "unsolicited" refugees are often posited as a cost to the Canadian economy. In what Pozniak calls the *assets and costs* narrative, refugees' representation of self responds to this narrative. The "unsolicited" nature of a refugee's presence in their host country also elicits discourse that insists that refugees be assets. Pozniak maintains that this split further drums up economic discourse that highlights refugees' use of welfare and establishes these migrants as burdens to the system with some considered undeserving of assistance and others judged as meriting assistance, perpetuating a negative economic stigma against refugees.

Deserving and Undeserving

Not only does a culture of suspicion toward refugees create conditions of "deserving" and "underserving" refugees, but public discourse also propagates ideas about who deserves the right to live in Canada (Kirkwood et al. 2016). The *immigrant ethic* narrative "differentiates between 'good', 'deserving' immigrants, and 'bad,' 'undeserving' ones, based on whether they possess the 'right' values and the 'right' attitude to living in Canada". (Pozniak 2009:178) This culture determines whether individuals fit the bill and meet Canada's expectations of who and what a refugee should be.

These three narratives conveying perspectives on the right to live in Canada, on who should be granted refugee status and the helplessness of refugees contribute to constructing, reconstructing and deconstructing public discourse, policy, praxis and subsequently, refugees' subjectivity in a way that can subjugate refugees, creating a subordinate position that demands refugees conform to them to secure their position in their host's countries.

1.2 Performativity

Policy-making related to refugees and the refugee experience are often incompatible. Refugees often do not find continuity between their former selves and current self, particularly

when they move into precarious environments that deviate from their initial expectations of asylum (Bolzoni et al. 2013). According to Lacroix (2004), the refugee identity is disconnected from an individual's identity before becoming a refugee which often leads to inner confusion. The act of fleeing gives individuals the impression that they are refugees; yet they must deconstruct their subjectivities and respond to the refugee regime's mainstream discourse of the figure of the refugee in order to truly be seen as a refugee (Lacroix 2004). This section delineates how refugees react to and mobilize the *refugeeness* template set out by policy-enacting institutions. How refugees reconstruct their identities, meeting or rejecting their host country's expectations is also traced.

1.2.1 Governmental Institutions

Signatories of the Geneva Refugee Convention construct their refugee policy in relation to it, as a starting point for refugee law. Since its conception, refugee needs and displacements of people have evolved. As a result, though the convention acts as an administrative tool, it is often incongruent with migrant empirical realities (Weiß 2018). International refugee law does not necessarily coincide with the evolution of becoming a refugee, transitioning from political dissidents to individuals with different security concerns. Despite these differences, Häkli et al. (2007) submit that upon departure from their countries of origin and in transitory countries, refugees decide to conform to the conception of "refugee" of the UNHCR, the United Nations agency mandated to aid refugees.

Once arrived in countries of permanent resettlement like Canada and Austria, refugees must then negotiate their own identity through the homogenized identity created by the refugee determination process (Hamlin 2009). Refugee status and eventually citizenship guide refugees' construction of their subjectivity during the determination process. Aberman (2014) and Dahlvik (2017) argue that the necessity of claimants to conform to adjudicators' conception of the helpless victim, according to categories dictated by dominant discourse, is material in how the claimants' narrative is received. Albeit a space to express and recount one's narrative, the hearing becomes an area for complex power relations where adjudicators ultimately determine the success or failure of the asylum claim and whether the claimant will be allowed to remain in the country or be deported. So Dahlvik (2017) claims that in Austria, as institutions and

individuals implement national policies, refugee status determination becomes about not only cognitive but also bodily performativity. This means that asylum claimants must exhibit discourse and body language that fit hearing officials' expectations of them. An example of adopting the necessary language in the hearing process includes claimants from Lee and Brotman's (2011) study, who demonize their country of origin to paint Canada as its saviour and to make their claim seem credible. Lee and Brotman found that sexual minority claimants often experience a forced coming out, which is inscribed in the refugee determination process from refugees' very first instances at the Canadian border to the end of the adjudication process. These individuals try to conform to the dominant Western transnational recognizable gay identity (Lee and Brotman 2011).

These governmental policies and practices can become sites of reproduction of symbolic violence against refugees who seek to *perform* the expected refugee identity. These *performances* can influence public discourse concerning refugees, ultimately contributing to the designing and redesigning of refugee policies and practices.

1.2.2 Support Groups

Though a less pervasive theme in the literature, the role of support groups occupies an important place in shaping the refugee identity among individuals who relocate to Canada and in executing or dismissing non-discriminatory practices and policies.

Refugee support groups impact how refugees construct themselves and offer them a mental health advantage. These support groups aim to provide useful resources about integration and the claimant process, to address feelings of loneliness or to stand in solidarity with refugees. Through Ghahari et al.'s (2019) literature review, they determined that refugees found that social bonds with cultural communities helped their integration while perceived lack of support from services that did not meet their needs often led to loneliness. Lee and Brotman (2011), however, found that their interviews yielded mixed results towards support groups. Some refugees found connection and solidarity in sexual minority refugee-specific or queer cultural support groups but encountered exclusion from mainstream queer communities and their racialized communities (Lee and Brotman 2011). So, refugees respond by rejecting support

group services available to them when the practices of these groups do not reflect their personal understanding of their own refugee identity.

1.2.3 Sponsors

Kyriakides et al. (2018) highlight how research participants in their study challenged and refused concepts of *refugeeness* expressed by their sponsors through their assertion of self-rescue and authority that stemmed from their pre-conflict identities. Sponsors in their study did not conceive refugees as individuals who were resilient or political actors but rather as helpless victims. To challenge this image, privately sponsored refugees defended their positions as individuals with a history and a past through their interactions with their sponsors. Their interactions demonstrated that they were not restricted to their current positionality as refugees.

1.2.4 How Do They Respond?

The literature suggests that individuals relate *with refugeeness* more than they *become refugeeness* (Häkli et al. 2017) creating a new historical consciousness as they navigate this process. They interact with the refugee identity in a variety of ways including conforming to it, finding allies in similar positions, becoming discouraged or embracing it.

1.2.4.1 Conforming

There is a wide literature documenting the way that refugees "conform" to the refugee regime, that is, refugees intentionally reproduce discursive and popular narratives about refugee identity as a means of for transitioning to their host countries and meeting the expectations of the host country (Lee and Brotman 2011; Pozniak 2009; Bélanger-Dumontier 2017). This conforming can take on many shapes as it is complemented with various secondary reactions from refugees in their new realities.

In Lee and Brotman's (2011) Canadian study with sexual minority refugees, some of their research participants admitted first conforming to the dominant Western transnational recognizable gay identity to ensure their claims were successful. Their former self-identities were renewed and restored after receiving refugee status.

Pozniak (2009) identified how the *assets and costs* and the *immigrant ethic* narratives gave refugees in her study a popular discourse framework for what others in Canada assumed about them. Using these narratives as entry points to the refugee identity, the interviewed individuals structured their new realities in ways that were compatible with the aspects of these narratives that resonated with them and in ways that rejected and then undercut the negative perceptions about refugees presented by these narratives. Several relatively young professionals participants associated the *immigrant ethic* with adaptability and the willingness to start one's life over again. As such they were willing to "sacrifice" their previous professional status in their countries of origins to enroll in new programs of study with less prestige. Others conformed to expectations but simultaneously asserted their former identities, trying to draw attention to and to add value to their migration stories and premigratory experiences. In Italy, some refugees entirely refuse to conform, underlining their ongoing vulnerability, by engaging in political acts to denounce refugee policy and practices they oppose, and to demand protection where it is inadequate (Bolzoni et al. 2013).

1.2.4.2 Finding Allies

Some refugees who conform seek out spaces where they can mitigate their performances and where they have a continuity between their premigratory selves and their present selves. According to Lee and Brotman (2011), their participants share that these safe spaces are typically with allies. These allies serve as intermediaries between refugees' host countries and refugees' former selves. Allies become a safe space where refugees do not have to conform consistently to their new roles as refugees (Lee and Brotman 2011).

Some refugees find allies among officials during the determination process, according to Dahlvik (2017). Resulting from her study in Austria, she suggests that some asylum claimants are given the opportunity to communicate with and through officials who open doors that allow claimants to appeal to officials' subjectivities. (Dahlvik 2017)

The literature also reports refugees finding allies through value transmission. Vatz Laaroussi (2007) found that refugees can positively respond to the refugee regime through intergenerational transmission of values. Refugees engage with allies to whom they can transmit

their values, allowing them to negotiate between the states' conception of refugees and their individual perception of their place in time and history (Bradley 2014).

1.2.4.3 Discouragement

Another way that refugees relate to the process of becoming a refugee is through suffering and discouragement (Haas 2012; Bélanger-Dumontier 2017). Haas' ethnographic research with political asylum claimants in the U.S. exposes the suffering that claimant process induces in asylum claimants. Bélanger-Dumontier also found that refugee interviewees in her Québec, Canada study felt they lived a suspended existence that engendered a daily battle with feelings of discouragement and apathy. Bélanger-Dumontier did not provide further details as to what discouragement looks like tangibly.

1.2.4.4 Reclaiming

The last refugee response presented in the literature is a reclaiming of the identity of refugees. After being displaced from her country of origin, Arendt (2013) lived in France then the United States. She recounts not wanting to describe herself as a newcomer or an immigrant because she felt that the circumstances that prompted her emigration differed from those of individuals who had migrated voluntarily. Therefore, she did not feel she identified with broader migration labels. Thus Bradley (2014) insists that refugees are political actors, renegotiating their relationship to the state—state of origin and host state—whereby for some, like Guatemalan refugees in Mexico, the refugee label is a sign of membership and pride. And after all, as pointed out by Zimmerman (2010), for some refugees, the label and the ensuing processes that shape their subjectivities are a part of advancing their lives and give their lives meaning.

This section showed how performativity becomes a motive for the development of the refugee identity. The role of the refugee is developed through the refugee regime and refugees do their best to perform this role before a diverse audience of employers, sponsors, support groups, agencies and government officials. The success of their performances is discussed in public discourse which over time further fine-tune the refugee regime.

1.3 Successes and Shortcomings

Unsurprisingly, the institutions that shape refugee subjectivities have in some cases achieved what authors consider positive results in the process of becoming a refugee. In other cases, there is room to reconsider the overarching structures that impact *refugeeness*.

The literature provides details on areas of success of the refugee regime and solutions that individuals mobilize to address shortcomings and oversights of the regime.

a) Governmental institutions: although government policies and practices possess many blind spots, refugees mobilize their skills and tact to structure actively how they navigate these blind spots. Dahlvik (2017) argues that asylum claimants in Austria locate areas to maneuver within the determination hearings by first discovering deciding officials' paradigms of understanding. Refugees then appeal to that standpoint. The literature also shows that refugees have used solidarity and political action to assert their rights and demand protection in various locations through squatting and protest (Bolzoni et al. 2013; Häkli et al. 2017).

b) Agencies: the creation of agencies has introduced an infrastructure that becomes a bridge between refugees and their receiving communities. The settlement workers and frontline workers at agencies become the deciding factors for successful settlement and of refugees' positive construction of their subjectivity (Wood et al. 2012:34).

c) Support groups: support groups also become a part of the infrastructure that can positively structure the refugee identity by introducing a sense of belonging through connection and solidarity (Lee and Brotman 2011).

d) Sponsors: the Canadian private refugee sponsorship program shifts resettlement responsibilities from the government to private sponsorship groups (Blain et al. 2019). The program has produced constructive results on a microlevel. Kyriakides et al. (2019) found in their interviews with sponsors that individual sponsors had changed their perceptions of refugees and were amenable to reconsidering their preconceived notions after direct contact with their sponsored refugees.

e) Public discourse: though dominant discourse is often negative, refugees have found ways to reframe their identity by altering and restraining their speech to reflect or challenge and undermine popular discourse (Pozniak 2009).

The international refugee regime was conceptualized in a specific context and at a particular time in history, and the literature argues that it currently displays countless incongruencies with contemporary refugees' lived experiences. Yet refugees subvert this standardized structure's assumptions about their refugee identity by demonstrating their resilience and reminding states that they are political actors. Their journeys are the consequence of their refusal to be subjected to their state of origin's failure to provide protection. They often demonstrate a continuity in character by employing and transferring elements of their premigratory experiences in negotiating their trajectories and resettlement.

1.4 Problematizing Migration Categories

An emergent body of literature offers insight into how the refugee regime can be reimagined to avoid this reliance on individuals to restructure their subjectivities to respond to their displacement. Anja Weiß (2018) describes the differences between refugees and other migratory categories as not only a semantic difference but a categorical one. She proposes that a broader examination of migrant and refugee categories is needed to understand further migrant categories that include individuals that flee their nations under duress, but neither consider themselves, nor does the state consider them, refugees. Weiß suggests expanding the categories by considering the complexities of crisis migration, labour migration, internally displaced peoples, voluntary migration and migration under duress. Ultimately, Weiß considers that the category of refugee must be examined through a broader understanding of migration protection. Her arguments are echoed by Goldring et al. (2009) who outline the varying types of precarious immigration statuses of migrants in Canada, focusing on the inadequacy of the binary categorization of migrants as legal or illegal. They propose the use of *precarious status* to capture the heterogeneity of migration.

These problematizations of the refugee category offer alternatives geared towards re-examining gender, status and class identities but the selected literature did not comment

questions on race or origin. Research furthering how race and origin's intersection with *refugeeness* is critical to paint a larger portrait of the refugee experience.

1.5 *Refugeeness* in Québec

This final section looks at selected refugee literature on Québec. In the brief review of texts on Québec's refugee experience, three important themes emerge. The first two relate to refugees' experiences of secondary mobility and rebuilding identities and a last theme on federal-provincial tensions.

The element of time becomes key in the new historical consciousness that refugees acquire alongside a demonstration of what Vatz Laarousi (2007) refers to as *resilience*. The articles analyzed discuss how refugees rebuild their identities by trying to create continuity in their subjectivities and realities, looking for common threads with their premigratory and post-migratory lives. This is done through interprovincial displacements where refugees seek regions that are better suited to their needs (Vatz Laaroussi 2009). Continuity is also accomplished through intergenerational transmission of resilience and rebuilding after loss (Bélanger-Dumontier 2017). And for sponsored refugees, through the forging of a new temporality as they navigate their sponsorship experience (Blain et al. 2019).

In her 2009 study, Vatz Laarousi's explains that secondary mobility in Canada is common. Immigrants and refugees do not necessarily settle in their communities of arrival. Migrants aim to settle in areas that offer them support networks for integration and places where their empirical knowledge, values and resilience can be recognized by their host society. And so according to the Vatz Laarousi (2009), secondary mobility can often help migrants achieve this goal, building a stronger sense of integration and identity for migrants. These trends of interprovincial displacements and secondary mobility are common for migrants first arriving in Quebec. Secondary mobility's objective is integration and therefore can be a sign of local Quebec policies and diversity politics that may not be accommodating to migrants.

A final theme explored in the texts is the tension that exists between citizen solidarity and decentralized government. Blain et al. (2009) argue that Canada's private refugee sponsorship policy is structured so that the responsibility of resettling refugees is shifted from

government to citizens. They contend that through this policy the government ironically invites citizens to contribute to resettlement in solidarity with refugees, while itself abandoning that same solidarity. While a complex and controversial sponsorship program, it allows resettlement to be reimagined. Through interviews with sponsors and sponsored, Blain et al. (2019) conclude that refugees and their sponsors require individualized support and support networks, since settlement experiences are non-homogeneous.

This chapter reviewed literature on becoming a refugee. It highlighted the structures that influence refugees' subjectivities and refugees' responses to those structures. It also extracted points on how social identities of individuals diversify the refugee experience and finally it noted successes and shortcomings of the international refugee regime.

Chapter 2. Social Inequalities and Space

The previous chapter detailed the role of the refugee regime in framing the refugee identity and the other social identities that further structure the presentation of the refugee identity presented. This chapter adds to discussion about the interplay of social identities, dominance and the power dynamics that influence the relationship between refugees and other groups. Then the chapter examines the impact of the emplacement of the interactions between refugees and other groups through a multidisciplinary lens.

2.1 Social Inequalities

As seen in the previous chapter, refugees often experience a disjointedness between their premigratory identities and their identities in their host countries, as in the case of refugee men who are no longer able to provide for their families. In response, refugees can alter their *performances* to reflect the expectations of their receiving countries and the authorities that impact their trajectories. These encounters hinge on unequal relations between refugees and actors of the refugee regime, emphasizing the centrality of social stratification, the formation of social inequalities and the consequences of these imbalances for refugees.

Social stratification comes to be through the historically relative economic, social, institutional and statutory positions between groups that order social systems (Poiret 2011). For Sundstrom (2003), society is organized into categories produced by social forces. "Social forces are the forces that are felt by individuals and groups that emanate from the actions and demands of other individuals and groups" (Sundstrom 2003:84). The social forces exerted on individuals and groups include "governmental, economic, political, and cultural forces that find expression and enforcement through a multitude of institutions, as well as individual and group intentional behaviour" (Sundstrom 2003:85). These forces are selective in their exertion, they discriminate between different individuals and groups. Consequently, Poiret (2011) argues that systems begin with a universal reference group at the top of a social hierarchy with all subordinate groups constructed in opposition to the referent. Sociologically, the reference group is considered the majority group and all others, minority groups. The cultural theorist Stuart Hall (1997) adds that

those who are not categorized within the majority group, those who are unlike the majority group, are labelled as the "other".

The fact that society is necessarily stratified creates an uneven distribution of resources between groups. Following Marx, McAll (1992) advances that these social divisions are the consequences of material conditions. Theoretically, McAll considers social inequality to be inherent to modern capitalist production. Those with elevated positions garner their standing through amassed income, property, political office etc., distinguishing themselves from others in different positions through their exclusive social and material privileges and access to wealth. He emphasizes that in these cases intragroup homogeneity is supported and that differences are enforced between groups. He explains that these disparities lead to unequal life outcomes that Didier Fassin (2002) suggests must be read within their historical and social contexts. Collins and Bilge (2020) build further on Fassin, purporting that social inequalities are maintained by contextual power dynamics between groups (Collins and Bilge 2020) that are unnatural and socially constructed (Corbeil 2018).

In their historical overview of intersectionality as critical inquiry and praxis, Collins and Bilge (2020) infer that social inequalities are derived from structural, cultural, disciplinary and interpersonal domains of power. The structural domain includes institutions like employment, education, housing and health. The cultural refers to ideas and values. The disciplinary domain refers to the different application of regulations towards different social categories of people and the interpersonal domain connects the other three domains of power. Each of these domains organizes power relations and shapes individual and group experiences and identities (Collins and Bilge 2020).

Owing to their differences from the majority group, minority groups, for example racialized groups, are read as "non-traditional" others to be dominated (Crenshaw 1991). These differences can be naturalized and fixed through generalizations and stereotyping because of unequal power distribution between groups (Hall 1997). Stereotyping and essentializing involve projecting stigmatized, limiting characteristics of a social group on to an individual perceived to belong to that group (Poiret 2011) and thus stereotyping participates in maintaining a social and symbolic order (Hall 1997) that marginalizes minority groups. Operationalization of these stereotypes can be gleaned from the increase in islamophobia in Canada post-9/11 (Corbeil 2018). According to Williams and Mohammed (2013), projected stereotypes can go as far as

becoming self-fulfilling prophecies due to what they call *stereotype threat.* Individuals operationalization negative stereotypes related to stigmatized groups, they are believed to be members of in *stereotype threat*. This can lead to adverse effects on the individual's health.

Social inequalities can also escalate into direct or indirect discrimination. Direct discrimination refers to negative treatment of an individual because of their social identity (Fassin 2002). An individual can also experience the same negative results through what appears to be neutral treatment when subjected to indirect discrimination (Fassin 2002).

Additionally, subtle othering can be experienced through microaggressions. These covert acts accumulate and harm their target. They can take on three forms: microinsults, microassaults and microinvalidations (El-Bialy and Mulay 2018).

> Microinsults are often subtle and might be done unconsciously by the offender, but they demonstrate the offender's negative assumptions or prejudices. On the other hand, a microassault is purposefully done to insult or demean a person, and it is the form of microaggression that is most likely to be recognized as a symptom of racism, sexism, heterosexism, or xenophobia. Finally, microinvalidations are comments or cues that erase or invalidate the feelings and experiences of marginalized groups (El-Bialy and Mulay 2018:4)

Aware of their minoritized position, dominated individuals often develop a dual consciousness, simultaneously aware of the dominant and dominated perspectives (Poiret 2011). These actors come to see the world through this *bifurcated consciousness* via their socialization. Poiret (2011) offers the example of the Black French women of Caribbean and African descent interviewed in his study on the reappearance of the category *Noir* in France. Several women in his study had repeatedly experienced discrimination on the job market based on employers' assumption that these women were not "French". These encounters left the women feeling like strangers in their own country; at once French and Black.

The interplay of power relations and social categories result in outcome disparities between dominant or majority groups and minority groups. Inequalities can be experienced across various axes including, but not limited to race, class, gender, ability, age and religion.

2.1.1 Intersectionality

A pluralism of inequalities generated from social groups that define themselves in relation to each other results in heterogenous power dynamics intragroup and between majority and minority groups (McAll 1992). Legal studies scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) coined the

term *intersectionality* to describe the imbrication of these social positions and identities. The concept emerged in response to the lack of legal protection for people who suffered discrimination because they were *both* Black and female. Intersectionality is broadly defined as:

> how intersecting power relations influence social relations across diverse societies as well as individual experiences in everyday life. As an analytic tool, intersectionality views categories of race, class, gender, sexuality, class [sic], nation, ability, ethnicity, and age—among others—as interrelated and mutually shaping one another. Intersectionality is a way of understanding and explaining complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences. (Collins and Bilge 2020:2)

Intersecting discriminations and prejudices are not necessarily intentional but rather are the result of overlapping positions of privilege or minority positions (Crenshaw 1991). Therefore, individuals experience multiple interlocking social and political categories simultaneously.

Intersectionality offers a nuanced approach to power dynamics, placing emphasis on the social contextualization of lived experiences. Markens' review of U.S. media framing of and public discourses about transnational surrogacy serves as a concrete example of the plurality of women's experiences along several axes. According to Markens' (2012) qualitative analysis of news accounts of surrogacy from 2006 to 2010 in high-profile media sources and blogs, different types of reports reflect and produce different frames and narratives of surrogacy. The description of American women's engagement in the reproductive industry differed from that of the racialized Indian women. For the American surrogate, she was discussed using the woman/man, rich/poor, altruistic/cheat binaries. Whereas the racialized, "poor" Indian surrogate was framed as an unselfish surrogate and good mother. Markens' article demonstrated how the media's dissemination of two constructs of "woman" helped illustrate the dissimilarity within gendered classification. Gendered altruistic discourse surrounded American women's involvement in the global reproductive health market when surrogates adhered to their "feminine instincts" and when they stood in solidarity alongside their fellow "sisters", motivated by a desire to help the "poor" infertile couple. If the American surrogate gained financially from the surrogacy "transaction", she was labelled as a "cheat". Markens recounts that this rhetoric did not transfer to "poor" racialized Indian surrogates. Their financial gain from the surrogacy market was merited. Their noble endeavour to provide for their impoverished families warranted the commodification of their bodies. The interaction of class, nationality, race and sex produced

different complex social positions for the American women and the Indian women in Markens' study.

2.1.2 Refugees Performing Intersectionality

This convergence of identities is salient in the refugee experience. Refugees are simultaneously read and interpreted as having multiple identities while also themselves operating from several positionalities, sometimes competing with the identities they are assumed to embody. Intersectionality suggests that refugees, akin to all individuals, operates within a multiplicity of intersecting identities. These are identities that they *do* more than ones they *have* (Collins and Bilge 2020). Like the previous chapter's discussion on refugees performing the expectation of the refugee regime during their development of *refugeeness*, refugees *do refugeeness*, as opposed to *having refugeeness*. The refugee subjectivity is one among many. This section focuses on the concrete expression of the relationship between the refugee identity and other categories of social identities.

2.1.2.1 Race and Origin

Following World War II, international refugee law was developed with Western refugees in mind; however, displaced populations no longer resemble the groups of refugees seen during international refugee law's conception. Mobility has changed and individuals seeking protection away from their countries of origin are primarily comprised of those from the Global South. Most remain in the Global South with a minority selected for relocation by Western countries. Over time, the perception of refugees in Western-receiving countries has evolved. A pivotal moment in history shaping dominant discourse and collective consciousness on refugees is 9/11 and the ensuing "war on terror" (Aberman 2014).

According to Pozniak (2009) and Aberman (2014), in the post 9/11 context immigrants and refugees are "othered" and are portrayed as criminals or costs to Western governments. The event led to many racialized populations being reimagined as criminals and "bogus" refugees by receiving populations. Aberman (2014) explains during the refugee determination process in Canada those who are not seen as criminals, typically women, are constructed as victims who Western nations must rescue. Adjudicators erase refugees' pasts and replace them with a new victimized narrative.

Some Global South immigrants try to counter the media-constructed *assets and costs* narrative that depict immigrants as an economic burden to Canada that unnecessarily rely on economic assistance. Pozniak (2009) found that some refugees were sensitive to this discourse and tried to distance themselves from it through rapid market integration and through dissociation from newcomers receiving welfare payments. In her ethnographic fieldwork with Colombian immigrants in London, Ontario, Canada, participants referred to English-language proficiency as a milestone in becoming a part of Canadian society. Greater integration through language acquisition allowed them to gain meaningful employment, subverting the *assets and costs* narrative.

2.1.2.2 Migration Status

Other theorists have contributed to the literature on intersectionality by identifying the centrality that migration status plays in the construction of the refugee identity. On the one hand, one's resettlement prospects can improve if granted the status of a government-assisted refugee (Blain et al. 2019). Conversely, the lack of that status can prevent refugees from resettling but can encourage them to form social collectives that assert refugee rights (Bolzoni et al. 2013; Häkli et al. 2017).

Goldring et al. (2009) point out that the institutionalized status of *illegal* migrants in Canada stigmatizes this group. The authors add that individuals that migrate without documents or remain in Canada without a regularized status are typically individuals belonging to a minority group (Goldring et al. 2009). Thus, their status as *illegal* introduces another level of precariousness to their migration trajectories.

Similarly in Cairo, Häkli et al. (2017) observe asylum seekers using collective protests to demonstrate their rejection of the process to gain refugee status. According to Häkli et al., asylum seekers there do not reject the identity or status of refugee, but rather, they reject that not all asylum seekers are entitled to *prima facie* refugee status. They are therefore ineligible to access aid from the UNHCR operation in Cairo.

Furthermore, according to Bolzoni et al. (2013) access to housing and shelter in host nations is a function of status. In the absence of refugee camps in receiving countries, Bolzoni et al. (2013) contend that migrant populations are confined to urban areas with poor housing conditions separated from areas for nationals and citizens (Bolzoni et al. 2013).

2.1.2.3 Sex and Gender

To uproot one's life along with the lives of one's family in search of protection elsewhere can disrupt family norms. Leaving behind familiar family structures and social positions, forces refugees to live out gender-specific vulnerabilities as they transition into new spaces. Traditional gender roles of caregiving and family provision are challenged, and employment status changes generate complex economic situations. No longer being a family provider for some men, or physically able to take care of children for some women, yield feelings of social exclusion and complicate identities. According to Haas (2012), ideas and notions of failure arise in refugees' subjectivity as they become reliant on the host country's determination process and as they experience changes in employment status. Gass (2014) provides an example of this phenomenon, examining how refugee policy constructs gendered subjects. She conducted four interviews with asylum seeker men in Switzerland to observe the reconstruction of their subjectivities throughout the claimant process as participants negotiated and navigated Swiss refugee policy. Gass argues that discourse constructing refugees as individuals possessing characteristics otherwise attributed stereotypically to women, such as being helpless and dependent, shapes the subjectivity of male asylum seekers. Gass documented that changes to male refugees' culturally masculine identities as providers through paid work can be emasculating (Gass 2014). Women also experience challenges to their gender identities. Gass showed that when they did not live up to dominant discourse's inferences about them being helpless victims, they were seen as "bogus" refugees (Kyriakides et al. 2018).

Beyond gender classifications, sex also intersects with the refugee identity. Lee and Brotman (2011) demonstrate how sexual and gender identities in Canadian refugee politics are entrenched in cisnormative and heteronormative constructions. Lee and Brotman illustrate how these paradigms structure identity, *refugeeness* and belonging for sexual minority refugees by forcing these individuals to conform to the refugee regime's stereotypes of sexual minorities and its understanding of how individuals' subconscious sex aligns with their physical sex. Lee and Brotman also explain how sexual minority refugees' multifaceted identities are often experienced through an interweaving of premigratory trauma from persecution besides the intersection of their various social identities.

2.1.2.4 Class

One further social category touched on in the literature is socioeconomic class. Through life-course case studies from Turkey, Germany and Canada of migrants who emigrated under duress to these nations, Weiß (2018) illustrates how migrants' asylum claims were not simply shaped by a need for protection but also by legal and administrative frameworks. These frameworks allow those with greater resources of, for example, money and time, to see themselves not as refugees and to mitigate their need for protection through different, less precarious, migration categories. Weiß introduces what she calls socio-spatial autonomy, a dimension of global inequality structuring social position referring to one's access to resources in the context of territorial mobility. She (2018) postulates that socio-spatial autonomy shapes the conceptualization of the refugee identity. For example, the relationship between border closures and class may result in limitations to a migrant's trajectory options. This example illustrates Kallio et al.'s (2019) argument that mobility is an outcome of *refugeeness*. In their study refugees were able to negotiate their mobility using strategies dependent on their resources which afforded them different opportunities from other refugees in their camps.

The pluralism of refugees' subjectivities results in diverse inequalities throughout their journeys. These inequalities are present from refugees' departure from their home countries to their resettlement in receiving societies. Representations and manifestations of race, origin, migration status, sex, gender, age, and class produce a multiplicity of expressions of the refugee identity for displaced peoples.

