

Canada's Policy Response to
Refugee Young People from
War-Affected Regions:
The Case of Halifax, Nova Scotia

by

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for a Doctor of Philosophy

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
August 2019

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Abstract

Displacement around the world has surpassed anything seen in modern history. In 2018, the UNHCR reported that 70.8 million people have been displaced worldwide, with just over half of them being under the age of 18. Of the total number of displaced persons, 41.3 million have been internally displaced in their home country, 25.9 million are refugees, and 3.5 million are asylum seekers. The UNHCR also reports that over half of displaced people are under the age of 18. While we know there are major challenges in supporting refugee youth from war-affected regions in Canada as a whole, we need to know more about how smaller urban centres such as Halifax can and do respond to refugee youth.

To address this issue, this dissertation presents a policy analysis of Canada's response to refugee young people, and then provides a case study of services in the Halifax area to better understand where resources for this population exist in this city, and the strengths and limitations of these resources. Even though over half of refugees settling in Nova Scotia are young people, they have been largely a footnote in federal resettlement policies. The purpose of this research is to understand the intersections and between policy and the services that exist and make recommendations for how service providers can be better supported in their work with refugee young people.

The main question guiding this research is: How are smaller urban centres, like Halifax, prepared to support refugee youth in their resettlement and integration? A social ecological resilience framework was used to identify the resilience resources identified in the systems surrounding refugee young people in Halifax. What is important for effective integration in the community is for supports for newcomers to exist not solely in settlement service organizations, but across public services and sectors throughout the city.

The findings show that Halifax has the capacity to provide better integration support for refugee youth. With more cultural awareness and intentional collaboration, youth serving organizations, as well as broader community services, can become more effective resources for the resilience of these young people.

List of Abbreviations Used

ADAM- African Diaspora Association of the Maritimes
AU- African Union
BVOR- Blended Visa Office-Referred Refugee
CAAC- Children Affected by Armed Conflict
CBSA- Canadian Border Services Agency
CDC- Centre for Disease Control
CRRF- Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
CS- Community Sponsor
EAL- English as an Additional Language
EU- European Union
GAR- Government Assisted Refugee
HILC- Halifax Immigrant Learning Centre
HLIP- Halifax Local Immigration Partnership
HRM- Halifax Regional Municipality
iCAMS- Immigration Contribution Accountability Measurement System
ICC- International Criminal Court
IDP- Internally Displaced Person
IFHP- Interim Federal Health Plan
IHL- International Humanitarian Law
ILO- International Labour Organization
ILP- Immigration Loans Program
IRB- Immigration and Refugee Board
IRC- International Rescue Committee
IRCOM- Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba
IRPA- Immigration and Refugee Protection Act
ISAP- Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program
ISANS- Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia
IRCC- Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada

JAS- Joint Assistance Program
MISA- Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association
MRM- Monitoring and Reporting Mechanism
NCCYS- New Canadian Children and Youth Study
NSOI- Nova Scotia Office of Immigration
NYCE- Newcomer Youth Civic Engagement Project
OCASI- Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants
PSR- Privately Sponsored Refugee
PTSD- Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
RAP- Resettlement Assistance Program
PTSD- Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
RAP- Resettlement Assistance Program
RPD- Refugee Protection Division
UNCRC- United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF- United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund
UASC- Unaccompanied and Separated Children
WHO- World Health Organization
WUSC- World University Service of Canada

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors, Dr. David Black and Dr. Linda Liebenberg for the continuous support of my PhD research, for their patience, motivation, and immense knowledge. Their guidance has helped me in all the time of research and writing of this thesis. I could not have imagined having better advisors and mentors for my PhD study.

In addition, I would like to thank the rest of my thesis committee, Dr. Shelly Whitman and Dr. Theresa Ulicki for their insightful comments and encouragement. I am also very grateful of the support of Dr. Michael Ungar who committed time at the beginning of my program to help build my understanding of resilience, and what it takes to do meaningful research with young people. I would also like to thank Dr. Lynne Robinson, the IDPhD program director, for her support and encouragement throughout this process.

I am very grateful to the Roméo Dallaire Child Soldier's Initiative for granting me their Child Soldier Scholarship which allowed me to begin this research. As well, the Dalhousie Faculty of Graduate Studies' Nova Scotia Graduate Scholarship, and the ongoing financial support from the IDPhD Program have helped me cover my student fees throughout my PhD.

This research would not have been possible without the engagement and support of countless services providers, government officials, and community groups across Halifax who took time to sit and talk with me and share their experiences working with refugee young people. There are beautiful people doing amazing work in our city and I am encouraged by the strength and spirit I encountered while doing my interviews. I also want to thank my sister, June Zinck, for helping me transcribe these interviews.

