

Running head: REFLECTIONS ON AGENCY AND EMPOWERMENT

**A Matter of Choice: Reflections on Agency and Empowerment among Refugee Women and
Older Youth Resettling in Canada**

Pallabi Bhattacharyya

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology and Criminology
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Copyright © 2022 Pallabi Bhattacharyya

Acknowledgements

Many amazing, encouraging, and supporting people have helped me along the way and I am grateful for their contributions. On each occasion, I've reflected on how fortunate I've been to be doing this job in the company of individuals who are as enthusiastic, committed, and gracious as those I've met along the way. I am grateful to be part of a community of academics, activists, and service providers that support my study and appreciate the relevance of research that discloses the perspectives of a group that is seldom heard from.

I am eternally grateful to my participants who took the time to share their experiences honestly and generously with a complete stranger; it takes a lot of courage and resilience to adapt to multiple challenges in a new country. I dedicate this thesis to all the youth and women who have entered Canada as refugees and have struggled and are still struggling to make this place their home. I am especially grateful to my youth participants who have shown the courage to share their past and settlement experiences so that I can make their voices heard in the hope of a better future for the newcomer refugee youth. I really hope that what follows pays tribute to their selfless contribution, in any little manner.

My dissertation journey began in 2012 when I started working as a researcher in India. I was involved in one of the projects sponsored by UNESCO where I met with Tibetan Refugee women resettled in an eighteen-year-old camp in India. The community was self-sufficient, and women of all ages were the sole breadwinners of the family earning an income through knitting double knotted carpets. As part of this activity, the women were also continuing to use their cultural heritage. This was the first encounter I had with refugee women and it made me think about how the model of empowerment worked in India and whether it could be adopted in any other country of resettlement. I visited Canada in 2010 and met with my PhD supervisor, who already had more than 15 years of experience with the refugees, and I became inspired by her work and decided to concentrate my studies on refugee women under her supervision. It is my supervisor, Dr. Lori Wilkinson, who encouraged me develop a strong interest in immigration and refugee studies. She guided me to learn the skills necessary to be a successful social scientist. Most importantly, I learnt how to work with others in a meaningful and authentic way. I owe a debt of gratitude to my supervisor for her continuous guidance and opportunities, both of which have helped me get to where I am now.

I also want to thank Immigration Research West (IRW), Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), and the University of Manitoba for generous financing that enabled me to concentrate on my research and establish my career. I am also grateful to the Department of Sociology for creating an encouraging and friendly learning atmosphere. I want to give special thanks to my committee members, which included Drs. Lori Wilkinson (supervisor), Gregg Olsen (committee member), Annette Desmarais (committee member), and Shauna Labman (committee member). I also want to thank Aryan Ghasemiyani for conducting the Yazidi interviews in Kurmanji, Khosrow Hamseidh for his translations of the Kurmanji documents, and Sarah French, settlement worker from River East Transcona Immigrant Services for sharing my recruitment posters among refugee women and helping me with participant recruitment.

I could not have done this research without the unwavering support of my family and friends, who have been there for me through thick and thin. I dedicate this thesis and my degree to my mother, who always believed in me. Unfortunately, she is no more in this world to see me complete my Ph.D., but I still hear her voice in my head scolding me every time I procrastinate. I also could not have completed my degree without my best friend Sayanti's support. You are always there to tease and laugh with me, explore with me, and simply be there to hold my hand while I go through difficult times. Back home, you took care of my mom when she was sick and did everything that I would have done as a daughter. I am blessed to have you by my side. Finally, I want to express my sincere appreciation to my partner Jai. Thank you for being more of a best friend than a husband when I needed it the most. Thank you for making me all my favourite food, keeping me from dozing off while writing, spending nights with me taking coffee shots just to remain awake with me while I gaped at the computer screen. Thank you for driving me to the university, every other place of work, and to research interviews. I would never have done so well without your bright, funny, and kind company. Thank you for rejoicing my success as your own. I continue to reap the rewards of your hard-won wisdom, unshakable commitment, and incredible sense of humour.

Abstract

This research focuses on the rights and agency of victims of wars and persecution, especially the rights of displaced women and youth. Using Naila Kabeer's empowerment approach, it addresses the question, "*To what extent are refugee women and youth in Canada able to (or unable to) practice their agency accessing resettlement services and programs in order to gain empowerment?*" Using two sets of qualitative data, the study examines the Canadian resettlement process and questions whether it allows women and youth to act as creative agents drawing upon resources, creating opportunities to improve their lives, create better mental health conditions, and empower themselves as newcomers in a new society. The first study includes secondary data from an Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) funded project on 21 Yazidi women (qualitative structured interviews); and the second study in study two is part of my primary data which was collected through semi-structured interviews with 17 Syrian, Somalian and Ethiopian refugee youth and women living in Manitoba. This study adds new theoretical perspectives to the existing academic literature on resettlement by examining the micro (individual refugee women), meso (settlement services and programs) and macro (national refugee policies) perspectives of successful resettlement. It establishes a new conceptual model for studying empowerment among refugee women using development theory, exclusion theory, and relational theory to investigate empowering attributes of the existing resettlement services and support system in place for refugees. A significant empirical finding from this research is that existing resettlement policies and settlement programs are designed to protect refugees and focus mainly on meeting their immediate settlement related needs rather than increasing their sense of agency and self-sufficiency in the long-term.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	ii
Abstract.....	iv
List of Acronyms	viii
List of Tables and Figures	ix
1 Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Canadian Resettlement Services and Programs	3
1.2 The Study Focus.....	6
1.3 Study Objectives	7
1.4 Definitions.....	8
1.5 Entrance classes of refugees to Canada.....	10
1.5.1 Government Assisted Refugees (GARs).....	10
1.5.2 Private Sponsored Refugees (PSRs)	10
1.5.3 Blended Visa Office-Referred (BVOR).....	11
1.5.4 Refugee Claimants: The Process of Making a Refugee Claim in Canada	12
1.6 Resettlement Support, Services and Programs for Newcomer Refugees	13
1.7 Agency	15
1.8 Empowerment	15
1.9 Demographic Context	16
1.10 Dissertation Structure.....	19
2 Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	20
2.1 Employment among Refugee Women and Youth.....	22
2.2 Housing	24
2.3 Access to Language, Education and Necessary Settlement Resources among Refugee Women and Youth	26
2.4 Conclusion	31
3 Chapter 3: A Theoretical Framework for Understanding Agency and Empowerment Among Refugee Women and Older Youth	34
3.1 Integration through Adaptive Preferences.....	35
3.2 Why is Development Important for Refugee Women and Youth?	37
3.3 The Empowerment Approach	38
3.3.1 Conceptualizing Empowerment: Agency, resources, and achievement.....	38
3.4 Social Exclusion Theory	43
3.5 Women and Human Development Theory – From a Capabilities Approach.....	46
3.5.1 Nussbaum’s Development Theory from a capabilities approach.....	46
3.6 Relational Theory.....	49
3.6.1 Applying relational theory to the research question	50
3.7 Conclusion	52
4 Chapter 4: Methodology	53

4.1	An Intersectional Approach	54
4.2	Reflexively Positioning Myself as the Researcher	57
4.3	The Research Project.....	58
4.3.1	Description of the secondary data analysis—Study 1	58
4.3.2	Description of the primary data—Study 2	60
4.3.3	Data analysis	65
4.3.4	What is a thematic analysis?	66
4.3.5	How is thematic analysis applied in this study?.....	66
4.3.6	Researching refugee women	70
4.4	Challenges	72
4.5	Conclusion	74
5	Chapter 5: A Matter of Choice: Factors Perpetuating Exclusion and Affecting Development among Refugee Youth during Resettlement	76
5.1	Introduction.....	76
5.2	How Resettlement Experiences Differ by ‘Age at Arrival’	79
5.3	Experiences in School	80
5.4	Racial Discrimination within Schools	83
5.5	Life is More Difficult for ‘Older Refugee Youth’ in Canada.....	84
5.6	General Resettlement Related Concerns among Female Refugee Youth.....	92
5.6.1	How resettlement is perceived among refugee youth within private sponsorship	92
5.6.2	Specific concerns of female refugee youth	95
5.7	Mental Health and Wellbeing	97
5.7.1	All youth need “someone” to talk to during the initial days of resettlement	97
5.7.2	Role reversal among refugee youth within the host society.....	100
5.8	Discussion	104
5.8.1	Why is an empowerment approach important to assess resettlement experiences among the refugee youth? 104	
5.9	Settlement Resources	107
5.9.1	Access to income and employment opportunities.....	107
5.9.2	Access to language and education	108
5.9.3	Sense of agency and achievements	110
5.10	Conclusion	112
6	Chapter 6: Empowerment, Agency, and Refugee Women in Canada	114
6.1	Access to “Bodily Health” and “Distributional/Material”: The Significance of Housing.....	116
6.1.1	Housing options depend on who sponsors	116
6.2	Permanent Housing Conditions – Experiences from perspectives of GARs and PSRs	118
6.2.1	Houses in home countries versus houses in host countries	118
6.2.2	When all housing choices are equally bad	120
6.2.3	Bad housing affects control over one’s environment and bodily integrity among refugees in Canada.....	121
6.3	Employment	123

6.3.1	Employment engagement as a determinant of better mental health outcomes and a way of combating loneliness	124
6.4	Welfare Support Is Not an Acceptable Option for Most Refugee Women	126
6.4.1	When there is a “will” but no “way” to achieve what one desires	126
6.5	Counseling Helps Women with Settlement and a Hopeful Future	128
6.6	Discussion	130
6.7	Conclusion	137
7	Chapter 7: Conclusion	140
7.1.1	Policy Recommendations for Youth Empowerment.....	143
7.1.2	Building capabilities through the school system.....	143
7.1.3	“Newcomer’s Peer-to-Peer Buddy” support and mental health support in school.....	146
7.1.4	Employment as Empowerment	147
7.2	Recommendations for Increasing Refugee Woman’s Capabilities	148
7.2.1	Increasing choices among refugee women within the housing market.....	148
7.2.2	Employment and education support.....	149
7.3	Conclusion	151
7.4	A Way Forward.....	152
8	References	153
	Appendix A: Research Ethics and Compliance Certificate – Primary Data Collected in Study II.....	183
	Appendix B - Recruitment Poster.....	184
	Appendix C: Interview Guide for Refugee Women and Youth.....	186
	Appendix D: Email to Settlement Service Providing Organizations	190
	Appendix E: Informed Consent	193
	Appendix F: Demographic Details of Research Participants.....	198
	Appendix G: Research Ethics and Compliance Certificate: Yazidi Study I.....	199

List of Acronyms

AAISA- Alberta Association of Immigrant Serving Agencies
ACOMI - African Communities of Manitoba Inc.
BVOR - Blended Visa Office Referrals
CALP- Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
CLB - Canadian Language Benchmarks
COA – Canadian Orientation Abroad
EAL – English as an Additional Language
ESL – English as a Second Language
EU - European Union
GAR - Government Assisted Refugees
GBV – Gender-based Violence
IOM – International Organization for Migration
IRCC - Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada
IRPA - Immigration and Refugee Protection Act
IRW- Immigration Research West
LINC- Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada
MANSO - Manitoba Association of Newcomer Settlement Agencies
PSR - Privately Sponsored Refugees
RAP – Resettlement Assistance Program
SAISIA - Saskatchewan Association of Immigrant Serving Agencies
SPO – Settlement Provider Organizations
SSRL - Social Science Research Laboratory at the University of Saskatchewan
SWIS- Settlement Worker in Schools
UN – United Nations
UNESCO - The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

List of Tables and Figures

Table 1: Canada’s Refugee Resettlement Targets 2023–2025	12
Table 2: Admissions of Refugees to Canada: January 2015 to September 2020	17
Figure 1: Created Conceptual Empowerment Model for Studying Refugee Women	43
Table 4: The Dimensions of Social Exclusion.....	45
Table 5: Nussbaum’s Original List of Central Capabilities.....	47
Table 6: Study 2 Demographic Information of all the Participants.....	60
Table 7: Refugee Entrance Category of Study 2 Participants.....	60
Table 8: Conceptualizing Three Main Concepts of this Study in the Context of Refugee Women– Resources, Agency and Achievements Using Human Development Theory, Exclusion Theory and Relational Theory.....	69

Chapter 1: Introduction

Experts recognize that those who seek asylum must navigate the contested terrain of “refugeeness” (Kyriakides, 2018; Brücker, 2017; Dobson, 2004; Lacroix 2004; Lee & Brotman, 2011; Malkki, 1996; Schrijvers, 1999; Szczepanikova, 2010). Internationally, refugee life is shaped by a complex system of regulations shaped by law, politics (Zetter, 2007), and media representations (Philo et al., 2013), which together constitute a media-policy-migration nexus (Kyriakides, 2018). A set of political and media-validated scripts plays out – notably in the cultural fabrication of a war-induced “refugee crisis” – informing Western preconceptions about what it means to be a refugee (Lubkemann 2010) while legitimating those in need and excluding the “undeserving.” Those seeking asylum in the Western world are (in)validated within a “victim-pariah” representational status couplet, in which entrants must demonstrate that they do not pose a danger to the receiving state’s national security (Kyriakides, 2018). To meet these complex identities, would-be refugees must act the “refugee role” that has been much anticipated and is influenced by understandings of war, violence, and their effect on those who have been displaced by conflict. Settlement policies and services are created to meet their needs, keeping in mind that refugees are judged only by their “experiences” as victims rather than their capabilities as human beings. In this way, they are othered, dehumanized, judged, and marginalized in the would-be host society, and this labelling is supported by research projects that treat them in a similar fashion.

Refugees are constructed as involuntary, non-wilful “objects” formed and driven by forces of conflict. “Refugees” must mirror the “victim” character to obtain admittance and must behave in such a way as to maintain host criteria and acceptance (Kyriakides, 2018). Consequently, they must be meek, humble and grateful for their status. According to Labman (2019), private sponsorship adds a layer of charity-rights dichotomy, where resettlement is also perceived as a charitable act, as their settlement in Canada depends on the generosity of the sponsors. This generosity and charitable idea behind the private sponsorship program generates a power relationship between the sponsoring-sponsored relationship. I refer to Labman (2019) and Kyriakides’ (2018) work not only in describing the perceptions about the private sponsorship of refugees (PSRs) but also in case of the government assisted refugees (GARs). My study shows that resettled refugees (both GARs and PSRs) are perceived as victims who “deserve” rescue, and receiving civilizations are saviours who offer it. This study is an attempt to disregard all these expected notions about refugees as “needy” and look at refugee women as resilient actors (Bokore,

2016; Bokore, 2020) who have the “will” but not always a “way” of achieving what they desire through the available resettlement support and programs in Canada. Resilience is not merely a personality trait but also a combination of individual human capital and social resources that can positively impact their well-being (Ungar, 2006). Study results reflect that refugee women and youth are not passive beneficiaries of assistance; rather, they are active participants in creating their own society. Instead of seeing refugee women and youth as helpless victims, this study shows them as future leaders who can guide their families and communities in the short and the long term. They can be more hopeful about achieving equality and justice in Canada compared to what they had left behind, and therefore refugee women are enthusiastic about their roles, at least at the start of their resettlement journey in Canada. They consider “resettlement” in Canada as a chance to do something meaningful in life that they value, and create their own identity beyond mother, daughter, sister, aunt, cousin, friend, and wife. Now the question remains, do the Canadian post-resettlement support programs and services, such as the RAP services, orientation programs, housing, language and translation, health, employment, etc. (IRCC, 2021; IRCC, 2022a), take into consideration these needs and aspirations of refugee women when designing programs and support for them or are they still working towards re-establishing their identities beyond refugees? My study findings suggest that most of the existing research on refugee women takes a “victim-based” approach rather than a much-needed and more beneficial “empowerment-based” approach. As a result, many of the policies and programs we have adopted in the settlement world treat women more as victims than as agents, and this label is discouraging and disempowering.

According to the UNHCR (2017), over 50 percent of the world’s refugees are women and girls and at least one out of five refugee women have been estimated to have experienced physical and sexual violence. A recent study in Germany indicated that over 90% of all refugees have witnessed or personally experienced physical violence, rape, attempted murder, or assault (UNHCR, 2017; Abbott, 2016), which not only underscores the role of gender-based violence in modern conflict, but is also a human rights issue. Another 70% of refugees have personally experienced some form of violence. Given the recent and dramatic increase in refugees worldwide and the embeddedness of sexual and gender-based violence, there is an urgent need to develop viable mechanisms for ensuring refugees’ well-being by not only providing immediate resources for protection, assistance, and resettlement, but also by laying the foundation for integration and rebuilding human agency within their new society. The rights and freedom of choice of victims of

wars and persecution, especially the rights of displaced women and girls, should not be treated like an afterthought in humanitarian response (Clayton, 2016). This freedom of choice should extend into the resettlement process.

Refugee women form one of the most vulnerable groups of individuals, facing barriers just because of virtue of being female (Senate of Canada, 2016; Murphy et al., 2011; Dolan, 2014), but stereotyping all refugee women as “victims” within resettlement is not acceptable. Although it is a common belief that refugee women tend to have more physical and mental health issues given the precarious situations they face before resettling, in reality, the “majority of mental health problems among the newcomer population occur after their arrival and because of the uncertainties in the settlement process” (Wilkinson & Ponka, 2017, p. 90). The intersection of identities with war and flight experiences exacerbates existing barriers and creates new ones irrespective of the countries they take refuge in. Why does this happen? During the settlement and integration process, refugees may face marginalization due to unmet needs during the initial resettlement, challenging overall integration within the new society (Allotey, 1999), in addition to their labeling as “victims” of war who need rescue rather than empowerment.

To address this very important gap, my dissertation is shaped around an important question about resettlement: *to what extent are refugee women and youth in Canada able to (or unable to) practice their agency accessing resettlement services and programs in order to gain empowerment?* My study focuses on Canadian resettlement services and programs and questions whether or not they allow women to act as creative agents, drawing upon resources, and creating opportunities to improve their lives and capabilities within the host society. The study examines the initial resettlement process to determine if the system and services provide women with a choice and agency in selecting the conditions under which they resettle and integrate in the long term.

1.1 Canadian Resettlement Services and Programs

Canada has received significant international attention and praise for its refugee resettlement efforts, both in the past and today. In 1986, all Canadians were recognized by the Nansen Medal from the United Nations in recognition of the country’s service to refugees (Reuters, 1986). It is the body’s highest award, and this was the only time the medal has been awarded to an entire nation. More recently, between November 2015 and December 2016, over 46,000 Syrian refugees, in addition to over 7,000 refugees from elsewhere, were successfully resettled in Canada (IRCC,

2016; IRCC, 2019a). In 2022, the Canadian government pledged to support the arrival of over 76,545 refugees (IRCC, 2022) in addition to the previous pledges to support the arrival of over 40,000 Afghan refugees and the (unlimited arrival) of Ukrainians to Canada. That said, Canada and Germany make the list of top ten nations currently hosting refugees (UNHCR, 2022), though they are the only two Global North countries on this list.

Life is not easy for refugees once they arrive in Canada. Many face various resettlement issues, especially involving various social and economic barriers (Picot & Hou, 2003; Frisken & Wallas, 2000). Surprisingly, research does not discuss initial resettlement from an empowerment individual-refugee-based perspective. Instead, the focus is on mental health and trauma occurring prior to their arrival in Canada rather than on factors that can help relegate mental health issues by increasing their involvement within society (Guruge et al., 2012; Beiser & Hou, 2016; Montgomery, 2011). Certainly, these are very important considerations, but they produce a singular, one-dimension victim-based portrait of refugee life. Previous studies compare women's experiences with those of their male counterparts or to those of other immigrant women (Blostein et al., 2015; Wilkinson et al., 2017; Turner, 2017; Lamba & Krahn, 2003). Re-establishing agency, freedom of choice, and techniques of empowering refugee women through the initial settlement support, services, and programs of resettlement are absent in the existing literature with some exceptions (see Kyriakedes, 2018; Wilkinson, 2019; 2020).

Canada's immigration policy, including its handling of humanitarian crises and its international commitment to give safe haven for at least some persons seeking asylum, is influenced by neoliberal ideals (Ritchie, 2018). Private sponsorship is the best example of this. While private sponsorship may seem like a compassionate response to precarious migration, in reality it contributes to privatizing immigrant services and assistance, resulting in de-skilling and stagnation among newcomer refugees. More emphasis is placed on individualizing wellbeing and resilience with a minimum role of the state (Ritchie, 2018; Wotherspoon, 2009). Neoliberal ideals also transcend into government-assisted refugee programs, as most of the services and programs are run by volunteers, and the organizations helping newcomers are understaffed and underfunded (Wilkinson et al., 2018; 2019). Therefore, there are many settlement support/services related issues faced by refugee women within Canada, but the few major vulnerabilities include housing, language, income, health, and accessing settlement services. By addressing these issues, my research provides the evidence and rationale for the much-needed policy and service interventions

to improve settlement outcomes by not only focussing on the initial needs of refugee women and youth in order to reduce or at least identify their vulnerabilities related to the major services provided to them on entering Canada but also on how they would like these services in order to enhance their capabilities/development through resettlement by focusing on agency and empowerment. According to Blostein et al. (2015), the extent to which women are disproportionately at risk of such calamities as hidden homelessness and high rates of poverty is of special interest to this research. Additionally, there are disempowering factors within the resettlement services that emphasize victimhood and de-emphasize choice and agency. The absence of agency and choice within resettlement has been shown to increase the length of the integration process and decrease the satisfaction of newcomer refugees within Canada (Wilkinson et al., 2018). In my study, a women's empowerment (Kabeer, 2001) framework is used to understand the specific women-related issues within resettlement, which is a way forward beyond the focus on gender-based differences within refugee studies. An empowerment framework encourages all social actors "to achieve women's empowerment by enabling women to achieve equal control over the factors of production and participate equally in the development process" (ILO, 1998).

A gender-specific challenges approach mostly focuses on identifying factors such as the "economic dependence on spouses and family members and lack of childcare" that exacerbate the barriers faced by refugee women (Blostein et al., 2015, p. 19). How those barriers can be reduced during resettlement by using an empowerment perspective helps not only to address barriers but also to analyze factors that re-establish and increase agency among refugee women. Most of the studies on refugee women, like the research on refugees in general, have either focussed on their gender-based differences in refugee victimization or their physical and mental health needs to the exclusion of other "refugee" related conditions (Guruge et al., 2012; Beiser & Hou, 2016; Montgomery, 2011; Blostein et al., 2015; Wilkinson et al., 2017; Turner, 2017; Lamba & Krahn, 2003). Until 2018, it was not possible to use publicly available data to study refugees in Canada because the data is either not collected or not publicly released. As a result, neither researchers nor settlement service providers know much about the initial integration context faced by refugees, especially women and youth. More distressingly, they have not given much attention to the empowerment of refugee women. Instead, most of the research treats them as "objects of rescue" (Kyriakides et al., 2018, p. 60) rather than active participants in their own lives. The first study,

which is used as a secondary data source for my research with the Yazidi women in 2018, provides context and background for conducting my primary research with other groups of newcomer refugee women and youth.

To address these gaps within research and contribute to the understanding of the existing services and support system within resettlement leading to refugee women and youth's successful integration and empowerment within Canada, I argue that it is necessary to focus on how the barriers facing refugee women can be reduced for those accessing these services. In addition, refugee women's agency must be re-established through increased choices accessing language, housing, employment, and other related settlement services and programs. Despite all the policies designed to protect refugees, women are still vulnerable and continue to face social exclusion, prejudice, and discrimination (Sansonetti, 2016). Sociologically, gender roles within the private sphere or as policed by the forces of family law, make women experience social and structural inequalities and disempowerment within the marketplace, which restricts them from becoming part of the patriarchal macro structures (Wright, 2012).

Structural violence is defined as acts of violence that permeate society and perpetuate social inequalities, such as those based on gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, religion, ability, or socioeconomic status (Montesanti & Thurston, 2015). Differences in power and access to information, resources, a platform to express one's ideas, and representation lead to structural violence (Jones, 2000; Hourani et al., 2021; Jones, 2001). Macro institutions (including the state) uphold it through custom, practise, and law, and it manifests in access to material well-being. Immigration and asylum policies are often used as a means of structural violence against migrants (Phillimore & Cheung, 2021) which permeates within the federal and provincial resettlement and integration policies at the level of services and programs supporting newcomer refugees within Canada. Findings from this study show that refugee women and youth's needs are not met when institutions fail to respond to their requests; they are disrespected, mistrusted, and mistreated, and patriarchal and misogynistic norms and policies that perpetuate female subordination are upheld and reproduced within and through Canadian post-resettlement support programs.

1.2 The Study Focus

My study considers refugee women and youth in a productive and active role by accounting and acknowledging their existing skills and the degree to which they can nurture them within the new society, matching the existing resources to their needs as well as (if required) creating new

ones to suit their needs. This study is unique in its approach, as it takes into consideration the perspectives of all three categories of refugee women entering Canada: government-assisted, privately sponsored, and accepted refugee claimants, as well as studying a group of youth who are in their transitioning age from childhood-to-adulthood during the initial days of resettlement. This group is unique given their age dictates the services they can opt for, which in their case are almost non-existent because they are neither adults nor children.

An empowerment approach forms the building blocks of this study, highlighting important resettlement-related gaps in scholarship. In the next chapter, I outline the details of my theoretical framework and major research questions. Regarding empowerment and exclusion, I look at the relational, development, and capabilities approach in the Canadian context of refugees by outlining the different categories in which the refugees enter the country, the specific settlement needs, and the structural barriers faced by refugee women in general.

1.3 Study Objectives

This study's main objectives are

- To apply a sociological framework that focuses on the agency held by refugee women and youth to identify the structural barriers that might influence not only their access to settlement services but also curtail their capabilities and choices within the host society.
- To identify and describe housing, pre-and post-arrival conditions, employment, language, and mental health supports and programs available to refugee women and youth.
- To examine the extent to which these services and the relationship between service providers (settlement agents and private sponsors) and service seekers (refugee women and youth) require modifications to empower these women to become fully engaged citizens.

The main research question is “To what extent are refugee women and youth in Canada able (or unable) to practice their agency accessing resettlement services and programs to gain empowerment?”

Secondary research questions include

- What influence does giving women a choice in resettlement housing have on their assessment of the success or failure in their development and inclusion process? How do available choices in housing impact their well-being?

- How do refugee women and youth want to pursue language and education in Canada? Does the current system provide enough support for them to achieve what they desire?
- Does having a job or income improve the empowerment of refugee women? What factors influence their ability to find a job in Canada?

In my study, Kabeer's (2001) empowerment model, including concepts of agency, resources, and achievements, is conceptualized and shaped using exclusion theory, human development theory, and relational theory in the context of refugee women and youth resettled in Canada. Through structured interviews with refugee women and adolescents, the following themes were identified where resettled women face challenges accessing settlement *resources*, lack *agency*, and struggle in *achieving* their life goals. This study reflects how 'migration' as a process might initially seem to be empowering for women, but eventually, their wellbeing and development are curtailed in the resettlement process through a lack of appropriate services and programs, and they eventually settle within the limited choices provided by the host society. In this study, I use Nussbaum's (2003) selected essential functions related to refugee women (from a list of ten) and human development theory. I also use Böhnke's (2001) dimensions of social exclusion and Koggel's (2010) relational theory to identify the themes related to resettlement experiences among refugee women and youth. Using data from my primary and secondary research, I identify and compare the resettlement needs of three mainly newly arrived groups of refugees to Canada: Syrians, Somalians, and the Yazidis from northern Iraq (refer to Appendix F for participant demographics). The primary study group only includes GARs, PSRs and 1 accepted refugee claimant. In the finding's chapters, I discuss common themes from my primary data and whether the secondary data complements these findings.

1.4 Definitions

Forcibly displaced individuals totaled 83 million in mid-2021, while the total population of concern to UNHCR was 92.6 million. The overall number of displaced persons (83 million) includes refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced individuals, and Venezuelans who have been expelled from the country. These people include those who have been forced to flee their homes, those who have returned within the last year, those who are stateless (most of whom are not forcibly displaced), and other groups of concern to whom the United Nations High

Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has extended its protection or provided humanitarian assistance.

Resettlement, a long-standing durable solution that pre-dates the 1951 UNHCR *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, is slowly gaining the interest of more states, the number of resettlement states increased from just 22 countries in 2011 to 37 countries in 2016 (UNHCR 2016a, UNHCR, 2016b). Resettlement, according to the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), is the process of moving refugees from a country where they sought asylum to another country where they have been accepted as refugees and have been granted permanent resident status. The resettlement state's status assures protection from repatriation and gives resettled refugees and their families the same civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights as citizens. In this study, I focus on the settlement support provided to refugees with permanent resident status, including GARs, PSRs, and accepted refugee claimants, who are able to use those services for their individual development within the new society. It is also possible to become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country through the process of resettlement. Over 55,000 refugees were resettled in 27 countries throughout the world in 2018, including the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, and Sweden (4,900).¹ It has been agreed upon by resettlement nations to accept a specific number of UNHCR applications each year. Refugee resettlement schemes in other countries may not be based on a yearly cycle, but rather on an ad hoc basis, with a focus on those refugees who have particular requirements. Administering efficient resettlement programmes that include resources and assistance to help newly arrived refugees assimilate into their new communities is a key responsibility of governments.

Though the United States admitted the highest number of refugees (96,900) in 2016, the numbers declined recently, with the USA reducing its intake for 2017 to less than 33,000, and further reduced to 17,000 under the Trump administration, the lowest intake since 1980 (Meckler, 2018). Canada, on the other hand, became the top resettlement country during the Trump years. Canada resettled 28,000 refugees in 2018, whereas the U.S. resettled 23,000, down from 33,000 the previous year – and a recent high of 97,000 in 2016 (Radford & Connor, 2019). Canada is set to resettle 76,565 refugees for 2022 which does not include Ukrainian and Afghan refugees.

¹ This data is skewed in the Canadian context as it does not include refugees resettling through the Private Sponsorship Refugee program. It only represents the UNHCR referrals to Canada.

Canada, having a long humanitarian tradition and commitment to refugee protection, designs and implements programs mainly for saving and protecting the lives of the displaced and persecuted (IRPA 2001). Following these humanitarian principles, Canada, as a top resettlement state with a multi-faceted program, is looked to as a model with increased state and media attention even though there remain significant problems with the way our system is organized and funded.

1.5 Entrance classes of refugees to Canada

Resettlement takes multiple forms in Canada and the government has created a number of bureaucratic categories to ‘define’ the various ways that refugees enter Canada. Resettled refugees can be admitted to Canada through any one of three resettlement programs: government-assisted refugee (GAR), privately sponsored refugee (PSR), and blended visa office referred (BVOR). Refugees may also make a declaration or ‘refugee claim’ if they enter Canada’s borders independently (UNHCR, 2011 revised in 2018).

1.5.1 Government Assisted Refugees (GARs)

Canada may select refugees abroad, mainly through the help of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and support their “health, safety, and security as they travel to and integrate into Canadian society” (IRCC, 2016, p.1); this group is called government-assisted refugees (GARs). GARs are selected by Canadian visa officers based on UNHCR referrals and receive government support for their first year in Canada.

1.5.2 Private Sponsored Refugees (PSRs)

With the private sponsorship model, groups or individual Canadians take on the financial and emotional responsibility of resettled refugees for a one-year period. Private sponsors are able to select the refugees they wish to sponsor within certain regulatory parameters. These people are usually relatives or friends of people already residing in Canada with exceptions where individuals sponsor refugee families without any pre-existing ties. Private sponsors are Canadian groups or organizations, such as religious organizations, ethnocultural groups, and settlement groups. They can support refugees in one of the three main categories (UNHCR, 2022a):

1. **Groups of Five (G5):** Five or more Canadian citizens or permanent residents with the financial and settlement capacity to meet sponsorship requirements who together organize the sponsorship of an international refugee to welcome them into their community.

2. Community Sponsors: Organizations, associations, or businesses based in the community where refugees will be relocated, having the financial and settlement capabilities to meet sponsorship criteria.
3. Sponsorship Agreement Holders (SAHs): Incorporated organizations who have signed a sponsorship agreement with Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) and accept overall sponsorship management responsibilities. SAHs may also permit Constituent Groups (CGs) from the community to sponsor refugees in accordance with their agreement.

1.5.3 Blended Visa Office-Referred (BVOR)

The BVOR option sits between Canada's two traditional resettlement routes: the government-assisted refugee (GAR) program and the private sponsorship of refugees (PSR) program. Through the BVOR program, private sponsors are 'matched' with UNHCR referred refugees selected by the government from targeted regions or groups, and effectively split the cost of resettling the family for one year with the Canadian government. My study participants do not belong to this group of resettled refugees.

These different models help to bring in more refugees at a reduced financial cost to the government and arguably facilitate greater integration of refugees into Canadian society because upon arrival, the refugee is met by a network of family, friends, or community volunteers who personally see to their introduction into Canadian life. Through these different resettlement programs, Canada is on the verge of maintaining the ongoing trend of welcoming refugees over the coming years (Table 1).

Table 1: Canada's Refugee Resettlement Targets 2022–2025

Category	2023			2024			2025		
	Target	Low Range	High Range	Target	Low Range	High Range	Target	Low Range	High Range
Resettled Refugees – Government-Assisted	23,550	18,500	30,000	21,115	16,750	26,000	15,250	12,000	17,000
Resettled Refugees – Privately Sponsored	27,505	20,000	29,000	27,750	22,000	29,500	28,250	23,000	30,000
Resettled Refugees – Blended Visa Office-Referred	250	–	400	250	–	400	250	–	400

Source: IRCC (2022c) 2023-2025 Immigration Levels Plan, November 2022

1.5.4 Refugee Claimants: The Process of Making a Refugee Claim in Canada

A refugee claim may be made at a Canadian port of entry upon arrival at a Canadian airport or remotely online. To be clear, anyone can make a refugee claim at any border. It is up to the receiving country to determine whether or not that refugee claim is valid. In some cases, lives are imminently in danger including kidnap, torture, sexual assault, forced confinement and death. For these reasons, it is against international human rights law to deny such individuals or require them to wait until they are ‘selected’ for resettlement—which most often times occurs many years after the original claim. If the international and national protection agencies depended upon queues to allow refugees safety, many people would needlessly die.

The Canadian Border Services Agency or Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada then decides whether the case is valid and should be submitted to the Immigration and Refugee Board for a subsequent hearing (IRCC, 2021b). A refugee claimant's eligibility is evaluated according to many criteria, such as whether or not they have previously committed a major crime, previously filed a claim in Canada, or obtained protection in another nation. In contrast to refugees who have been successfully resettled, those who have been granted asylum are a distinct group. Refugee claims in Canada may be submitted at airports or online. Because Canada has signed the UNHCR 1951 Refugee Convention, they must abide by international humanitarian law and genuinely consider all claims for asylum. This consideration becomes complicated with refugee claimants because they lack the pre-screening checks that other refugees must complete prior to their arrival to Canada. These pre-screenings include rigorous health and security inspections at their home countries. For this reason, GARs and PSRs are automatically considered permanent residents upon entry. Since refugees seeking asylum in Canada and resettled refugees enter the country via separate immigration channels, individuals who cross the border in this manner lack

these pre-screening documents and must complete them as part of the permanent consideration for resettlement in Canada.

The Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) holds a hearing on the claim if it meets certain requirements of the Refugee Protection Division (IRCC, 2021b). Health and security screenings are performed on all refugee claimants. These include biographic and biometric tests, as well as the beginning of security and criminality assessments. The foreign national will often be granted conditional release until their hearing, although some are detained in provincial correctional facilities until the results of the hearing. While waiting for a judgment, refugee claimants in Canada may be eligible for government-funded social services including welfare and healthcare. In addition, after passing a medical assessment, most people who are granted refugee status are allowed to seek a work visa. Whether a claim was filed at the border or an office later once the refugee claimant enters the country makes no difference to the process.

After a refugee claim is approved, the applicant is granted protected person status and is eligible for all federally sponsored settlement programs. The individual is considered a protected person after a successful Pre-Removal Risk Assessment (IRCC, 2021b). This means that successful refugee claimants may remain in Canada and petition for permanent residency. Assessment of needs and referrals, information and orientation to help newcomers make educated settlement decisions, language assessment and training to help adult newcomers function in Canadian society and contribute to the economy, assistance in securing and maintaining employment (including assistance in obtaining evaluations of foreign credentials), and facilitating social connections to help newcomers feel more at home in their new surroundings are all part of these services but they are not eligible for these services until after their refugee claim is accepted. Because this process may take several months, even years, the problem with this program is that refugee claimants, who are most often in the most need, cannot access these important services.

Those refugee claimants whose cases are rejected by the IRB are set for deportation. Like refugee claimants in waiting, they too are ineligible for settlement, language, work, and health care services.

1.6 Resettlement Support, Services and Programs for Newcomer Refugees

Government resettlement, including both GARs and BVORs, results from referrals from the UNHCR and is therefore limited to recognized refugees. In the PSR program, where sponsors

can name those, they wish to sponsor, individuals are likely to fall within the Country of Asylum class if they have not received official refugee status, with exceptions where the PSR requires a recognized refugee status. Once the Canadian selection of refugees is complete, they are expected to attend the Canadian Orientation Abroad (COA) program, which is mainly funded by the IRCC and implemented by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Through this pre-arrival orientation program, many refugees are provided with the initial settlement and general information about the new country. In recent years, especially during the pandemic, the COA has been offered to arriving refugees as they enter Canada.

Through the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP), GARs are provided immediate assistance and essential services during the initial days of resettlement, such as reception at the port of entry, arranging temporary/hotel accommodation, assistance with finding permanent accommodation, help with basic orientation, such as giving information on transportation and banking and facilitation of linking to settlement services provided by federal and provincial programs. PSRs and BVORs receive this information through service provider organizations (SPOs) and from their individual sponsors. These resettlement services are provided for to the first six weeks of stay in Canada. GARs receive financial assistance from the government for the first twelve months (or until they become self-sufficient) of their resettlement (based on provincial social assistance rates) mainly for shelter, food, and incidentals. There are situations when, if required, the GARs receive additional financial support for up to two years after resettlement, based on their needs. This group is selected, particularly in recent years, especially for their particular vulnerabilities, such as the physical illness of a family member, residence in a refugee camp, or less literate families. GARs generally have higher needs compared to the other categories of refugees (IRCC, 2016), but this is not always the case.

All refugees, regardless of their category, are eligible to receive settlement and integration services such as English language training, employment services, help to find permanent accommodation, and many such settlement support, all free of charge through a settlement service provider organization (IRCC, 2017). Although all refugees are eligible to avail themselves of these services, there are some differences in accessing them among the GARs, PSRs, and BVORs. For example, the GARs are eligible to receive supplemental health coverage, such as dental care, for which the PSRs are not eligible, as the costs are expected to be borne by their sponsors (IRCC, 2017; Wilkinson et al., 2017; Labman, 2019). Likewise, BVORs and PSRs are not eligible for the

six weeks of introductory services under RAP that are mainly available to the GARs resettling under IRCC because the private sponsors are expected to ensure their new families can navigate the “Canadian way of doing things.” There are other such differences among the refugees based on the assistance program they belong to.

1.7 Agency

In this study, the meaning of agency is closely associated with “selfhood, motivation, will, purposiveness, intentionality, choice, initiative, freedom, and creativity,” all necessary pre-conditions to individual empowerment (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998, p. 962). Agency cannot be measured without the social structure in which human beings act and transcend their individual capabilities in influencing and improving their life (Kristiansen, 2014). The social structure provides both opportunities and constrains human capabilities at the same time, affecting human agencies from making the maximum out of the available resources. Here, “opportunity for agencies” as described by Kristiansen, is not the variety of dishes available in a restaurant’s menu, but the ability that “guides” the individual in making his/her own choice of dishes. In a similar manner, for refugee women, the “opportunities for agencies” while resettling in a new society is not the number or kinds of services available to settle them but the ability to choose from those services according to their individual needs and use those for their own benefit. Do they have the ability or freedom of choice to choose from these services? Given the vulnerabilities faced by refugee women before entering host societies, it is recognized that most of their agency is lost by the time they take refuge. As societal structure and real-life experiences have a tremendous impact on shaping human agencies (Kristiansen, 2014), it is important that agency is rebuilt and re-established through the initial resettlement process. In this study, agency is a means to achieve empowerment and for refugee women and youth, is considered as their “will” to achieve what they desire beyond their “victim” role as refugees.

1.8 Empowerment

“Empowerment is more than participation in decision-making; it must also include the processes that lead people to perceive themselves as able and entitled to make decisions” (Rowlands, 1997, p. 14). Spreitzer (1995) defined empowerment as cognitive elements that help an individual act rationally, i.e., acting according to the needs of the surrounding conditions. According to Strandburg (2001), empowerment among women takes place when they are in a position to take control of their lives and choose what is best for themselves (Ibrahim & Alkire,

2007) and are able to question authority without the fear of losing out their status or rights (Kabeer, 2001). This ownership comes when they have an array of opportunities to choose from, which, in the case of refugee women, serves as re-establishing agency and increasing their capabilities to pursue what they desire. Thus, re-establishment of agency and capabilities through short-term achievements leads to empowerment.

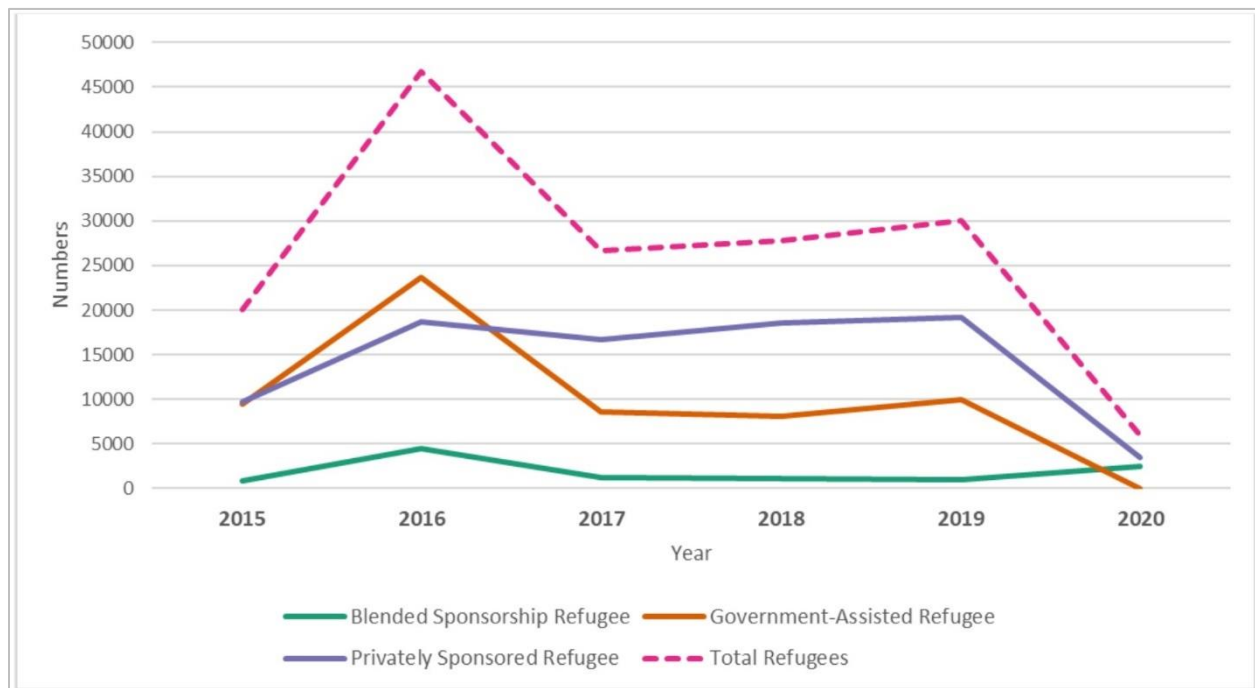
The theoretical basis of empowerment and agency are discussed in the theoretical framework of Chapter 3.

1.9 Demographic Context

Of all the newcomers admitted annually, between 7 and 20% were either resettled refugees or protected persons or persons needing humanitarian assistance (IRCC, 2018). Syrians currently make up the largest number of recent refugee arrivals to Canada. Evidence from government reports reflects that a total of 57,815 Syrians arrived in Canada between November 2015 and July 2018 and more recently, approximately 1300 Daesh survivors have made their way into Canada (IRCC, 2018). Canada promised to resettle 40,000 Afghans (Marchand, 2022) arriving between August 2021 and February 2023 under the Special Immigration Program and an unlimited number of Ukrainian refugees to be admitted in the next two years (IRCC, 2022; Silverman, 2022)². Table 2 shows refugees by year of arrival. The fluctuation in numbers is due to the intensity of world conflict at the time, but also Canada's and the world's "interest" in the plight of particular groups. The Congolese, for example, have suffered greatly, experiencing the worst genocide perpetrated in the 20th century with over 14 million estimated dead, but the world (including Canada) did very little to help resettle any of them. Only 1644 Congolese were resettled in Canada in 2016 (UNHCR, 2016). Rwanda is another such example, where 800,000 were dead within a span of 100 days (Bhalla, 2019). These are but two examples of the "selectivity" in refugee resettlement that Canada and other developed nations have practiced in the past decades according to the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and the UNHCR (Lederer, 2022).

² Though Ukrainians are refugees, they are being admitted under a different immigration stream and are not referred to as "refugees" in the current Canadian immigration program. There is significant debate over the appropriateness of the CUAET program because it provides one group of refugees, very differential treatment compared to all other refugees, though this particular program is not entirely without precedence.

Table 2: Admissions of Refugees to Canada: January 2015 to September 2020



Source: Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (December 31, 2019).

One of the significant differences between immigrants and refugees is that, unlike other newcomers, most refugees do not have the liberty of choosing their countries of destination. A refugee is defined in the *1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* as having “a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion” (UN, 1950). When refugees cannot return home because of continued conflict, wars, and persecution, the UNHCR helps resettle them in a third country. Resettlement is “a durable solution for larger numbers or groups of refugees, alongside the other durable solutions of voluntary repatriation and local integration,” and it can be a “tangible expression of international solidarity and a responsibility sharing mechanism, allowing States to help share responsibility for refugee protection, and reduce problems impacting the country of asylum” (UNHCR Handbook, p. 36). The UNHCR makes resettlement referrals to states that have agreed to admit refugees and ultimately grant them permanent settlement from an asylum country as a means of responsibility sharing. The UNHCR identifies vulnerable individuals or groups potentially in need of resettlement whose “life, liberty, safety, health or other fundamental rights are at risk in the country where they have sought refuge.”

The UNHCR has set priorities for resettlement based on legal and physical protection needs, survivors of torture and/or violence, medical needs, women and girls at risk, family reunification, children and adolescents at risk, and lack of foreseeable alternative durable solutions (UNHCR Handbook, 2011). Though resettlement is the only durable solution that entails the transfer of refugees from a nation of asylum to a third safe country, it is not a legal right, and there is no obligation on States to accept refugees through resettlement. There were 20.7 million refugees under UNHCR's mandate around the world at the end of 2021 (UNHCR, 2021), but only 16,300 were resettled that year (with or without the UNHCR's involvement) (UNHCR, 2022). Even if their case is submitted to a resettlement State by the UNHCR, whether individual refugees will ultimately be resettled depends on the admission criteria of the resettlement State, and only a few states take part in the UNHCR's resettlement programme (Labman, 2019).

Canada, being one of the top resettlement countries in the world, also adds its own mandate for resettling refugees in addition to the commitments it has made to the United Nations. The UN refugee definition is brought into Canadian law through s.96 of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA, 2001)*. For resettlement to Canada, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations create two resettlement classes. The first, the Convention Refugees Abroad Class is set out in s.145 as "A foreign national is a Convention refugee abroad and a member of the Convention refugees abroad class if the foreign national has been determined, outside Canada, by an officer to be a Convention refugee," thus linking back to the definition in s.96 of IRPA and Article 1 of the 1951 Convention (Labman, 2019). The second, the Humanitarian Protected Persons Abroad Class, contains one sub-class, the Country of Asylum Class, described in s.147. This class extends resettlement to individuals who do not meet the Convention Refugee definition (Labman, 2019) but: (a) they are outside all of their countries of nationality and habitual residence; and (b) they have been severely and personally affected by civil war, armed conflict, or widespread human rights violations in each of those nations.

Canada intends to bring more "vulnerable" women and girls from Afghanistan (IRCC, 2022). A budget of \$20.3 million was reserved for the next five years to meet this target beginning 2018-2019. More women from war-affected areas are entering Canada, and the government will continue to assess the success of services provided under the Racialized Newcomer Women Pilot in 2022-23 (IRCC, 2022). This Pilot, which was extended through 2022-23 with an extra \$15 million, aims to expand economic prospects and engagement in the Canadian labour market for

racialized immigrant women. It is therefore important to navigate possibilities of how we can increase and include more refugee women in programs that are specially designed for women's development. As a result of these ongoing targets and changes, more women will enter Canada, which increases the urgency of this study and its kind.

1.10 Dissertation Structure

The dissertation is organized into the following chapters. In Chapter 2, I provide a review of the literature on the existing settlement issues related to refugee women's health, housing, employment, English language training, service needs, and the issues related to resettlement and integration among refugee women and youth; I also discuss why is it important to focus on re-establishing agency and empowerment among these newcomer women. In Chapter 3, I outline the details of my theoretical framework and major research questions based on the empowerment, exclusion, relational, development and capabilities approach. Chapter 4 discusses the methodology adopted in this study, matching the main research objectives. An empowerment approach forms the building block of this study, highlighting important resettlement related gaps in scholarship. After describing the theoretical, epistemological, and methodological underpinnings of this research, Chapters 5 focuses on the eight semi-structured interviews with youth and how they perceive empowerment within Canada. Chapter 6 discusses pre-and-post arrival stories of nine middle-aged refugee women and how their conditions were similar to or different from those of the Yazidi women entering Canada during a similar time period. The final substantial chapter of the dissertation concentrates on the future plans of these refugee women and youth and covers their pursuit of agency and empowerment, and how resettlement as a process can include an empowering model rather than a needs-based approach.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Refugee women, children, and people with disabilities have traditionally been seen as “vulnerable” and hence in need of external assistance to secure their safety and security (Klassen, 2022). Global refugee policymakers have been working together to highlight the importance of including refugees’ perspectives and first-hand accounts in the formulation and implementation process because “responses are most successful when they actively and meaningfully interact with people they are supposed to protect and help” (UNHCR, 2018). This transformation is demonstrated by discourse shifts toward a new paradigm of global refugee policy development and implementation by states like Canada in their foreign policies. For instance, the Global Refugee Forum in 2019 utilized empowerment rhetoric and included a refugee representation in its delegation but not so much at the local levels or in the implementation of services. Globally, policies and programs typically implemented at the state and local level are continuing a top-down approach (Klassen, 2022) that concentrates on institutional needs rather than individual needs (Olivius, 2016; Bradley et al., 2019; Klassen, 2022). Policies that are constructed in this top-down way tend to ignore the agency and needs of individuals. Unfortunately, a wide variety of international players, like the Government of Canada and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), are still not influenced by this paradigm when it comes to creating and implementing global policies in local settings.

Irrespective of gender, origin, and government policies, refugees to Canada and elsewhere have fled their own country because of sociopolitical upheavals, war, ethnic cleansing, violence, torture, and rape, and many have personally experienced significant traumatic physical and psychological suffering (Lacroix et al., 2015; Beiser & Hou, 2001, Hou & Beiser, 2006). Although all refugees have not had similar traumatic experiences pre-arrival, once in Canada, refugees tend to experience prejudice, discrimination and racism (Schroeter & James, 2015; Cheran, 2001), social isolation, language difficulties (Beiser & Hou, 2001; Hou & Beiser, 2006, Stewart et al., 2008) barriers in accessing social services (Bowes & Wilkinson, 2003; Makwarimba et al., 2013), underemployment, downward occupational mobility, and financial difficulties (Krahn et al., 2000; Hou & Beiser, 2006; Este & Tachble, 2009; Bevelander & Pendakur, 2014). They may also lack social networks and pre-established communities that could facilitate their settlement and integration (Stewart et al., 2008). These challenges lessen the rate of their successful settlement and integration and have significant long-term consequences post-resettlement.