2.2 How is Space Conceived?

The discontinuity of refugees' subjectivities and their lived realities are further obscured by their geographical location. Their displacement often places them in unfamiliar space that further inform refugees' identities. The conception of space as a product of social hierarchies is relevant in understanding the symbiotic relationship of inequalities and space.

Spaces designed for planned use include public and private space mediated by spatial, historical, environmental, social and economic factors (Voyer 2020). Bolzoni et al. (2013) and Weiß (2018) briefly expose how identity can intersect with space. Reviewing French and English literature, two major articulations of space are identified. The first includes conceived

physical spaces outside an individual and the second less structured forms of space created through digital technology.

In his classic 1974 book, philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre provides a history of Western perceptions of space from medieval scholasticism to his present. Traditional Western understandings of space advanced by mathematicians, physicists, philosophers and more recently urban planners are distinguished. These include space as extension, space-time in physics and mathematics, "mental space" and cosmological approaches to space, to name a few (Shields 1988).

Lefebvre problematizes concepts of space decoupled from their social context. He rejects *a priori* historical conceptions of space as absolute physical spaces and abstracts these understandings, proposing that space is a social process that reproduces orders of difference. He challenges the notion that space is the relative distance between elements and proposes that space is also a process, socially produced through the distinct systems of meaning and use we give to it. *L'espace* (Lefebvre 1974), or what Shields (1988) translates as *spatialization*, is the result of the social performance of broader social structures. Soja (1980) builds further on Lefebvre's work, emphasizing that space becomes a reproduction of social hierarchies and for him all space is social and social realities are spatialized. Sundstrom (2003) bases his understanding of social space on Ernst Cassirer's taxonomy of space composed of *organic*, *perceptual* and *symbolic* space. Taxa decrease to include fewer species in each interactive space. "Organic space is the spatial experience unique to each species, […] perceptual space is the spatial experience given to higher order species from their complex array of sensory capabilities" (Sundstrom 2003:84) and symbolic space is the space of human social experience (Sunsdtrom 2003). For Sundstrom, all places are produced through social and extra-social forces.

Space is not neutral. In Neely and Samura's (2011) review of geography, education, anthropology, law and sociology literature that links race and space, they determined four key characteristics of space: spaces are contested, fluid and historical, relational and interactional, and are defined by difference and inequality. According to Bhéreur-Lagounaris et al. (2015), the current social production of space along geographical lines is the by-product of gradual shifts in migrations of people and how individuals have interacted with their spatial environments over the last 350 years. They submit that individuals can apprehend and practise space through

intersecting *aérolaire* and reticulated relationships. The former refers to viewing spatial territories with distinct borders that designate what belongs and what does not belong within them. Through a reticulated relationship, individuals may perceive space in a fashion that groups significant collections of dynamic and related places; this may involve a comparison between places to help situate oneself in a space.

Sherene Razack's (2002) work on space shares some similarities with Bhéreur-Lagounaris, also asserting that migration influences how space is standardized. She asserts that maps and politics have sought to standardize space, where maps can be used to measure and bind space, create frontiers, and decide what is inside or outside land lines. Razack (2002) classifies space into three categories: perceived space, conceived space and lived space. *Perceived space* is organized by social life and its spatial practices, for example, where housing projects are developed determine who will be able to walk in green spaces. *Conceived space* is the representation of space as conceived by planners, architects and other developers. Lastly, she defines *lived space* as representational space that is directly lived through associated images and symbols.

According to the Charter of Public Spaces, "Public spaces are all places publicly owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable by all for free and without a profit motive". This internationally recognized definition of public spaces was adopted in 2013 during the Biennial of Public Space (Garau 2017:159). These spaces can be indoors or outdoors. Planning researcher Pietro Garau (2017) gives the examples of libraries and museums for the former and spaces such as streets, sidewalks and parks, as examples of the latter. In his work on Canadian Public Life Studies, Julien Voyer (2020) offers a broad overview of the functions of public spaces. Amongst other things, publics spaces are conceived as:

• The physical web and support for the movement and the stationing of people and means of transport, from which the vitality of the city depends;

• Host markets and accessible commercial activities in fixed premises, public venues and other services (collective and not, public and private), in which the socio-economic dimension of the city is always expressed;

• Offer precious opportunities for recreation, physical exercise and regeneration for all (parks, gardens, public sports facilities);

• Help promote education and culture as (e.g., museums, public libraries);

• Are places of individual and collective memory, in where the identity of the people is mirrored and finds sustenance, growing in the knowledge that they are a community;

• Promote conviviality, encounter, and freedom of expression;

• Are an integral and meaningful part of the urban architecture and landscape, with a determinant role in the overall image of the city;" (Voyer 2020:18).

Public spaces can be contrasted by private spaces which are conceived as spaces where access can be denied to some, these can include a person's home, shopping malls, commercial spaces, etc. (Garau 2017)

Besides physical spaces, ho'omanawanui (2013) describes cyberspace as virtual landscapes, sites of interaction between bodies and cyber territories and frontiers. According to her, cyberspace remains less standardized than physical, built spaces that are intentionally designed and cultivated spaces. Cyberspace can be conceived as a *terra nullius* (Razack 2002; ho'omanawanui 2013), uncharted and disinstrumentalized for human populations.

2.3 What Does Space Do?

According to Sundstrom (2003), space inhabits us, and we inhabit space. Spatial experiences are socially and historically situated which socially produce groups that further shape spatial organization through a continuous looping effect. The intersection of space and the material condition give space and groups a geographic and social station (Sundstrom 2003). He sees spaces as *artefactual kinds*, objects reflecting their time and purpose and produced as reflections of the communities that inhabit them and how others view them.

Manzo and Perkins (2014) also view space and place as an accumulation of meaning that shape individuals and groups. For them, however, space becomes place through familiarity. A bond can be formed between individuals and places through place attachments. These attachments can impact individual and group behaviours positively and negatively. For example, positive attachment can motivate neighbourhood clean-ups and negative attachment can create territorial conflicts. Manzo and Perkins also point out that identities can be shaped by place through place identity. Values, goals and beliefs influenced through place identity can incline individuals more or less to maintain or improve a place.

2.3.1 Operationalizing Inequalities

Given space's collection of positive and negative meaning and memory (Bhéreur-Lagounaris et al. 2015), it can become a place that sustains social hierarchies (Razack 2002). Since space is perceived as something produced through interaction, Razack (2002) explains that this makes space evolve into a dialectical relationship between bodies and space. Several authors build on this dialectical relationship, submitting that power circulates between the two, advantaging or disadvantaging those who inhabit it.

Lipsitz (2007) points to moral geographies as being responsible for reproducing and maintaining power dynamics. Moral geographies are values that become associated with certain places and people that are believed to hold and symbolize those values. Moral geographies become self-sustaining as space invites those who hold the values linked to it to inhabit it and those individuals perpetuate those values over time. Razack (2002) cites Foucault's belief that space is fundamental in any exercise of power to support the idea that conceived spaces such as drinking establishments, parks, slums, classrooms, urban spaces of prostitution, provincial parliaments, the location of mosques, and national borders are organized to sustain unequal social relations. Once these conceived spaces assign certain populations to certain places, public spaces become perceived as legitimate space for some and not for others (Razack 2002; Kobayashi and Peake 2000). Razack (2002) raises the example New York City parks being padlocked at night to demonstrate how the prevention of night usage of the parks, exile users experiencing homelessness from these public spaces. This legitimizes those who advocate for padlocking the parks as natural owners of these conceived spaces. This then influences the perceived space, which determines the normal and the abnormal body. The former, the autonomous, competent and civilized body, belonging to a homogenous social body, the latter banished and spatially separated from the former (Razack 2002).

Although formal segregation has been outlawed in the United States, informal social and spatial segregation persists (Kobayashi and Peake 2000). Segregation is a determinant of social groups' access to resources, including access to education, medical care, high-paying jobs and resources that are health-promoting (Sundstrom 2003; Williams and Mohammed 2013). These spatial differentials are illustrated through Cramer's (2016) work on the *rural consciousness* in Wisconsin, United States. The United States two dominant political parties the Democrats and

Republicans create a bifurcation of the nation through party allegiance and geographically. The majority of the Republican voter base is rural American voters (Cramer 2016). Cramer found that rural communities understood their place and identity through American politics. Her results yielded what she called *rural consciousness*. She defines this concept as: “a belief that rural areas are ignored by decision makers, including policymakers, a perception that rural areas do not get their fair share of resources, a sense that rural folks have fundamentally distinct values and lifestyles, which are misunderstood and disrespected by city folk” (Cramer 2016:12). Rural consciousness involves perceptions about power, values, lifestyles, resources and who gets what. It, however, was not always present, particularly among rural young people or racialized rural people. Cramer claims that a “grey-brown divide” among rural American populations exists. Neely and Samura (2011) offer an explanation for this divide. They suggest that significant overlap exists between the “primary characteristics” of race and of space. The two areas of inquiry must be simultaneously analyzed to grasp their full import. Their work reveals that both race and space are contested, fluid and historical, relational and interactional, and are defined by difference and inequality. The intersection of race and rural space created a different spatialized experience for racialized Americans in Cramer’s study.

The literature also demonstrates that cyberspace reflects the same inequalities as physical space. Online othering and platformed racism have become common (Collins and Bilge 2020). According to Collins and Bilge (2020), politically right-leaning movements have more money than the left which translates into technological capital that preserves power imbalances.

Despite the maintenance of spatialized norms, not all bodies are complacent in reproducing these norms. Physical and cyber space also allows for resistance and mobilization. Some stigmatized neighbourhoods subvert their subaltern position. Lipsitz (2007) notes that through high place attachment and opportunities for social solidarity, residents of excluded neighbourhoods can benefit from increased use value of these marginal spaces. “Residents turn segregation into congregation”, creating social movements through spatialization and resisting inequality (Kobayashi and Peake 2000). Online, people speaking from the margins are also able to challenge inequalities. Since the late twentieth century, cyberspace has been a space of increased use value (Kobayashi and Peake 2000). It “levels” the playing field for disenfranchised populations. Social media creates a space for these groups to congregate in socially meaningful ways and to engage in global social protest (Collins and Bilge 2020).

Built and cyber spaces are historically and socially created through those it includes and excludes and they become saturated with meaning that grades and legitimizes its users. As a result, the circulation of bodies within these spaces is not arbitrary, their movements are orchestrated by the engineering of the space.

2.4 What Does This Mean for Refugees?

The literature presents the spatialization of the refugee experience as a force structuring social inequality. Transitioning from one space to another can challenge one's concept of nation and community, particularly in the case of crisis migration where refugees are becoming strangers in another country (Lapalme 2004). When people are displaced, their place attachments are disturbed. To illustrate the importance of place attachment, they allude to people in the United States relocated due to natural disasters. The displaced lose a sense of continuity and experience a sense of loss and alienation (Manzo and Perkins 2006).

Disrupted senses of place and self are further complicated for refugees not considered nationals of any state. Julie Lapalme (2004) highlights the realities of populations characterized as stateless. She explores how *statelessness* plays a determining role in the living conditions of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Lapalme references Arendt's description of the exclusion that stateless individuals face—absence of political belonging, absence of fundamental rights and the absence of a place in the world. Becoming stateless, people first lose their residence, becoming *worldless*, devoid of a guaranteed place in the world, recognized by others. Next comes the loss of political belonging. Lapalme conjures up a descriptive image of what the stateless person becomes "une fois déracinés, ils deviennent des êtres humains 'superflus' dont la vie perd toute valeur, ils sont condamnés à vivre dans la clandestinité, hors-la-loi, sans dignité, et constamment menacés de disparition" (Lapalme 2004:19). The refugees in Lapalme's thesis have an eroded sense of lived space.

Bhéreur-Lagounaris et al.'s (2015) study ties individuals' identities as political actors, to the geographical space of nation states. According to Lapalme (2004), once this identity is lost, individuals are dissociated from rights and laws, ultimately depriving stateless individuals of all protection. This form of dispossession distinguishes the stateless from other marginalized groups as these individuals are devoid of rights.

Lapalme's work further articulates the spatialization of the stateless. In the case of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon in her text, unequal power relations precede and proceed from the displacement process, being reproduced in a new setting when refugees arrive in safe havens. Refugees become victims of discrimination, oppression and restriction, overlapping with their already marginalized, insecure, vulnerable, stateless position. Lapalme notes that human rights are inherently linked to a nationality and with precarious immigration statuses, refugees are easily subjected to abuse of their human rights, although they may be protected under international refugee laws. The Palestinian population in this example is cast into a separate space with different laws and access to resources than the Lebanese population. Citizenship difference is also spatial difference in Lapalme's target population; space becomes associated with social inequalities. Rea (2021) describes refugee transnationalism as a crossing of exterior borders and interior boundaries. Receiving communities in Europe, often project negative images of non-European refugees and immigrants on to refugees crossing into their borders. These projections create a symbolic and material hierarchy where non-citizens are subordinate to citizens. Because of this categorization, Rea suggests that the physical crossing of borders into non-European communities may disrupt refugees' former identities as nationals and not "subordinates".

In countries with permanent resettlement, refugee spatialization is also informed by power dynamics in receiving societies. Migrants become confined to immigrant-specific physical and cyber spaces. In Anchises' (2017) article on social networks for refugees in Montréal, Canada, she explores grassroots means of integration through social networks, where individuals sharing the same cultural codes can transmit important information about receiving societies with their contemporaries. While useful in resettlement and well intentioned, such websites can indirectly pigeonhole newcomers to immigrant-specific spaces. This narrowing of social interaction also includes immigrant-welcoming schools, settlement agencies (Selimos 2017) or ghettoized neighbourhoods and work based on immigration status (Labelle et al. 1987). McAll (1992) explains that for dominant groups in the United Kingdom, immigrants who occupy low-standard housing become part and parcel of urban decay; immigrants are held responsible for segregated poor housing quality. In the U.S., Sundstrom (2003) suggests social action is selective in addressing similar inequalities and segregation with majority groups not wanting to change the composition of their neighbourhoods and communities (Sundstrom

2003). Poiret (2011) asserts that his study in France reveals that, if balance between groups begins to be achieved, dominated groups are othered through different means such as racialization, heavier policing or surveillance in order for dominant groups to keep the dominated "in their place".

2.5 Crossing Canadian Borders

As Canada opens its borders to migrants from around the world, the literature suggests Canada maintains its spatial divides through legal measures. For example, Razack (2002) submits that the Anti-Terrorism Act and Canada's *Immigration* Act mediate who can stay in Canada and who must leave. She depicts the three years before a convention refugee can apply for full citizenship as a probationary period during which they must prove that they subscribe to Canadian values and that they can be trusted. After the successful completion of this period, they may enjoy full citizenship. This separates "deserving" refugees from those deemed "undeserving" (Rousseau 2002).

According to Rousseau (2002), "undeserving" refugees are those that are seen as "queue jumpers", cheats or economic immigrants. This negative discourse not only generates mistrust within the host nation towards refugees, but it also evokes mistrust in the refugee towards the host nation. Paradoxically, as refugees are painted in a light of criminality, the role of Canada as a space of protection for refugees becomes a place protecting itself from refugees.

In 2013, Vancouver Transit Police acted as border control on public transit. The transit police contacted the Canada Border Service Agency to check the identity of a Mexican migrant on the Vancouver SkyTrain after she failed to provide proof of payment. The woman was detained in a maximum-security prison then in an immigration holding centre over 20 days. She was prevented from receiving due process and after a deportation date was set, she committed suicide in short order (Collins and Bilge 2020).

Razack (2002) articulates that Canada has engaged in the Global North-Global South distinction, where this spatial difference is also racial difference. Canada, belonging to what is categorized as a western, Global North, nation, sees itself as a geographical space committed to democracy and order. Its settler population accepts Global South migrants who are enticed by European Canadians' lifestyles. According to Razack (2002) as residents' way of life begins to be threatened by refugees and immigrants, who may potentially be agents of "terrorism" (Feller

2005), Canada increases spatial divisions, patrolling borders and racialized and ethnic groups (Razack 2002). She postulates that these divisions are further strengthened when "First World" Canadian development workers leave their space to "help" "victimized", "Third World" peoples and nations in chaos. These spatial divides are historically embedded in Canada's fabric (Razack 2002; Murdocca 2010).

Murdocca (2010) reports that Canada's first peoples were expelled to remote northern areas, isolated from the "normal bodies" of other Canadians. Several did not choose their current location, they were displaced by colonial powers, seen as internal enemies or contaminants of racial purity without any land ownership, living in *Terra nullius,* a land belonging to no one. This displacement of First Nations introduced a racial history and racial present to the land where Razack (2002) resolves that space becomes race when Aboriginal groups are out of sight and out of mind.

Immigrant populations also become "out of sight and out of mind" in Canada when immigrants are brought to Canada to fill specific class roles (McAll 1992). In Labelle et al.'s (1987) book recounting narratives of immigrant women in Québec, the female immigrants in their study find themselves in racialized, exploitative work and living in isolation, away from their families, their friends and a familiar language and lifestyle, in ghettoized spaces, feeling as if they do not belong (Labelle et al. 1987). Access to education, labour markets, health facilities, property and other resources provided by the state is meant to aid in integrating newcomers to the host society, when offered universally (Feller 2005). But in considering refugees' and immigrants' social inclusion and a sense of belonging, Selimos (2017) observes that the lives of participants in his study are limited to immigrant-specific spaces at their schools, in settlement agencies, in their neighbourhoods and in the workforce. Some of his participants recognize their marginal position in society and develop an ambivalent sense of belonging and inclusion, since they are subjected to simultaneous cases of being welcomed and being excluded from their daily interactions (Selimos 2017).

Since Canada is "constitutionnellement attaché à l'égalité", inequalities are obscured and go unchecked (Corbeil 2018:36). Subsequently inequalities become subtly and indirectly embedded in Canadian public spaces. This impacts users' experiences of public spaces including refugees during their resettlement (Wood et al. 2012).

2.5.1 Québec

Relevant to refugee resettlement is Canada's linguistic divide along geographic lines. Canada has two official languages with the majority of Canada being monolingual, either English or French speaking and two bilingual transition zones separating French-speaking Québec on each side from English-speaking Canada (McAll 1992). The 1970 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism considered Canadian public life and culture to be conducted in French or English and "subordinate languages and cultures" (McAll 1992:165) resulting from immigration should be maintained. First Nations languages and culture were excluded from the commission.

By encouraging the maintenance of "subordinate languages and culture", Canada was encouraging pluralism. As a result, the *Canadian Multicultural Act* of 1988 was introduced. It solidified multiculturalism as "a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity" (R.S.C., 1985, c. 24 (4th Supp.)). According to McAll

> The multiculturalism and bilingualism policy was born at a time of political crisis and for eminently political purposes. The policy has always been linked to the desirability of national unity and has had the effect both of heading off Quebec grievances via bilingualism and of buying the support of "other" non-charter ethnic groups via multiculturalism. (McAll 1992:176)

The Act was not well received by the Québec government—pluralism undermined the identity of Québec (Juteau 2002). The Canadian federal government and Québec's provincial government held incompatible views of Canadian national identity. In response to Canada's liberal conception of citizenship, Québec developed its intercultural model where a homogenized Québec identity superseded Canadian pluralism (Juteau 2002).

No formal policy has been passed enforcing interculturalism, the province, however, has a discursive plan subscribing to interculturalism (Carpentier 2020). Carpentier explains that interculturalism

> n'apparaît pas originellement comme un modèle politique cohérent. Il se définit plutôt comme un cadre de référence relativement souple, qui se situe à mi-chemin entre l'assimilationnisme et le multiculturalisme. D'une part, il s'inscrit dans le même registre que le multiculturalisme en valorisant le pluralisme culturel et en n'exigeant guère l'assimilation totale des nouveaux arrivants à la société d'accueil. D'autre part, l'interculturalisme reconnaît l'existence d'une culture majoritaire et la fonction qu'elle doit occuper comme foyer de convergence et de dialogue. En ce sens, il identifie, qualifie

> et nomme expressément la société d'accueil et le cadre dans lequel les nouveaux arrivants prennent désormais part. (Carpentier 2020:28)

Nonetheless interculturalism and multiculturalism have both been criticized for their erasure of Indigenous people (Voyer 2016). Bilge (2012) argues that Québec's response to multiculturalism as a policy that undercuts its minority status, eclipses the colonization of First Nations. She also highlights that this narrative decides which inequalities are illegitimate and whose opinions about them matter.

Historically, Québec's identity was heavily characterized by the French language and identity preservation discourse focused on preventing the decline of the language. However, in a post-911 world, Bilge (2012) contends that Quebec's moral panic is now directed towards sexual modernity and according to Corbeil (2018) Islam's threat to modernity. In 2013-14, the government of Québec first proposed, then passed, a law that banned the wearing of visible religious symbols by certain public employees (Corbeil 2018). Corbeil (2018) contends that this law targets religious minorities, particularly Muslim women. She affirms that Islam and Muslims have routinely been at the centre of Québec's discussions about threats and Islam is seen as incompatible with Québec's identity. In short, competing minority discourse in Québec elevates some narratives of victimhood (Potvin 2004) while excluding other dominated voices and painting some groups as threats to the identity of Québec.

Despite power imbalances, minority groups exercise agency through acts of resistance (Poiret 2011). For example, Crenshaw (1991) reminds readers that the naming of social categories is not definitive. The category "queer" was reclaimed with positive connotations. Selimos' (2017) doctoral thesis problematized the intersection of the labels "young" and "immigrant" and how these statuses influence the social participation and inclusion of young immigrants and refugees in Windsor, Canada. He focuses on settlement as a fluid, daily practice that highlights the resilience and flexibility of young people as they build their lives in Canada (Selimos 2017). El-Bialy and Mulay (2020) find the acts of everyday resistance of refugees in Newfoundland allow them to reject narratives of victimhood and assert their well-being. And in some cases, Poiret (2011) finds that minorities' silence was an act of resistance. Minority groups are not complacent in the social construction of hierarchies. They can be and are active in subverting power dynamics and contesting inequalities.

The relationship between the social construction of categories and the exercise of power is relevant in understanding how space shapes inequalities and how inequalities shape space. These dynamics and forces impact who can opine on matters of refugee identity and resettlement efforts. This chapter offered insight into how social inequalities are created, how they are operationalized and under what circumstances different groups are advantaged and disadvantaged by them. The literature presented othering as an arbitrator of migrants' internal sense of belonging and of refugees' access and conception of physical and cyber spaces. It also discussed immigration's place in Canadian multiculturalism and Québec's interculturalism. And lastly, this chapter highlighted select minority groups' resistance and empowerment strategies.

Chapter 3. Safety and Security

The meanings of *safety* and *security* are apprehended from a variety of perspectives with different objects of safety and security attributed to them by a wide array of scholars and state apparatuses. A brief review of the literature discussing *safety* and *security* from the social sciences, public health, agriculture and urban planning yield few concrete commonalities. Some authors use the terms *safety* and *security* interchangeably while in some disciplines, *security* is highly contested, with *safety* being a dimension of security.

Huysmans (1998) offers definitional and conceptual understandings of the signifier *security*. The English noun *security* and verb *secure* are derived from their Latin cognates *securitas/securus* which find their origins in *sine and cura* which together mean "to be without care, free from cares and untroubled" (Neocleous 2000:9). The verbal form *securing* offers insight into the conceptual meaning of security as an "active process of securing" (Neocleous 2000:9) an insecure condition. Consequently, *security* can be conceptualized and outlined as a countermeasure to *insecurity* (Neocleous 2000 ; Murakami Wood 2010). Despite the material and symbolic frameworks of meaning the symbiotic relationship between *security* and *insecurity* may call to mind, the precise meanings of *security* and *insecurity* remain ambiguous, and their referent objects are debated.

Discursively *security* is associated with *resilience* (Chandler 2016), *precaution* (Lund Petersen 2016) and *order* (Foucault et al. 2009) and is a response to *risk* (Lund Petersen 2016), *vulnerability* (Chambers 1995), *death* (Huysmans 1998; Neocleous 2000) and *precariousness* (Morgan and Poynting 2012), terms often associated with the refugee experience. Thus, security acts as a mitigating strategy for addressing the unknown and the uncertainty that underpin these latter concepts, risk, vulnerability and death. Several authors operate within a knowledge framework for explaining the need for security. Huysmans (1998) and Neocleous (2000) claim that death is the ultimate unknown which creates a demand for knowing the unknown for survival. Huysmans submits that security becomes a survival strategy to postpone death. For securities scholar Karen Lund Petersen (2016), security through risk management becomes necessary to respond to uncertainty (Lund Petersen 2016). She extends Huysmans' and Neocleous' vision of knowledge to dominant views in risk management. Knowing and managing an unknown future

leads security governance to take precautionary measures that aim to transform uncertainty into manageable risk. Nevertheless, political scientist Roxanne Lynn Doty (1998) agrees that although security is associated with "unforeseeable contexts" it is also a concept in constant evolution.

Conceptually, security has become more broadly characterized by the vulnerability of "technical and social systems that are designated vital to collective life" (Dunn Cavelty and Balzacq 2016:5). The relationship between security and its context has informed what Neocleous (2000) calls an *age of insecurity*, where there has been a *securitization* of social, economic, demographic and environmental phenomena (Doty 1998). This security focus ensures that security is always relevant to everyone but that not everyone benefits from it equally. As seen in the previous chapter, social stratification produces unequal distribution of resources, this includes security. Mechanisms of power, or unequal power distribution, are built into security (Foucault 2009). This in turn results in dominant social groups having greater control over security mechanisms that ultimately become more beneficial for them. Therefore, power creates security and security creates power (Dunn Cavelty and Balzacq 2016).

Security and threat response are tied to the capacities of states, communities, and individuals. This chapter presents a conceptual overview of these three kinds of security: national security, societal security and human security, and their constituent parts. Interdisciplinary literature is used to outline the targets of security and the apparatuses and agents that shape each category of security. The penultimate section of this chapter uses migration as an operative example of the three modes of security. The final section introduces design and security.

3.1 National Security

In autumn 1945, while testifying before the U.S. "Senate committee on the unification of military services" (Neocleous 2000:8), U.S. Navy Secretary Kames Forrestal spoke of "national security", coupling two terms that had been in heavy circulation since the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima a few months earlier. Forrestal dissociated national security from *defence* and *national interest*. For him, neither concept captured the nuance and broad scope of *national security* which placed the state at the heart of security (Neocleous 2000).

From there, *national security* quickly became saturated with meaning and became particularly relevant amidst the Cold War and shifting global politics. In 1952, international

relations scholar, Arnold Wolfers attempted to demystify the rapidly evolving concepts *national interests* and *national security*. He submits that security is partially the preservation of previously acquired values. He borrows from Walter Lippmann, who warns that “a nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war” (Wolfers 1952:484). National security can be value-laden and measured with complete security at one pole and complete insecurity at the other. Wolfers also indicates that this can be a measure of fear/absence of fear. He explains that this is a subjective determination that can only be rendered *somewhat objective* through biased and subjective evaluation. There can however be important discrepancies, for example through moral judgment, some may determine that “modest security” is sufficient and normal, while others may not. Also on the continuum is the intersection of reliance on power. As such, nations are not uniform in their security needs and perceptions. Wolfer contends that nations are inclined to minimize their investment to attain adequate and expedient protection and must interpret the use of power of other nations in striving for their own nation’s security. He also argues that the values that are in danger or in need of protection can vary at different moments and that the way that protection and national security are achieved can also differ over time.

3.1.1 Threats

National security focuses on political and military security from a statist approach. It subjectively determines the geographical boundaries of security and the issues it considers relevant (Neocleous 2000). Three threats to national security covered in the literature are war, pandemics and economic or financial security.

Traditionally threats of battles between enemies were considered the primary source of national insecurity (Dunn Cavelty and Balzacq 2016). According to Coker (2016), warfare and violent othering were determinant in cultural change and socialization. He argues that war contributes to organizing nations and societies. For him, national security and warfare participate in an endless feedback loop that propels both without rendering one or the other obsolete.

National security however is no longer characterized by warfare. The concept has been extended to include “unforeseeable catastrophic harm” (Dunn Cavelty and Balzacq 2016:4). Of particular relevance at the time of writing is the national and human security risk of pandemics. In his chapter on pandemics in the *The Routledge Handbook of New Security Studies*, Stefan Elbe

(2010) explains that after a period of decline of pandemic microbes in the mid-twentieth century, the threat of HIV/AIDS sent the concept of security into flux introducing an epidemiological dimension to it. The World Health Organization (WHO) was created to address national security risks that knew no borders. Their International Health Regulations were binding on 194 countries. Additionally, common state responses to pandemic threats include preparedness, research and development, stockpiling of pharmaceuticals and medical supplies and global coordination of response to security risk (Rushton and Kittelsen 2016).

A further threat to national security is financial insecurity. The securitization of economic life is deployed as a function of national security, societal insecurity and human security. National security and sovereignty are maintained through financial capital. De Goede (2010) advances that finance can be used as a security technology or alternatively, national security can work as an instrument of financial interests. She suggests that interweaving finance and security "makes the one unthinkable without the other" (de Goede, 2010:109).

3.1.2 Critiques

These views of the targets of national security policy are challenged within the literature. When the sovereign state is the object of security, the security threshold is determined in relation to the state. This therefore decides whose security matters, who is protected and under what circumstances (Krause 2010).

Security threats can be real or perceived (Neocleous 2000). Cohen (2011) points to the inconsistency between countries in considering different issues security threats. He cites moral panics as one example of exaggerations of threats. Morgan and Poynting (2012) contend that state reactions to circumstances of moral panic are disproportionate to the danger posed. Addressing these threats can produce folk devils, individuals or populations that are considered to embody the threat and are held responsible for it (Cohen 2011). According to Morgan and Poynting (2012), this creation of collective insecurity warrants "the erasure of base-line national civil and cultural liberties, on the presumption that some communities indulge in a sort of 'fifth column', a danger to 'our way of life', and that their communities give succour to enemies within the nation and support to enemies outside" (Morgan and Poynting 2012:8).