I could not have finished this project without the ongoing support of my family. My husband, Travis, has been my constant cheer leader even in moments where I was discouraged or felt like giving up. I know I have crossed this finish line because he always had my back. I also want to thank my parents and my in-laws who supported my work and took care of my babies while I was busy doing interviews and writing this dissertation.

As I reflect on my journey through this PhD, I have been reminded that through every win and every set-back, God has been my constant source of strength. His faithfulness in my life is proven time and again, and I am confident in His plans and purposes for my life. I am thankful for His provision, protection, and peace through this amazing and life-changing experience.

My babies, Laura and Jesse, motivate me every day to do whatever I can to make our community and our city a better place. It is my prayer that they will grow to have the same passion and resolve to love people and make positive change.

Chapter 1- Introduction

1.1- Why is this research important?

Young people on the move is an issue that has recently garnered significant international attention as the level of displacement due to armed conflict has steadily increased in recent years. The scale of the problem has surpassed anything in modern history. In 2018, the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) reported that 70.4 million people have been displaced worldwide, with just over half of them being under the age of 18. Of the total number of displaced persons, 41.3 million have been internally displaced in their home country, 25.9 million are refugees, and 3.5 million are asylum seekers¹. The UNHCR defines a refugee as:

“... someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries”.²

It is the youth segment of this population that is at issue in this thesis. Protecting children and youth displaced by armed conflict is an issue that needs immediate

¹ UNHCR. “Facts and Figures about Refugees.” United Nations Refugee Agency. Accessed December 19, 2018. <http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>

² UNHCR. “Refugee Facts: What is a Refugee?” The UN Refugee Agency. Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/what-is-a-refugee/>

attention. Young people who flee conflict- either with their families or on their own- have been largely overlooked populations despite their exposure to violence.

In response to the crisis in Syria in 2015, the Canadian government announced its commitment to resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees by February 2016³. Most of this population has fled violence and armed conflict, in search of a safe place to live. As of September 2018, 58,650 Syrian refugees have been resettled across the country⁴. With the arrival of this large cohort of refugees, increased attention has been put on existing services that exist for them in the community. It was the arrival of this large cohort from Syria that has sparked this dissertation. This research undertakes a policy analysis of Canada's response to refugees coming into the country, with a specific focus on children and youth. As over half of the number of refugees are under the age of 18, this is an important population to focus on in order to understand what supports exist for them. By looking at Halifax, Nova Scotia as a case study, I will be able to speak to the response of this smaller urban centre- both in terms of policy and the services currently available to these young people. While we know there are major challenges in supporting refugee youth from war-affected regions in general, we know relatively little about how smaller jurisdictions such as Halifax have been able to respond. I have used this dissertation to contribute to filling this crucial gap. Participants have been individuals from organizations in Nova Scotia which have a mandate to serve young people.

³ CIC. "#WelcomeRefugees: Key Figures." Government of Canada. Last Modified January 2017. Accessed December 19, 2018. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/welcome-syrian-refugees/key-figures.html>

⁴ Syrian Refugee Family Composition- Ad Hoc IRCC (Specialized Datasets). Accessed April 12, 2019. <https://open.canada.ca/data/en/dataset/ca243c40-a6d3-4a46-a578-b4fad4369df0>

1.2- What is the Purpose of this Study?

The purpose of this research is to better understand the policy environment here in Canada for the reception and support of refugee children and youth who are coming from contexts of war and armed conflict. I will explore the response in Halifax (in both policy and practice) to the challenges of receiving and supporting war-affected children and youth, as an important instance of the broader Canadian context. By exploring the relationship between current policies and existing services, the purpose of this research is to understand the intersections between policy and implementation.

Resilience theory provides a compelling approach to understanding services for young refugees. This theory places the experience of engaging with formal and informal supports as a key protective process for young people in their resettlement and integration. The application of a social ecological resilience framework shifts the focus from individual youth to the resilience resources located in the environment of refugee young people, and furthers our understanding of how those resources can be effectively mobilized to support their well-being. What is important about this case study in Halifax are the implications for other smaller cities across Canada in terms of how they have been able to access the resources and infrastructure they have in order to meet the needs of refugee children and youth. While smaller cities have less capacity in responding to refugee young people specifically, there is opportunity for them to foster a collaborative response across community services that can offer more cohesive supports to this population. In identifying where the supports are for this population in Halifax, I will be able to identify the challenges and limitations faced by service providers

and make recommendations for how their approach to services for refugee young people can be improved.

1.3- Research Questions

In keeping with the purpose of this research, stated above, the main question guiding this dissertation is: How are smaller urban centres, like Halifax, prepared to support refugee youth from war-affected regions in their resettlement and integration?