Research shows that newcomers who are immediately given access to employment, housing, education, and language training upon arrival tend to settle and integrate more successfully and quickly (Valenta & Bunar, 2010; Valtonen, 2004) than the ones who have to wait. A recent survey undertaken by IRCC (2016) shows that after arriving in Canada, both men and women faced many challenges accessing English language training and services related to job search, credential and experience recognition, orientation to the Canadian economy, lack of links to employers, and challenges learning English or French, child-care facilities, financial difficulties, and transportation, which prevent many refugees from accessing housing, language, employment, and general resettlement related services.

The process of migration is not gender-neutral, yet academics have not adequately examined gender differences among refugees within the settlement process (Tastsoglou et al., 2014) and how those factors disempower refugee women within the host societies. Though a gender-based analysis has been used to study differences in outcomes between resettled refugee men and women in Canada for many years, such as differences in access to education, health, employment, and other services, there remains a knowledge gap with regards to specific needs of refugee women with regards to accessing settlement services (CCR, 2006; Wilkinson et al., 2018; Valji et al., 2003). In 2016, a study conducted on refugees who accessed at least one settlement program services in Canada found that over half (57%) who accessed them were women (IRCC, 2017). Women used different settlement services and at a higher rate than men, particularly language training services. Though there are many settlement services for new immigrants in Manitoba (A&O, 2013), such as youth programs run by the NEEDs centre and women's counseling services provide by the Immigrant Women's Counseling Services and Pluri-Elles, West Central Women's Resource Centre, etc., refugee youth and women were unable to name these services. The main needs identified through this study included a lack of information on available community and government services and needs for increased English language training, language skills for better employment opportunities, access to employment services, training for other job-related skills, and help with building professional networks (IRCC, 2017). These settlement needs based on language and employment services identified by refugee women not only reflect the lack of services within the Canadian resettlement process but also reflect the existing thirst for economic and social status among refugee women. It is important to note that to date studies have

focussed on “access” alone and not if these services are helping these women achieve what they desire within the new country of settlement.

2.1 Employment among Refugee Women and Youth

Research shows that not only the general public but also government officials, policy makers and researchers have very little knowledge about the individual-level resettlement experiences of refugees in Canada (Wilkinson, 2017). By and large, the research has focused on mental health and language-related issues, ignoring the rest of the resettlement issues concerning refugee women and youth (Nichols, et al., 2020), especially those at their transitioning age from childhood to adulthood during the initial years, i.e., the first five years of resettlement. Twenty-one percent of Canada's working youth population (aged 15 to 35), are immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2019; Nichols, et al., 2020) and have greater unemployment rates and a lower employment rates than young people who were born in Canada. Youth immigrants who are employed mostly work in low-wage and low-skill occupations such as the industries of construction, garbage collection, retail, and others. These employment-based experiences do give them “Canadian experience”, but do not necessarily prepare them for their future careers nor are considered meaningful opportunities. As most young people have several decades of contribution to the Canadian economy, settlement services are inadequate for this age group because they do not focus enough on career development or job readiness (Kaduuli, 2011; Nichols, et al., 2020). Of the youth currently in school, most receive insufficient educational and career assistance, and adults of all ages who are newcomers may find it challenging to transfer their foreign credentials and find employment in Canada because this is not a priority for the employment sector (Kaduuli, 2011).

Little information is available on the labour market participation and integration of refugees, and what exists mainly focuses on their negative outcomes and on their very short-term initial labour market experiences. In reality, refugees contribute equally like other immigrants, such as workers, taxpayers, and consumers, if we consider their long-term job trajectories (Wilkinson, 2017). Most of the existing studies focus on employment rates rather than the “quality” of jobs and employment options available to refugee women (Lu et al., 2020; Wilkinson, 2017). This study addresses some of these employment-related gaps by examining how refugee women and youth perceive employment in Canada and discussing their expectations from the employment agencies which can best serve their purpose of attaining meaningful employment.

Labour market integration encompasses more than just getting a job or earning income. It affects social integration and family functioning. It is an important indicator of resettlement (Statistics Canada, 2005), and therefore, resettled refugees, as permanent residents, are eligible to access employment-related services and are permitted to work legally in Canada immediately after their arrival (UNHCR, 2016). Related to employment are education and language skills, which are required competencies for employment, but act as barriers for “some types of labour market participants (e.g., refugees, visible minorities, women, the disabled, Indigenous Canadians) who are disadvantaged in a systematic way in their search for satisfactory employment” (Krahn et al., 2000, p. 61). The research provides strong evidence of refugees facing multiple barriers within the Canadian labour market, beginning from the initial years of resettlement (Beiser & Hou, 2000), and these are influenced by demographics such as age, gender, and other diversities (Ott, 2013). According to studies conducted with Somalis in the United States and Canada, employment satisfies personal needs, and unemployment may result in a loss of social status and independence as people rely on the social safety net and community (Omar, 2013). The studies of relocated Somali refugees reveal a consistent narrative of work difficulties and poverty, as well as unmeasured consequences on wellbeing. Depression during the early phases of resettlement increases the risk of subsequent unemployment, particularly among women and people who do not get a chance to enter the labor force during the earliest years of resettlement (Dohrenwend, 1975; Wilkinson & Ponka, 2018). Studies show how women and youth have a strong desire to become engaged in any way possible (Senthana et al., 2020; Donato et al., 2020) so that they can achieve a sense of self and contribute equally within the new society. Given the existing structural differences, women and youth lack choices within the labour market and are unable to use their potential for positive outcomes.

The most common barriers include lack of English language skills, racial discrimination, lack of Canadian work experience, and lack of acceptance of foreign educational and occupational experience (Tuliao, 2015; Wilkinson et al., 2017; Wilkinson et al., 2019; Martin, 2004; Koyama, 2014). Refugee women and those with low language skills are the most likely to be unemployed or underemployed as a result (Wilkinson et al., 2016). When it comes to hiring and promotion, employers place a premium on English language skills (ORR, 2011; Spero, 1985). Employers ranked the inability to communicate in English as the primary impediment to career advancement, even in jobs that did not necessitate an advanced level of English (Spero, 1985; ORR, 2011; Allan,

2013). In short, the more fluent the refugee's English, the more likely they obtain employment (ORR, 2011). For many female refugees, however, when they first enter industrialized countries, language presents a formidable barrier (Martin, 2004). Upon arrival, the majority (approximately 70% of refugees) do not speak English or French (IRCC, 2018).

Although they are aware of the availability of English classes and wish to enrol in them, fewer female refugees enrol in these classes than male refugees. There are a variety of reasons for this gap, including practical concerns such as the need for daycare and transportation. Women who are confined to their homes with small children may be unable to practice their English skills frequently enough due to the lack of options available to them. Possessing the opportunity to improve one's English proficiency exposes more female refugees to the danger of ending up in dead-end jobs or being unable to find work at all (Spero, 1985; Lamba, 2003; Beiser & Hou, 2000).

Many women refugees are ill-equipped to find work because of a lack of training and abilities, since they generally arrive with inadequate English proficiency, low levels of formal education, and skills that are not deemed relevant or transportable (Davison, 1981). Additionally, women refugees have good potential to contribute to economic growth. Martin (2004) discovered that development initiatives for immigrant participants have so far been concentrated on refugee men. Historically, development-oriented initiatives and programmes in countries of asylum and resettlement have been assumed to increase refugee economic independence, minimize host country expenses associated with refugee support, and enable repatriation through infrastructure enhancement (Martin, 2004). Because half of the refugee population is female, failing to account for this demographic and their tremendous potential for economic growth might have a detrimental influence on the viability of such development-oriented operations (Tuliao, 2015). Studies show that women mostly join the soft-skilled or low-skilled jobs, such as cooking, as most settlement agencies provide such programs for engaging newcomer women during the initial years of resettlement (Koyama, 2014; Krahn et al., 2000; Francis, 2009). Concerns about low-skilled/semi-skilled work and underemployment are frequently translated into fears about occupational stagnation or 'being stuck,' as well as loss of social status and severe psychological impacts on refugees (Ott, 2013, p. 15)

2.2 Housing

For refugees, "housing represents the foundation upon which settlement unfolds" (Sherrell, 2017, p. 67) and is an essential factor for successful settlement and integration. Despite all the

housing support provided to the resettled refugees, studies show that low income support and high rents constitute major obstacles to finding permanent housing, affecting all categories of resettled refugees equally (IRCC, 2016; Yu et al., 2007). GARs tend to have greater needs and suffer from extreme and prolonged poverty even during their income assistance phase of resettlement. The 2015 *Evaluation of the Immigration Loan Program* confirmed that RAP income support was insufficient to pay for the basic necessities of GARs. More than 46% of GARs agreed that the RAP income support did not meet their basic needs, and they had to depend on food banks to compensate with other necessities. Research also shows that resettled refugees who have larger families, are single adults, or have special needs face greater problems than other refugee families. In most cases, refugees, especially GARS, tend to face more challenges finding affordable housing within the current expensive rental market (Rose & Charrette, 2016). Thus, housing is a major obstacle for the GARs (IRCC, 2016). For these reasons, the federal government introduced a rent subsidy program for qualified refugees living in more expensive rental markets. Not much is known about the housing conditions of PSRs (Rose, 2019; Silvius et al., 2015), which will be a major contribution of this study. They too are eligible for rent assist in most markets.

Affordability is also linked to the size of the houses available in the market versus suitability of the refugees. Affordability usually plays a major role in a newcomer's satisfaction with housing. As Carter et al. (2009) found, the trade-off for acquiring affordable housing usually means settling for choices one would otherwise not opt for. Most GARs have to spend most of their earnings to afford the rent, almost amounting to over 50% of their total government assistance income, leading them to sacrifice other basic needs and placing them in an income "crisis" that can be difficult to overcome (IRCC, 2016).

The neighbourhood plays an important role in terms of safety, proximity to work, and available job opportunities. This challenge can be rather difficult, given the fact that affordable housing units are usually isolated in a particular geographical location, creating ghettos and even greater marginalization into areas with insecurity and limited resources (Murdie, 1994; Carter et al., 2009). Additionally, certain neighborhoods encounter "food deserts" whereby little variety in healthy, nutritious food choices is offered. Acquiring healthier food options involves traveling long distances, which incurs added costs (Larsen et al., 2008). In an effort to hurriedly settle refugees in permanent housing post-arrival, the quality of the housing is at stake. Affordable housing can be calculated in terms of the social assistance expected from the government, family size, family

medical needs, and whether one is employed (Rose & Charette, 2014). The consequence of not providing refugees with options to decide on the type, location of housing, and the size and condition of residence is that the decision is usually left to the sponsors or the settlement agency, who may not take into account the needs of those who will live there (Atallah, 2017). In certain situations, refugees are housed in basement suites in an effort to create space for large families. These suites tend to be in poor conditions, and some refugees find the conditions traumatizing (Teixeira, 2014; Rose & Charette, 2017; Wilkinson et al., 2017). Basement suites are particularly troublesome as they are located fully or partially below ground—which mimics the detention conditions many former refugees have faced (Wilkinson, et al., 2017; Bhattacharyya et al., 2019). Even though this environment might re-traumatize former refugees, many are forced to live in basement suites, as they are the only affordable housing alternatives available. Residents in low-income areas are more likely to encounter substandard housing, educational and employment inequities, a lack of access to social services, separation from civil society, increased health risks, discrimination in the criminal justice system, stigmatization, and isolation as a result of social exclusion.

According to the results of a survey of refugee women tenants in Ontario, nearly half of them were unaware of basic human rights legislation prohibiting landlords or their agents from discriminating or harassing them, and about one-third were unaware of their rights regarding landlord entry into their unit (Novac, 1996; Walsh et al., 2016). Public education on a broad scale is essential. Unfortunately, even women who obtain sufficient legal information from a community service are hesitant to confront landlords about their behaviour. Cultural, economic, and language estrangement might make it more difficult for refugee and immigrant women to bargain with landlords in Canada. Living in a place where you do not feel safe may lead to a variety of problems, such as feelings of helplessness and resentment against oppressive people and their actions, as well as high levels of anxiety and exhaustion from constantly confronting new challenges (Silvius et al., 2019).

2.3 Access to Language, Education and Necessary Settlement Resources among Refugee Women and Youth

Language ability is one of the most powerful predictors of successful resettlement. Not surprisingly, the lack of language ability restrains newcomers from accessing employment opportunities, settlement resources, and social and cultural integration and increases the service

costs on part of the host societies (Myles & Hou, 2003). English language fluency is a significant predictor of depression and employment, particularly among refugee women and among people who are excluded from the labour market during the earliest years of resettlement. Knowledge of Canada's official languages also acts as a predictor of refugee mental health and employment (Beiser & Hou, 2001).

Several studies identify different factors that have an influence on accessing language training classes, such as one's age, marital status, size of the family, education, information, and access to language training programs (IRCC, 2017). Gender also plays an important role in determining language training barriers. Women, as the primary caregiver in many families, face barriers to accessing language training services (CCR, 2011). Women are less likely to enrol in language classes in the first place (Wilkinson et al., 2017) and are in a disadvantaged position when compared to their male counterparts in accessing language training mainly because they tend to be the ones taking care of children at home and by the time they can access the resources, they are no longer eligible to do so (Espenshade & Fu 1997; Boyd 1992; Beiser 1999; Jasso & Rosezweig, 1990; CCRWEB, 2006).

Gender plays an important role in accessing settlement services; therefore, resettlement programs should never aim at achieving "one size fits all" while resettling refugees (Beiser & Hou, 2000, p. 327). In fact, women's initial disadvantage continues to grow with time (Boyd, 1990; Canadian Task Force, 1988). English language proficiency among refugee women is directly proportionate to participation within the labour market (Beiser & Hou, 2000). With the passage of time, gender roles create gender gaps, and women who cannot access language classes turn into a group of non-English speakers or experience lifelong difficulties communicating in an official language. Refugee women who arrive in Canada as dependents rather than principal applicants face even more challenges (Canadian Task Force, 1988; Chui, 2002) because the "classification as a dependent rather than a wage-earner limits women's access to language and skills-upgrading programs sponsored or subsidized by the government" (Beiser & Hou, 2000, p. 327). As a result, it is mostly "women who miss out on language training due to gendered divisions of labour in the family" (CCR 2011, p.13). Lack of official language proficiency not only challenges the employability among the refugee women but also restricts their access to other settlement services, isolating them from the mainstream society (CCR 2011). Language barriers also limit access to health and social services (Bowen, 1999).

Though research on the language needs of refugees focuses on gender roles and responsibilities of men and women within the households, childcare is considered a significant barrier to accessing English language classes, particularly for women (Wilkinson, 2017). There are also female-headed refugee families entering Canada, but there are limited studies discussing their specific barriers and needs while accessing language or any such settlement-related services. Language services start and end in language class enrollment, ignoring the day-to-day communication support refugees need, especially women. There is a lack of literature on what women expect from these language classes and how language programs should include their voices in preparing programs and curriculums specific to their needs (Allan, 2013).

According to Anisef and Kilbride (2008), the majority of services for young newcomers do not address their unemployment, financial instability, or mental health needs and concerns. Settlement organizations are understaffed and under-funded. Many lack "employment resources, recreational and social possibilities, aid for basic necessities, English language training, school level and school readiness evaluations, counselling for religious identity," among other things (Anisef & Kilbride, 2008, p. 34). Francis and Yan (2016) concur in their study of African newcomer youth in Vancouver finding that there are "more gaps than bridges" (p. 79) in social services, such as a lack of access to adequate information, an imbalance in the distribution of resources, a dearth of programmes specifically designed to help newcomer youth, a failure to coordinate among stakeholders who provide support for newcomer youth, and the use of finite resources. Many of the young people surveyed in this research said they felt unsafe participating in various youth centred programs that do not specifically target refugee youth and as a result, they do not have faith in the settlement and social assistance system.

After coming to the host country, refugee youth need to find employment immediately so they can support their families. Even though they had long-term career goals and ambitions to study further, the dire need for survival keeps them from pursuing higher levels of education since they often choose a career path against their will (Nunn et al., 2014; Pontes, 2018). Many newcomer youth are also obligated to help financially, emotionally, and socially support their families in the resettlement process, leading them to take on occupations that prevent them from focusing on their studies. Training and education opportunities, as well as an awareness of employment legislation, are essential in easing their move into the workforce (Nichols, et al., 2020). Though refugee youth may obtain employment through their networks, these are mostly

menial jobs in fast food, cleaning, and the manufacturing sector, which gives rise to frustration and futility among them. They do not receive sufficient information or guidance from the recruitment agencies. Basic training, for example, on how to browse the internet and do a job search is also not provided by the support centres (Nunn et al., 2014; Shields et al., 2016; Pontes et al., 2018).

Most refugee youth are not familiar with the official language of the host country prior relocating. Seventy-six percent of immigrant children between the ages of 15 and 34 who arrived in Canada between 2011 and 2016 did not speak either English or French at home (Statistics Canada, 2019), demonstrating the pressing need for these individuals to learn at least one of Canada's official languages. According to Ngo (2007), there are more refugee youth requiring English language instruction than language instruction offerings and the number of refugees waiting for language instruction is increasing. Furthermore, over the years, school boards across Canada have systematically cut ESL programmes and because of stringent resource allocations for English language services, limited resources for language training and assistance have been made available to newcomer ESL students. It takes five to seven years to acquire the Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) skills necessary for success in secondary and postsecondary education, and that insufficient ESL services in schools lead to underachievement relative to peers with native English proficiency from elementary school through university and an increased dropout rate (Ngo, 2007). Although Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) programme provides free English and French lessons to newcomers over the age of 18 and sets national competency targets for newcomers at the beginner, basic, and advanced levels (Government of Canada, 2018), many LINC students are stuffed into very large, impersonal classes which are ineffective for verbal communication practise. Furthermore, there is a shortage of evening and weekend programmes (Nichols, et al., 2020) to assist with the demand. As Kirova (2019) mentions in her study with the Syrian children and youth, “the nature and content of the language instruction classes was perceived as being limiting rather than empowering or enabling” (p.6) gives a concrete background to my study. All these factors add up to more challenges for them to be at par with the native speakers, resulting in a low success rate in both education and employment. Cultural barriers, trauma, and past experiences that these refugee youth have gone through already differentiate them from the same aged kids raised in the

host country. They miss the sense of belonging and find it immensely difficult to integrate (Wilkinson, 2008; Gemici & Curtis, 2011).

Schools are one of the first places where students experience racism and this is detrimental to their academic success and successful integration (Wilkinson 2002). Because of the negative effects on their academic performance and graduation rates, many marginalised immigrant students are unable to pursue higher education. Since more than 75 percent of Canada's recent immigrants are racialized, Galabuzi (2014) argues that racialization and the link between poverty and racism also factor into the newcomer schooling experience, more so because of the lack of interventions on part of the teachers and or school staff members (Guo, et al., 2009). Canadian culture, he says, is home to a racism that is "officially veiled but strong," despite the country's reputation abroad as a "tolerant, culturally pluralist, multi-ethnic, and color-blind society" (p. 201). This leads to higher dropout rates among racialized newcomer adolescents, lack of interest in pursuing postsecondary education, and negative outcome in schools due to the impact of racism within school environment (Galabuzi, 2014; Nichols, et al., 2020; Forsberg, et al., 2018). Guo, Arthur, and Lund (2009) through their research have revealed that the majority of teachers in Canada are white and belong to the middle class. As a result, some teachers do not comprehend the past and present experiences of their refugee pupils and their families. Teachers' lack of comprehension creates stereotypes, and propogates discriminatory, racist, and marginalizing acts.

It is not easy adjusting to a new life post-resettlement (Kirova, 2019). For refugee families with children of school age, the difficulties of resettlement might be magnified since many of them have suffered trauma prior to migrating, experiencing: "mass violence, living in extreme poverty, spending extended period of time in refugee camps, etc." (p.1). No matter what direction a family chooses to take in their resettlement, the educational and psychological results of their children are profoundly affected by their parents' and caregivers' own pre-migration experiences (Kirova, 2019; Chettleburgh, 2007; Loewen, 2004) and also post-migration conditions. As a result of their time commitments as breadwinners during the initial resettlement years, many refugee and immigrant adolescents miss academic opportunities. Many refugee youth find themselves at an impasse because it is challenging to juggle eight hours of labour a day with schoolwork, so having to work has a negative impact on their academic performance (Kanu, 2009, p. 116). Although each province has different ages at which youth are forced to leave public schooling, results in many

refugee "aging out" of the school system without having the skills or linguistic competence necessary to go on to further education (Stewart, et al., 2019). As a result of these policies, many young people fail to acquire the academic abilities required to pursue careers that go beyond just providing for their basic needs (Pirbhai-Illich, 2005; Watt & Roessingh, 2001). Since it is almost impossible to get a decent career in Canada without a high school education, young people who drop out of school are doomed to low-paying, entry-level positions (Chettleburgh, 2007). Therefore, it is important to delve into the experiences of youth, especially those who are the eldest child in the family because they are often assisting with the financial needs of the family. During resettlement, there is a significant change in their roles within the household that increases their responsibilities towards their families in a way never experienced before. It is more intense for refugee children and youth fleeing war-torn regions as they experience physical and psychosocial issues, such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depressive symptoms and anxiety (Murray, 2016; Hadfield et al., 2017; Kirova, 2019; Henley and Robinson, 2011), withdrawal, attention issues, a generalized sense of fear, irritability and agitation, increased dependency on others, and interpersonal challenges, which are often not paid attention to within the host societies, making these young individuals more vulnerable than empowered. This study investigates how female refugee youth imagine their lives in Canada and what factors within the resettlement can help in building capabilities among these newcomers.

2.4 Conclusion

Resettlement policies are passively inclined towards establishing "refugeeness" among refugee women rather than empowerment. "The performative expectations of refuge construct refugees as involuntary, non-willful objects shaped and moved by forces of conflict: 'refugees' must fit the 'victim' role in order to gain entry, and act so as to retain host acceptance" (Kyriakides et al., 2018, p. 60). Refugees "deserve" rescue; receiving societies are saviours who provide it in a way that suits their imagination as a "rescuer." Lenard (2016) pointed out that though the sponsors aim at securing autonomy of the sponsored refugees, at times their own cultural biases and paternalistic attitude create tension within the refugees and their sponsors. Though Kyriakides' and Lenard's work is based on the PSRs, their study is relatable to the general host-guest relationship that puts refugees in a power relationship with their hosts, be it sponsors (in case of PSRs) or the government (in case of the GARs), given all refugees seek refuge in Canada

irrespective of the program they enter. Therefore, within resettlement, refugee rights and their individual capabilities are not much discussed.

The literature on refugees primarily focuses on their experiences compared to their situation pre-arrival. Given that refugees enter the host society under certain specific conditions, most studies report their experiences as “positive” post-resettlement in comparison to their home countries. The mental abilities and expectations are marred by the predominant gender differences within the society in which the woman is born and brought up, leaving them without much of a choice, which after gaining the status of ‘refugee,’ might further aggravate their marginalization within society. Thus, any positive experience experienced by women during resettlement surpasses their common expectations, and they tend to find “refugeness” empowering, which fails to capture the factors that are required for human development.

Not much is known about female refugee youth and their resettlement experiences (Nichols, et al., 2020) and “no studies or research could be found that focused solely on the role and benefit of work placements for immigrant and refugee youth” (Bailey, 2014, p.20). Consequently, my current study is important, as it contributes toward filling this huge gap within the existing refugee youth literature. The important question remains if it enough to just have “access” to these settlement-related services or does the quality of services and resources also have an important influence on refugees’ wellbeing and overall quality of life post-resettlement? Most of these studies reflect the point of view of the general refugee population and not exclusively from a woman’s or youth’s point of view. Housing is not only considered a basic settlement requirement but also a space where women spend most of their time during the initial period of resettlement. If housing is not as per “her” needs, it curtails her overall wellbeing and restricts her choices in pursuing other settlement related resources. In the case of refugee youth, in order to access information across organizations, immigrant adolescents must utilize their "resourcefulness" (Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, 2014). This is one of the major findings from my interviews with the youth, where they have used individual networking skills to locate necessary resources for themselves and are now acting as the grassroots champions, helping other newcomer youth from facing similar challenges they faced during initial years of resettlement. Few are lucky to have found the right connection at the right time and the rest have struggled alone in their journey to settlement and integration in Canada. This study fills some of these gaps in the literature by focusing on the quality of services they get during resettlement and

how services can incorporate agency and choice within them. None of these studies, however, uses an empowerment approach, which means we know very little about the outcomes of refugee women themselves and if they are able to use services for their individual development in the long-term. The next chapter outlines the theoretical frameworks used in this study.

Chapter 3: A Theoretical Framework for Understanding Agency and Empowerment Among Refugee Women and Older Youth

Justice in the making...

“Can you better the condition of your women? Then there will be hope for your well-being. Otherwise, you will remain as backward as you are now” – Swami Vivekananda

This study uses Kabeer’s (2001) empowerment theory to answer the primary and secondary research questions using the concepts of agency, resources, and achievement. These concepts cannot be studied in isolation; therefore, in this study, Kabeer’s Empowerment Framework uses Nussbaum’s (2003) selected essential functions related to refugee women and youth (from a list of ten) and human development theory to understand mainly agency and resources required for development. I also use Böhnke’s (2001) dimensions of social exclusion to understand the lack of resources and achievements among women and youth refugees post-resettlement and use Koggel’s (2010) relational theory to identify the relationship between the service providers and service seekers during resettlement, which helps to link resources to newcomers’ achievements.

Refugeehood is not a choice: it is a condition imposed upon millions of people. Refugees face injustice in their home countries and are left at the mercy of other countries. However, the question I ask in this dissertation is: does injustice continue within the resettling countries as well? According to Rawls’ original position, policymakers should adopt the method of “veil of ignorance” where “no one knows his place in society, his class position or social status, nor does anyone know his fortune in the distribution of natural assets and abilities, his intelligence, strength, and the like. I shall even assume that the parties do not know their conceptions of the good or their special psychological propensities” (Rawls, 1971, p.13). This position enables justice only if the policymakers themselves are affected by those policies, as nobody wishes to acquire less during the distribution of resources within any society.

As the settlement policymakers within the host society are unaffected by those policies they design for refugees, migration policies are at the discretion of the host society. Rawls’ “veil of ignorance” is not a concept applied by the policymakers but is the real conditions of refugees within the country of resettlement. Neither are they aware of their positions, their class, social

status, nor are they aware of their rights and choices they are entitled to as refugees within the new society. The nation/state that provides shelter to the less fortunate, i.e., refugees, is perceived as a generous and welcoming host (Dauvergne, 2005), placing newcomers at the receiving end. Principles of justice should follow the refugee resettlement support and programs, as an unequal distribution, when an advantage of the least advantaged, is acceptable. Though every refugee situation varies, resettlement policies and programs should follow distributive justice, rather than one model that fits all the needs of refugees, post-resettlement. Refugees without adequate knowledge of an official language, access to employment, and decent housing during the initial period of resettlement, are at a disadvantaged position. Therefore, the resettlement process is not an option but a necessity for the refugees, as long as it is based on justice. Social justice is the core principle guiding this dissertation.

3.1 Integration through Adaptive Preferences

Although it is a belief that newly arrived refugees remember their home and their flight from conflict, they eventually transform their thoughts related to their new surroundings in a more positive direction. They “assess the attitudes of the hosts, and endeavor to find a niche for themselves in which they can feel consistent both with their background and with their gradually changing expectations” (Kunz 1981, p. 46). This adjustment is more important during the initial resettlement period when the host society and its population mark boundaries to refugee prosperity. Among the choices given to refugees within the host societies, they are constrained by language, values, traditions, religion, politics, food, and interpersonal relations, immigration policies, such as augmentative and self-sufficiency, and social receptiveness based on expected conformity from refugees (Kunz, 1981). These factors limit the choices refugees make, especially in a linguistically challenging environment where they might face extreme isolation and depression, aggravating their overall mental health conditions.

Resilience, agency, empowerment, integration, and assimilation within refugee resettlement are often conflated with ‘adaptive preferences,’ where people become conditioned with social injustice and material deprivation and accept their unequal positions within society with utmost satisfaction (Sen, 1985). Individuals tend to compare their current situations to their immediate past, which in the case of refugees is not very pleasant and clouds their judgment between social justice and injustice. In the case of female refugees, even before becoming refugees, they may be reconciled to the often-neglected roles of daughter, wife, mother, or sister and often define their

respective predicaments as normal. Their mental abilities and expectations are marred by the predominant gender differences and inequalities within families and within the larger society. Using an adaptive preferences approach allows for a culturally sensitive intervention that allows the agency of the often-neglected population to achieve what they desire (Khader, 2011). Realization of these ‘preferences’ among marginalized populations requires an intervention where the intervener should provide all the reasonable choices rather than limiting available options. Within the resettlement process, settlement agencies have the responsibility of being the interveners in liberating choices for women and young refugees so that they can change the rules that often govern their lives. It is important not to assume refugees, in this case, young and older women as “objects of rescue” but rather as active participants in their own lives (Kyriakides et al. 2018).

With refugee women and youth, adaptive preferences adopted within the host societies are not unconscious. The resettlement processes, policies and programs are designed based on the options the resettlement country is willing to provide to the newcomers. Jon Elster, who coined the term adaptive preferences, draws upon the story of the fox who decides to appease its want for grapes, which it is unable to reach, by imagining that the grapes are sour. This tussle between what one would ‘prefer to achieve’ and what s/he is allowed to achieve, is a conscious negotiation refugees are forced to make within the host society. Thus, refugees’ status is always precarious. They consciously choose not to choose. This theory explains how refugees prefer those choices that motivate them to make the “best out of a bad situation” (Khader, 2011). Injustice can only exist because of these conditions, where domestic violence is acceptable as long as it gives women access to income and security. This theory of adaptive preferences justifies the injustice one faces when in an unequal position.

Adaptive preferences are the building blocks of government policies. Unjust institutions can only operate when people accept injustice as the norm (Nussbaum 2001). The relationship between the host society and newcomers, especially refugees, is also one of ‘power’ (Dauvergne, 2005). It is not intentional on part of the resettlement countries to maintain power over refugees, as refugees themselves may envision their roles and preferences as passive and out of gratefulness towards their provider be willing to accept injustice in different forms. Thus, people with adaptive preferences need help post-resettlement in realizing their rights and improving their autonomy in

making choices required for refugee development. Resettlement support and services should be designed towards refugee empowerment and not just initial settlement.

3.2 Why is Development Important for Refugee Women and Youth?

The main approach in the study of refugee women (including adolescents between the ages of 18 and 24) that emerged during the 1993 World Conference on Gender Issues and Development was the interconnectedness between human rights and development (Callamard, 2002). But the interconnection between these two remains unrealized today. The identity of refugees remains generic, ungendered, and desexualized (Tuitt, 1996). My study is more focussed on the development of refugee women and youth, as progress eventually curtails injustice in the long run. Higher incomes or more choices do not give women empowerment, if they are not conducive of development/improvement in the overall status of women (Khader, 2011). For instance, it is not only necessary to improve women's status within the labour market but also to make sure that their changed role from homemaker to primary breadwinner does not bring harm to her, such as victims of gender-based violence within the household. Empowerment, therefore, is not only about getting access to resources but also about living in conditions where one can safely practice one's choices. This is development/progress which does not result from oppressive conditions through the mechanism of adaptive preferences. Individual agency and empowerment should lead to development, which is the focus of this study.

The overarching research question for this project, *to what extent are refugee women and youth in Canada able to (or unable to) practice their agency accessing resettlement services and programs in order to gain empowerment?* cannot be addressed without understanding agency and empowerment. For example, to extend agency, the factors that affect rebuilding it should be examined, which will be done in this study using the theory of empowerment and social exclusion. Similarly, to understand if women have agency, the measurement of empowerment becomes necessary as an end product. Here, I use the human development theory based on the capabilities approach to measure the dynamics between agency, resources, and achievement, which leads to empowerment and or progress. To understand how the resettlement process contributes to and shapes agency among refugee women and empowers them to take advantage of the available resources, such as language, employment, housing and different settlement services within Canada, it is necessary to understand the relationship between the service providers and service seekers, which influences an agent's identity within the context of social relationships (Koggel,

1997) and facilitates refugee women's access to resources. In the case of GARs, the settlement service providers or the RAP agents become the first social contact on entering Canada, which in case of PSRs, are the individual or groups of sponsors. Therefore, this relationship is of much significance. The theories and associated research questions are discussed in the following section.

3.3 The Empowerment Approach

The empowerment approach, being closely associated with third-world feminism and grassroots organizations, is a good fit for this study. The aim of the empowerment approach is to "increase the self-reliance of women and to influence change at the policy, legislative, societal, economic and other levels to their advantage" (Muyoyeta, 2007, p. 11), which also encompasses the underlying objectives of this study. The empowerment approach is mainly effective in ensuring opportunities or conditions that determine women's own needs. In this study, Naila Kabeer's theory on women's empowerment forms the primary theoretical framework, as it includes all the factors required to answer the research questions. Kabeer's concepts of agency, resources, and achievements are examined to measure the empowerment of refugee women and youth in Canada, post-resettlement.

3.3.1 Conceptualizing Empowerment: Agency, resources, and achievement

According to Kabeer, power lies in the ability to make choices, which results in empowerment. Empowerment, in turn, facilitates the process of change within society (Kabeer, 2001). Like Kabeer's conceptualization of empowerment, my study also focuses on the empowerment of refugee women and older refugee youth, many of whom could not make choices because of their circumstances and might be unaware of the fact that they have the right to make choices.

Agency, resources, and achievement are the three inter-related dimensions that are required pre-conditions for achieving empowerment (Kabeer 2001). Agency is at the core of the process by which choices or the ability to make choices is established, resources form the conditions under which choices are made, and achievements are referred to as the outcomes of those choices. These three concepts/dimensions are inter-related and influence one another. Achievement is the outcome of increased agency or the ability to make choices, which depends on the available resources leading to a particular achievement, which in turn enhances resources and the ability to make choices.

Empowerment theory is the primary framework of this study, which includes the three interrelated concepts—agency, resources, and achievements—as the constituents of achieving empowerment with no negative consequences. Two theories of human development through a capabilities approach, exclusion theory and relational theory, are used to explain these three concepts in the context of refugee women and youth.

According to Kabeer, resources can be material, social, or human. They are the pre-conditions for achieving empowerment (Kabeer, 1999). For the purposes of this study, I borrow the concepts of social and material resources, which serve to enhance the ability to exercise choices during the process of resettlement. Resources, or in this case, resettlement resources, will be examined through the social and material resources and the extent to which they influence refugees' human resources and rebuilding capabilities within the new society. Providing initial material resources and some social resources is the responsibility of the country of resettlement. These, in turn, help in re-establishing human capabilities among refugees in accordance with the host societies.

Social resources, according to Kabeer, are the “claims, obligations and expectations which inhere in the relationships, networks and connections which prevail in different spheres of life and which enable people to improve their situation and life chances beyond what would be possible through their individual efforts alone” (Kabeer, 2001, p. 20). Here, social resources are instrumental according to the social relationships formed between the service providers and the refugees. The resources that are distributed at the institutional level and the conditions for accessing those resources also depend on the prevailing norms implemented and practiced by those institutions. Refugees, especially females, have many constraints based on gender, such as the dependency relationship between the settlement service providers and the service seekers which becomes important while accessing resources. In this study, material resources are not only capital, such as social assistance or financial support available to the resettled refugees, but also the resources that help in creating human resources, such as English language skills and an increase in employability. Empowerment not only depends on the availability of resources but also if they are easily accessible to individuals who need them the most.

The second dimension is a sense of agency, which is conceptualized in different ways. In this study agency will be considered what Kabeer (2001) mentions as ‘the power within’ or the capability of individuals to make their own decisions. One of the main objectives of this study is

the sense of choice of refugee women and youth to select from different available options along with their ability to bargain and negotiate their positions within the host society. Though there is an imbalance of power, i.e., lack of agency within the whole process of resettlement, in this study, agency as a dependent factor is explained to study the choices women and youth have while accessing resettlement resources, such as choice in selecting their housing situations, conditions under which women access English language classes, choice of employment and access to resources that increase employability, choices within the Canadian school system and access to transportation and health services through the resettlement process. This dimension of empowerment theory helps in answering my research question of whether refugee women and older youth are able to exercise their agency within the resettlement process or are merely governed by the resources available at their disposal and their conscious acceptance of injustice through adaptive preferences. Here, I also refer to Sen's concept of capabilities, where agency and resources together as 'functionings' result from what the individuals think are valuable.

This brings the third dimension of empowerment as achievements, which are realized when individuals have the capability or choice of choosing from the resources they value (Sen, 1999; Kabeer, 2001). In this study, achievement is conceptualized as a way to lead to empowerment, where settlement services are designed and delivered to empower women to allow maximum capacity and choice to act within the combined environment of opportunities and constraints within the Canadian structure. Empowerment that leads to positive experiences and wellbeing, furthering the pursuit of achievements, leads to increasing levels of empowerment. Sen has highlighted that functionings and capabilities are two central concepts of the capability approach that helps in human development, also referred to as achievements. "If life is seen as a set of 'doings and beings' that are valuable, the exercise of assessing the quality of life takes the form of evaluating these functionings and the capability to function" (Sen, 2003, p. 43). For him, a functioning is the various things a person may value doing or being and a capability is the alternative combinations of functionings that are feasible for a person to achieve (Sen, 1999). For example, being educated is a functioning for a person who values education and has a reason to value being educated. Capabilities are the real freedoms or opportunities that this person must be educated to do, or in other words, to achieve valuable functionings. Put simply, capabilities represent "various combinations of functionings (beings and doings) that the person can achieve. Capability is a set of vectors of functionings, reflecting the person's freedom to lead one type of life or another" (Sen,

1992, p. 40). Therefore, the distinction between functionings and capabilities is between what is actually realized and what is effectively possible, or said differently, between achievements, on the one hand, and freedoms or opportunities, on the other. In this study, the goals of both human well-being and freedom of choice are conceptualized in terms of individuals' (refugee women's and youth's) capabilities to function. Sen's concept 'functionings' is relevant in this study, as I examine the choices that refugee women and youth value and if they are available through the post-resettlement programs and services. As refugees are integrated into the host societies within the existing/available resources, it is important to understand from the standpoint of refugee women if those resources are considered valuable, or they require more choices to select from.

From a theoretical standpoint, there are three main challenges identified while studying empowerment. It is a multi-dimensional concept (Malhotra & Schuler, 2005), and agency differs from one individual to another (Mason & Smith, 2003). For example, one woman might have the freedom to travel alone but is not allowed to participate in household decision-making (Gupta & Yesudian, 2006) or when refugee youth have access to free education in Canada but are constrained to become high achievers by factors such as racism and other discriminations existing within the Canadian school system (Shakya, et al., 2019). Second, not all choices are equal and some choices are more significant and directly related to empowerment than others (Kabeer, 1999). Also, having access to social resources through personal connections and relationships built using is not enough when contextualized in the case of refugees' access to resources. This multi-dimensionality makes policy and implementation decisions difficult. Third, the concept of agency and empowerment is highly contextual, and it cannot be captured within a universal framework (Kabeer, 1999; Mason & Smith, 2003). For example, in this study, agency and empowerment might mean different things among women from women-headed families and those who live with their spouses or for younger and older youth resettling in Canada. It is therefore challenging to have a universal framework while studying empowerment and, in this study, empowerment is explained and re-defined through the perspectives of individual refugee women and youth rather than how it is contextualized within resettlement. Breaking through the adaptive preferences is one of the major contributions of this study, which leads to empowerment in the real sense of the term.

To combat some of these epistemological challenges while studying empowerment, I first study the exclusions faced by different groups of refugee women and older refugee youth within the resettlement process to narrow down the multi-dimensional factors explaining empowerment.

Exclusion theory helps in investigating the existing disempowering factors, if any, within the process of resettlement, mainly while navigating and accessing different settlement resources. This theory also helps in studying the specific challenges based on housing, employment, language, and initial settlement services in the specific context of Canadian refugee resettlement. Exclusion theory illustrates different levels of agency valued by different groups or individual refugee women.

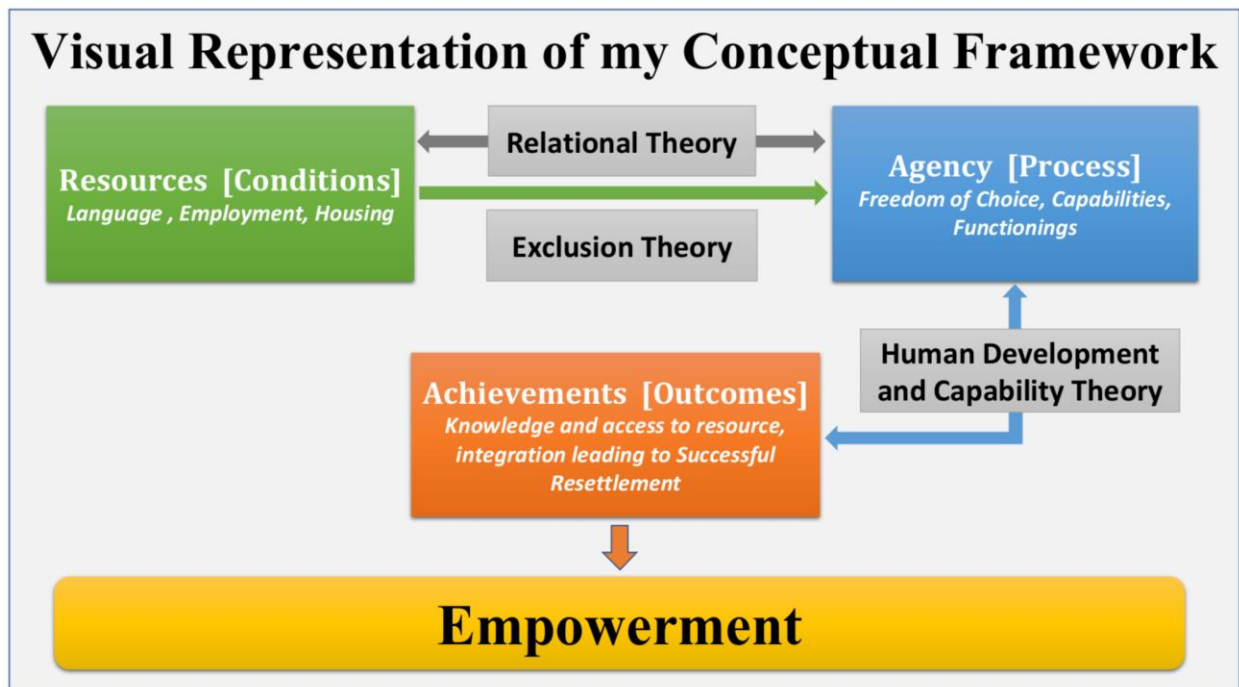
Second, to complement the understanding of Kabeer's social resources in the context of refugee women and youth, relational theory is used to understand the relationships, networks, and connections that prevail between the service providers and service seekers (refugees) as well as connecting resources and agency to complement each other in order to have short-term achievements and leading to empowerment and or progress/development in the long run. This approach is required to enable refugee women and youth to improve their situation and life chances beyond what would be possible through their individual efforts alone as well as understand their individual capabilities and develop through these established relationships between the service providers and service seekers within the refugee context. Relational theory explains not only the "claims, obligations and expectations which inhere in the relationships, networks and connections which prevail in different spheres of life, and which enable people to improve their situation and life chances beyond what would be possible through their individual efforts alone" (Kabeer, 2001, p. 20), but helps in explaining the importance of developing human capabilities through these relationships that the newcomer refugees are themselves unaware of.

Third, as the empowerment models are not universal in nature and are extracted from different contexts, it is important to measure what brings about development and eradicates inequality among different groups of refugee women and youth entering Canada. Therefore, the exclusions, marginalization, and discrimination faced by these women and youth should be understood through their resettlement needs, and development theory facilitates understanding capabilities and freedom of choice (UN Development Program, 2016) in this context.

A conceptual model (Figure 1) is created for the purposes of this research that links all these different theories to study empowerment among refugee women and youth in Canada. Kabeer's (2001) empowerment model explains the three main factors required to achieve empowerment but cannot be contextualized in the case of refugees without considering additional theories linking resources, agency, and achievements. Exclusion theory explains what resettlement

resources refugee women lack during resettlement. Relational theory studies the relationship between the service providers and the service seekers, as in the case of refugees, they mostly depend on settlement providers during the initial stages of resettlement. Agency within the new society is built through this relationship that furthers agency among the female refugees. An increasing sense of agency and access to resources complement each other in establishing short-term achievements, which together lead to positive development among women and youth within the host society. Empowerment is the by-product of all these factors together.

Figure 1: Created Conceptual Empowerment Model for Studying Refugee Women



3.4 Social Exclusion Theory

Exploring the different factors of social inequality is a fundamental practice in sociology. Stratification among social groups concerned the classical theorists and is an ongoing concern among contemporary theorists. Though social exclusion is explained through well-founded literature on the theoretical contributions of the concept (Silver, 1994; Burchardt et al., 2002, Calavita & Kitty, 2005), the dimensions of exclusion theory used by Muffels and Fouarge (2000) and the exclusion model by Böhnke (2001) fit closely to the refugee situation. According to Muffels and Fouarge (2000), social exclusion is defined as “exclusion from all kinds of institutional, social, cultural and political ties in society and exclusion from the access to the

societal resources available to the average or modal citizen, defined in terms of income, health, housing, social contacts, education and paid work” (p. 3). As it is clear from the literature review, even if refugee women and youth are not forcefully or intentionally excluded from accessing societal resources, because of their refugee conditions and gender-based discrimination, combating the huge socio-cultural differences between their home countries and host countries poses challenges while accessing resources post-resettlement.

In this study, I use social exclusion theory to provide conceptual grounding upon which to consider experiences of marginalization and inequality, while also revealing the barriers and structural processes that contribute to such conditions. This theory situates my dissertation objective by pinning the factors that exclude newcomer refugees far from getting integrated into the host society. In the context of refugee women and youth, social exclusion is not only a pre-condition based on gender differences in their home countries but also a post-resettlement issue based on continuous inadequate living standards within the host societies (Muffels & Fouarge, 2000). Factors such as poor housing, lack of permanent employment, poor health, lack of social contacts, knowledge of the official languages, and education and resources for higher education, discrimination of refugee youth within the Canadian school system, exclude refugee women and youth from mainstream society. Böhnke’s theory helps in examining existing exclusions that female refugees face within the resettlement process and the factors to be considered for increasing agency in order to empower them. This theory also helps frame the base of my study and brings out factors that will answer my secondary research questions on housing, language, and employment-related services (Table 4).

Table 4: The Dimensions of Social Exclusion

	VALUE REGIONS	INDICATORS
+ DISTRIBUTIONAL / MATERIAL	Labour market performance	Long-term unemployment (more than 12 month)
	Standard of living	inadequate standard of living, how much income does women have at her disposal
	Income poverty	below 50% of the mean equivalent household income
	Educational status	no vocational training
	Housing conditions	less than one room per person/ bad living conditions in the house (bad ventilation, cold, bugs and other insects, basement, etc.),
	Residential area	neighbourhood + feeling of insecurity in residential area
RELATIONAL / PARTICIPATORY	Social relationships	no close friends + limited possibilities to contact other people due to language barrier
	Politics	pessimism concerning political influence + no interest in politics
	Anomie	feeling lonely / life is too complicated
	Anxiety	depression / frightening thoughts
LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVE	Development of living conditions	permanently bad living conditions during last five years
TOTAL	Social exclusion risks in objective and subjective terms	accumulated indices (total, distributional, relational) satisfaction with possibilities of taking part in social life / feeling left out of society

Source: Petra Böhnke, 2001, p. 14

Social exclusion is conceptualized in terms of relativity (condition) and agency (process) (Farrington, 2011). It is considered as a “relational concept” between people and the society where exclusion is created by agents, i.e., “something that is done by some people to other people” (Farrington, 2011, p. 3). It is said that by understanding the relationships between these agents (in this case the service providers’ private sponsors) and the marginalized groups (refugee women and older youth), “a framework for policy assessment and coordination of sectoral interventions” (International Institute for Labour Studies, 1996) can be developed. To improve the existing situation, i.e., the resettlement process, identifying the conditions of exclusion becomes necessary. This theory not only supports the idea of using the relational framework in understanding the dynamics between the existing relationships of the service providers and the service seekers, but it also establishes the rationality behind the underlying link between the existing resources and their impact on agency among refugee women and youth. Exclusion within the country of resettlement depends largely on the settlement policies and institutions that directly impact the distribution of resources to the newcomers within the society.

Irrespective of the fact that the theory of social exclusion helps in projecting the multi-dimensional sources of deprivation (Percy-Smith, 2000), it has been considered vague and does not have a well-founded definition (Marsh & Mullins, 1998). This theory contributes to this dissertation and helps in identifying factors, taking into consideration the differences among the varied groups of refugee women including youth resettling in Canada. However, it is also criticized on the grounds of being considered synonymous with poverty (Kilmurray 1995), especially as this theory is conceptualized mainly within low-income countries, where poverty is a primary factor for exclusion. In this study, as the focus is on the refugees, who are mostly from low-income countries trying to settle in a high-income country such as Canada, poverty forms one factor investigating barriers to integration (as given in Table 5). Factors that lead to anxiety and anomie among refugee women and youth (Nichols, et al., 2020) compared to women currently living in low-income countries include knowledge of the official language of the host society (Khader, 2011). Language also affects employability within the host societies.

3.5 Women and Human Development Theory – From a Capabilities Approach

Gender inequality remains a major barrier to human development. Though women (including youth above the age of 18 years) have made some major strides in the last few decades, we are far from reaching gender equality (UNDP, 2016). Women continue to occupy a disadvantaged position, being discriminated against on the grounds of “health, education, political representation, labour market, etc.—with negative consequences for development of their capabilities and their freedom of choice” (UNDP, 2016, para. 1). Martha Nussbaum forwards a theory on women and human development based on the problems of women from low-income countries. Given the characteristics of this study’s sample population, the development theory matches the conditions of refugee women and youth, who are mostly from these low-income countries.

3.5.1 Nussbaum’s Development Theory from a capabilities approach

Nussbaum’s capabilities approach considers each person’s struggle in achieving something that they want and treats each person as an end and as a source of agency (Nussbaum, 2000). Women should have the right to make choices and meaningful affiliations free from any sort of control, such as political or traditional norms that might bind them. Here she uses the resource-based approaches where, “the focus should not be on the satisfaction or the mere presence of resources, but on what individuals are actually able to do and to be” (Nussbaum 2001, p. 69).

Resources become meaningful only when individuals can convert those resources into something that they consider valuable. The crux of the capability approach lies in those functionings or achievements that result from these complex interrelationships between human striving and their material and social context. The human development approach is used for understanding the resettlement process and to assess its avenues for women's development in the long run. During the time of initial resettlement, this theory is used to understand and conceptualize achievement, which is one of the building blocks of empowerment (Kabeer, 2001). Six of the concepts are adopted from Nussbaum's "Central Human Functional Capabilities" model (pp. 78-80) to answer the second half of my primary research question, that is, To what extent are refugee women and youth in Canada able to practice their agency within the resettlement process accessing services in the following areas: language, employment and housing?

Six concepts embedded within this theory are adopted in the context of refugee women and youth from Nussbaum's model on Creating Capabilities from Human Development Approach (Nussbaum 2011, pp. 33-34). They appear in Table 5 below:

Table 5: Nussbaum's Original List of Central Capabilities

Life	Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; refugee women not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living
Bodily Health	Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter;
Bodily Integrity	Being able to move freely from place to place; having one's bodily boundaries treated as sovereign, i.e., being able to be secure against assault, including sexual assault, child sexual abuse, and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction;
Senses, Imagination, and Thought	Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason – and to do these things in a "truly human" way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing

	self-expressive works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise. Being able to search for the ultimate meaning of life in one's own way. Being able to have pleasurable experiences, and to avoid non-necessary pain;
Emotions	Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by overwhelming fear and anxiety, or by traumatic events of abuse or neglect. (Supporting this capability means supporting forms of human association that can be shown to be crucial in their development.);
Practical Reason	Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience);
Affiliation	Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails, at a minimum, protections against discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, religion, caste, ethnicity, or national origin. In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers;
Play	Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities;
Control over One's Environment - Material	Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), not just formally but in terms of real opportunity; and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others.