In dividing between "friend" and "enemy", not unlike Morgan and Poynting's view of insecurity, others perceive security as a sovereign power with the power to construct hierarchies between categories of populations (Aradau and van Munster 2016). Scholars discern that security becomes performative in making and remaking violent reproductions of gender (Shepherd 2010), Western-centric risk management (Rushton and Kittelsen 2016) and state-minded protection against violence (Krause 2010).

Armed violence is imagined in relation to state warfare or legally recognized armed conflict between organized groups. This conception determines who is protected and how (Krause 2010). Krause makes a case for expanding the definition of armed violence beyond war as "most victims of armed violence die or are injured in non-conflict settings" (Krause 2010:37). He argues that the object of security in armed conflict should be human and not national. He details that most small arms are in civilian possession. According to him, contemporary armed conflict typically includes one non-state agent who is usually an armed group, with armed groups holding less than 1% of small arms. He also argues that violence traditionally seen as criminal, such as intimate partner violence, should be included in political violence. Thus, allowing for a more in-depth investigation into and understanding of contemporary violence.

Expanding the limited understanding of who experiences violence, feminist scholars conceive security and war as inherently gendered. Wibben (2016) contends that war explicitly targets civilians and wartime violence against women is deeply entrenched in everyday violence against women that operates outside of war. Framing the two types of violence independently ranks experiences of violence, dismissing some violence committed under certain circumstances (Butler 2003). Feminist Security Studies distances itself from conceptions of security where security is not understood as reproducing unequal gender identity (Shepherd 2010).

The literature is also critical of security's biased protection of Western values. Approaching health security questions as national security competes with political, social and economic values of the state (Rushton and Kittelsen 2016). This approach often leads to trade-offs that are more costly for the Global South than North. For example, to prevent the spread of disease, countries may close their borders to imports from countries with disease outbreaks; inciting countries with outbreaks to forego disease containment by not alerting international health organizations of the outbreak, in order to preserve travel and trade (Rushton and Kittelsen 2016).

Security as a tool and duty of the state offers a response to threats against the sovereignty of the state, its citizens, institutions and economy. Many scholars challenge the conception and articulation of national security postulating that in addition to it determining the geographical limits of its protection, national security also inscribes hierarchies between different population groups, creating internal and external enemies (Morgan and Poynting 2012).

3.2 Societal Security

Societal security steps away from a statist vision of security and narrows its object of security to societies and its social groups. Because national security has concrete implications on societies and social groups, Ole Wæver (1993) introduced the concept *societal security* to capture insecurities that differ from national security issues or insecurities that may have been caused by the state (Bilgin 2010). This for example could include national security measures that favoured the protection of affluent social groups and undermined the protection of poorer groups. Therefore, the competing security concerns of different social groups links security to social characteristics that

> in the contemporary international system, societal security concerns the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats. More specifically, it is about the sustainability, within acceptable conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture, association, and religious and national identity and custom (Waever 1993:23).

As a result, Pinar Bilgin (2010) theorizes that identity and security are co-constitutive as social constructs. She argues that without understanding that the evolutive nature of identity has important implications for the transformation of security relations, societal insecurity cannot be grasped. For example, ethnoreligious identity is securitized at the societal level, as Alles (2016) explains, through societal behaviours and policies. Consequently, she adds that social structures can mobilize ethnoreligious violence or contribute to peacebuilding strategies.

Social identities can also be constructed on intersecting class and regional differences. Murakami (2010) argues that the necessity of the city emerged out of insecurities, in particular, food insecurity, defence against attacks, natural hazards and participation in wider political and economic networks. Food security measures resulting from the city were evidenced through the storing of grain in what would become Mesopotamia. According to Murakami Wood (2010), cities act as a form of social control and city development is guided by the protection of the interests of

the elite. He cites the construction of American suburbs as an example of elite interest. The exodus of elites to suburbs redesigned urban centres as the domain of the urban working class and divided them by language, religion and tradition. Murakami Wood's claims stem from Boyer's (1978) work on the American antebellum era where urban centres grew to be seen as sites of insecurity for elevated classes of Americans. Cities were the sites of convergence of the "poors" and immigrants. Wealthier people evacuated the city that they read as divided between the languages of immigrants, "immorality" and "crime" and took refuge in suburbs that were becoming more and more accessible. The city became associated with crime and insecurity during this period. The real and perceived dangers of urban centres at that time, and presently, remain controversial (Murakami Wood 2010). Murakami Wood submits that poorer working classes become synonymous with insecurity for elite classes. He illustrates this through the flooding devastation suffered by working class Americans after Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, in 2004. Structural insecurity in Louisiana led to wealthier classes of society recovering from the disaster more easily and poorer groups' needs being undercut and neglected.

3.2.1 Critiques

Viewing security as a societal need is also contested. As the object of security becomes distilled to the smaller societal unit, inequalities and social domination become more apparent. Neocleous (2000) argues that since security comes to be about social identity, it also comes to be about exclusion for those who do not share certain identities. He also suggests that security is only extended to some, and protective institutions become selective about whose security matters.

According to Neocleous, the above examples of the Hurricane Katrina aftermath and the exodus of affluent populations from cities to suburbs transform security into a form of protection of private property. Capital accumulation increases civil society's propensity to create enemies that threaten secured private assets and possessions. "'Security' becomes a positional good defined by income and access to private protective services, a prestige symbol concerned less with dealing with the social causes of insecurity and more with one's own private safety and personal insulation from 'unsavoury' social elements" (Neocleous 2000:13). For Neocleous this neoliberal subjectivity and focus on individual liberty induces a deep-seated insecurity among the poor, marginal and already insecure. Security therefore comes to be about class dynamics, that is, the security of some social groups and not others. He goes further arguing that envisioning societal

security ideologically as protection of private property reduces security to the concept of police. For him, *police* become a principle of formation of security since it refers to “a mechanism for securing civil society; a mechanism, that is, for securing class society” (Neocleous 2000:11).

Societal security is thus a question of societal identity and revelatory of social inequalities. State security does not necessarily translate into city security and government policy while social behaviours can be catalysts or deterrents of identity conflict.

3.3 Human Security

Human security shifts the traditional referent object of security from the state to the individual. In response to top-down, state security, human security presents bottom-up individual-centered forms of security (Hoogensen Gjørv 2016). The concept emerged post-Cold War when the major human vulnerability was no longer primarily about inter-state war “but rather stemmed from a mix of health, environmental and economic vulnerabilities as well as new forms of conflict” (Owen 2010:39). Human security is the securitization of “universal” material and non-material concerns from a growing number of interdependent categories like economic security, food security, environmental security and personal safety (Neocleous 2000). This section centers around salient subsidiaries of human security.

3.3.1 Economic/Financial Security

As seen above, finance and security are intertwined (de Goede 2010). Individual economic security is the mitigation of uncertain futures through personal finances (de Goede 2010). The literature outlines several factors that mediate financial security.

In the study of industrial relations, financial security is achieved by way of employment. Meltz (1989) reports that the unemployment rate is addressed directly through job security measures. These measures arose to protect employment against increased mechanization of employment in the twentieth century. According to Meltz, there are varying degrees of job security. An employee can preserve an identical job with the same organization and same pay, maintain the same type of job within the same job category or retain employment within the same organization, but the employee’s role and job description may be altered with employee seniority impacting organization restructuring. Green and Leeves (2013) confirm previous research that

indicates that employment instability and wage changes directly impact employees' well-being and ability to manage personal finances. In Canada, Meltz (1989) explains that the *Canada Labour Code,* along with union agreements for unionized workers, make provisions for job security, so the government and further union intervention is able to legislate more financial security through improved retirement pensions.

Financial security is also impacted by socio-demographic factors. According to Chambers (1995), security can be compromised by poorer populations in their attempt to increase incomes. Financial stability among poorer individuals is further complicated by age in Thailand. In Suwanrada's (2008) study of the elderly in Thailand, he found that poorer elderly people were facing financial insecurity. He describes the Thai value of reciprocity where traditionally, children and relatives cared for the financial, medical and mental health needs of the elderly. However, with a declining fertility rate, many elderly Thai individuals without children, are experiencing financial insecurity. A similar phenomenon was displayed among elderly widows in Australia. Data extracted from the Australian Longitudinal Study on Women's Health revealed financial insecurity among recent elderly widows adjusting to their bereavement and managing their finances, sometimes for the first time (Byles et al. 1999). Class, gender and age broker access to individual financial security.

3.3.2 Food Security

Food insecurity is distinct from undernutrition and food crisis (Wiggins and Slater, 2010). The 1996 World Food Summits determined that "food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (Power, 2008). Food insecurity is therefore marked by precarious and inadequate access to food (Hallett 2016) and reduced and disrupted food intake (Tarasuk and Vogt 2009).

Wiggins and Slater (2010) submit that food insecurity is not directly linked to food shortage. Rather they explain that areas affected by malnutrition experienced reduced malnutrition with increased female schooling, food availability, safe water and life expectancy ratio and they argue that there is sufficient food availability. Food insecurity can therefore be read as a situation of deprivation and a primary indicator of income distribution (McAll et al. 2015). Research in

Western contexts reveal that household food budgets are flexible and money for food can be reallocated, prioritizing other expenses and insecurities (Hallett 2016; Tarasuk and Vogt 2009).

Other forms of insecurity exacerbate food insecurity (Wiggins and Slater 2010). Valerie Tarasuk undertook two Canadian studies on food insecurity that reveal that housing and economic insecurity were predictors of food insecurity. A cross-sectional survey of families in Toronto, Canada in market rentals and subsidized housing in high-poverty urban neighbourhoods exposed a snowball effect whereby financial constraints escalated into housing and food insecurity (Kirkpatrick and Tarasuk 2011). An earlier study yielded similar results, showing that low-income adequacy, social assistance as the main source of income and not owning one's dwelling had a direct impact on household food security in Ontario, Canada (Tarasuk and Vogt 2009). Effects of compounding insecurity were also apparent for breastfeeding mothers in food-insecure households in Canada. They were less able to sustain recommended breastfeeding than food-secure households. Though mothers in food-insecure households attempted to follow feeding recommendations for their infants, other forms of insecurity prompted them to cease nursing earlier than recommended (Orr et al. 2018).

These findings about the Canadian population are particularly interesting since Canadian provinces are able to regulate areas that correlate with food insecurity. Provinces "are responsible for setting minimum wages, social assistance benefit levels, and other policies of particular relevance to problems of household food insecurity" (Tarasuk and Vogt 2009:184). Some provinces have relegated this level of responsibility to community organizations (McAll et al. 2015). In Quebec, food security was decentralized in 1990. The Quebec government began funding community initiatives to address food insecurity. Distribution of aid through these interventions is not standardized and relies on charity to meet the basic needs of populations experiencing food insecurity without addressing underlying causes (McAll et al. 2015) and often widening inequality gaps (Clément, 2008).

This method of securing food is reminiscent of 16th century European food intervention where Christian charity was reserved for the "good poor". Clément (2008) traces the history of European approaches to feeding the poor from the 16th century to the end of the 19th and briefly comments on 21st century food assistance. According to him, public assistance from the state,

previously from the king, was significant with individual responsibility growing overtime and introducing the "bad poor", a person who is blamed for their own poverty.

Similar attitudes towards poverty and food insecurity are displayed in contemporary feeding programs (McAll et al. 2015). Foodbank recipients can access two models of foodbanks. Recipients can collect donated food on an ad hoc basis from a frontline model foodbank or they can access warehouse model foodbanks that parcel food from a warehouse for welfare recipients or as a part of a meal program (Hallett 2016). According to Berti et al. (2017) when food is given as charity without reciprocity, the interaction between foodbank workers and users becomes one of unequal power which can be humiliating for the "beneficiary". Individuals seeking assistance from foodbanks may lose decisional autonomy and their identities reduced to "mouths to feed" or "foodbank user" by the foodbank employees that see the individual user as the sum of stereotyped negative behaviours and characteristics (McAll et al. 2015). This hierarchical relationship is further reinforced when workers decide what food users will receive, "diagnose" users "bad choices" and supposed budgetary problems and oblige budget classes and treatment for "healthy lifestyles", holding individuals responsible for their own situations (Berti et al. 2017). Food insecure individuals may opt to avoid foodbanks as a source of food for fear of stigmatization, embarrassment, lack of confidentiality or of losing community reputation (McAll et al. 2015). Operating through this lens renders foodbank use incommensurable with food security (Hallett 2016). This management strategy can become another source of insecurity.

The interdependence between other insecurities and food insecurity makes them harder to manage and makes groups experiencing correlated insecurities predisposed to food insecurity. In the future, Wiggins, Steven and Slater (2010) predict that climate change and HIV/AIDs will threaten increased food security.

3.3.3 Environmental Security

Human security is remarkably affected by the natural environment. It relies on predictable and unpredictable natural phenomena. In his classic article *Poverty and livelihoods: whose reality counts?*, Robert Chambers (1995) juxtaposes Northern and Southern realities. He affirms that though animal and crop farming are exposed to seasonality and natural catastrophes, the North often possesses safety nets that protect it against seasonality, while others in more precarious positions, are more vulnerable to environmental insecurity. According to Chambers, migration

trends reveal an increase of people living in insecure environments susceptible to famine, floods, storms and crop and animal diseases. His findings indicate that areas having experienced past disasters are disadvantaged in their recovery efforts due to "the earlier loss of livelihood assets and means to cope" (Chambers 1995:190). Typically, market measures like assets and livelihoods contribute to our understanding of environmental security. According to Barnett (2010), it is understood less in terms of threats to the environment and more about human and national security as it has a direct impact on economic growth.

3.3.4 Personal Safety

Social beings experience personal safety in the community at large. Personal safety refers to the absence of physical violence and verbal aggression towards an individual (Catlette 2005). Workplace violence, gang violence and intimate partner violence are three broad categories of corporal vulnerability. Chambers (1995) defines vulnerability as exposure and defencelessness. Preventing and responding to targeted violence often relies on various societal actors.

Hospital emergency registered nurses (RNs) in the U.S. describe feeling vulnerable to workplace violence (Catlette 2005). During qualitative interviews, nurses expose the victimization "by another person or persons characterized by fear, physiological or psychological hardship, or loss" (Catlette 2005:520) they often feel in the hospital setting. They point to inadequate safety measures around access to the emergency department as a primary source of concern. "This included access concerns in regard to weapons, unauthorized family members, and others who could be seeking retaliation for unknown reasons, such as gang members" (Catlette 2005:524). RNs also feel vulnerable to verbal aggression from patient family members or patients. The nurses in the interviewed sample report that protective and preventative hospital intervention only occurred after a major violent incident (Catlette 2005). Here, personal safety relies on the employer to intervene in employee safety issues.

In two studies of youth gang violence, personal safety hinged on the broader community. To escape gang violence, youth in El Progreso, Honduras remove themselves from harm's way by converting to evangelical faith (Wolseth 2008). Wolseth (2008) find that gang members withhold violent acts from those "in the House of God and on the Path of God" (Wolseth 2008:108). The church's community intervention provides "an image of safety and stability in an unstable and insecure social setting" (Wolseth 2008:103). Cleveland, Ohio, U.S. and Cleveland suburbs

implemented a gang-related crime and violence intervention program in schools in the mid-90s (Huff and Trump 1996). According to Huff and Trump, the programs' success depended on the involved police officers' commitment to handling serious crime and the cooperation between the schools and police contributed to the programs' success. The authors outline that gang-related crime and violence gradually increased in schools but despite school officials having sufficient understanding of gang activity patterns, school politics and image have prevented early intervention with respect to these issues. Typically, high-profile incidents or series of incidents prompted educator acknowledgement of such issues. Nonetheless, surveyed students admit feeling increased safety after the implementation of the Youth Gang Unit and the authors suggest that safe schools and communities are the results of the broader community, including law enforcement, sharing ownership of school safety.

In the case of intimate partner violence, Feseha et al. (2012) note that it is widely reported among countries with patriarchal family norms and gender relations reinforced by cultural, legal, and religious legacies. As a result, addressing domestic violence or intimate partner violence is contingent on the construction of security as gendered (Wibben 2016). Malecha et al. (2000) interviewed women trying to file charges or protective orders in two American states without mandatory reporting of domestic violence or intimate partner violence for healthcare practitioners. Despite an overwhelming desire of participants wanting a law that requires healthcare workers to report domestic violence to the police, Malecha et al. (2000) are unsure to what degree healthcare practitioners would comply with this law and whether a woman experiencing abuse would be "ready to make decisions regarding the violence in her life and her relationship status with the abuser" (Malecha et al. 2000:4). Structural inequality makes securing the personal safety of women experiencing intimate partner violence complex.

3.3.5 Psychological Safety

Mental health can be discussed in the context of psychological safety. Yuan and Wang (2016) propose that the ability to manage one's mental health amidst general insecurity, concern about personal safety or security related to job, food, economic affairs, public incidents (disaster, war), health and medicine, and traffic, is mediated by optimism. For them, optimism is considered an alterable state that can be affected by negative situations faced by the individual. Thus, optimism is the result of a positive relationship with social resources. This relationship can be

buffered by attributing negative situations to exogenous objects through a cognitive strategy referred to as external attribution. Therefore, for Yuan and Wang, experiencing mental health security or psychological safety is not an absence of insecurity, but the mobilization of optimism and an external attribution strategy when faced with insecurity.

3.3.6 Critiques

Just as the national security literature highlights military security's Western biases, Chambers (1995) argues that economic security is often approached from a Northern humanitarian perspective that is projected on the South. Chambers rejects income-poverty rationale and reframes deprivation to include dimensions of vulnerability, seasonality, powerlessness and humiliation to better reflect the concerns of the "poor" rather than employing catchall Northern concepts and measures of poverty. He substitutes well-being and sustainable livelihood for wealth and employment thinking, and within communities he refers to the disadvantaged - the poor, weak and marginalized, whether women or a social or economic group. Indicating that the "poor" are a heterogenous group with different priorities and objectives than those defined by international development professionals that transpose Northern concerns on to the South.

Neocleous (2000) is decidedly against shifting security concerns to "universal" concerns focused on the individual. For him, the securitization of social issues, through human security, diverts important political attention away from them. Once depoliticized, these issues are then open to being addressed through private protective services rather than through state intervention. For Neocleous, securitization is a pipeline to privatization. Insecurities transferred to the private individual become the individual's "choice" to respond to with private investment. He illustrates his critique using healthcare. Securitizing health shifts the responsibility of healthcare from social programming to individual participation in schemes and plans from private institutions and private investment in social security. Neocleous is adamant that social issues should not be converted into security issues. He ends his article with a jarring statement "It is worth remembering that one meaning of 'secure' is 'unable to escape': we should avoid thinking about state power and private property through categories which may render us unable to escape them." (Neocleous, 2000:14)

Given the contested nature of human security its meaning continues to change. Some argue that this individual-level perspective of security can reorient it away from elite interests and add a level of urgency to addressing it (Hoogensen Gjørv 2016), while others interpret the securitization

of individual issues feeds into neoliberal subjectivity (Neocleous, 2000). Notwithstanding, human security pivots away from military security and shines a spotlight on human vulnerabilities.

3.4 Migration and Security

The 1951 Refugee Convention provides a legal framework for the protection of refugees. Prior to this internationally sanctioned imperative, the protection of refugees was a socially shared responsibility. Throughout history, the protection of the foreigner was a maxim, a moral precept (Beiser 2009). Today, migration has been securitized from two diametrically opposed conceptual framings of the migration/security nexus. The human security perspective is drawn from the traditional protection of the individual migrant as the object of security, while national security constructs and governs migration as a threat to the state (Huysmans and Squire 2016).

3.4.1 National Security

Migrants are presumed to carry embodied security issues across borders and into arrival states (den Boer 2010). This ideology is transmitted through speech acts related to globalization (Bigo 2002; Walters, 2010; Morgan and Poynting 2012). This discursive securitization of migrants creates a structural unease among citizens and migrants become a risk to society (Bigo 2002). Didier Bigo (2002) suggests that neither terms *security* nor *migrant* are natural or societal problems. He seems them as political issues and inviting a political response to address security and immigration. He argues that "securitization of the immigrant as a risk is based on our conception of the state as a body or a container for the polity" (Bigo 2002:65). As a result, state actors can politicize migration and treat it as a problem to be managed and governed rather than as a question of labour or cosmopolitical responsibility (Bigo 2002 ; Walters 2010).

In the UK, policing and punishment of the "outsider", or those assumed to pose a risk, are guided by the immigration debate that conflates all migrant categories, including refugees and asylum seekers (Morgan and Poynting 2012; S. Cohen 2011). However, according to Cohen, (2011) to maintain social compassion, a distinction is drawn between "genuine" refugees who are entitled to protection and "bogus" refugees, "underserving" of rights and compassion (Cohen 2011). During what was qualified as the "long summer of migration" in Europe during the summer of 2015, the bimodality of public opinion and government policy shaped positive and negative mobilization of different European countries in response to the refugee reception crisis (Ambrosini

et al. 2019). In countries with multi-level political regimes, Ambrosini et al. (2019) report that local authorities who did not share national negative views of refugees, were able to exercise some autonomy in extending hospitality to refugees. In cases where disparities existed between government political orientation and citizens, with citizens possessing more favourable attitudes towards refugees, citizens engaged in subversive humanitarianism, welcoming asylum seekers into their homes and providing direct assistance. In spite of societal and human security responses, globally mediating human mobility and governmental control is expanded surveillance (Neocleous 2000), increased policing, (Morgan and Poynting 2012), interstate sharing of security information (Bigo 2002) and new protection and political technologies (Huysmans and Squire 2016; Bigo 2002)

3.4.2 Human Security

Migration is a process that implicates the securities and insecurities of an individual's social world: family, household, community, ethnic group, religion and gender among other social groups and identities. The process is shaped by a myriad of decisions and local and global forces. Whether from rural to urban settings or cross-border, the decision to migrate reflects material and non-material insecurities (J. H. Cohen and Sirkeci 2016). The migration/security nexus from a human security standpoint is fluid and is expressed in various ways throughout individuals' journeys. This section discusses pre- and post-migration security issues of individual migrants and security issues affecting refugees in camps.

3.4.2.1 Premigration

Security concerns often prompt individuals to migrate (Hogarth 2015). J. H. Cohen and Sirkeci (2016) expand on this notion adding that migration is the balance of the *mover's* insecurities weighed against their perceptions, expectations, desires and abilities. The latter are compounded upon by those of *non-movers*, like family and community, involved in the emigration process. J. H. Cohen and Sirkeci (2016) argue that these considerations occur within the context of globalizing systems and neoliberalism that is propelled by economic growth. Consequently, decisions to migrate are often derived from these economic conditions. Nonetheless, J. H. Cohen and Sirkeci provide evidence that migration is not solely financially motivated. During the 2008 global financial crisis, migration saw a downturn. Economic motives are a part of a larger set of

influencers in decision-making, including personal safety and belonging that migrants' premigration homes cannot offer them (Hogarth 2015).

3.4.2.2 Camps

Refugee camps are regulated by the UNHCR and camp host governments. Host governments bear the lion's share of the responsibility for refugees, workers and camp security oversight. The destabilizing effect of refugee camp life creates difficult conditions for fostering security and safety. According to Jacobsen (1999), security is further complicated by inconsistency among host governments in their maintenance of camps. Camp insecurity is underscored by threats to personal safety, and economic, housing, gender and structural insecurity.

Camps are susceptible to external and internal threats. Refugee camps can be targeted by "direct military attack or bombardment", or they can get "caught in cross-fire or armed conflict". Camps can also be subjected to "armed raids by rebel groups or enemy forces" or "ethnic or political (factional) conflict […] between refugees and locals" (Jacobsen, 1999:15). Moreover, the volatile nature of camp life often drives violence and crime within camps. In the absence of effective protection mechanisms, "ethnic or political conflict between refugees", "abuse or intimidation by camp authorities or refugee leaders" (Jacobsen 1999:15) and violence are common (Jacobsen 1999 ; Bermudez et al. 2018 ; Feseha et al. 2012). Nevertheless, through qualitative research in Kiziba Camp in Rwanda, Bermudez et al. (2018) found that when gender-related violence and intergenerational abuse affecting adolescents were disclosed to formal protection systems, adolescents felt safe and secure from the care they received. Notwithstanding, the unpredictability of camp life breeds various ancillary forms of insecurity.

3.4.2.3 Post-migration

Migratory status dominates security during resettlement. In European Member States, asylum seekers who are threatened by serious harm and are ineligible for *prima facie* refugee protection are offered subsidiary protection until granted refugee status (Ambrosini et al. 2019). Mescoli et al. (2019) found that the psychological safety of asylum seekers in Belgium awaiting a response to their refugee applications was compromised. The psychological distress of asylum seekers' participating in Mescoli's research was somatized. Respondents felt both psychologically and physically stuck waiting in liminal space. They lived in Belgian reception centres during the

asylum process. Living alongside strangers in the centre was challenging and they felt alienated and constrained by centre rules. Mescoli and her colleagues ascertained that reception centre residents still found coping strategies to mitigate their insecurity while living on the margins of Belgian society. They also discovered that the notion of receiving refugee status prompted feelings of insecurity for some child residents at reception centres. The children felt insecure about moving outside the centres once they received their refugee status as they would no longer have the support of those they had created bonds with over their years in the refugee centres.

Permanent resettlement statuses induce different insecurities and securities for migrants. A longitudinal study of 1348 refugees resettled in Canada between 1979 and 1981 reveals the interconnectedness of various security concerns (Beiser 2009). English language acquisition of participating refugees was a predictor of job security and, by association, psychological safety. Participants' psychological safety was predicated on personal and social supports. "People with a significant other and/or a supportive like-ethnic community did not show the time-dependent spike in mental health risk" (Beiser 2009:560). Though at times in their resettlement, mental-health crises related to premigration trauma arose among refugees, the consistency of a significant other helped refugees cope. A critical mass of persons from similar ethnic background also attenuated mental-health effects. Support from ethnic communities protected against discrimination, racism and exclusion (Beiser 2009).

Discrepancies in personal safety, however, were noted during the resettlement of South Sudanese refugees in Australia (Losoncz 2016). Australian authority and South Sudanese refugee parents have conflicting conceptions of safe environments for children. According to in-depth interviews conducted by Ibolya Losoncz (2016), childcare and protection services see intergenerational violent conflict as a threat to children's safety, while parents interpreted the external actors in the family space as an attack on their family, authority and identity. Furthermore, she highlights that in home and transit countries, refugees encountered corrupt government authorities and thus refugees feel the undermining of parents' authority over their children is another attempt of corrupt government to unscrupulously exercise power over them. Losoncz demonstrates that receiving countries and refugees' conceptions of safety can differ, eroding some refugees' confidence in resettlement countries.

Lastly, in broad terms, the literature offers insight into migrants' *sense of safety and security*. J. H. Cohen and Sirkeci (2016) and Hogarth (2015) juxtapose migrants' expectations with their sense of safety and security. Both link migrants' unmatched expectations of their resettlement elsewhere to a diminished sense of security. In Hogarth's study of racialized immigrant women in Canada, exclusionary experiences impact participants' sense of belonging, contributing to a sense of insecurity. In general, migrant human securities and insecurities are fluid and plural, they vary over time and across space (J. H. Cohen and Sirkeci 2016). Threats to security can be evanescent with participants finding coping mechanisms and readjusting their expectations (Ambrosini et al. 2019).

3.4.2.4 Critiques

Migrants in search of security are often met by aid workers during the migratory process and resettlement services in host countries. These interactions can yield problematic interactions. According to Beiser (2009), in Canada this helper-helped dynamic produces a power imbalance. Several refugees in his study are mistrustful of private sponsors who overtly try to proselytize refugees who do not share the same religion with their sponsors. Losoncz (2016), Bermudez et al. (2018) and Hogarth (2015) noted that workers in each of their studies have an important role in addressing refugees' personal safety in intergenerational conflict. When youth refugees disclosed abuse to humanitarian aid workers in camps, refugees feel safe (Bermudez et al. 2018) while among South Sudanese families resettled in Australia, exogenous services intervening in creating a safe environment that differs from what parents considered safe make parents feel unsafe and distrustful of workers and the host society (Losoncz 2016). Hogarth (2015) argues that these dynamics mean that members of the dominant group therefore determine standards for migrants' integration and belonging; receiving societies define resettlement thresholds for migrants.

The transnational nature of security implicates a vacillation between the nation and the individual as objects of security. Several scholars contend that migration questions should not be examined in relation to national security (Huysmans and Squire 2016) since individuals carry security issues across borders (den Boer 2010). Yet as previously seen, Neocleous (2000) insists that securitization of social issues mobilizes unsuitable responses to these problems. Huysmans and Squire (2016) suggest migration should be considered "in relation to a range of political and socio-economic questions" (2016:162), while Walters (2010) suggests that international political

strategy for addressing the migration/security nexus should incorporate knowledge from historical studies of the policing of mobility; critical studies of race, migration and postcoloniality; and geographies and sociologies" (Walters 2010:217) that challenge contemporary risk narratives of migration.

This chapter examined the differences between macro-, meso- and micro-levels of security through an interdisciplinary lens. It also deconstructed the migration/security nexus and outlined national security concerns related to migration and individual security concerns of migrants. Designing security is a complex process (Weber and Lacy 2010). The interconnectedness of the three modes of security: national, societal and human security, frames whose security matters, what threats exists, who is responsible for responding, by what means security will be achieved and what insecurities will be created through the securing process. Together, the three create a plurality and fluidity of security varying over time and across space.

Chapter 4. Outline of Research Design

This chapter highlights the methodological dimensions of this study. It elaborates on the study's conceptual framework, the process of recruiting interviewees and the interview process. It also discusses the postural and ethical considerations that were made to prevent retraumatization of refugee respondents and it provides insight into the analytic methods employed in the treatment of the raw data gathered from interviews.