Source: Nussbaum 2011, pp. 33-34

Using these concepts in the context of refugee women and youth and determining if they have the resources to achieve these capabilities within the existing resettlement process meets one

of the major objectives of this study. Though Nussbaum's capability theory is criticized on the grounds of utilitarianism and its practicality in the distribution of wealth from the well-off towards improving situations of those who are the worst-off within society, in this study, it is instrumental given the pre-and-post arrival conditions of refugees. Irrespective of what they had in their home countries, due to the humanitarian crisis, the ability to express agency is affected by torture, trauma, and survival situations. As a result, refugee women and youth do need extra support to re-establish themselves within the new society. This study investigates these resettlement processes and looks at whether there are options open for women and youth to develop and achieve empowerment in the long run.

3.6 Relational Theory

Both the capabilities approach and exclusion theory are useful for examining the importance of the relationship between the service seekers and the service providers. Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum, while articulating the development of the capabilities approach, consider agency to be central to what it is to be a human being (Koggel, 2010). Agency allows an individual to shape one's life and make choices that they have reasons to value. Within the capability literature, the concept of empowerment is considered synonymous with agency, which Koggel's (2010) relational theory denies. Koggel distinguished agency from empowerment and focuses on individuals as relational and interdependent. She pointed out that it is the relations between the power/institutional structures, norms, and policies that disempower individual agents. She wrote about being responsive to the needs of those at the receiving end, as their needs are determined by the network of relationships in which they exist. Koggel proposed a conception of the self that is relational and hence tackles issues of fairness and equality from this vantage point. Koggel's argument that care and justice are intrinsically linked rests on this very sense of self. She insisted on "caring justice" and not "just caring," stating that she refused to abandon the language of equality. Koggel argued that the disparities that exist in society are the result of institutional structures that create inequalities that are invisible to other viewpoints. I take this theory to be central to accounts of refugee women's and youth's empowerment in the human development context because as newcomers, their link to the host society is through service providers/private sponsors.

3.6.1 Applying relational theory to the research question

Having its roots in equality, relational theory assumes that individuals exist in relation to others rather than “independent, autonomous and self-sufficient agents” (Koggel, 2002, p. 248). To understand the social positioning of individuals, it is important to know the dichotomy of power and oppression that creates different kinds of inequalities within society. The relational approach focuses on the governing practices and policies that might create and sustain inequalities among the powerless and disadvantaged within society. It also focuses on the importance of making people aware of their unequal positions within society. In the context of this study, successful resettlement depends on the accessibility of these resources to refugees. Here relationships between the service providers and service seekers become important in accessing those resources, as most of the refugees enter the country in adverse situations. Given their conditions at the time of entry into Canada, it is evident that refugees begin their lives at an unequal position within society.

Unlike the privately sponsored refugees, who are provided both financial and emotional support by their individual sponsors (Ahmad, 2016), there is no such window for the emotional support for the government-assisted refugees. Conversely, private sponsors can take advantage of refugees, given their relationship is guided by power relations between the provider and the receiver. The RAP providers and private sponsors become the primary point of contact during the initial resettlement process for the GARs and PSRs, respectively, which as per relational theory, is significant in providing necessary support (both financial and emotional) to them for establish themselves within Canada (Ahmad, 2016). The resettlement process, being a complex procedure, depends on collaboration of many governments as well as private and non-profit organizations, which are not only responsible for helping refugees access settlement resources but also link them to other required service-providing bodies, which creates a network of relationships between the governing and the governed. Understanding these relationships is significant in this study, as it helps in investigating the relationship that refugees get into with the service providers and seeing if it helps in accessing settlement resources and increasing self-sufficiency among refugee women and older refugee youth. Also, this theory helps in understanding if the existing relationships between the service providers and service seekers help in deemphasizing adaptive preferences among refugee women and youth.

This approach helps in linking the resettlement resources with its agents and helps in answering part of the research question of whether and how the resettlement process contributes to, shapes, and resonates the agency of refugee women and youth and empowers them to take advantage of the available resources, such as language, employment, housing, and different settlement services within Canada. The relational approach is particularly useful for my study, as it considers a contextual perspective rather than an abstract one. In this case, refugee women and older youth, their specific relationships with the service providers will help delineate their current situations on account of available resources or wellbeing. When discussing older refugee youth, relations and support provided by the EAL teachers and adult school instructors have a huge role to play during the initial years of resettlement. As the relational approach shows that “a person’s opportunities are limited by oppressive relationships at the level of both the personal and political in ways that determine the resources one gets and even the perceptions of what one deserves or is capable of” (Koggel, 2002, p. 249), this theory examines the kind of link that exists between agents, resources, and achievements and if it leads to empowerment of female refugees.

Relational theory contributes to this dissertation by explaining how the essential characteristics, such as language capabilities and other human capabilities, are not inherent within us but developed in us through interaction and kinds of relationships with others (Nedelsky, 1989). It is noted that these relationships do not wholly determine the constitution of the self but can be considered as prerequisites or conditions in which the individuals are able to establish agency and make a choice, which otherwise is not possible to achieve (Koggel, 2010). This approach is supportive of refugee women and youth needing support in re-establishing their agency on entering Canada. In the context of refugee youth and women’s re-establishing agency, having the choices to choose and desired achievements, applying relational theory mainly considers the effects of being in a relationship with others, in this case, the service providers (Downie & Llewellyn, 2011; Engbers et al., 2017). These effects are measured through refugee youth and women’s settlement service use and accessibility; support they receive from the service providers; required assistance related to employment, language, housing, and other settlement-related services; whom they trust the most; whom they contact during times of emergency; if it is easy or difficult to communicate with the service providers; and other such relational factors investigated through this study.

Though the relational perspective reveals the institutional structures that create inequalities—inequalities which are mostly overlooked by other perspectives (Hekman 2001)—

this theory is applicable only at the level where it helps in studying the kind of relationship that exists between the settlement service providers and the refugee women and youth, which in turn helps to establish agency within the social framework.

3.7 Conclusion

Refugee scholarship has mostly focused on resilience more than empowerment, that is, their individual ability to bounce back during the initial resettlement rather than development and self-sufficiency in the long-run. Though both these concepts are based on unsatisfying conditions, resilience is much of an internal state of an individual, whereas empowerment is much more dependent on the external factors influencing one's existence (Brodsky & Cattaneo, 2013). Using this detailed empowerment framework helps in focusing more on the individual refugees rather than solely focusing on the support system that helps them gain stability in life. Also, migration research focuses mainly on resilience among refugee children and not older female refugee youth, who are mostly in the school-to-work transition age. There are no universal support systems or resources specific to this group, and there lies a gap in theories as well as federal and provincial immigration policies specifically designed for this group's integration. Though there are few exclusive agencies for supporting young newcomers, it is at the discretion of the resettlement agencies how much they can provide such services (Thomson et al., 2015, Francis & Yan, 2016; Assefa et al., 2017; Li et al., 2017). This theoretical framework not only helps in understanding the current settlement support system in place but also puts forward factors that should be considered while designing integration and development programs for youth and refugee women. To gain resilience within a new society, an empowerment approach is required that takes into consideration the factors that help an individual gain resilience.

Chapter 4: Methodology

In qualitative social research methodologies, interviews are often employed to obtain data (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004; Nunkoosing, 2005). According to Kvale (1983), the objective of the interview as a technique of data collection in social research is “...to collect descriptions of the interviewee’s life-world with regard to interpretation of the significance of the stated facts” (p. 174). Nunkoosing (2005) stressed the significance of the interview as a form of data gathering that enables people to reflect on and discuss their circumstances, needs, expectations, experiences, and perceptions. Evaluating complex multi-component interventions or systems (of change), moving the focus from "what works" to "what works for whom, when, how, and why," and centering attention on intervention improvement rather than accreditation are all examples of research problems that lend themselves to qualitative approaches (Busetto, et al., 2020). The phases of data collection and analysis in qualitative research are not as distinct and sequential as they tend to be in quantitative research (Russell and Gregory, 2003) due to the research method's defining characteristics of adaptability, openness, and responsiveness to context. According to Fossey, "sampling, data collecting, analysis, and interpretation are tied to each other in a cyclical (iterative) way," (Fossey, et al., 2002, p. 721) rather than sequentially. The researcher will have enough information to make well-informed decisions on which methods to use, how to use them, and which and how many units to analyze. This process might include a number of iterations between gathering data and analyzing it, during which time the initial plan can be modified and expanded in light of new information (Busetto, et al., 2020). Some discoveries may also call for rethinking the research topic and/or approach. When no more useful information is discovered, or when saturation is reached, the process is complete.

Following these guidelines, to understand agency and empowerment from the perspectives of my refugee participants, qualitative interviews were aligned with the purpose of this research, allowing “the researched object to speak” (Kvale, 1996, p. 1) and reflect the subject’s true character. Research in this area is based on the constructivist philosophy, which views knowledge creation as an active activity undertaken by the researcher rather than as a passive observation of external social reality (Willig, 2001). My research design is also adopted to accommodate the divergent characteristics and experiences of the refugee women and youth entering Canada.

My study represents a unique opportunity to examine initial settlement needs using both primary and secondary data to enable in-depth analysis of settlement service use among this group.

Data is collected in two parts: Study I and Study II. The first study, semi-structured narrative interviews with the Yazidis, was completed in 2018 and is used as a pre-proposal study and secondary data in this dissertation. Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) funded the Study I through its partnership with Immigration Research West (IRW). I have been given permission by IRW to use the secondary data for my dissertation. I acted as the project manager for the Yazidi study. The methodology of the Yazidi study is discussed later in this chapter and details can be found in “Yazidi Resettlement in Canada-Final Report 2018” (Wilkinson et al., 2019). In Study II, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 17 refugee women and youth to allow me to better understand empowerment and its role in initial and later stages of resettlement. These 17 interviews are the primary data source for this dissertation. I use the secondary data (Study I) to provide validation for the primary data collected through semi-structured interviews in Study II.

To capture diversity, an intersectionality approach is justified in women refugee research, “which potentially captures the complex interplay between gender and other social differentiations in contemporary, multicultural societies” (Christensen & Jensen 2012, p. 109). Intersectionality research shows how the recent trend of diversity is getting accepted rather than explaining social phenomena exclusively in light of similarities.

4.1 An Intersectional Approach

Studying refugee resettlement from the perspectives of women and youth seems like any other gender-based analysis unless it is taken in combination with other categories. The intersectional approach fills this gap using concepts (Knapp 2005) more from a sociological perspective, linking macro institutions with micro-level identities and lived experiences (Christensen & Siim, 2006; Christensen & Jensen, 2012). This methodology originated among Black feminists, who faced discrimination not only on the grounds of gender but also because of their race. It recognizes various methodological implications embedded in power structures and how individuals are positioned within those structures through gender, class, and ethnic identities (Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006; Phoenix, 2011). In the case of refugee women, these three factors do not encapsulate all the social categories and forms of social differentiation that oppress and marginalize them pre-and-post arrival. Factors such as age, refugee immigration categories, marital status, presence of children, health status, level of education, language proficiency, and other factors influence the conditions under which refugees face discrimination. Therefore, in my

study, emphasis is given to the dynamic forces creating different intersecting identities rather than general categories, such as, “racialization more than races, economic exploitation rather than classes, gendering and gender performance rather than genders” (Choo & Ferree, 2010; p. 134).

To contextualize an intersectional approach in refugee studies, this method of analysis is borrowed in addition to other intersectional identities to restrict the analysis based primarily on the three social categories, such as gender, class, and ethnic identities. Given that refugee women are multiply marginalized within host societies, such a wholistic approach is necessary. Intersectionality as a method evolved from Black feminism and therefore cannot be used as a universal phenomenon for studying different forms of feminism, excluding categories that are not included in its primary context (Hornscheidt, 2009; Carbin & Tornhill, 2004). It can be used for specific positionings and identities as long as they “are constructed and interrelate and affect each other in particular locations and contexts” (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 200), producing different areas of contextual knowledge as long as the multiple factors have their roots in inequality (McCall, 2008). Thematization is one of the processes used to evolve these categories (Christensen & Jensen, 2012), which makes intersectionality more flexible in the context of this study on refugee women and youth, where identities are constructed through different power relations based on their pre-and-post arrival conditions, not in relation to men but power differences faced within home countries and host countries. Researchers have used this method for producing categories that are interrelated and influence each other in creating complex barriers to accessing resources within society, Danish research being one such example (Lutz, 2002). Lutz assesses the intersectional methodological approach for engaging in aid and human rights work in the Global South by reflecting on issues such as the usefulness of additive and mutually constitutive models of intersectional social divides, the many analytical levels at which social divisions need to be explored, their ontological foundation, and their connection to one other.

My study provides some forms of differentiation based on the paradoxes of individual identities and power relations within the resettlement process. The unpredictability and openness of this perspective make it viable in situating specific conditions in the context of the macro structures, though evolving different categories makes the analysis “manageable, but also makes it possible to focus on the categories that are deemed most important for a specific research question at a specific time” (Christensen & Jensen, 2012, p. 112). Intersectionality also provides flexibility in analyzing qualitative data.

In this section, I develop the implications of the methodological considerations in terms of a more concrete research design based on the resettlement experiences of refugee women and older refugee youth in Canada. By focusing on refugee women and youth' lived experiences before and after migration through semi-structured open-ended interviews, my study contributes by expanding the Framework Analysis within refugee studies towards a methodological framework (Gale et al., 2013). According to Hill-Collins (1990), empowerment is a notion that is defined collaboratively and emerges out of dialogic connections among a group of individuals living in a community. There may be fewer possibilities for discourse in the formulation and execution of bottom-up specified empowerment initiatives inside hierarchical organizational structures, such as within the resettlement process. This constriction is especially true when those programs are directed at underrepresented demographic groups such as refugee women and youth. As a result, this study tries to reflect on the ways in which resettlement addressing forced migration might reify and oppose structural injustice and is made available to academics and practitioners by the methodology of empirical criticism. Through a Framework Analysis, the meanings of sense of agency and empowerment are explored from the individualized perspectives of refugee women and youth. Face-to-face interviews proved an empowering method of investigation. Resettlement experiences and *the extent to which refugee women and youth in Canada are able to (or unable to) practice their agency within the resettlement process in order to gain empowerment are* addressed through the following research questions:

- What influence does providing women a choice in resettlement housing have on their assessment of the success or failure in their development and inclusion process? How do available choices in housing impact their well-being?
- How do refugee women and youth want to pursue language and education in Canada? Does the current system offer enough for them to achieve what they desire?
- Does having a job or income improve the empowerment of refugee women? What factors influence their ability to find a job in Canada?

To answer these research questions, I employ a framework analysis to better understand the multiple dimensions of refugee resettlement and the social capitals and their influence on refugees' well-being (Ritchie et al., 2013). Multidisciplinary techniques can also help uncover the disparities that exist between different refugee groups in terms of their legal status and country of

resettlement (Creswell, 2003; Grim et al., 2006). Also, because of the increased methodological quality and authenticity, researchers are better equipped to screen for and traverse gender-sensitive features of refugees and displaced persons in their quest to find lasting solutions. Therefore, in this study I use interviews along with multidisciplinary theories to examine a problem from a variety of angles and with a variety of lenses to better respond to these research questions. These approaches help in including the rapidly changing ecology of social scientific research and popular practice for proactive decision-making within resettlement.

4.2 Reflexively Positioning Myself as the Researcher

In qualitative research, the reflexivity of the researcher facilitates situating oneself within the research process through epistemological and ontological understanding. Reflexivity evolves with research experiences and might not only differ in researching different groups of individuals but also varies according to each participant, especially in qualitative research. Reflexivity involves the extent to which a researcher shows understanding and flexibility during the interview process, balancing a researcher's position and power relations with their participants (Finley, 2002; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Gergen & Gergen, 2000; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). This interviewer-interviewee trust building and mutual respect is not only important for the current research, but also establishment of this relationship forms the foundation and a gateway for future research.

I arrived in Canada as an international student from India and speak at least three languages. I was educated in English and soon acquired permanent residence status, which in many way acts as a privilege compared to many other newcomers in Canada. Given my research interests and experiences as a sociologist, community-based researcher and former refugee youth facilitator in India, all these roles and experiences have highly facilitated my conducting research with youth and women. I recognize that conducting research with refugees belonging to different ethnic groups and having different cultural backgrounds and languages from those of the researchers might pose many challenges, making researching a refugee population more complex (Murray et al., 2010). But my position as a researcher is partly relatable to my study participants, given I am also an immigrant woman belonging to an ethnic minority group that is discriminated against in Canada, and I am originally from a low-income country and have English as a second language, like most of my participants. While conducting the research, I related with the youth and women in terms of some of their migration and integration journeys. Youth could relate to me on the

grounds that I am a student myself, a newcomer who works and studies at the same time, English is my second language, being an Indian I understand Hindu and Muslim cultures, and I am a daughter, married but not a mother. On the other hand, middle aged women could relate to me on the grounds that I am middle aged myself and married, my second language is English, and I am dressed in *salwar kameez* (the traditional dress that most women wear) which I purposely wore during the interviews with women, making my participants better connect with me as a newcomer like them.

Most of my research experiences involve analyzing complex policies and programs related to marginalized women's issues. I have had numerous experiences on international research projects involving women and youth. These include a UNICEF-funded project I conducted with 1600 women in India that focused on Maternal and Child Health issues (Bhattacharyya & Basu, 2012). It was community-based action research that involved the state government, stakeholders including healthcare agents, front-line workers and every member of the self-help group.

Through workshops in three different stages, women were trained on how to become grassroot champions and take control over the health-care resources and administration within their individual communities. I have also completed two major projects sponsored by UNESCO that involved groups of women from below the poverty line, growing small-scale businesses utilizing cultural heritage (Bhattacharyya, 2013). I have spent months in the field conducting research and training. In Canada, I was the coordinator of an IRCC project on the resettlement experiences of Yazidi refugee women (Wilkinson et al., 2018) and with a study of newly arrived Syrian refugees in Canada (Wilkinson et al., 2019). All these projects involved making policy recommendations to the government and related non-profit organizations in my work as an applied sociologist. In this way, my previous work and current research project intersect as they all involve a variety of organizations in policy and program development for the advancement of gender equality. Many of my conceptual and theoretical assumptions are based on these past and present research experiences, in addition to a deeper understanding of the academic implications of such work which inform this analysis. From this reflexive exercise, I turn to a discussion of my research project.

4.3 The Research Project

4.3.1 Description of the secondary data analysis—Study 1

From the Yazidi Study Study I – “Yazidi Resettlement in Canada” (2019)

My role in this study was that of project director. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a sample of 21 Yazidi women in four Canadian cities in 2018 (additionally there were 15 Yazidi men, but they are excluded from this dissertation).

The research advisory committee for this Yazidi study assisted in identifying the following themes that shaped our interview guide: experience in the reception centres, current housing conditions, language classes and pre-arrival knowledge of English, pre-arrival employment history and accessibility of employment services, pre-arrival orientation and post-arrival settlement service use, general health-related service accessibility and various demographic questions. After the guide was approved, an independent Kurmanji-speaking translator was hired to translate the interview guide, consent form and recruitment script into Kurmanji using the Latin alphabet. The translator for the interview guide and the transcriptions was a different person from the interviewer. Copies of the interview guide in English and Kurmanji, along with dual language copies of the consent forms were produced and used throughout the interview process. Given the low level of education of many of our intended participants, it was imperative that we hire a Kurmanji-speaking interviewer. It was fortuitous that we were able to hire a skilled person living in Lethbridge, and she agreed to conduct the interviews in Winnipeg, Toronto, and London. Not only was she fluent in Kurmanji and English, but also she had extensive experience working in the settlement sector with newly arrived refugees.

All the interviews were conducted in person and were voice recorded with the participants' permission. The interviewer translated and transcribed the interviews—but was spot checked by the independent translator, who found no inconsistencies in the interpretation. At all study sites, the interviewer was accompanied to the interview site by local settlement workers and a research assistant. No adverse events were reported.

Participants were identified by the four participating RAP agencies, and settlement workers explained the study and arranged appointments for our interviewer. The goal was to interview 5 to 10 participants per city, a goal that was achieved in 11 days. Given the short timeline for our study and the fact that we used RAP agencies to identify and invite participants, all the Yazidis interviewed were GARs. Study participants were all aged 18 and over at the time of the interview. Only one person per household was interviewed. The Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba reviewed the study recruitment and methodological protocols and granted permission for the team to conduct the study.

My role in the project was to direct the study and supervise the interviewer. Our interviewer ensured that all the participants she met were ‘healthy’ before she ended the interview. At no time did any of the participants indicate that they were traumatized and that they could not continue. In some cases, she alerted the settlement worker on site (her interviews were conducted in the community where the immigrant settlement organization was working) if she felt the family was in need of assistance unrelated to our interviews. At the conclusion of the interview, she gave each participant \$10 as an honorarium and asked if they would like to participate in a future study. All participants agreed to be contacted for a second study. They left their cell phone numbers with the interviewer for future follow-up.

All identifying data was kept separate from the interview materials and kept on a password protected, encrypted computer. In writing this report, we endeavored to keep the identities of the Yazidi participants confidential, so there are places where we purposely do not provide certain demographic or geographic characteristics. We have given each participant a Yazidi name as a pseudonym. We identify participants by age, sex, marital status, and time in Canada. All participants expressed a strong desire to share their experiences with Canadians, and we endeavor to do this in the current report.

4.3.2 Description of the primary data—Study 2

Participant recruitment and interview process

From my previous research experiences, I consciously adopted recruitment procedures that would reduce biases, such as keeping the direct involvement of service providers/settlement agencies at a minimum. I wanted to collect data as an independent researcher and did not recruit participants directly through settlement service providing agencies. Obtaining permission to interview and recruit refugees is challenging and time-consuming, given that refugee service organizations increasingly require an internal ethics approval process, in addition to the ethics process involved at the university. To recruit women for Study II of the study, I worked with one settlement service agency with whom I had personal connections. From there, I used the snowball sampling method to recruit the majority of the participants for Study II. This process helped me ensure the confidentiality of my participants and avoided a situation where Study II participants were too closely connected. Interviews were scheduled in the preferred locations of the participants, which differed among female refugee youth and women. A semi-structured interview guide was used, which was designed to be positive, uncontroversial, and welcoming to build trust

and create a comfortable environment. All interviews were conducted in-person, mere months prior to the pandemic.

I perceived that the participants were eager and excited to speak to me, as most of them never had a chance to tell anyone about their initial settlement experiences in Canada. After each interview, most of the women asked me if I would like to speak to their newcomer friends and family members who are in the same situation. Most of my married participants invited me to their homes for the interviews, and women with small children made it a point to arrange for someone to help with the kids so that they could speak to me uninterrupted. As my focus is on refugee women and older youth who are at later stages of resettlement, participants who have completed or are continuing English language classes were recruited for the study. I was confident that purposive snowball sampling techniques would work to find the targeted population. In the data analysis and reporting phase of the project, pseudonyms are used, and other identifying characteristics have not been included in the data file. All my participants requested the final report of this study.

The research site

For the primary data collection, I chose my province Manitoba, mainly because I did not have the required resources, contacts, and time to conduct research elsewhere. All interviews were conducted in and around the city. Also, the major city in Manitoba, Winnipeg has 8,645 refugee women who landed between 1980 and 2016 (Canada, 2019), which accounts for approximately 12.1% of the total newcomer population in Canada. Therefore, given the required magnitude of sample size for a qualitative study, Manitoba was suitable for conducting this study. Also, given the complexity of the geographic location, integration is local.

Recruitment and participant selection

A non-probability sampling strategy fits best for qualitative research projects (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Miles & Huberman, 1994). However, knowing that refugees are a hard-to-reach population, my selection criteria remained flexible, excepting the fact that each participant should be female and above the age of 18 years. A combination of purposive sampling, snowball sampling, and initial recruitment through personal contact was used to ensure that a diverse population of refugees could be reached. As I progressed through the interviews, I adopted strategies of approaching refugee women from two generations, such as mother and daughter,

whose sense of agency, capabilities, and empowerment were different from one another during resettlement.

To gather rich data on the settlement experiences of refugee women, at the beginning I only focussed on middle aged women resettled through PSR or GAR programs. As I progressed with my interviews, I got contacts of youth between the ages of 18 and 22 years that added a different dimension in this study. Through snowball sampling, I could gather data from 17 interviews: 9 women and 8 youth participants (Demographic information in Table 6).

Table 6: Study 2 Demographic Information of all the Participants

DEMOGRAPHICS										
Pseudonym	Country Of Birth	Date Of Birth	Ethnic Group	Languages Spoken	Religion	Date Of Arrival	Number Of Family Members	Immediate Country Before Arrival	Immigration Status	Marital Status
Ajda	Syria	2000-01-10	Kurd	Kurdish	Muslim	2018-08-20	8	Iraq	GAR	Single/Never Married
Natasha	Syria	1973-02-02	Kurd	Kurdish	Muslim	2018-08-20	8	Iraq	GAR	Married
Pari	Syria	1977-04-26	Arab	Arabic	Muslim	2016-12-13	8	Turkey	GAR	Married
Karima	Somalia	1999-10-11	Somali	Somali & Arabic	Muslim	2016-05-03	4	Saudi Arabia	PSR	Single/Never Married
Dina	Qatar	1998-10-28	Somali	Somali	Muslim	2016-10-30	4	Ohio, Usa	Asylum Seeker	Single/Never Married
Soha	Eritrea	1998-08-12	Arabic	Arabic	Muslim	2016-09-27	4	Sudan	PSR	Single/Never Married
Nalini	Syria	2001-07-23	Kurd	Turkish	Christian	2018-10-01	6	Turkey	PSR	Single/Never Married
Leila	Syria	1984-01-12	Arabic	Arabic	Muslim	2016-02-16	6	Lebanon	GAR	Married
Nehal	Syria	1998-02-28	Arabic	Arabic	Muslim	2018-10-18	8	Lebanon	PSR	Single/Never Married
Zahra	Syria	1974-01-01	Arabic	Arabic	Muslim	2018-10-18	8	Lebanon	PSR	Married
Ruth	Syria	2000-10-19	Arabic	Arabic	Christian	2016-03-01	4	Jordan	PSR	Single/Never Married
Aamin	Syria	1979-08-04	Arabic	Arabic & English	Christian	2016-03-01	4	Jordan	PSR	Married
Hana	Syria	1980-05-02	Arabic	Arabic	Muslim	2016-02-29	6	Jordan	GAR	Married
Naila	Syria	1972-08-06	Arabic	Arabic	Muslim	2016-10-18	7	Turkey	GAR	Married
Mira	Syria	2000-06-01	Arabic	Arabic	Muslim	2016-10-18	7	Turkey	GAR	Single/Never Married
Aaliya	Syria	1961-04-02	Arabic	Arabic & English	Muslim	2018-08-14	7	Turkey	PSR	Married
Arya	Syria	1987-06-18	Arabic	Arabic & English	Muslim	2018-10-22	7	Jordan	GAR	Married

Also, given the embedded diversity of snowball sampling techniques, I received one contact of a refugee youth who is an accepted refugee claimant, thus my study covers 3 major categories of refugees settling within Canada. In my interviews, there were 3 participants who were family sponsored and 5 participants who were unknown/stranger sponsored among the privately sponsored category (Table 7).

Table 7: Refugee Entrance Category of Study 2 Participants

Entry Class >	GAR	PSR		Refugee Claimant	Total
		Family Sponsored	Stranger Sponsored		
	8	3	5	1	
Total	8	8		1	17

I doubt if I would have reached this unique population sample if I had depended on settlement agencies, as there would have been selective biases involved in sharing contacts of only those who have good connections with the settlement agencies. Each participant took the initiative to contact other women whom they knew would want to become a part of this study. Initially I expected each interview to last for about fifty minutes, but it took me around 1.5 hours on average to conclude the interviews, as each respondent was very keen to discuss their resettlement experiences. As a token of appreciation, I offered a \$25 box of chocolate to each of my participants. I chose not to give cash, as their time cannot be compensated for with any amount of money. Most of my participants gave interviews in English except for two of the women who chose their daughters to translate for them.

Most of the participants chose their houses as the interview site, leaving the youth who wished to meet in any nearby coffee shops. Mostly for the convenience of my youth participants, I offered pick-up and drop from their houses to nearby coffee shops. Though the coffee shops were a bit loud, once the interviews started, outside distractions did not affect the interviews in any way. Interviews in houses were a bit distracting where there were small children but most of the participants asked their husbands to help with the kids during the interview. Later, I came to know that a few participants asked their partners to take a day off from work, as they considered this interview equally or more important. In very few cases, the husbands wanted to sit and listen to the interviews, but because it could have affected the responses, I requested privacy on the grounds of confidentiality. I explained to them that the interviews were not meant to be witnessed by anybody, and they understood and left the room. This situation occurred only twice during the interviews, as most of the women made it a point to take me inside their rooms and speak to me in private.

The interviews

There are many settlement issues faced by refugee women within Canada, but the four major vulnerabilities include housing, language, income, and accessing related settlement services. During the interviews, attention was paid to addressing these issues, mainly focussing on the initial language, labour market, and housing needs of refugee women to identify their vulnerabilities related to the major services provided to them on entering Canada. Of particular interest to this

research is the extent to which women and older youth are disproportionately placed at risk and face unique barriers not only while accessing settlement services, which are different from their male counterparts (Blostein et al., 2015), but also if there are disempowering factors within the resettlement process. Special attention was paid to drawing out the experiences of refugee women's resettlement in Canada. Following Coffey and Atkinsons' (1996) suggestions for conducting thematic analysis, I focused on structuring interviews around empowerment themes.

The interview guide, being semi-structured, was designed purposely for encouraging discussions that reveal the barriers women and youth face during resettlement. After securing informed consent (Appendix E) from each participant, interviews began with an icebreaking question about who they were and how they came to Canada. Eventually, discussions were directed to the main themes of this research: access to settlement services (Appendix C), such as housing, language, employment and health-related services and if they faced any challenges while accessing those followed by demographic questions, collecting date of birth, place of birth, date of arrival, marital status, entry category, and family characteristics. The semi-structured interview guide was used to introduce the different topics, but probes were different for every participant depending on their entry category, age, and refugee situation. There were times when participants were encouraged to respond openly about their thoughts and beliefs to enable understanding the individual meanings of 'agency' and 'empowerment.' The semi-structured interview guide was designed to focus on their desired versus actual experiences in Canada. I was extra cautious to maintain a positive environment throughout the interview and framed questions that focussed on both what they have and what they want.

I consciously chose not to ask participants about trauma that they might have faced pre-arrival and about racism after entering the country. As was evident from my previous experience with the Yazidi refugees, if a refugee has faced trauma, then many participants share this information freely sometime during the interview, as trauma affects many aspects of their lives in the future. This type of disclosure was confirmed in the present study and has been seen in other studies (e.g., Wilkinson et al., 2016; Wilkinson, 2001).

Accounts of discrimination faced due to racism and/or prejudice were reflected in the insights of my participants. Using a nondirective approach to understanding their experiences with discrimination and marginalization, I tried to "reveal, rather than impose" such interpretations, prompting participants to discuss aspects of resettlement that might have reflected discrimination

or racism of some sort (Essed, 1991, p. 63). I framed discussions around their challenges from the time they knew they were coming to Canada, experiences during the journey, after entering the country (i.e., arrival at the airport), temporary housing situations, permanent housing conditions, sponsor's involvement, access to language classes, employment support, access to health and other settlement related services and what factors curtailed or promoted their sense of agency. Integration, which is a major aspect of empowerment was delved into through their social life, leisure time activities, and friendships. I also asked about their communication with Canadians.

4.3.3 Data analysis

The primary data consists of interviews with 17 individuals that were conducted between February and March 2020 in Manitoba. All interviews were between one and two and a half hours in length. The sample comprises interviews with seven youth and eleven women. Of the seventeen participants, fourteen were from Syria, two from Somalia, and one from Sudan.

Themes and concepts are borrowed and identified from the theoretical framework used in this study and applied in the case of refugee participants through a Framework Analysis (Gale et al., 2013). There are several types of qualitative content analysis, including the Framework Method. By concentrating on the links between various components of the data, these techniques attempt to develop descriptive and/or explanatory conclusions centred around themes by identifying similarities and variations in qualitative data. In the late 1980s, Jane Ritchie and Liz Spencer from the Qualitative Research Unit at the National Centre for Social Research in the United Kingdom created the Framework Method for use in large-scale policy research (Gale et al., 2013). Other fields, including health research, are now using it but not so much in refugee research. Coding and thematization is done using rows, columns (codes), and 'cells' of summarised data, which provides a framework into which the researcher may condense the data to analyze it by case and by code (Ritchie et al., 2013). A 'case' is often a single interviewee; however, this division may be used for other units of study, such as groups or organizations.

This data collection may be used for in-depth analysis of certain topics since each study participant's perspective is linked to other components of their account inside the matrix, so their distinct viewpoints aren't lost in the mix. It is essential for qualitative analysis to compare data between instances as well as within individual examples, and this capacity is integrated into the framework method's structure and methodology (Gale et al., 2013). Both the primary and the secondary data analysis was done using Framework Analysis. Following the Framework Analysis,

Thematic analysis is used for creating new themes from the data that cannot be categorized and captured within the themes identified through the theoretical framework.

4.3.4 What is a thematic analysis?

Rigour in qualitative research methodology is often hard to achieve, given it is grounded in human experience and unique to each individual (Nowell et al., 2017; Thorne, 2000). Therefore, to describe the detailed process of data analysis used in this study, which is often missing from the qualitative research reports (Tuckett, 2005; Attride-Stirling, 2001), I use thematic analysis for identifying, analyzing, interpreting, and producing meaningful results from the large amount of qualitative data collected in this study. The thematic analysis methodology is a flexible tool that can be “applied across a range of theoretical frameworks and research paradigms” (Clarke & Braun, 2016, p. 297) and is not restricted to any specific research paradigm or sample size, with its diverse characteristics, data collection method, and analysis.

4.3.5 How is thematic analysis applied in this study?

When codes and themes are generated from the qualitative data in a systematic, rigorous, and methodical manner, it increases sophistication within qualitative data analysis. It is necessary in qualitative research to increase the trustworthiness of its research findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). *Credibility, transferability, dependability, conformity, audit trails, and reflexivity* of the researcher are a few of the core processes that are required to establish trustworthy data analysis techniques within qualitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Nowell et al., 2017).

Credibility is achieved in this research by using both primary and secondary data analysis. Also, credibility lies in the researcher-researched common understanding of facts (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Though each of my participants tried their best to accommodate my questions and express themselves in English, I sometimes revisited a question/statement to make sure I understood my participants correctly. This was especially the case among middle-aged women who were in the initial levels of EAL classes. There were times when they corrected me and rephrased their statements to make certain facts clearer.

Transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) refers to the common threads that can be put together to generalize concepts related to a much broader context. As I borrowed theoretical frameworks and methodologies from different unrelated research, my study can also be utilized for studying marginalized groups within any society and within any discipline. Transferability depends on the choices the researcher makes. Given the lack of a specific methodology in the study

of refugee women and youth development within countries of resettlement, my study is an amalgamation of various factors selected to best suit the purposes of this research.

Dependability through thematic analysis can be achieved when coding, and themes are given in such detail (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) that researchers can move back and forth along the chain of specific codes generating themes and are able to establish the same thread each time. This process increases the credibility as well as the dependability of any qualitative research findings. In this research, specific threads are maintained through the secondary research questions that not only separate the themes through the codes but also the themes are created under separate categories, such as, housing, language, employment, and other settlement-related services. This makes the chain more specific and credible in nature.

Confirmability, audit trails and reflexivity are a cohort of processes that can be achieved when the rest of the core principles, such as credibility, transferability and dependability are practiced within a study (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). A rigorous explanation and rationale of theoretical, analytical, and methodological choices (Koch, 1994; Nowell et al., 2017) have been provided at each stage of this research to reconfirm the connection between the data and the research findings. The audit trails are established through the connection between the data retrieved from the field, including researcher memos, notes, voice recordings, etc., and tracing it to the codes and themes created through this study, which can be cross-referred at any point in time. Reflexivity requires “researchers to record to document the daily logistics of the research, methodological decisions, and rationales and to record the researcher’s personal reflections of their values, interests, and insights information about self” (Nowell et al., 2017, p. 3). A detailed account has already been provided regarding my reflexivity in this research. Pre-established themes were used from different agency and empowerment models to inform this study at its outset, and the codes and themes (from Tables 4 and 6) will be used for re-establishing some of these already existing themes as well as additions that will be made in accordance to the context of specific groups of refugee women and youth resettling in Canada. A chart with all the themes used for creating the interview guide is provided in the methodology chapter (refer to Table 8). Detailed codes and themes evolved from this study are provided in the findings section, which completes the trail in its entirety.

Codes are like indicators within quantitative research analysis that are connected through patterns to form themes. Codes are, therefore, the building blocks for themes, providing a

structured framework for reporting findings (Clarke & Braun, 2016). Codes and themes complement each other, re-establishing meanings and concepts within existing research and also adding new knowledge to the literature. Coding is in part about reducing the data to more manageable proportions (simplification) but can also, perhaps more importantly, be about ‘identifying and reordering data, allowing the data to be thought about in new and different ways,’ so that one can generate ideas and locate patterns and structures in it (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 29). The process of data analysis involved both induction and deduction, between ‘decontextualizing’ data (coding) and contextualizing it (holistic approach) mainly to remain consistent with the broad methodological and paradigmatic framework followed in this study.

The table below presents the conceptualization of *agency*, *resources*, and *achievement in the context of refugee women*. These concepts intersect to influence the intersectional approach specifically adopted for the purposes of this study. Table 8 below shows the main concepts from each theory used in the context of this study, which helps in understanding different aspects of the resettlement process. These factors include different aspects of agency and empowerment, referring to the primary and secondary research questions and creating new social categories based on intersectionality as well as other multiple diversified identities and conditions of refugee women resettling in Canada.

Table 8: Conceptualizing Three Main Concepts of this Study in the Context of Refugee Women–Resources, Agency and Achievements Using Human Development Theory, Exclusion Theory and Relational Theory

Conceptualizing Resources within Resettlement through Exclusion Theory		
Concepts	Categories	Multiple factors affecting empowerment
Resources	Employment/ Income	Unemployment (more than 12 months after entering the host country), any income at her disposal
	Income Poverty	Live below 50% of the mean equivalent household income
	Housing conditions	Temporary housing conditions, less than one room per person/ bad housing conditions (bad ventilation, cold, infested with bugs and insects, lives in basement, etc.), unsafe neighbourhood
	English Language proficiency and educational status	No English language proficiency, no vocational training, no formal education
Studying Relationship between Resources and Agency through Relational Theory and Exclusion Theory		
Relationship between Agency and Resources	Social Relationships	No close friends, difficulty contacting service providers, limited possibilities to contact other people (settlement service providers) due to language barrier, doesn't know whom to contact during any emergency, have no one to share concerns regarding settlement needs, types of problems/concerns with settlement service providers
	Anomie	Feeling Lonely/ life is too complicated
	Anxiety	Frightening thoughts about the future (month 13, pre-arrival information not adequate with post-arrival conditions, language

		barrier while navigating jobs options, no child-care available, family members left back home)
Resources + Agency = Achievements explained using Human Development theory from Capabilities Approach		
Agency and Achievements	Life/Bodily Health	Major health issues - getting treated for health issues, easy access to hospitals and doctors, can easily communicate health issues with doctors, adequate nourishment (dependency on food banks)
	Bodily integrity	Freedom of movement – can go anywhere without anybody’s company, knowledge of helpline numbers and agencies in case of any assault – both within private and public spheres
	Senses, imagination, thought and play	Pre-arrival information matches with the post-arrival conditions, access to education before and after entering host society, knowledge about settlement services, does budgeting for the household expenses, skills if any, able to utilize skills, leisure time activities, ambitions in life
	Emotions	Attachment with family members, neighbours, have someone to talk about fears, anxieties.
	Practical Reasoning	Future plans (where do they see themselves in 10 years from now)
	Affiliation	Barriers related to gender roles while accessing housing, language, and employment services.
	Control over one’s environment	Personal property, access to income, choices within the labour market, choices available for housing, easily attends language classes.

4.3.6 Researching refugee women

Methodological challenges are commonly encountered while conducting research on marginalized groups such as refugee women (Goodkind & Deacon, 2004). Though the research parameters and goals of Goodkind and Deacons’ studies differ from mine, I faced similar methodological challenges while conducting research with marginalized refugee women.

Goodkind and Deacon took extra precautions to adopt strategies to minimize these challenges, such as, in order to reduce the obstacles faced during the recruitment process, they involved gatekeepers as an entry point to reach the targeted population; methodological issues related to quantitative or qualitative analysis were addressed by combining the two methods: focussing on the gendered division of labour and how their life revolves around the new norms of a host society and continued gender roles within the families; and researchers' preparedness during the interviewing process. In this study, I use some of these guiding methodological principles along with my previous research experiences with different marginalized groups, in order to combat common challenges researching refugees. Below are some of the challenges and strategies I adopted while conducting this research.

Research designs need to adopt ample flexibility when researching refugee populations (Baird et al., 2017). Interpreters, whenever required, were arranged by the participants themselves, despite giving them the option of a professional interpreter. Women were given a choice to select their own interpreter, with whom they felt comfortable talking. All women interviewees who required an interpreter chose their daughters to interpret for them. Having previous research experiences with refugees as well as marginalized women from different places in society, it was not difficult to involve refugee women in this study. Though research shows that "it is much more difficult to connect with the more marginalized members of the community—particularly women who tend to be home-bound or busy working several jobs and taking care of their families, and who speak the least English and may be struggling most" (Goodkind & Deacon, 2004 , p. 729), these were the least influencing factors in this study. Refugee women were keen to participate in my research and there were instances where they themselves contacted me to participate after hearing from their friends/families who participated in this study.

Women who participated during the initial period of this research, spread the word among their networks that knowledge in English was not a 'barrier' to participation in this study. At the beginning of each interview, everyone, including older female refugee youth, mentioned to me to pardon their English, in spite of being fluent. I had to reassure them using my own example of English being my second language. This strategy helped my participants open and comfortably share their experiences rather than focusing on their language. I needed that level of English where they could express themselves, and I was able to understand what they wanted to share with me. As a researcher, it was equally my responsibility to create an environment that focused on the

strengths of my participants rather than their weaknesses. Continuous encouragement and patience were required to make each interview count, and therefore, interviewing refugee women requires extensive time and commitment in order to develop genuine relationships. Research is limited in its access to women independently from men (Abuhamed, 2020), and therefore, methods must prioritize “strategies for working with women of specific cultural backgrounds and traditions and having a female research partner can help establish trust around gender dynamics in research with refugees” (p. 98), I believe my strategies helped me achieve these in my study.

Cultural barriers were also minimal due to my own intersectional identity, which includes my newcomer status, sex, ethnicity, and English accent, which suppressed potential differences that could have influenced the interview responses. Interviews were not a one-way process where questions were asked, and the participants responded accordingly, rather a two-way process was adopted. I asked them if they wanted to know something about me at the beginning of the interview. These sharing ‘bits’ weighed out the power imbalances often existing in the interviewer-interviewee relationship. Though this was an unwritten procedure, it helped my participants know the researcher too. This process replicates the purposes of my research, where refugee women were able to practice agency within the interview process.

4.4 Challenges

Even with experience in different research fields, including research on refugees both in India and Canada, it is impossible to anticipate the challenges that can and do occur in research with humans. I attempted to prepare myself as much as I could from my previous experiences, but, of course, there were a few challenges I faced during the data collection process. Some challenges pertain to the nature of my study population, while others are associated with accessing such a population who are considered ‘victims of war’ with a possibility of triggering trauma through research. There are also challenges associated with getting in contact with refugees through the settlement service providers, as they are already overburdened with multiple responsibilities, supporting the newcomers with a limited staff. Also, obtaining ethics approval from settlement organizations was a time-consuming process and despite circulating the posters with their clients, yielded no results in three months. This whole recruitment process delayed my data collection process for more than six months.

I did not face any challenges building rapport with my respondents, as they showed more interest in my study than I anticipated before beginning my study. My own identity as a researcher

had a positive impact on my research, as my participants could relate with me at some level, being a woman, an immigrant and belonging from an ethnic minority group. It was very difficult sometimes to make participants realize that this study is only about 'them' and not how their children and partner perceive them to be. Majority of the participants indicated that it was the first time someone had asked them what they wanted and therefore at times they took longer to respond. Interviews lasted long when I had to step in and explain that I wanted their individual stories rather than the perspectives of their families. This intervention happened especially with older women and not so much with the older youth.

In most cases, I had to use more directional questions and probing to guide the interviews than I would have preferred, but that is reasonable given they had to think harder about their individual identities, separate from their roles within the families. There was one incident where the husband of the interviewee was present at the beginning of the interview. From my previous experiences, I have noted how women become self-conscious in the presence of their partners and tend to speak only about their positive experiences, mainly because of their power differentiations within families. A similar influence was also noted in almost all the interviews with the Yazidis (Wilkinson et al., 2019) that only took place in Calgary, where the interviews were done by the service providers. It was noted that responses were more positive when the service providers interviewed the service seekers. This effect is the main reason I wanted to minimize the involvement of the settlement service providers as much as possible in my study. It turns out that this was a good strategy, as I did not receive contacts from the major service-providing agencies in the first place, which helped in reducing bias to a great extent. I had to take a few extra steps to maintain one-on-one interviews with my participants and stepped in to ask my participants' husbands to leave the room for the purposes of confidentiality. I only did that after taking my participants' permission, as I was very cautious and took every possible measure to avoid trouble for my participant during or after the interview. Also, in my ethics application, I mentioned that interviews will be conducted in the presence of people who are directly involved in the interview process, and I diligently maintained that for all my interviews.

I also faced challenges obtaining a female translator for my interviews, mainly due to a lack of financial support. Though I encouraged my participants to speak in English as much as they could, three of them were not confident and needed their daughters to translate for them. Though the participants themselves informed me how they would like their daughters to translate for them,

I still asked my three participants and their daughters separately if they were comfortable with the setting before conducting the interviews. I also gave my participants the option of me arranging a translator if they felt it necessary, but everyone was only comfortable with their daughters translating for them. All three interviews were fruitful, and in no way did this setting compromise the data. In fact, I imagine this to be the perfect setting for maximizing the responses, given the mother-daughter bond existing within Arabic culture. I strongly believe that interviews would not have been as successful had I used my recruited translator. Through the interviews, sometimes it felt like women were able to express themselves better and speak their minds, which otherwise they could not have shared with their daughters under normal circumstances. Therefore, this interview could be viewed as a renewing bond in mother-daughter relationships. It became more evident to me when the mothers hugged me at the end of the interviews and thanked me for encouraging them to speak their minds. Most of my participants mentioned how this interview made them realize many aspects of their own lives which they were not aware of till then. Many thought about their own dreams for the first time and realized themselves as an individual identity. These interviews were empowering.

With my youth participants, the only challenge I faced was parting from them at the end of the interviews. The bond we created during the interview had to be curtailed at the end of each interview where every time I felt that they needed to continue the conversation. Being a researcher, I had to end the interviews at some point which sometimes felt abrupt and incomplete as there were other topics that my youth participants might have wanted to discuss with me. As a researcher, ethics restricts me from doing it. Another challenge was completing all the transcripts by myself. It was a very time-consuming and tedious exercise. As English was a second language for my participants, with most of them having level four proficiency, responses were more elaborate, as most of them used examples rather than discussing the main problems at times. This made interviews much longer than expected.

4.5 Conclusion

Through a theoretically informed and methodologically grounded study that is both reflective and critical of its own limits, this dissertation adds to an emerging research focus on studying refugee women and older youth and how they would want to build their lives in Canada. By laying out my epistemological and methodological foundations here, I have shed light on the reasoning behind my choices throughout the research process. Consequently, I use two sets of data

to understand if the theoretical framework and methodology studying refugee women can be universalized. With the inclusion of interviews from the Yazidi study in Study I and the primary data set from Study II, the project and study objectives are approached from a new, holistic and a much broader perspective. The intersectional approach adds to our understanding of the diversities each refugee population brings in with them and how the generalized support system of resettlement fails to understand these complexities. Therefore, qualitative research is appealing because it allows for the celebration and exploration of the very complexity of social processes, rather than striving for uncomplicated generalizable results or isolated truths related to refugee populations.

The next chapter discusses empowerment and agency for refugee youth, while Chapter 6 discusses these issues in relation to refugee women.

Chapter 5: A Matter of Choice: Factors Perpetuating Exclusion and Affecting Development among Refugee Youth during Resettlement

5.1 Introduction

This chapter has a larger purpose than reporting the settlement experiences of the eight youth participants because though they differed from one another, including the individual's place of birth, religion, ethnicity, and other demographic characteristics, their post-resettlement struggles are very similar, given they are all within the transitional age between childhood to adulthood, are the eldest child in the family, are females and have permanent residence status in Canada during the time of the interview. This chapter delves into the common challenges faced by refugee youth during the process of resettlement.

About few of the youth participants

Karima, now 21 years old, was born in Somalia and entered Canada as a privately sponsored refugee with her aunt and two elder sisters. Both of her parents died when she was young, and Karima never had a chance to acquire formal education in Somalia. She has been working part-time since her childhood. By the time she entered Canada as a privately sponsored refugee, she knew she had to work in order to survive here. Being a privately sponsored refugee, however, she was highly dependent upon her sponsor for information. Her aunt and her sponsor, who was also her aunt's distant relative, never informed her that she was eligible to receive financial support during the first year of resettlement. When asked how her life is in Canada, she said "It is good, I guess! I work more than I used to. Everyone tells me I need to work harder; I don't know how but somehow, I have to." Karima is still struggling to complete her high school and intermittently thinks of dropping out of school, as she lacks purpose. She is living with the hope that one day her life will change for the better and she will take a "holiday."

Yara, also now 21 years old, was born in Syria and entered Canada in 2018 under the government-assisted refugee program. Before arriving in Canada, she lived in a refugee camp in Iraq for six years. She has a visible "disfigurement" and as a result, had traumatic experiences in the camp where young children used to throw stones at her because of this. After reaching Canada, doctors could not do much about her condition, as it required a sizeable amount of health insurance to cover the costs for the necessary surgeries. When asked about her life in Canada, she is just relieved that nobody throws stones at her here. She likes spending most of her time indoors, as she

is still afraid of what people might think about her looks. She wanted to speak to me after confirming that I am not a counselor who charges on an hourly basis. I was the first person with whom she ever shared her experiences in Canada.

Dina, now 24 years old, was born in Somalia and entered Canada with her parents and younger brother as asylum seekers in 2016. She completed her high school and is now looking for a full-time job so that she can save for her post-secondary education. She entered Canada on foot, crossing the Canada/US border into Manitoba with her family, and she is grateful that her family is alive. At one point during her journey to Canada, suddenly they heard some shooting noises (believing that those shootings were targeting the illegal migrants), so everyone started running, and she and her younger brother became separated from her parents. They had to hide in the grass for almost three hours without knowing if their parents were still alive after the shooting. She described these three hours of her life to be the most traumatic experience she ever had and still gets nightmares of running with her brother in a field. After the gunshots stopped, she could not find her parents for a few hours and at one point thought she'd become an orphan and would never see her parents again. After hours, the family reunited and came to Canada, but Dina still thinks about that night. When I asked how her about her life in Canada is, she just said that "nothing can be worse than the feeling I had that night thinking I had lost my parents forever. I can live in any condition, given I know I have my family with me. Nothing else matters! I just can't complain about anything here." During the time of the interview, Dina and her family were already accepted refugee claimants with permanent residence status. I discuss glimpses into the lives of these three participants as they entered Canada under three different categories, namely, as PSR, GAR and the accepted refugee claimant, but their struggles and pre-and-post arrival conditions have many similarities. They also represent the maximum number of common characteristics found among this group of young newcomers.

Often this sense of 'wellbeing' of refugees within the host society is confused with 'adaptive preferences,' where people become conditioned to social injustice and material deprivation and accept their unequal positions within a society with utmost satisfaction (Sen, 1985) because their current situation is materially better than their former situation, even though in reality, conditions in Canada are not that positive. Among the stories shared by the younger participants above, all three of them tend to compare their current situations to their immediate past, which clouds their judgement between social justice and injustice in their current situation.

Karima, Yara, Dina and all other participants are all 'happy' that they are in Canada when they compare their lives here to their pre-arrival lives.

Individual resilience, integration, and well-being are concepts that appear frequently in research about refugees. Often, these concepts are measured using questions about how through individual will and capabilities, refugees have adopted Canadian culture, enrolled or completed high school, and improved their job status during resettlement. The initial resettlement policies in Canada focus on the immediate needs of the refugees, such as, sponsors and RAP agents providing assistance in locating the first housing, enrollment in schools, resume building and job search, language class enrollment, help with initial navigation, etc. without focussing on their quality of life and experiences as refugees in the long-run, post-resettlement. Consequently, neoliberal subjectivities are constructed and represented through the efforts of 'individual' refugee youth to successfully resettle and not so much on how settlement policies can better implement coping mechanism for those who have faced adverse situations pre-arrival. Therefore, the focus is more on the resilience of individuals' efforts rather than on the availability of resources and support from the host society that makes them resilient. Resilience is not merely a personality trait but a combination of individual human capital and social resources that can positively impact their well-being (Ungar, 2006). As a result of this focus on individual, quantifiable integration measures, resettlement policies tend to miss this point.

In this chapter, I discuss the sense of agency and empowerment among refugee youth in the context of resettlement. Empowerment is the ability to make "strategic life choices" that can be attained through three overlapping dimensions of resources, agency, and achievements (Kabeer, 1999). This chapter focuses on these three concepts, from the perspectives of eight female refugee youth who are between the ages of 18 and 25 years and never married, to answer the primary research question: *To what extent are refugee youth in Canada able to practice their agency accessing the resettlement services and programs in order to gain empowerment?* Most of the youth interviewed in this study entered as children, i.e., when they were below the age of 18 years, and their resettlement experiences differ from women refugees who entered Canada as wives and mothers.

There are a few services and program available for newcomer youth in Winnipeg, Manitoba, such as the N.E.E.D.S centre. They help immigrant and refugee youth with the emotional and mental challenges of the settlement process by offering them one-on-one or small-

group psychosocial assistance while they take part in N.E.E.D.S. programmes like the youth mentoring and job initiatives. Also, there are other different organizations, such as the Spence Neighbourhood Association Inc., Islamic Social Services Association, Manitoba Hellenic Cultural Centre, etc., which provide different kinds of services through the newcomer youth outreach programs providing services, including educational, recreational, and cultural resources. Also, students, parents, and families of newcomer refugees and immigrants in Winnipeg may rely on assistance from the Settlement Worker in Schools (SWIS). The Settlement Worker collaborates with the district's educational staff and other community members to facilitate newcomer integration within schools. Though these resources exist for the newcomer refugee youth, this chapter reflects whether the interviewed participants could make the most out of these programs and services that are especially designed for them.

5.2 How Resettlement Experiences Differ by 'Age at Arrival'

My primary data shows that the resettlement resources available to children, youth, and adults are very different. Through my research, I identify a gap within the resettlement process that does not take into consideration the needs of this group of individuals who enter the country as children but "age out" of many resettlement and public education programs and initiatives during the initial period of resettlement (Stewart, et al., 2019) because programs for youth tend to end at age 18 without consideration of their needs. Integration experiences depend on refugees' age at entry. My participants reported that there is specific resettlement support dedicated for children and adults but not for youth like themselves who transition from childhood to adulthood during the initial years of resettlement. Because services are directed largely at adults, refugee youth may not be able to access settlement services geared toward their age, making it more difficult for them to successfully integrate. Even though there are specific services for newcomer youth, such as help during and after school, recreational activities, leadership and mentorship programs, help developing skills, preparing for employment, mental health support, etc. (IRCC, 2022b), these services are often not known to the newcomer youth.

Even if they begin their lives with much enthusiasm, soon they realize it is more difficult for them to pursue their dreams given all the problems they encounter with integration. Though the neoliberal system of government pushes individuals towards self-help in Canada, it can test resilience among refugee youth, but cannot empower them. Resilience and self-help are only a part of the integration process. Neoliberalism focuses on the individuals and their capabilities within

the economy with minimal government involvement in social aspects of governance. This rationalizes the reduced expenditure on settlement services (Wotherspoon, 2009) with the lack of resources or by creating multiple challenges in accessing settlement resources for the newcomers. Neoliberalism acts as a blocking point and as a disadvantage rather than an advantage for the newcomer refugee youth.

My study uses Rawls' (1971) guiding principles/methodology of "original position," where any rational individual behind the veil of ignorance would not want to belong to a race, gender or sexual orientation that is discriminated against within a society. Following Rawls' principles of social justice, resettlement processes and policies should adopt such methods and maximize benefits to the 'least advantaged,' which initially applies to older refugee youth who reported a lack of proper financial, social, psychological, employment, advanced language and education related support during initial years of resettlement. In reporting the findings from the primary data collected in 2020, this chapter focuses on some of the challenges young refugee women face post-arrival and how agency, access to resources and achievements can lead to empowerment and self-sufficiency to navigate their way through the psychological, social, cultural, and physical resources that sustain their well-being within the host society. It also identifies the gaps that call for involvement of the settlement agencies.

5.3 Experiences in School

The school system poses concerns around placing youth into academically appropriate grades and levels of course work during entry at the secondary level (Dei, 1996; Dei et al., 1997; Braithewaite & James, 1996; Anisef & Kilbride, 2008), even though governments are supported in their efforts to implement and enhance mechanisms to recognize the qualifications and previous learning of individuals of concern and to develop learning equivalencies that promote age-appropriate class placement (UNHCR, 2019). The general frustration and disillusionment among newcomer youth are not only with the Manitoba school system but also with schools placing students into lower grade levels that do not recognize their previous knowledge or schooling. Most of my youth participants reported they were evaluated according to their English language proficiency rather than their knowledge and previous learning experience. Ruth shared her observations:

The education system and schools are so different here and nobody explained to me the system how it is here, what are the expectations. I remember we do tests

so that they know if I am eligible to go to class or not! So, I had to do my level 1 assessment and they said that I cannot study grade 10, but I told them I am grade 10 and want to study grade 10. But they said that I have already missed a lot of grade 10, but I told them I used to study grade 10 in Jordan and I did not miss it. She said well, you can continue in grade 10, but we cannot help you study the previous subjects that you require to be in grade 10. I was told that I am on my own! I said okay, fine. I actually passed grade 10 at once with high marks. Not because I am smart, but we covered all these subjects back home in grade 9. So that is my experience in school which is not good but may be better than many refugees as there are students who cannot speak English at all which in my case was not that much of a problem.

(Ruth, PSR, 19 years, single)

Ruth, whether she realized it or not, was also up against the “aging out” policies of provincial high schools. Had she returned to Grade 9, her ability to complete high school prior to her 19th birthday would have been jeopardized. In most provinces, refugees who have been to high school are not eligible to attend language classes—so there is an additional barrier that is rarely discussed.

Most youth I interviewed reported being more worried about their ability to speak English than their knowledge in different subjects. Their confidence remained low because of their English language skills, and in a ‘regular’ class they were compared to the native English speakers, which made them more nervous and self-conscious. They felt they could never measure up. According to Mira,

I have learned all these subjects back home and was confident in the content, but I struggled with English, especially in a general class where everyone speaks such good English. Even when I know the answer to questions, I keep quiet in class. I feel so shy to speak as I feel they will judge me. Students smile when we, you know, the newcomers like me speak. It is very embarrassing, and I stopped participating in class for this reason.

(Mira, GAR, 21 years, single)

From Mira’s experience, EAL teachers play a very important role in increasing confidence among newcomers. This is true not only for the young adults going to school, but it was also reported by refugee women who could meet and speak to their EAL teachers regularly after class and share their feelings with them. Three out of eight youth participants mentioned how they considered their EAL teachers to be their ‘first Canadian friend’ with whom they could speak without hesitation. For some, EAL teachers are their ‘first teacher’ of their lives. EAL teachers, therefore, can play a very important role in integrating refugee youth within the Canadian school system.

This teacher-student relationship depends on the age of the newcomer students. Given their age at entry combined with their extensive years-long gaps in education and lack of knowledge of official languages, refugee youth have very little time to catch up with the Canadian students, given they have less time to complete high school before they “age out” of the system (Stewart et al., 2019). This timing creates tremendous stress among this group of individuals, and the teachers help in defusing some of the stress these students go through. As Dina mentioned,

I was 18, because of my age, they put me in grade 11, but I was taking grade 10, 11 and 12 together with EAL classes. When I am saying EAL classes, I took grade 10, 11 and 12 English EAL classes. Then I became a regular student. This pressure of moving from EAL classes to the regular classes was tremendous but being in a special class (EAL class) getting special preference from teachers within the same school, was looked down upon by regular students. Normal (Canadian) students when moved around in the school corridor looked and laughed at us during recess as if we were, you know, the special cases, we were different! I thought of quitting a lot of times, but whenever I skipped classes, my EAL teacher met with me alone and said Dina you can do it! Quitting is not the solution, and I listened to her and got confidence to go back to school the next day again.

(Dina, Accepted refugee claimant, 22 years, single)

Without assurances from the teacher, many refugee students in EAL classes drop out of high school (Roessingh, 2008). Six out of eight youth participants felt they required more support and help from their regular class teachers like they used to obtain from their EAL classes, whereas some did not want to be treated differently from other Canadian students once moved into regular classes. As Soha noted,

Some EAL classes are like, oh my god! Some teachers think we don't know the system, so they give us a long time to complete homework. This is wrong. They don't teach us to be ready for regular classes. But when I went to regular (classes), everything changed. I liked regular classes more than the EAL classes as I was treated equally as others. I went to the school office (and said) I don't want to stay at the EAL classes anymore.

(Soha, PSR, 21 years, single)

Almost half of the interviewed young adults preferred regular classes over EAL classes, while the other half found it challenging to keep up with such a pace within regular classes. For Dina, her EAL teacher played an important role in motivating her as the first contact person in school during her initial days. As Dina mentioned,

With my EAL math teacher. When I started the regular classes, I faced challenges. Because the teachers in EAL and teachers in regular classes are totally different. The teacher in the EAL class will give you support while the regular class teacher will just move on. Either you get it or not, that's it! There were days, when I was crying and came back to my EAL class teacher, and I talked to her and she really helped me a lot. She listened to me and told me, no you will do better. She really motivated me a lot. They were so welcoming to the newcomer students. They made us feel we belong to this place, even though we cannot speak the language. But you totally feel alone once you move into a regular class.

(Dina, accepted refugee claimant, 22 years, single)

Students miss the extra attention from the teachers in EAL classes when they move to regular classes, and sometimes they fall behind and want to drop out of school. Most of the students felt lonely when they moved into a regular class.

5.4 Racial Discrimination within Schools

Similar to Shakya (2018) and his colleagues' study, several refugee youth spoke about discrimination they faced in schools from teachers, students, and the school administrators. Students may find it challenging in learning and performing in schools where they feel racially judged by school staff or their peers (Nichols et al., 2020). This was a common challenge identified by the youth participants leading to a hostile school environment affecting their grades and their completion time, limiting postsecondary choices among refugee students. This discrimination results in racialized poverty that can last for generations (Galabuzi, 2014). Youth participants reported how they were always the 'different' ones in the classrooms and felt intimidated by other regular class students. As Soha mentioned,

It was so hard for me because when you go to school, for newcomers there are different classes, so it's so hard compared to the people here. They speak English and they just look at you like you are weird because you wear a hijab and look different from them (white Canadians). At times I just felt like crying and leaving the class. Even when I knew the answers, I did not answer as students laughed listening to my accent. I just knew how much I tried; I can never compete with my classmates. I felt dirty as other than the newcomer students, regular class students won't sit beside me.

(Soha, PSR, 21 years, single)

Linguistic barriers are one of the biggest challenges identified by the newcomer youth post-resettlement, as having no or low English language proficiency increases difficulties in making Canadian friends. As in Soha's case, being bullied because of having low level English fluency

and having foreign accents lowers self-esteem among newcomer youth. These factors also affect mental health and increase stress and anxiety among newcomer youth (Shakya et al., 2018), leading them to think of dropping school, as often reported by my participants.

Like Soha, Nalini had similar experiences in class,

being a refugee female of colour, I faced many challenges in school. I did not have friends, and nobody used to speak to me because they thought I was different. People looked down upon us (newcomers). Also, I hear these kinds of stories from the youth group that I run. Women wearing hijab are looked down upon and nobody wants to be friends with them. They are not seen as the rest but different.

(Nalini, GAR, 18 years, single)

Within a regular class, racism faced by the minority groups is mostly ‘invisible racism’ and only realized by the students with a minority status. The majority of the white students and teachers fail to realize that their sometimes-unconscious behavior might result in racial discrimination within Canadian classrooms.

5.5 Life is More Difficult for ‘Older Refugee Youth’ in Canada

In my study, factors such as age, language proficiency, financial condition, and being the oldest sibling are some of the major reasons refugee youth face challenges during resettlement. Most of them have had interruptions in their schooling before resettling in Canada (Gouin, 2016). Older adults are not familiar with working and studying at the same time. Managing jobs and studies at the same time, especially among those who have never taken courses in English before, makes it difficult to attain a healthy student and work life balance while simultaneously learning to become members of a new society. They may feel overwhelmed with the amount of work they have to do in one or multiple part-time jobs besides their schooling.

In addition to their lifestyle changes, there is a role reversal within the households. Had they not become refugees, their lives as teens would not have been so difficult. Back home, their parents or guardians would financially care for them and the family until the time they are ready to join the labour market. In Canada, some find role reversal, where parents become children’s responsibility (Gouin, 2016), especially if they are the eldest child. Soha related the problems of juggling multiple tasks as a young adult.

First of all, back home we don’t have work and school at the same time. In Sudan, it’s not like you can go to school and do a job at the same time. It’s

impossible and I was thinking that way. When I came here, my aunt said, no people go to school and they work together. My mother is sick and my family is my responsibility here (in absence of her father, who is still waiting to get his refugee status in Canada).

(Soha, PSR, 21 years, single)

There are very few programs known to the newcomer youth that recognize the challenges young adults face as they learn a new language and culture, complete high school, prepare for postsecondary training, and carry the additional burden of financially supporting themselves and their families. These challenges increase stress and can cause anxiety and other mental health problems (Hou & Bonikowska, 2016) and there are a very few known resources to help address these challenges. Dina shared about some of these challenges:

Right now, I am looking for a full-time job so that I can support my family, for my future (saving for my university) too and all that kind of things. When we first came new, I started working. It was my first job here. I was still in school, but that job was part-time.

Me: how was your experience studying and working at the same time?

Dina: it was really hard, because I finished my school at 3:30 pm and right away I should be at (work) at 4 pm and start the job. And at times, you are tired and maybe you have not eaten anything, so it was really tough.

(Dina, accepted refugee claimant, 22 years, single)

Nalini also mentioned that this juggling of responsibilities made her more worried about her future than her present situation. She feels she is always being compared with Canadian students within the classroom and that however much she tries, she can never reach their level of language and educational standards. I found a low level of self-confidence among all the young women with whom I spoke. They fear their language knowledge is not ‘good enough,’ and they fear being passed over for jobs because they cannot compete with Canadian youth. For these reasons, they are willing to accept ‘any’ job available. EAL classes are “pull out” classes, meaning the students are removed from their high school classes either entirely (full day) to learn English or partially (intermittently throughout the school day). Thus, they miss a great deal of the general high school curriculum, which adds to their anxiety about being behind. As a result, the young women I spoke with lowered their aspirations entering high school after completing their English as an Additional Language classes. As a result, they felt they were not ‘competitive’ with Canadian students for post-secondary placements and future jobs. For example, participants mentioned how

they wanted to pursue medicine, law, or fashion design when they first arrived, but after completing high school and self-evaluating their skills and individual circumstances compared to their classmates, they have changed their minds and are now thinking of pursuing nursing assistant, tailoring, or hairdressing.

Poverty among newly arrived refugee families makes access to school-related supplies, such as computers, very difficult. Most of my youth participants reported not having computers at home, so they must use computers at school or the community libraries. This can become difficult for female refugees who work part-time while attending full-time school. Most of them mentioned how they could not afford a laptop and had to do their assignments either by borrowing laptops from other family members or using the computers in the community libraries. Sometimes the community library closes by the time they can get there after completing their school and or part-time jobs. There are days when they cannot complete their homework for the next day's class because of their dependence on the computers in the community libraries. Ajda, who attends high school spoke about this problem,

We do a lot of research (at school) and there is a lot of homework, and I don't have a computer or laptop at home. That's why it is the first reason that I need a laptop and some educational stuff.

Me: None of you have a laptop at home?

Ajda: No, we could not afford as there are other responsibilities to take care of first, pay rent, pay bills, support family. So, there is nothing left for a laptop.

(Ajda, GAR, 20 years, single)

Students who have flexible hours at jobs complete their homework right after school and then go to their jobs, which may continue until late night. Karima, a high school student discussed how she managed her school and work life at the same time.

I work full-time. I cannot make it half-time! I also have to make time for my studies because I don't want to fail. When I come from work, I sleep for 3 hours then I wake up almost at 1-2:30 am, then I study and do all the work that I must do. Sometimes it is very hard. Sometimes my teacher makes it harder and harder for us. Sometimes I say, I don't know English, don't pressurize me. She laughs, but still there is a lot of work to do. At times, I feel I don't want to work, I don't want to study, I just want some time to relax, to breathe you know! But again, at the same time, I feel like doing something that benefits me. I am old now, but I am still struggling to finish my school.

(Karima, PSR, 21 years, single)

In my further discussions with Karima, she informed me that she was not aware that her relative who sponsored her sisters and aunt was responsible for providing income support for the first year after their arrival. It is more difficult for privately-sponsored refugees like Karima who are from fractured families and are minors at the time of arrival. Due to her age, she was not part of the pre-arrival information sessions and had to depend solely on her aunt for all settlement-related information. She is an orphan and always feels herself to be a burden on her aunt and pushes herself extra hard to pay off the debt she owes her aunt for bringing them into Canada. She is indebted to her aunt and her relative who sponsored them to come here and is under the impression that she should return all the expenses her aunt and her sponsor (relative) has borne in bringing them here. She also gave away all her savings that she made working as a child back home to her aunt's sponsor. Karima reported,

My aunt (her legal guardian whom she accompanied to Canada) used to lend me money till I found a job during the first year. During the first few months, I did not have work; I was taking the child support, and I was paying for the groceries and giving the rest to my aunt for other household expenses. I had to do something to pay back to our sponsors. My sisters were looking for jobs as well. None of us knew the language and so were struggling to get a job.

(Karima, PSR, 21 years, single)

Private sponsorship is based on a neoliberal ideology and government interference is minimal in this program, thus increasing the risk of privatizing immigrant welfare through increased control of civil society (Elcioglu, 2021). There is always a risk whereby refugees might be exploited by some people involved in sponsorship, including pressure on refugees to repay their sponsors (OCHA, 2019). Karima believed she had to pay for housing, utilities, and all other bills as soon as she arrived in Canada. Because she is a minor, she did not attend the Canadian Orientation Abroad workshops that would have familiarized her with the financial commitment that ought to have come from her sponsor. There is lack of communication and information among privately sponsored refugees, and there is a possibility that they are misled by their sponsors, even if sponsored by some distant relative who has an extra edge on them because they helped bring them into the country. There is also the issue that some refugees are not offered the chance to take the orientation sessions before coming to Canada. Or if they are, they are not adequately described so people don't take them or they are offered in a language that the newcomer still does not speak.

In addition to the pre-arrival preparation problems, there is a lack of career guidance services available to older refugee youth in Canada (Pelley, 2019). The need is especially profound for those who entered the country as older teens and leave the security of high school in two to three years. Because of their age, these youth have very limited time to learn English and catch up with their high school education before becoming fully engaged adults in their new society. Career guidance is one of the casualties. Their focus in high school usually is on learning English and getting the school credits they require to earn a diploma. During my research, I found that only the youth who had friends outside their family and ethnic circles understood the importance of career services. Soha told us:

I took a course in (name of the place) for people with disability, to learn how to support them. I took that course because I want to help people with disabilities and also for gaining experience for doing something in the medical field. I paid \$200 for that course. It was for a month a half, they taught me a lot of things. Two weeks theory and two weeks practical, where I had to go to their house to support them. I was happy to help them, I got so much experience.

Me: How did you come to know about this program?

Soha: My mom's friend told me about it. This training will help me with my university courses pursuing nursing or something similar to that. I hope!

(Soha, PSR, 21 years, single)

Initially, Soha wanted to pursue medicine when she first arrived, but given her current responsibilities towards her family, their financial situation, and her growing lack of confidence with every passing day, now she thinks she can only try to achieve a career as a caregiver and not a physician anymore. Many refugee youth face these challenges, having their dreams altered because of certain factors, such as their 'age' at arrival that creates pressure to attain language and complete high school within a short period as well as a lack of financial support to pursue post-secondary education, resulting in deskilling and downward mobility (Ritchie, 2018) since their arrival in Canada. While their dreams have changed, they hope to achieve 'something' as adults. Resilience among refugee youth is gained through negotiation and acceptance of their unequal positions within the new society. Žižek (2016) discussed how refugee youth "will learn to censor their dreams: instead of chasing them in reality" (p. 59); some among the youth participants accepted their downward mobility as 'accomplishment' in comparison to what they imagined they could not have achieved back home.

These obstacles do not stop older youth from contributing within their limited means and make a difference. Youth want to work and contribute to their new societies, just the same as young people born in Canada. Financial support through welfare is the least preferred option for refugees (Agrawal, 2018), as when they work, they can help establish themselves and take care of their own expenses and also contribute equally like others. They also want to become self-sufficient as soon as possible because the welfare support is not enough to maintain a decent life in Canada. Getting a job to come out of welfare is one of the major reasons women of all ages are seeking employment. As Karima mentioned,

I had to get out of welfare because it does not even meet my basic needs. I needed to take a full-time job and get out of welfare as soon as possible. Also, earning my livelihood and not getting support from the government makes me independent. It also feels nice as I am not dependent on anybody. I want that money to be used for someone who actually needs it. I am young, I can work and take care of myself.

(Karima, PSR, 21 years, single)

Coming out of welfare becomes more difficult when they lack employment-related support during the initial days of resettlement. When Soha approached one of the settlement organizations, she could not get much help with employment-related services. It seems the settlement centre could not understand her situation and her financial needs. Soha mentioned,

I went to a (settlement centre) and I told them I am looking for a job. They asked me if I have any experience. I said, no I don't! They told me, just wait, this is your first year in high school, focus in there and we will see. I waited for like six months. After that, as I told you, I did not have money for my basics, and it was tough. I needed money to pay my phone bill, my bus pass, my lunch, a computer for my studies and everything you know! I was taking money from my family, so I thought let me start looking for jobs myself without going back to the agency again.

(Soha, PSR, 21 years, single)

Soha reported later she had to give up on her job, as she failed a few subjects in school and was left with no choice but to concentrate on her schooling. She later took a part-time job because of her family's economic condition. It was very stressful for her to balance life in Canada during the initial years, as she is the oldest sibling and needed to support her family. They were surviving on the amount they brought with them to Canada, as her private sponsor, who was her own uncle,

only paid the house rent. They were asked to manage the rest themselves since their arrival in Canada.

After completion of the first year, refugee families start receiving welfare support from their provincial governments. Upon turning 18 years, refugee youth start receiving welfare support until the time they enroll in postsecondary institutions or get jobs that pay them more than what they receive from the welfare. Acceptance of welfare is not considered “respectable” among many families; therefore, most youth prefer working over receiving financial help from the government. Most of the youth in my study reported that not only is the welfare support not enough for meeting their basic needs, but also it should be given to people who need it the most. Despite learning a new language, attending high school, even for those who have never attended school before, all preferred to get jobs as soon as they entered the country. Depending on welfare is not an option for the refugee youth, even if it increases school and workload. Nalini explained her feelings about welfare:

I don't want to take the support from the government because I want to improve my language, get Canadian experience for which I need a real job, I need to get exposure. I feel maybe more people in this city need this money (from welfare). I could work and I am still young so what is the point in taking the money. I can do it. But then I got in trouble when my marks (grades) went down – I said to myself, wait, something is not working!

(Nalini, GAR, 18 years, single)

Despite wanting to maintain work-life and school-life, the majority of them reported that they found it extremely stressful to balance work and studies, given the other challenges and pressure they faced during resettlement. Youth participants told me about how they are required to spend hours of volunteer work to get a certificate recognizing that they have Canadian experience. Though volunteer experience has proved worthwhile for older youth over time, it has not helped them gain paid jobs among the participants I interviewed. Karima shared her struggle to maintain school and a full-time job,

I wish I had some support financially or that my parents were still alive.....(long pause) I am working and I am studying, and I am helping my family at the same time. I told my manager that I need a full-time job, but I am in high school still, so I need to work every day, so is it available? He was like, no we can't do it now, he did not care. I believe we need, as a newcomer, full support programs to help newcomers financially, I guess. Because it is really hard. Sometimes I don't eat lunch and save money to pay my bills. The first two jobs I had to do

were also volunteer jobs else I was told that I will never get a job in Canada. It was really hard to work without pay during a time when I needed money like anything!

(Karima PSR, 21 years, single)

Despite having difficulty balancing financially, many newcomers to Canada only get jobs as volunteers, as they are told to volunteer to attain “Canadian experience.” Some youth work at refugee resettlement agencies mostly as volunteers except during summers. This arrangement is likely because the settlement organizations receive funding from the Canadian government to hire students for the summer. Once fall begins, they are pushed back into volunteer positions. This happens within the settlement organizations where youth, after working for some time as volunteers and summer interns, become attached to their clients and grow their own social networks, which they cannot leave for other jobs. Though these youth suffer financially, they think of their workplace as family and cannot give up on the newcomers whom they have supported settling in Canada. As Ruth explained,

Yes, I started working at the (newcomer agency) as a volunteer where I translated for other families who are coming – helping them to resettle. Also, I volunteer at youth programs running during summer. Now I am working as a part-time as well as a volunteer for the rest of the hours. Like in the summer I worked full-time and could save some money for my university but during the winter I mostly volunteer during this time of the year. Even when I am working in other places, I can't imagine leaving this place as I understand the needs of newcomer youth and I know I can help them.

(Ruth, PSR, 19 years, single)

Social networks that are formed during the resettlement process become valuable sources of information for newly resettling refugee women. In fact, networking was mentioned as the most effective way of obtaining information and learning about organizations that can help youth find employment. Dina, who is an accepted refugee claimant, has very few options available to her because refugee resettlement agencies are funded by the federal government but must not assist refugee claimants as a condition for receiving funding from the government (IRCC, 2019b). Though Dina entered as a refugee claimant in Canada, which is different from streams of refugees entering through the resettlement programs, her case is important in the context of this study given the focus is to understand sense of agency and empowerment among refugee youth who are permanent residents already. When I interviewed Dina, her family had already been accepted as

refugees and granted permanent residence in Canada. In her case, despite being a permanent resident, she was unaware of the settlement services and resources that she was eligible to access. Dina was lucky, she was able to find this youth group and make new connections. She was able to find work, get help with her schoolwork and participate in youth group activities that improved her spoken English. She said,

I went to (the settlement agency) in 2018 to find a job, which was after many months of asking hundreds of people. They (the same agency where Ruth runs the youth groups) helped me a lot, and I took part and volunteered a lot. Did a lot of workshops and it really helped me improve my English too, but I said that I didn't know about them when I needed help with my schoolwork, during the initial days when I really wanted to speak to someone like me. I needed them.

(Dina, accepted refugee claimant, 22 years, single)

Navigating the complex system of resettlement agencies is difficult for all newcomers. The rules around the type of refugee who is eligible for services make this navigation much more difficult. Lack of settlement-related information is not only common among accepted refugee claimant but also among resettled refugees such as the PSRs and GARs and those who are accepted refugee claimant like Dina. As this group of individuals enters the country as children, when they turn 18 years old, they do not have fixed agencies that can provide information on settlement services that every youth can access.

5.6 General Resettlement Related Concerns among Female Refugee Youth

5.6.1 How resettlement is perceived among refugee youth within private sponsorship

Private sponsorship is effective in resettling large numbers of refugees in Canada, but there are major challenges with this program, according to my research participants. Most of the criticisms noted within this system relate to both time and resources spent by the sponsors (Lanphier, 2003; Hyndman et al., 2016). There is a lot of confusion regarding the role and responsibilities of the sponsors, and sometimes there is a possibility that they might end up treating refugees as “servants” based on their assimilationist orientation (Hyndman et al., 2016). In my study, private sponsorship was found to be the most confusing among refugees, as they lacked the agency to ask questions of their sponsors in the fear of losing their support, in whatever amount they are receiving, as well as out of the gratitude that sponsored refugees think they owe to their sponsors. There is a lot of confusion about the role and responsibilities of the private sponsors, and refugees do not have a clear idea about what to expect during the first year post-arrival. The roles

and responsibilities of the sponsors are not made clear to the refugee youth even though they are expected to support their family post-arrival. The rights of the sponsored refugees are also not explained prior to arrival, which created a lot of stress for Ruth's family. Her family was sponsored by a local church and had to take up jobs in the church, which they were not comfortable with but could not say no out of obligation. Ruth explained,

Okay! With private sponsorship, I have so many problems with this because the idea of someone sponsoring the other family means one family is better than the other! Like they are the giver, and we are the taker. So that dynamic will always make us feel we should be grateful to them and also that we should pay back, always say thank you to them even if we didn't like it. This happened because we didn't know that it is our right to get these services to resettle, to get out of Jordan. We did not know this. Like we did not know that through the UN, as refugees, we have our rights, and if required, we have the right to say no!

Me: So, when did you realize this?

Ruth: When I got into the university. I am taking Human Rights and Conflict Resolution and now I know what rights a refugee has. Back home we do not have much education about human rights or United Nations, refugees or resettlement workers. We just got a call to come to Canada and we came here but we did not know anything about our rights. Our family is thankful to the church for their support and help but at the same time we did not know the process that we have these rights. My parents always felt a pressure to give back and worked as cleaners in the Church just as an obligation. They were not happy about it!

(Ruth, PSR, 19 years, single)

The above-mentioned situation was not only common among the refugees who were sponsored by 'unknown' or stranger sponsors (e.g., sponsors who are not related to the sponsored) but also among refugees who were sponsored by distant family members. Youth in my study reported having no information on how the private sponsorship works in Canada and therefore knew that they had to support themselves financially from the time they enter the country. Karima and her two elder sisters, being orphans, solely depended on her aunt for traveling to Canada and were not involved in the resettlement process. They were just asked to pay for their travel and settlement in this country, and they followed their aunt's instructions without asking questions. In certain cases, they reported they had to pay their sponsors for helping them come to Canada, as Karima explained,

We could come here as private sponsors because we paid for it. Because we used to work, so we paid everything to come here. As I told you that we knew people

here, they did the work for us and obviously we paid a lot of money. That is how we came.

Me: What about the financial support during the first year?

Karima: No, nobody. We paid for everything from before the time we came here as refugees.

Me: Who paid your rent during the first year?

Karima: No, our Aunt said we pay everything here. So, me and my sisters started looking for work the moment we came here. My aunt sometimes got help from certain people here she knows, but we faced all the difficulties ourselves. At the beginning, we had some money from our savings made back home as we all used to work there but soon after a few days, we were not left with any money to give it to our aunt for rent and stuff. We owe a lot to our aunt as sometimes we just didn't have any money, and she borrowed it from others.

(Karima, PSR, 21 years, single)

Karima's situation reflects that the financial sponsorship is not what it seems among PSRs in Canada. On further investigating about the mandatory sponsorship support she and her family members were supposed to get from her sponsor (who was her aunt's distant relative) during the first year of resettlement, Karima informed me that she was not aware of her rights as a sponsored refugee, and she thought that she owed money for whatever support she received during the first year of resettlement. She had to search for a part-time job from the moment she entered Canada, as she was told by her aunt that she and her sisters were required to pay their monthly allowances to their sponsor for bringing them to Canada³. Though there might be travel loans and few associated costs that the PSRs are supposed to pay back to their sponsors post-arrival, in case of Karima, she had already paid a large amount using the savings from her job in her home country to defray the costs of traveling to Canada. This situation reflects another challenge inherent in the program in that sponsored refugees lack the information on their rights, and there is a possibility that their lack of knowledge might lead to their exploitation in the hands of their sponsors. There was also confusion around which settlement services are available for sponsored refugees (Agrawal & Zeitouny, 2017). Though the private sponsorship program has long been an

³ Though there are costs/loans PSRs are responsible to pay back (IRCC, 2021a), and there may have been a confusion about the amount they needed to pay back to their sponsor, on further investigating, Karima mentioned that her aunt specifically mentioned to her and her sisters about paying for the rent, food and other miscellaneous expenses to their sponsor every month. She also mentioned that before traveling to Canada, she gave away all her savings to her aunt for arranging their travel to Canada.

opportunity for family members to bring their relatives here in Canada (Macklin, 2018), this process is not transparent. In fact, at certain times the family-linked nature of sponsoring might have multiple layers of confusion in communicating accurate information to refugees about settlement services and sponsor responsibilities (Ball, 2019).

5.6.2 Specific concerns of female refugee youth

When asked about their fears and anxieties within the new society, all participants reported fearing of traveling alone at night. They mentioned they fear Indigenous peoples specifically, as they tend to either hear racist comments in public places or have been followed at night while returning home from work. This is the one reason these young women feel unsafe working late shifts but most of them are left without options, given they have school to attend during the mornings. As Nalini stated,

I don't like Indigenous people who drink and are always on drugs. When I am going on the bus by myself, they are drunk and they smoke, they are so scary. Once I was going to the dance program at night, I was alone, one person came to the bus, and he had a knife. I got so scared. My heart almost stopped, there were not many people in the bus, only five people. Yeah, so I am scared of them. They have so much freedom, to do anything, to drink, to smoke. So, I don't like them.

(Nalini, GAR, 18 years, single)

This fear is more common among youth living near downtown. They face harassment not only based on their gender but also their ethnic identity. Women wearing hijab have reported being harassed in public, as Dina mentioned,

Downtown is kind of dangerous, and there are always many Indigenous people on drugs around this area. I have some experience, so I don't like it at night, it's kind of scary. It's not a feeling every time, but you know it's just a feeling when you are coming from work, and you are going home and there are some kind of people swearing at you when they see you when you are wearing a hijab. I have faced these a lot after coming here. Like one time I was walking with my brother in the street, and a guy just came up to me and was swearing at me and was being aggressive. Thank God my brother was with me; we just ran away.

(Dina, accepted refugee claimant, 22 years, single)

There were a lot of similar incidents reported by the participants facing discrimination and harassment by intoxicated Indigenous peoples. For example, Dina's family was forced to change houses from a cheaper house downtown to an expensive location much beyond their financial

capacity. Safety and wellbeing are given utmost priority by refugees during resettlement. Though Canada is known for welcoming refugees, for some Indigenous peoples, government support for their own communities seems impoverished and neglected (Gilbert, 2018; Carter & Osborne, 2009). Winnipeg, one of the sites of this study reports similar high levels of violence, drugs and homelessness as most major Canadian cities, although the crime rate has been decreasing steadily over the past ten years.

Downtown is generally a cheaper area to live. For this reason, immigrants, refugees, and Indigenous peoples are over-represented in this area because of their financial situations. Newcomers and Indigenous residents fear competing for the already-scarce resources within these communities. This competition creates tension between these two groups, and there are reported incidents of newcomers attacked by Indigenous peoples (Gilbert, 2018). The example Gilbert gave occurred in 2017 when “a group of (I)ndigenous children pepper-sprayed a group of young refugees outside an Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba housing facility in the mainly (I)ndigenous centennial neighborhood of Winnipeg” (Gilbert, 2018, para. 5). But harassment is certainly not confined to Indigenous persons harassing them. Some of my participants detailed their own experiences of harassment while living downtown. Karima lives near Downtown and shared her experiences,

Karima: I was not worried a lot because it is a free country. But some people still pick on you because of your hijab. They were drunk, they were picking on us. I was at the bank; I was just listening, not saying anything. What am I going to say? I was just feeling bad for them (the Indigenous peoples who were abusing her as she felt they needed help). But there's a lot of pressure at the same time. Someone just picks on you, and you can do nothing.

Me: Did you speak to anyone about all this?

Karima: No, I was at the bank, and everybody saw what happened. Nobody said anything

(Karima, PSR, 21 years, single)

Racial discrimination is not only perpetuated by the intoxicated Indigenous peoples but also by white Canadians and society in general. Ruth mentioned how she feels discrimination in her day-to-day life in Canada:

I thought after coming to Canada that this is a place which is perfect for women and that women have rights and all that. But then I was shocked to see the reality

and how even in Canada women are being discriminated against everywhere. And having this intersectional identity, being a woman, a refugee, a woman of colour, not Canadian but from a Middle Eastern Arab country, always plays against me. I am seen as 'different' within Canada. I have felt racism and sexism at the same moment, and it is difficult to understand if they (white Canadians) are just being sexist or racist.

(Ruth, PSR, 19 years, single)

Thus, not only do their intersectional identities as refugees, women, and belonging to minority ethnic and religious groups make them vulnerable to bullying and harassment in schools but also they are discriminated against within Canadian society, putting these young women at high risk. These factors add to the existing stress and anxieties among this group of young newcomers, affecting their overall mental health conditions post-resettlement.

5.7 Mental Health and Wellbeing

5.7.1 All youth need “someone” to talk to during the initial days of resettlement

All youth participants mentioned they needed someone to discuss their fears and anxieties with during the initial days of resettlement. As this group lacks formal groups representing their needs because of their transitioning age, they feel they require individuals who would understand their situation and listen to their problems. Informal “counselling” by the youth networks helped most newcomer youth during resettlement, but there was still some hesitation regarding speaking to a licensed professional counsellor because of the taboo of being labeled as mentally ill. As Ruth described it:

We talk about trauma with our community members and also within our families. But it is a cultural thing like mental health issues are not enough talked about in our culture. Like if you are going to see a therapist, you are considered crazy. There is a big stigma relating to mental health and so it is really hard to go to a therapist. I get it out through working with refugees and youth and through the programs that help refugees and youth. I forget my problems when I work with other youth and help them with their problems. That works as a therapy for me but for others, this group meetings are not considered formal counselling and newcomer youth like sharing their anxieties within this safe space. Sometimes we also bring a counsellor who can help answer general questions. My agency helps me run this group and provides me a room to meet with refugee youth. I am grateful that they are allowing me to run this free program.

(Ruth, PSR, 19 years, single)

Resettlement services are often short of resources and cannot provide adequate social support (Awuah-Mensah, 2016), and as reported by the participants, there are substantial deficits

in social support services for this group. There is a need for more culturally- and linguistically-appropriate services for youth, and it is observed that young refugee members of the society are volunteering for providing these services to the newcomers by themselves. This is considered a safe place where youth meet to discuss their fears and anxieties without inhibitions of being judged as “mentally ill.” All the participants who are part of the youth groups mentioned that their lives would have been very different and difficult if they were not a part of these youth networks run by other refugee youth like Ruth. Mira mentioned how these meetings help her cope with daily anxieties:

I cannot see a therapist even if I want to, as I will have to pay \$100 or so for one hour to see a therapist. This is the reason when I joined this (free) group through my contacts, I felt relieved. It's not exactly a therapy though, but if we have a problem, we are a big group and we sit and just talk. For example, what did we do during the weekend? How was your weekend? Was there any problem? What's going with our family, teachers, like this. They make small groups and we take turns to talk. I feel restless when I miss these group sessions. I could not go for a few weeks because I am going to regular classes, I had to study and work hard and I am already feeling restless.

(Mira, GAR, 21 years, single)

As mentioned earlier, life is more difficult for young refugees because of their changed roles within and outside the family. During the initial days of resettlement, female youth face multiple challenges balancing family expectations and overall cultural expectations of the host society. For this reason, it is crucial to provide complete and sound psychological support during the initial integration to avoid the possibility that they might never recover from pre- and post-arrival stress affecting their overall mental health wellbeing. Though it is the responsibility of the host society to provide such psychological support for the newcomer youth to promote coping mechanisms and help them build community ties (Sansonetti, 2016), the lack of such support and available resources has isolated individuals from seeking help from professionals. Realizing the need for such a space for newcomer refugee youth to express themselves and their anxieties, a few outgoing young refugee youth participants have volunteered to create this space for themselves. The drawback of these youth groups is that they are organized largely by ‘word of mouth’ without much coordination from the resettlement sector. As a result, women who could benefit from these programs are left out due to lack of information about these groups. There were participants in my study who initially were not aware of these youth groups and felt isolated and hopeless till they

joined a group. Nehal shared her experience before and after joining these refugee youth facilitated groups:

Nehal: For the first three months, I had nowhere to go. I did not know anyone here or the group I have joined recently. I used to be alone.

Me: From whom did you get to know about the youth group?

Nehal: From my cousin's daughters. (One of the youth group leaders) also told me that she was looking for our information. She wanted to take us in the group, but she did not have my or my father's number. So, when I went to meet this group with my cousin one day, she (the leader) said, "I was looking for you!" It made me feel like I now belong to something, and there are people who would like to listen to me. I can speak my mind, and now I know that I am not alone here.

(Nehal, PSR, 21 years, single)

For many youth, friends are the main and often only source of support and advice (Shakya et al., 2019). This connection is evident in my study where refugee newcomer youth are playing a proactive role in not only supporting and mentoring other refugee youth but also their friends, siblings, and sometimes family members through their own experiences, especially in how to handle challenges faced during resettlement. At the same time, "overwhelming systemic inequalities and lack of supportive services appear to strain and undercut the capacity of youth for strategy and resilience" (Shakya et al., 2019, p. 73). My findings are similar; most youth in this study experience multiple barriers and negative experiences not only in pursuing their educational goals but also in their overall lives in Canada. Ruth explained,

After being here for a year, I got introduced to my Syrian community here by chance, and I started to volunteer and work with them through the (Syrian) initiative. And that is the beginning of my positive experience here in Canada. Before that, I just lacked motive.

(Ruth, PSR, 19 years, single)

Sometimes these groups also invite therapists to participate. These sessions with experts have also re-instated 'hope' among the newcomers. Ajda explained,

One time I was having a problem, I got so tired of Canada, from the cold, school, work, and life in general. I started to cry, I was in this youth group, and I shared my state of mind with others. So, the person who was talking to us that day, his name is (Therapist's name), he is a therapist. He took me outside, and he was sitting in front of me, he told me just to say, "What's going on, why are you

crying?" I told him everything. He told me don't worry, everything will be good. Though I knew my problems won't disappear the next day, but I gained confidence to work through my struggles after speaking with him. I felt good, really good.

(Ajda, GAR, 20 years, single)

Other than group discussions, the youth groups also involve newcomers in different leisure activities, such as group dance, music, drama, which are performed in their first language. They also perform during special occasions, which keeps them involved and helps in reducing stress. Nalini shared her experience of dance rehearsals and how much fun they have,

We are in the dance group, it's called (An Arabic name), she told me if you want you can join us. So, I go there during weekends. Every year we celebrate during this time. It's coming soon, we have new dancers and we have to teach them new movements to perform in front of people. I feel happy when I dance. I forget my worries when I dance.

(Nalini, GAR, 18 years, single)

Though various settlement services offer a range of wrap-around supports addressing isolation among newcomer youth, these services are mostly in English. Through arts and crafts groups, yoga, conversation circles, or field trips, immigrant women can come together, learn something new, and improve their public speaking (Bhuiyan & Schmidt, 2019), yet my study participants also mentioned how they sometimes needed their own space and activities in their own languages during the initial days of resettlement when they are still learning the language. They prefer to learn during school hours, but during evenings or weekends, they prefer to meet and speak in their own mother tongue. This helps in reducing stress and anxiety to a larger extent and helps preserve their ability to speak the language, especially among young people who often lose their language post-resettlement.

5.7.2 Role reversal among refugee youth within the host society

The resettlement process not only increases mental health risks among refugee youth (Hyman et al., 2000), but added family responsibilities and role reversals within families post-arrival may be deleterious to their psychological wellbeing. Increased family responsibilities are a common expectation as the oldest children age. It becomes more challenging with the intensity and difficult context through which newcomer refugee youth face the pressure of taking on multiple family responsibilities (Shakya et al., 2019). Research shows that immigrant youth undergo role reversal within families, taking up responsibilities for which they are not prepared

(Kilbride et al., 2001; Shakya et al., 2019). Refugee youth who have learned English may have additional expectations placed upon them. Dina explained how her role within the family has changed:

Yes, now I am next to my dad. I am like a man. I am not like before; you know what I mean. They don't consider me weak anymore! Before, I was a person that was receiving. Now I am the one helping them. Now I think I am capable of doing something! Though it is a huge pressure, and I am suddenly feeling a lot of pressure, but this growing up feels good even if it is scary at times.

(Dina, accepted refugee claimant, 22 years, single)

My study further reflects how the burden on the older child increases if they know a bit of English before entering the country or if they master the language faster than their parents. Settlement providers may also compound this problem by requesting the assistance of youth in helping their parents with interpretation. Nehal explained,

Even back home we went to private schools and therefore we knew little bit of English. That led us to translate for our parents when we came to Canada. My parents were not able to integrate within the society here and so the roles switched in the family. We were the parents, and they were the children, which was really hard on us, especially translate for your parent's medical appointments, schools and like for everything! Seeing your parents weak is like really hard on the children. My sister is young and me being the elder daughter had maximum responsibilities. It was a sudden change of role within the family. I am struggling myself, like still I am not having enough confidence about my language, or feeling always different because of my culture, trying to balance home and outside society, trying to balance between the two cultures – it's really hard. Not only for my parents but I also have to take my sister's responsibility. Her email address for her parents in school is my email address as my parents did not know how to speak in English when we came.

(Nehal, PSR, 21 years, single)

Most of the young participants spoke about 'role reversal' in terms of youth having to take adult roles, including becoming key breadwinners for their families (Shakya et al., 2018) or to undertake care of younger siblings. This experience was very common among the study participants, particularly among single-parent families. Managing between family and outside responsibilities right after entering the country can be "overwhelming" for refugee youth and can affect their individual dreams and aspirations to a greater extent.

Some study participants stated that interpreting for their parent's medical appointments is the most difficult aspect of role reversal. Some participants, such as Ruth, missed school because of this:

Ruth: The problem was when we used to go to non-Arabic-speaker doctors, I used to translate for my parents, and it was terrible for me because I really did not want to know their medical life. Like their private medical life. But despite not wanting to know that, I had to be there to translate for them. It was and is very uncomfortable for me.

Me: Did you ask your sponsors for an interpreter?

Ruth: We did but they told us that the government or the sponsors do not want to provide translators if they know that daughters or sons know how to speak English. And the medical system is different here than it was back home. Here we have to go to a doctor to get a recommendation for other doctors which is quite complicated but back home we used to go to only one doctor with all our problems. We were really confused how this worked here and we did not have any explanations given to us how the medical system works. That was most confusing for us. Whenever they heard me speak in English, they made me translate for my parents. Everywhere! For everything. And I could never say no to translating for my parents as it is not something I can choose to do. You just cannot say no! I did it from the time I came into Canada, and I am still continuing to translate for my father.

(Ruth, PSR, 19 years, single)

For most participants, the parents found it more comfortable for their own children to interpret their medical conditions to the doctor rather than some 'stranger' appointed by the settlement agencies. Dina mentioned how she accompanied her mother to the hospital as her translator:

It (medical appointments) was really difficult for us, because they will give you some random guy who will interpret for you, but my mom did not like it because there are certain things you cannot say in front of them, especially when it is a male translator. My mom used to call me to go inside and explain. I was like, mom I don't even know that much English that I can explain to the doctor properly. She did not like it because it was kind of breach of her privacy, and I did not like it as I had to sometimes miss school to do this.

(Dina, accepted refugee claimant, 22 years, single)

These newly pressed responsibilities, cultural tussle, and changing family dynamics resulted in creating distances between daughter-parent bonding after resettlement. In this study, when mothers and daughters were interviewed from the same family, mothers expressed a fear

that their daughters would leave home before they were married, as many Canadian-raised women do. This is a shock for the parents. Some youth mentioned how Canadian culture is more empowering towards females than within their own culture. A few female youth have given up the hijab after coming to Canada. They mentioned that with time, even their parents are learning to let go of certain cultural practices and expectations but not always. The majority of the active refugee youth reported feeling guilty for not being able to maintain the same relationship with their parents after coming to Canada. They mentioned that they feel that their busy schedules outside the house have dissociated them from their own families. Ajda shared her concerns regarding the changed relationships within her family:

I also feel there is a broken relationship with my parents now, as it's not just only parents and children right now, but I am more responsible for my parents right now rather than them being responsible for their children. This is really hard for me, as it created anxiety, stress, depression during the first year, but now we are all trying to heal again as they are now a little bit more calm within the Canadian society and accepting the fact that I have another life outside the house – like school, friends...and other stuff. It sometimes is really difficult for me to be able to balance my roles inside and outside the house.

(Ajda, GAR, 20 years, single)

There is also a continuous cultural tussle within families regarding their cultural expectations versus “Canadian cultural” norms. Most participants mentioned how they have changed their cultural preferences because of the overall expectations of the Canadian society. They are trying hard to adopt a Canadian lifestyle to integrate, which creates challenges at the home front when their parents think they are losing their own culture and parental control in this process. Soha said,

At times I feel I am more Canadian. Sometimes my mom gets upset and gives me comments about it. Don't forget your culture! I am like, what do you mean? I go to school, I am going places, I am learning, you know what I mean! And I don't think my culture is going to help me much since I am here now.

(Soha, PSR, 21 years, single)

This unique group of young individuals who entered as children but became adults soon after are mostly the eldest child in the family, and they struggle more within the new country, given their age at arrival. It leaves them to think that it is their last chance to do something for themselves and their families. They have already undertaken a multiplicity of actions aimed at improving their

lives in Canada and in reconstructing their identities (Awuah-Mensah, 2016) but lack the resources to achieve what their hearts desire. Soon after arrival, they start negotiating and ultimately compromising their dreams and settle for the minimum they are able to achieve within the short period of time. They show great capacity and resilience, but due to a lack of support and guidance within the resettlement process, they often face multiple challenges within their households, schools, and overall society. This chapter not only reflects the challenges refugee youth go through during resettlement but also what they have achieved with nil or minimum help and support from the host society. It is important for Canada to realize their potential and provide the needed support and resources during resettlement.

5.8 Discussion

5.8.1 Why is an empowerment approach important to assess resettlement experiences among the refugee youth?

The resettlement process for refugees is “usually an acutely conflicting process that can bring safety, security, freedom, legal rights, hope, and empowerment while at the same time accentuate their sense of loss, separation, tragedy, displacement, and marginalization” (Shakya et al., 2010, p. 73). When we discuss empowerment in the context of refugees, it remains unclear how it is defined. This chapter reflects how ‘adaptive preferences’ (Sen, 1985) make youth refugees conditioned with the social injustice and material deprivation accept their unequal positions within the host society. During interviews with the young women, they continuously compared their current challenges in relation to their conditions “back home.” They compare their current situations to their immediate past, which clouds their judgement between social justice and injustice. This effect is because even before the idea of “becoming refugees” may be reconciled, they have to reconcile their family positioning as daughters in a society that is quite different from where they originated. Their expectations are marred through the predominant gender differences and inequalities within the families and within the larger society. Three out of eight participants did not even think about these challenges as ‘challenges’ before the interview because they viewed the injustices they are currently facing as relatively minor considering the life-threatening conditions they left in their former countries.

Refugee youth are one of the most vulnerable populations in the world (UNHCR, 2011), and addressing their rights and needs within the resettlement countries should be taken seriously. Economic barriers, and social and psychological issues due to past traumatic experiences are

important factors impacting integration and success among refugee youth within the host society (Kanu, 2007; Lund, 2008; Berry, 1997; Yohani, 2010), and though the Canadian refugee resettlement process is humanitarian, it is not “socially just, equitable, and empowering” (Shakya et al., 2010, p. 73). There are no universal support systems or resources specific to this group, and there lies a gap in federal and provincial immigration policies relating to female refugee youth in Canada. Although there are a few exclusive agencies for supporting young newcomers, it is at the discretion of the resettlement agencies how much they can provide such services (Assefa et al., 2017; Francis & Yan, 2016; Thomson et al., 2015; Li et al., 2017). There are no national standards on directives or a national mandate to address their needs through the resettlement process. As noted by Shakya et al. (2010), except for an initial year of financial and limited settlement service support, other “policy initiatives to build educational, professional, and political capacities among refugees are largely lacking” (Shakya et al., 2010, p. 73). These gaps were identified through the interviews too, as none of the participants could name resources that were specifically in place for them.

Government policies follow one model for all and do not consider the special resettlement needs of this group, including those who have faced high levels of trauma, psychological or physical health-related conditions, and a struggle for other settlement- and integration-related reasons within the host society. Most services do not consider the gendered nature of trauma and refugee experiences, which compounds the problem.