4.1 Conceptual Framework

To sociologically orient the research question and guide the interviews a conceptual framework was introduced. A dialogue between Bourdieu's theory of capital and intersectionality was used to theoretically situate this study.

As seen in the chapter on Social Inequalities and Space, axes of social differentiation play a complex role in the construction of refugees' subjectivities. Intersectionality is a valuable tool for thinking about domination and inequality that affect these individual positions. It "allows for a recognition of the limitations of any single analytical category or lens. Instead, intersectionality highlights the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations" (Aberman 2014:58). And so, intersectionality is used as a framework for spotlighting how dominant discourse about different identities inform the subjectivities that refugees display to society.

Conceptually, it is also relevant to consider how capital is interwoven into the intersection of these different facets of social identities. Bourdieu's theory of capital aids in understanding the structure of individual experiences. He considers capital the sum of the resources and powers that individuals mobilize. Capital can be deconstructed to include economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. According to Bourdieu (1986) *economic capital* refers to material assets such as money and property. Social and cultural are more abstract. *Social capital* is defined as

> l'ensemble des ressources actuelles ou potentielles qui sont liées à la possession d'un *réseau durable de relations* plus ou moins institutionalisées d'interconnaissance et d'interreconnaissance; ou, en d'autres termes, à *l'appartenance à un groupe,* comme ensemble d'agents qui ne sont pas seulement dotés de propriétés communes (susceptibles d'être perçues par l'observateur, par les autres ou par eux-mêmes) mais sont aussi unis par des *liaisons* permanentes et utiles (Bourdieu 1980a:2).

Cultural capital includes knowledge and competences like technical qualifications and education. Lastly, he defines *symbolic capital* as the resources available to an individual through their accumulation of honours and prestige. Taken together, intersectionality and the theory of capital offer a nuanced approach to investigating the contours of refugees' conceptions of security.

4.2 Research Question Revisited

Operationalizing the literature on refugees, inequalities, space and security and my reality and my experience as a frontline working with refugees in standard terminology, the following research questions were posed: How do refugees' lived realities influence their conceptualization of the dimensions of security in Montreal? Concretely, what capital is mobilized to negotiate the various security issues and how is this done?

The first question that situates security as having "dimensions" is rooted in the literature's presentation of security as a multi-level, composite concept, yet the open-ended nature of the question leaves room for my data to refute the literature and present new findings if they so emerge. The second question specifically intersects the security with inequalities, a coupling less emphasized in the reviewed bodies of work.

4.3 Methodology

To answer these research questions, qualitative interviews were conducted to parse the refugee experience. A semi-structured life story approach was used to interview a sample size of 8 refugees. This narrative interview style allowed my interviewees to emphasize segments of their journeys that they felt were most important, while giving them greater flexibility in their answers. The interviews were semi-structured to give participants space to accentuate their daily interactions in the receiving country rather than only focusing on their most dramatic encounters (Dumas 2018).

Also, to put greater emphasis on participants' personal perspectives and to offer them the opportunity to express themselves using non-verbal communication, particularly if their English-language or French-language skills were not very strong, the ethics committee approved a mixed methodology, mobilizing a secondary creative research method. Participants would have had the opportunity to visually share their reaction to their external world through photography. The

photovoice method (Wang and Burris 1997) as a form of collaborative mapping where research participants collaborate to determine how space can be designed and conceptualized would have been used. Participants would have photographed sites that they associated with security or insecurity in their current neighbourhoods and elaborate on these associations through a brief narrative reflection. This was not unlike a method used by Maresca and Meyer (2013) called Native image making. In their method Native Americans coproduced knowledge with sociologists by taking photographs that were published in sociological works (Maresca and Meyer 2013). The analysis of these photographs was meant to incorporate Wang and Burris (1997) and Maresca and Meyer's (2013) approach to this methodology. Participants would have had up to a month to share their security-themed photos by email. With the COVID-19 global pandemic, however, it became clear that this type of activity might impinge upon individuals' sense of safety as enormous shifts to routines to navigate the global pandemic were ongoing across Canada. Requesting that refugees, an already vulnerable population, participate in capturing photos of neighbourhoods or spaces they deemed safe or unsafe in their imaginaries would potentially pose a risk to their health and safety. Strict sanitary measures were in place in Montreal, the violation of which could result in a fine. Executing the photo voice piece of the participation could also possibly expose them to the risk of COVID pre- and post-vaccine, depending on the sites individuals would have selected to photograph. This part of the proposed methodology was therefore abandoned.

4.3.1 Sample

The sample population was initially limited to individuals of Western Asian origin who arrived in Montreal in 2011 or after, that is once the Syrian Civil War had begun (Refugees 2012), aiming to collect a small homogenous sample of refugees from that time period's refugee reception crisis. My objective was to interview individuals who had been in multiple sites of displacement, thus those who may have sought asylum in Syria from other countries (Refugees 2012), since that was often the trend among that group of migrants, capturing their long journeys through in-depth narrative interviews. However, due to an unforeseen illness and a global pandemic, recruitment was delayed by several years. I re-evaluated my recruitment criteria, expanding it to include accepted refugees from any country of origin, not just Western Asia, since my interviews focused on the post-migration experience of refugees and not their premigration and migration experience, making the shared common variable accepted refugees residing in Montreal, Canada.

In addition to geographical restrictions, budgetary and linguistic constraints limited my sample to individuals who had a strong command of either oral French or English.

4.3.2 Recruitment

Recruitment posters were disseminated through refugee and asylum seeker community organizations and personal contacts in Montreal which led to a snowball effect. No recruitment was done using social media. It unfolded over 3 years from summer 2020, with interviews beginning in May 2021 and the last completed May 2022.

Recruitment proved to be a greater challenge than expected. After initial contact hurdles, it seemed to flow quite smoothly, recruiting a participant for a mock interview to test the interview guide in May 2021, followed by two interviews that were counted among the results. Unfortunately, however, recruitment was then interrupted. The circumstances of the interruptions are worth noting. An individual agreed to be interviewed, but tragically and suddenly passed away a few days before the interview. This individual was an anomaly, yet a recurrent theme seemed to emerge among other individuals contacted through referrals. At the time of contact, summer 2021, after months of rigid pandemic restrictions, including a government enforced curfew, Montreal's restrictions had evolved to allow its residents to return to in-person work, making potential participants' schedules less flexible and not permitting them to participate in an interview. In the three cases I encountered this shift in availability, the individuals had expressed interest in participating in my study and accepted to do so. Within a short period of time, ranging from two business days to five business days, they had to rescind their acceptance to be interviewed having returned to work in light of changing COVID-19 restrictions and were therefore no longer available to participate. I was able to reconnect with two of these three individuals to have them participate in my study during the spring of 2022.

4.3.3 The Interviews

I carried out the semi-structured interviews with participants about their post-migration experience in Canada. The interviews lasted between one and two hours. Three interviews were completed between May and August 2021 and five more in April and May 2022. Three of the interviews were done in person, and the others over Zoom. With changing pandemic measures, I had proposed using an ongoing stream of voice notes between myself and participants to do the

interviews—I would either pose a question by text message or voice note and the participant would detail their response in voice notes, but this option was not used.

One interview was carried out over a period of eight and a half months. The first attempt, in August 2021, was cut short by a thunderstorm that cut my power twice during the conversation with the participant. The participant and I tried to reschedule for the following day. I, however, was hospitalized at that time. The interview was successfully concluded in May 2022 via Zoom.

A ninth participant was removed from my sample as he had a pending refugee claim and had not yet been accepted as a refugee at the time of the interview. Having a precarious status could heavily influence the participant's construction of safety and inversely participating in the interview could interfere with his perception of safety and leave him questioning the impact the interview could have on his asylum claim.

4.3.4 The Interview Guide

The interview guide was divided into three parts. The first contained demographic information about the participants and questions that offered the context of respondents' premigratory profiles. Given the desire to not retraumatize participants or to recreate the dynamics of claimants' asylum hearings, the interview guide was developed with limited questions about specific actions and events that precipitated the participants departure, these questions remained broad and gave participants' the freedom to offer as much or as little information about their premigratory experience, as they wished. Next interviewees were asked about their settlement and integration in Canada. This section of the interview consisted of questions that captured security concerns from seven areas that emerged from the literature: finances, housing, employment, support systems, education and French language courses and identity-based questions. Each security concern was approached using several questions to allow intersecting elements of respondents' identities to emerge. For example, when asking participants with children about their contact with their children's schools, I asked, "How did you register?", "How did things go?" and clarified who they interacted with whether principals or teachers and what those interactions were like. This afforded insight into intersecting dynamics between participants' operationalization of their premigratory profiles in Canada and local school representatives' interpretation of participants' post-migratory profiles. After discussing the resettlement process with respondents, they were then asked to share about their current situations and their impressions of their safety

and security. These last questions helped showcase respondents' internal reconstruction of their security and how they measured it. This was done to allow participants to present complementary information to the literature on security or to offer new ideas about it, exposing oversights in the literature. Interviews concluded with questions about positive aspects of interviewees' resettlement process and their hopes for the future to try to prevent participants leaving their interviews focused on their challenges and insecurities.

4.3.5 Presentation of Participants

The table below presents a brief anonymized overview of study participants. Each participant was given a pseudonym in order to preserve their anonymity.

Table 1

Pseudonym	**Region of origin**	**Age**	**Gender**	**Immigration status**	**Trajectory**
Abdoulaye	West Africa		Man	Refugee claimant	Straight to Canada
Abimbola	West Africa	30s	Woman	Refugee claimant	Transitory country
Blessing	West Africa	30s	Woman	Refugee claimant	Transitory country
Farhad	Western Asia	30s	Non-binary	Government-assisted refugee	Transitory country
Naser	South-Central Asia		Man	Government-assisted refugee	Straight to Canada
Olabisi	West Africa	30s	Woman	Refugee claimant	Transitory country
Rahmi	Western Asia		Man	Privately sponsored refugee	Transitory country/Straight to Canada
Salamata	West Africa	40s	Woman	Refugee claimant	Transitory country

4.8 Posture During Interviews

The literature reviewed highlighted the centrality of performativity and *refugeeness*, yet interviewer and interviewee biases were not widely discussed, nor was interviewer positionality or how that positionality may have influenced refugees' responses to interview questions. Refugees' suspicions of researchers were briefly mentioned in Zimmerman's (2010) article, yet beyond that, refugee-researcher interactions were not noted. Nevertheless, Bourdieu (1993) observes

> Si la relation d'enquête se distingue de la plupart des échanges de l'existence ordinaire en ce qu'elle se donne des fins de pure connaissance, elle reste, quoi qu'on fasse, une relation sociale qui exerce des effets (variables selon les différents paramètres qui peuvent l'affecter) sur les résultats obtenus. (Bourdieu 1993:1391)

Therefore, the interview conditions and the asymmetrical exchange I entered into with interviewees are worth noting.

As a racialized woman in a position of limited authority, having worked with newcomers to Canada, I am privy to the multiple social, political and economic discourses that some refugees divulged in conversation with me in the social services context. In comparison, the information that they shared while conversing with my white colleagues lacked the nuances with which I was conversant. Often, when I worked with newcomers, these clients sometimes had a greater affinity to me, sharing more intimate details of their journeys with me and engaging in informal exchanges with me. My position as a researcher, within the confines of my study, shifted from social intercourse to narrative interviews for a master's thesis, sometimes subordinating my position as an *insider* as a marginalized racialized woman (Narayan 1993). Though representing the Université de Montréal, similarly to Ahmed's interactions with interviewees (2014), participants seemed to distance me from the state and authority. This was contrary to Cramer's (2016) experience as a person who self-identified with her rural subjects, but her subjects perceived her, a university professor, as an agent of the state. Participants highlighted our commonalities like skin colour, sex and physical disability.

These interactions were dynamic with my habitus affecting it in various ways. Habitus refers to the way individuals interpret the social world based on their primary socialization

(Bourdieu 1980b). Participants' interpretation of my habitus was further influenced by their aim to distance themselves or approach what they assumed to be my social faction and identity.

a) Paradoxically, it appeared that the level of familiarity that participants felt also led to an interaction where an interviewee asked me to find a sponsor for a family member.

b) One participant spent over 10% of the interview on commenting on my hair, my skin, my appearance, my DNA, lack of children, etc.

c) Participants commented on my accent and bilingualism as not being expected because I was racialized.

If we analyze these interactions through Beaud and Florence's (2010) approaches to interview context and misunderstandings, the incidents can be read as follows:

a) Sponsorship — For participants, a graduate student possibly represents someone who has access to financial capital or is a potential gateway to government resources, including university personnel, as the university is seen as a nexus of praxis and inquiry.

b) One participant spent over 10% of the interview on commenting on my hair, my skin, my appearance, my DNA, lack of children, etc. — I partially felt this interaction as an aggression but also suspend that judgment and related it to the best of my ability to the sociological dimension of the experience. In this case, the recruitment context of this interviewee is particularly relevant; the participant was introduced to me by a mutual contact. That contact possesses what could be read as a somewhat similar career and regional background to me. She went on to become a confidant for the participant, so the level of comfort increased not only because of semi-insider status but also because of the more amicable nature of the liaison. The participant was also a few years older than me and had children, so she may have felt she was imparting wisdom about child rearing to a younger person.

c) The participants who commented on my accent and bilingualism as not being expected because I was racialized—Racialized Canadian interviewer is read as an immigrant with a Canadian accent, incarnating the participant's integration aspirations for their children.

These excerpts are reminders that the interviewers' effect on an interview can be inconsistent throughout the interaction. It can yield both positive and negative results throughout the entirety of the interview.

4.9 Presentation of Main Findings and Analysis

Thematic content analysis was used to analyze the interview transcriptions. NVivo qualitative data analysis computer software aided in a categorical dissection of the interviews based on the main themes of the interview guide. Several readings of the verbatims furthered the organization of content and development of descriptive and analytical categories.

My findings are conveyed in chapters 5, 6 and 7. Chapter 5 briefly outlines participants' premigratory lives, the next chapter breakdowns their settlement in Montréal and chapter 7 relays their conclusions about their safety and security as well as their hopes for the future, Inspired by Labelle et al.'s (1987) book *Histoires d'immigrées*, the findings are presented with entire quotations from participants. Careful attention is paid not to alter the original sense and meaning of interviewees' comments and responses, privileging their voices over mine.

This scientific and credible method provided an answer to my question of "who can speak for whom?" (Alcoff 1991), in other words, is the research practice of "speaking for" and "speaking about" others a legitimate practice and if it is, under what conditions is it appropriate? Based on the way that Labelle et al. present their results, it seems that interviewer-interviewee power relations are more easily attenuated since enunciator's words are preserved and receive just as much weight, if not more, than those of the researchers; the participants of that research study were not simply informants, but their eloquent words covered the pages of *Histoires d'immigrées,* from beginning to end.

Following the presentation of the results, the thematic content analysis is discussed. Three main categories underpin the analysis: "Before", "Transitory Countries" and "During". First, the "Before" category exposes the immediate threats to participants lives. Next, the "Transitory Countries" category describes a less immediate sense of insecurity centered on economic insecurity. Then, "During" is divided into five sub-categories: "Financial Security"

“Housing Security”, “Psychological Safety”, “Environmental Security” and "Pandemic Security”.

Given the small sample size of this study, it remains exploratory and not generalizable. The excerpts included throughout the paper are not representations of all refugees in Canada but rather these cases are windows into some of the dimensions of the lived experiences of safety and security of the sampled individuals.

Chapter 5. Before

The previous chapter described the advantages of allowing respondents' voices to recount their stories. This chapter introduces the eight participants and shares the stories of their journeys from their countries of origin through transitory countries to their acclimatisation into their new lives in Montréal. The common desire to feel safe often guided these stories, as participants' lives became interrupted by tumultuous and troublesome circumstances.

The interview guide was divided into three segments: interviewees' premigratory profiles, their settlement and integration in Canada and lastly, their current situations. This chapter covers the first two segments. First, it examines the lives of participants before they departed their country of origin, their prides and disappointments, and the events that prompted them to flee. Second, it recounts narratives about respondents' transitions and attempts to resettle, including first contacts in Canada, experiences with housing, education, employment, finances and government services, and how they navigated family dynamics and childcare.

5.1 Participants' Demographics

As detailed in Table 1, this study compiles the life histories of four women, three men and one non-binary person who arrived in Canada between 2012 and 2021. The religious composition of the sample was similarly divided, with half the participants identifying as Muslims, three as Christians and one as an atheist.

Five respondents moved to Canada from West Africa, two arrived from West Asia and the last one left South-Central Asia. All were relatively young adults, from 30 to 44 years old. Their mean age was 37 years old.

All four women had fairly similar family profiles: all were mothers living alone with their children. Two were married with partners living abroad and waiting to be reunited. One of them was separated from a daughter still living in West Africa, but two of her children were with her in Montréal. She had been pregnant while fleeing and gave birth in Canada without her husband. Another was graced with a child upon her arrival in Canada. However, both she and the fourth mother were divorced, and neither wanted to be reunited with past partners or fathers of their children.

The non-binary person and one man were single. Wives and children accompanied the last two men during their migration process. Naser, one of the latter two men, had three daughters. Rahmi had a son born in West Asia and daughter born in the United States.

5.2 Migration Process

Interviewees often recalled fulfilling lives before moving to Canada. They had routines, relationships, friends, families, employment, and some were politically active.

Most participants shared that they were multilingual before moving to Canada, typically reflecting multiple national languages in their home countries. One participant came from a country with “quatre langues officielles”, of which he spoke two plus “le français, l’anglais et l’arabe”. All participants but one spoke either English or French fluently before moving to Canada, except one who only spoke functional English. One of them “taught myself English. […] in my country I was just like practising and you know music and videos. But once I got out of there, I started speaking it. Made a lot of mistakes but from those mistakes I learned”. The participant already spoke two languages, and during their journey to Canada, “in Southeast Asia for five years I had to learn the language ‘cause they don’t’ even speak English”. Respondents’ families possessed even greater linguistic diversity. One participant from the Pulaar ethnic group spoke Wolof, English and French while “[c]es enfants, la plus grande, elle parle l’arabe parce que son papa est Arabe et ils ont vécu un peu en Mauritanie”.

Interviewees’ socioeconomic statuses before moving to Canada varied. Naser and his wife proudly shared the same profession: “my wife is also a lawyer; she was a famous prosecutor”. He noted that he “had 15 years’ experience in South-Central Asia, in law section”. This experience included being a member of his country’s Human Rights Commission and the director of legal affairs in his municipality, after obtaining a master’s in public law. Their “story [was] published in […] many international famous newspaper”. Rahmi had also completed graduate studies abroad and worked in the same profession as his wife. They had spent ten years outside their home country teaching English and enjoyed globetrotting. Like Rahmi and Naser, Abdoulaye had completed graduate studies. He was a successful business owner, recalling nostalgically: “J’avais ma propre compagnie […] Donc je travaillais. J’avais des employés. […] Je pouvais voyager dans plusieurs pays […] où les gens rêvent d’aller. Il n’y avait rien de mieux

pour moi." Salamata was also a university-educated business owner who travelled often for work and considered it a highlight.

Increased education translated into better employment and income for the respondents. Blessing did not speak of international travel but was content with the education she had received —"I'm a graduate; at least I went to university"—and had married into a wealthy family. Farhad's socioeconomic status was more ambiguous, with their[1] identity as a homosexual non-binary person affecting how their studies "in tech", "doing graphic design" and learning "about the hardware programming for smartphones" unfolded. Their studies were postponed when they fled their country.

The last two respondents spoke of financial hardships in their countries. One recalled struggling to find work in her field after finishing a four-year course but worked as a teacher. She and her husband could not afford a plane ticket for him to flee their country with her. The last woman also emphasized the financial difficulties she encountered with a high school education.

Respondents expressed a manifold of emotions about their lives and identities before moving to Canada. While Abdoulaye recalled that life could not be "rien de mieux", Farhad recalled that life had been good but was honest about their challenging realities:

> Political-wise […] the country is ruled by the religion Islam. So, me, as an openly gay person it was just so in danger because if something happens to me, like if the government knows, or if anybody knows, the government doesn't protect me. But actually, they will publicly execute me […] So, everything was just underground […] People would be living, partying, doing everything. That's what I did too. I was living my best life and I had my partner, and I had my own apartment that we built together but shit happened [Laughter] […] if the government knows about your activity, you're dead."

Farhad shared their disappointment that police in their country have continued to be complicit in killings of queer people, which they deem to be "tribal" matters:

> Just like last week, I saw on the news, someone that was just like 21-year-old, just because he was gay, his brother took him and literally killed him and like told the family, this is where you're going to find the body. And he's still running around. Nobody cares, the police doesn't catch him. Why? Because this person was gay. It's just as easy as that. Those tribals are still exist like that.

[1] Participant uses pronouns *they* and *them*.

Fear of violence and subjugation persuaded Farhad to leave their country and become a refugee.

Participants' pathways to exile were diverse. Several said that they never intended to leave their homelands but had to seek refuge abroad because of changes in circumstances or unbearable conditions. Finding human security and personal safety was not straightforward; some participants devised elaborate plans of escape, while foreign missions rescued others. Several transited through other countries, could not establish themselves there and moved onward to Canada. This subsection discusses participants' motives for leaving and the paths they took.

5.2.1 Why leave home?

Participants' main displacement catalysts came in three forms: violence, patriarchal social systems and ethnoreligious discrimination. Respondents felt they could no longer "évoluer" in their homelands because of the subaltern positions they occupied. Several despaired of their children's futures for the same reason.

5.2.1.1 Ethnoreligious Differences

English teacher Rahmi faced employment discrimination from "the ethnic group of the ruling president of [his] home country" created a sense of injustice. "I wasn't able to find a proper job in my country, even though I knew I was educated, qualified enough, for many jobs in the government […] But most of the jobs were given to the dominant minority group. I was seeing many of them getting jobs, permanent jobs." He and his family were discriminated against because of their Sunni ethnoreligious affiliations. From Rahmi's perspective, though the ruling ethnoreligious group "did not represent demographic percentages" as the majority group, partiality was shown to this group with its "certain political" persuasion. He felt Sunnis were excluded from employment advancement opportunities: "We were subject to a lot of discrimination in employment and whatever. […] So, I was only given these few hours to teach." Rahmi could no longer tolerate being treated unfairly, and he "didn't want this to happen to my kids". So, he began "trying to find a safe and secure haven for my family, for my kids" somewhere they would not "be humiliated the same way I was humiliated" nor "segregated the same way I was segregated".

5.2.1.2 Male Dominance

Concerns about male-dominated social structures and ideologies were omnipresent in the interviews. Terror stemming from oppressive behaviours and policies and dread of unequal power distribution among genders in the private sphere were pervasive in participants' reflections on their premigratory lives. Patriarchal ideology surfaced in discourse as women discussed their absence of choices and rights, as well as when men and the gender-fluid participant highlighted their sisters', daughters', mothers' or wives' lack of rights. Male dominance permeated marriages and the state, undermining participants' ability to feel safe and convincing them to leave.

In several instances, this patriarchal ideology was present in interpersonal interactions with intimate partners and family members. Blessing remembered living in a paradoxical situation: outwardly, people envied her for her husband and in-laws' prestige and wealth and what looked like a comfortable life. Yet she was uncomfortable with the way her life and marriage were unfolding. She described the first years of her seven-year marriage as "actually good", but as she got further "in depth" with the family, she began to see "the true colours". Having married into a "rich family […] you really cannot complain about bad treatment, because you're supposed to be comfortable." Blessing began to "lose" who she was amidst the fear of being "judged". Being in the travel industry, she started looking for places that could help her in her situation: "I want better for my life […] I can really do better."

Harsh relationships with in-laws were a central theme in other participants' migration stories. Abimbola lived with her in-laws once she married. She admitted feeling, "I don't have choice for myself." Their way of life was controlling: "I cannot go out, even to go to my parents' house, it's difficult. They tell me no. No, if you are going, don't go with my child […] I cannot even have a say for my daughter, I cannot have a say for my husband."

Olabisi's mother had strong connections with her children "so, of course, to harm a person like that, you harm her children". Olabisi's paternal family "attacked my mom. They attack her children." Olabisi reported, "I lost 4 of my brothers, my older sister almost died, I almost died, they scarred me physically". Furthermore, she felt her relationship with her in-laws was progressing in the same direction. Olabisi had married in a transitory country where her husband and her in-laws both lived. Her mother-in-law had significant influence over her son's life, career and marriage which led her son to withdraw Olabisi's immigration papers in the

transitory country, leaving her with a precarious immigration status. Olabisi, like Blessing and Abimbola, felt that her experiences with her husband's family cast a shadow on her life; all three felt defenceless against the culturally prescribed power structures.

Intimate partners were also a source of maltreatment. In Salamata's case, after finishing her university studies in West Africa, "J'avais ouvert une boîte. Tout était beau" until her ex-husband, a politician, began to menace her: "Alors, il m'a menacée, menacé ma vie. Il m'a beaucoup répugné, et il a gâté mon travail. […] Et il m'a rendu la vie dure […] au côté travail, côté famille". She felt powerless against his threats. "Ma famille ne pouvait me protéger, ni la police de mon pays, parce que au moment donné je suis partie à la police pour le dénoncer, mais bon, on l'a pris, et le lendemain quand on l'a relibéré". These women decided that their countries had neither the resources nor the safeguards to create the lives they sought, so they decided to look elsewhere for the lives they wanted.

Male dominance in the form of hegemonic masculinity influenced some respondents' decision to leave. We saw earlier that though Farhad remembered thriving in several areas of their life, they sensed that the illicit nature of their lifestyle was unsustainable. In their experience, state policy was complicit with violence against homosexuals and encouraged female submission. Farhad echoed longings for less oppressive marriages regarding their sister who moved to Canada with them. Their sister did not want to submit to a forced marriage, so she and Farhad ran away from home together. According to Farhad, any behaviour or belief that deviated from their country's social norm could be sanctioned since "you have no rights to even believe in whatever you want to believe there, 'cause it's an Islamic country".

A swift change in government brought hegemonic masculinity to the forefront of Naser's country, threatening his family's safety and survival. Naser was pain-stricken describing "a bad rule" the ruling group imposed forbidding "any woman" from working "in office" and girls from going to school: "I have three daughters. […] When I am feeling that my daughters they cannot go to school, they cannot to make their future, it means, I'm alive, but really, I'm dead". Naser and his wife were unwilling to suffer under the regime change. Their view of women and the state's view were diametrically opposed. His "wife was a famous woman activist, […] a few years ago she was hero of woman activist in [their] country". She had authored "a lot of article about women rights, […] about the terrorist group's work, and for example, action with

woman", leading the terrorist group to perceive Naser's wife and his family as enemies of the state. They were targeted by a threat, "This is one big reason I come to Canada."

5.2.1.3 Violence

Flight from danger was imperative since participants were actively facing menaces from various sources. They reported state-mandated violence and terrorism, police brutality and corruption, and personal violence inflicted and threatened by individuals often known to respondents.

As a four- or five-year-old child, Olabisi had lived with her paternal aunt who intentionally burned her. This incident left her with noticeable scarring as well as mental trauma. She did not have any allies, her mother and surviving siblings lived elsewhere, and her aunt had convinced the community that "it was an accident". Olabisi had wanted to escape her aunt's abuse and tried to kill herself several times. The society they were in accepted the pedicides and violence committed against Olabisi and her siblings, just as violence targeted at the queer population was neither criminalized nor condemned in Farhad's home country. Farhad and Olabisi both described police neglect and brutality in their countries of origin, giving them no recourse for violence against them.

Interviews exposed further uncontrolled violence. One of the West African participants experienced a religious war initiated by a terrorist group that the participant said could only be resisted through prayer. Rahmi first reported police corruption as a teenager, then later shared that his life continued to be in peril as an adult.

In the 11th grade, Rahmi's "mandatory military drafting" was "postponed for a year". He presented an official letter from his

> school stating that [I was] studying in school […] to the military service […] But the officer wouldn't accept it from me […] because he was blackmailing, […] "Your document might disappear, might be lost, might…" So, he opens the drawer, and you have to pay money […] I had to pay money not because I was bribing them to do something illegal […] Just to take my letter that I was studying, which was officially valid, an official document. […] I was bribing him to do his job!

This persecution arose from a clerical error: an incorrect version of Rahmi's name was provided to the military. The military extorted money from him each time he tried to fix the problem and eventually assaulted him:

> I told them “Hey there was a mistake, and I’ve been chased by the police, I want you to correct this mistake”, and he says, “what’s this mistake?” He took my name, he said, “You’re wanted! Soldiers, come!” […] And so those soldiers imprisoned me, for hours, of course. And they were beating me, […] they beat the crap out of me, in a room, I was in prison in a room.

He explained the soldiers were drafted “from very, very undeveloped areas” and that they were kept “hungry for a long time, and they unleash them on a victim like me […] And they unleashed them on the people over the last 10 years […] those like poor soldiers loot everything”.

The violence and corruption continued to escalate well into Rahmi’s adulthood. Years later, he watched from afar as violence descended. He “wasn’t able to go back […] We just started hearing people being shooted at some demonstrations or sniped or like kidnapped or like taken to prisons. So, from that time the horror started.”

Violence transcended individual encounters and extended to state and government acts. Half of the respondents talked about their children’s experiences and futures in their countries of origin, voicing fears of humiliation, exclusion and violence. One mother said, “My daughter had a process, they circumcised her, I don’t have any say, whatever they want to do, they do it!”

Participants were hard-pressed, some in public by ethnoreligious groups and overarching hegemony and others privately by family and intimate partners. Their options for coping with the oppression and threats they were facing were limited. Their survival instincts prompted them to consider seeking sanctuary outside their homes, leading some respondents directly to Canada while others spent time in other countries before arriving in Canada.

5.2.2 How Did They Leave Their Home Countries?

Participants undertook transnational journeys, arriving in Canada over 9 years between 2012 and 2021. Some participants travelled directly to Canada, but several others transited through other countries, where they stayed anywhere from a few days to years. Some arrived in Canada in 2018 and 2019 via the United States, during a politically uncertain time for asylum seekers there (U.S Department of Homeland Security 2017). This section outlines all these trajectories in detail.

5.2.2.1 Transitory Countries

5.2.2.1.1 All Roads Lead to Roxham

The profiles of those arriving in Canada through the U.S. were fairly consistent. All female participants began their journeys in the U.S. and followed the Roxham Road, arriving in Québec on foot in Saint-Bernard-de-Lacolle then requesting asylum. Respondents explained that their journeys passed through the U.S. because U.S. travel visas were readily accessible. To enter the U.S. two respondents used visitor's visas, one arrived as a student and the fourth did not specify how they had arrived. One of the women who had obtained visitors visas tried to have her husband flee with them, but they could not afford a plane ticket for him. Another woman "connaissai[t] déjà les États-Unis" and she already had "le visa des États-Unis".

Several of the women had intended to remain in the U.S. after leaving their countries. However, they encountered new barriers in the U.S. that prevented them from resettling there. For those who relocated to the U.S. during Donald Trump's presidency, they consistently heard "le même mot, avec Trump, personne ne peut demander le réfugié".

The interviewee who had gone to the U.S. as a student went in hopes of escaping the troubles she had faced in her country. A postsecondary program in the mid-Atlantic U.S. had admitted her which allowed her to apply for a student visa. The transition to the U.S. proved to be "so expensive. […] I think the first semester is 4000. Oh God. I went to the school, they told me I don't have all the complete papers, I have to pay out of pocket". She braided hair to earn income but the costs of needed medical attention discouraged her. "I had 2000 U.S. dollars. To me that's a lot of money. But when I got to the U.S., when […] I saw the surgeon, she was like I'm just going to waste my money […] she was like very expensive", part of the treatment she required "was 10,000". Three months later, she met her soon-to-be husband. Their meeting brought immense joy, and she was convinced her life would improve. They married shortly after, and she got pregnant and gave birth to a son not long after that. However, the relationship took a turn and her in-laws' implication in their marriage had an alarming effect. She felt her life threatened anew.

These women respondents were pained by the difficulties they faced from in-laws, finances and their prospects as refugees in the U.S. "Je pouvais pas demander l'asile là-bas." But they "heard about Canada" and "just knew this thing, go to Canada, that's your haven." From lawyers, personal research and videos they learned of the refugee claimant process and "understood […] that if your life is being threatened," they could consider travelling the Roxham Road. So, they used their resources and networks to travel northward. First, participants had to

get to Plattsburgh, New York. From there, they "came by the road, and crossed the border at Roxham" walking before border agents detained her. One woman "got scared, but after I work up to my faith, then I went ahead" and she booked travel tickets to New York City, where she purchased $40 bus tickets from New York City Port Authority to Plattsburgh. From there, she and her daughter crossed the Canada-U.S. border before Canada Border Service Agents "booked me in".

All four women experienced turbulent journeys from West Africa to the U.S. then again as they continued to Canada. Finding a bastion of support was harder and less certain than some of them had expected. Each had their reasons to be in the U.S., but in the U.S., they experienced concern, confusion and unpredictability that prevented them from settling. The instability drove them to look for security elsewhere, namely Canada.

5.2.2.1.2 Leaving the Middle East

The participants originating from the Middle East followed multisite, multi-year paths before being approved by the UNHCR to move to Canada. The transitory countries they lived in offered temporary solace but prohibited them from permanently resettling, making their status precarious.

Farhad's route unexpectedly directed them through Southeast Asia. Farhad ran away from their country with their older sister and thought they were on their way to Australia. They, however, remained in Southeast Asia for 5 years until 2018 when the UNHCR told them the Canadian government would be resettling them and their sister in Canada. In the interim, their host country did not grant them permission to work or to study, and their rights as refugees were limited. Their sister was detained without cause, with little to no recourse.

For a decade before Rahmi came to Canada, he lived in an Arab state "on a work permit that was renewed every year," since the state prevented permanent residency. Therefore, knowing that "I [couldn't] go back to my country at all", he and his family travelled to other countries in search of a safe and secure space to build their lives:

> I went to the United States, I got visas, official visas, and I came. I went first to the UK, and I paid a lot of money, and I saw lawyers, they said you have to quit your job in the Middle East and come, and you'll apply, and then you'll see. It was very risky. […] And I was like, seeing the situation there, the opportunities, whether there are […] government sponsoring, I couldn't, you know, you either have to quit your job and to burn your ships

> in the Middle East, and […] Then I tried, and I went twice to the United States, the same way […] visit visa to the United States, […] and I was looking for like a sponsorship program, a government program, yeah. I didn't find something that gives me like security, there was nothing, literally, I remember. So I went back to the Middle East.

He had also considered having his wife and children use visitor visas for the U.S. to travel there then cross the Canada-U.S. border. He would try to follow later. But a friend had warned him that family reunification could be difficult, so they waited until they received a private sponsorship to Canada and the whole family moved together. Once they received notice that they were being sponsored, they renewed their work permits in the Arab state as a backup plan and hastily packed up all their belongings and sold their furniture.

5.2.2.2 Travelling Directly to Canada

The last two respondents fled directly to Canada with international connecting flights. Abdoulaye became a refugee claimant at the Montréal airport, whereas Naser and his family were government-assisted refugees.

Naser and his family travelled to Canada seven months prior to the interview after fleeing their country during a "proper operation, […] the military aircraft coming to the airport and bringing people like […] rescue operation. […] For example, a fire happening […] in a forest, […] someone coming, and rescuing the animal, to humans". His wife was able to "request from [the ambassador] that he provide an opportunity for us to move, and resettlement in Canada". The ambassador "sent an email to the immigration office, and they replied, and they gave us a number for the refugee" to board a flight out of their country. They then waited in their local airport for two or three days without food and water until an "aircraft come into the airport, and bring the people without visa, without any official documents". They then had two connecting flights over 2 to 3 weeks, followed by a 14-day COVID quarantine in Toronto, before arriving in Montréal. A Montréal organization, the Centre social d'aide aux immigrants (CSAI), arranged their flight from Toronto to Montréal.

These multiple migratory trajectories highlight the uncertainty in the refugee experience. Transitory countries offered different levels of independence, from work and study permits to full-government reliance. Changes in U.S. immigration policy prevented some participants from

seeking asylum, leading them to the Roxham Road. Respondents demonstrated great levels of resilience, resourcefulness, and hope as they fled insecurity, and negotiated their options.

Chapter 6. During

Participants' personal circumstances and their countries' responses to violence dictated the channel they took to get to Canada, determining their immigration classes, which in turn determined their early months in the country. Refugee claimants balance resettlement plans with the lack of permanency in Canada pending Immigration and Refugee Board hearings, while those selected for the Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program arrived in Canada with resettlement plans and better resources. This section delves into their responses to the difficulties of adapting to Montréal and the way their immigration classification affected their experiences with housing, income, education and family.

6.1 Housing

6.1.1 Refugee Claimants

Refugee claimants in the study followed two paths for finding housing. Abdoulaye, the only single, childless, male refugee claimant took the first path. He entered Canada at the Montréal airport. Upon release from CBSA, "J'étais chez mon cousin pendant quelques jours et puis là, on m'a cherché un appartement […] Donc ça, c'était la beauté de la chose. Je ne sais pas, j'étais indépendant dès le début". In his nine years in Canada, Abdoulaye lived in three Canadian provinces and at least four Montréal boroughs. In Montréal, he lived in acceptable, commonplace apartments. He ventured to Ontario and Prince Edward Island for studies and had good things to say about both places. He easily found housing through personal connections.

The four single mothers followed the second housing path. Each of them "encountered border service" agents at Roxham and sought protection through refugee claims. "From there, it was the Red Cross," and eventually they were brought to shelters in Montréal, where they stayed with their children until they could secure apartments. At the shelters, they learned about applying for work permits, job hunting, the refugee claimant process, lawyers and other important areas of life in Canada. None of them had the assistance of family or friends to help them, although the presence of their children guided their next steps.

Two respondents had been pregnant, which impacted their shelter experiences. One believed that her pregnancy contributed to making her claim process less disagreeable, with

social workers finding her comfortable spaces to resettle. On the other hand, Salamata felt the shelter staff "n'étaient pas accueillants du tout là-bas". She felt mistreated:

> Ils doivent comprendre que les gens qui viennent d'arriver, c'est pas parce que la personne a des problèmes qu'il n'a pas de valeur. On doit quand même essayer de respecter ses valeurs, c'est pas des moutons, c'est des êtres humains qui ont vécu bien dans leur vie, mais vraiment bien. […] Quand on les respecte, c'est après le sentiment de sécurité vient en même temps. Et ce que j'ai trouvé, qu'on bafouait ça. Et je faisais partie justement des gens qui disaient non à ça. Je n'accepte pas qu'on me piétine. Je connais qui je suis, je te respecte, mais en retour aussi […] c'était vraiment pas convenable.

Salamata used her skills in real estate to quickly lease an apartment and move out of the shelter before she had her baby.

The other two women rented apartments in a southerly Montréal borough and moved there with their children. Two women eagerly moved to other boroughs when they realized, "my former place was so not safe". One found "the landlord was nice, but he was after his money. There were mice everywhere. People smoke, all sorts of things. […] So, some places are not safe. No place is perfect". When she made the leap to change apartments, "I found this place, it's expensive, if it was 700 that would be good, but 750… Mais je n'ai pas de choix!". Though the prices were higher, she was happy to have a sympathetic landlord who intervened to quiet neighbours who disturbed her child. The other women were still living in the same apartments their families had first moved into upon arrival and conveyed no strong opinions about them.

6.1.2 Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program

The respondents who arrived through the resettlement program received a different greeting from refugee claimants. Government policy regulates refugees selected for the resettlement program's first year in Canada. The Canadian government resettled two participants, and a community organization resettled the third.

Farhad and their sister were government-assisted refugees. In an attempt to bring some predictability to their emigration, "in the embassy of Canada, in Southeast Asia, they asked me do you prefer anywhere to go. […] I said anywhere except the French speaking because […] because like I speak English" but he was sent to Sherbrooke, Québec, a mostly Francophone university town.

The Canadian government arranged to meet them at the Canadian airport and take them to a motel for a few days as they prepared to move into an apartment. "I did not have a good experience with them […] in Sherbrooke […] I was like I can't live here. It's a really good place to start a family, raise a kid, but … good luck bringing a kid for that gay guy[s]." Farhad wanted to be in a large city where they would feel safe as a member of the LGBTQ community. "I told them since the first day, 'is it possible to not stay in this place?'". But because of lease regulations "the owner was like you cannot move out now. […] So, I had to literally pay extra two months just so I can leave". They and their sister stayed there for three months before Farhad left for Montréal and their sister moved elsewhere in Canada.

To find an apartment in Montréal "I started searching on Kijiji" then "heard from people" about "Facebook market. The place that I found was from Facebook […] it was […] an apartment with three bedrooms. I rented one of the bedrooms. […] It was shared with other people, quite messy and not very great". Farhad continued to move around Montréal, confronting homophobic landlords, dirty apartments and surly roommates, but was glad to have left Sherbrooke. At the time of the interview, they were happily living on their own.

Naser and his family were assigned directly to Montréal. Once they had completed their COVID-19 quarantine in Toronto, they were transported to Montréal, and the CSAI helped them find an accommodation, enroll the children in school and arrange medical appointments. Any gaps in their integration were filled by a cultural organization. Workers provided Naser's family with a traditional rug from their country and other objects to remind them of home.

A Montréal community group privately sponsored Rahmi and his family. The group had been in touch with the family even while they were still abroad, even providing them with important immigration information. Once in Montréal, Rahmi relied on help from friends and family who were already in Canada to obtain more information about renting an apartment while "I had to stay in Airbnb. […] Unfortunately, because I had all of my luggage, I had to move from one Airbnb to another because I didn't find the right apartment […] from temporary to temporary housing". He found "public transportation" restricting, only allowing him "to see two apartments" each day. Once he rented an apartment, he was more satisfied.

These two families were not entirely content with the size of their apartments and hoped to move to larger living spaces once their finances stabilized.

The three categories of refugees had distinctive and multifaceted challenges finding housing. Half of the participants were still at their first address. The two with no dependents moved regularly and the last two participants moved once from the shelter to a first apartment and once more after; yet nearly all hoped to find better housing once their income increased.

6.2 Income and Finances

Like housing, refugees' and claimants' income sources are prescribed by their immigration status. Refugee claimants are eligible for governmental financial assistance or can apply for work permits. Refugees selected for the resettlement program, both government-assisted and privately sponsored, qualify for employment and a monthly governmental payment for each child under 18 years old called the Canada Child Benefit (CCB) (Agency 2020). In addition, government-assisted refugees can receive governmental income support up to one year after arrival in Canada (Immigration 2012). Privately sponsored refugees can receive a stipend from a sponsor for the same period (Immigration 2012). All categories of migrants are encouraged to bring and use their personal savings to support themselves. Respondents employed a combination of these resources to meet their basic financial needs, and some used their creativity to generate income.

6.2.1 Refugee Claimants Subletting

Several refugee claimants received welfare payments at different points during their transitions to Canada, especially when they first arrived, before finding their first jobs and while they took French courses.

Two refugee claimants also shared that they sublet their apartments as a revenue stream. Immediately following the birth of her third child, Salamata "ne pouvai[t] pas travailler". To supplement the government financial support she decided "vu que j'avais une maison, alors je sous-louais un peu pour essayer d'avoir de quoi vivre […] Du coup, dans ce sens-là, je dis que c'était très, très pénible". Abdoulaye also sublet his apartment whenever he was away searching for work and education opportunities outside Montréal. Subletting afforded these participants an income when they were unemployed.

6.2.2 Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program

Government-assisted refugees also reported receiving government financial support. One found it humbling and uncomfortable to accept the government's assistance. The other encountered intimidating government workers when trying to understand the support payments they were receiving.

Privately sponsored refugees are ineligible for welfare support. Their sponsor is meant to finance them; they can receive a stipend for up to a year. When Rahmi first arrived, he "brought […] savings […] part of them" and "there was the sponsorship stipend that was lasted for one year", which maintained his household financially. However, he needed to transfer the remainder of his savings, which proved to be an enormous challenge. He had been advised to exchange his foreign currency for US dollars then to transfer his savings to Canada. For three months his savings were in limbo. The Canadian banks would not provide him with answers on the whereabouts of his savings. He spent innumerable hours corresponding with the various actors. He felt that this was an act of systemic discrimination based on terrorist stereotypes about people from his country. He wrote a complaint letter to the Canadian Prime Minister.

Notwithstanding Rahmi's transfer issues and the difficult government workers, refugees selected for the resettlement program expressed gratitude towards the Canadian government. Those with children spoke further about the boost that the monthly Canada Child Benefit was for their families' income. They were grateful that they could combine income sources to meet their needs.

6.2.3 Work

Naturally, interviewees still supported themselves through more traditional means, by working. Employment options for respondents were moderated by more than immigration statuses. Education and their French-language capacities were also determining factors.

As discussed, some participants were more fluent in French and others in English. The language barrier was especially pronounced among participants who were professionals in their countries of origin. They were also surprised not to have their qualifications recognized in Canada. Blessing's employment options were limited, because an order that rejected her qualifications regulated her industry. She had contacted the company she now works for early on when she arrived but was refused because "il faut bilingue, il faut bilingue", the job required

a level fluency in English and in French that she had not yet attained. The social worker Blessing had been assigned at the shelter explained that she needed to take French classes. She did so for a year and was hired in a lower position in her original industry once her curriculum vitae (CV) included the French courses.

Rahmi begrudgingly took French classes to secure employment, too. For more than a year, he could not find a job that he wanted as an English language teacher, interpreter or translator:

> First of all, I tried volunteer work, so I tried through websites, through like job seeking or job finding platforms, that was my only way. I once went to a centre [Emploi Québec] I heard that helps find jobs. […] So, I went there, and I told them I need you to help me find a job. They said "Yeah you can, but you need to learn French," you know, this insistence on learning French first was like was very frustrating. It's not easy to learn French at such age, when someone is just starting a new life. It takes time, you know? Shall I wait for one year or two years, you know, to get a job? That was wrong.

He called Canada "the graveyard of qualifications" after unsuccessfully looking for work in Québec in his sector. At the time of the interview, he was working remotely as a translator with an American company and supplemented his income as a driver in the gig economy. He was dissatisfied with his wages and hoped to find a higher paying job. With the child benefit and his side gig, his family could make ends meet. Likewise, Farhad sought work outside Québec and Canada. They obtained an internship that let them build their portfolio and propelled them towards full-time work in graphic design:

> Like, in the beginning, until February honestly, I was like I'm going to die. I don't have any money I don't have any job, I can't find a job, […] my French is so bad, my English is good but where can I find jobs like this? But yeah, suddenly I found the studio that I can do Photoshop, to edit their images and then I just kept on going, like I had an idea in my mind, I want to do UX design. This is what I did before, I want to work, I just kept on teaching myself studying online.

Prior to this job, they worked inconsistently as a part-time cleaner for an artist.

Naser first "went to the supermarket", but "it was hard". Having been a lawyer previously, he found it created "tension" to do a "physical job". Shortly thereafter, he obtained "another job in a carpet company" as a "logistic worker there". He and his wife were working towards having their foreign credentials assessed and returning to the legal profession.

These participants desired to fulfill similar roles and achieve the same career milestones in Canada as they had before. Those who had managed to gain entry points to their professions

were pleased to be gaining experience. But in general, these participants felt more restricted in their career options than those who did not have established careers in their home countries.

Abimbola and Olabisi felt there were “jobs everywhere, if you just really try hard, you know, try to impress them. You speak a little bit of French, they’ll take you. There are minimum wage jobs everywhere.” Their job hunts yielded results much quicker than the participants above. They had each been employed by many companies from their arrival until the interview. They had worked as personal support workers (PSWs), customer service representatives, cooks and other jobs. However, Abimbola and Olabisi encountered some difficulty obtaining higher paid employment because their French was limited. One looked for work outside Québec that was conducted in English. The other chose work that minimized communication with the public.

Salamata, who spoke both English and French, was not hindered by language. However, she found that many jobs existed, but the market was hidden from individuals who were unfamiliar with it or did not have Canadian connections to help point newcomers in the right direction. In her experience, only cleaning and restaurant positions were apparent. With two of her three children living with her and without sufficient knowledge of the Canadian job market, she created her income opportunities: “Juste, je fais un peu les tresses […] pour mon verbe je n’ai pas trop peur d’aborder même les gens dans la rue”.

Abdoulaye suffered a debilitating injury while working at a factory after 8 months in Canada. He stayed home for years due to the resulting mobility issues. He was disenchanted with Canadian workplaces, but three years before his interview, he resumed working.

6.2.3.1 Pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic further complicated several respondents’ employment statuses. Some felt they benefited from the pandemic. New remote work opportunities arose and the Canada Emergency Response Benefit (CERB) (Canada 2020), a temporary financial support for people who were directly impacted by coronavirus, allowed them to do unpaid internships to gain work experience. One participant had grave health concerns that he felt he had to ignore during the pandemic, which allowed him to add new work to his CV. Another shed her fear of catching the virus working in a COVID clinic:

> C’était excessivement même dur. C’est au moment où tu rencontrais les gens devant toi qui sont COVID, j’avais pas peur, parce que pour moi l’aide que je faisais était plus grande

que la peur. Et j'étais sûre et persuadée que je n'allais pas l'attraper, aussi. Ou même si je l'attrape, pour moi c'est… J'avais tellement élevé ma vibration […] Et je l'ai pas eue. J'ai eu d'autres choses plus difficiles peut-être [Laughter].

Different migration classes created differences in income sources among our participants. Some of them had access to more stable and consistent income, while others' finances were precarious. For those who could work, some found the job market accessible while others found the opposite, particularly if they only spoke English. Overall, those with professional backgrounds and who arrived through less precarious migration channels perceived their job prospects more negatively and were more reluctant to accept employment beneath their standards. The ease and accessibility generally pleased those with less education and who arrived as refugee claimants. As participants' identities evolved and the pandemic disrupted employment, some were able to make ends meet in different and inventive ways.

6.3 Education

Several participants had completed formal studies before moving to Canada, which influenced their employment trajectories and their perceptions of professional regulatory bodies. Some participants decided to add to their educational repertoires once in Canada to increase their job options and to gain re-entry into their lines of work. Education choices were also influenced by immigration status, as well as the pandemic and social norms.

6.3.1 Francisation

Québec's official language is French, and business is primarily conducted in French. The government of Québec offers intensive French language courses known as La francisation to newcomers. Students who attend these French courses can receive financial assistance from the government (Gouvernement du Québec 2022). More than half of the participants did not speak French before moving to Québec and were encouraged upon arrival to enroll in the francisation program.

Of the six participants who were not French-speaking, four became French language learners. Neither Abimbola nor Naser enrolled in the francisation program, both citing foregone employment income as their main impediment. Naser and his family relied on his older daughter to interpret for them as needed.

Those who attended French language classes were taught in two formats: in person and in a hybrid format. Farhad attended French language classes in person for nine months. They progressed quickly but found it hard to concentrate on their studies because they were still processing everything they had endured before arriving in Canada. They also experienced homophobia from their francisation classmates, who were from similar national backgrounds to them and shared the very worldviews Farhad had fled. “The school wasn’t the best experience.” “People […] look at you differently, like treat you differently. But being faced with it my entire life made me have a thick skin. Like when I’m being there, somebody’s unhappy”. But they mobilized a resistance strategy to “piss them more off” by deciding not to care and that “I’m going to be happy”.

Olabisi wanted to attend the French classes at one of Québec’s publicly funded colleges, a CEGEP (Gouvernement du Québec 2022b). However, when she moved to Canada with her son, refugee claimants were unable to receive subsidized daycare, so she had to take part-time French language courses that included daycare.

The second pair of the French language learners began their classes in person but changed to a hybrid format when the pandemic began and Québec banned in-person gatherings. Little overlap occurred in what they shared about their experiences. For Blessing, distance learning permitted her to provide care for her child and simultaneously achieve top academic performance. However, she acknowledged that this type of schooling made her feel lonely and isolated.

Rahmi was not impressed by his francisation experience. Though he completed the first five French levels over a year, he felt that the transition was not well executed. “I believe I wasted a lot of my time, be it on the online learning or full-time learning” because the program was not well structured. Rahmi had previously worked in education evaluation, reviewing teachers’ performance, and he judged that the French language teachers were ineffective. Nonetheless, he was “thankful to the government of Québec for providing me the chance with learning French and at the same time I was receiving financial assistance”. He did not feel that that income was compensatory for what he had lost in moving to Canada, but he counted himself “lucky to have the chance to learn French, to be added to my Arabic and English”.

6.3.2 Retraining

Abdoulaye alternated between working and studying as he pursued a degree in information technology. While he was a refugee claimant, he was considered an international student: “Donc les droits que les étudiants internationaux ont, moi je n’avais pas ces droits là parce que ces diplômes ne pouvaient pas me donner des papiers. […] En fait même c’était limité […]. Je suis en train de payer, étudier et travailler et avoir moins de droits.” He had to pay international student tuition, which is a multiple of tuition for permanent residents. Expensive tuition meant pausing his studies repeatedly to work. At the same time, Abdoulaye did not benefit from the traditional international student status, so his time as a student did not count towards permanent residency.

Each of the four women at least briefly sought retraining. Olabisi and Abimbola both took the PSW training program and at the time of the interview were planning to start nursing programs soon. Olabisi had already been accepted to the nursing program but was awaiting her permanent residency (PR) card before starting the program. Blessing attempted a career change over a period of six months, studying in a new field. Salamata began training as a special education technician.

At first, Salamata conflicted with her teacher, but after her first two courses she started to achieve the grades she wanted. She remembered that her self-confidence fluctuated during this time because of her initially poor scholastic performance. Her Québec schooling also had to be paused because her PR card was delayed.

Our last two participants, Farhad and Naser, upgraded their foreign training with online courses. According to Farhad, his specialty was very niche, so the courses he wanted to take were only available online. Naser, on the other hand, preferred virtual learning because it let him work full-time and care for his family while still learning and befriending classmates.

Education was a priority for all participants, and they had all enrolled in some training since arriving in Canada. The effects of their immigration statuses on their educational journeys were affected by the pandemic, their families’ income levels and homophobia. Regardless, each participant highlighted their hope to return to formal studies with government assistance and were grateful that bursaries and loans democratized education in Canada.

6.4 Children

In Québec, school is compulsory for all children aged five years and above. Six interviewees arrived in Canada with children or pregnant. The presence of children meant respondents had to organize childcare and school for their children. Prior to that age, Québec's subsidized daycares, Centres de la petite enfance (CPE), are available (Gouvernement du Québec 2022). Under the Charter of the French Language, school-aged children of immigrants who do not have a special authorization from the Ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur to attend English schools in Québec must enroll in the French public school system by law (Ministère de l'Éducation et Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur 2023).

6.4.1 Daycare

The four female participants all interacted with the Québec daycare system. All four attempted to work and study outside the home; while the pandemic allowed some of them simultaneously to watch over their children and work or study. Pre-pandemic, the women who required childcare had to learn to navigate the CPE system.

Three of the women had travelled to Canada with a child. One of those three gave birth to a child shortly after arriving, as did the fourth woman. This last woman and her daughter had a good experience with their CPE: "Again, my social worker […] she gave me a few numbers to call […] told me what to do." Pre-emptively, she "started calling" daycares "in 2019" before her daughter was daycare age to secure a spot. "They finally answered me in 2020 […], it teaches you patience […] and I was lucky I got subsidized, the one for $8 a day." She said her daughter really liked her daycare.

The other mothers whose children were with them from the outset were unable to wait until they had been accepted to their preferred daycares. One mother recounted:

> The work I got then is 8-4. And my house from the airport is like two hours, or one hour bus. So, I would, I wake up early, wake up my daughter early. Then we go to the daycare, stand at the daycare, as soon as it's 7, I drop my daughter, then I start going, then I will be late to work. I get to work at 8:30 or something, some minutes to 9. So, so, so much challenge.

She was eventually able to find a "daycare 6 to 6" that was compatible with her schedule. "I feel comfortable at then […] what I thought is the more you get used to the society, to the community, that is where you understand the way how things goes." Another also found, as her

children got older, that her ability to work was hindered by "les gardiennes, que tu prennes, les heures ne sont pas conformes avec ça, et c'est la souffrance, souffrance, souffrance."

Olabisi conveyed tremendous pain as she shared about her experience with CPEs. Her son had suddenly "lost speech, the language". It was unclear how he came to have this exceptionality; "he knows his numbers before, even more than 50 […] but he lost everything, and the colours as well". When she first moved to Canada, her son received childcare during her French classes. Once she started working full-time, she registered her son in another daycare but began to display "behavioural issues". Olabisi said "He got kicked out", ostensibly because the daycare's staff-to-child ratio was too low for children with behavioural issues. She found a work-from-home-job until she could find a new daycare. When she found one, it was in another neighbourhood.

When Naser was interviewed, his youngest daughter was too young for daycare, so his wife stayed at home to care of their baby. They hoped to find a daycare soon.

6.4.2 School

Naser enrolled his other daughters in a school catering to newcomers where they studied French as a second language. The CSAI had helped Naser and his wife enroll their children in school, and once he was acquainted with the Montréal transit system, he began meeting with school officials and conducting the registration process on his own. He greatly appreciated the work of "a very famous professor, for […] children of newcomers":

> Unbelievable, she is a very, very professional teacher. […] For example, my daughter went to school, to the welcome class, about four months ago. Now, she can speak French easily, and, for example; now I can speak English, not little bit, for example, some maybe good, some bad, but she can, better for me, in French. It is the result of the work of this lady. […] Another people, also telling me that the school is one of the best school in the Montréal.

Once Abimbola's daughter was school-aged, she enrolled her child in her local neighbourhood school. Abimbola found that the school staff were very supportive and made the registration process easy.

In contrast, Rahmi and Salamata struggled with their children's schools. For Salamata, finding and registering her son in her neighbourhood school was straightforward, but "Parce que mon fils avait des difficultés d'apprentissage, et tous les jours on m'appelait à l'école. Il a fait

ceci, cela. Et j'étais avec mon bébé, et tout. Bon, ça n'a pas été facile." In Rahmi's case, he and his wife researched their children's school and inquired with friends before selecting one. His wife handled the registration process, though he felt because the registration process could be handled in English, it was more manageable. Nevertheless, "I'm not happy about schools to be honest". He had wanted his children "to learn both English and French", but "we were obliged to send our kids to French schools" because his children had not received a certificate of eligibility for English-language schools. Rahmi commented:

> I see my kids are not learning […] too many things […] You know because we're parents and I am a teacher, […] and sometimes you find some, like, results for education at home you know? It manifests in a way or another. I don't see like my kids […] are getting good education, and I later realized that the classification of the school where my kids are is not very high […] and I've been trying to move them to another school now.

He later asked me about schools in other provinces—he was considering moving them elsewhere.

6.5 Systemic Inconsistencies

Uncertainty and insecurity were recurring themes in the interviews. Respondents found that Canadian bureaucracies displayed flagrant unpredictability. Abdoulaye had waited eight years before being accepted as a refugee. The process had been a nightmare for him: "si je regarde la société, je dirais que je suis né ici. […] Mais si je regarde le système, c'est comme si […] je viens d'arriver […] comme je viens de tout suite […] de l'aéroport." He felt he had been subject to "des tortures morales" during his claimant process and that this was a common practice: "le système torture les immigrants surtout les demandeurs d'asile."

Inconsistencies in healthcare shocked Farhad: "The hospital gives you like all of your archives". He was unaccustomed to hospitals not communicating with each other. Similarly, one participant had a friend with an incurable sexually transmitted infection, and she described many obstacles her friend had to surmount to gain access to a specialist. She said that for her care, she might consider finding private clinics. Salamata said that the immigration system made her feel imprisoned. She felt she lacked agency to affect her application and that the lawyers she consulted were overburdened and therefore less effective. She and other respondents wanted the waiting times for work permits, hearing dates, etc., to improve.