The two main approaches to studying female refugees that emerged during the 1993 World Conference on Gender issues and Development were the interconnectedness between human rights and development (Callamard, 2002), but the interconnection between these two factors remain unrealized today. The identity of refugees remains generic, ungendered, and desexualized (Tuitt, 1996), which continues with their resettlement in Canada. Higher income or increased agency and choice do not necessarily empower women, if resettlement and integration are not conducive of development/improvement in the overall status of women (Khader, 2011). For instance, it is necessary to not only include refugee youth within the labour market and give access to education and language but also to make sure that their changed role does not bring harm to their physical and mental wellbeing. This stricture is applicable in the case of my study participants’ role reversal, which affects their overall wellbeing within the host society. Empowerment, therefore, is not only about getting access to resources but also about living in conditions where one can safely practice

one's choices. This understanding is considered development or empowerment, which does not get negotiated through adaptive preferences. Individual agency and empowerment should lead to development among female youth refugees, which is the primary focus of this chapter.

The overarching research question for this project, *To what extent are refugee women and youth in Canada able to practice their agency accessing resettlement services and programs in order to gain empowerment?* cannot be addressed without understanding agency and empowerment. For example, to extend agency, the factors that affect rebuilding it should be examined. Kabeer's theoretical framework on empowerment reminds us to focus on the interconnections between resources, agency, and achievements in the context of refugee female youth

My work is further conceptualized using Nussbaum's human development theory based on the capabilities approach to study the dynamics between the three empowerment concepts. Social exclusion theory is applied to study if resettlement as a process contributes or restrains agency among this group of newcomers. Similarly, to understand if youth have the ability to make choices, the measurement of empowerment becomes necessary as an end product. In this research, I also focus on the relationship between the service seekers and the settlement service providers that enables newcomers to access the resources they need, which in a way influences an agent's identity within the context of social relationships (Koggel, 1997). For most youth participants in my study, EAL teachers are the first formal contacts they develop post-arrival. Social resources, according to Kabeer, are the "claims, obligations and expectations which inhere in the relationships, networks and connections which prevail in different spheres of life, and which enable people to improve their situation and life chances beyond what would be possible through their individual efforts alone" (Kabeer, 2001, p. 20). Therefore, this teacher-student relationship is of much significance during resettlement, and in this study was found to either make or break the confidence of newcomer refugee youth in Canada. This theoretical framework together gives a wholistic understanding of the Canadian resettlement process and if it develops sense of agency and empowerment among female refugee youth in the short-term as well as paves way for future development.

The interview guides utilized in my study draw heavily from Nussbaum's theoretical framework. Nussbaum's (2003) ten essential functions on women and human development theory, Böhnke's (2001) dimensions of social exclusion, and Koggel's (2010) relational theory helped in

unpacking the themes related to resettlement experiences among refugee youth. This chapter is dedicated to the female refugee youth, as the age of entry was identified as one of the major factors influencing resettlement. Below are discussed the major findings related to the theoretical concepts used to answer the main research question. The next section discusses how resettlement and their changing circumstances constrained or enabled youth progress within the host society from the time they enter the country.

5.9 Settlement Resources

5.9.1 Access to income and employment opportunities

For refugee youth, employment is not only a source of income for maintaining their own daily needs, but also a necessity to support their families during the initial days of resettlement. My research shows that youth face a role reversal within the new society as also mentioned in Shakya et al.'s (2010) study. Though employment might seem to empower refugee youth, when they have to take up family responsibilities and manage their educational goals at the same time, juggling between individual wants and family needs, they become more vulnerable during the initial years of resettlement. Lack of financial support bestows responsibility on this group of youth, who are in the transitioning age from childhood to adulthood. This lack of financial support and the urgent needs of the families often make this group of young newcomers prioritize finding 'any' job over their education and long-term career aspirations (Nunn et al., 2014; Pontes, 2018). My study shows how refugee youth become the "resettlement champions" (Shakya et al., 2010) not only by taking up family responsibilities but also by sharing the burden with the settlement providers in helping their families resettle. "At the same time, there is concern that refugee youth have little choice but to take on these family responsibilities at the expense of compromising their education" (Shakya, 2010, p. 74), affecting their overall wellbeing (Kanu, 2009; McBrien, 2005; Steven & Wilcot, 2007; Yau, 1995; Wilkinson 2002)

Financial support from the government was not enough to maintain a normal standard of living for these youth and they often struggled with acquiring school supplies, such as a laptop, textbooks, etc. required for doing assignments. Finding a job was more difficult mainly due to the lack of Canadian experience, educational credentials, and low official language skills (Ager & Strang, 2008; Esses et al., 2010; Hyndman, 2011; Pontes, 2018; Shields et al., 2016) and because of these deficits, most youth end up in low-skilled, low-wage jobs (Statistics Canada, 2019; Selimos & George, 2018). Similarly, Nichols indicated that "placing newcomer youth in low-

skilled, low-wage jobs with little opportunity to learn new skills leads to a long-term cycle of precarity and poverty” (Nichols, 2018, p. 190). This effect was also found among my study participants who got jobs that were only for earning and not for any specific skill development, as youth employment programs continue to only offer short-lived employment for refugee youth (Wilkinson, 2008). Most of the youth participated in volunteer jobs within the social sectors to be part of meaningful work, as none were found connected to their jobs that earned them a minimum wage. They were more satisfied with even the volunteer work they did helping other newcomer youth and children to integrate within the new society and considered those as ‘meaningful’ experiences.

Similar to Nunn et al. (2014), my study shows how most youth found jobs through personal networks during the initial days of resettlement. This was mainly the result of insufficient access to resettlement-related support and a lack of information among the newcomer youth (Pontes, 2018). Nunn et al. (2014) pointed out that a lack of social networking skills among these youth created marginalization from attaining entry into the labour market, but my study shows that a lack of information on employment-related services and formal guidance was among the major reasons for youth finding it difficult to locate jobs, even using the internet. Here the question is not only about access to income and employment opportunities but lack of information and support for accessing those services.

5.9.2 Access to language and education

Discrimination within the education system on the basis of a youth’s immigration status, race, language, culture, and other identity-based factors continues to affect integration (Ontario Federation of Labour, 2014) among newcomer youth. These factors were also reported by my participants, who felt discrimination from the time they entered the Canadian school system. Lack of English language skills affects the self-esteem of newcomer youth and creates multiple barriers accessing education and employment (mosaicbc.org, 2014). Many studies describe a lack of connection between newcomer youth and employers and educators when it comes to preparing this group for the labour market (Mourshed et al., 2012; Taylor and Servage, 2011; Adams, 2007; Mosaic BC, 2014). Similar to my study findings, Shakya et al. (2010) and Ritchie (2018) noted that refugee youth are aware of the immense potential of higher education in Canada in the hope that it would help curtail their marginalization within the society and yet are met with compounding systemic barriers and discrimination. They might attend school on a regular basis

but that does not prove that they are learning or improving their capabilities through the Canadian education system (Winthrop & Kirk, 2008). These are the reasons why with time, most of the participants lost interest in completing high school, as they did not find any reason to pursue education when it did not align with their career goals.

My study reflects the importance of the relationship between the newcomer students and their teachers, and some reported dropping out of school at one point but changing their mind after having a conversation with their teachers. EAL teachers are the first contact for youth after joining school, and the pattern of their relationship can either make or break the motivation of refugee youth. As Winthrop and Kirk (2008) mentioned, “these encounters allow students to develop appropriate social behaviors to form positive relationships and to cope more effectively with difficult circumstances” (p. 640).

Participants also reported struggling to make their educators understand that their lack of English language proficiency is not an indicator of lack of knowledge in the subject areas. Study participants had to repeat the curriculum and waste time on repeating the same grade they had already covered back home. This way youth take longer in completing their high school in Canada and lack a sense of agency in deciding which grade in which to enrol themselves in school. Consequently, they end up repeating curriculum (mosaicbc.org., 2014; Ritchie, 2018). Failure to recognize their existing knowledge results in disengagement within the school system. Disengagement also occurs when students do not feel a sense of belonging within the school, which was repeatedly reported by my participants.

Age plays an important role within the education system. There is pressure put on the youth to complete high school with similar age groups. If refugee students cannot complete high school with their peers, they feel ‘left out’ and feel ‘incapable.’ Without having language, proper school supplies or knowledge of the adult education support organizations for newcomers, such as the NEEDS Centre in Winnipeg, many refugee youth face multiple barriers completing high school. Research shows a positive correlation between integration into mainstream society and youth’ meaningful contribution within society (Rossiter & Rossiter, 2009; Wong, 2002), which becomes difficult without any kind of short-term achievements. Lack of social and economic support might lead to negative consequences (Pumariega et al. 2005; Rutter, 1999), pushing this group further away from mainstream society.

Learning the language is also challenging for youth, as they do not get enough time or resources to practice English in school or outside. There is a pressure to join the regular classes to complete high school, which creates a gap in language acquisition. Research reflects that it takes between five and seven years to develop the cognitive academic language proficiency skills that are required for completing secondary and postsecondary education, and that inadequate EAL services in schools results in the continuous increase in the gap between the newcomer and native-English-speaking peers (Ngo, 2007). Ngo mentioned that “there is a widening incongruence between the complexity of the needs of EAL learners and the availability of EAL [English as a Second Language] services in Canadian schools. . . . School boards across Canada have steadily reduced EAL services over the years. . . . Stringent resource allocations for EAL services has resulted in limited language instruction and support services for EAL learners” (p. 3). All my participants were fluent in English, but none was confident in it.

5.9.3 Sense of agency and achievements

Agency within the capability approach is not about what people do; rather, it focuses on what they are capable of achieving (Sen, 1993; Sen, 2004). In the context of refugee youth, resources might be available to them but unless they are able to use those resources for their benefit and development, those resources are not functional. Since the late 1980s, newcomer-serving organizations have seen budget cuts due to adoption of neoliberal public policy across North America (Bushell & Shields, 2018). This shift to New Public Management governance has increased competition among the settlement agencies, and more resources are required in maintaining such government funding rather than spending time and resources in providing client-centred services and in building resilience among newcomers. This deficit has resulted in a lack of connections between service providers and service seekers as Canadian federalism and neoliberal public policy have failed to effectively engage with newcomers to Canada (Bushell & Shields, 2018). “[J]ust as immigrants face many systemic challenges during settlement and integration, so do service providers and policymakers” (Simich et al., 2005, p. 265), but the consequences are faced solely by the newcomer communities. Consequently, most of my youth participants have taken the responsibility of supporting other newcomer youth and children so that they do not face the same challenges they themselves have faced as refugees. They understand that availability of resources cannot help in achievements during resettlement but resources that are accessible and

can be maximized for individual needs increase agency among refugee youth. Resources are functional only when they can be utilized to achieve what the user wants. These multiple achievements in turn increases agency and become empowering in the long run. Human development theory through the capabilities approach was used to understand the factors that help in developing capabilities, make achievements, and eventually gain empowerment within the host society.

The human body is central to Nussbaum's (2011) development functions – bodily health and bodily integrity, which in the context of the refugee youth, include good health, adequate shelter and nourishment, and freedom from assault and attack. In this study, the youth participants lacked both bodily health and integrity because most of them were not satisfied with their housing conditions within the downtown neighbourhood, felt unsafe traveling at night, faced racism within school as well as within public places, etc. These experiences affected their overall mental health and increased anxiety among the female refugee youth. Women in hijabs and burqas reported facing more racial discrimination within Canada. They mentioned how some of them faced verbal abuse in public. They felt vulnerable within the host society, and they didn't have a choice to avoid such circumstances challenging their overall health and bodily integrity.

Thought, emotion, and reason are central functions on Nussbaum's (2011) list that relates to cognition, the emotional landscape—sense, imagination and thought—and practical reasoning. Nussbaum (1992) argued that humans should have the capacity to think, imagine and perceive in a reflexive process, which, in case of refugee youth, is found mostly restricted due to lack of time and resources and the other responsibilities bestowed on them immediately post-arrival. When asked about their dreams and how they see themselves in ten years, most of the youth mentioned that given the pressure they are facing establishing themselves within the country, they are left with little hope. They mentioned that with time, they are moving further away from the dreams and aspirations they had during the initial days of resettlement. Their options are shrinking with time, and they are continuously compromising their goals. Social networks and the ability to make friends are also among Nussbaum's capability functions, which, in the case of refugee youth, were mostly restricted to their own community people and other newcomer youth. My participants reported that they often felt lonely after coming to Canada and found it difficult to make friends with native-born Canadians. Unless they found youth groups belonging to their own community, they felt isolated and hopeless within a few days post-arrival.

5.10 Conclusion

The research findings show that the resettlement resources that are available either exclude youth due to their age and educational attainment or are not adaptable or accountable to the unique needs of young people. Refugee programs often cannot engage refugee youth in program and policy designing, which leaves vast gaps in meeting the needs of this group. The importance of this study lies not only on its focus on women but on age. Their age makes them vulnerable, given they have the pressure to achieve the most within the limited resettlement resources available to them and compete with the native born. Despite all the challenges faced pre- and post-arrival, the potential they bring into society is significant. They are coming out as community champions, volunteering in the settlement sectors, contributing a lot more than they have received.

Findings from this study indicate that refugee youth develop stronger aspirations for higher education, motivating themselves to grow resilience, but with the passage of time, those personal aspirations and impetus seem to fade due to the lack of social justice and equity within the Canadian refugee resettlement policies (Shakya et al., 2010). Most of these older refugee youth populations are seeking support either using their strong interpersonal skills or are supported by some members from within their ethnic communities. Youth who cannot locate resources fall through cracks which they are unaware of. There are no policies or programs directing settlement staff or volunteers on how to engage refugee youth, except for a few (refugee)-youth-led programs, informally bringing together newcomer refugees. They suffer from racism, high school bullying and loneliness, which aggravate their mental health conditions, bringing in more harm than good post-resettlement. Youth empowerment without politicization of older youth refugees is a major drawback of the Canadian settlement process. Most of the refugee youth are community champions and have the potential of becoming Canada's future leaders, given their political engagement is taken seriously. Also, the lack of understanding of Indigenous communities and cultures among this group leaves them dissociated from mainstream Canadian society.

Integration depends on refugees' age at their time of entry. Refugees are not a homogenous group despite sharing a few similar situations pre-arrival (Empower Refugee Youth, 2018), but integration and resettlement policies are more generic. This homogenous integration process isolates refugees from forming networks and limits their opportunities in language acquisition, employment, and other settlement-related services including mental health support for those who experienced violence and trauma pre-arrival and stress and anxieties because of uncertainties faced

post-arrival. The resettlement process and policies should maximize benefits to the least advantaged, which applies to refugee youth, who lack proper financial, social, psychological, employment, advanced language and educational support during the initial years of resettlement. It is evident from this study that immigration policies focus mainly on *resilience* among refugee youth and not on the factors that might help in increasing resilience among them. There are no universal support systems or resources specific to this group, and a gap exists in federal as well as provincial immigration policies relating to older youth refugees in Canada. Although there are a few exclusive agencies for supporting young newcomers, it is at the discretion of the resettlement agencies how much they can provide such services (Assefa et al., 2017; Francis & Yan, 2016; Thomson et al., 2015; Li et al., 2017). There is no national standard or national mandate that addresses their needs, specifically through the resettlement process. These gaps were identified through the interviews too, as none of the participants could name resources that were exclusively in place for them.

Government policies follow one model for all and do not account for the special resettlement needs of this particular group, including those who have faced high levels of trauma and are currently struggling within the host society. In the next chapter, I examine the resettlement challenges among refugee women who enter Canada as wives and mothers and have very different needs compared to the refugee youth population.

Chapter 6: Empowerment, Agency, and Refugee Women in Canada

Aamin, one of the nine women I interviewed as part of my primary study, is now in her 40s and arrived in Canada as a privately sponsored refugee with her two daughters and husband. Within few months of arrival, she found a job as a caretaker of a patient without having English or French language abilities or any prior work experience in Canada. Through hard work, she started earning a good salary and started learning English at work. Her English language abilities were assessed at LINC⁴ when she started working, and she soon achieved level two English by practicing with the family members who recruited her. Aamin had good working conditions and enjoyed learning on this job until her employer moved permanently into a caregiving facility. Despite now being fluent in English and having Canadian work experience, she could only find work in cleaning and garbage disposal jobs. She worked with various employment agencies, but they did not have resources to help her find work in home care. Now she believes that simply because she is a refugee, she is supposed to work as a cleaner like most refugee women end up doing during the initial days post-resettlement. After looking for jobs for almost six months, nothing relevant was available suiting her profile. As a result, she decided to stay home and “semi retire,” given her health condition. Now she believes that “all refugees have to start with cleaning jobs after coming to Canada,” and she thinks that her first job must have happened by fluke. In Aamin’s case, the question remains how she could get a job in Canada related to her field through personal contacts and not through any of the settlement agencies? Is it because Aamin should fit the role of “refugee”? Despite starting as a caregiver in Canada, she was only offered cleaning jobs or volunteer jobs that most refugees are offered through settlement recruitment agencies, as reported by the majority of my women participants.

This chapter focuses on the conditions whereby women can only make choices to the extent that they remain at the receiving end and play the role of ‘consumers’ within the host society. In addition to the main research question: *To what extent are refugee women in Canada able to express their agency accessing resettlement services and programs in order to gain empowerment?*, this chapter explores the secondary questions, such as

- “What influence does providing women a choice in selecting their resettlement housing have on their assessment of the success or failure in the integration process?”;

⁴ The Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program supports language training in English and French to adult newcomers who are permanent residents. Launched in 1992, the program helps newcomers integrate into Canada and their communities.

- “How does fostering a sense of agency help women gain access to language classes? What influence does language fluency have on refugee women’s ability to find employment in Canada?”; and
- “Does having a job or income improve the empowerment of refugee women? What factors influence their ability to find a job in Canada?” from the perspectives of nine middle-aged refugee women.

To answer these primary and secondary questions, I use nine interviews with refugee women from my primary data and use my secondary data on Yazidi women to inform my primary data. This chapter is organized using some of the major themes from Böhnke’s (2001) exclusion theory and the themes from Nussbaum’s (2000) ten central capabilities: “life; bodily health; bodily integrity; senses, imagination and thought; emotions; practical reason; affiliation; other species; play; and control over one’s environment” (pp. 33-34) applicable in the context of refugee women. Government and resettlement policies are expected to ensure that all citizens meet the minimum standards required for using the settlement services and support post-resettlement. Furthermore, following Kabeer’s (1999) theory of empowerment, *agency* as self-sufficiency, *resources* as access to settlement resources and *achievements* through development theory are explained in the case of refugee women resettling in Canada.

To give a complete picture of inclusion and exclusion among refugee women within the host society, exclusion theory is used to reflect on the specific material, symbolic, and existential deprivation (social exclusion) or absence thereof (social inclusion) through resettlement. Although no comprehensive theoretical framework encompasses them in the context of refugees, this study largely refers to the lack of resettlement resources and support resulting in social exclusion which is more relational and multidimensional. The aim of most Canadian settlement programs for newcomer integration is to meet immediate needs and not so much for long-term integration and development. Canadian “projects and activities funded under the Settlement Program are expected to address and contribute to the immediate level of outcomes for eligible clients, which can have influence or impact on the broader outcomes” (IRCC, 2022). Participants from this study mentioned how they participated in the summer cooking classes and a few stitching programs but lacked higher level training in English, employment support related to their past experiences from back home, understanding the Canadian housing market, etc. This chapter reflects on some of these

gaps within the settlement services and programs that are unable to provide these women with better choices for long-term integration.

6.1 Access to “Bodily Health” and “Distributional/Material”: The Significance of Housing

Adequate housing is required for bodily health (Nussbaum, 2011), as poor housing conditions disadvantage an individual at multiple levels, resulting in exclusion within the society (Bohnke, 2001). Broken social bonds, reduced political participation, and feelings of anomie are all signs of poor housing conditions. Thus, having access to proper housing is an important pre-condition for refugee women to integrate into the host society. Below are the housing conditions of refugee women during initial years of resettlement.

6.1.1 Housing options depend on who sponsors

While GARs depend on the RAP agents to help with permanent housing post-arrival, for most PSRs, pre-existing family connections allow the resettlement process to begin prior to their arrival (Murdie, 2008). Privately sponsored refugee women reported how they could select their houses shown through videos and their paperwork already processed and ready by their sponsoring families before the family’s arrival. It is a condition of private sponsorship to have this detail taken care of prior to their arrival in Canada. Consequently, most of my PSR participants did not have to spend much time in temporary housing. Two participants reported spending five days at their relatives’ houses and moving to their permanent houses without delay, as reported by Aaliya.

No really, before we came, we saw the house by the telephone that they showed us many apartments and together we decided to take this apartment. We take it after we came, after two or three days we write (signed) the lease here.

(Aaliya, PSR, 61 years, married with 5 children)

Signing the lease within two or three days was only possible for Aaliya because her daughter (who sponsored her parents and brother) knew about their travel plans two months prior to their arrival. I found that refugees who can make an informed decision about selecting their own houses prior to their arrival have the least possibility of changing their first apartment/house during the first few years of their resettlement in Canada. Aaliya is still living in the first house that they selected prior to their arrival in Canada. Most of the sponsors, when they are family or G5s⁵, look for houses that

⁵ A ‘Group of Five’ is a type of refugee sponsoring group. Like Sponsorship Agreement Holders (SAHs) and Community Sponsors, Groups of Five can engage in refugee resettlement to Canada – however the criteria for group eligibility and refugee applicant eligibility differs.

are close to their own, which makes settlement quick and smooth, compared to others who lack pre-existing connections in Canada. It was also reported how convenient it is when sponsors provide rides to places when they are geographically close to one another.

Refugees who already have families living in Canada have more choices available to them for selecting their permanent housing even before they enter the country mainly because of the continuous communication between the refugees and their sponsors, and most rarely spend time in temporary houses compared to those who are sponsored by organizations or independent sponsors (Damaris, 2019). It was mostly reported by my study participants who did not have any prior communication with their sponsors pre-arrival that they had to live temporarily with other families after arrival, much against their choice. Challenges locating permanent housing were found among the GARs and the PSRs who were sponsored by other than known people, such as their families or friends. Families sponsored by non-family members, such as a church, organization, or individuals, face unique challenges related to temporary housing, since the conditions depend on the hosts and on how they treat the refugee families. If the sponsors do not get enough time to arrange temporary housing for the newcomers, they request their own families and friends to host the refugee family in their houses, which tend to be basement accommodations. Aamin was sponsored by a church and had to spend the first month in a temporary house,

So one of the church people there asked their aunt if she had space for us to live just until we found an apartment. This aunt agreed and we lived in her house for a month. Luckily, she was very good. Even if we had problems, we didn't say anything as they are providing us shelter. We were so grateful to her.

(Aamin, PSR, 41 years, married and mother of two)

In Aamin's scenario, there is little choice available to the refugees, as they must accept the conditions in which they are kept during the initial days, and this might have been the first time they have lived with unknown people in the same house. In Aamin's situation, 'luckily' the family turned out nice, which might not always be the case. Out of gratitude towards their hosts, PSRs often choose not to complain in case of any discomforts. Refugees questioning their hosts is not well received (Kyriakides et al., 2018), as they are expected to be "happy" with what is provided to them. PSRs in these situations lack choices, as they cannot afford to lose their support for the one-year period, especially those who do not have a pre-established connection in Canada or cannot afford to live in a hotel as per their convenience. Temporary accommodations arranged for

the PSRs are mostly in private residences, and sometimes they are left with no option but to accept whichever way and wherever they are kept during the initial days. Aamin mentioned how they selected their permanent housing hastily just because her husband could not live with the hosts:

My husband at that time (just after arrival) was very shy, that we are staying at people's houses, that's not good, this is not our house. My husband was under depression, he always told me to quickly find a house. This is not my house. I told him that time, she [the host] is very kind, she told me to take your time. Then we found a 2-bedroom house, a small house with no balcony and though I did not like it, I had to take it because of my husband.

(Aamin, PSR, 41 years, married and mother of two)

Because of this host-guest arrangement, refugee families who are not comfortable being hosted by families select permanent housing hastily so that they can move into their permanent houses as soon as possible, even if they dislike the house. Aamin's family moved to an apartment that was so small that they could only live there for a few months. The size of the apartment eventually increased mental stress among her family members, and it also created hostility within the family. She said, "We used to fight the entire day!" From an integration perspective, it is stressful for refugees to stay in temporary and communal housing for long periods of time because it lengthens the resettlement process. Families cannot rebuild their lives and adjust to their new society when they are in a situation they know is temporary (Wilkinson et al., 2018).

6.2 Permanent Housing Conditions – Experiences from perspectives of GARs and PSRs

6.2.1 Houses in home countries versus houses in host countries

In Canada, that entire picture of 'home' is different for resettled refugees. Interviewed refugee women do not consider their nuclear family as their entire 'family' without the rest of their relatives; therefore, they feel their family is fractured in Canada. Most of the women reported being lonely without their female relatives, such as mothers, aunts, sisters, and sisters-in-law. They have no one to talk to for most of the day, as refugee women stay back at home taking care of their small children. Arya shares her idea of a perfect family,

We were all living together—three families (back home). They are my husbands' brothers, my brother-in-law, and another brother-in-law. We all lived together. Everyone has four children. We rented a house, a big house. All men of the family worked, and women took care of the family, like that we lived in Syria and also Jordan. Here I have no one to talk to and I feel so lonely. I miss my

family you know, I miss my sister-in-law who was also my best friend. Here I am living alone with my husband and children, it is not my complete family.

(Arya, GAR, 31 years, mother of five)

Housing is one of the most important aspects of resettlement, and experiences vary not only among different refugees but also among members of the same family. For women, housing conditions have a greater influence on their mental as well as physical health (Ziersch et al., 2017), given they spend most of their time within the household. I observed this same finding in my study. Most of the women in my study were dissatisfied with their current housing situations compared to the type of housing they had in their home countries. Most of the participants mentioned they had much bigger houses back home with enough rooms for their families and their close relatives to live together. The Syrians, for example, preferred to live in joint families back home. This is the reason most of the participants who lived in much bigger houses find it difficult to adjust to rented apartments and houses in Canada, which are built for mostly nuclear families. This example reflects loss of agency, including loss of status, income, etc., which all come with the refugee process. Yet the way they are treated, Canadian media largely reflects on the safety and “happiness” they have here, even though their housing situation is terrible.

Housing also affects the mental health of refugee women, causing anomie and anxiety due to their housing conditions (Böhnke 2001). This effect not only excludes them from mainstream society but also affects their development of bodily integrity and emotions (Nussbaum, 2011). Both primary and secondary data study findings show if refugee women live in poor houses or in basements or apartments without balconies or wide windows, they can experience depression. Condition of rental housing was a concern found in both studies. Rental units that are less expensive tend to be smaller and in greater need of repairs. Refugees enter this market as other Canadians and find similar problems (Wilkinson et. al, 2019). Bed bugs and insects were mentioned by the participants in both studies. When they were asked to specify what was wrong with their current housing, Syrian participants indicated presence of pests in their living space. The Yazidis had similar experiences as the Syrians. Wejdan describes,

Wejdan: There are a lot of rats in the house.

Interviewer: Have you talked to anyone about the rat problems in your home?

Yes, I have. They've come and set traps and sprayed it with some sort of chemical but (it is) still there. When I open my kitchen pantry they jump out at me.

Interviewer: Have you spoken to your worker about your concerns?

Yes, I have but it's just being delayed.

(Wejdan - Female, Toronto, Secondary Data)

Similar to my research findings, refugee women complained about the unacceptable conditions and housing deficiencies, such as “leaks and holes in ceilings, mould growth on walls, rotting cupboards under sinks, filthy carpeting and most commonly, insufficient heating in winter” (Polevychok et al., 2008, p. 14), all of which affected their overall mental and physical wellbeing. Lack of information on housing before or even after coming to Canada results in the housing reality here not matching refugees’ expectations.

6.2.2 When all housing choices are equally bad

Most of the refugee women complained about not getting enough time and enough choices to select their permanent housing, except for those privately sponsored refugees who had pre-existing connections, such as families and/or friends already in Canada. This finding also surfaced in Kyriakides et al.’s study (2018). Privately sponsored refugees who were temporarily living with some Canadian families had the urgency to select a house and move into their own place as soon as possible. They always got a feeling of being a burden on the host. Government-assisted refugees were within a timeline to select housing from the limited options given by the settlement agencies. By limited, I mean refugees were shown two to three houses and if they did not like those, they were asked to find houses on their own. This situation is mainly due to the housing crisis in Canada, which means there are not enough affordable and large enough houses for refugee families. In Manitoba, the timeline and number of options varied from family to family. Majority of the GAR participants had less than 10 days to select the one house that the settlement agents showed, whereas others got an average of 15 to 30 days to select housing from a maximum of three options. This timeline created stress and tension among the refugee families, and most of them ended up selecting houses disregarding their preference, as explained by Naila.

They said, we will show you three houses and if you don't like them, you have to go by yourself and choose one on your own. Their job was to show us three houses, and that's it. Then they showed us houses, some houses were very small, we have a big family and it doesn't have too many rooms. The second house was

smelly and not good. They said, you will clean it and it will be good. I said I don't like it because it doesn't have proper light and air. The third house was downtown, and we didn't feel safe and also the kids' school was not in this area, it's very far. We didn't like any of the houses.

(Naila, GAR, 48 years old, married and mother of five)

Later, Naila contacted a community member to help in locating permanent housing. Though they got help from him, the apartment was too expensive, and they had to change their housing within ten months. Not having a clear idea about the Canadian housing market, refugees suffer while selecting permanent housing. Lack of clear information and communication between the service seeker and service provider makes access to adequate shelter challenging for newcomer refugees. Also, most of the preferred houses are not affordable with the financial assistance provided by the government or the private sponsors (Rose, 2019). For the private sponsors, the budget for housing is fixed, and even if the refugee families find the houses unsuitable, they have limited choice. Aamin had to select a house that compromised her family's needs, as her private sponsor gave her a fixed budget, which was not enough to get decent housing. She explains,

Maybe the church has a budget to find a house, maybe not more than \$800 - \$900. If they had told me, there were apartments with 3 bedrooms, I would have taken that instead of this two-bedroom. They just told me about \$800-\$900, this is the budget for the house. I had a very bad experience with the house for the last 2 years. I wish someone had just shown me a big apartment with 3 bedrooms. At that time, I really needed some help from someone who understands Arabic.

(Aamin, PSR, 41 years, married and mother of two)

As reported, in Manitoba, privately sponsored refugees are required to select housing that is between \$800 and \$900 per month, and the budget is the only factor considered while showing houses to the PSRs, over the individual family's needs. They only are allowed to allocate that amount of money because of the limited funds that are given to refugees in the first place. So, there is a conflict between expectations and reality on the part of refugees.

6.2.3 Bad housing affects control over one's environment and bodily integrity among refugees in Canada

Easy access to real opportunities to develop individual capabilities, get control of one's environment, and maintain bodily integrity are required for human development (Nussbaum, 2011). Lack of support and information on the Canadian housing market pose challenges for those

selecting permanent housing. Most participants indicated they were unhappy with their first permanent house in Canada. Either they had to make the wrong choice unknowingly or because of the unbearable and unfavourable conditions within their temporary housing, such as lack of space, unfamiliar food, and/or being rushed by sponsors and RAP service providers to select permanent housing. There was a lack of information among refugees on the Canadian housing market and lack of guidance on how to choose permanent housing based on the needs of individual families. Many of my participants said that they did not understand/know the factors that they should consider while selecting their housing based on their family's needs. Most of the women participants specifically mentioned that it would have been better to speak to someone in their own language to get directions on how to prioritize their needs while selecting permanent housing. Participants reported they did not find anyone to discuss the pros and cons of selecting housing. It was not until they started living in the house that they realized how their individual family needs and access to necessary amenities and settlement services might be affected by their choice of housing. Arya realized she was stuck in her house, and her movement was totally disrupted due to the location of her housing.

Arya: I have a disability and cannot drive a car. The first house we lived in was far away from everything. My husband's school was far away from that house. He told me that as I cannot drive a car and if there is an emergency when he is not at home, it will be difficult for me to do anything with my small kids. In our last house, my husband had to drive the children to school and pick them after class. It was too hard for him. I could not go alone to buy groceries or do anything from my first house. Because of my disability, I cannot drive the car to take my children to school; therefore, we moved to this house mainly as the school is near and my children walk to school now.

Me: Why did you select that house?

Arya: We didn't know anything about our surroundings. We were only shown two houses and we liked that one and took it. It was after we started living, we realized that everything is far away from that house.

(Arya, GAR, 31 years, married and mother of five)

The example above shows the resulting lack of control over one's environment due to lack of choices and information provided during house selection process. Arya and the other refugee women in my study mentioned that none had an idea about the factors they should keep in mind while selecting their permanent housing. Also, refugees during their initial days of resettlement,

do not understand the leasing process in Canada nor are they aware of their housing rights. Two of my respondents informed me of how they were asked to vacate the house within a month's time, and they did not know the significance of signing a lease with the owner. The lease agreement was not fully explained to them, and they did not know they were not obliged to leave until the end of the lease term. Individual house owners take advantage of this situation, as they are aware that most of the refugees lack knowledge on housing rules and regulations in Manitoba. Naila had an unpleasant experience when her landlord asked her family to vacate the house.

We had a small house and then because the owner said you have to go now, like within a specific month and we said, we don't know where to go. We have to choose, and we have to find a new house. And he said, you have to go in October. You have to go; you have to get out of the house.

Me: Did you understand the lease document?

Naila: No, it was in English, and nobody explained it to us. We did not even understand it was important.

(Naila, GAR, 48 Years, married and mother of five)

Naila did not know whom to contact for housing related issues, and it was reported by many that the individual house owners deny taking responsibilities during an emergency. It is not clear if someone explains the lease and emergency contacts while signing the housing lease papers. None of the participants could explain their rights as a tenant. Not knowing English is also a major barrier when signing lease documents (Rose, 2019). It is unclear why, even despite having an interpreter explaining the lease documents, refugee tenants are not aware of their housing rights and the terms and conditions mentioned on the lease documents. From a capabilities approach, all these challenges with housing reflect a lack of control over one's environment, emotions, and bodily integrity due to restrictive movement from one place to another, which poses challenges to development among refugee women.

6.3 Employment

According to Nussbaum (2011), the theoretical paradigm in development and policy asks: "What are people actually capable of doing and being?" Development can be realized through people's capabilities: the substantive freedoms or opportunities created by a combination of a person's intrinsic abilities (like capacities and skills) with their socioeconomic environment. In

other words, this section focuses on the general opportunities open to people that facilitate developing individual capabilities through access to employment.

As the saying goes, ‘give a man a fish and he will eat for a day. Teach a man how to fish and you feed him for a lifetime.’ According to the development theory, “having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others” (Nussbaum, 2011, pp. 33-34) leads to development/empowerment. All women participants, irrespective of their age, needed a paid job in Canada to establish themselves as contributing individuals within the new society. From the interviews, it was found that Canadian women’s ‘lifestyle’ is itself perceived as ‘empowering’ among most of the refugee women. The yardstick for ‘achievement’ among refugee women is how well they can adopt the Canadian lifestyle, where women equally take part in the labour market. Although, this extreme desire to join the labour market might not have been the case back home, depending on the culture to which one belongs, through the interviews, I gathered that even if the women had never worked back home, they all wanted to become as self-sufficient as other Canadian women. Most of my participants reported that working had a greater purpose than income alone.

Employment is not only important for building their own identity, improving mental health, and increasing resilience, but also it helps them give back something in return to the host society as a gesture of gratitude. Refugee women gave various reasons why they needed a job in Canada, including those who have never worked before. Employment is perceived as a coping mechanism for most of them, as it helps them to get engaged within the new society. Refugee men and women must work equally hard to gain employment within the host society, and it was found that women wanted to make the most out of it. In fact, my study reflects how even if the male members of the family give up hope of learning the language and gaining employment, especially among middle-aged husbands whose ego is hurt when starting from the scratch, most women are trying their best to achieve what they could never imagine achieving in their home countries.

6.3.1 Employment engagement as a determinant of better mental health outcomes and a way of combating loneliness

Employment is an important determinant of mental health among immigrant women (Delara, 2016; Keleher & Armstrong, 2006). All the women gave similar reasons for why they needed a job. Getting “engaged” somehow with something so that they could spend more time outside the house and forget their past experiences was the predominant response. Participants

expressed their fear of being left at the house alone when the rest of the family members leave for school or work. As Hana described,

I need a job so much. I cannot stay alone at home. I keep thinking of what has happened to my family members back home. I keep thinking about my mother who is all alone with my handicapped sister, and I really cannot imagine what they are going through without me. I like going out and interacting with people. I have to be outside my house when nobody is at home...I have to.... Else I think of our past and I get scared. Here I need someone to stay with me at home all the time.

(Hana, GAR, 40 years, married and mother of four)

Like Hana, Naila too mentioned a similar concern about feeling “left out” when the rest of the family members get busy with their lives outside the house. She is not only concerned about her current state but also stressed out thinking about her future when her children will get busy with their own lives. Getting a job is equally important for young mothers with small children and middle-aged refugee women with adult children, as they cannot imagine a life in Canada without getting involved or engaged in something worthwhile. Naila put it like this,

I have to get a job and that is what I have been thinking about and hoping. I cannot imagine what my mother is facing during old age. She is alone in Turkey. I don't want to be like her when I get old, and my children leave. I don't want to go into that time and be alone. So, I just want to get a job. Get more time out of the house.

(Naila, GAR, 48 years, married and mother of 5 children)

Employment is a way of becoming engaged and being exposed to the outside world. Most of the participants referred to employment as an opportunity to interact with other people and improve their language skills within the workspace. Arya explained,

Because, I feel extremely bored at home and I really like going outside and interacting with people. If I am alone at home and no one to talk to, I feel I am not learning the language too. I need a job to improve my English.

(Arya, GAR, 31 years, married and mother of five)

Learning the language at work was a preferred method of learning and improving English for the newcomers, as women who were already doing jobs, both paid and volunteer jobs, were found to be more fluent in English compared to women who were only attending EAL classes.

6.4 Welfare Support Is Not an Acceptable Option for Most Refugee Women

Not only is the welfare support not sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living in Canada, but refugees also want to get off of welfare, as they feel they are a liability to society. Zahra explained,

Working is better than staying at home. We can take our own responsibility. We won't be needing money from anyone. I don't want money from the government. I am looking for a job, but I am not sure where to find one.

(Zahra, Syrian, PSR, 46 years, married and mother of 6 children)

This example shows agency and the will to become self-sufficient. Participants who found jobs during the initial years and were off welfare felt more confident and self-sufficient compared to women who are still trying but not getting jobs. Welfare is not a preferred option for the newcomers, and they are more satisfied when they are not dependent on the government (Agrawal, 2018). Also, newcomers who were formerly employed but no longer have jobs can experience a loss of self-esteem and self-worth and may struggle to find purpose in their new lives (Banulescu-Bogdan, 2020; Sansonetti, 2016).

6.4.1 When there is a “will” but no “way” to achieve what one desires

Empowerment is the ability to make “strategic life choices” (Kabeer, 1999), whereas disempowerment is associated with poverty (Kabeer, 1999), which in the case of my refugee participants is mostly realized through lack of ability to make choices within the labour market. They reported feeling incapable and unproductive, which according to Dossa, eventually alienates them from the mainstream society post resettlement (Dossa, 2004). This section reflects how the existing refugee employment agencies limit to the choices available to these women within the labour market, which is more disempowering.

In Canada, language and Canadian experience are given more importance than job skills (Agrawal, 2018). Most of the refugee women who have been able to secure jobs within the initial days of resettlement have mostly got them through personal contacts rather than through the settlement service centres. The jobs that are readily available for refugees are mostly precarious jobs. Aamin discussed her experiences with the employment agencies.

It was a negative experience. I think this is just a job for the settlement agencies and not much. It's like they give an appointment to the newcomers to make resumes and but not help to find a good job. I went there, met with a lady, and spent 4 hours there. She wrote my resume. I actually did not have any idea about

it. After 4 hours, she told me, this is your resume, you should go and find jobs. I said what? She said yes, you need to give your resume to all the stores. Go every day not just with one resume. When I came back home, I thought about what just happened. I wanted to ask more (while visiting an employment agency). They told me it is easy to find jobs outside like recycling, or cleaning snow etc. When I told her, these are not my type of jobs, I can work related to make-up, cooking something, childcare. She told me no, for that you should have a high school degree or something like that. In Jordan I was working with a gynecologist as her secretary. It was easy in my country; they were not looking for any certificate. If you can use a laptop or computer, that's good. Just come, be organized, be patient with the clients. And I worked at a care home, just looking after a baby 6 hours in the morning and 6 hours at the gynecologist's chamber. But the jobs they offered me had nothing to do with my work or interest.

(Aamin, PSR, 41 years, married and mother of two)

Mostly, these employment agencies help in preparing resumes for the newcomers but do not link potential employers with the job seekers (Agrawal, 2018). This disconnect shows how treating refugees as 'refugees'—as damaged, victims of war and powerless (Kyriakides 2018)—is more disempowering. Refugee women are victimized and marginalized mainly because of their immigration status within the labour market. This study reflects how the resettlement process unintentionally or sometimes even intentionally creates a façade where refugee women eventually are made to believe that they can never be capable 'enough' within Canadian society.

Despite all these employment-related challenges, refugee women are trying hard to find ways to become self-sufficient. Two out of nine participants mentioned how they have started their own businesses using websites that sell mostly secondhand goods. There are many self-made women entrepreneurs among the recently arrived refugees, and they have found innovative methods of earning some extra money where language or Canadian experience are not barriers. Though they lack resources and information and opportunities for micro-financing to start their business, they have come up with innovative ideas on their own that reflect their will to achieve economic independence, but they struggle to find their ways through the system. For example, refugee women are reselling old or used goods such as furniture, appliances, and jewelry, and most of them use the money made to support family in Canada as well as sending some back home to help support their single parents/family members.

The resettlement process lacks technological and innovative methods for increasing job opportunities for newcomers. It propagates the same methods of gaining employment, such as investing time in learning the language and gaining Canadian experience that restrict refugees from

utilizing their capabilities to the fullest. More commonly, refugees get opportunities within the secondary labor market and have access to mostly precarious and low-paid jobs within the domestic services sector (Sansone, 2016). Refugee women are more likely to join this sector given they lack choices within the Canadian labour market.

6.5 Counseling Helps Women with Settlement and a Hopeful Future

“Life” is one of the central capabilities in Nussbaum’s (2011) development framework, which explains the self-worth of an individual. Given that refugee women face innumerable uncertainties during resettlement, my study findings show how some women lost interest and hope post-resettlement. Lack of language, lack of employment opportunities, isolation, anxiety, etc., affected their quality of life. Given the individual cultural aspects, which determine the amount of stigma immigrant women attach to mental illness and taking help from professionals (Delara, 2016; O’Mahony & Donnelly, 2007), most refugee women, despite requiring help, did not discuss their mental health with anybody. There were respondents, especially middle-aged women, who mentioned how their lives were meaningless and depressing in Canada. Those who were over 45 years mentioned they did not care about their health conditions and if they would live longer. When asked if they had discussions about their feelings with someone, most of them did not even realize that they required counselling or to speak to someone about their anxieties. They were not aware that such mental health support is available in Canada.

Conversely, refugee women who found someone with whom to discuss their past and current anxieties related to resettlement and future life in Canada felt better prepared than those who did not find anybody to talk to post-settlement. Leila shared her experience about how speaking to a counselor helped her face her initial anxieties:

I was so anxious after coming here that I used to cry every day. When I think about this country, I will have to say everything was new for me and also my kids got sick, and I had to go to the hospital a lot. I did not understand anybody, and nobody understood me, all these situations made me think that I don't like Canada and I want to die. But when I went to this doctor, he told me this is normal. He said if I feel that everything is different, difficult for me, that means I am healthy. After that meeting, I got confidence in myself, because for me the most important thing is my kids. I did not tell him about all my fears, as I was scared of everything I said. It was only him who spoke, and I listened. Then I accepted myself, I told myself that I came here for my kids, for their safety. Also, I want to learn English so that I can deal with my fears.

(Leila, GAR, 43 years, married and mother of six)

Pre-arrival experiences, such as forced displacements, conflict, human rights violations, and gender-based violence, can have a severe impact on the mental health of refugee women, and the depression and anxiety faced during resettlement needs psychological support to integrate refugee women into the host society (Sansone, 2016). Otherwise, pre-arrival trauma and post-arrival anxieties may never be completely healed and could permanently damage physical and mental health conditions and the refugees' overall wellbeing within the host society. Resettlement for refugees should include mandatory counseling sessions with women, as all women participants wanted to talk to "someone" post-arrival, which could have helped with their life and wellbeing in Canada

Some refugee women have babies during the first-year post-arrival mainly because family planning is pushed aside due to the uncertainties refugee women experience during resettlement (Liebig, 2018). Lack of outside opportunities, boredom and isolation at home were reported reasons for considering having a baby within a few months post-arrival.

You know I wish for another baby when I am feeling down and lonely. I feel I don't understand English enough, I don't find a job, my girls are all grown up now. I feel like having a baby to be engaged with. As I am trying hard but not getting a job, I want to stay at home and have a baby. That's an easy job.

(Aamin, PSR, 41 years, married and mother of two)

Many refugee women who have delayed having children due to the uncertainties during displacement may be more likely to give birth during the first-year post-arrival, and this decision may affect their full participation in the integration process when most settlement services are offered (Banulescu-Bogdan, 2020). Women have to choose between having a baby or continuing with their language education.

Having control over one's reproductive health is central to Nussbaum's (2011) capabilities approach, which is jeopardized if women do not find meaningful involvement outside the home. For Leila, her experiences regarding childbirth, language learning, and integration were different. Her decision was not to have more children, even though she faced pressure from her family:

There are a lot of things on my mind here in Canada, like I would like to say, Canada opened a new door for me! I have had enough babies, now I need to live for myself! But when I am not doing anything, I have pressure from family to have more kids.

(Leila, GAR, 43 years, married and mother of six)

Here, the point is not that refugee women should not procreate post-resettlement, but it should not be the only choice they are left with. Among refugee women, the initial period of resettlement is like the only window available to them for doing something they desire. They try everything required to become self-sufficient during the initial days post-resettlement, but due to lack of support navigating the system, they once again end up in conditions that best suit the role of a “woman” within their individual families.

6.6 Discussion

Through the Canadian resettlement process, refugee women get linked to the host society and, therefore, it is important to strengthen the process in order to strengthen/empower newcomer women within the new society. According to Kabeer (2005), empowerment is the ability to make choices, and the primary focus of this study was to investigate if resettlement as a process can increase agency and eventually empower refugee women within the host society. From the research findings, it is evident that resettlement as a process is mostly need-based and not so much empowerment-based. There is an insufficient link between what the refugee women desire to achieve and what they are able to achieve within the new society. Options are limited and are based on ‘one-model fits all’ refugees. The empowerment framework through the exclusion and capabilities approach reflects how it is not sufficient to address refugee women’s immediate resettlement needs alone but building their capacity should be facilitated, aiming at positive transformation and empowerment in the long run.

The Canadian resettlement model follows the traditional ‘one model’ for settling most refugees and lacks innovation to facilitate durable solutions addressing the diversified needs of female refugees based on age, marital status, refugee status, number of small children, and other such related factors. Canada has concluded that the major difficulties experienced by refugees are related to housing, employment, social networks, and mental and physical health (Aberman, 2014; Anderman, 2014; Beiser, 2015; Doosa, 2009; Wiebe, 2013), but no studies have dealt with how the resettlement policies and processes can work towards increasing capabilities among these women. My study presents the views of refugee women and the choices and options they would like during resettlement so that they are able to change the rules that often govern their lives post-resettlement. It is important not to place refugees, especially women, as “objects of rescue” but as active participants in their own lives (Kyriakides et al., 2018). In my study, it is noted how resettlement can liberate as well as restrict the capabilities of refugee women. This chapter shows

how multiple challenges and barriers during the initial years of resettlement can restrict women from understanding their capabilities and settling their dreams and desires within limits posed by the host society.

The following discussion section is framed around Kabeer's (2001) empowerment model, which is further conceptualized using the exclusion theory, human development theory, and relational theory in the context of refugee women resettled in Canada. Through structured interviews with refugee women, the following themes demonstrate that resettled women lack choices related to the *resources* available to them and lack *agency* to *achieve* what their heart desires. This section reflects on how immigration as a process might initially seem empowering for women entering from low-income group countries, but eventually, their wellbeing and development are curtailed through the resettlement process itself. Initially, every woman comes with a desire to change their expected roles within their family, but due to multiple disempowering factors during the initial days of resettlement, they learn to settle within the limited choices provided by the host societies. Nussbaum's (2003) six out of 10 essential functions of women and human development theory that best fit this study, Böhnke's (2001) dimensions of social exclusion, and Koggel's (2010) relational theory between the service providers (settlement agents/private sponsors) and service seekers helped to identify more "disempowering" factors than empowering conditions within resettlement.

How do Nussbaum's list of The Central Human Capabilities, Böhnke's Exclusion Theory, and Koggel's Relational Theory explain the research results?

1. Life. "Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living" (Nussbaum, 2003) is the first function on Nussbaum's list. Based on the principles of relative deprivation, most women were happy being in Canada because their families were safe here compared to their home countries, but on further investigation, most were dissatisfied with their own lives. They had many expectations for their own achievement in this country but due to multiple challenges, such as lack of choices within the labour market and employment support, lack of language and access to language training for women with small children, remote location of houses, unrecognized foreign skills, etc., restrict them from realizing their capabilities. Life overall has become mundane, and their spirit is reduced to a larger extent. Quality of life suffers due to the inability to make choices even after moving to

a developed country. They now believe they are not able to change their situation due to their own incapability.

2. *Bodily Health*. “Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter” is the second concept in Nussbaum’s list (Nussbaum, 2003). The research findings demonstrate that most women suffer from depression, but most never found someone with whom to discuss their anxieties faced within the new country. Though most women were adequately nourished, their quality of health suffered due to depression and anxiety related to their inadequate housing situation. There are relatively few studies concerning housing and health for asylum seekers and refugees (Ziersch et al., 2017). In my study, the effects of housing conditions on health and wellbeing form one of the major themes of discussion, given development and empowerment among women depends on their housing conditions (Nussbaum, 2011). Other studies showing that housing conditions pose health risks (Ziersch et al., 2017), especially among people who tend to spend more time indoors, are reflected in my findings. Like my study, other research shows that lack of proximity to people from the same ethnicity or language, housing conditions, overcrowding, safety, and other such related factors leads to greater risks of depression, loneliness, and mental health problems among refugee women.

Lack of choices and limited time given for selecting permanent housing were other major problems identified by my study participants. Due to the large numbers of incoming refugees in need of temporary housing, stays at reception centres cannot be very long. There was a perception among the Yazidi participants from my secondary data that they were being forced to leave the reception housing and accept more permanent housing before they were ready. A lack of information on housing was also found among the PSR participants, for whom the fixed budget was only the criteria for choosing permanent accommodation without taking into consideration the practicality of the location. Not only is locating affordable housing challenging in Canada, but also a lack of coordination and understanding of refugee needs among sponsors results in refugees selecting undesirable housing (Murdie, 2008; Carter & Osborne, 2009). Thus, there is not much difference between levels of satisfaction with housing among the PSRs and GARs. Lack of information and choices provided to these women made them settle in houses that were not suitable for living, especially during the initial years of resettlement.

Refugee women are also unable to communicate about housing-related issues with concerned people due to a lack of language and information about the housing rules in Canada. Lack of information on the housing market and lack of language for understanding the lease agreement were major factors for dissatisfaction with permanent housing among refugee women. Language is also a barrier in communicating to landlords regarding problems with the unit, understanding national occupancy standards, or accessing vital information for resettlement (Francis, 2010; Francis & Hiebert, 2014; Ghosh, 2015). GARs mainly depend on service providers for assistance in selecting their permanent housing, and most communications are done through them. When a problem arises with the rental unit, many refugees count on their settlement service providers for assistance, but sometimes they are not available. Language gaps cause difficulties in negotiating the rental price and communicating problems to the landlord. Like other research (Polevychok et al., 2008), there is evidence from my studies that some landlords took advantage of the refugee situation and asked them to leave the house within a stipulated time.

My participants, at the time, did not know they had rights as tenants and had terrible experiences due to a lack of understanding of the rental system in Canada. Newcomers' lack of English language skills, vulnerability, lack of knowledge about their rights, and the lack of advocates in the housing community all contributed to their housing difficulties (CERA, 1992, CERA, 1993; Novac, 1999; Social Planning Council of Ottawa, 2008; CAWI, 2016). The conditions of the rental housing were also a concern found in both studies. Rental units that are less expensive tend to be smaller and in greater need of repairs. Refugees enter this market as other Canadians and find similar problems (Wilkinson et al., 2019). Bed bugs and insects were mentioned by the participants in both studies. Other studies support my research findings. Refugee women complained about the unacceptable conditions and housing deficiencies, such as "leaks and holes in ceilings, mould growth on walls, rotting cupboards under sinks, filthy carpeting and most commonly, insufficient heating in winter" (Polevychok et al., 2008; p. 14), negatively affecting their overall mental and physical wellbeing. Without adequate housing, individuals suffer exclusion within any society (Bohnke, 2001).

3. *Bodily Integrity*. "Being able to move freely from place to place" is the third concept in Nussbaum's list of capabilities. Though, as reported by my participants, they feel much safer in this country compared to their home countries, there were multiple issues reported about housing conditions in Canada. My findings reflect how refugee women's wellbeing is related to housing

and, therefore, lack of suitable housing and its location exacerbate mental health conditions among newcomers (Murdie, 2008). Having experienced varying degrees of trauma, torture, and loss of property, RAP and private sponsors try to ensure that first housing is located nearby important amenities, such as clinics, settlement support centres, schools, and transport systems. Though the service providers intend to locate housing for refugees, keeping in mind their easy access to important amenities, it is not always achieved. This creates dissatisfaction with housing among refugees (Silvius et al., 2019). Danso and Grant (2000) explained that “housing, and especially its accessibility, [...] structures immigrants’ access to scarce resources including occupational, educational, medical, recreational and leisure facilities” (p. 21). Their remote housing location was quite challenging for most interviewed women, and they are hardly able to move around independently. Free movement is a major issue among the Yazidi women, who prefer to stay close to their own community members so that they can be taken to places as and when required. There are dedicated people from within the Yazidi communities who help these mostly single women navigate to places, but in the case of Syrian women, they have to highly depend on their husbands to return home and accompany them to places. This creates isolation among the refugee women, as they are stuck inside the house for most of the day. Many women dropped out of their language classes due to the inability to travel from their remotely located houses, which challenges their bodily integrity to a greater extent.

4. *Emotions*. “Not having one’s emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety” (Nussbaum, 2003) is the fifth concept on Nussbaum’s list of capabilities. As Nussbaum mentioned, this capability means supporting forms of human association that can be shown to be crucial in their development. This is an ongoing issue among the interviewed participants. Mostly, their fear and anxiety are about the uncertainties within the new country. Multiple factors, such as lack of language, scarcity of income sources, anxiety with not being able to “fit in” within the larger society, inability to speak to someone about their anxieties, etc., make them live with constant fear of the unknown. Women also fear being left behind within the four walls of their houses when their husband and children find their way into the larger society and integrate. They fear exclusion and they are a losing grip on their lives. These feelings are pushing them into a void that they believe they can never overcome. One woman got help from professionals and is able to deal with her anxieties, but most have never considered counselling due to cultural constraints and also a lack of information regarding such services.

5. *Affiliation and control over one's environment.* “Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others” (Nussbaum, 2003). This capability entails provisions of non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, and national origin. “Having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others” are listed as the eighth and tenth concepts on Nussbaum's list of capabilities. From my research findings, it is evident that most refugee women lack choices within the labour market based on their “refugee” status. Though they have the right to employment in Canada, they do not have the agency to attain jobs that match their experiences from back home. Women refugees reported visiting the employment agencies to seek jobs but did not get much help beyond preparing their resume. Women with or without job experiences from back home were treated in a similar manner and directed to similar menial jobs available in the market. Similar to Tuliao's (2015) study, the lack of English language skills was one of the primary reasons specified by the employment agencies for their lack of options in the Canadian labour market during their initial years of resettlement. This is mainly because, until recently, employers primarily focused on English language skills when making hiring and promotion decisions (ORR, 2011; Spero, 1985; Lessels & Maher, 2017). There is a lack of employment support provided to these women and most either take up cleaning jobs to get engaged or simply stay back home and start planning for babies. Jobs that are available to the refugees are mostly volunteer positions, and women continue volunteering for long periods of time hoping they will get employed one day based on these experiences. Settlement agencies refer refugee women to low-skilled, low-waged employment positions and volunteer roles in feminized occupations (Senthanaar, 2019). Among my participants, four women were continuing volunteer jobs but did not know if they would ever get a paid job within the same or different organizations.

As a result, women were found to be spending time and their own resources to maintain their volunteer positions, which added to their frustration over time. As mentioned by Lessels and Maher (2017), newcomers are often “exploited by companies who take advantage of volunteer's time and skills, and of being falsely led into believing the volunteer position could result in a paying job” (p. 15). The main question remains: what factors give newcomer women access to enter the Canadian labour market? My study showed gaining English language skills to be one of the major factors pushing women into the secondary labour market. Yet, Lessels and Maher (2017) showed how women with skills and language also get pushed into low-skilled jobs since they lack

a Canadian educational degree and Canadian experience. It seems access to the Canadian labour market is an intended structural barrier, making it more difficult for racialized newcomer women. The Canadian labour market is still gendered, and color coded at its core (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Women who have already given up on the volunteer jobs and are trying hard to start their own business reported having no help or support from the settlement agencies. Similar to my study, Senthanaar (2019) showed how Syrian refugee women lacked information on the regulations and sources of gaining capital for setting up individual businesses in Canada. Women from my study are trying their best to start up small businesses using online platforms, but due to lack of funds, their businesses are not lucrative. These women want to get engaged, but they do not know how.

Women who want to pursue education or vocational training are struggling to gather information regarding career opportunities and finances to support their education. Refugee participants who still had hopes of getting a job in the future mentioned that they required more money to obtain higher levels of English language and vocational training, but with their current expenses, they could not imagine being able to save funds. Despite wanting to get better jobs within the labour market, most of them thought of saving and investing in their children's future rather than investing in their own skills for gaining better opportunities. This was true for women with or without pre-arrival experience.

There is real systemic discrimination in the labour force, in the labour market, which prevents women from getting hired into jobs that they are qualified for, again a burden that falls more heavily on racialized women. So, they accept jobs at levels that are below their skill levels and at low rates of pay, but then when there's a barrier to their real skills being recognized, there's an added expense on them of having to go through quite expensive programs to get those credentials recognized which is quite difficult to do if you are being paid minimum wage." (Lessels & Maher, 2017, p. 13).

Women are facing financial constraints that result in exclusion rather than inclusion within the new society.

6. *Play*. "Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities" (Nussbaum, 2003) is listed as the ninth concept of capabilities on Nussbaum's list. Most women reported having very few to no friends in Canada. Women who stay closer to their community members have few women to speak to, but those who live in communities with white families mostly prefer to stay aloof. They lack confidence to communicate in English, as they believe people might judge them.

Women mentioned that they feel nervous about speaking in English in front of white Canadians. Like my study found, refugees may prefer having other refugee families living close by (Carter & Osborne, 2009). There is a high demand among refugees to live closer to one another, especially among the Yazidi population in comparison to other groups, such as, the Syrians. The Canadian approach to housing refugees closely together is given priority, unlike Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, and Finland, which have resettlement policies that prioritize dispersing refugees throughout the region (Romme Larsen, 2011). Their rationale is that the refugees would learn the language, customs, and way of life faster when they rely on the host society for assistance rather than on their co-ethnic families. This system might be better in the long run, but in the short term, for families who do not speak the local language, living in proximity might help mitigate some of the immediate and short-term challenges they face in resettling (Wilkinson et al., 2017; 2019). Many recently arrived refugees from Syria and Iraq come from small villages and communities where they are used to living close together (Asher-Schapiro, 2014). This was also found among the participants who preferred housing closer to their community members, and when that was not possible, they felt loneliness and depression, especially among refugee women who stayed home for the maximum time and did not have any engagement outside.

6.7 Conclusion

The ability to make strategic choices is acquired with time and, in the case of refugees, it largely depends on the settlement support they receive when arriving to Canada. Disempowerment is the condition in which refugees enter the host societies where they begin their lives all over again, given that, among other things, most of them lack English language, credential recognition, and Canadian experience. They are perceived as vulnerable because they lack most of the capabilities that are valued within the Canadian society. This deficit becomes the biggest barrier for refugees to integrating into the mainstream society. Compared to refugees' immediate pre-arrival conditions, "resettlement" as a process seems empowering, as they have time to build their lives again in a safe third country of settlement, but at the same time it is disempowering given that they lack the resources and support required to make their preferred life choices post-resettlement. The ability to make choices depends not only on the resources available to refugees, but also on the knowledge about how to use those resources to their utmost benefit.

Resettlement policies are inclined towards establishing “refugeeness” among refugee women rather than empowerment. As Kyriakides pointed out, “the performative expectations of refuge construct refugees as involuntary, non-willful objects shaped and moved by forces of conflict: ‘refugees’ must fit the ‘victim’ role in order to gain entry, and act so as to retain host acceptance” (Kyriakides et al., 2018, p.60), which not only stands true in case of the PSRs but also the interviewed GARs. Refugees “deserve” rescue; receiving societies are saviours who provide it in a way that suits their imagination as a ‘rescuer.’ Therefore, within resettlement, refugee rights are not much discussed. There is passive control over the refugees by their saviours, whom if they deny following, the refugees tend to believe that they might lose their resettlement support. No one makes them aware of their rights as refugees, not only in case of the sponsored refugees but also as government-assisted or accepted refugee claimants. This is the reason why agency and empowerment within the resettlement process may be discussed, but less followed. Refugee women seemed to have negotiated once again between what they desire and what they can achieve, keeping their ‘victim’ role intact. Therefore, a mother of six who lived in a refugee camp pre-arrival, is quite satisfied in Canada living in a three-bedroom apartment. Her greatest satisfaction is that she is alive, and her children are safe here. This is her biggest achievement post resettlement.

Thus, responses to the question, *to what extent are refugee women in Canada able to practice their agency accessing resettlement services and programs in order to gain empowerment?* depend on how resettlement policies benefit individual refugees rather than one-model for all designed for the purposes of meeting resettlement targets of the host societies. This issue becomes clear when we examine the experiences of PSR women who were sponsored by unknown/stranger sponsors were the ones who reported maximum difficulty in accessing settlement related resources compared to GARs and/or PSRs who were sponsored by families or friends. The latter two groups have greater chances of increasing their social networks given they live in temporary accommodations, such as the reception centres, with other refugees or have pre-established networks in Canada already. PSRs who do not know their sponsors before entering the country tend to face more challenges compared to those who begin their settlement planning with their sponsors from the pre-arrival stage. Lack of social networks and unknown/stranger sponsors can increase their chances of vulnerability in the hands of individual sponsors.

Therefore, access to resources is not the sole measure of agency. As Kabeer argued, there is a need “to go beyond ‘access’ indicators to grasp how ‘resources’ translate into the realization of

choice has led to a variety of concepts seeking to bridge the gap between formal and effective entitlement to resources, generally by introducing some aspect of agency into the measure” (1999, p. 444). In the case of refugees, the question is how much ‘control’ women have over the available resources, and if they are able to use those resources to turn them into opportunities or achievements. My study reveals that resettlement focuses mainly on providing the immediate resources through settlement agencies rather than focusing on how those resources can increase their sense of agency and self-sufficiency. Within resettlement, resources are neither functional nor effective as long as they are not used by women to help them achieve what they desire. It is not about simply having access to resources, but rather if they have control over those resources. Within resettlement, Canada is quite not there yet. Most women during the time of the interview had completed three years in Canada, but they had only been able to access English language classes, half of the interviewed participants were working as volunteers hoping to get a job someday and had negotiated their current housing problems thinking they have to sacrifice on everything else as their children are safe in this country.

In the case of refugee women, adaptive preferences adopted within the host societies are not unconscious. The resettlement process, policies, and programs are designed based on the options the resettlement country is willing to provide to the newcomers. Jon Elster, who coined the term adaptive preferences, drew upon the story of the fox who decides to appease its want for grapes, which it is unable to reach, by imagining that the grapes are sour. This tussle between what one would ‘prefer to achieve’ and what s/he is allowed to achieve, is a conscious negotiation refugees are forced to make within the host society. Thus, refugees’ status is always precarious. They consciously choose not to choose. This theory of adaptive preferences explains how refugees prefer those choices that motivate them to make the “best out of a bad situation” (Khader, 2011). Injustice can only exist because of these conditions, where domestic violence is acceptable as long as it gives woman access to income and security. This justifies the injustice one faces when in an unequal position, which in this case are the refugee women. In the last chapter, I discuss some ways to curtail some of these injustices faced by youth and refugee women upon resettlement.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

One of the fundamental conceptual issues with conventional theories of migration is that they fail to consider the agency that migrants, both as individuals and as groups, exercise within the context of greater structural limitations (Haas, 2021). To respond to this gap, my dissertation addressed the question: *to what extent are refugee women and youth in Canada able to practice their agency within the resettlement process in order to gain empowerment?* In doing so, I use Kabeer's framework to assess women's access to enabling human, social, and economic resources conceptualized through a framework that includes exclusion theory, development theory, and relational theory. Study findings reveal that resettlement as a process focuses on the phenomena of adaptation, situating refugee women and youth in close proximity to what they can achieve and not what they desire to achieve within Canada.

It is interesting to note that despite the challenges refugees face post-resettlement, they believe their lives are "better" here. Sen's principle of 'adaptive preferences' refers to situations where people become conditioned to social injustice and material deprivation and accept their unequal positions within society with "utmost satisfaction" (Sen, 1985). Some women, even before becoming refugees, may be reconciled to the subjugated roles of a daughter, wife, and/or mother and often define their respective predicaments as normal (Sen, 1985). Women's mental abilities and expectations are marred by the predominant gender differences within the society in which the woman is born and brought up, leaving them with little choice. Resettlement operates based on these adaptive preferences and not on the preferences of these women that are based on wishful thinking (which alter the perception of the situation rather than the desire). Post-resettlement, they learn about the rights and choices women have in this country but despite having the determination to do something for themselves, they lack choices and the appropriate resources to pursue their dreams. With time, they settle within the limited choices that are available to them. Because adaptive preferences are produced by a causal process that is not within one's control or knowledge and are not the result of one's own free will (Nussbaum, 2000), adopting strategies of facilitating "autonomous preferences" within resettlement might help in their development/empowerment rather than focusing on integration alone. These autonomous preferences can be realized when women have complete knowledge of their rights and choices within Canada.

The concepts of 'agency' and 'empowerment' are critical to my investigation and are frequently misunderstood with regard to refugees. This study reflects how resettlement as a process

shapes and constrains refugee youth' and women's possibilities of attaining freedoms through agency, resources, and achievements post-resettlement. Study findings reflect that refugee women's access to economic, social, and cultural choices is severely constrained by the lack of options within the resettlement process. These factors, on one hand and the broader institutions and policies designed to resettle refugees on the other, contribute to the perpetuation of social hierarchies and the maintenance of inequalities within and through the Canadian resettlement process.

Keeping in mind that refugees' overall well-being has primarily been previously studied quantitatively (McCarthy & Marks, 2010; Heirs et al., 2017), limited attention has been paid to the definitions of well-being, capabilities, and self-sufficiency from the perspectives of refugee women and youth themselves. My research fills this major gap in the literature. This study reflects on the daily pressures women and youth endure during the process of resettlement and how they continue to negotiate their lives within the limited means at their disposal. *Agency, resources*, and short-term *achievements*, the three inter-related dimensions that are the required pre-conditions for achieving empowerment (Kabeer, 2001), are realized mostly through their own built personal contacts and networks. Linking to the crucial settlement resources marks the ability to achieve basic 'functioning' (Sen, 1990), but as time passes, most middle-aged women and youth who could not find a social circle confine themselves within their households. Though female refugees have the will to do "something" in their lives that they have only imagined, they soon give up on their hopes because of the innumerable structural constraints that these women do not know how to navigate. Short-term achievements are building blocks of long-term empowerment, but the initial struggles with locating and meeting basic settlement needs take away much of their interest in pursuing their dreams. This study reveals that even if refugee women and youth possess the ability to choose, they lack options to make desired choices. Research findings reflect how women and refugee youth lack the required support and information from the settlement providers/sponsors during the initial days. Although they have the "will," they may not always find a "way" to achieve what they desire within the new society.

Typically, agency among refugees is related to the act of resettling and establishing residence in a safe third country, as migration itself reflects agency (Haas, 2021). This is the rationale behind established resettlement policies that mainly focus on the immediate settlement needs of the refugees and not so much on building capabilities and human development. Though

migration to a third country of resettlement brings personal safety to refugees, they require a certain amount of focussed support to increase their capabilities within the new country. Theoretically speaking, for women's empowerment, the environment, such as the status and safety of women within a country in which they live, has a significant impact on the choices they can make for their own betterment. My study findings reflect the limited choices available through resettlement are limiting these women and youth from achieving the kind of life they imagined they would prefer in Canada. The choices and options women need to develop a sense of agency and a voice will be harder to achieve within the existing resettlement process. As is, newcomers are losing hope to recuperate from conditions created within the host society.

Not only does this study add new theoretical perspectives on the existing academic literature on resettlement by examining the perspectives of women and youth at a micro level and investigating their relationships with the settlement service providers and private sponsors reflecting on both meso (settlement services) and macro (existing refugee policies) structures of resettlements, it also establishes a new perspective for studying empowerment among refugee women. It is useful for the settlement provider organizations and policy analysts to evaluate the country's response to the refugee arrivals, as the conditions to end the refugee crisis are not likely to end any time soon. In terms of academic contributions, research in this area allows integration of initial resettlement literature into that of long-term integration using an interdisciplinary theoretical framework.

Methodologically, this study focuses on the refugee population of different age groups, ethnicities, marital status, and refugee entrance categories. My study also involves different groups other than the Syrians, such as the Yazidi group and Somali women and youth to understand if there are similarities in expectations of life in Canada. Age and levels of pre-arrival trauma are the significant factors that separate their lifestyle choices and capabilities, but the majority of the participant are similar with the expectations they have for themselves after arriving in Canada. Most of them expressed that they needed to be self-sufficient.

Investigating the required provisions for re-establishing agency and creating capabilities among refugee women for better integration is a new addition to the existing academic literature in the Canadian context. Also, given that the number of refugees is unlikely to decline in the near future, a study of this sort is badly needed. Below are a few policy recommendations on how refugee women and youth can be better integrated using an empowering model of resettlement.

7.1.1 Policy Recommendations for Youth Empowerment

Public and scholarly discourses often identify young refugees as vulnerable and reliant on others (e.g., Shakya et al., 2010), which is not only incorrect but also influences the way they are perceived within the new society. Refugee adolescents are active agents who have the will and ability to determine their educational routes; yet existing resettlement and integration policies severely limit access to educational pathways. Refugee adolescents are required to comply with general regulations concerning education as well as immigration, refugee resettlement, and social integration (Korntheuer et al., 2018). There are also laws in place in Canada that are special to this demographic, recognising their distinct requirements and vulnerabilities (Gomolla & Radtke, 2009; Feagin & Feagin, 1986). Although these policies are intended to “protect and support refugee youth, policy frameworks and institutional structures may actually lead to mechanisms of exclusion, even in situations where policies are intended to support integration” (Korntheuer et al., 2018, p. 287). For example, according to the age limit rule by The Public Schools Act “students have a right to attend school until (a) the last school day of June in the year in which the person becomes 21 years of age; or (b) the day the person receives a graduation diploma or certificate of completion, as defined in the regulations; whichever comes first” (Public Schools Act, 2019, s 259(1)). Because of this policy, most of the older youth face extreme pressure of completing school amidst multiple responsibilities they have towards their families.

Study findings show that students feel so drained that they often think of dropping out of school and taking low-paid jobs. Because of their age, their window to complete high school successfully becomes one of the biggest challenges within Canada. Though students can continue to attend school after age 21, they have to arrange for their own tuition in order to continue. More than paying the tuition, they are uncomfortable in continuing high school with younger people in class. Most of my young participants showed an unwillingness to continue school if they are nearing age 21 and not able to complete high school. Moving older students from the regular classes to adult education courses can help defray the embarrassment of continuing with new younger students after becoming 21 years of age.

7.1.2 Building capabilities through the school system

Schools are the primary point of contact for students, and therefore school-based activities are critical in building capabilities among youth. Counseling and support services, including guidance counsellors, should be culturally sensitive and knowledgeable about the experiences of

refugee adolescents and their families to better provide individualized support. The Settlement Worker in Schools (SWIS) program offers assistance to refugee and immigrant newcomer kids, as well as their parents and families, with the purpose of facilitating their integration into society, but not all schools have SWIS. To support the program's aims, the settlement worker works together with the school division and other community partners but was not reported by any of my youth participants. Broadly speaking, this shows that though there are resources in place for the young people, they lack information about these services. Therefore, not only is it important to have welcome and reception centres within the schools, linking these youth to the orientation programs is necessary. They miss all the important settlement-related information, which is equally important to them. Schools and settlement agencies should have proper funding to reach out to all students through these welcome or reception centres that give access to a comprehensive settlement package of information about the agencies and organization serving newcomers in different languages.

Mentorship and peer tutoring programmes are required to minimize isolation and dropout among the newcomer youth. Assessment services to establish proper school placement determined by subject mastery, with language training provided to support that level, are requested by the youth participants. Higher level EAL classes that can help integrate students into their subject areas at the level of sophistication they need for academic work and language level should be differentiated from mastery of other subjects.

According to the federal language funding, Adult English as an Additional Language funding in the Province of Manitoba (Jowett, 2020) is primarily provided by Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). The Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB) is a system of language assessment that divides learners into three main stages: Stage 1 is literacy to CLB 4, Stage 2 is CLB 5-8, and Stage 3 is CLB 9-12. IRCC has shifted its priority to Stage 1 funding and limited its funding for Stage 2 classes. This has implications for transitioning students from high school into adult education and, as reflected through this study, does not meet the practical needs and goals of these young people. The capabilities of students differ from one another, and therefore language classes should meet their needs based on individual capabilities rather than based on "one model for all." Evening and weekend EAL classes can benefit many students who want to pace through their language proficiency in order to join regular classes as soon as possible. Having extra EAL classes is required, given that every student wants to join the

regular classes but also not so much if they lack language skills and are under the constant pressure of humiliation within the classroom. This is more important for adult youth, as they not only need language to grasp their schoolwork at a higher pace but also to have the confidence of aiming for better and career-focussed jobs within the labour market.

There are EAL services such as YMCA-YWCA of Winnipeg, NEEDS centre, African Communities of Manitoba Inc. (ACOMI), and many such programs in place for the newcomers, but none of my participants were aware of these institutions post-arrival. All heavily relied on their EAL teachers in school, and once they reached the basic level, they were moved into the regular classes without any information on where they can get advanced-level language training. This practice creates frustration among youth who require higher levels of language not only for completing school but also for applying to universities, navigating career-relevant jobs, and communicating on behalf of their families, etc. Therefore, more focus should be placed in how to increase the outreach of these advanced EAL training programs so that whoever needs to can access these programs.

In schools, anti-discrimination and the dismantling of racial stereotypes should be aggressively promoted and taught so that classrooms are without prejudice or discrimination in any form, regardless of students' colour, culture, religion, or gender. School boards should recruit skilled immigrant teachers to avoid further isolation of the arrivals and also educate Canadian-born pupils on how to engage with newcomers. For young people to have a sense of belonging in their community, the school, which acts as a kind of entry point for the community, must recruit teachers from different ethnic backgrounds so that newcomer students can relate to their teachers. For newcomers to learn about the school and its educational system, as well as about Canadian (youth) culture, mentorship programmes or buddy programmes are required. School libraries can play an active role in creating study groups or clubs where newcomer students can take help from their peers. School libraries or labs should also provide access to laptops and computers for newcomer students beyond school hours so that students who lack such resources are not left without options.

Upon arrival, all newcomer youth should be required to take human rights and social justice courses, which should include instruction on the rights of newcomers in Canada. Newcomer students should also be introduced to senior students from different ethnic backgrounds so that

they can learn from their experiences in Canada. Involving older refugee adolescents in program design and implementation should all be hallmarks of successful programs within schools.

7.1.3 “Newcomer’s Peer-to-Peer Buddy” support and mental health support in school

As a first step toward better mental health, older refugee youth indicated the importance of speaking with someone about the Canadian system and culture during the initial days of resettlement. There are mental health counselors within and outside schools, but none of the participants wanted to visit them due to the taboo attached to seeing a mental health professional. The term mental health is perceived with many cultural biases, and youth reported that they might get labeled as “mad” within their communities if they meet with mental health professionals. This is one reason why my participants, despite needing someone to speak with, have not mentioned it to anyone in the fear of being bullied within their own ethnic communities. It is important to make refugee youth and newcomers understand the relevance of counsellors and how visiting mental health professionals does not mean one is “mad” or unable to cope with the new environment. From this study, it is clear that not every newcomer youth needs to speak with a mental health professional but need a peer or mentor who can act as a resourceful “buddy” and can be consulted within the school premises. Youth mentioned how they wanted to speak to “someone” at least about their fears and anxieties within the new society, but most of them did not find a trusted person to do so. It is therefore crucial that young people have access to free counselling for whoever requires mental health support as well as individuals as mentors/buddies who are sensitive to and knowledgeable about their cultural backgrounds, as well as who are committed to maintaining the confidentiality of all client information.

Young people face a variety of challenges, including the burden of their parents’ responsibilities during resettlement. Stigma about mental health is huge in most communities and therefore the settlement community can also provide both online as well as in-person mental health support within and outside the school. Settlement agencies should actively discuss and link mental health support to the newcomers as they help meeting their physical health-related needs, such as, the health card, linking to the family doctors, etc. If every newcomer is made to understand the significance of mental health in Canada, tackling stigma would become easier for everyone. Various settlement organizations are doing this already but with very low success rates.

7.1.4 Employment as Empowerment

All the young people I interviewed asked for more help finding jobs that were meaningful to them. They constantly compared themselves to other young Canadians and wished to get similar opportunities with stable employment, where they can learn new skills and earn decent pay. Non-exploitative paid apprenticeships, co-op educational positions, and career counselling are needed for newcomer youth, since the school system is not the major source of work training in Canadian society. It should be realized that refugee youth mostly work to support themselves and their family on arrival; therefore, more priority should be placed on finding them meaningful employment that can add to their sense of agency.

Most youth appreciate volunteer jobs, as they become able to grow a refugee youth network in Canada. Refugee youth themselves help in integrating newcomer youth, which acts as a coping mechanism for them. Their individual struggle acts as a motivation to volunteer within the settlement agencies. Motivation, such as the desire to contribute to society, supports youth during their initial days of resettlement based on their personal experiences, and their desire to create fair and just conditions within the host societies for the newcomers, are some of the key components of volunteerism (Behnia, 2012; Fischer & Schaffer, 1993; Stürmer & Snyder, 2010; Wymer et al., 1996; Lauer et al., 2012; Carlton, 2015). The initial motivation for volunteering for recently arrived newcomer youth included reasons such as reducing their own social isolation by meeting and speaking to other youth about their new lives and struggles in the new society, obtaining job experience, talking openly about their mental health and trauma back home, learning about other cultures (Behnia, 2012), and keeping themselves engaged with some work and responsibilities. But volunteering can also become exploitative if newcomer youth are not aware of their rights in Canada (Lauer et al., 2012). Even if organizations recruit refugee youth as volunteers, there should be at least a stipend paid to them even if it is in the form of gift cards or food coupons so that some of their expenses of travelling to-and-from their workplace are covered.

In my study, youth demanded job-related language services in order to gain confidence. There should be exclusive services for youth within the employment service agencies, allowing drop-in after school hours. Agents helping with youth recruitment should discuss or give access to information about all the employment opportunities without screening individuals based on their immigration status or language abilities. The youth should get access to all the jobs in the market and decide on their own which they would like to pursue.

Sometimes job descriptions help individuals prepare themselves according to the field they would like to pursue in the long-term. Employment agents, therefore, should give these youth enough choices to make their own decisions rather than screening opportunities according to their existing skills and not what every refugee does. To promote Canada's economic growth, youth are a major source for filling the gap in the labour market. To achieve this goal, the government and educational institutions will need to make significant adjustments, as well as enhance their efforts to fully integrate newcomers into Canadian culture and overall society.

7.2 Recommendations for Increasing Refugee Woman's Capabilities

7.2.1 Increasing choices among refugee women within the housing market

Privately sponsored refugees' housing search processes have not been studied as thoroughly as government-assisted refugees' post-departure housing needs have been examined (Rose, 2019). This study identifies some of the gaps related to housing situations among PSRs. Refugee women, irrespective of their arrival status, requested to get access to direct information on the available housing options so that they can make an informed decision before signing a year-long lease agreement with the landlords. This calls for a separate, exclusive housing-related agency for newcomers. Most women reported not being able to find an individual contact within the settlement agencies to address housing-related queries and concerns. This deficiency created much dissatisfaction among the refugee families, affecting the overall mental health of especially refugee women, as they are the ones who spend the maximum time within the household. These exclusive housing agents can help in defraying concerns not only among the GARs but also among the PSRs and refugee claimant clients. My study showed that PSRs who had "unknown" sponsors suffered like the GARs in locating permanent housing. They needed more information and options to select their permanent houses from, and it is impractical to leave this enormous responsibility on the settlement providers alone. Therefore, from this study, it is evident that not only do the GARs require systematic and sustained assistance in navigating local private housing markets but so do the privately sponsored refugees (Rose, 2019). A more focused attention and services in multiple languages are required for assisting newcomer refugee women during the initial period of resettlement.

These housing agencies should also have the responsibility of verifying if the housing conditions are suitable for living. From both the primary data and two sets of secondary data, it was found that most of the cheaper options that are affordable for the refugees are in unlivable

conditions. It should be the responsibility of the housing-related support agency to directly carry out inspections of these cheaper housing units to make sure the newcomers are safe and healthy within their households. Most of the settlement agents or RAP agents lack the information and expertise of the Canadian housing market (Rose, 2019); therefore, satisfaction with permanent housing conditions is a huge concern among refugee women. Special training on expectations of refugees should be given to the housing service agents so that they can accordingly discuss housing options with the newcomers. As this is an exclusive agency working on finding houses for newcomers, they should have a list of all the available options handy even before their arrival. The RAP agents and the sponsors can connect with these agents and discuss probable options available for individual families. Refugee participants required at least “someone” to explain to them the housing market in Canada, as currently there are no such specialized services provided to the newcomer refugees.

7.2.2 Employment and education support

Not all refugee women need a “cleaning job” just because they do not know the language or they lack Canadian experience. All my women participants reported the basic employment support they received from the employment agencies was mostly pushing them to either get menial precarious jobs or take up volunteer positions mostly within settlement organizations. They reported not getting access to the available job opportunities and their choices were restricted by the employment agency itself. As in the case of youth, women too required specialized employment-related guidance where they can discuss their options and get access to career counselling. Majority of the participants who needed information on the Canadian labour market and the different skills and expertise the employers are looking for so that they could plan on pursuing jobs that interest them. The employment agencies fail to meet the employment-related support these women need, limiting their options for getting into the labour market. Special funding from the government is required in providing access, or at least linking women, to different organizations that provide vocational training to acquire specialized skills related to the jobs available in the market. Study findings reflect that, at present, employment services for newcomers are highly gendered, and refugee women are exposed to opportunities that are suitable only for “refugee women.” Settlement service providers also design programs that are highly gendered (Senthanar et al., 2019). Some refugee women reported never receiving any information about programs that help in increasing their employability in different job sectors rather receiving

training in cooking, sewing, and other such soft skills alone. To better refer to the needs of refugee women, settlement agencies could discuss with the clients and design programs according to their needs and wants. Gender issues should be addressed more openly via revisions to national policy and the actions of local resettlement organizations. Refugee women's social and economic integration might be aided by longer-term investments in educational programs, employment training in a wider range of fields with fewer gender stereotypes, as well as programmes that explicitly educate the receiving community about refugees.

Refugee women also reported how their English language training may not be precisely what they desired to increase their individual capabilities. The best way to meet the needs of refugee women is to respect their sense of agency and recognise them as active members of society who can be engaged in how they want those services to be delivered. Programs that focus on more student-centred approaches, such as those that put refugees in different classrooms according to their levels and allow them to choose their own lesson plans, can be one example of this. Refugee women also mentioned how they would like to learn about the rights they have as women in Canada through the content of English language classes. Teachers will be able to devote more individual attention to their pupils if they have smaller class sizes. Also, women participants asked for options of continuing EAL classes during the summer as well so that they can utilize that time practicing the language. More spoken or conversation-based activities were required to increase their overall grip over the language. Also, women who wait to get enrolled into an EAL class need online material to start their training on their own. Women reported using YouTube training videos to learn the language on their own but sometimes could not figure out what level they should start with. Some English language training packages can be provided to every newcomer entering Canada. Also, newcomers will benefit from programs and services that are tailored to their specific requirements.

Settlement organizations promoted volunteer roles as a way for women's engagement within the labour market, but with no proper guidance on how those volunteer experiences can be marketed to earn a livelihood. Most women continued in volunteer positions, spending their own resources while hoping they will gain paid employment in the long run. This has created much frustration among the refugee women who have already spent long enough in these positions for which they seem overqualified. Restructuring settlement agencies and providing funds for a basic pay for volunteer positions is a minimum requirement for better inclusion of refugee and other

migrant women, who think Canada is a land of opportunities when they first enter. A few women getting fed up with volunteer jobs have started their own businesses through personal networks but due to lack of funds are stuck in merely buying and selling through online websites. Micro-financing opportunities should be provided to these women to increase their agency and empowerment in the long run.

The neoliberal principles guiding the settlement sector landscape are clear in this research. Under neoliberalism, “empowerment has quickly become a preferred tool with which to produce self-governing and self-caring social actors, orient them towards the free market, direct their behaviors toward entrepreneurial ends, and attach them to the project of rule” (Sharma, 2008, p. 20). Neither GAR and PSR resettlement programs based on the principle of neoliberal empowerment result in true empowerment among the newcomer refugees. When it comes to the economy, neoliberalism places an emphasis on the capabilities of individuals, while advocating for the government’s diminished role in social aspects of governance. This justifies the decreased expenditure on settlement services (Wotherspoon, 2009), with increased fatigue among the GAR and PSR settlement worker/sponsors creating multiple challenges for both newcomers in locating resources as well as fatigue (Elcioglu, 2021) among the limited number of settlement workers and private sponsors. The neoliberal economic system functions more as a barrier and a detriment to the newly arrived refugees than it does as an advantage. Therefore, it is not only important to increase targets of settling more refugees in the coming days but also give equal emphasis on increasing staff support and funds for resettling refugees in Canada.

7.3 Conclusion

Despite all the efforts of the Canadian government, settlement service providers, private sponsors, policymakers and many individuals, there exists a gap between the expectations of newcomer refugees and the services they receive post-arrival. Very recently the Minister of Advanced Education, Skills and Immigration, Jon Reyes, announced that the Manitoba government will spend \$5.1 million on 15 groups under the Newcomer Community Integration Support program to aid in the integration of immigrants to Manitoba (Manitoba News, 2022). The investment, according to Reyes, would “help develop a network of services and a community of care supports for all arrivals all throughout the province” as Ukrainian refugees start to arrive in Manitoba. To make sure that immigrants can integrate into society and help the economy thrive, “this investment also coincides with the Economic Growth Action Plan and the Skills, Talent and

Knowledge Strategy.” Fifteen newcomer-serving organizations will receive these funds for designing and implementing programs that help in integrating newcomers. It is my hope that the policymakers and settlement service providers can use some of my research findings for designing integration programs and support services for refugee women and youth. Let there be always a way to achieve what they want.

7.4 A Way Forward

This study takes an empowerment approach from the perspectives of refugee women and youth but lacks the insights of the settlement service providers and the support they require from the government to create an empowering model of resettlement. This perspective shapes my next research agenda, where I would conduct semi-structured interviews with the settlement service providers on how they can best design programs that put in place not a need-based but an empowering model within resettlement. Insights from individuals or groups of sponsors will also be included in the future study to understand the gaps in relationships between them and their sponsored refugees. There remains a gap in my study where I was unable to match the expectations of my participants to the strategies that can best be adopted by the service providers/sponsors during their initial resettlement, to achieve those expectations. My next research agenda will focus on these gaps.

Also, in the future I want to use this empowerment model for studying refugee women and youth in understanding the settlement experiences of women who face gender-based violence upon arrival. While conducting the interviews, it was made clear by a few women how they are forced to continue in the role of a “wife” and a “mother” in their daily lives despite moving into a country where men and women (in theory) are considered equal. It was evident that all these women wanted more from their lives but lacked options to try being individual agents for change. Under normal circumstances, refugee women face innumerable challenges coping within the new society, but what happens to them if they have face sexual and gender-based violence pre-and-post resettlement? It is important to understand whether, in such circumstances, they are in a position to leave their abusive partners. Do they have the information on how to navigate the Gender-Based Violence (GBV) related resources? What support and resources do these women have in Canada to be able to live a fulfilling life alone?

8. References

- Abbott, A. (2016). The troubled minds of migrants. *Nature*, 538(7624), 158-160. Accessed on (4/13/2022) <https://www.nature.com/articles/538158a>
- Aberman, T. (2014). Gendered perspectives on refugee determination in Canada. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 30(2), 57-66. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://refuge.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/refuge/article/view/39619>
- Abigail LH Kroening et al., (2016). 'Developmental Screening of Refugees: A Qualitative Study', *Pediatrics* 138, no 3. Accessed on 2/26/2022 <https://www.publications.aap.org/pediatrics/article-abstract/138/3/e20160234/52756/Developmental-Screening-of-Refugees-A-Qualitative?redirectedFrom=fulltext>
- Abuhamed, A. (2020). *"Eat to Your Taste, Dress for Others:" A Critical Ethnographic Inquiry into Multiculturalism and Social Capital in the Resettlement and Integration of Syrian Refugee in a Mid-sized City in Western Canada* (Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia). (Accessed on 2/27/2022) <https://open.library.ubc.ca/soa/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/24/items/1.0394737>
- Adams, A. V. (2007). The Role of Youth Skills Development in the Transition to Work: a Global Review. The World Bank: Washington, DC. Accessed on 3/19/2021 <https://www.marketlinks.org/sites/default/files/media/file/2020-10/The%20Role%20of%20Youth%20Skills%20Development%20in%20the%20Transition%20to%20Work-%20A%20Global%20Review.pdf>
- Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding integration: A conceptual framework. *Journal of refugee studies*, 21(2), 166-191. Accessed on 4/19/2022 <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016>
- Agrawal, S. K. (2018). Canadian refugee sponsorship programs: experience of Syrian refugees in Alberta, Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 1-22. Accessed on 4/12/2022 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-018-0640-7>.
- Agrawal, S. K. (2019). Canadian refugee sponsorship programs: Experience of Syrian refugees in Alberta, Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 20(4), 941-962. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12134-018-0640-7>
- Agrawal, S., & Zietouny, S. (2017). Settlement experience of Syrian refugees in Alberta. Accessed on (08/08/2021) <https://era.library.ualberta.ca/items/c2a5d470-e37b-4ff7-84de-658fa336da8b/view/3ecc9197-6a5a-4e69-b7ec-b10008a5e246/Syrian-20Refugees-20final-20report-20Nov-202017.pdf>
- Ahmad, T. (2016). Refugee law and policy: Canada. The Law Library of Congress.
- Allan, K. (2013). "Skilling the self: The communicability of immigrants as flexible labour." *Language, migration and social inequalities: A critical sociolinguistic perspective on institutions and work* 2. 56-78.
- Allotey, P. (1999). Travelling with "excess baggage": health problems of refugee women in Western Australia. *Women & Health*, 28(1), 63-81. Accessed on (4/17/2022) https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1300/J013v28n01_05
- Andermann, L. (2014). Reflections on using a cultural psychiatry approach to assessing and fortifying refugee resilience in Canada. In *Refuge and Resilience* (pp. 61-71). Springer, Dordrecht. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-94-007-7923-5_5
- Anisef, P., & Kilbride, K. M. (2008). *The needs of newcomer youth and emerging "best practices" to meet those needs*. Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement.

Accessed on (08/06/2021)

http://atwork.settlement.org/downloads/Newcomer_Youth_Best_Practices.pdf

A&O (2013, October 31st). Settlement Services for New Immigrants in Manitoba. Accessed on 08/15/2022

https://www.aosupportservices.ca/documents/ENTRY_LESSON_PLANS/7_COMMUNITY_INFORMATION/8_Places%20in%20our%20Neighbourhood%20%20INTERMEDIATE/8.4_Community%20%20Places%20in%20our%20Neighbourhood_Settlement%20Services%20in%20MB%20October%2031%202013%20-%20Intermediate.pdf

Asher-Schapiro, A. (2014). Who are the Yazidis, the ancient, persecuted religious minority struggling to survive in Iraq. *National geographic news*, 11. (Accessed on 18/8/2021)

<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/140809-iraq-yazidis-minority-isil-religion-history>

Assefa, E., Petrov, M., Radan, B. and Sonnenberg, O. (2017) City of Toronto Shelter, Support and Housing Administration Division, Munk School of Global Affairs Capstone Project: Newcomer Youth Homelessness. Retrieved from http://www.yws.on.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Munk_Capstone_FinalReport_Newcomer-Youth-Homelessness-2017.pdf.

Atallah, D. G. (2017). A community-based qualitative study of intergenerational resilience with Palestinian refugee families facing structural violence and historical trauma. *Transcultural psychiatry*, 54(3), 357-383. Accessed on 9/17/2020

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1363461517706287>

Attride-Stirling, J. (2001). 'Thematic networks: an analytic tool for qualitative research', *Qualitative research*, 1: 385-405.

Awuah-Mensah, L. (2016). Examining the experiences of government assisted refugee women with settlement services in Kitchener-Waterloo. Accessed on

(08/08/2021) https://scholars.wlu.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1016&context=brantford_sjce

Bailey, N. (2014). Emerging Framework for a Best Practice "Immigrant Lens" within the Employment Program of British Columbia (EPBC). MOSAIC: BC.

Baines, D., Cunningham, I., Campey, J., & Shields, J. (2014). Not profiting from precarity: The work of nonprofit service delivery and the creation of precariousness. *Just Labour*. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://justlabour.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/justlabour/article/view/6>

Baird, Martha, Milan Bimali, Ashley Cott, Michael Brimacombe, Therese Ruhland-Petty, and Christine Daley. (2017). 'Methodological challenges in conducting research with refugee women', *Issues in mental health nursing*, 38: 344-51. Canada, Statistics. 2019. 'Census Profile, 2016 Census: Winnipeg, MB and Alberta'.

Banulescu-Bogdan, N. (2020). *Beyond work: reducing social isolation for refugee women and other marginalized newcomers*. Transatlantic Council on Migration. (Accessed on 15/8/2021)

https://www.immigrationresearch.org/system/files/TCM-Social-Isolation_FINALWEB.pdf

Behnia, B. (2012). Volunteering with newcomers: The perspectives of Canadian-and foreign-born volunteers. *Canadian journal of nonprofit and social economy research*, 3(2). (Accessed on 3/12/2022) <https://doi.org/10.22230/cjnser.2012v3n2a116>

Behnia, B. (2012). Volunteering with newcomers: The perspectives of Canadian-and foreign-born volunteers. *Canadian journal of nonprofit and social economy research*, 3(2). Accessed on 3/27/2022) Behnia, B. (2012). Volunteering with newcomers: The perspectives of Canadian-and foreign-born volunteers. *Canadian journal of nonprofit and social economy research*, 3(2).

- Beiser, M. (1999). *Strangers at the gate: The "Boat Peoples" first ten years in Canada*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Beiser, M. (2009). Resettling refugees and safeguarding their mental health: Lessons learned from the Canadian Refugee Resettlement Project. *Transcultural psychiatry*, 46(4), 539-583. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1363461509351373>
- Beiser, M. (2015). The Health Of Immigrants And Refugees. *Immigrant Experiences in North America: Understanding Settlement and Integration*, 312. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=PhcsEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA312&dq=Beiser,+2015+resettlement&ots=GiJm8a7PB1&sig=TuvDxZtoutTWIS7yIXKEiIaDecQ&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Beiser%2C%202015%20resettlement&f=false
- Beiser, M. N., & Hou, F. (2006). Ethnic identity, resettlement stress and depressive affect among Southeast Asian refugees in Canada. *Social science & medicine*, 63(1), 137-150. Accessed on 3/10/2022 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2005.12.002>
- Beiser, M., & Hou, F. (2000). Gender differences in language acquisition and employment consequences among Southeast Asian refugees in Canada. *Canadian Public Policy/Analyse de Politiques*, 311-330. (Accessed on 26/8/2021) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3552403>
- Beiser, M., & Hou, F. (2001). Language acquisition, unemployment and depressive disorder among Southeast Asian refugees: a 10-year study. *Social science & medicine*, 53(10), 1321-1334. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0277953600004123>
- Beiser, M., Noh, S., Hou, F., Kaspar, V., & Rumens, J. (2001). Southeast Asian refugees' perceptions of racial discrimination in Canada. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 33(1), 46-70.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied psychology*, 46(1), 5-34. Accessed on (08/09/2021) <https://iaap-journals.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1464-0597.1997.tb01087.x>
- Bevelander, P., & Pendakur, R. (2014). The labour market integration of refugee and family reunion immigrants: A comparison of outcomes in Canada and Sweden. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(5), 689-709. Accessed on 2/16/2022 <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.849569>
- Bhalla N. "Factbox: Rwanda remembers the 800,000 killed on 25th anniversary of genocide". Accessed on 4/22/2022 <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-rwanda-genocide-anniversary-factbox-idUSKCN1RI0FV>
- Bhattacharyya, P., Ogoe, S., Riziki, A., & Wilkinson, L. (2020). In search of a "home": Comparing the housing challenges experienced by recently arrived Yazidi and Syrian refugees in Canada. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 41(6), 1415-1436. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/applied-psycholinguistics/article/abs/in-search-of-a-home-comparing-the-housing-challenges-experienced-by-recently-arrived-yazidi-and-syrian-refugees-in-canada/4F26F2C7DECB2625AA77DAC98D637255>
- Bhattacharyya, P. (2013). "Rapid Appraisal Study on Situation of Handicrafts and Artisans in 10 Districts of West Bengal". MSME, Government of West Bengal, UNESCO and Banglanatak dot com. West Bengal, India. (Report available on request)
- Bhattacharyya, P, and Basu, N., (2012). "Behaviour Change For Maternal and Child Health Including Immunization Through Involvement of Self Help Groups (SHGs) as Changemakers". UNICEF and Banglanatak dot com. India, Bihar. (Report available on request)
- Bhuyan, R., & Schmidt, C. (2019). Immigrant Women's Settlement Transitions in an Era of Precarious Migration. Accessed on (08/08/2021) <https://ocasi.org/sites/default/files/iwys-primary-research-womens-final-report.pdf>

- Block, S., & Galabuzi, G. E. (2011). Canada's colour coded labour market. Canadian centre for policy alternatives, 1-20.
- Blostein, S., Ferguson, M., Nikolova, E., & Turnbull, R. (2015). *The intersection of settlement and housing services and policies: Reducing the risk of homelessness for immigrant and refugee women*. Toronto: OCASI. Accessed on 4/13/2022 [https://ocasi.org/sites/default/files/Housing and Settlement Service Study final 30-06-2015.pdf](https://ocasi.org/sites/default/files/Housing_and_Settlement_Service_Study_final_30-06-2015.pdf)
- Boehnke, K. (2001). Parent-offspring value transmission in a societal context: Suggestions for a utopian research design—with empirical underpinnings. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(2), 241-255. Accessed on 2/11/2022 doi:[10.1177/0022022101032002010](https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022101032002010).
- Böhnke, P. (2001). *Nothing left to lose? Poverty and social exclusion in comparison. Empirical evidence on Germany* (No. FS III 01-402). WZB Discussion Paper. Accessed on (08/09/2021) <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/50216/1/329324748.pdf>
- Böhnke, P. (2001). *Reporting on social exclusion: standard of living and social participation in Hungary, Spain, and Germany* (No. FS III 01-407). WZB Discussion Paper. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/50192>
- Bokore, N. (2016). Somali-Canadian Women: Historical Past of Survival and Facing Everyday Challenges of Resettlement?
- Bokore, N. (2020). Forced Migration, Memory, and Testimony. In *Migration and Stereotypes in Performance and Culture* (pp. 197-213). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
- Bowen, S. J. (1999). Resilience and health Salvadoran refugee women in Manitoba (Master's thesis). Accessed on 4/05/2022 <https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/handle/1993/2085>
- Boyd, M. (1990). Immigrant Women: Language, Socioeconomic Inequalities and Policy Issues. *Ethnic demography: Canadian immigrant, racial and cultural variations*, 157, 275. Accessed on <https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=SaGuAAwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA275&dq=Boyd+1990+refugees+language&ots=ZTmcIWVD8E&sig=9HRMG9v8rEEpKJ7NiSvMPU5aobU#v=onepage&q=Boyd%201990%20refugees%20language&f=false>
- Boyd, R. (1992). Constructivism, realism, and philosophical method. *Inference, explanation, and other frustrations: Essays in the philosophy of science*, 131-198. Accessed on 2/20/2022 <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520309876>
- Bradley, J., & Harvey, L. (2019). Creative inquiry in applied linguistics: Language, communication and the arts. *Voices and practices in applied linguistics: Diversifying a discipline*, 91-107. Accessed on 4/12/2022 <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/23491/WRUP-005-final-online.pdf?sequence=6#page=98>
- Brathwaite, K. S., & James, C. E. (Eds.). (1996). *Educating African Canadians* (Vol. 45). James Lorimer & Company. Accessed on (08/06/2021) https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=A1jSL9-o-wYC&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=Educating+African+Canadians+&ots=lcPYkV84n&sig=bLw_dB B-uPemUzTC9G5KddO1Bh4#v=onepage&q=Educating%20African%20Canadians&f=false
- Brian Grim, Judy Gromis and H Harmon, A. (2006). 'Focused group interviews as an innovative QuantiQualitative Methodology (QQM): Integrating quantitative elements into a qualitative methodology', *The Qualitative Report* 11, no 3, 516–537. Accessed on 3/10/2022 <https://scholarworks.montana.edu/xmlui/handle/1/2971>
- Brigham, S. (2011). Internationally educated female teachers' transformative lifelong learning experiences: Rethinking the immigrant experience through an arts-informed group process.

- Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 17(2), 36-50. (Accessed on 26/8/2021)
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.7227/JACE.17.2.5>
- Brodsky, A. E. and L. B. Cattaneo (2013). "A transconceptual model of empowerment and resilience: Divergence, convergence and interactions in kindred community concepts." *American journal of community psychology* 52(3-4): 333-346.
- Brücker, P. (2017). Voicing refugeeeness: Sudanese struggles for belonging in Egypt and Israel. *Égypte/monde arabe*, (15), 95-123.(Accessed on 3/27/2022) <https://doi.org/10.4000/ema.3671>
- Brunner, L. R. (2010). *From protracted situations to protracted separations: Acehese-Canadian refugee settlement in Vancouver, BC* (Doctoral dissertation, Environment: Department of Geography). (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <http://summit.sfu.ca/item/11532>
- Burchardt, T., et al. (2002). *Understanding social exclusion*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Busetto, L., Wick, W., & Gumbinger, C. (2020). How to use and assess qualitative research methods. *Neurological Research and practice*, 2(1), 1-10.
- Bushell, R., & Shields, J. (2018). Immigrant Settlement Agencies in Canada: A Critical Review of the Literature through the Lens of Resilience. *Paper of the Building Migrant Resilience in Cities (BMRC) Project, York University, Toronto*. <https://bmrc-irmu.info.yorku.ca/files/2018/10/ISAs-A-Critical-Review-2018-JSRB-edits-Oct-9-2018.pdf>. Access 3/18/2022
- Calavita, K. and C. Kitty (2005). *Immigrants at the margins: Law, race, and exclusion in Southern Europe*, Cambridge University Press.
- Callamard, A. (2002). Refugee women: A gendered and political analysis of the refugee experience. In *Global changes in asylum regimes* (pp. 137-153). Palgrave Macmillan, London. Accessed on (08/09/2021) https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9781403914149_8
- Callamard, A. (2002). Refugee women: A gendered and political analysis of the refugee experience. *Global changes in asylum regimes*, Springer: 137-153.
- Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration, & Wrzesnewskyj, B. (2016). *After the warm welcome: Ensuring that Syrian refugees succeed: Report of the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration*. Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration. (Accessed on 12/8/2021)
<https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/CIMM/report-7/>
- Canadian Pediatric Society (2022). "A guide for health professionals working with immigrant and refugee children and youth". *Caring for Kids New to Canada*. Accessed on 6/12/2022
<https://kidsnewtocanada.ca/beyond>
- Canadian Research Institute For the Advancement of Women (2003). *Immigrant and Refugee Women*. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://www.criaw-icref.ca/publications/immigrant-and-refugee-women/>
- Carbin, Maria, and Sofie Tornhill (2004). 'Intersektionalitet-ett oanvändbart begrepp?', *Tidskrift för genusvetenskap*: sid 111-14.
- Carlton, S. (2015). Connecting, belonging: Volunteering, wellbeing and leadership among refugee youth. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, 13, 342-349. doi:10.1016/j.ijdr.2015.07.006
- Carter, H. (2008). Building the divided city: Race, class and social housing in Southwark, 1945–1995. *The London Journal*, 33(2), 155-185. (Accessed on 15/8/2021)
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1179/174963208X307343>
- Carter, T. S., & Osborne, J. (2009). Housing and neighbourhood challenges of refugee resettlement in declining inner city neighbourhoods: A Winnipeg case study. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 7(3), 308-327. Accessed on (08/08/2021)

- <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15562940903150097>
- Carter, T., Polevychok, C., Friesen, A., & Osborne, J. (2008). *The housing circumstances of recently arrived refugees: The Winnipeg experience*. Edmonton: Prairie Metropolis Centre. (Accessed on 3/27/2022) https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Anita-Friesen/publication/267306879_The_Housing_Circumstances_Of_Recently_Arrived_Refugees_The_Winnipeg_Experience/links/5fb293f292851cf24cd66042/The-Housing-Circumstances-Of-Recently-Arrived-Refugees-The-Winnipeg-Experience.pdf
- Carter, T. S., Polevychok, C., & Osborne, J. (2009). The role of housing and neighbourhood in the re-settlement process: a case study of refugee households in Winnipeg. *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien*, 53(3), 305-322. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1541-0064.2009.00265.x>
- Carter, T., Polevychok, C., Friesen, A., & Osborne, J. (2008). *The housing circumstances of recently arrived refugees: The Winnipeg experience*. Edmonton,, Alberta, Canada: Prairie Metropolis Centre. (Accessed on 12/8/2021) https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Anita-Friesen/publication/267306879_The_Housing_Circumstances_Of_Recently_Arrived_Refugees_The_Winnipeg_Experience/links/5fb293f292851cf24cd66042/The-Housing-Circumstances-Of-Recently-Arrived-Refugees-The-Winnipeg-Experience.pdf
- CCR 2006 Canadian Council for Refugees Annual Report 2005-2006 (Accessed on 3/19/2022) <https://ccrweb.ca/sites/ccrweb.ca/files/static-files/CCRAnnualReport0506en.pdf>
- CCR (2011). Settlement and Integration. "Proposed Change to Citizenship Requirements. Proof of Language Proficiency". CCR Comments. 14 November 2011. Retrieved on August 17, 2018, at <http://ccrweb.ca/en/issues/settlement-and-integration>
- CCRWEB (2006). Annual Report 2005-2006. Accessed on 4/13/2022 <https://ccrweb.ca/sites/ccrweb.ca/files/static-files/CCRAnnualReport0506en.pdf>
- Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, in collaboration with the Children's Aid Society of Toronto. (2014, July). Hidden in our midst: Homeless newcomer youth in Toronto—Uncovering the supports to prevent and reduce homelessness. Accessed on 11/19/2022 <http://www.childwelfareinstitute.torontocas.ca/sites/childwelfareinstitute/files/25%20Hidden%20in%20Our%20Midst%20-%20Homeless%20Newcomer%20Youth.pdf>
- Cheran, R. (2001). *The sixth genre: Memory, history, and the Tamil diaspora imagination* (No. 7). Marga Institute.
- Chettleburgh, M. (2007). *Young Thugs: Inside the dangerous world of Canadian street gangs*. Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd.
- Choi, W. G. (2017). China and its Janus-faced refugee policy. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 26(2), 224-240. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0117196817703759>
- Choo, Hae Yeon, and Ferree, M.M. (2010). 'Practicing intersectionality in sociological research: A critical analysis of inclusions, interactions, and institutions in the study of inequalities', *Sociological theory*, 28: 129-49.
- Christensen, Ann-Dorte, and Siim, B. (2006). 'Fra køn til diversitet—intersektionalitet i en dansk/nordisk kontekst', *Kvinder, køn & forskning*.
- Christensen, Ann-Dorte, and Sune Qvotrup Jensen. (2012). 'Doing intersectional analysis: Methodological implications for qualitative research', *NORA-Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 20: 109-25.

- Christina L. and Julie M. (2017) "Start from Zero": Immigrant Women's Experiences of the Gender Wage Gap. (Accessed on 29/8/2021)
http://www.payequity.gov.on.ca/en/DocsEN/OWHN_Final%20Report_April%202017.pdf
- Chui E. (2002). "Housing and Welfare Services in Hong Kong for New Immigrants from China: Inclusion or Exclusion?" *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*. 11(2):221-245.
 doi:10.1177/011719680201100203. Accessed on 3/18/2022
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/011719680201100203>
- Clarke, Victoria, and Virginia Braun. (2016). 'Thematic analysis', *Analysing qualitative data in psychology*.
- Clayton, G. (2016). *Textbook on immigration and asylum law*. Oxford University Press. Accessed on (4/13/2022)
<https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=PcqSDAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Clayton,+2016+immigration+refugees&ots=7R6pchsany&sig=nvfQ0COA726o9w-ggBrKBXIghzo#v=onepage&q=Clayton%2C%202016%20immigration%20refugees&f=false>
- Clayton, P. (2005). Blank slates or hidden treasure? Assessing and building on the experiential learning of migrant and refugee women in European countries. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 24(3), 227-242. (Accessed on 29/8/2021)
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02601370500134917>
- Coffey, Amanda, and Paul Atkinson. (1996). Making sense of qualitative data: complementary research strategies (Sage Publications, Inc).
- Colic-Peisker, V., & Tilbury, F. (2006). Employment niches for recent refugees: Segmented labour market in twenty-first century Australia. *Journal of refugee studies*, 19(2), 203-229. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://academic.oup.com/jrs/article-abstract/19/2/203/1545469>
- Collins, P. H. (1990). Black feminist thought in the matrix of domination. *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*, 138(1990), 221-238. Accessed on 3/16/2022) <https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/30244783/collins-with-cover-page-v2.pdf?Expires=1654896752&Signature=Fp9A4piwSLP82KJAuLIpgXKH~5KLz1~NM500zljSdxYXLMp1l9qKw52NyRkILz0XEuxQX5tjERdQjjzwnNBQPkj68cbWn8lWCgCk--VMPRlpjZDGAq5PW43o~jsvARwr6cy41ujZMQbBjxk6Zs4OpXCwyW66cB5huMSoW8PPtLu6V~NCTESJqHdYh6Qyiee4oWQETYgHirNNcRIqzDqILuN1Plsp3AQ-mcsBT5hqzNRDDyWs4gLBTvvpwemNrcJXFTlGjtVr0K5Y993woxM4t4PD~vRKroSliMxsNCaUIRVDsicyzjYHKwX8z-8osnbkNH992i4k4255Hn01y6Rw &Key-Pair-Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA>
- Council, S. P. (2008). Examining the Degree of Exclusion for Ottawa's Somali Community. *Communities Within Project, Project Funded by Canadian Heritage, Immigration and Aboriginal Unit, City of Ottawa, and the United Way Ottawa with the Collaboration of Carleton University*.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research Design, Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Method Approaches* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2003)
- Danso, R. K., & Grant, M. R. (2000). Access to housing as an adaptive strategy for immigrant groups: Africans in Calgary. *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal*, 32(3), 19-19. (Accessed on 15/8/2021)
<https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CA78527361&sid=googleScholar&v=2.1&it=r&linkaccess=abs&issn=00083496&p=AONE&sw=w&userGroupName=anon%7Eb20c0989>
- Davison, L. (1981). *Women Refugees: Special Needs and Programs*. *Journal of Refugee Resettlement*, 1(3), 16-26. Accessed on 4/10/2022 <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ248056>
- de Haas, H. (2021). A theory of migration: the aspirations-capabilities framework. *Comp Migr Stud* 9: 1–35. Accessed on 2/10/2022 <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-020-00210-4>

- Dei, G. J. S. (1996). *Basic principles of anti-racism education*. *Anti-racism education: Theory and practice*, 25-39.
- Dei, G. J. S. (1997). Afrocentricity and inclusive curriculum: Is there a connection or a contradiction. *The language and politics of exclusion: Others in discourse*, 203-225.
- Dei, G. S. (2000). *Anti-racism education: Theory and practice*. Fernwood Publishing. Accessed on (08/010/2021) <https://fernwoodpublishing.ca/book/anti-racism-education>
- Delara, M. (2016). Social determinants of immigrant women's mental health. *Advances in Public Health*, 2016. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://www.hindawi.com/journals/aph/2016/9730162/>
- Dhital, D. (2015). The Economic Outcomes of Government Assisted Refugees, Privately Sponsored Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Canada. (Accessed on 23/8/2021) <https://ruor.uottawa.ca/handle/10393/32311>
- Dobson, S. (2004). *Cultures of Exile and the Experience of Refugeeeness*. Peter Lang. Accessed on (4/13/2022) https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=Wmccp3eRGYMC&oi=fnd&pg=PA7&dq=Dobson+2004+immigration+refugees&ots=wT-H_FMxF9&sig=AHiUeXmuEhjm0ibcjsyt9aAO_9Q#v=onepage&q=Dobson%202004%20immigration%20refugees&f=false
- Dohrenwend, B. P. (1975). Sociocultural and social-psychological factors in the genesis of mental disorders. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 365-392. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2136610>
- Dolan, C. (2014). Letting go of the gender binary: Charting new pathways for humanitarian interventions on gender-based violence. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 96(894), 485-501.
- Donato, K. M., & Ferris, E. (2020). Refugee integration in Canada, Europe, and the United States: Perspectives from research. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 690(1), 7-35.
- Dossa, P. (2004). *Politics and the poetics of migration: Narratives of Iranian women from the diaspora*. Canadian Scholars' Press. (Accessed on 12/8/2021) https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=LM_SAgAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Dossa+P.+Politics+and+the+poetics+of+migration:+Narratives+of+Iranian+women+from+the+diaspora.+Toronto,+Canada:+Canadian+Scholars%27+Press%3B+2004.&ots=BOw3XJNgLt&sig=6rhisIISy49ZQBV3j9B4rTOEM54&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Dossa%20P.%20Politics%20and%20the%20poetics%20of%20migration%3A%20Narratives%20of%20Iranian%20women%20from%20the%20diaspora.%20Toronto%2C%20Canada%3A%20Canadian%20Scholars'%20Press%3B%202004.&f=false
- Dossa, P. (2009). *Racialized bodies, disabling worlds: Storied lives of immigrant Muslim women*. University of Toronto Press. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=Jazhh6MaK6IC&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Racialized+bodies,+disabling+worlds:+storied+lives+of+immigrant+Muslim+women&ots=JzUYOMh3Rb&sig=TfAqrLHPBBK6Q5xWWHTJN13FvLM&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Racialized%20bodies%2C%20disabling%20worlds%3A%20storied%20lives%20of%20immigrant%20Muslim%20women&f=false
- Dossa, P. (2010). Exploring the disjuncture between the politics of trauma and everyday realities of women in Afghanistan. *Journal of Muslim Mental Health*, 5(1), 8-21. (Accessed on 12/8/2021) <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15564901003609414>

- Downie, J. and J. J. Llewellyn (2011). *Being relational: Reflections on relational theory and health law*, UBC Press.
- Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. (1985). 'Naturalistic inquiry', Beverley Hills CA Sage.
- Elcioglu, E. F. (2021). Neoliberal Fatigue: The Effects of Private Refugee Sponsorship on Canadians' Political Consciousness. *Critical Sociology*, 08969205211064924. (Accessed on 3/21/2022) <https://doi.org/10.1177/08969205211064924>
- Elkin, S., Barden, B., & Mueller, M. (2008). The evaluation of the refugee social service (RSS) and targeted assistance formula grant (TAG) programs: Sacramento case study. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) https://www.mefassoc.com/pdfs/EmpTrainWorkforceDev/RSS_TAG_Sacramento.pdf
- Emirbayer, M., & Mische, A. (1998). What is agency?. *American journal of sociology*, 103(4), 962-1023. Accessed on 3/10/2022 <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/231294>
- Empower Refugee Youth, 2018 <https://www.unhcr.org/5baa3b984.pdf>
- Engbers, T. A., et al. (2017). "Theory and measurement in social capital research." *Social Indicators Research* 132(2): 537-558.
- Espenshade, T. J., & Fu, H. (1997). An analysis of English-language proficiency among US immigrants. *American Sociological Review*, 288-305. Accessed on 3/09/2022 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2657305>
- Essed, P. (1991). *Understanding everyday racism: An interdisciplinary theory*. (Vol. 2). Sage. Accessed on 2/19/2022 https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=1XA5DQAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Essed+1991&ots=afVWTcDrJH&sig=F4HYFKFpi2Ul_voiqc3Gck-7Fos#v=onepage&q=Essed%201991&f=false
- Essed, Philomena. (1991). *Understanding everyday racism: An interdisciplinary theory* (Sage).
- Esses, V. M., Deaux, K., Lalonde, R. N., & Brown, R. (2010). Psychological perspectives on immigration. *Journal of Social Issues*, 66(4), 635-647.
- Este, D. C., & Tachble, A. (2009). Fatherhood in the Canadian context: Perceptions and experiences of Sudanese refugee men. *Sex Roles*, 60(7), 456-466. Accessed on 2/16/2022 <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11199-008-9532-1>
- Evans, O., & Murray, R. (2009). *The gateway protection programme: an evaluation*. London: Home Office.
- Farrington, F. (2011). "Towards a useful definition: Advantages and criticisms of 'social exclusion'." GEOView: Online Undergraduate Review of Geography and Environmental Studies.
- Findlay, Allan M, and FLN Li. (1999). 'Methodological issues in researching migration', *The Professional Geographer*, 51: 50-59.
- Finley, Linda. (2002). 'Outing" the Researcher: The Provenance', *Process and Practice of Reflexivity*, 12.
- Fischer, L. R., & Schaffer, K. B. (1993). *Older volunteers: A guide to research and practice*. Sage Publications, Inc. Accessed on 3/18/2022) <https://psycnet.apa.org/record/1993-97488-000>
- Fossey, E., Harvey, C., McDermott, F., & Davidson, L. (2002). Understanding and evaluating qualitative research. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 36, 717-732.
- Francis, J. (2009). *You cannot settle like this: The housing situation of African refugees in Metro Vancouver*. Vancouver, BC: Metropolis British Columbia. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) file:///C:/Users/Sayanti/AppData/Local/Temp/ubc_2010_spring_francis_jenny.pdf
- Francis, J. (2010). Poor housing outcomes among African refugees in metro Vancouver. *Canadian Issues*, 59. (Accessed on 17/8/2021)

<https://www.proquest.com/openview/75ca53dbbcc49f5f90f9b3b2f65ab5cb/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=43874>

- Francis, J., & Hiebert, D. (2014). Shaky foundations: Refugees in Vancouver's housing market. *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien*, 58(1), 63-78. (Accessed on 15/8/2021 <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1541-0064.2013.12056.x>)
- Francis, J., & Yan, M. C. (2016). Bridging the gaps: Access to formal support services among young African immigrants and refugees in Metro Vancouver. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 48(1), 77-100. Accessed on (08/09/2021) <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/612920/summary>
- Friscolanti, M. (2016). A milestone looms for Canada's Syrian refugees: 'Month 13'. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/a-milestone-looms-for-canadas-syrian-refugees-month-13/>
- Galabuzi, G. E. (2014). Race and the Streaming of Ontario's Children and Youth in Restacking the Deck: Streaming by race, class and gender in Ontario Schools. *Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives*. Accessed 4/20/2022 https://policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/National%20Office/2014/02/osos114_cover_TOC_Intro.pdf
- Gale, N.K., Heath, G., Cameron, E. et al. Using the framework method for the analysis of qualitative data in multi-disciplinary health research. *BMC Med Res Methodol* 13, 117 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2288-13-117>
- Garang, R. (2012). *Integration and settlement: The experiences and expectations of African immigrants and refugees*. Winnipeg, Canada: Winnipeg Harvest. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Integration-and-settlement-%3A-The-experiences-and-of-Garang/7f7e2a1e2c1a9c8b7ecc6f2ebfd6f27805377b>
- Gemici, S., & Curtis, D. D. (2012). Senior secondary workplace learning and transition success in Australia. *Education+ Training*, 54(1), 36-49.
- Gergen, Mary M, and Kenneth J Gergen. (2000). 'Qualitative inquiry: Tensions and transformations', *Handbook of qualitative research*, 2: 1025-46.
- Gettliffe, E., & Khan, S. (2020). *Scaling Economic Opportunities for Refugee Women: Understanding and Overcoming Obstacles to Women's Economic Empowerment in Germany, Niger, and Kenya*. New York: International Rescue Committee (Accessed on 15/8/2021) file:///C:/Users/Sayanti/AppData/Local/Temp/IRC_WomensEcon_Cross-Country_Overview_vf.pdf
- Ghosh, P. S. (2015). South Asia's Response to Its Refugee Questions. In *Politics in South Asia* (pp. 101-122). Springer, Cham. (Accessed on 18/8/2021) https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-09087-0_8
- Gilbert, R. (2018) As Asylum Seekers Head to Canada, Concerns Among the Local Indigenous Population Grow. Accessed on (08/08/2021) <https://psmag.com/social-justice/conflicts-between-indigenous-canadians-and-asylum-seekers>
- Goldbloom, R., and Battista R.N., (1988). The Periodic Health Examination. CANADIAN TASK FORCE 1988 Accessed on 2/27/2022 <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1267739/pdf/cmaj00164-0035.pdf>
- Goodkind, Jessica R, and Zermarie Deacon. (2004). 'Methodological issues in conducting research with refugee women: Principles for recognizing and re-centering the multiply marginalized', *Journal of Community Psychology*, 32: 721-39.
- Gouin, R. (2016). Facilitating the integration of newcomer children and youth. Accessed on (08/06/2021)

- <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/CIMM/Brief/BR8290477/br-external/BoysAndGirlsClubsOfCanada-e.pdf>
- Government of Canada. (2018). Language classes funded by the Government of Canada. Accessed on (11/19/2022) <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/new-immigrants/new-life-canada/improve-english-french/classes.html>
- Guba, Egon G, and Yvonna S Lincoln. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation* (Sage).
- Guo, Y., Arthur, N., & Lund, D. (2009). Intercultural inquiry with pre-service teachers. *Intercultural Education*, 20(6), 565-577. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980903448619>
- Gupta, K. and P. P. Yesudian (2006). "Evidence of women's empowerment in India: A study of socio-spatial disparities." *GeoJournal* 65(4): 365-380.
- Guruge, S., Roche, B., & Catallo, C. (2012). Violence against women: an exploration of the physical and mental health trends among immigrant and refugee women in Canada. *Nursing research and practice*, 2012.
- Hadfield, K., Ostrowski, A., & Ungar, M. (2017). What can we expect of the mental health and well-being of Syrian refugee children and adolescents in Canada? *Canadian Psychology/Psychologie Canadienne*, 58(2), 194-201. <https://doi:10.1037/cap0000102>
- Hanley, J., Al Mhamied, A., Cleveland, J., Hajjar, O., Hassan, G., Ives, N., ... & Hynie, M. (2018). The social networks, social support and social capital of Syrian refugees privately sponsored to settle in Montreal: Indications for employment and housing during their early experiences of integration. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 50(2), 123-148. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/700983/summary>
- Henley, J., & Robinson, J. (2011). Mental health issues among refugee children and adolescents. *Clinical Psychologist*, 15(2), 51–62. <https://doi:10.1111/j.1742-9552.2011.00024.x>
- Hiers, W., Soehl, T., & Wimmer, A. (2017). National trauma and the fear of foreigners: How past geopolitical threat heightens anti-immigration sentiment today. *Social Forces*, 96(1), 361-388.
- Hekman, S. (2001). *Perspectives on Equality: Constructing a Relational Theory*, JSTOR.
- Hollifield, Michael, Teddy D Warner, Nityamo Lian, Barry Krakow, Janis H Jenkins, James Kesler, Jayne Stevenson, and Joseph Westermeyer. (2002). 'Measuring trauma and health status in refugees: a critical review', *Jama*, 288: 611-21.
- Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, F. (2004). The active interview. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative research: Theory, method and practice* (2nd ed., pp. 140-161). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hornscheidt, A. (2009). 'Intersectional challenges to gender studies—gender studies as a challenge to intersectionality', *Gender Delight. Science, Knowledge, Culture and Writing...* for Nina Lykke. Linköping: LiU-Tryck: 33-46.
- Hossain, A. N. M. Z. (2022) "Research Methods for the Study of Refugee Resettlement", *AARMS – Academic and Applied Research in Military and Public Management Science*. Budapest, 20(2), pp. 67–86. doi: 10.32565/aarms.2021.2.6. Accessed on 3/15/2022 <http://real.mtak.hu/136662/>
- Hou, F., & Bonikowska, A. (2016). *Educational and Labour Market Outcomes of Childhood Immigrants by Admission Class. Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper Series*. Statistics Canada. 150 Tunney's Pasture Driveway, Ottawa, ON K1A 0T6, Canada. Accessed on (08/06/2021) <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED585303>
- Houle, R. (2019). Insights on Canadian society results from the 2016 census: Syrian refugees who resettled in Canada in 2015 and 2016. (Accessed on 12/8/2021) <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/75-006-x/2019001/article/00001-eng.htm>

- Hourani, J., Block, K., Phillimore, J., Bradby, H., Ozcurumez, S., Goodson, L., & Vaughan, C. (2021). Structural and Symbolic Violence Exacerbates the Risks and Consequences of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence for Forced Migrant Women. *Front. Hum. Dyn* 3: 769611. doi: 10.3389/fhumd.
- Housing and Settlement Service Study Final Report (2015). "The Intersection of Settlement and Housing Services and Policies: Reducing the Risk of Homelessness for Immigrant and Refugee Women." Accessed on 02/12/2020
https://ocasi.org/sites/default/files/Housing_and_Settlement_Service_Study_final_30-06-2015.pdf
- Hyman, I., Mercado, R., Galabuzi, G. E., & Patychuk, D. (2011). A critical review of social exclusion and inclusion indicators: Implications for the development of a Canadian framework. *Immigrant integration: Research implications for future policy*, 85-102. Accessed on (08/06/2021)
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/261760136_Chapter_6_A_Critical_Review_of_Social_Exclusion_and_Inclusion_Indicators_Implications_for_the_Development_of_a_Canadian_Framework_-_Ilene_Hyman_Ruben_Mercado_Grace-Edward_Galabuzi_and_Dianne_Patychuk
- Hyman, I., Vu, N., & Beiser, M. (2000). Post-migration stresses among Southeast Asian refugee youth in Canada: A research note. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 31(2), 281-293. Accessed on (08/08/2021) <https://www.utpjournals.press/doi/abs/10.3138/jcfs.31.2.281?journalCode=jcfs>
- Hyndman, J. (2011). A refugee camp conundrum: Geopolitics, liberal democracy, and protracted refugee situations. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 7-15. (Accessed on 15/8/2021)
<https://refuge.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/refuge/article/view/36472>
- Hyndman, J., & Giles, W. (2016). *Refugees in extended exile: Living on the edge*. Routledge. (Accessed on 18/8/2021) <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/mono/10.4324/9781315618029/refugees-extended-exile-jennifer-hyndman-wenona-giles>
- Hyndman, J., Payne, W., & Jimenez, S. (2017). The state of private refugee sponsorship in Canada: trends, issues, and impacts. *Toronto: Centre for Refugee Studies, York University*. Accessed on (08/08/2021) https://refugeereseach.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/hyndman_feb%E2%80%9917.pdf
- Hynie, M. (2018). The social determinants of refugee mental health in the post-migration context: A critical review. *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 63(5), 297-303. (Accessed on 29/8/2021)
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0706743717746666>
- Hynie, M., McGrath, S., Bridekirk, J., Oda, A., Ives, N., Hyndman, J., ... & McKenzie, K. (2019). What role does type of sponsorship play in early integration outcomes? Syrian refugees resettled in six Canadian cities. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees/Refuge: revue canadienne sur les réfugiés*, 35(2), 36-52. Accessed on (08/08/2021)
<https://www.erudit.org/en/journals/refuge/1900-v1-n1-refuge04887/1064818ar/abstract/>
- Ibrahim, S., & Alkire, S. (2007). Agency and empowerment: A proposal for internationally comparable indicators. *Oxford development studies*, 35(4), 379-403. Accessed on 2/09/2022
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13600810701701897>
- ILO 1998 ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (Accessed on 2/25/2022)
<https://www.ilo.org/declaration/lang--en/index.htm>
- Immigration and Refugees Protection Act 2001. Accessed on 3/10/2022 Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, SC 2001, c 27 [IRPA]; Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations , SOR/2002-227.
- International Institute of Labor Studies (1996). Accessed on 4/13/2020
<https://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/relm/gb/docs/gb267/index.htm>

- IRCC (2015). Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration, 2015. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/annual-report-parliament-immigration-2015.html>
- IRCC (2016). Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration, 2016. Accessed on 4/13/2022 <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/annual-report-parliament-immigration-2016.html>
- IRCC (2017). 2017 Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration. Accessed on 4/13/2017 <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/annual-report-parliament-immigration-2017.html>
- IRCC (2018). 2018 Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration. Accessed on 4/13/2022 <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/annual-report-parliament-immigration-2018/report.html>
- IRCC (2019a). Syrian Refugee Resettlement Initiative- Looking to the Future. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/welcome-syrian-refugees/looking-future.html>
- IRCC (2019b). Call for proposals 2019: Settlement and Resettlement Assistance Programs funding guidelines. Accessed on 2/14/2020 <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/partners-service-providers/funding/call-for-proposals-2019-settlement-and-resettlement-funding-guidelines.html#settlement>
- IRCC (2019). 2020 Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration. Accessed on 17/05/2021 from <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/annual-report-parliament-immigration-2020.html#annex2>
- IRCC (2021). Resettlement in Canada as a Refugee. Accessed on 08/15/2022 <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/help-outside-canada.html>
- IRCC (2021a). Transportation Loans. Accessed on 08/18/2022 <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/operational-bulletins-manuals/service-delivery/immigration-loans-program/procedures-transportation.html>
- IRCC (2021b). Claiming Asylum in Canada – What Happens? Accessed on 12/02/2022 https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/news/2017/03/claiming_asylum_incanadawhathappens.html
- IRCC (2022). “Notice – Supplementary Information for the 2022-2024 Immigration Levels Plan”. Accessed on 4/27/2022 <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/news/2022/03/canada-to-welcome-those-fleeing-the-war-in-ukraine.html>
- IRCC (2022a). Find Help to Adjust as refugee in Canada. Accessed on 08/15/2022 <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/help-within-canada/government-assisted-refugee-program/providers.html>
- IRCC (2022b). Services for Newcomer Youth. Accessed on 08/18/2022 <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/new-immigrants/new-life-canada/youth-services.html>
- IRCC (2022c). Supplementary Information for the 2023-2025 Immigration Levels Plan. Accessed on 12/02/2022 <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/news/notices/supplementary-immigration-levels-2023-2025.html#fn11>
- IRPA (2001). Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (S.C. 2001, c. 27). Accessed on 4/13/2022 <https://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/i-2.5/>

- Jasso, G., & Rosenzweig, M. R. (1990). *The new chosen people: Immigrants in the United States*. Russell Sage Foundation. Accessed on 3/30/2022
https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=Iga5BgAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR15&dq=Jasso+and+Rosezweig+1990&ots=d_uj2J5dL_&sig=_Y2UaUNmomWhUiSeWQt5FQ-436Q#v=onepage&q=Jasso%20and%20Rosezweig%201990&f=false
- Jones, A. (2001). Child Asylum Seekers and Refugees: Rights and Responsibilities. *Journal of Social Work, 1*(3), 253–271. (Accessed on 2/16/2022) <https://doi.org/10.1177/146801730100100302>
- Jones, C. (2000). Levels of Racism: A Theoretic Framework and a Gardner's Tale. *Am. J. Public Health 90* (8), 121–125.
- Jowett, N., Silvius, R., Ahmed, A., & DePape, N. (2020). Supported transitions: Effective educational approaches for older refugee youth with interrupted schooling. Accessed on 4/17/2022
<https://www.uwinnipeg.ca/ceri-network/docs/effective-educational-approaches-for-older-refugee-youth-with-interrupted-schooling.pdf>
- Kabeer, N. (1999). "Resources, agency, achievements: Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment." *Development and change 30*(3): 435-464.
- Kabeer, N. (1999). Resources, agency, achievements: Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment. *Development and change, 30*(3), 435-464. (Accessed on 12/8/2021)
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1467-7660.00125>
- Kabeer, N. (2001). Conflicts over credit: Re-evaluating the empowerment potential of loans to women in rural Bangladesh. *World development, 29*(1), 63-84. Accessed on (08/09/2021)
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0305750X00000814>
- Kabeer, N. (2001). Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment. (Accessed on 12/8/2021) <https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/10797/>
- Kanu, Y. (2007). Educational pathways to successful social integration for African refugee students in Manitoba. *Our Diverse Cities, 2*, 114–119. Retrieved from
http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/odc09_pdfs/YattaKanu_ODC09.pdf
- Kanu, Y. (2008). Educational Needs and Barriers for African Refugee Students in Manitoba. *Canadian Journal of education, 31*(4), 915-940. Accessed on (08/09/2021)
<https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ830509>
- Kanu, Y. (2009). Changing students, changing teaching: Understanding the dynamics of adaptation to a changing student population. *Cultural and Pedagogical Inquiry, 1*(2). Accessed on 4/17/2022
<https://journals.library.ualberta.ca/cpi/index.php/cpi/article/view/7117>
- Keleher, H. M., & Armstrong, R. L. (2006). Evidence-based mental health promotion resource. (Accessed on 12/8/2021) <https://research.monash.edu/en/publications/evidence-based-mental-health-promotion-resource>
- Khader, S. J. (2011). *Adaptive preferences and womens empowerment*. Oxford University Press. Accessed on (08/09/2021)
<https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=TKtoAgAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Khader,+2011&ots=XUQKomWSc5&sig=ZXwNG98mG-bw6otPxcmVT9K2rKI#v=onepage&q=Khader%2C%202011&f=false>
- Kilbride, K. M., & Anisef, P. (2001). *To build on hope: Overcoming the challenges facing newcomer youth at risk in Ontario*. Toronto: Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement. Accessed on (08/08/2021)
<https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.505.1492&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Kilmurray, A. (1995). "Beyond the stereotypes." *Social Exclusion, Social Inclusion*.

- Kirova, A. (2019). Introduction: Syrian refugees' encounters with the education system in their initial resettlement in Canada. *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education*, 14(1). Retrieved on (11/19/2022) <https://journals.library.ualberta.ca/jcie/index.php/JCIE/article/view/29369/21370>
- Klassen, A. (2022). From Vulnerability to Empowerment: Critical Reflections on Canada's Engagement with Refugee Policy. *Laws*, 11(2), 22. Accessed on 2/15/2022 <https://www.mdpi.com/2075-471X/11/2/22>
- Knapp, Gudrun-Axeli. (2005). 'Intersectionality «: ein neues Paradigma feministischer Theorie?»; Zur transatlantischen Reise von» Race, Class, Gender', *Feministische Studien: Zeitschrift für interdisziplinäre Frauen-und Geschlechterforschung*, 23: 68-81-68-81.
- Koch, Tina. (1994). 'Establishing rigour in qualitative research: the decision trail', *Journal of advanced nursing*, 19: 976-86.
- Koggel, C. (2010). The ethics of empowerment. *Development*, 53(2), 175-178. Accessed on (08/010/2021) <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/dev.2010.7>
- Koggel, C. M. (1997). Perspectives on equality: Constructing a relational theory. Accessed on (08/09/2021) <https://philpapers.org/rec/KOGPOE>
- Koggel, C. M. (2002). Equality Analysis in a Global Context: A Relational Approach1. *Canadian Journal of Philosophy Supplementary Volume*, 28, 246-272. Accessed on 4/11/2022 <https://doi.org/10.1080/00455091.2002.10717589>[Opens in a new window]
- Korntheuer, A., Korn, A., Hynie, M., Shimwe, B., Homa, L. (2018). Education Pathways: Policy Implications for Refugee Youth in Germany and Canada. In: Pashang, S., Khanlou, N., Clarke, J. (eds) *Today's Youth and Mental Health. Advances in Mental Health and Addiction*. Springer, Cham. Accessed on 3/17/2022 https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64838-5_16
- Koyama, J. (2015). Constructing gender: Refugee women working in the United States. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 28(2), 258-275. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://academic.oup.com/jrs/article-abstract/28/2/258/1541861>
- Krahn, H., Derwing, T., Mulder, M., & Wilkinson, L. (2000). Educated and underemployed: Refugee integration into the Canadian labour market. *Journal of International Migration and Integration/Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale*, 1(1), 59-84. (Accessed on 23/8/2021) <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12134-000-1008-2>
- Kristiansen, M. H. (2014). Agency as an empirical concept. an assessment of theory and operationalization. *Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI)*, 9(1). Accessed on 2/27/2022 <https://publ.nidi.nl/output/papers/nidi-wp-2014-09.pdf>
- Kumar Agrawal, S. (2019). Canadian refugee sponsorship programs: Experience of Syrian refugees in Alberta, Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 20(4), 941-962. Accessed on 3/12/2020 <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12134-018-0640-7>
- Kunz, E. F. (1981). "Part II: The analytic framework: Exile and resettlement: Refugee theory." *International migration review* 15(1-2): 42-51.
- Kvale, S. and Brinkmann, S. (2009). *Interviews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing* (Sage).
- Kvale, S. (1983). The qualitative research interview. A phenomenological and a hermeneutical mode of understanding. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 14, 171-196.
- Kyriakides, C., Bajjali, L., McLuhan, A., & Anderson, K. (2018). Beyond refuge: Contested orientalism and persons of self-rescue. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 50(2), 59-78. (Accessed on 12/8/2021) <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/700980/summary>
- Labman, S. (2019). *Crossing law's border: Canada's refugee resettlement program*. University of British Columbia Press Accessed on 3/14/2022

[https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=S5q1DwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=\).+Crossing+law%E2%80%99s+border:+canada%E2%80%99s+refugee+resettlement+program.+&ots=GkTFtILC48&sig=xXcywA1Zo7twima6zNBHA00_SfA#v=onepage&q=\).%20Crossing%20law%E2%80%99s%20border%20canada%E2%80%99s%20refugee%20resettlement%20program.&f=false](https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=S5q1DwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=).+Crossing+law%E2%80%99s+border:+canada%E2%80%99s+refugee+resettlement+program.+&ots=GkTFtILC48&sig=xXcywA1Zo7twima6zNBHA00_SfA#v=onepage&q=).%20Crossing%20law%E2%80%99s%20border%20canada%E2%80%99s%20refugee%20resettlement%20program.&f=false)

- Lacroix, M. (2004). Canadian refugee policy and the social construction of the refugee claimant subjectivity: Understanding refugeeness. *Journal of refugee studies*, 17(2), 147-166. Accessed on (4/13/2022) <https://academic.oup.com/jrs/articleabstract/17/2/147/1575952?login=false>
- Lacroix, M., Baffoe, M., & Liguori, M. (2015). Refugee community organizations in Canada: From the margins to the mainstream? A challenge and opportunity for social workers. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 24(1), 62-72. Accessed on 4/12/2022 <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/ijsw.12110>
- Lamba, N. K., & Krahn, H. (2003). Social capital and refugee resettlement: The social networks of refugees in Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration/Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale*, 4(3), 335-360.
- Lamba, N. K. (2003). The employment experiences of Canadian refugees: Measuring the impact of human and social capital on quality of employment. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 40(1), 45-64.
- Lanphier, M. (2003). Sponsorship: Organizational, sponsor, and refugee perspectives. *Journal of International Migration and Integration/Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale*, 4(2), 237-256. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12134-003-1035-x>
- Larsen, B. R. (2011). Becoming part of welfare Scandinavia: Integration through the spatial dispersal of newly arrived refugees in Denmark. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(2), 333-350. (Accessed on 18/8/2021) <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1369183X.2011.521337>
- Larsen, K., & Gilliland, J. (2009). "A farmers' market in a food desert: Evaluating impacts on the price and availability of healthy food." *Health & place* 15, no. 4: 1158-1162. (Accessed on 3/27/2022) <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2009.06.007>
- Lauer, S., Wilkinson, L., Yan, M. C., Sin, R., & Tsang, A. (2012). Immigrant youth and employment: Lessons learned from the analysis of LSIC and 82 lived stories. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 13(1), 1-19. Accessed on 3/28/2022 https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Rick-Sin/publication/251186988_Immigrant_Youth_and_Employment_Lessons_Learned_from_the_Analysis_of_LSIC_and_82_Lived_Stories/links/00b7d53bef8aab509b000000/Immigrant-Youth-and-Employment-Lessons-Learned-from-the-Analysis-of-LSIC-and-82-Lived-Stories.pdf
- Lee, E. O. J., & Brotman, S. (2011). Identity, refugeeness, belonging: Experiences of sexual minority refugees in Canada. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 48(3), 241-274. Accessed on (4/13/2022) <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1755-618X.2011.01265.x>
- Lessels and Maher, (2017) Start from Zero: Immigrant Women's Experiences of the Gender Wage Gap. (Accessed on 23/8/2021) http://www.payequity.gov.on.ca/en/DocsEN/OWHN_Final%20Report_April%202017.pdf
- Lewin, F. A. (2001). The meaning of home among elderly immigrants: Directions for future research and theoretical development. *Housing studies*, 16(3), 353-370. (Accessed on 23/8/2021) <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02673030120049715>

- Li, C., Li, S., Feldman, M. W., Li, J., Zheng, H., & Daily, G. C. (2018). The impact on rural livelihoods and ecosystem services of a major relocation and settlement program: A case in Shaanxi, China. *Ambio*, 47(2), 245-259. Accessed on (08/09/2021) <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s13280-017-0941-7>
- Li, X., et al. (2017). "Welcome to "the rock": Service providers' views on newcomer youth integration in Newfoundland and Labrador." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 18(4): 1105-1122.
- Liebig, T. (2018), "Triple Disadvantage? : A first overview of the integration of refugee women", OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers, No. 216, OECD Publishing, Paris. Accessed on 4/21/2022 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/3f3a9612-en>
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (2000). The only generalization is: There is no generalization. *Case study method*, 27-44. "The only generalization is: There is no generalization", *Case study method*: 27-44.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Egon, E. G. (2000). Lincoln, Yvonna S., and Egon G. Egon, " Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences," pp. 163-188 in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., *The Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2000.
- Lincoln, Yvonna S, and Egon G Guba. (1985). 'Naturalistic Inquiry Sage: Newbury Park', CA Google Scholar.
- Loewen, S. (2004). Second language concerns for refugee children. In R. Hamilton & D. Moore (Eds.), *Educational interventions for refugee children: Theoretical perspectives and implementing best practice* (pp.35-52). London: Routledge Falmer.
- Lu, Y., Frenette, M., & Gure, Y. (2020). The Long-term Labour Market Integration of Refugee Claimants who Became Permanent Residents in Canada. Statistics Canada= Statistique Canada.
- Lubkemann, S. C. (2010). Culture in chaos. In *Culture in Chaos*. University of Chicago Press. Accessed on (4/13/2022) <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.7208/9780226496436/html>
- Lund, D. E. (2008). *Fostering acceptance and integration of immigrant students: Examining effective school-based approaches in prairie schools*. Prairie Metropolis Centre. Accessed on (08/09/2021) <https://sites.ualberta.ca/~pcerii/WorkingPapers/WP0108.pdf>
- Lutz, Helma. (2002). "Intersectional analysis: a way out of multiple dilemmas?" In International Sociological Association conference, Brisbane, July.
- Macklin, A. (2018). The return of banishment: Do the new denationalisation policies weaken citizenship?. In *Debating transformations of national citizenship* (pp. 163-172). Springer, Cham. Accessed on (08/08/2021) https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-92719-0_31
- MacNevin, J. (2012). Learning the way: Teaching and learning with and for youth from refugee backgrounds on Prince Edward Island. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 35(3), 48-63. Accessed on (08/06/2021) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/canajeducrevucan.35.3.48>
- Madariaga-Vignudo, L., & Miladinovska-Blazevska, T. (2005). Housing experiences: The case of refugees in Winnipeg. *Winnipeg, University of Winnipeg*, 1-31.
- Makwarimba, E., Stewart, M., Simich, L., Makumbe, K., Shizha, E., & Anderson, S. (2013). Sudanese and Somali refugees in Canada: Social support needs and preferences. *International migration*, 51(5), 106-119. Accessed on 3/10/2022 <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/imig.12116>
- Malhotra, A., & Schuler, S. R. (2005). Women's empowerment as a variable in international development. *Measuring empowerment: Cross-disciplinary perspectives*, 1(1), 71-88. Accessed on 3/18/2022

[https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=BzXyApyTGOYC&oi=fnd&pg=PA71&dq=Malhotra,+A.,+%26+Schuler,+S.+R.+\(2005\).+Women%E2%80%99s+empowerment+as+a+Variable+in+International+Development.+In+D.+Narayan+\(Ed.\),&ots=HQTWegUUz1&sig=00XsEB1WSU2hB-ASbYLMJMjWUhWg#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=BzXyApyTGOYC&oi=fnd&pg=PA71&dq=Malhotra,+A.,+%26+Schuler,+S.+R.+(2005).+Women%E2%80%99s+empowerment+as+a+Variable+in+International+Development.+In+D.+Narayan+(Ed.),&ots=HQTWegUUz1&sig=00XsEB1WSU2hB-ASbYLMJMjWUhWg#v=onepage&q&f=false)

- Malkki, L. H. (1996). Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization. *Cultural Anthropology*, 11(3), 377–404. Accessed on 4/3/2022
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/656300>
- Mangrio, E., Zdravkovic, S., & Carlson, E. (2019). Refugee women’s experience of the resettlement process: a qualitative study. *BMC women's health*, 19(1), 1-6. (Accessed on 26/8/2021)
<https://bmcwomenshealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12905-019-0843-x>
- Manitoba – News Release (2022, April 25). Province Invests \$5.1 Million in 15 Organizations to Support Settlement Services for Newcomers. Accessed on 08/18/2022
<https://news.gov.mb.ca/news/index.html?item=54281>
- Marchand L, (2022). Accessed on 3/17/2022 <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/ukraine-afghan-refugees-1.6381826>
- Marsh, A. and D. Mullins (1998). "The social exclusion perspective and housing studies: origins, applications and limitations." *Housing Studies* 13(6): 749-759.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2011). *Designing Qualitative Research* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Accessed on 3/10/2022
[https://www.scirp.org/\(S\(vtj3fa45qm1ean45vvffcz55\)\)/reference/ReferencesPapers.aspx?ReferenceID=1727499](https://www.scirp.org/(S(vtj3fa45qm1ean45vvffcz55))/reference/ReferencesPapers.aspx?ReferenceID=1727499)
- Martin, S. F. (2004). Women and migration. In *Consultative Meeting on “Migration and Mobility and how this movement affects Women”*, Malmo. Accessed on 4/19/2022
<https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.398.1084&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Mason, K. O. and H. L. Smith (2003). "Women’s empowerment and social context: Results from five Asian countries." Gender and Development Group, World Bank, Washington, DC.
- Mayblin, L. (2019). *Impoverishment and asylum: Social policy as slow violence*. Routledge. Accessed on 3/23/2022
https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=yXzADwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT14&dq=Mayblin+2020+refugees+violence+impoverishment&ots=HAX3w62TXA&sig=g85i_iw-gljYJ8BGV_MCL8Zs9I0#v=onepage&q=Mayblin%202020%20refugees%20violence%20impoverishment&f=false
- Mbembe A (2003) *Necropolitics*. *Public Culture* 15:11–40
- McBrien, J. L. (2005). *Educational needs and barriers for refugee students in the United States: A review of the literature*. *Review of educational research*, 75(3), 329-364. Accessed on 2/11/2022
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.3102/00346543075003329>
- McCall, Leslie. (2008). 'The complexity of intersectionality.' in, *Intersectionality and beyond* (Routledge-Cavendish).
- McCarthy, C., & Marks, D. F. (2010). *Exploring the health and well-being of refugee and asylum seeking children*. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 15(4), 586-595. Accessed on 3/27/2022
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1335910530935644>
- McMurdo, A. M. B. (2016). Causes and consequences of Canada's resettlement of Syrian refugees. *Forced Migration Review*, (52), 82. (Accessed on 29/8/2021)
<https://www.proquest.com/openview/f57f1031657eb5f253ab692c1e27aded/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=55113>

- Michelle Ball (2019) Working together to support sponsored refugees A literature review on best practices in settlement-sponsor collaboration (Accessed on 3/12/2022) https://ocasi.org/sites/default/files/working-together-to-support-sponsored-refugees-literature-review_1.pdf
- Meckler, L. 2018. "Refugee Admissions to U.S. Off to Slow Start in Fiscal Year 2018." The Wall Street Journal, January 7. (Accessed on 3/17/2022) <https://www.wsj.com/articles/refugee-admissions-to-u-s-off-to-slow-start-in-fiscal-year-2018-1515330001>
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. sage. Accessed on 4/15/2022 https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=U4IU_wJ5QEC&oi=fnd&pg=PA10&dq=Miles+%26+Huberman,+1994&ots=kFXC-JTVWR&sig=9QxJLPW-GNw4cBxgjfBoPsdGbJ8#v=onepage&q=Miles%20%26%20Huberman%2C%201994&f=false
- Miletic, B. (2014). *Psycho-social, work, and marital adjustment of older middle aged refugees from the Former Yugoslavia* (Doctoral dissertation, Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa). (Accessed on 26/8/2021) <https://ruor.uottawa.ca/handle/10393/30686>
- Miraftab, F. (2000). Sheltering refugees: the housing experience of refugees in Metropolitan Vancouver, Canada. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 42-63. (Accessed on 18/8/2021) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44320598>
- Mitchell, Ellen S. (1986). 'Multiple triangulation: a methodology for nursing science', *Advances in nursing science*.
- Montesanti, S. R., & Thurston, W. E. (2015). Mapping the role of structural and interpersonal violence in the lives of women: implications for public health interventions and policy. *BMC women's health*, 15(1), 1-13. Accessed by (4/13/2022) <https://bmcwomenshealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12905-015-0256-4>
- Montgomery, E. (2011). Trauma, exile and mental health in young refugees. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, 124, 1-46.
- Mosaicbc, (2014). Voyages 2014 Conference. Accessed on 2/22/2022 <https://www.mosaicbc.org/news/voyages-2014-conference/>
- Mourshed, M., and Farrell, D. (2012). Education to Employment Designing a System that Works; Two Crises, One Paradox. S.I.: McKinsey Center for Government
- Muffels, R. and D. Fouarge (2000). "Insecurity, labour market exclusion and income poverty evidence from wave 1 & 2 of the ECHP." Tilburg Institute for Social Security Research, Tilburg.
- Munson, J., & Ataullahjan, S. (2016). Finding refuge in Canada: A Syrian resettlement story. *Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights*. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://childcarecanada.org/documents/research-policy-practice/17/01/finding-refuge-canada-syrian-resettlement-story>
- Murdie, R. A. (1994). 'Blacks in near-ghettos?' black visible minority population in metropolitan Toronto housing authority public housing units. *Housing Studies*, 9(4), 435-457. Accessed on 3/10/2022 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02673039408720799>
- Murdie, R. A. (2008). Pathways to Housing: The experiences of sponsored refugees and refugee claimants in accessing permanent housing in Toronto. *Journal of International Migration and Integration/Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale*, 9(1), 81-101. (Accessed on 12/8/2021) <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs12134-008-0045-0>
- Murphy, M., Stark, L. I. N. D. S. A. Y., Wessells, M., Boothby, N., & Ager, A. (2011). Fortifying barriers: Sexual violence as an obstacle to girls' school participation in northern Uganda. *Education, conflict and development*, 167-184.

- Murray, J. S. (2016). Displaced and forgotten child refugees: A humanitarian crisis. *Journal for Specialists in Pediatric Nursing*, 21(1), 29-36. doi:10.1111/jspn.12133
- Murray, Kate E, Graham R Davidson, and Robert D Schweitzer. (2010). 'Review of refugee mental health interventions following resettlement: Best practices and recommendations', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 80: 576.
- Muyoyeta, L. (2007). Women, gender and development, *Women for Change, Zambia and 80: 20 Educating and Acting for a Better World*
- Myles, J., & Hou, F. (2003). Neighbourhood attainment and residential segregation among Toronto's visible minorities. *Statistics Canada, Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper Series*, (206). (Accessed on 23/8/2021) https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=486146
- Nedelsky, J. (1989). "Reconceiving Autonomy: Sources." *Thoughts and Possibilities 1*: 13.
- Netto, G. (2011). Strangers in the city: Addressing challenges to the protection, housing and settlement of refugees. *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 11(3), 285-303. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14616718.2011.599132>
- Newland, K. (2017). The Global Compact for Migration: How Does Development Fit In? *Migration Policy Institute policy brief, 1*. Accessed on 4/16/2020
- Nichols, L., Ha, B., & Tyyskä, V. (2020). Canadian immigrant youth and the education-employment nexus. *Canadian Journal of Family and Youth/Le Journal Canadien de Famille et de la Jeunesse*, 12(1), 178-199. Accessed on (08/06/2021) <https://journals.library.ualberta.ca/cjfy/index.php/cjfy/article/view/29497>
- Nichols, N. (2018). Youth Work. In *Youth Work*. University of Toronto Press. Accessed 2/22/2022 <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442668171>
- Nixon, R. (2011). Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor. In *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*. Harvard University Press. Accessed on 2/25/2022 <https://doi.org/10.4159/harvard.9780674061194>
- Novac, S. (1999). Immigrant Enclaves and Residential Segregation: Voices of Racialized Refugees. *Canadian Woman Studies*, 19(3). (Accessed on 18/8/2021) <https://cws.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/cws/article/viewFile/7881/7012>
- Nowell, Lorelli S, Norris J.M, White, D E. and Moules, J N. (2017). 'Thematic analysis: Striving to meet the trustworthiness criteria', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 16: 1609406917733847.
- Nunkeosing, K. (2005). The problems with interviews. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15, 698-706. doi: 10.1177/1049732304273903.
- Nunn, C., McMichael, C., Gifford, S. M., & Correa-Velez, I. (2014). 'I came to this country for a better life': Factors mediating employment trajectories among young people who migrated to Australia as refugees during adolescence. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 17(9), 1205-1220. Accessed on 4/20/2022 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13676261.2014.901496>
- Nussbaum, M. (2000). Women's capabilities and social justice. *Journal of human development*, 1(2), 219-247. Accessed on 3/16/2022 <https://doi.org/10.1080/713678045>
- Nussbaum, M. (2003). Capabilities as fundamental entitlements: Sen and social justice. *Feminist economics*, 9(2-3), 33-59. Accessed on (08/09/2021) <https://philpapers.org/archive/NUSCAF.pdf>
- Nussbaum, M. 2011. *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. (Accessed on 23/8/2021) <https://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674072350>
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2001). "Symposium on Amartya Sen's philosophy: 5 Adaptive preferences and women's options." *Economics & Philosophy* 17(1): 67-88.