These procedural deferments spilled into other areas of interviewees' lives. As noted prior, delays in refugee board hearings, arrival of permanent residency cards, and foreign education equivalency evaluations affected about half the participants' educations.

Bureaucratic delays were a source of frustration, especially regarding refugee applications and permanent residency cards. The inconsistencies in the provincial healthcare system also disappointed interviewees.

6.6 Mental Health Risk

Moving to a new country with different cultural codes while carrying premigratory trauma left some participants stressed and confused. They acknowledged that the transition to Canada took a toll on their mental health. The refugee claimants disclosed battles with depression. One of the women said she had begun to lose her memory and required extensive medical treatment. Another interviewee had mental health and cardiovascular comorbidities that she explained resulted from a prolonged period of uncertainty about her immigration status. The claimant process left one woman feeling weakened physically and mentally. One had suffered so much that she had forgotten she was pregnant. When her water broke, she thought the fluid was urine and carried on unpacking in her new apartment. Another had been a "social bird", so loneliness often overcame her.

6.7 Stigma and Discrimination

Respondents repeatedly mentioned stigmatization and discrimination. Several were made to feel excluded and unwelcomed. One reported this being a factor of their status, but identity-based discrimination was more widespread.

Respondents felt stigmatized by various public servants in different spheres. The government-issued ID given to refugee claimants was often unfamiliar to officials requiring and verifying identification. Blessing recalled "going to Toronto and I was as at the airport, and I had to identify myself—I gave them the brown paper and the girl was like 'what is that', it's the government that gave me the ID, I don't know what it is, if you don't know, I don't know too […] so just things like that I think puts a lot of tension on immigrants." She voiced, "Sometimes you feel reluctant to bring out your ID."

Rahmi expressed concern about his children experiencing discrimination as immigrants and especially as non-Québecois. He encountered public servants who aggressively confronted him about being an immigrant, and he did not want his children to be subjected to the same.

A public servant also insulted Farhad. "I had a really bad experience with Emploi Québec". They had gone to the Emploi Québec office when "one of the agents, when I was like I don't understand the papers, like, could you help me understand this? And she literally started yelling at me: 'If you want to get the money bring this!.' And she had a really bad approach […] in English". They felt stigmatized "because I was on the welfare". They felt personally attacked as though "I'm here to take money from her fucking pocket" and that she was implying, "bring this or otherwise get out!" They also thought this worker was prejudiced against English speakers, so "I took her name, and I reported her and then I had a call like literally from Emploi Québec, 'what is going on?' And I told them, this is such a rude thing". Farhad believed that whether professed or not, "when […] you're still trying to adjust, it's in your energy, it's in your face, it's in your being. Other people can see it, also react to it. You're a foreigner".

These difficult experiences were at play in Montréal as well: "People of Montréal is not the most friendliest people, because I felt like if you're not from around, people push you, instead of welcomes you. But, yeah, it just felt like very different. But not in a bad way, in a good way that, you still have to adjust." Farhad also felt they were treated with hostility because of their sexuality. "Yesterday, I was wearing a long skirt and I was walking around […] with my partner, and I literally heard someone 'this is the most fucking ugliest thing ever get the fuck out of here'. In the Village! In the Gay Village. […] And this is not the first time it's happening." They identify as "a non-binary person" meaning "I'm not a man neither a woman. Sometimes people see me and perceive me as a man and I'm like cool, but I'm like in the middle […] sometimes I dress even in a more feminine way, sometimes in a more masculine way". Early on during their resettlement "I was just walking around in the metro station, one guy started yelling like 'go back to fucking Sainte Catherine' whatever". They had not anticipated this treatment. "I had an idea in my mind like, life is perfect once I'm going to get there it's going to be like heaven". They admitted, "I'm not saying it's bad, considering where I came from and where I am right now […] but still we have to fight for our own rights." Farhad also felt animosity because of the colour of their skin. During the interview, they mentioned educational privileges

that they felt they did not have and gestured between both of us adding that we both shared brown people problems.

Rahmi described having seen evidence of the same race-based phenomenon when "driving a lady with two guys" when he was working for the driving company. Rahmi reported the woman seeing that he "was an immigrant," so "she started saying, 'where are you from?' and she said, 'Why don't you go, and defend your country, for example?'". Knowing "She was like sort of offensive," he de-escalated the situation when "she said, 'do you learn French?' I said 'yeah, of course,' I was like trying to sound positive, I was like 'yeah I love French, it's a beautiful language'". He concluded that "you will definitely encounter some racist people." Rahmi also felt he experienced discrimination based on nationality when his life savings disappeared and the local banks would not tell him where it was. He felt that the bank employees refused to help him because of stereotypes that they had about Rahmi's country of origin. He felt that the mental charge that these compounding identities created was like a balancing act that affected his health.

There was a universal feeling of ostracism and antagonism when it came to language-based identities. This was especially predominant among English speakers, but the French speakers also felt the resentment by proxy as they empathized with French language learners in Québec. Farhad and Salamata felt they had been treated like "trash", and both felt their experience would have been worse had they been unable to communicate in either of Canada's official languages. Several participants emphasized how language limited their employment options and affected the usefulness of their prior education. As noted, Rahmi had tried to obtain work as an English teacher but could not do so in Québec without the ability to speak French. He had gotten into disputes with various characters about language policy, as had all the English-speaking women in our sample. Naser had felt especially victimized by a transportation worker at a Montréal metro station who refused to serve him unless he communicated in French. "But she was not agree with me, 'please speak in French, I cannot speak in English,' like that. […] And about 2–3 minutes I and my daughter, my wife, we stand there, and to find another man he translate my speaking in French, and like that". For Naser, "it was a bad memory. I believe that this lady was able to speak in English, but infortunately she didn't want to speak with us in English to solve the problem. Just told us stay there, stay there."

Interpersonal conflict was widespread for our participants. Whether these incidents were status-based or identity-based, interviewees often felt demoralized and heavily burdened by them.

6.8 Inherent Challenges

All participants were affected by Canada's geography and the pandemic, regardless of their migration channel.

Canada's geography caused challenges like distance from families abroad, distance from essential Montréal services and weather. One respondent shared that she could not mourn her father's death as she wanted because she was already in Canada when he died in West Africa and therefore, she could not attend his funeral. During another interview, a participant received an update on the health of her mother, who was sick in West Africa. Tears streamed down her face, feeling powerless to help her mother. For interviewees with family members awaiting reunification, policies and red tape added to the difficulty of being far from their families. Salamata said that the waiting was like mourning for herself and the losses she had experienced. One participant's heartache led her to question whether she should begin looking for a new romantic partner because of how long she had already waited for her husband's immigration papers to be processed. "But in the aspect of family, marriage, […] I still have God-fearing in my mind, I should not get married to another person you know?"

Regarding his family, one respondent disclosed that "unfortunately, now, we cannot speak with them openly. Because the telephone, all telephone […] maybe someone is hearing our phone," he feared "telephone speaking is very danger for them" because it could be monitored by the country's government. "Their situation is bad […] they tell me […] yeah, hello how are you, you are good, yes, we are good, like that. We have this short relationship speak by telephone with them, everything more is closed, we cannot speak with them more." Respondents largely felt disconnected from those abroad. Yet one countered this challenge: "Parfois on peut se mettre sur le Net, on peut se voir, on peut se parler, on peut échanger, même si c'est pas la même chose," these virtual exchanges brought some comfort.

Canada's size and low population density also caused hardships. Abdoulaye, who had lived in three Canadian provinces, found that Canada's beautiful scenery; its peaceful and picturesque landscapes were the trade-off for not always having easy access to services and

public transportation. He procured a vehicle. Olabisi also had a hard time with transportation and wanted to "buy my car" but the car dealers "don't have anything cheap […] and everything is expensive now". She struggled to cover food and transportation costs, even more so after her son began displaying developmental delays. As we saw earlier, modest incomes were common among participants, including Rahmi who joined the gig economy once he purchased a car.

Canada's cold winter climate was also a challenge for a few participants. Salamata recounted that "une semaine après être venue, il a neigé et je suis tombée sur la neige […] pendant que j'étais enceinte". She had not been accustomed to walking in the cold and snow. Until Salamata gave birth, a woman she met at the YMCA guided her on how to approach the winter. Naser had not had the advice or counsel of anyone during his first winter. It proved to be hazardous for him too, when "I went to IGA buy food, it was about 10 minutes by foot, walking, like." But he had left home "with a small coat". On his way back "it was near to […] kill me. It was very, very danger for me. When I come to home, I was like that, so scary, so cold. I was about one week like that, sick." He had never experienced temperatures of "-30, -25 […] -1, -2, it was, for example, the highest cold of my country". These temperatures coupled with "when the day goes dark fast" were not easy for our interviewees to handle. "That again is something I could not just understand you know [Laughter]! And that was a challenge." Participants had little control over the weather, and some considered it their worst problem.

Participants also had little control over the propagation of COVID-19 and pandemic sanitary measures. Rahmi worked with the public during the global pandemic and like others was worried that he might catch the virus. Olabisi was also afraid of catching coronavirus during her many visits to hospitals and clinics with her son. The pandemic affected Naser and his family differently. Upon arrival, they were barred from attending a doctor's appointment because they did not have proof of vaccination against COVID-19. Salamata was prevented from getting "un petit bobo qui […] s'est enflé" treated by the dentist. "À la fin que la dentiste a accepté, mais alors c'était vraiment difficile. Ça veut dire que la pandémie a affecté vraiment beaucoup de points."

In short, participants' journeys from their home countries to Montréal, Canada were multifaceted. Their premigratory lives were complex, some thrived while others struggled to survive. Regardless of their social and material situations, "par une circonstance horrible" each

was pushed “à quitter leur pays d’origine” because “justement ils aiment leurs vies et […] ils veulent sauver leurs vies.” They travelled to Canada hoping to find a “safe haven”, where they encountered unprecedented challenges. In the next chapter, participants’ coping strategies are explored.

Chapter 7. After

As seen in the last chapter, many of the challenges participants experienced were specific to their immigration statuses while a number of these difficulties, like access to transportation and some forms of discrimination, were inherent to living in Québec. Each obstacle interviewees faced required the mobilization of different skills and resources. Some were easier to tackle than others and some required extensive assistance. This chapter describes the coping strategies participants mobilized in response to their changing circumstances as they settled into their new Montréal homes and how these circumstances affected their sense of safety and security. The chapter concludes with participants' strategies to reconcile their past lives with their present and their new dreams for the future.

7.1 Coping Strategies

7.1.1 Support Systems

No respondent could operate in isolation from the larger Canadian community. Each of them enlisted the help of others and even still some were approached by others offering assistance. They each knitted together their support networks comprised of individual contacts, community support groups and wider government supported resources.

Mentioned earlier, two participants counted on their families' contributions to mitigate their resettlement challenges in very different ways. In Naser's experience, as a result of his English language skills presenting an obstacle to his participation in Montréal life, he depended on his daughter to interpret information presented to him in French. His daughter's precocity and academic success provided their family with some relief as they engaged with unfamiliar surroundings in their new city with its new language.

Abdoulaye's reliance on others was curtailed and more sporadic. He briefly stayed with a cousin when he first arrived in Québec and another cousin when he moved to Ottawa. He credited his network of friends for helping him find housing in Prince Edward Island, when he needed money and when he filed "des demandes humanitaires":

> La deuxième demande que j'avais eue comme plus que cent lettres. […] Donc j'ai des gens sur qui je peux compter en fait. J'ai des amis ici si j'ai besoin de dix mille dollars, ils

vont me le donner tout suite. Et si j'ai besoin d'aide pour conduire, quoique je besoins, là, que je les appelle, ils vont être, s'ils sont capables, ils vont le faire. Quand même, je suis bien entouré.

Friends were major contributors to all participants' resettlement process. Generally, their friends were individuals they had met since arriving in Canada. Respondents had cultivated relationships they felt enriched their lives and gave them important support. One had "a lot of friends: Afghani, Iranian, Turkian, Canadian" through "working in a company". During Ramadan, while "I'm fasting, you know, everyone respect me, for example, and they have a good behaviour with me". He had also expanded his social network through a "business course online", where "a lot of classmate by Internet, our teacher they are very friendly with me". There was no shortage of people "friendly with us": "our neighbours […] the government social worker". They were "interest about my family". For him, "I have a lot of friends, a lot of relationship, and that is the meaning of life in Canada". Participants' new, and sometimes old, friends educated them on tenants' rights, babysat children, pointed them to lawyers, in one case supported a mom during delivery of her child and in all cases, friends were a source of comfort, kindness and belonging.

Farhad shared the joy they had found in their "chosen family": "You have to start finding people that you can count on, family, friends. And when I say family, I have a chosen family here, people that I really can count on. You know like, we're all here the same way, because we don't have anybody else. So, when something happens, we're just there for each other." They found a common culture with other members of the LGBTQ community:

> Really good friendship […] happens a lot between the queer families, because they get kicked out of their home, their family reject them, so they get up and start their own houses and like their own families. That's why that really played a good card in my own story. Now I have chosen family of brothers, sisters and, my mother [Laughter]. She is like few years older than me, but the vibe that she have… She's always like so caring. Like it feels nice to have someone you can count on.

Farhad had learned "inclusivity is being invited to a party, but belonging is when you hear your music playing there. When you feel like it's your people like, you know, your crowd." They found acceptance in others whose stories and trajectories were like theirs:

> Yeah, connected to queer Arab people here and these are all my family. But in the beginning inclusivity, all white people around me, I was like, "we have nothing in common, you have no idea what did I go through". And when we talk about things like,

> it's just not the same. Nothing against […] white people. My boyfriend is white, our experiences were different […] we had a rough life and when we explain it, they're like "woah how did that go?". […] [Laughter] I can't relate. […] Finding your own people, finding your own tribe that you can count on, that are the same as you, is really important […] like we say a spiritual tribe, like people you can connect with.

They were able to endure the homophobia and racism they were confronted with because of the encouragement and inclusion they felt from their "tribe":

> I felt like I tried so hard to fit in, and at some point, I gave up. I was like "I don't want to fit in". I want to stand out. I'm going to be myself. I'm going to be as queer as I can. I'm going to be just as who I am. And suddenly I found like I was actually being in a place where I attracted the right crowd. Where like some people saw me and were like "we really like you for who you are". I was being embraced for my weirdness. And I had a lot of those moments in Montréal where I started crying because like I've never experienced this.

Dancing was a gateway to a sense of belonging:

> Like the way I dance, like with the vogue I learned. But like my entire life watching videos, I was like "yeah, like cool". And then at a party I started dancing like this. My entire life when I was dancing in a way it was so feminine, people like find it weird, find it different. But I saw like a whole crowd they were like shouting, "oh my God this is so good!". I was like I need a minute. I went to the bathroom.

Other interviewees found kinship with others from their country of origin. Rahmi and Naser's families met their ludic needs with others from their respective cultural communities, seeking advice from and celebrating special events and holidays with these communities.

The language component of Abimbola's cultural community made her feel most at home in Montréal. The friends she "she met in the shelter" became permanent fixtures in her life because "we speak the same language" so "she can understand me I can understand her, and from there, we're good."

Several participants accessed resources from community organizations. These groups furnished interviewees with practical needs like clothing and household items. They also offered intangible resources like social justice tools and various types of workshops. Certain claimed that organizations made their transitions easier and gave them a "feel of comfort". Some of them were still in contact with volunteers from the organizations.

These relationships supplied respondents with much needed familiarity and friendship. Governmental support services also played a considerable role in their resettlement.

7.1.1.2 Arrival Infrastructures

The Centre social d'aide aux immigrants (CSAI) is mandated by the Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Francisation et de l'Intégration of Québec to welcome and resettle government-assisted refugees in Montréal. This organization was referred to in the context of Naser and his family. The organization dotted Naser's story with its workers assisting in coordinating his travel to Montréal from Toronto, finding an apartment, guiding him through the school enrolment process for his daughters and navigating the health system.

An equivalent service, the Programme regional d'accueil et d'intégration des demandeurs d'asile (PRAIDA), for asylum seekers offered refugee claimants comprehensive help. Both ladies who were pregnant when they arrived, solicited PRAIDA to find information about hospitals, doctors and other prenatal care. The program also tendered details about immigration lawyers and social workers.

Blessing counted her social workers among her blessings. "The social worker at PRAIDA […] gave me another social worker at the shelter that was very nice". They helped Blessing "with most of the resources". She experienced postpartum depression after giving birth "so, the hospital also was very nice, […] they also gave me a social worker there". Who eventually referred her to "another social worker" with whom she is "still very close till today in fact. On my hearing she gave me a […] recommendation". They built a strong relationship "even if I had any problems, issues, she was a call away. She would come to my house; we talk about it. […] I always thank God too for her, because was she was just amazing." Having studied guidance and counselling in her country, she felt that her workers had been very engaged. Because of workers' engagement, Blessing was encouraged to become a bridge for some of the social worker's new clients, spending time with them to help these newcomers overcome their isolation.

As highlighted earlier, several participants were recipients of governmental financial assistance and government benefits. Respondents felt that these income sources supplied them with relief during financial hardships and their resettlement process.

There was resounding appreciation for Québec's universal healthcare among interviewees. As was highlighted earlier, participants accessed healthcare services for themselves and their families for various reasons that brought positive change to their lives. Abdoulaye received continual care from his workplace accident, Farhad had a hernia repaired

and kidney stones treated. Rahmi had not yet been seen for follow-up care for his injuries sustained in a vehicle accident before moving to Canada. But he was mildly fascinated by the follow-up calls during the pandemic attempting to schedule future check-ups. Olabisi was pleased with the care her son was receiving and appreciated the diverse range of professionals implicated in his case. A couple of women had utilized the services of mental health professionals that equipped them with tools to process their trauma and regain their self-confidence. One of the women had been prescribed medication for anxiety and depression that she described as helpful, allowing her no longer to experience chest pains, to sleep better at night and to cry less. She is now able to improve her mental health in a healthier way. These health services were crucial for our participants' transitions into their new lives. They could begin healing and moving forward without the burden of ill health.

7.1.2 Self-Reliance

Our interviewees had demonstrated resilience and resourcefulness in fleeing adversity in their home countries. Their expedience and adaptability assisted them in surviving until they could find a safe place. After arriving in Montréal, they tailored their skills to meet their needs in their new circumstance and to become self-sufficient. Abdoulaye was proud of how comfortable he felt in Montréal, having quickly moved into his own apartment then recovering from a major injury that could have prevented him from moving forward. He however adjusted and created a new plan, moving to different parts of Canada to advance his education. He and Salamata were easily able to approach others and have others approach them. Their approachability quickly attracted broad networks of friends and acquaintances that created a dynamic of mutual aid between them and their new allies.

Salamata became well known in her neighbourhood for accompanying people in their refugee claims. She helped others read and interpret letters about their claims and prepare for their hearings. For her claim, she competently sought out lawyers to advise her on her hearing, then pleaded her own case. Despite feeling the pressures of caring for a family on her own in a new country while being a refugee claimant, Salamata was proud that she had been able to cope and show tenacity.

The other mothers in our sample took pleasure in their accomplishments as single mothers who had found jobs, cared for their children and been accepted as refugees. A few of

them recounted spending time just walking around their new neighbourhoods to familiarize themselves with their surroundings while getting a lay of the land and identifying places that corresponded to their needs, like grocery stores.

Learning the names of streets, understanding the Montréal public transportation system, and getting accustomed to different rules of the road were challenges that Rahmi and Naser felt they could face head on because of their previous travel experience. Both saw how their pasts helped them transition into life in Montréal. They perceived a direct correlation between their education and their ability to handle all the changes.

Farhad felt equally equipped to ride some of the waves in their journey using their skills and expertise. They were carving out the life they wanted. They felt that through their determination and hard work, they were "building" the life they dreamed of "I am literally bringing everything to life. Wishing about it. Thinking about it. Working for it. Getting it. Like again the job and everything that I have right now like I put myself through this, so I build my own reality, I build my own future." Their self-assurance had assisted them during difficult times, and they felt that it would continue to be a key determinant in overcoming future trials.

7.1.3 Social Solidarity

Farhad transferred their confidence and enthusiasm to trying to bring assurance to others by joining an LGBTQ migrant and refugee organization supporting others in similar situations to themselves. Farhad was no stranger to volunteering and advocating for others, they had developed their own information webpage and organization to help refugees in Southeast Asia. In Canada, they had begun redesigning the website for the LGBTQ migrant organization. They also anticipated starting an advocacy group, to "put people in touch" since they felt "for a new person, who doesn't know anything, I can help them with this piece of information that it's going to make their life so much easier". They had benefited from "some friends that were like here for 2–3 years they really gave me a lot of good advice, and again that's how I survived it [Laughter]. But yeah, I want to do the same thing for other people to make it a little bit easier experience for them, you know?"

Abdoulaye and Salamata were both also heavily involved with migrant activism and building solidarity with others. Many of the letters that had been written for Abdoulaye's humanitarian and compassionate grounds claim were from friends he had met through his

community involvement. He was implicated in several organizations. Salamata volunteered with an organization and offered informal help to newcomers in her neighbourhood. Rahmi also gave back to his community by driving new arrivals from his home country to apartment visits.

Participants found volunteering and helping others rewarding and necessary. They felt that they were filling service and mutual aid gaps they wished had been filled when they arrived.

7.1.4 Philosophies

The last coping strategy articulated by our interviewees was in line with their faith and philosophical beliefs. One of our participants was an atheist but nonetheless felt their life philosophy guided them in adjusting to their new life. Other respondents found social connections within religious organizations that aided them with material goods. Some of our respondents admitted that they found hope and strength through their faith in God.

Religious organizations served as a point of community connection for several participants. Rahmi, Salamata and Abdoulaye had accessed their local mosques for assistance at different points in their trajectories. Abdoulaye also grew to have friendships with individuals he met at his mosque. Olabisi, Blessing and Abimbola also reported cultivating relationships with women from their churches. For Abimbola, her link with churches went beyond finding allies and forming friendships. She lived in a church with her daughter while she scoped out her resettlement options in the United States. For each of these interviewees, they relied on elements of commonality with others of the same faith to help shape their transition to life in Canada.

Several of the women talked about their reliance on God to help them handle life’s challenges and to give them strength: “So, when I have the challenges, I think I call on God, that is my own belief. […] I call on God and God is always there for me. He has been faithful. […] It’s not easy, but how I treat it is my belief is God.” Another participant shared how her faith had guided her through her problems:

> I stood up I said “God, no one is greater than you, and if there was anyone greater than you, I would have gone to that person, gone to that being. But God please, I need you to help me, and I need all those problems to stop. I need to go back to school. And I need my son to be excellent as he was in the beginning.” […] I was talking to God […] which is good, we talk to him when it’s overwhelming, […] so, I spoke to God with my rosary and my Bible, […] those were really dark times.

This participant felt that through her prayers her perspective was changed. She had been provided answers to unknowns as she continued to change her outlook on life and "I should keep developing my grateful attitude […] because I still have the fear, the trauma […] I'm getting there, step by step."

Our interviewees were experienced in enduring hardship. They had proven that they were capable of pivoting and adapting before moving to Canada and were further tested in these areas once they relocated. Each of them demonstrated tremendous forbearance and determination as they engaged with cultural differences, difficult circumstances and people and personal ailments. They used their resources and skills to subvert their challenges, turning to friends and family for support and expand their networks to include religious organizations, government services and community organizations. And in several cases, participants banked on their aptitudes to find creative solutions to cope with stress and adversity. Having weathered major storms, it was apparent that respondents had evolved over time. Referring to their journey, Farhad used a simple analogy to recapitulate how it and their mindset had changed over the years:

> In the beginning I really hated it. In the times that I was in […] the storm, I really hated it. But once I got out, I noticed that everything happens for a reason. I went through those hardships so that I can be this. Like I had this diamond tattoo since I was in Southeast Asia, of it like the carbon, like the more pressure you put on it, it becomes something invincible. I feel like everything that I went through happened for a reason, for me to be here, living my best life, being the person that I am, and having the vision in life that I have, and I want to help other people. Otherwise, my life would be different. So, I have no regrets. I am glad that I learned those […] lessons through that experience. But yeah, it just built me as who I am. Yeah. I'm glad for everything that happened.

Like Farhad, at the time of our interviews, several participants felt settled or were beginning to feel settled into their new lives in Canada.

7.2 Safety and Security

Respondents' identities had evolved during resettlement and the types of security they felt and were looking forward to as their next steps varied. Prompted by my questions, participants expressed diverse ideas about safety in Montréal. For them, safety and security were multifaceted. There were varying degrees of security dependent on numerous factors that could

induce feelings of complete security, insecurity or an evolving and dynamic sense of security often mitigated by their circumstances.

Having left threats of physical violence, hegemonic masculinity and ethnoreligious conflict behind, participants were conscious of the changes in their realities. They often cited differences between their countries of origin and Canada to illustrate the level of security they felt they were experiencing. They drew attention to physical safety, the treatment of women and children in Canada, the consistency of public services, the support they received from their networks, individual freedoms and multiculturalism as sources of security.

Participants had fled oppressive figures and policies and felt that in comparison to their countries of origin, Québec was safer. Generally, they felt relatively physically safe. "Some province of Canada, the harassment against women is done sometime, harassment, you know, violence against women […] But in Montréal, Québec area, Québec Province, it is maybe one to ten hundred cases, you know, but in generally, really, this is a safe province for girls to go to school." Some of the women highlighted that they were reassured that if they or their children were being threatened in Canada, emergency services would protect them and that there could be consequences for perpetrators of violence and threats.

All respondents felt safer knowing that public services like police were more consistent and readily available in Montréal. They felt the government provided social safety nets, services and opportunities that made them feel more secure and opened the door towards feeling completely secure. As seen earlier, they also experienced moments where these services were inconsistent, creating insecurity for respondents. This enigmatic result is discussed later. Nonetheless, several interviewees were looking forward to using government loans and bursaries to pursue further education and continuing to use Québec medical care to get physically and mentally healthier.

Participants also emphasized the connections, highlighted earlier, they had with others and the freedoms that made them feel safe. Individual freedoms were relieving. Participants felt free to express their religion, sexuality, gender, culture, and their opinions. "No one, for example, asked you who is you, from where you come, like what is your religion." Some also appreciated that they could interact with individuals from other identity groups without conflict:

> A lot of people have different religion, different culture, different, for example, beliefs. They are living in Canada, and they are living as a group. But another country, for

> example, they have some problem between black and white, between, for example, Muslim and another. But Canada is not like this. For example, Indian people living near Peruvian people, American people, Haitian people, Chinese people, Russian, like that.

Interviewees felt equal with other residents, “here as a refugee you could do everything every other person is doing. You can rent your house, you can drive a car, it doesn’t stop you, you can do your test, […] you can open a bank account, those things are not problems”.

Lastly, Canada’s picturesque landscapes and easily accessible greenery increased the men respondents’ feelings of safety. Having fled his country because of its policies against women and girls, Naser found the location of his new home a daily reminder that his daughters would be safe:

> But the best time for me, when I came to Montréal, […] my daughters played at home, one of them just look from the window, the park, you know, it is near to our home, and they, […] telling me “Father! There is a park, there are toys for children! In 30 seconds, they move from house and they were running to the area of the park. Yeah, it was very good memory for me, that my children was happy. And every day, now, when they want to go to park, remind me that memory, that really my daughters are very happy here, because they’re near to park.

Despite often feeling safe, some aspects of participants’ lives made them ambivalent about various dimensions of their security. Some challenges, seen earlier, translated into different forms. Of insecurity. Interviewees conveyed how these difficulties often led to feeling unsafe and wary of their surroundings.

Domain security was a cause for insecurity among several interviewees. Housing and income instability made them feel unsafe. For example, as we learned earlier, one respondent lived in an apartment with mice, loud neighbours who smoked marijuana regularly and a landlord that did not respond to complaints. These issues made her feel unsafe and led her to move to another apartment. One respondent had witnessed the occurrence of a crime in his apartment complex, making him skeptical about his living arrangements. Housing conditions affected participants’ sentiment of safety and security, although some deduced that their housing was a function of their income and their income was determined by their level of integration, particularly in the case of professionals. Some imagined that once their foreign credentials were recognized, their income would increase. Others found this a reason for further concern because their international training was not recognized in Canada.

Fears of linguistic and national origin discrimination also made interviewees uneasy. Rahmi did not know if he felt that his children were safe because they were not born in Québec and worried that they may face discrimination. Several worried "how safe" Québec's language policies "make the people feel", "especially for people like us who […] can't even speak" French. Some foresaw moving to English-speaking regions to avoid these politics.

One participant explained wanting to protect her psychological safety from individuals that made her feel unsafe. She had created firm boundaries, preventing certain people from interfering with her mental health. Another respondent was concerned about the presence of mafias and corruption he had heard about but he was unsure of the veracity of the information. At the time of the interviews, Canada's history with First Nation residential schools was extensively mediatized and the details of this part of Canadian history had several participants voicing their fears and concerns about what they were learning.

Managing mental health was a challenge for participants. Farhad exposed that "it took me two solid years of [sigh] psychological things" and decompression after arriving in Montréal. Though they could let out a sigh of relief, they found themselves asking, "where is this going […], why am I not really happy this is what I always wanted?" But they found that "something is missing. Yeah. I guess it was the safety. It was just like, yeah supposedly this is good but why am I not feeling it?". They had been exposed to mental stressors and insecurity for so long that it was hard to pinpoint and articulate their needs. Rahmi also felt his mental health unstable. He confided that he was overworked with two jobs, and it was affecting his health. Even as an accepted refugee, Abdoulaye had to readjust his life for the medical care and treatment he required for his workplace accident that could only be delivered in Québec, precluding him from study elsewhere in Canada. "J'ai trouvé à Prince-Édouard que c'était super bien quand même et j'ai eu une admission à l'université […] j'ai aimé et donc j'ai tout de suite déménagé. J'ai quitté là-bas vraiment pour des raisons pour des conditions raisons médicales parce que je devais faire un suivi." Olabisi also felt the weight of seeking the assistance of mental health professionals for her son's changing health status as his development slowed. Some respondents reported their mental health difficulties being exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic.

7.2.1 Pandemic

Interviewees had different opinions about the effect the COVID-19 Global Pandemic had on their sense of safety and security. A couple of their refugee claimant hearings had been postponed due to the pandemic, forcing them to remain in precarity for longer. “Tout avait ralenti. Immigration avait ralenti. Alors on avait vraiment peur. Personne ne pouvait sortir, c’est comme si on se sentait en prison. Alors dans ce sens-là, la pandémie a été vraiment négative”. One participant extended the insecurity caused by the pandemic to all asylum seekers “ça a touché tout quasiment tout le monde. Surtout la couche la plus vulnérable c’est les demandeurs d’asile. Parce qu’il y a des gens même s’ils sont malades, ils ont peur de se présenter à l’hôpital, de peur qu’on appelle la police ou l’immigration.” The idea of catching the virus also weighed on several participants to the point that one participant explained having to seek mental health services to help process the pandemic.

Farhad offered a different perspective on the pandemic. Despite it being a stressful time, just when they said they had begun to feel somewhat comfortable in Canada, they felt “The pandemic just paused everything”. Affording them the opportunity to process, grow and move forward with their life. The pandemic was a less unstable time than other parts of their life. Though they were faced with numerous health conditions, they felt they had been graced with the opportunity to recover and treat their kidney stones and repair their hernia that had been protruding long before moving to Canada. On the other hand, they were aware that this may not have been the case for everyone. As we saw earlier, Salamata echoed this sentiment in her experience working in a COVID clinic. For these two, the pandemic had a silver lining that they believed they could glimpse because of the tumultuous circumstances they had fled.

Having moved away from the imminent threats that caused respondents to flee brought them some reassurance about their physical safety. Having access to more consistent emergency services gave them a sense of agency and freedom that they had not had before. Yet, none were immune to the threat of the global pandemic, and several felt threatened by anti-immigrant sentiment and other elements expressed in Quebec society. Overall, interviewees’ feelings of safety and security were tempered by their experiences of insecurity in their countries of origin, creating a variable sense of safety for several.

7.3 The Future

When interviewed, participants were no longer under duress and their discourse reflected the removal of immediate threats from their circumstances. Several had transitioned from crisis-driven discourse to resettlement language, using words like "process" and "steps". They were all optimistic about their futures, their ambivalence about their safety did not translate into pessimistic outlooks on their next steps. Abdoulaye was certain his life would continue to change "parce que je sais que tout peut changer […] petit à petit".

Some anticipated having their families reunited in Canada in the near future. Several had already begun the process to have their loved ones join them in Montréal and one woman was confident "The future is going to be right when my husband comes". Another was "trying to see, someday we can bring my mom […] don't know when, but someday".

Participants had begun dreaming new dreams and "constructing" their own futures: "I'm not worried about my future. Pour moi, comme je te l'expliquais, c'est moi qui le construit". They did not feel limited by their statuses, several no longer considered themselves refugees and one participant shared, "I consider myself a successful refugee" and all were "open to opportunity":

> I am optimistic to some good extent. I think there's the potential of fulfilling my dreams. The educational, professional, and financial dreams. So, I want to live the Canadian dream, […] like the American dream. I hope I will be able to become rich, and live a comfortable, secure, and peaceful life. And I think Canada has the, and Québec, has the infrastructure for this.

Chapter 8. Analysis

The research question sought to understand the multifaceted dimensions of security that contribute to refugees' sense of safety in Montréal. To focus on this subject, a deconstruction of the international refugee regime and identification of the maintaining structures of the refugee identity were undertaken (Chapter 1). The intersection of social inequalities and space was then presented and the looping effect that takes place between inequalities and space was illustrated using Québec, Canada (Chapter 2). The conceptualization of security and its evolution over time followed, noting that the object of security has gradually transitioned from the state to the universal concerns of the individual (Chapter 3). The impact of the transfer of security infrastructure from the state to local governments, private entities, and community groups therefore elicited examination. With the rise of neoliberal reforms in the 21st century and in the aftermath of the refugee reception crisis, it seemed important to seek to understand and relate how the political, legal, and social construction of the *refugee* influences and constrains displaced people's sense of security.

Participant refugees were questioned about seven areas with security concerns to gain insight into how they interpret and experience these security issues. The previous chapter relayed these facts and showed that respondents' past experiences of immediate threats to their lives and transnational formations were used as benchmarks for gauging their resettlement experiences. Moreover, their evaluation system signalled uncertainty and insecurity around various issues. This chapter enters into a more detailed discussion of the data obtained as well as a comparison of the results observed in relation to the existing literature.

The seven security issues receive particular attention in this section. The dynamic nature of these security issues offers a foundation and a framework that allow an in-depth examination of select themes included in refugees' discourses and narratives. The analysis of these themes and content show how the information provided by refugees confirms or invalidates the conclusions of certain authors' work mentioned in the literature review.

8.1 Before

Structural and societal insecurities were pervasive in participants' lives. The social systems and violence interviewees were fleeing can be seen as violent reproductions of identity, more specifically, gendered, ethnoreligious and sexual identities.

Governing structures in Naser and Farhad's countries generated gendered violence. Policy and regulation that differentially affected women and girls impacted Naser's wife and daughters. His wife was no longer permitted to practise as a lawyer and his daughters could not attend school. Power structures in Farhad's country feminized homosexuals through transphobic and gendered laws which did not prevent violence against gays and women. The state legitimized violence against these identities, threatening the personal safety of Naser and his family and Farhad and their sister. Individuals and families committed unpoliced gendered violence against participants. Intimate partner violence carried out against Salamata by her ex-husband went without consequence. Salamata's ex-husband was released from police custody after being detained for harming her. The violence perpetrated against Olabisi and Abimbola's daughter was also seen as insignificant to their communities and families. Rahmi's country enabled material and discursive violence against his ethnoreligious group. The ruling group threatened Rahmi's financial security by preventing him from career advancement and targeted him with violence. The material violence ascribed to these bodies was performative, since their societies condoned the violence committed against them, and they were expected to perform and conform to their marginalized identities by accepting the harm and violence done to them.

Interviewees' premigratory class intersected these identities. Premigratory access to symbolic, cultural, social, and economic capital differ among participants. The sum of these symoblic assets yielded greater economic security and stability particularly for prestigious professionals and those with university educations. Nonetheless, financial security did not deter interviewees from leaving their countries, on the contrary, it was a tool that mediated the desire to leave and the migration channels available to respondents. The convergence of their class and spatial mobility produced a *capital de mobilité* (Germain et al. 2021).

8.2 Transitory Countries

Despite the danger faced in their countries, some interviewees' personal safety could be procured with capital. As in Weiß's article where migrants under duress challenge administrative migration categories through their use of their resources and socio-spatial autonomy, Abdoulaye and Naser mobilized their resources to relocate directly from their countries of origin to Canada. Abdoulaye employed his assets as a businessperson to secure a Canadian visitor visa. Naser's wife utilized her professional connections to the Canadian ambassador to their country to obtain visas for their whole family to leave their country immediately and permanently resettle in Canada. Notwithstanding their wealth, the caveat here is that the respondent's country of origin determined their migration category. Naser and his family were government-assisted refugees because of the internationally recognized conflict in their country. While Abdoulaye from a more peaceful West African region was a refugee claimant during eight grueling years. In these cases, states and resources permitted interviewees' direct intervention in ensuring their immediate personal safety and protection.

Participants who journeyed through other countries experienced prolonged uncertainty. Again, statuses had a moderating effect in various areas of participants' security. All respondents having travelled through transitory countries had temporary statuses while there.

The role of status was particularly pronounced for securing durable employment in transitory countries with Farhad's status for example, preventing them from working for the five years they were in Southeast Asia. They were entirely dependent on charity. Because of the Trump administration, the participant women who first relocated to the U.S. could not claim asylum to regularize their statuses and as a result, they were unable to find sustainable employment that would allow them to resettle. For Rahmi, as a temporary foreign worker in his profession, he would have soon exhausted the maximum number of years he could work in his transitory country had he stayed any longer. There was no promise of job security nor any social security for him. Transitory countries did not offer job security, which in turn precluded participants from financial security, housing security and subsequently psychological safety. The risk of being expelled from their transitory country concerned each of them, and thus they wanted to find an alternative route to securing their finances.

Migration to Canada from a transitory country resembled more traditional migration trajectories prompted by financial insecurity (J. H. Cohen and Sirkeci 2016). Participants' immediate personal safety had been achieved, yet their financial security and ancillary forms of security were in flux, hence their relocation to Canada. Nevertheless, departing from their countries under duress and the impossibility of returning there emphasize not only the semantic but also categorical difference between refugees in relation to other migrants (Weiß 2018). Participants' escape from their countries was not economically motivated like other migrant groups. Larger security issues, that transitory countries could only attenuate, compromised their individual security.

Their use of their *capital de mobilité* is worth noting. Participants' experience with multiple displacements or who moved directly to Canada echoes Meeus et al. (2019)'s politics of directionality and subjectivity. Interviewees were invoking their right to mobility to achieve something, namely security. Their quest for security evokes reflections on the transnational, multidirectional nature of migration. Migration "is oriented toward the future, with migrants shifting their relative engagements toward certain places for a variety of reasons over time" (Meeus et al. 2019:5). Building on this, I postulate that migration under duress does not exclusively try to address a single security concern but rather individuals attempt to respond to diverse human security concerns marshalling the various forms of capital available to them.

8.3 During

As suggested in the literature review, global neoliberal thought contributes to decentralized multi-level governance and transferring power to the private sector. As Wood et al. put it, neoliberal urbanism "refers to a set of strategies that seek to […] download many responsibilities from federal and provincial governments to municipalities […] often without the necessary resources or means" to undertake them (Wood et al. 2012:22). The lack of resources that local governments experience leads to cuts in infrastructure that cause incompatible forms of governing in multi-level governance. The Social Inequalities and Space chapter showed how competing language policy ideologies between federal, provincial and municipal administrations generate incompatible responses to cultural diversity. Pluralism in

Montréal ultimately becomes a hybrid between Canada's multiculturalism and Québec's interculturalism.

Decentralization plays a key role in the construction of refugees' sense of safety and security. Provinces "are responsible for setting minimum wages, social assistance benefit levels, and other policies" (Tarasuk and Vogt 2009:184). As a result, incommensurable, municipal, provincial and federal conceptions of these legislative areas result in unsatisfactory settlement, creating precarious employment, housing and other areas of insecurity. In this section, the impact of competing federal, provincial and municipal securitization of participants' social concerns are discussed.

8.3.1 Financial Security

As seen earlier, financial security is an objective and undertaking of the state and of individuals. The securitization of economic growth and labour market participation are integrated into globalized neoliberal values (J. H. Cohen and Sirkeci 2016). Consequently, Beiser (2009) argues that economic security is a benchmark for resettlement initiatives. NGO workers in Nawyn's (2011) study reaffirm this idea. Economic performance is a sign of citizenship. Nation-building and neoliberal values resonate with participants. Accordingly, it comes as no surprise that financial security in transitory countries became refugees' next priority after personal safety and it was relevant to their decision to come to Canada.

Arrival infrastructures provided respondents with material security. All participants had immediate access to work permits and government assistance was a guaranteed source of income for interviewees while taking French classes or while unable to work or find work. Labour market entry, however, was a challenge, since job security, the preservation of identical employment (Meltz 1989), was impossible for interviewees. The lack of recognition of international credentials, participants' status and language barriers impeded respondents from obtaining the jobs they wanted.

Class in country-of-origin guided respondents' perception of job availability. Those that had been trained and had worked as professionals in their countries felt that job prospects were not ideal. They were more reluctant to accept work that did not meet their standards, while the ease and accessibility of employment and market citizenship pleased those with less education

and who arrived as asylum seekers. There was an inverse relationship between premigratory security and post-migration job security. Those who had experienced premigratory income security also felt that they should be experiencing the same income security in Canada: "Financially, I see better jobs, better-paying jobs, and I believe I'm supposed to have one of these jobs, at least to get $20 […] per hour […]. So why I'm getting like, […] in the middle between minimum wage? […] We were promised to be promoted […] and to have better wages." This was contrasted by the women who had not found their desired employment in their countries but were fine with minimum wage jobs in Canada. They were pleased to be employed, as Pozniak's (2009) relatively young and less skilled Colombian participants had been with menial work.

Extending McAll (1992) and Labelle et al.'s (1987) argument about some expressions of multiculturalism pigeonholing immigrants into low wage jobs, the women in the sample had all began or completed short caregiving college programs that funnelled them into low-pay feminized work. The male and non-binary participants rejected this prescription and retrained in more prestigious fields or attempted to obtain higher-status jobs.

8.3.2 Housing Security

These perceptions about financial security affected ancillary forms of security like housing and psychological safety. Several participants experienced zones of transition (Meeus et al. 2019) such as insecure housing. These zones simultaneously destabilized interviewees and acted as launching pads towards secure housing. The women had all been taken directly to shelters where they had different experiences, some fared better than others in their interactions with shelter staff and in their navigation of the resources provided by the shelter. This type of service provision was suitable for some (Germain et al. 2021), yet as seen earlier, Salamata felt these supposedly welcoming spaces made her feel unwelcome. Crenshaw (1991) describes disappointing shelter experiences as a product of the shelter's incompatibility with the user's needs such that "they failed to accomplish the basic priority of the shelter movement-to get the woman out of danger" (Crenshaw 1991:1263), and for Salamata creating insecurity. Temporary and initial housing was frequently inadequate for interviewees. For Farhad, government appointed regionalized housing created a sense of insecurity; they felt their queer identity made

them a target of microaggressions. Though their housing was secured through the government, their identity interfered with their sense of security in their accommodations. Rahmi found the itinerant Airbnb lifestyle destabilizing. Despite having a sponsor who was meant to arrange housing for Rahmi and his family, Rahmi was tasked with having to rent his own apartment while based in an Airbnb. In these cases, arrival infrastructures prompted insecurity. Several authors would attribute the incommensurability of the resettlement service—Rahmi's sponsor, the shelter and government appointment housing—and the need of the refugee, to a lack of consultation with users (Hallett 2016; McAll et al. 2015) and an over-reliance on consultation with resettlement workers (Germain et al. 2021) during service development.

Despite this temporary insecurity, capital permitted respondents to find more conducive housing, if not right away like Abdoulaye, after one or two moves when they could afford more expensive rentals.

8.3.3 Psychological Safety

The stigma and various types of discrimination experienced by respondents jeopardized their mental health. Relying on Beiser's (2009) and El-Bialy and Mulay's (2018) research on discrimination and refugee mental health, the results confirm the re-uprooting refugees endure when they are victims of microaggressions (El-Bialy and Mulay 2018). Participants felt uncertain about their safety after discriminatory encounters. This was particularly pronounced in Farhad's case when they were resettled in Sherbrooke, a relatively small city. Their story affirms Beiser's findings that within one year of their arrival, government-assisted refugees appointed to Canadian towns and rural areas relocate to larger Canadian cities.

Beiser's results are less compatible with the language discrimination participants endured. In his study, language acquisition, more precisely, English-language acquisition, is a predictor of depression and employment. This, however, is not the case in this study. French-language acquisition and employment are variable. For Blessing, her French-speaking ability landed her the job she wanted while for Rahmi and Farhad, the broadening of their job hunt and not their French, helped them attain the jobs they wanted. Beiser also finds that those who are most in need of language training are often those least likely to receive it. But this is not the case because Abimbola and Naser, who did not have French classes, are both able to communicate

in Canada's other official language, English. The French language and Quebecois identity did, however, still impact participants' mental health since they operated as exclusionary devices. As seen, participants felt "this insistence on learning French […] was like was very frustrating".

As a nation that builds its identity through language, Quebec oscillates between a linguistic identity that needs to be preserved and a secular identity that is being threatened (Bilge 2012). These attitudes seep into the discourse and interactions between some of Quebec's local population and some participants, as can be seen in Naser's encounter with a transportation ticket salesperson who refuses to serve him in English, or when Rahmi uses French to disarm his customer who had committed a microassault against him by asking, "Why don't you go and defend your country?". In this study, with the addition of language politics and bilingualism, language acquisition does not necessarily contribute to psychological safety.

Further to Beiser's findings on the impact of discrimination on mental health and psychological safety's connection to job security (seen earlier), immigration status affects several interviewees' psychological health. Among asylum seekers, the stress of awaiting their refugee claimant hearings and their permanent status is a psychological stressor. Bureaucratic delays, worsened during the pandemic, causing participants mental and physical health to deteriorate. Mescoli (2019) refers to this experience as *immobility*. Though interviewees had changed countries, they were stuck waiting in a liminal space over the course of the asylum process.

As in the case of El-Bialy and Mulay's (2018) study participants in Newfoundland and Vatz Laaroussi's in Quebec (2009), several participants in this study foresee secondary mobility. They anticipate eventually moving from Montreal to provinces "where there are more job opportunities, a wider variety of community services, and greater diversity […] multiculturalism" (El-Bialy and Mulay 2018:2) and less language politics. Despite participants disclosing that they found that the consistency of government services and programs gave them a sense of security, government services, particularly those that operate strictly in French were a source of insecurity. This insecurity is explained by Vatz Laaroussi who identifies secondary mobility as a sign of poor hospitality and accommodations towards migrants. Thus it can be suggested that reduced accommodation through language politics in Quebec directly contribute to migrants' desire to move elsewhere and to a lack of feelings of psychological safety. So, in

the interim, until interviewees move, they have been securing their mental health through the same resources that Beiser found prevented his respondents from becoming mental health casualties.

8.3.3.1 Support Systems

Participants' mental health risk decreased through their support systems. As seen, ethnic communities, friends and family as well as religious and social institutions have a moderating effect on participants' psychological safety. The support and rejection Farhad received is echoed in the literature. The homophobic attitudes of their classmates from their own national background was found among Lee and Brotman's (2011) and Chbat's (2012) research participants. As predicted by Lee and Brotman, the queer community, Farhad's "tribe", temper the exclusion Farhad met.

Among this study's respondents "the presence of a significant other helps mitigate the mental health risk created by resettlement stressors" (Beiser 2009:562). The opposite was also true with the lack of support from spouses and partners awaiting family reunification being a source of insecurity. As seen, with no updates on her husband's arrival date, one woman was contemplating starting to date in Canada.

Building on Beiser's findings, these results reveal that giving back through social solidarity helps further protect participants' mental health, with activism a sign of respondents' positive sense of security.

8.3.4 Environmental Security

An unanticipated recurrent theme in the interviews was the environment. The literature offered limited insight into the environment's impact on human security. Nevertheless, the interviews yielded results that emphasize the environment's role in the conception of security. Manzo and Perkins (2006) suggest that the quantity and quality of natural resources and the landscape can be converted into environmental capital. According to Kobayashi and Peake (2000) nature can have a salubrious effect. This effect is evident in Rahmi's recounting of his transition from housing insecurity to security: "I live in a two-bedroom apartment, in a building […] the location is nice […]. We have like parks […] attached to our compound. […] we have

the view of the river. […] I love nature and I like to be close to the nature. And for us, Canada is the dream where we go to pure nature." Likewise, attraction to nature and its capacity to reassure are echoed by Adoulaye and Naser. Alternatively, the inverse was also true for some participants. Shortened winter days and Canada's inclement weather precipitated harm to some respondents: when Naser went grocery shopping during the winter, and Salamata slipping and falling on ice while pregnant. The environment has an immediate impact on interviewees. Reduced environmental capital jeopardizes their personal and psychological safety.

Accordingly, since environmental security is generally conceived in relation to the environment's implication in national economic growth, I submit that environmental capital, as opposed to environmental security, is a surrounding contingency to or mitigating factor of various forms of human security including personal and psychological safety and even financial security.

8.3.5 Pandemic Security

The pandemic was a source both of security and insecurity. From a civilizational security perspective, COVID-19 was a threat to the species. But during the pandemic, the government also provided safety nets that allowed for temporary income security which snowballed into increased education and job options for several participants. In this case, the Canadian government's national security approach to pandemic security with lockdowns, provincial curfews and mandatory masking secured the state and individuals who benefited from working or studying from home. However, as Rushton and Kittelsen (2016) anticipate, a statist approach to pandemic security detracts from other national values, like the exacerbation of participants' pre-pandemic insecurities. Precarious immigration statuses were prolonged and poor physical or mental health worsened and went untreated.

8.4 Analysis: Conclusion

After examining interviewees' narratives in light of the literature, several inferences can be derived about participants' construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of their security and safety throughout their journeys from their countries of origin to resettlement in Canada.

An initial conclusion that can be drawn is that security can be conceptualized as a fluid and evanescent process that involves a socially and temporally situated layering of various securitized social issues. We can deduce that there are predictable layers to the experience of security that parallel the layers of the disillusionment model (Beiser 2009).

The first phase of the model, *euphoria of arrival*, is comparable to the first layer of security—the securing of personal safety. In the model, this phase is characterized by immigrants and refugees' relief of being in a new country. The participants' first step in their resettlement journeys was finding personal safety. The disillusionment model suggests that immigrants' euphoria is eventually replaced by "disillusionment with the receiving society, and nostalgia for what people feel they lost in leaving home" (Beiser 2009:560). Once respondents are out of harm's way, they begin relativizing their experience in relation to their previous lives, particularly in terms of their financial security. The findings therefore indicate that the second layer of security is financial security. Because both participants' and Canada's logic figure within global neoliberal thought which privileges economic growth, the framework of both parties use a heuristic method to find *a* best solution to respond to refugees' security. Removing duress from refugees' day-to-day experience drives a desire for market implication. Thus, once this is achieved, similarly, alongside newcomers' eventual taming of their new environment in the disillusionment model, financial security ultimately begets other forms or *layers* of security like psychological safety, housing security and other ancillary forms of security.

These layers and fluidity of security are illustrated through Abdoulaye's workplace accident. After landing in Canada, he felt personal safety and financially secure when he joined the labour market. His personal safety, however, was quickly compromised when he was injured on the job. He became financially insecure and lost his job security.

Another important inference that can be taken from our findings is that two variables moderate the layers of security: infrastructures of security and social identity. Canadian

infrastructure is able to secure several participants' security issues. For example, access to emergency services is concomitant with respondents' personal safety and CERB, the Canadian Child Benefit and other government financial assistance are responsible for securing some participants' finances. These resources acted as *infrastructures of security* that shaped interviewees' security. The word *infrastructure* in this context is consistent with its usage in the concept of *arrival infrastructures*. In both cases, *infrastructure* emphasizes the migrant channelling through the diverse programs and resources available to them. We can imagine that participants access these infrastructures step-by-step, ultimately configuring whether and what state intervention will be pertinent for them.

Lastly, the findings reveal that the intersection of different social identities is a moderator of security amongst our participants. In this sample, capital is especially relevant, participants' access to capital after relocating is volatile and heavily influenced their interpretation of security and insecurity.

Conclusion

Theoretical and Methodological Implications

This thesis relies on original empirical investigation of the dimensions and elements that detract from and aid in the production of a sense of security for refugees in Montréal. The objective was to assess the robustness and effectiveness of Canada's safety laws and refugee resettlement structures. The concepts of safety and security were problematized. Relevant security issues and their moderators were weighed against refugees' concrete realities. The thesis also provides an overview of the international refugee regime, how refugees engage with this regime in various spaces brokered by social inequalities and gives a glimpse into three security models. Out of this in-depth look at these themes emerges a key research issue: the intermittent nature of safety and security for refugees.

To delve further into these motifs, eight semi-structured interviews with accepted refugees who arrived in Canada after 2012 were carried out. Their thematic content was then analyzed using an intersectional framework and Bourdieu's theory of capital. Both tools make possible not only to identify intersecting categories such as relative class and gender in participants' security and insecurity but also to clarify decentralization's contribution to a narrowing scope of security infrastructure in Canada.

These findings infer that refugees' sense of safety and security is dynamic and their access to capital influences their interpretation of their security. These observations shed light on the fluidity of security and the overarching apparatuses and assemblages that combine to form refugee infrastructures of security. Refugees' access to capital and their transnational formations inform their reading of the practicality of these infrastructures at varying moments of their settlement. The data analysis indicates the heuristic nature of existing resettlement and social service programs and structures, while confirming Canada's ability to reassure refugees of their personal safety.

Practical Implications

This qualitative work provides critical reflections about the efficacy of government, community and private programs targeted to refugees. The findings offer information into the creation of more streamlined strategies that pair appropriate security infrastructure with the corresponding immigration category. This suggests implications for policymakers during a Canadian labour shortage and push for increased migration. While previous research has focused on resettlement schemes and resources, these results show that constructing and reconstructing a sense of security is a continual and multi-scalar process. And by reconceptualizing the process as informed by infrastructures, the temporality and subjectivity of security are emphasized. Refugees become active, resilient participants in designing a sense of security amidst their resettlements. While the common belief is that Canada is a safe and secure place, refugees challenge what safety and security mean, when and how it is achieved.

Limitations and Future Work

This master's thesis entails several noteworthy limitations that are important gateways for future research.

The limited size of the sample population does not permit generalization. A particular blind spot resulting from this sample is the impact of sex and status on refugees' sense of security. All the women interviewed arrived in Canada as refugee claimants. The sample was unable to provide insight into the lived experience of government-assisted or privately sponsored refugee women.

Similarly, a second important limitation of this project is its transferability to different groups of refugees. Currently, distinct migration movements not covered in my thesis are occurring. The questions, however, that I pose in my research can be reassigned to future studies. For example, examining the conceptualization of sense of safety and security of groups having entered Canada at Roxham Road whom Quebec officials displaced to other Canadian U.S.-Canada border cities before the expansion of the Canada-U.S. Safe Third Country Agreement (Immigration 2023b). Also extending the research question to include individuals whose spouses, partners and dependent children were reunited with them because of the new

immigration measures announced on May 26, 2023. The measures will expedite family reunification through temporary resident visas and open work permits for spousal and family class applicants (Immigration 2023c).

Further evolution in Canada has featured important environmental events and changes. Respondents highlighted the moderating effect the weather had on their sense of safety and security in Canada. Since completing the interviews, the impact of climate change has been apparent on the Canadian landscape. On April 5, 2023, Quebec and Ontario experienced a major power outage resulting from an ice storm. Cleanup and restoration from the storm took several days, leaving thousands of Montréal residents in the cold for an extended period of time (Hydro-Québec 2023). Unprecedented wildfires have affected Quebec, along with ten other Canadian provinces and territories since March 2023 forcing residents across Canada to evacuate their homes (Canada 2023). Scholarship to understand the repercussions of these events on resettled refugees' sense of security would be very timely for understanding resettlement, particularly amidst immigration regionalization questions (Immigration 2023a).

Lastly, it would also be relevant to investigate refugee settlement agencies' conceptualization of security to confirm whether the workers/agencies' perspectives are commensurable with those of refugees, thus, determining whose security concerns agencies and whether refugees are receptive to the resources or conceptions of security that are projected on to them.

Consolidating interviewees' responses and thoughts into this master's thesis was a delicate task. For their protection and to preserve their anonymity, some details were glossed over or omitted from the results and analysis. Nevertheless, pertinent motifs and conclusions were possible to extract and to highlight. I hope that I have accurately and with humility conveyed the stories of my participants and that their experience with this master's thesis is one of many secure and safe experiences they had in Canada.

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Annex I

Université de Montréal

Recherche sur les expériences des personnes qui sont arrivées à Montréal en tant que réfugiés du Moyen-Orient

Intéressé(e) à partager vos expériences pour un mémoire de maîtrise ?

Objectifs de la recherche :

- Comprendre la façon dont les personnes réfugiées arrivées au Canada depuis **moins de dix ans** du Moyen-Orient sentent en sécurité ou non dans différents espaces. (ex. divers quartiers, espaces religieux, lieux de travail, écoles etc.)

- Proposer des pistes de solutions pertinentes pour l'amélioration de l'expérience d'intégration des personnes réfugiées à Montréal/Laval/Rive-Sud.

Ce que votre participation implique :

- Participer à un entretien individuel de **60 minutes** en anglais ou en français au moment votre choix par Zoom ou en la distanciation sociale;
- Aucune information personnelle ne sera demandée et votre participation est confidentielle ;
- Une compensation de 25$ est remise en guise de reconnaissance de vos savoirs et de votre participation ;

Critères d'admissibilité :

- Être une **personne réfugiée acceptée du Moyen-Orient** au Canada (ex. réfugié accepté, parrainé par le gouvernement, parrainage privé) ;
- Résider dans le Grand Montréal (Laval/Rive-Sud) depuis **moins de 10 ans** ;
- Avoir **18 ans** ou plus

Pour participer, veuillez contacter :

Krystal Tennessee, Étudiante à la maîtrise ès sciences | Département de sociologie, Université de Montréal : (XXX) XXX-XXXX / XXX.XXX@umontreal.ca

Recherche approuvée par le comité d'éthique de la recherche – Société et culture (CER-SC) de l'Université de Montréal (certificat CERSC-2020-065-D). Pour toute question : cersc@umontreal.ca

Université de Montréal

Research on the experiences of people who arrived as refugees from the Middle East to Montreal

Interested in sharing your perspectives for a Master's thesis project?

Research objectives:

- Understand the way people who arrived as refugees from the Middle East and who have been in Canada for **less than** 10 **years** feel safe or unsafe in different spaces (ex. various neighbourhoods, places of worship, workplaces, etc.)
- Use the results to propose relevant solutions aimed at improving the settlement and integration of refugees in Montréal/Laval/South Shore.