- Nussbaum, M. C. (2001). *Women and human development: The capabilities approach* (Vol. 3). Cambridge University Press. Accessed on 3/12/2022
https://genderbudgeting.files.wordpress.com/2012/12/nussbaum_women_capabilityapproach2000.pdf
- OCASI (2019). "What is Subsidized Housing?" (Accessed on 15/8/2021)
<https://settlement.org/ontario/housing/subsidized-housing/subsidized-housing/what-is-subsidized-housing/>
- OCHA (2019) Annual Report Accessed on 6/6/2020 <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/ocha-annual-report-2019>
- OCHA, U. (2021). Global Humanitarian Overview 2019. Accessed on (08/08/2021) <https://www.un-ilibrary.org/content/books/9789214030768>
- Olivius, E. (2016). Constructing humanitarian selves and refugee others: gender equality and the global governance of refugees. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 18(2), 270-290. Accessed on 3/15/2022 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14616742.2015.1094245>
- O'Mahony, J. M., & Donnelly, T. T. (2007). HEALTH CARE PROVIDERS' PERSPECTIVE OF THE GENDER INFLUENCES ON IMMIGRANT WOMEN'S MENTAL HEALTH CARE EXPERIENCES. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, 28(10), 1171-1188. (Accessed on 15/8/2021)
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01612840701344464>
- Omar, Y. S. (2013). "Work stimulates you to think about your future": The importance of employment during social integration from the perspectives of young Somali men living in Australia and USA. *New Zealand Journal of Employment Relations*, 38(1), 42-54. (Accessed on 26/8/2021)
<https://search.informit.org/doi/abs/10.3316/INFORMIT.802189234157241>
- ORR (2011). Office of Refugee Resettlement Annual Report to Congress 2011. Accessed on 4/13/2022
<https://www.acf.hhs.gov/orr/report/office-refugee-resettlement-annual-report-congress-2011>
- Ott, E. (2013). Conceptualising employment services for resettled Bhutanese refugees: A case study in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research*, 43, 52-70. (Accessed on 26/8/2021)
http://himalaya.socanth.cam.ac.uk/collections/journals/ebhr/pdf/EBHR_43_full.pdf#page=50
- Ott, E. (2013). The labour market integration of resettled refugees. *Evaluation Report*, 6. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://www.refworld.org/docid/5294b1935a8.html>
- Park-Taylor, J. and Vargas, A. (2012). "Using the Constructs Multifinality, Work Hope, and Possible Selves With Urban Minority Youth." *The Career Development Quarterly*, 60, pp. 243–253. Accessed on 3/19/2022 <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1002/j.2161-0045.2012.00020.x>
- Pelley, E. (2019). Refugee Youth and Mental Health: Principles for Resettlement Support. *Allons-y: Journal of Children, Peace and Security*, 3, 68-79. Accessed on 3/18/2022
<https://doi.org/10.15273/allons-y.v3i0.10058>
- Pelley, E. (2020). *Canada's Policy Response to Refugee Young People from War-Affected Regions: The Case of Halifax, Nova Scotia* (Doctoral dissertation). Accessed on (08/08/2021)
<https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/handle/10222/79845>
- Percy-Smith, J. (2000). Policy responses to social exclusion: towards inclusion? McGraw-Hill Education (UK).
- Böhnke, P. (2001). Nothing Left to Lose? Poverty and Social Exclusion on Germany. *Social Science Research Center, Berlin (WZB)*. Accessed on
<https://www.econstor.eu/obitstream/10419/50216/1/329324748.pdf>

- Phillimore, J., & Cheung, S. Y. (2021). The violence of uncertainty: Empirical evidence on how asylum waiting time undermines refugee health. *Social Science & Medicine*, 282, 114154. Accessed (3/27/2022) <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S027795362100486X>
- Philo, G., Briant, E., & Donald, P. (2013). The role of the press in the war on asylum. *Race & Class*, 55(2), 28-41. Accessed on (4/13/2022) <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0306396813497873>
- Phoenix, A. (2011). Somali young women and hierarchies of belonging. *Young*, 19(3), 313-331. Accessed on 4/20/2022 <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/110330881101900304>
- Phoenix, A., & Pattynama, P. (2006). Intersectionality. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13(3), 187-192. Accessed on 2/18/2022 <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1350506806065751>
- Phoenix, A., and Pattynama, P. (2006). "Intersectionality." In.: SAGE Publications London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi.
- Phoenix, A. (2011). 'Psychosocial intersections: Contextualising the accounts of adults who grew up in visibly ethnically different households', Framing intersectionality: Debates on a multi-faceted concept in gender studies: 137-52.
- Picot, W. G., & Hou, F. (2003). *The rise in low-income rates among immigrants in Canada*. Ottawa: Analytical Studies Branch, Statistics Canada. Accessed on 4/13/2022 https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/40642450/11F0019MIE2003198-with-cover-page-v2.pdf?Expires=1652836896&Signature=Kt6B1ZoTfDDVk89zUNIM2hVWwRN74O9aAaN8K5Fk19mHpi2HnWrPIohboAhZyXsGyYjgELTP~DKqFvtkfPQZQLSGvWXQzibwH0aYiAZprMNwV2dU2rsKXEmTkTl-XFdLAZPSkFoxNI7OIaCFUdMAqR5SSAtSbO9cUeC2B3VSzbMPDjkrCkRoCks-faHO5BjWEqhIDndFXp8Clz0x71tMI6F2pr2PsBJgiP69YDALewhb3HASfh-jhVAvddu9BTEmEQJk2jwWk9BcV0okm3dIDPkBjI5N5x0Sts6c5U3GikU0PvexfxrLtyoYHFLZmMWbRjnsGZuC7gYT3PnlhClbQ_&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA
- Pirbhai-Illich, F. (2005). *The educational pathways and outcomes of ethnic and linguistic minority students* (Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia). Accessed on 3/10/2022 <https://open.library.ubc.ca/soa/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/831/items/1.0078236>
- Pontes, J. G. (2018). I could stay here forever... If I find a job: experiences of integration and marginalization of youth from refugee backgrounds in Halifax. Accessed on 4/12/2022 <https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/bitstream/handle/10222/73895/Pontes-Juliana-MSW-April-2018.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Premji, S., & Shakya, Y. (2017). Pathways between under/unemployment and health among racialized immigrant women in Toronto. *Ethnicity & health*, 22(1), 17-35. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13557858.2016.1180347>
- Preston, V., & CERIS. (2011). *Precarious housing and hidden homelessness among refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants in the Toronto Metropolitan Area*. CERIS-the Ontario Metropolitan Centre. (Accessed on 18/8/2021) <https://refugeereseach.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Preston-et-al-2011-Precarious-housing-for-newcomers-in-Toronto.pdf>
- Preston, V., & CERIS. (2011). *Precarious housing and hidden homelessness among refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants in the Toronto Metropolitan Area*. CERIS-the Ontario Metropolitan Centre. (Accessed on 23/8/2021) <https://refugeereseach.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Preston-et-al-2011-Precarious-housing-for-newcomers-in-Toronto.pdf>
- Program, U. N. D. (2016). "Human development report 2016: Table 5: Gender inequality index."

- Public Schools Act, (2019), s 259(1) <https://www.uwinnipeg.ca/ceri-network/docs/effective-educational-approaches-for-older-refugee-youth-with-interrupted-schooling.pdf>
- Pumariega, A. J., Rothe, E., & Pumariega, J. B. (2005). Mental health of immigrants and refugees. *Community mental health journal*, 41(5), 581-597. Accessed on 4/13/2022 <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10597-005-6363-1>
- Radford, J., & Connor, P. (2019). Canada now leads the world in refugee resettlement, surpassing the US. Accessed on 3/17/2022 <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/06/19/canada-now-leads-the-world-in-refugee-resettlement-surpassing-the-u-s/>
- Rawl, J. (1971). A Theory of Justice. Harvard University Press, 2005 (Accessed on 2/25/2018) <https://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674017726>
- Reuters, G. (1986). What good are value analysis program. *Business Horizons*, 29, 73-79.
- Richmond, T., & Shields, J. (2004). *Third sector restructuring and the new contracting regime: The case of immigrant serving agencies in Ontario* (pp. 34-43). Toronto: Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement.
- Ritchie, G. (2018). Civil society, the state, and private sponsorship: the political economy of refugee resettlement. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 37(6), 663-675. Accessed on (08/08/2021) <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02601370.2018.1513429>
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, C. M., & Ormston, R. (Eds.). (2013). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. sage.
- Roessingh, H. (2008). Variability in ESL outcomes: The influence of age on arrival and length of residence on achievement in high school. *TESL Canada Journal*, 87-107. Accessed on 3/10/2022 <https://teslcanadajournal.ca/index.php/tesl/article/view/392/231>
- Roessingh, H., & Watt, D. (2001). The dynamics of ESL drop-out: "Plus Ca Change.". *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 58(2), 203-222. Accessed on 4/4/2022 https://www.researchgate.net/profile/David-Watt-10/publication/250196543_The_dynamics_of_ESL_drop-out_Plus_Ca_change/links/54b5b2580cf28ebe92e79a23/The-dynamics-of-ESL-drop-out-Plus-Ca-change.pdf
- Rose, D. (2019). *Creating a home in Canada: Refugee housing challenges and potential policy solutions*. Migration Policy Institute. (Accessed on 12/8/2021) <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/canada-refugee-housing-challenges-policy-solutions>
- Rose, D., & Charette, A. (2014). Housing experiences of users of settlement services for newcomers in Montréal: does immigration status matter. *Immigrant Integration: Research implications for Public Policy*, 151-196. Accessed on 2/15/2022 <https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=B5KDAwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA151&dq=Rose+%26+Charette,+2014&ots=FE70exapeA&sig=V8j9K-qwStypLoBixwU5dRK1pfM#v=onepage&q=Rose%20%26%20Charette%2C%202014&f=false>
- Rose, D., & Charette, A. (2017). *Finding housing for the Syrian refugee newcomers in Canadian cities: challenges, initiatives and policy implications*. Synthesis report. INRS Centre-Urbanisation Culture Société. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <http://espace.inrs.ca/id/eprint/6458/>
- Rossiter, M. J., & Rossiter, K. R. (2009). *Diamonds in the rough: Bridging gaps in supports for at-risk immigrant and refugee youth*. *Journal of International Migration and Integration/Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale*, 10(4), 409-429. Accessed on 3/11/2021 <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12134-009-0110-3>
- Rowlands, J. (1997). *Questioning empowerment: Working with women in Honduras*. Oxfam. Accessed on 2/09/2022

- https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=fXJKq2JQtyoC&oi=fnd&pg=PR5&dq=Rowlands,+1997+empowerment&ots=j_OsD_f9IN&sig=aBoQeVeKgrsyXTm1FA0zy5ZItWw#v=onepage&q=Rowlands%2C%201997%20empowerment&f=false
- Russell, C. K., & Gregory, D. M. (2003). Evaluation of qualitative research studies. *Evidence Based Nursing*, 6(2), 36–40
- Rutter, M. (1999). Resilience concepts and findings: Implications for family therapy. *Journal of family therapy*, 21(2), 119-144.
- Sansonetti, S. (2016). *Female Refugees and Asylum Seekers: The Issue of Integration: Study*. Publications Office of the European Union. Accessed on (08/08/2021)
[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2016/556929/IPOL_STU\(2016\)556929_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2016/556929/IPOL_STU(2016)556929_EN.pdf)
- Schrijvers, J. (1999). Fighters, victims and survivors: constructions of ethnicity, gender and refugeeness among Tamils in Sri Lanka. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 12(3), 307-333. Accessed on (4/13/2013) <https://academic.oup.com/jrs/articleabstract/12/3/307/1563110?login=false>
- Schroeter, S., & James, C. E. (2015). “We’re here because we’re Black”: the schooling experiences of French-speaking African-Canadian students with refugee backgrounds. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 18(1), 20-39. Accessed on 3/25/2022
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13613324.2014.885419>
- Scullion, L. C. (2008). Women asylum seekers and refugees: Opportunities, constraints and the role of agency. *Social Policy and Society*, 7, 281-292. (Accessed on 29/8/2021)
<http://usir.salford.ac.uk/id/eprint/9264/>
- Selimos, E. D., & George, G. (2018). Welcoming initiatives and the social inclusion of newcomer youth: The case of Windsor, Ontario. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 50(3), 69-89. Accessed on 4/18/2022
<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/705006>
- Sen, A. (1985). Freedom and agency. *The Journal of Philosophy*, 82(4), 203-221. Accessed on (08/06/2021) https://www.pdcnet.org/jphil/content/jphil_1985_0082_0004_0203_0221
- Sen, A. (1985). Well-being, agency and freedom: The Dewey lectures 1984. *The journal of philosophy*, 82(4), 169-221. Accessed on 4/10/2022 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2026184>
- Sen, A. (1999). "The possibility of social choice." *American Economic Review* 89(3): 349-378.
- Sen, A. K. (1992). *Inequality reexamined*, Oxford University Press.
- Sen, A. K. (2003). *Development as Capability Expansion*. Sakiko Fukuda-Parr and Shiva Kumar, AK eds. readings in human development, New York: Oxford University press.
- Senthanar, S., MacEachen, E., Premji, S., & Bigelow, P. (2020). “Can someone help me?” Refugee women’s experiences of using settlement agencies to find work in Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 21(1), 273-294.
- Senthanar, S. (2019). How do Syrian refugee women seek and find work? A feminist grounded analysis of work integration experiences in Canada. (Accessed on 23/8/2021)
<https://uwspace.uwaterloo.ca/handle/10012/15020>
- Senthanar, S. (2019). How do Syrian refugee women seek and find work? A feminist grounded analysis of work integration experiences in Canada. (Accessed on 26/8/2021)
<https://uwspace.uwaterloo.ca/handle/10012/15020>
- Shakya, P., Tanaka, M., Shibanuma, A., & Jimba, M. (2018). Nepalese migrants in Japan: What is holding them back in getting access to healthcare?. *PloS one*, 13(9), e0203645. Accessed on 3/25/2022 <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0203645>
- Shakya, Y. B., Guruge, S., Hynie, M., Akbari, A., Malik, M., Htoo, S., ... & Alley, S. (2010). Aspirations for higher education among newcomer refugee youth in Toronto: Expectations,

- challenges, and strategies. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 27(2), 65-78. Accessed on (08/08/2021) <https://refuge.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/refuge/article/view/34723>
- Sharma, A. (2008). *Logics of empowerment: Development, gender, and governance in neoliberal India*. U of Minnesota Press.
- Sherrell, K. (2009). *At home in Surrey. The housing experiences of refugees in Surrey, BC*. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://www.surrey.ca/sites/default/files/media/documents/HousingExperiencesofRefugeesJune2009.pdf>
- Sherrell, K. (2017). Access to housing in Canada. *Structural context of refugee integration in Canada and Germany*, 67. Accessed on 4/18/2022 https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Paul-Pritchard-3/publication/336687617_Structural_Context_of_Refugee_Integration_in_Canada_and_Germany/links/5e697071299bf1b9f7ce2144/Structural-Context-of-Refugee-Integration-in-Canada-and-Germany.pdf#page=69
- Shields, J., Drolet, J., & Valenzuela, K. (2016). *Immigrant settlement and integration services and the role of nonprofit providers: A cross-national perspective on trends, issues and evidence*. Toronto: Ryerson Centre for Immigration and Settlement.
- Sienkiewicz, H. C., Mauceri, K. G., Howell, E. C., & Bibeau, D. L. (2013). Untapped resources: Refugee employment experiences in central North Carolina. *Work*, 45(1), 17-24. (Accessed on 26/8/2021) <https://content.iospress.com/articles/work/wor01599>
- Silver, H. (1994). "Social exclusion and social solidarity: three paradigms." *Int'l Lab. Rev.* 133: 531.
- Silvius, R., Al-Ubeady, H., Halldorson, E., & Praznik, J. (2015). Refugees and housing in Winnipeg's inner-city: turning organizational knowledge into policy options. *Poor Housing: A Silent Crisis*, 96-111.
- Silvius, R., Halldorson, E., & Al-ubeady, H. A. (2019). *Making Social Housing Friendly for Resettling Refugees*. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. (Accessed on 12/8/2021) https://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/2019/04/Making_Social_Housing_Friendly_for_Resettling_Refugees.pdf
- Silvius, R., Halldorson, E., & Al-Ubeady, H. A. (2021). *Putting at the Heart of Refugee Resettlement*. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://mra-mb.ca/wp-content/uploads/Putting-Home-at-the-Heart-of-Refugee-Resettlement-Silvius-Halldorson-and-Al-UBeady.pdf>
- Simich, L., Beiser, M., Stewart, M., & Mwakarimba, E. (2005). *Providing social support for immigrants and refugees in Canada: Challenges and directions*. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 7(4), 259-268. Accessed on 4/12/2022 <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10903-005-5123-1>
- Social Planning Council of Ottawa (2020). *Annual Report*. (Accessed on 18/8/2021) <http://www.cims-scic.ca/publications>
- Solari, C. D., & Mare, R. D. (2012). Housing crowding effects on children's wellbeing. *Social science research*, 41(2), 464-476. (Accessed on 12/8/2021) <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0049089X11001694>
- Spero, A. (1985). *In America and in Need: Immigrant, Refugee, and Entrant Women*. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED256407>
- Spreitzer, G. M. (1995). *Psychological empowerment in the workplace: Dimensions, measurement, and validation*. *Academy of management Journal*, 38(5), 1442-1465. Accessed on 2/09/2022 <https://journals.aom.org/doi/abs/10.5465/256865>
- Statistics Canada, 2005 Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada: 2005 and 2006 (Accessed on 3/18/2022) <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/91-209-x/91-209-x2004000-eng.htm>


- Statistics Canada (2007). Income in Canada. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/75-202-x/75-202-x2007000-eng.pdf?st=EnEtN6AX>
- Statistics Canada (2015). Neighbourhood and Individual-Level Determinants of Patterns in Physical Activity and Health (1981-2002). Accessed on 4/13/2021 <https://www.statcan.gc.ca/en/record/2005>
- Statistics Canada. (2019). Data tables, 2016 Census. Catalogue no. 98-400-X2016286.
- Stürmer, S., & Snyder, M. (Eds.). (2009). *The psychology of prosocial behavior: Group processes, intergroup relations, and helping*. John Wiley & Sons. Accessed on 3/16/2022) <https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=AiMqEAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR1&dq=St%C3%BCrmer+%26+Snyder,+2010&ots=ll3iJ-N8wG&sig=zXMeS1vKs6liEvozgVsJxc6nYSA#v=onepage&q=St%C3%BCrmer%20%26%20Snyder%2C%202010&f=false>
- Silverman, S J. (2022). “The unprecedented Ukraine-to-Canada ‘air bridge’ could mean a brighter future for all refugees”. *The Conversation*. Accessed on 5/17/2022 <https://theconversation.com/the-unprecedented-ukraine-to-canada-air-bridge-could-mean-a-brighter-future-for-all-refugees-181369>
- Stevenson, J., & Willott, J. (2007). The aspiration and access to higher education of teenage refugees in the UK. *Compare*, 37(5), 671-687. (Accessed on 2/25/2022) <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057920701582624>
- Stewart, M. J., Makwarimba, E., Beiser, M., Neufeld, A., Simich, L., & Spitzer, D. (2010). Social support and health: immigrants' and refugees' perspectives. *Diversity in Health & Care*, 7(2).
- Stewart, M., Anderson, J., Beiser, M., Mwakarimba, E., Neufeld, A., Simich, L., & Spitzer, D. (2008). *Multicultural meanings of social support among immigrants and refugees*. *International Migration*, 46(3), 123-159. Accessed on 3/21/2022 <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2008.00464.x>
- Stewart, J., El Chaar, D., McCluskey, K., & Borgardt, K. (2019). Refugee student integration: a focus on settlement, education, and psychosocial support. *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education*, 14(1).
- Strandberg, N. (2001, November). Conceptualising empowerment as a transformative strategy for poverty eradication and the implications for measuring progress. In UN Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), Expert group meeting on empowerment of women throughout the life cycle as a transformative.
- Suto, M. (2009). Compromised careers: The occupational transition of immigration and resettlement. *Work*, 32(4), 417-429. (Accessed on 23/8/2021) <https://content.iospress.com/articles/work/wor00853>
- Szczepanikova, A. (2010). *Performing refugeeness in the Czech Republic: Gendered depoliticisation through NGO assistance*. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 17(4), 461-477. Accessed on(4/13/2022) <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0966369X.2010.485838>
- Tastoglou, E., Abidi, C. B., Brigham, S. M., & Lange, E. A. (2014). (En)*Gendering Vulnerability: Immigrant Service Providers’ Perceptions of Needs, Policies, and Practices Related to Gender and Women Refugee Claimants in Atlantic Canada*. *Refuge: Canada’s Journal on Refugees*, 30(2), 67–78. Accessed on 4/12/2022 <https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.39620>
- Taylor, A., & Servage, L. (2012). Perpetuating education–jobs mismatch in a high school internship programme: An ecological model. *Journal of Education and Work*, 25(2), 163-183. (Accessed on 2/16/2022) <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639080.2011.565041>

- Teixeira, C. (2014). Living on the “edge of the suburbs” of Vancouver: A case study of the housing experiences and coping strategies of recent immigrants in Surrey and Richmond. *The Canadian Geographer/le géographe canadien*, 58(2), 168-187. Accessed on 2/18/2022 <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1541-0064.2013.12055.x>
- Thomson, M. S., et al. (2015). "Improving immigrant populations' access to mental health services in Canada: a review of barriers and recommendations." *Journal of immigrant and minority health* 17(6): 1895-1905.
- Thorne, Sally. (2000). 'Data analysis in qualitative research', *Evidence-based nursing*, 3: 68-70.
- Thurmond, V A. (2001). 'The point of triangulation', *Journal of nursing scholarship*, 33: 253-58.
- Tuckett, A G. (2005). 'Applying thematic analysis theory to practice: a researcher's experience', *Contemporary nurse*, 19: 75-87.
- Tuitt, P. (1996). *False Images: Law's Construction of the Refugee*. Pluto Press (UK). Accessed on (08/09/2021) https://oculyor.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/fulldisplay/alma991011232229705164/01OC_UL_YOR:YOR_DEFAULT
- Tuliao, M. (2015). HRD and Employment Preparation of Women Refugees: An Integrative Literature Review. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cehsedaddiss/286/>
- Turner, L. (2017). Who will resettle single Syrian men? *Forced Migration Review*, 54, 29-31.
- United Nations Development Programme (2016). “Gender Inequality Index”. Human Development Reports. Accessed online on July 7, 2018, at <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index-gii>
- Ungar M. (2006). Nurturing hidden resilience in at-risk youth in different cultures. *Journal of the Canadian Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry = Journal de l'Academie canadienne de psychiatrie de l'enfant et de l'adolescent*, 15(2), 53–58. Accessed on (08/06/2021) <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2277285/>
- Ungar, M. (2008). *Resilience across cultures*. The British Journal of Social Work, 38(2), 218-235. University of Toronto Press; 1999.
- UNHCR (2001). *UNHCR Statistical Yearbook 2001*. Accessed on 4/13/2022. <https://www.unhcr.org/statistics/unhcrstats/4a02e3406/unhcr-statistical-yearbook-2001.html>
- UNHCR (2011). *UNHCR Resettlement Handbook*. Accessed on 23/11/2020 <https://www.unhcr.org/46f7c0ee2.pdf>
- UNHCR (2016). *Global Trends – Forced Displacement in 2016*. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://www.unhcr.org/5943e8a34.pdf>
- UNHCR (2017) *Global Trends Forced Displacement in 2017* (Accessed on 02/22/2022) <https://www.unhcr.org/statistics/unhcrstats/5b27be547/unhcr-global-trends-2017.html>
- UNHCR (2018). *Forced Displacement In 2018*. Accessed on 4/13/2022 <https://www.unhcr.org/globaltrends2018/>
- UNHCR (2011, revised 2018). *Canada: By the Government of Canada. Country Chapters – UNHCR Resettlement Handbook*. Accessed on 6/16/2021 <https://www.unhcr.org/3c5e55594.html>
- UNHCR (2022). *Refugee data Finder*. Accessed on 09/1/2020 at <https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics/download/?url=6uQxF9>
- UNHCR (2022a). *What is Private Sponsorship of Refugees?* Accessed on 08/15/2022 [https://www.unhcr.ca/in-canada/other-immigration-pathways-refugees/private-sponsorship-refugees/#:~:text=The%20Private%20Sponsorship%20of%20Refugees%20\(PSR\)%20program%20allows%20Canadians%20to,Canadian%20government%20through%20other%20programs.](https://www.unhcr.ca/in-canada/other-immigration-pathways-refugees/private-sponsorship-refugees/#:~:text=The%20Private%20Sponsorship%20of%20Refugees%20(PSR)%20program%20allows%20Canadians%20to,Canadian%20government%20through%20other%20programs.)
- UNHCR, (2021) Accessed on 3/24/2022 <https://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>

- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2011). A Year of Crises. UNHCR Global Trends 2011. Accessed on (08/08/2021) <https://www.unhcr.org/statistics/country/4fd6f87f9/unhcr-global-trends-2011.html>
- Valenta, M., & Bunar, N. (2010). State assisted integration: Refugee integration policies in Scandinavian welfare states: The Swedish and Norwegian experience. *Journal of refugee studies*, 23(4), 463-483. (Accessed on 23/8/2021) <https://academic.oup.com/jrs/article-abstract/23/4/463/1517998>
- Valji, N., Hunt, L. A. & Moffett, H. (2003). Where Are the Women? Gender Discrimination in Refugee Policies and Practices. *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, 55, 61–72. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4066300>
- Valtonen, K. (2004). From the margin to the mainstream: Conceptualizing refugee settlement processes. *Journal of refugee studies*, 17(1), 70-96. Accessed on 3/28/2022 <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/17.1.70>
- Wallace, M., & Frisken, F. (2000). *City-suburban differences in government responses to immigration in the Greater Toronto Area*. Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto. (Accessed on 3/12/2022) <http://citiescentre.webservices.utoronto.ca/Assets/Cities+Centre+2013+Digital+Assets/Cities+Centre/Cities+Centre+Digital+Assets/pdfs/publications/Research+Papers/197+Wallace+Frisken+2000+City+Suburban+Differences.pdf>
- Walsh, C. A., Hanley, J., Ives, N., & Hordyk, S. R. (2016). Exploring the experiences of newcomer women with insecure housing in Montréal Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 17(3), 887-904.
- Warriner, D. S. (2007). “It's just the nature of the beast”: Re-imagining the literacies of schooling in adult ESL education. *Linguistics and Education*, 18(3-4), 305-324. (Accessed on 26/8/2021) <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0898589807000563>
- Wayland, S. V. (2007). *The housing needs of immigrants and refugees in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Housing and Renewal Association. (Accessed on 17/8/2021) https://www.homelesshub.ca/sites/default/files/attachments/FinalReport_CHRAImmigrationHousing_June_2007.pdf
- Weissman, M. M. (1987). Advances in psychiatric epidemiology: rates and risks for major depression. *American journal of public health*, 77(4), 445-451. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/abs/10.2105/ajph.77.4.445>
- Weissman, M. M., & Klerman, G. L. (1977). Sex differences and the epidemiology of depression. *Archives of general psychiatry*, 34(1), 98-111. (Accessed on 29/8/2021) <https://jamanetwork.com/journals/jamapsychiatry/article-abstract/491658>
- Wiebe, S. R. (2013). *Colombian refugees' stories of navigating settlement* (Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia). (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://open.library.ubc.ca/soa/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/24/items/1.0074185>
- Wilkinson, L. (2008). Labor market transitions of immigrant-born, refugee-born, and Canadian-born youth. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 45(2), 151-176. (Accessed on 3/25/2022) <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/j.1755-618X.2008.00008.x>
- Wilkinson, E., & Ortega-Alcázar, I. (2019). Stranger danger? The intersectional impacts of shared housing on young people's health & wellbeing. *Health & place*, 60, 102191. (Accessed on 12/8/2021) <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S135382921830902X>

- Wilkinson, L., & Garcea, J. (2017). *The economic integration of refugees in Canada: A mixed record?*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute. (Accessed on 15/8/2021) <https://www.alnap.org/system/files/content/resource/files/main/tcm-asylum-canada-final.pdf>
- Wilkinson, L., & Ponka, D. (2017). Mental health of immigrants and refugees in Canada. In *Migration, Health and Survival*. Edward Elgar Publishing. Accessed on (4/13/2022) <https://www.elgaronline.com/view/edcoll/9781785365966/9781785365966.00011.xml>
- Wilkinson, L., Bhattacharyya, P., Riziki, A., & Abdul-Karim, A. B. (2019). Yazidi Resettlement in Canada-Final Report 2018. *Ottawa: Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada*. (Accessed on 12/8/2021) https://umanitoba.ca/faculties/arts/research/media/YAZIDI_FINAL_FEB14_2019.pdf
- Wilkinson, L., Garcea, J., Bhattacharyya, P., Karim, A. B. A., & Riziki, A. (2017). Resettling in the Canadian prairies: a survey of Syrian refugees in Canada's prairies. *Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada—Integration Branch, Prairies and Northern Territories*. (Accessed on 12/8/2021) https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Lori-Wilkinson-2/publication/328318544_Resettling_in_the_Canadian_Prairies_A_Survey_of_Syrian_Refugees_in_Canada's_Prairies_A_Final_Report_Submitted_by/links/5bc61be0299bf17a1c55c85d/Resettling-in-the-Canadian-Prairies-A-Survey-of-Syrian-Refugees-in-Canadas-Prairies-A-Final-Report-Submitted-by.pdf
- Wilkinson, L. Garcea, J. Bhattacharyya, P. Abdul-Karim, A B. and Riziki, A. (2017). 'Resettling in the Canadian prairies: a survey of Syrian refugees in Canada's prairies', *Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada-Integration Branch, Prairies & Northern Territories*.
- Wilkinson, L. Bhattacharyya, P. Riziki, A. and Abdul-Karim A B. (2019). 'Yazidi Resettlement in Canada-Final Report 2018'.
- Willig, C. (2001). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology. Adventures in theory and method*. Buckingham. Open University Press.
- Wilson-Forsberg, S., Power, P., Kilgour, V., & Darling, S. (2018). From class assignment to friendship: Enhancing the intercultural competence of domestic and international students through experiential learning. *Comparative and International Education*, 47(1). Accessed on (11/19/2021) <https://ojs.lib.uwo.ca/index.php/cie-eci/article/view/9322>
- Winthrop, R., & Kirk, J. (2008). Learning for a bright future: Schooling, armed conflict, and children's well-being. *Comparative Education Review*, 52(4), 639-661. Accessed on 4/20/2021 <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/591301>
- Wotherspoon, T. (2009). *The sociology of education in Canada: Critical perspectives*. Oxford University Press. (Accessed on 3/27/2022) <https://doi.org/10.7202/1044482ar>
- Wong, S. (2002). Learning cities: a European perspective. *Adult Learning Australia*, (2), 14-16. Accessed on 3/16/2021 <https://search.informit.org/doi/abs/10.3316/aeipt.119609>
- Wright, K. (2012). Constructing human wellbeing across spatial boundaries: Negotiating meanings in transnational migration. *Global Networks*, 12(4), 467-484. (Accessed on 3/10/2022) <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2011.00341.x>
- Wymer, W., Riecken, G., & Yavas, U. (1997). Determinants of volunteerism: A cross-disciplinary review and research agenda. *Journal of Nonprofit & Public Sector Marketing*, 4(4), 3-26. Accessed on 2/18/2022 https://doi.org/10.1300/J054v04n04_02
- Yau, M. (1995). Refugee Students in Toronto Schools: An Exploratory Study. *No. 211*. Accessed on 4/18/2022 <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED384687>

- Yohani, S. (2010). Nurturing hope in refugee children during early years of post-war adjustment. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 32(6), 865-873. Accessed on (08/09/2021) <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0190740910000496>
- Yu, D. (2007). Modeling owner-occupied single-family house values in the city of Milwaukee: A geographically weighted regression approach. *GIScience & Remote Sensing*, 44(3), 267-282. Accessed on 3/4/2022 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.2747/1548-1603.44.3.267?needAccess=true>
- Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). 'Intersectionality and feminist politics', *European journal of women's studies*, 13: 193-209.
- Zetter, R. (2007). More labels, fewer refugees: Remaking the refugee label in an era of globalization. *Journal of refugee studies*, 20(2), 172-192. Accessed on (4/13/2022) <https://academic.oup.com/jrs/article-abstract/20/2/172/1539814?login=false>
- Ziersch, A., Walsh, M., Due, C., & Duivesteyn, E. (2017). Exploring the relationship between housing and health for refugees and asylum seekers in South Australia: a qualitative study. *International journal of environmental research and public health*, 14(9), 1036. (Accessed on 12/8/2021) <https://www.mdpi.com/1660-4601/14/9/1036>
- Ziersch, A., Walsh, M., Due, C., & Duivesteyn, E. (2017). Exploring the relationship between housing and health for refugees and asylum seekers in South Australia: a qualitative study. *International journal of environmental research and public health*, 14(9), 1036. (Accessed on 18/8/2021) <https://www.mdpi.com/1660-4601/14/9/1036>
- Žižek, S. (2016). *Against the double blackmail: Refugees, terror and other troubles with the neighbours*. Penguin UK. Accessed on (08/08/2021) [https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=xB_bCwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT5&dq=%C5%BDi%C5%BEek+\(2016\)+youth+refugees&ots=JPZe6RFFb3&sig=99yH696Z2Y1dRZlC75PANdnwHjQ#v=onepage&q=%C5%BDi%C5%BEek%20\(2016\)%20youth%20refugees&f=false](https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=xB_bCwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT5&dq=%C5%BDi%C5%BEek+(2016)+youth+refugees&ots=JPZe6RFFb3&sig=99yH696Z2Y1dRZlC75PANdnwHjQ#v=onepage&q=%C5%BDi%C5%BEek%20(2016)%20youth%20refugees&f=false)

Appendix A: Research Ethics and Compliance Certificate – Primary Data Collected in Study II


UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA Research Ethics and Compliance

PROTOCOL APPROVAL

Human Ethics
208-194 Dafoe Road
Winnipeg, MB
Canada R3T 2N2
Phone: +204-474-7122
Email: humanethics@umanitoba.ca

TO: Pallabi Bhattacharyya (Advisor: Lori Wilkinson)
Principal Investigator

FROM: Jonathan Marotta, Chair
Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board (PSREB)

Re: Protocol #P2019:088 (HS23072)
A Matter of Choice: Reflections on Agency and Empowerment among
Refugee Women Resettling in Canada

Effective: August 19, 2019 **Expiry:** August 19, 2020

Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board (PSREB) has reviewed and approved the above research. PSREB is constituted and operates in accordance with the current *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*.

This approval is subject to the following conditions:

1. Approval is granted for the research and purposes described in the application only.
2. Any modification to the research or research materials must be submitted to PSREB for approval before implementation.
3. Any deviations to the research or adverse events must be submitted to PSREB as soon as possible.
4. This approval is valid for one year only and a Renewal Request must be submitted and approved by the above expiry date.
5. A Study Closure form must be submitted to PSREB when the research is complete or terminated.
6. The University of Manitoba may request to review research documentation from this project to demonstrate compliance with this approved protocol and the University of Manitoba *Ethics of Research Involving Humans*.

Funded Protocols:

- Please e-mail a copy of this Approval, identifying the related UM Project Number, to the Research Grants Officer at researchgrants@umanitoba.ca

Appendix B - Recruitment Poster

**PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR RESEARCH IN
“A Matter of Choice: Reflections on Agency and
Empowerment among Refugee Women Resettling
in Canada”**

Objective of the Study:

The purpose of this research is to investigate how the barriers facing refugee women can be reduced while accessing these services and in return re-establishing agency through access to language classes, adequate housing, employment and other related settlement services. This study is not only about what they have but what resources refugee women need to pursue their dreams. What makes them happy and what they need to become self-sufficient.

Looking for Participants who is:

Refugee women over the age of 18 and have accessed settlement services in Canada.

Research Procedure:

This is a qualitative study using semi-structured face-to-face interviews with refugee women resettled in Manitoba in past few years. The interview is about 60 minutes in length.

Potential Risks:

There are no known or anticipated risks to those participating in this research.

Benefits Directly to the Participants:

There are no benefits directly to you—but we hope to use the information you provide to help refugee resettlement agencies provide new and better services for refugees like yourself. Policy recommendations will be made for better integration and empowerment of refugee women resettling in Canada.

YOUR PARTICIPATION IS VOLUNTARY

If you are interested in participating in this study or for more information please contact your Service Agency OR:

Pallabi Bhattacharyya

PhD Candidate, Department of Sociology

318 - 183 Dafoe Road, Isbister Building

University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N2 Canada

Tel: (204) 894-7446 Email: bhatacp@myumanitoba.ca

Thesis supervisor: Dr. Lori Wilkinson

This research study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Manitoba's Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board.

Appendix C: Interview Guide for Refugee Women and Youth

Semi-Structured Interview Guide for a Study on Refugee Women

1. Let's begin by telling me something about you and your family. How did you get here? How was your journey to Canada?
2. How is life in Canada now? Has your role changed within the household after coming to Canada? Describe how you used to spend a whole day (**all the activities you do since morning**) in your home country and now in Canada. (**Probes: what might have changed in your family life since you arrived? Do you do the same household chores/activities as you did at home?**)
3. Did you access any settlement or immigration services since you arrived in Canada? What kind of help did you get from them? Was your experience positive or negative? Are there important settlement services you need as a woman at this moment but do not know where/whom to go to?
4. Who helped you find your house? Did you have a choice in housing options? If so, how many choices were given to select your house and location? Did you get enough options and time to select your current house? Did you have a say in it? (**Probes: or did spouse or someone else decide for you? Did you feel pressured to take the first house you were shown?**). Are you happy in your current house or looking for a change? (**Probes: for any reply ask - why?**)
5. Did you know English or French prior to your arrival to Canada? If no, did you attend a language class? At present, are you attending language classes? If yes, how many language classes do you attend per week? Do you think you need more language classes per week? Have you taken any other courses to learn or improve your English since arriving? Did you face any barriers attending language classes? Have you missed any of the classes? (**Probes: If Yes, why have you missed class? If No, list reasons that help you attend the classes - prompts - transportation, child-care, help with the household chores, etc.**)

6. Are you looking for a job? Do you currently have a job? Have you ever had a job in Canada? (what is it? Do you like it?) What kind of jobs are you looking for and are you getting such jobs in Canada? Do you have any prior experience in this field?
7. How many earning members are there in your family (**Probe: what is the total monthly income**)? Do you get any income assistance from the government? Is the household income meeting the needs of your family? Who makes most decisions about money, spending and finances in your household? Who does the budgeting of your household expenses? Where do you spend most of your household income?
8. How easy is it to contact a doctor (get medical help) in case you or your family members are sick? Who takes you to the hospital? Is it easy to communicate with the doctors?
9. Are you planning to have a baby? Who takes these decisions at home? Do you know where to get assistance/advice from?
10. How easy is it to commute in Canada? Are there places you cannot visit because of lack of transportation? Can you do your own grocery alone? Do you travel alone in the city? (**day time? Night time?**)
11. Is there anything you want to eat but cannot afford it? Do you go to the food bank? Who eats them?
12. What do you do during your leisure time? Do you have friends and family here? How much time do you spend with your friends and family? Do you share your concerns/fears/anxieties with them? Are there challenges you face only because you are a woman (**Probe: at home as well as in Canada**)? Are you worried about anything in particular? (**Probes: jobs, future, health, life in general**).

13. What are your ambitions/aspirations in life? Where do you see yourself in the next ten years? Is there anything else you would like to share with me? (**Probes: Tell me one thing that you need would make you happy here**)

[B] DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

Now I would like to ask some questions about you. The information collected in this section will be used for research purposes only. Your name or other identifying information will not be used.

14. On what date did you arrive (current city/town)? _____ (yr/mm)
15. Total number of family members in the current household _____
16. What was your final destination in Canada from before you entered the country? Yes/no
- a. If no, please indicate place of original destination _____
- b. Date of arrival to the original destination: _____(yr/mm)
17. In which country were you born? _____
18. In which country were you living immediately prior to arriving in Canada? _____
19. Under what category (GAR, PSR, BVOR, JVisa) did you enter Canada?
- a. GAR (Government Assisted Refugee)
- b. PSR (Privately sponsored refugee)
- c. BVOR (Blended Visa-Office Referred Program)
- d. Other, please specify: _____
20. What is your date of birth? __/__/_____(yr/mm)
21. Current marital status?
- a. Single, never married
- b. Common law
- c. Married
- d. Separated
- e. Widowed
- f. Divorced
22. To what ethnic group(s) do you belong?

23. What language(s) do you speak most often at home?

[C] FINAL COMMENTS (Suggestions or Recommendations)

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

Would you like to receive a copy of the results of this study?

- Yes
- No

If yes, provide email address in a separate list.

Appendix D: Email to Settlement Service Providing Organizations

Sub: Requesting your help with selecting refugee women participants for a study on “Reflections on Agency and Empowerment among Refugee Women Resettling in Canada”

To,

[Name of the Agency]

[Address and contact details]

Hello,

I, Pallabi Bhattacharyya, a PhD student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Manitoba, want to conduct a research for understanding the processes of resettlement leading to refugee women’s successful integration and better mental health outcomes within Canada. My supervisor is Dr.Lori Wilkinson and this study will form part of my PhD dissertation.

The objectives of the study are to identify and describe the temporary and permanent housing, language, pre-and post-arrival conditions, and employment supports available to refugee women; to apply a sociological framework which focuses on the agency held by refugee women and an identification of the structural barriers which might influence their access to settlement services and to successful resettlement; and to examine the extent to which these services empower women to become fully engaged citizens. Through semi-structured face-to-face interviews with refugee women in Winnipeg, qualitative data on the housing needs, language training experiences and job search experiences and their use of settlement services in Canada will be collected.

I argue that it is necessary to evaluate how the barriers facing refugee women can be reduced while accessing these services and in return re-establishing agency through access to language classes, adequate housing, employment and other related settlement services. In spite of all the policies designed to protect refugees, women are still vulnerable, and are continuing to face social exclusion, prejudice and discrimination. Not only will this study add new theoretical perspectives on the existing academic literature on resettlement by examining the micro (individual refugee women), meso (settlement services) and macro (existing refugee policies) perspectives, it will also establish a new model for studying empowerment among refugee women. This information will be useful for the settlement provider organizations and to policy analysts to evaluate the country’s response to the refugee arrivals as the conditions to end the refugee crisis are not likely to end any time soon. In terms of academic contributions, research in this area allows to integrate initial

resettlement literature to that of long term integration using an interdisciplinary theoretical framework. Research on the Canadian resettlement context have not been studied from a perspective of women agency, freedom, choice and empowerment previously. Female refugees have mostly been considered as passive but not active agents in their own resettlement and integration. Investigating the existing provisions of re-establishing agency among refugee women for better integration, is a new addition to the existing academic literature in the Canadian context. Also, given that the number of refugees is unlikely to decline in the near future, a study of this sort is badly needed.

Requesting your help with selecting refugee women participants for this study. Potential participants will be resettled refugee women in Manitoba who are able to converse in English. I intend to collect data from 10-15 refugee women recruited by your agency to assist in identifying participants. Necessarily, all participants will be refugee women over the age of 18 and have accessed settlement services in Canada. None of these participants are considered to be vulnerable or at-risk populations given they themselves agree to participate in this study. Interviews will be voice recorded (with permission from participant) and data will be transcribed and stored by the principal investigator and only her supervisor will have access to it. The interviews will take, at a maximum, 45 minutes to complete. Participant's participation is entirely voluntary. The time and venue of the interviews will be pre-decided and I will travel to the location, which will ideally be your agency or a private meeting room at the University of Manitoba (St John's College has agreed to provide appropriate and private interview space). An introductory script will be read to the participants at the beginning of the interview and upon their approval, a written consent will be signed by both the respondent and the interviewer before starting the interview. An interview guide will be used and all the interviews will be voice recorded.

There are no personal or direct benefits to participants for participating in this study. However, there are larger benefits (indirect benefits) to all refugee women entering Canada as the information collected will be used to inform government policies and programs that may assist refugee women and broaden the supports that are available throughout the resettlement process.

I will not be reporting on individual-level data, but rather all findings will be reported in an aggregated manner. Results will be presented directly as part of my PhD thesis. I will share results of the study at national conferences (such as the National Metropolis Conference and the Canadian

Council for Refugees annual meetings) and at provincial conferences (such as the umbrella organizations' annual integration summits in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta). I will also make efforts to publish in both academic and trade journals, with a focus on ensuring results are mobilized for both academic and community audiences. If requested, the PI will also prepare and present a slide deck to other interested community organizations.

The project has received research ethics approval from the University of Manitoba's Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board.

I will highly appreciate if you can display the research posters in your agency so that interested participants can contact me directly. Attaching a participant recruitment poster with the study details for your reference. If you have any questions regarding this study at any point, please feel free to contact me, the principal investigator of this study. Contact details are given below:

Pallabi Bhattacharyya, PhD candidate

University of Manitoba

Email- bhatacp@myumanitoba.ca

Tel: +1 204 894-7446

Thank you for your time,

Pallabi Bhattacharyya

Feb 2nd 2020

Appendix E: Informed Consent



26 June 2019

Participant Consent Form

Research Project Title: A Matter of Choice: Reflections on Agency and Empowerment among Refugee Women Resettling in Canada

Thesis Supervisor's contact information

Lori Wilkinson, PhD

Professor of Sociology

Editor-in-Chief, Journal of International Migration and Integration

University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB

Email: Lori.Wilkinson@umanitoba.ca

Tel: +1 204 474-8491

Fax: +1 204 261-1216

Principal Investigator and contact information:**Pallabi Bhattacharyya**

PhD Candidate, Department of Sociology

318 - 183 Dafoe Road, Isbister Building

University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N2 Canada

Tel: (204) 894-7446 Email: bhattacp@myumanitoba.ca

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Purpose(s) and Objective(s) of the Research:

The purpose of this research is to investigate how the barriers facing refugee women can be reduced while accessing these services and in return re-establishing agency through access to language classes, adequate housing, employment and other related settlement services. The objectives also involves:

- 1) identifying and describing the temporary and permanent housing, language, pre-and post-arrival conditions, and employment supports available to refugee women;
- 2) to apply a sociological framework which focuses on the agency held by refugee women and an identification of the structural barriers which might influence their access to settlement services and to successful resettlement;
- 3) and to examine the extent to which these services empower women to become fully engaged citizens. collecting baseline information to understand their needs and settlement experiences within their first year of settlement;

- 4) to assist the refugee resettlement organizations by providing timely information on a variety of issues that will assist them with the design of new programs and the improvement/expansion of existing programs to meet the needs of all refugee women settling in Canada through the resettlement process. This information is central to helping these organizations be more responsive and helpful in the resettlement of future refugees.

Procedures:

You are selected in this study because you have completed Canadian Language benchmark Level 2 and aged 18 and over. The interview is about 30 minutes in length. If you wish to get copy of the final report, you can share your contact details with me at the end of this interview today.

Potential Risks:

There are no known or anticipated risks for participating in this research.

Benefits Directly to the Participants:

There are no benefits directly to you—but we hope to use the information you provide to help refugee resettlement agencies provide new and better services for refugees like yourself.

Confidentiality:

“The information you provide will be used only for the indicated purposes in conformity with the XXX (Province/Territory) Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act (FOIPP). Your answers are confidential and will be stored in a secure database and used only for study purposes. The results of this study will be analyzed only in group format. No single person will be identifiable. The PI will report findings in a generalized tone and not mention quotes that might be identifiable to any specific case.”

Storage and Destruction of Data

No identifying features will be included in the data/transcripts. Transcripts/Data will be stored on the personal encrypted computer of the PI as they are transcribed after the completion of the interviews. Only the supervisor will have access to the transcripts. The handwritten notes will be

typed and stored in the computer of the PI along with all data. It will be stored in PI's personal and encrypted computer. The list of names and contact details that you provide us will not be stored or linked with the interview data. The PI and her supervisor will only collect your contact details if you wish to get a copy of the final report. The list will be typed and stored in a different file from the data file in the personal computer of the PI.

All the hard copy and soft copy interview related materials will be deleted/destroyed on 31st December 2020.

Right to Withdraw:

“I would like to assure you that your participation in this interview is completely voluntary. If there are any questions you don't want to answer, please let me know and we will skip them. You may end this interview at any time. There are no negative consequences in case you refuse to participate or want to withdraw your participation at any time during or after the interview. In case you decide later that you want to withdraw your information from the study, you can contact the PI (in the above given contact details) and request her to destroy your information latest by 30th November 2020”

Questions or Concerns:

“Your written consent indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

This research has been approved by the Psychology and Sociology RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD at the University of Manitoba. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact the above-named person or the Human Ethics Coordinator at 204-474-7122 or email at [□ humanethics@umanitoba.ca](mailto:humanethics@umanitoba.ca). A copy of this consent form can be sent to you via email to keep for your records and reference.”

Consent

Consent will be implied through the completion of the interview. The use of the data, confidentiality and right to withdraw are explained to you before the interview begins.

Participant signature _____ Date _____

Interviewer's Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix F: Demographic Details of Research Participants

DEMOGRAPHICS										
Pseudonym	Country Of Birth	Date Of Birth	Ethnic Group	Languages Spoken	Religion	Date Of Arrival	Number Of Family Members	Immediate Country Before Arrival	Immigration Status	Marital Status
Ajda	Syria	2000-01-10	Kurd	Kurdish	Muslim	2018-08-20	8	Iraq	GAR	Single/Never Married
Natasha	Syria	1973-02-02	Kurd	Kurdish	Muslim	2018-08-20	8	Iraq	GAR	Married
Pari	Syria	1977-04-26	Arab	Arabic	Muslim	2016-12-13	8	Turkey	GAR	Married
Karima	Somalia	1999-10-11	Somali	Somali & Arabic	Muslim	2016-05-03	4	Saudi Arabia	PSR	Single/Never Married
Dina	Qatar	1998-10-28	Somali	Somali	Muslim	2016-10-30	4	Ohio, Usa	Asylum Seeker	Single/Never Married
Soha	Eritrea	1998-08-12	Arabic	Arabic	Muslim	2016-09-27	4	Sudan	PSR	Single/Never Married
Nalini	Syria	2001-07-23	Kurd	Turkish	Christian	2018-10-01	6	Turkey	PSR	Single/Never Married
Leila	Syria	1984-01-12	Arabic	Arabic	Muslim	2016-02-16	6	Lebanon	GAR	Married
Nehal	Syria	1998-02-28	Arabic	Arabic	Muslim	2018-10-18	8	Lebanon	PSR	Single/Never Married
Zahra	Syria	1974-01-01	Arabic	Arabic	Muslim	2018-10-18	8	Lebanon	PSR	Married
Ruth	Syria	2000-10-19	Arabic	Arabic	Christian	2016-03-01	4	Jordan	PSR	Single/Never Married
Aamin	Syria	1979-08-04	Arabic	Arabic & English	Christian	2016-03-01	4	Jordan	PSR	Married
Hana	Syria	1980-05-02	Arabic	Arabic	Muslim	2016-02-29	6	Jordan	GAR	Married
Naila	Syria	1972-08-06	Arabic	Arabic	Muslim	2016-10-18	7	Turkey	GAR	Married
Mira	Syria	2000-06-01	Arabic	Arabic	Muslim	2016-10-18	7	Turkey	GAR	Single/Never Married
Aaliya	Syria	1961-04-02	Arabic	Arabic & English	Muslim	2018-08-14	7	Turkey	PSR	Married
Arya	Syria	1987-06-18	Arabic	Arabic & English	Muslim	2018-10-22	7	Jordan	GAR	Married

Appendix G: Research Ethics and Compliance Certificate: Yazidi Study I

Human Ethics
208-194 Dafoe Road
Winnipeg, MB
Canada R3T 2N2
Phone +204-474-7122
Email: humanethics@umanitoba.ca

AMENDMENT APPROVAL

January 25, 2018

TO: **Lori Wilkinson**
Principal Investigator

FROM: **Kelley Main, Chair**
Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board (PSREB)

Re: **Protocol #P2017:020 (HS20570)**
"Resettling in the Canadian Prairies: A Longitudinal Survey of Syrian Refugees"

Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board (PSREB) has reviewed and approved your Amendment Request received on **January 23, 2018** to the above-noted protocol. PSREB is constituted and operates in accordance with the current *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*.

This approval is subject to the following conditions:

1. Approval is given for this amendment only. Any further changes to the protocol must be reported to the Human Ethics Coordinator in advance of implementation.
2. Any deviations to the research or adverse events must be submitted to PSREB as soon as possible.
3. Amendment Approvals do not change the protocol expiry date. Please refer to the original Protocol Approval or subsequent Renewal Approvals for the protocol expiry date.