Participation includes:

- Taking part in an individual interview lasting around **60 minutes** in English or French at the time of your choice through Zoom or socially distanced;
- No personal information will be asked, and your participation is **confidential;**
- A compensation of $25 is given in recognition of your participation.

Eligibility criteria:

- Be a person who arrived as a **refugee from the Middle East** (ex. accepted refugee, government sponsored, privately sponsored);
- Live in the Montréal region (Laval/South Shore) for **less than 10 years**;
- Be **over 18 years old**.

To participate, please contact:

Krystal Tennessee, MSc candidate, Department of sociology, University of Montreal
(XXX) XXX-XXXX / XXX.XXX@umontreal.ca

Research approved by the Ethics Committee for Research Society and Culture of the University of Montréal (Certificate CERSC-2020-065-D For any questions: cersc@umontreal.ca

Annex II

GUIDE D'ENTRETIEN

Note : l'ordre et la formulation des questions sont à aménager selon la discussion et le discours de la personne interviewée.

- Tout d'abord, merci beaucoup d'avoir accepté de participer à cette entrevue.
- Présentation succincte de la personne (si non connus : âge, prénom etc.).

PROFIL PREMIGRATOIRE

1. Pouvez-vous me parler de votre vie avant de venir au Canada?
    a. Profession, travail?
    b. Niveau d'études, étudié à l'étranger?
    c. Implication – famille, religion, social, bénévolat, etc.?
    d. Contexte social, économique, politique du pays d'origine?

2. Quelle est votre nationalité? Appartenance ethnique, religieuse? Langues parlées?

3. Quelle est votre situation familiale? (Célibataire, marié, enfants – si oui, combien, âge?)
    a. Autres membres de la famille qui habitent au Canada?
    b. Autres membres de la famille à l'étranger (parents, grands-parents, frères ou sœurs, tantes, oncles, cousins, conjoint/e)?
    c. Avez-vous des obligations familiales? (Ex. envoyer de l'argent)

4. Pouvez-vous me parler des circonstances qui vous ont incité à quitter votre pays d'origine?
    a. Processus – comment êtes-vous parti?
    b. Avez-vous quitté avec votre famille? Si non, où sont-ils maintenant?
    c. Avez-vous transité par d'autres pays avant de venir au Canada? Si oui, vous y avez passé combien de temps?
    d. Quand est-ce arrivé?

SETTLEMENT AND INTEGRATION IN CANADA

1. Pouvez-vous me parler de comment vous êtes arrivé au Canada?
    a. Quand? Comment? Comment vous sentiez-vous
    b. Connaissances au Canada, au Québec?
    c. Que saviez-vous du Québec/Montréal avant de venir?
    d. Vous êtes resté où? Comment vous avez trouvé ce logement? Vous y vivez toujours?
    e. Comment vous sentez-vous là-bas?

2. Pouvez-vous décrire comment votre établissement s'est déroulé?
    a. Premiers contacts/amis?
    b. Assistance avec les choses pratiques (nourriture, logement, inscription à l'école, cours de francisation, santé, emploi, transport, etc.)

3. Pouvez-vous décrire vos expériences avec les choses suivantes :
    a. Francisation (pour vous ou votre conjoint/e):
        i. Inscription? Dans quel quartier? Près de chez vous? Satisfaction?

b. École (pour vous ou vos enfants) :
   i. Inscription? Expériences (relations avec le directeur, l'enseignant, les devoirs, etc.)

c. Emploi (pour vous ou votre conjoint/e):
   i. Comment avez-vous cherché de l'emploi? Assistance de personnes ou organismes?
   ii. Type de travail ou bénévolat?
   iii. Occupez-vous un emploi présentement? Quel type? Comment trouvé? Satisfaction?

4. Pouvez-vous parler de défis que vous avez rencontrés ici?
   a. Qu'avez-vous fait pour les surmonter?
   b. Quelque chose qui a facilité?

5. Quand vous entendez le mot réfugié, vous pensez à quoi?
   a. Vous considérez-vous comme réfugié?
   b. Pensez-vous que cette catégorie a un impact sur votre intégration? Si oui, comment?

SITUATION ACTUELLE

6. Pouvez-vous parler de la situation actuelle de vous et de votre famille?
   a. Situation financière? Logement?

7. Avez-vous un réseau social sur lequel vous pouvez compter?
   a. Type de soutien reçu: famille, amis, organismes
   b. Implication social, religieuse? Avec les gens du même pays ou appartenance ethnoculturelle?
   c. Avez-vous rencontré de nouveaux amis depuis votre arrivée?

8. Que pensez-vous du terme « sécurité»?

a. Vous sentez-vous en sécurité?
b. Y a-t-il des endroits ici où vous vous sentez en sécurité ? Pas en sécurité ?
c. La pandémie a-t-elle eu un effet sur votre conception de votre sécurité?

CONCLUSION

1. En pensant à votre expérience, quels ont été les aspects positifs? Aspects négatifs?
   a. Qu'est-ce qui aurait pu être fait différemment pour faciliter les choses?
   b. Quel a été le rôle de votre famille (ici ou à l'étranger) et vos amis dans le processus d'intégration?
2. Vous vous sentez optimiste à combien sur la suite des choses pour vous? Pourquoi?

3. Compléter les éléments manquants du profil socio-démographique :
   a. Lieu de résidence, quartier, etc.
   b. Source de revenu principale
   c. Composition du ménage et nombre de personnes qui vivent dans la maison
   d. Age

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Note: the order and the wording of the questions will be adjusted according to the discussion and the speech of the interviewee.

- First of all, thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this interview.
- Brief presentation of the person (if not known: age, first name, etc.).

PREMIGRATORY PROFILE

5. Can you tell me about what your life was like before coming to Canada?
    a. What was your profession? What type of work did you do?
    b. Level of education? Studies completed in country of origin or elsewhere?
    c. What kinds of activities you were involved in aside from working? (family, social, religious, volunteer, etc.)
    d. What was the social, economic, political situation in your country of origin?

6. What is your nationality/ethnic background? What is your religious background? What languages do you speak?

7. What is your family situation (married or single/children - if so, how many, age)?
    a. Do you have any family that lives in Canada?
    b. Do you have any family members that are living in another country (parents, grandparents, siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins/spouse and children if they didn't come together)?
    c. Do you have any family obligations? (ex. sending money to family living abroad)

8. Can you tell me about the circumstances that forced you to leave the country in which you were living?
    a. Can you explain what the process of leaving was like (how did you get out?)
    b. Did you leave with your family? If not, were they left back home? Did they join you later? Are there family members currently waiting to be reunified with you?
    c. Did you go to other countries before coming to Canada? If yes, how long were you there?
    d. When did this occur?

SETTLEMENT AND INTEGRATION IN CANADA

9. Can you tell me about how you arrived in Canada?
    a. When did you arrive? How did you get here? How did you feel?
    b. Did you know anybody in Canada, in Quebec?
    c. Did you have any idea about how things would be in Canada? What did you know about Montreal before arriving?
    d. Where did you stay? How did you find that place of residence? Do you still live in the same place?
    e. How do you feel there?

10. Can you describe how the settlement in Canada took place?
    a. Your first contacts? Are you still in contact with these people?
    b. Assistance with practical things (food, housing, school registration for you or children, French language courses, healthcare, employment, transportation, etc.)

11. Can you describe your experiences with the following things:
    a. French language courses (for you and/or spouse):

i. How did you register? Were the courses offered in your neighbourhood? What was it like for you to take these courses?

b. School (for you and/or children):
    i. How did you register? How did things go? (relationship with principal, teacher, classmates/homework)

c. Work (for you and/or spouse):
    i. How did you search for employment? Did anyone or any organizations assist you with the job search?
    ii. Have you worked or done volunteer work? What kind of job/volunteer?
    iii. Are you working now? What kind of job? How did you get it? Are you satisfied with this job?

12. Can you describe some of the challenges that you have experienced since you arrived in Canada?
    a. How did you deal with these challenges?
    b. Anything that helped you deal with them?

13. What do you think about the term “refugee”?
    a. Do you consider yourself as a “refugee”?
    b. Do you think it has an impact on your settlement here? If so, how?

CURRENT SITUATION

14. Can you describe your current situation here for you and your family?
    a. Financial situation – is it enough to live on?
    b. Your housing situation – quality of housing, neighbourhood, transportation, accessibility of services

15. Do you feel like you have a support system here (people that you can count on)?
    a. Describe type of support received by: friends, family, organizations?
    b. What social/religious activities are you involved in? (ex. those organized by people who share similar ethnic/religious background)
    c. Have you made new friends since you arrived in Canada? How did you meet them?

16. What do you think about the terms “safety” and “security”?
    a. Do you feel safe?
    b. Are there places here that makes you feel safe? Unsafe?
    c. Has the pandemic had any effect on your conception of your safety or security?

CONCLUSION

4. When thinking about your own personal experience, what are some of the positive aspects throughout the whole process? What were the negative aspects?
    a. What could have been done differently that would have made things easier?
    b. What has been the role of your family (here or abroad) and friends throughout this process?
5. How optimistic do you feel about your future? Why?
6. Complete any missing elements from socio-demographic profile:
    a. Place of residence, neighbourhood
    b. Main source of revenue
    c. Household composition and size
    d. Age

Annex III

FORMULAIRE D'INFORMATION ET DE CONSENTEMENT

« Displaced Security: Middle Eastern Professionals as Refugees in Canada »

Qui dirige ce projet?
Moi, Krystal Tennessee. Je suis étudiante à la maîtrise à l'Université de Montréal au Département de sociologie. Mon directeur de recherche est Christopher McAll, professeur au Département de sociologie, lui aussi.

Décrivez-moi ce projet
Mon projet a pour but de mieux comprendre la façon dont les personnes réfugiées du Moyen-Orient conceptualisent et vivent la sécurité au Canada. Dans le cadre de cette étude des entretiens individuels auront lieu avec des personnes réfugiées arrivés au Canada d'un pays en situation post conflit. Le projet vise à explorer les expériences vécues par les réfugiés pendant le processus d'installation et d'intégration dans la société canadienne. Il impliquera des entretiens individuels avec un maximum de 10 participants à Montréal avec des personnes réfugiées. Les entretiens individuels se dérouleront en anglais ou en français (selon vos préférences).

Si je participe, qu'est-ce que j'aurai à faire?
Vous aurez à participer à une entrevue avec moi durant laquelle je vous poserai des questions sur votre processus d'installation et intégration dans la société canadienne. L'entrevue devrait durer environ 1 heure, et avec votre permission, je vais l'enregistrer sur magnétophone afin de pouvoir ensuite transcrire ce que vous m'aurez dit sans rien oublier. Si vous préférez que je ne vous enregistre pas, je pourrai simplement prendre des notes.

Y a-t-il des risques ou des avantages à participer à cette recherche?
Il n'y a aucun risque à répondre à mes questions. Cependant, il se peut que cette entrevue vous rappelle des moments désagréables. Si vous le souhaitez, vous pouvez simplement décider de ne pas répondre à ces questions et même mettre fin à l'entrevue.

Vous serez compensé $25 pour votre participation. Votre participation pourrait m'aider à mieux comprendre et communiquer les expériences actuelles des personnes réfugiées.

Que ferez-vous avec mes réponses?
Je vais analyser l'ensemble des réponses tous les participants m'auront données. Tous les efforts seront déployés pour maintenir la confidentialité, lorsque les résultats seront partagés. Les résultats feront partie de mon mémoire de maîtrise.

Est-ce que mes données personnelles seront protégées?
Oui! Aucune information permettant de vous identifier d'une façon ou d'une autre ne sera publiée. De plus, les renseignements recueillis seront conservés de manière confidentielle. Les enregistrements et les transcriptions seront gardés dans un bureau fermé et seuls mon directeur de recherche et moi-même en prendront connaissance. Les enregistrements et toute information permettant de vous identifier seront détruits 7 ans après la fin de mon projet. Ensuite, je ne conserverai que les réponses transcrites, mais sans aucune information concernant les personnes qui me les auront données.

Les résultats généraux de mon projet pourraient être utilisés dans des publications ou des communications, mais toujours de façon confidentielle, c'est-à-dire sans jamais nommer ou identifier les participants.

Est-ce que je suis obligé de répondre à toutes les questions et d'aller jusqu'au bout?
Non! Vous pouvez décider de ne pas répondre à une ou plusieurs questions. Vous pouvez aussi à tout moment décider que vous ne voulez plus participer à l'entrevue et que vous abandonnez le

Ce projet a été approuvé par le Comité d'éthique de la recherche - Société et culture de l'Université de Montréal.
Projet no CERSC-2020-065-D

projet. Dans ce cas, vous pourrez même me demander de ne pas utiliser vos réponses pour ma recherche et de les détruire. Cependant, une fois que le processus de publication des données sera mis en route, je ne pourrai pas détruire les analyses et les résultats portant sur vos réponses, mais aucune information permettant de vous identifier ne sera publiée.

À qui puis-je parler si j'ai des questions durant l'étude?
Pour toute question, vous pouvez me contacter au numéro suivant XXX-XXX-XXXX ou à l'adresse suivante XXX.XXX@umontreal.ca. Plusieurs ressources sont à votre disposition.

Ce projet a été approuvé par le *Comité d'éthique de la recherche – Société et culture* de l'Université de Montréal. Pour toute préoccupation sur vos droits ou sur les responsabilités des chercheurs concernant votre participation à ce projet, vous pouvez contacter le comité par téléphone au XXX-XXX-XXXX ou par courriel l'adresse cersc@umontreal.ca ou encore consulter le site Web : http://recherche.umontreal.ca/participants.

Si vous avez des plaintes concernant votre participation à cette recherche, vous pouvez communiquer avec l'ombudsman (c'est un « protecteur des citoyens ») de l'Université de Montréal, au numéro de téléphone XXX-XXX-XXXX ou à l'adresse courriel ombudsman@umontreal.ca (**l'ombudsman accepte les appels à frais virés**).

Comment puis-je donner mon accord pour participer à l'étude ?
En signant ce formulaire de consentement et en me le remettant. Je vous laisserai une copie du formulaire que vous pourrez conserver afin de vous y référer au besoin.

CONSENTEMENT

Déclaration du participant

- ☐ Je comprends que je peux prendre mon temps pour réfléchir avant de donner mon accord ou non à ma participation.
- ☐ Je peux poser des questions à l'équipe de recherche et exiger des réponses satisfaisantes.
- ☐ Je comprends qu'en participant à ce projet de recherche, je ne renonce à aucun de mes droits ni ne dégage les chercheurs de leurs responsabilités.
- ☐ J'ai pris connaissance du présent formulaire d'information et de consentement et j'accepte de participer au projet de recherche.

Je consens à ce que l'entrevue soit enregistrée : Oui ☐ Non ☐

Je souhaite recevoir un résumé des résultats de cette étude une fois celle-ci complétée Oui ☐ Non ☐Si oui, à l'adresse courriel suivante : ____________.

Signature du participant :______________________________ Date :____________________________________

Nom :____ Prénom :__________________________________

Engagement du chercheur
J'ai expliqué les conditions de participation au projet de recherche au participant. J'ai répondu au meilleur de ma connaissance aux questions posées et je me suis assuré de la compréhension du participant. Je m'engage à respecter ce qui a été convenu au présent formulaire d'information et de consentement.

Signature de la chercheuse : ___________________________________ Date : ________________________________

Nom : ____ Prénom : _____________________________________

Université de Montréal

INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

"Displaced Security: Middle Eastern Professionals as Refugees in Canada"

Who is running this project?
I, Krystal Tennessee, am a master's student at the University of Montreal in the Department of Sociology. My research supervisor is Christopher McAll, professor in the Department of Sociology, as well.

Tell me about this project
This project aims to better understand the way refugees from the Middle East conceptualize and experience security in Canada. As part of this study, individual interviews will take place with refugees who have arrived in Canada from a post-conflict country. The project aims to explore the experiences of refugees during the settlement and integration process in Canadian society. It will involve individual interviews with a maximum of 10 participants in Montreal with refugees. Individual interviews will take place in English or French (depending on your preference).

If I participate, what will I have to do?
You will have to participate in an interview with me during which I will ask you questions about your settlement and integration experiences in Canada. The interview should last for about 1 hour, and with your permission, I will record it on tape recorder, in order to then transcribe what you have told me without forgetting anything. If you prefer that I do not record you, I can just take notes.

Are there any risks or benefits to participating in this research?
There are no risks in answering my questions. However, this interview may remind you of difficult moments. If you wish, you can simply decide not to answer these questions and even end the interview.

You will be compensated $25 for your participation and. Your participation may help me to better understand and better communicate the current experiences of refugees.

What will you do with my answers and photographs?
Your answers will be analyzed and reviewed with all the answers that all the participants will have provided me. All efforts will be used to maintain confidentiality, when results are shared, confidentiality will be preserved. The results will be published in my master's thesis provisionally entitled *Displaced Security: Middle Eastern Professionals as Refugees in Canada*.

Will my personal data be protected?
Yes! No information, identifying you, in anyway, will be published. In addition, the information collected will be kept confidential. The recordings and transcripts will be kept in a closed office and only my research supervisor and I will see them. The recordings and any information that identifies you will be destroyed 7 years after the end of the project. Then I will keep only the transcribed answers, but without any information concerning the persons who gave them to me. The overall results of this project could be used in publications or communications, but still confidentially, that is, without ever naming or identifying participants.

Do I have to answer all the questions and until the end?
No! You may decide not to answer one or more questions. You can also decide at any time that you no longer want to participate in the interview and that you want to abandon the project. In this case,

you may even ask me not to use your answers for my research and to destroy them. However, once the process of publishing the data is started, I will not be able to destroy the analyzes and results of your answers, but no personally identifiable information will be published.

Who can I talk to if I have questions during the study?
For questions, you can contact me at the following number XXX-XXX-XXX or at the following address XXX.XXX@umontreal.ca. Several resources are at your disposal.

This project has been approved by the University of Montreal's *Ethics Committee for Research–Society and Culture*. For any concerns about your rights or the responsibilities of researchers regarding your participation in this project, you can contact the committee by phone at XXX-XXX-XXXX or by email at cersc@umontreal.ca or visit the website: http://recherche.umontreal.ca/participants.

If you have complaints about your participation in this research, you can contact the Ombudsman (he is a "citizen protector") at the University of Montreal, at phone number XXX-XXX-XXXX or at email address ombudsman@umontreal.ca (the ombudsman accepts collect calls).

How can I agree to participate in the study?
By signing this consent form and giving it to me. I will leave you a copy of the form that you can keep for future reference.

CONSENT

Participant statement

- ☐ I understand that I can take my time to think before agreeing or not to participate.
- ☐ I can ask questions to the researcher and demand satisfactory answers.
- ☐ I understand that by participating in this research project, I do not waive any of my rights or release researchers from their responsibilities.
- ☐ I have read this information and consent form and agree to participate in the research project.

I consent to the interview being: Yes ☐ **No** ☐

I wish to receive a summary of this study's results once the study is complete Yes ☐ **No** ☐ **If yes,** please send to the following email address: ____________.

Participant signature:______________________________ Date :____________________________________

Surname:______________________________________ Given name :__________________________________

Researcher's commitment
I have explained the conditions of participation in the research project to the participant. I have responded to the best of my knowledge to the questions asked and confirmed the participant's understanding. I commit to respect what has been agreed to in this information and consent form.

Researcher's signature: ___________________________________

Date: _______________________________

Surname : ________________________________ Given name : ____________________________________

Annex IV

Petit guide de ressources communautaires dans le grand Montréal

Loisirs

BANQ
Bibliothèque des archives nationales du Québec
475 Boul. de Maisonneuve E. Montréal
514-873-1100 http://www.banq.qc.ca/accueil/

La Ruche d'Art St-Henri
Matériel d'art et de création gratuit
4525 Rue Saint-Jacques, Montréal
514-433-849 http://www.laruchedart.org/

Centre communautaire Bon Courage de Place Benoit
155 place Benoit, #2, Ville St-Laurent
514-744-0897
http://www.centreboncourage.org/

Centre Patro Le Prévost
Centre communautaire Villeray
7355 avenue Christophe-Colomb
514-273-8535
http://www.patroleprevost.qc.ca/

Santé et logement

Office municipale d'habitation
Demande de HLM
415 Rue Saint-Antoine
514-888-5588 http://www.omhm.qc.ca/accueil

Régie du logement
Renseignement sur les droits des locataires, responsabilités du propriétaire
514-873-BAIL (2245)

Ville de Montréal - 311

OEIL: Organisation d'éducation et d'information du logement de Côte-des-Neiges
3600 ave Barclay, #344
514-738-0101 http://www.oeilcdn.org/

Centre d'écoute et de référence
Pour tout besoin d'aide/de référence
514-737-3604

CLSC près de chez vous:
http://sante.gouv.qc.ca/repertoire-ressources/clsc/

La Maison Bleue – Centre Prénatal
Côte-des-Neiges: 514-509-0833
St-Michel: 514-379-3539
Parc Extension: 514-507-9123

Médecins du Monde
Clinique pour migrants: 514-281-8998 #246
560 boul. Crémazie Est, Montréal
514-523-1861

Suicide Action Montréal
24h/24, 7 jours sur 7
1-866-277-3553

Violence Conjugale

SOS violence conjugale
24h/24, 7 jours sur 7
514-873-9010 ou 1-800-363-9010

Bouclier d'Athéna Services Familiaux
Montréal: 514-274-8117 or 1-877-274-8117
Laval: 450-688-6584

AMAL Centre pour femmes
903 boul. Décarie, #204, Ville St-Laurent
514-855-0330

Femmes du monde à Côte-des-Neiges
6767 chemin de la Côte-des-Neiges
514-735-9027

Info-lignes multilingues du Bouclier sur la violence sexuelle et les ressources
Montréal : 514-270-2900
Laval : 450-688-2117

Défense de droits

Front commun des personnes assistées sociales du Québec
514-987-1989 http://fcpasq.qc.ca/

Projet Genèse
Défense de droits au logement et à l'aide sociale
4735 chemin de la Côte-Ste-Catherine
514-738-2036

Dépannage alimentaire

MULTICAF
Cafétéria communautaire et dépannage alimentaire
3591 avenue Appleton / 514-733-0054

Chic Resto Pop
Repas à prix abordables et accessibles
1500 avenue d'Orléans
514-521-4089

Armée du Salut
Services communautaires et d'aide à la famille
6624 boul. Monk / 514-766-2155, poste 5

Petit guide de ressources communautaires dans le grand Montréal

***Accueil/Immigration ***

Action Réfugiés Montréal
1439 rue Ste-Catherine O. Montréal
514-935-7799

Association multiethnique pour l'intégration des personnes handicapées
6462, boul. St-Laurent
514-272-0680/ameiph@ameiph.com

CANA : Carrefour d'aide aux nouveaux arrivants
10780 rue Laverdure / 514-382-0735

CARI St-Laurent: Centre d'aide et de référence pour immigration
774 Boul. Décarie, St-Laurent
514-748-2007

Centre Local pour l'Intégration et la Cohésion Sociale – CLICS
1876, boul. des Laurentides, # 205, Laval
438-808-9242/clicslaval@gmail.com

Centre d'Encadrement pour Jeunes Femmes Immigrantes
Formation, emploi
1775 boul. Edouard-Laurin, Ville St-Laurent
514-744-2252/http://www.cejfi.org/

Le COFFRET – St-Jérôme
181 rue Brière, St-Jérôme
450-565-2998/message@lecoffret.ca

Comité d'aide aux réfugiés
518 rue Beaubien Est
514-272-6060

Mon nouveau Bercail
Accueil et intégration des nouveaux arrivants
8356 Rue Labarre Montréal
438-933-7660, info@monnouveaubercail.com

PRAÏDA: Programme régional d'accueil et d'intégration des demandeurs d'asile
3725 St-Denis, Montréal
514-484-7878

PROMIS: Service d'aide aux immigrants et aux réfugiés, sans papier
3333 chemin de la Côte-Sainte-Catherine
514-345-1615

SIARI: Service d'interprète d'aide et de référence aux immigrants
6767 chemin de la Côte-des-Neiges
514-738-4763

La Maisonnée
6865 ave Christophe-Colomb
514-271-3533 http://www.lamaisonnee.org/

Solutions justes
Aide juridique dans le domaine du droit de l'immigration et des réfugiés
1435 rue City Councillors, 3e étage
514-844-9128 poste 204
js@montrealcitymission.org

Permis de conduire

Société de l'assurance automobile du Québec
Échanger un permis étranger
Ne vous rendez pas en point de service
Appelez afin de présenter votre demande et de vérifier votre admissibilité.
514-954-7771
https://saaq.gouv.qc.ca/permis-de-conduire/permis-etranger/

Centre local d'emploi: accès à une imprimante gratuitement

Piscines, pataugeoires et jeu d'eau : http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/

Pour toute question/information contacter:

Krystal Tennessee, Étudiante à la maîtrise (Département de sociologie, Université de Montréal):
XXX-XXX-XXXX/ XXX.XXX@umontreal.ca

Projet de recherche: Displaced Security

Community Resources in the Montreal Region

Leisure Activities

BAnQ
Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec / National Library
475 Boul. de Maisonneuve E. Montréal
514-873-1100 / 1-800-363-9028

Community Centre Bon Courage
155 Car Benoit, Ville St-Laurent
514-744-0897

St-Henri Art Hive
Free community art studio and science shop-open to everyone!
4525 Rue Saint-Jacques, Montréal
514-433-849

Patro Le Prévost Centre
Villeray Community Centre: Movies, swimming pool, many other activities
7355 Avenue Christophe-Colomb
514-273-8535

Housing & Health

Office municipale d'habitation
Housing application for Social Housing
415 Rue Saint-Antoine
514-868-5588

Régie du logement
Information on the rights of tenants and the responsibilities of landlords
514-873-BAIL (2245)

Ville de Montréal – 311

OEIL: Housing and Education Côte-des-Neiges
514-738-0101

Centre d'écoute et de référence
Mental health and social integration
514-737-3604

CLSC / Health and social services
http://sante.gouv.qc.ca/repertoire-ressources/clsc/

La Maison Bleue - Social Prenatal Center
Côte-des-Neiges: 514-509-0833
St-Michel: 514-379-3539
Parc Extension: 514-507-9123

Doctors of the World
Physical and Mental Health support & services
560 boul. Crémazie Est, Montréal
514-523-1861
* **clinic for Migrants with Precarious Status**:
514-281-8998 #246

Suicide Action Montréal - Suicide revention
24h/24, 7 days a week
1-866-277-3553

Domestic Violence

SOS Domestic violence
514-873-9010 or 1-800-363-9010

Bouclier d'Athéna Family Services *Montréal*:
514-274-8117 or 1-877-274-8117
Laval: 450-688-6584

AMAL Center for Women
903 boul. Décarie, #204, St-Laurent
514-855-0330

Femmes du monde à Côte-des-Neiges
Women's Center in Côte-des-Neiges
6767 chemin de la Côte-des-Neiges
514-735-9027

Multilingual Info-Line about violence against women and sexual violence
514-270-2900 (Montréal)
450-688-2117 (Laval)

Advocacy

Genesis Project
Social Welfare and Housing Advocacy
4735 chemin de la Côte-Ste-Catherine
514-738-2036

Food assistance

MULTICAF
Food Bank, Community cafeteria & social intervention
3591 avenue Appleton / 514-733-0054

Chic Resto Pop
Affordable meals & Community center
1500 avenue d'Orléans, Montréal
514-521-4089

The Salvation Army Community & Family Services
6624 boul. Monk/514-766-2155 ext.5

Immigration

Action Réfugiés Montréal
Sponsorship programs, Education &Advocacy for Refugees
1439 rue Ste-Catherine O. Montréal
514-935-7799

Community Resources in the Montreal Region

Association multiethnique pour l'intégration des personnes handicapées
6462, boul. St-Laurent
514-272-0680/ameiph@ameiph.com

CANA : Carrefour d'aide aux nouveaux arrivants
10780 rue Laverdure/514-382-0735

CARI St-Laurent: Integration and Welcome center for newcomers
774 Boul. Décarie, St-Laurent
514-748-2007

Centre Local pour l'Intégration et la Cohésion Sociale – CLICS Laval
1876, boul. des Laurentides, Bureau 205
438-808-9242/clicslaval@gmail.com

Centre for Young Immigrant Women
Training, employment, food bank
1775 boul. Edouard-Laurin
514-744-2252

Le COFFRET
Welcoming and Integration services for Newcomers in St-Jérôme
181 rue Brière, St-Jérôme
450-565-2998/message@lecoffret.ca

Canadian Council for Refugees
Advocacy for refugees
6839 rue Drolet #301, Montréal
514-277-7223
info@ccrweb.ca / www.ccrweb.ca

Mon nouveau Bercail
Integration services for newcomers
8356 Rue Labarre Montréal
438-933-7660 info@monnouveaubercail.com

L'Hirondelle: Integration Services for Newcomers
4450 St-Hubert, Montréal
514-281-2038

PRAÏDA: Regional program for refugees, newcomers and asylum seekers
3725 St-Denis, Montréal
514-484-7878

PROMIS: Service d'aide aux immigrants et aux réfugiés, sans papier
3333 chemin de la Côte-Sainte-Catherine
514-345-1615

SIARI: Translating services and Integration & Welcoming services for Newcomers
6767 chemin de la Côte-des-Neiges
514-738-4763

Solutions justes
Legal Aid for asylum seekers, refugees & people without status
1435 rue City Councillors, 3e étage
514-844-9128 poste 204
js@montrealcitymission.org

Driver's License

Société de l'assurance automobile du Québec
Exchanging a foreign license
Do not go to a service outlet
Call to make you request and to check your eligibility
514-954-7771
https://saaq.gouv.qc.ca/en/drivers-licences/

**Local Employment Center: access to a free printer.*

**Neighbourhood swimming pools in Montreal: free and open to everyone according to the schedule.*

For any questions or comments:

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XXX-XXX-XXXX/ XXX.XXXX@umontreal.ca

Displaced Security: Research Project