More specifically, this project is guided by the following research questions:

- What policies are guiding Canada's service provision for refugee youth from war-affected regions? Are they adequate in responding to the needs of these young people?
- What programs or services are in place in Halifax to support refugee children and youth from war-affected regions?
- How has the resilience of these young people been supported in their transition to life in Canada?
- How has the recent influx of Syrian refugees affected the environment of service provision to the refugee population as a whole?
- What are the gaps between the existing policies and the service provision to this population?

1.4- Why an Interdisciplinary Study?

Interdisciplinary research is simply defined as research that draws on multiple disciplines with the goal of developing a new perspective or discovering something new⁵. Approaching a research question in this way can allow the researcher to use frameworks from different fields of study to address a complex problem that does not neatly fit into one subject or discipline. This complexity provides the justification for interdisciplinary study⁶. By drawing on political science, social work, and international development, I have been able to present a discussion on policy, on services and community supports, and on mental health and resilience in young people, situating this issue within the global context of migration and displacement. Including both policy and practice-based knowledge in the presentation of my findings requires me to draw on these different disciplines. An interdisciplinary approach allows me to apply different frameworks to this research project, allowing for the complexity of this research subject to be captured. This will be presented in more detail in the methodology chapter of this dissertation. Particularly with the focus of this research on young refugees and their resettlement in Canada, none of these issues exist in silos and each must be understood together in order to accurately describe the context in which this real-life issue is playing

⁵ David White, D. "Interdisciplinary Research: Definition, Process and Theory". Chapter 1- Lesson Transcript. *Study.com*, 2018. Accessed December 19, 2018.

<https://study.com/academy/lesson/interdisciplinary-research-definition-process-and-theory.html>

⁶ Newell, William H., Jay Wentworth, and David Sebberson. "A theory of interdisciplinary studies." *Issues in Interdisciplinary Studies* (2001). Accessed April 26, 2019.

https://our.oakland.edu/bitstream/handle/10323/4378/02_Vol_19_pp_1_25_A_Theory_of_Interdisciplinary_Studies_%28William_H._Newell%29.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

out. In order to answer the research questions above, an interdisciplinary approach is needed.

1.5- The Researcher's Positionality

As a qualitative researcher, I am aware that I will be bringing my own experiences and values to this research. I have worked on projects, both with youth and about youth services. I am passionate about finding ways to better support young people in their development and contributions to the communities in which they live. I have had the opportunity to work with refugee children and youth in Halifax, as well as youth service providers in the city. I am drawn to this issue because I am passionate about seeing young people achieve their potential. I want to better understand the role that communities play in supporting their journeys. For young people with refugee experience, their needs are unique and require this focused review of existing services.

I know that in addition to my academic and professional experiences, my perspective is also shaped by my faith, my family, and my identity as a white, Canadian woman from a middle-class home in Nova Scotia. While I believe that there is one reality it is often experienced differently. It is critical to capture these different perspectives in order create strategies that result in positive changes.

1.6- Defining Children and Youth

It is important to start this section by clarifying who “refugee young people” or “refugee children and youth” refers to in this dissertation. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) defines a child as a person under the age of 18 years⁷. The UN also refers to youth as those persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years. Essentially, this stage of being a “young person” refers to “a period of physical and emotional dependence, physical and mental immaturity and special developmental need.”⁸ There are some contradictions to note with the use of “youth” as a group distinction. For example, the (Canadian) Youth Criminal Justice Act (YJCA) calls youth anyone between 12 and 17 years old, while the RCMP includes those between 18 and 24 years old when referring to youth gangs⁹. Despite these inconsistencies, this thesis will continue to use “children and youth” and “young people” to describe those under the age of 24, as it is the language most familiar to service providers who are involved with this age group, within a Canadian context.

Despite this definition, it must be acknowledged that it is problematic to observe childhood on a global scale while employing a universal norm of what “childhood” is supposed to look like. This narrow perspective ignores the complex realities that young

⁷ UNCRC. United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. 1989. Accessed December 19, 2018. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>

⁸ Boyden 2007, IBID. Page 260

⁹ Cech, Maureen. *Interventions with children and youth in Canada*. Oxford University Press, 2nd edition. 2015.

people face as well as the culturally specific indicators of development^{10,11}. Therefore, focusing on this age group as a critically important developmental phase, with its many varied norms and expectations, allows me to capture a broad range of services and supports that exist for refugee children and youth. Please see Appendix A for a list of other key terms used in this dissertation.

1.7- Outline of this Dissertation

Chapter 2 will present my theoretical approach, as well as the methodology employed in this research, outlining how this project was structured and executed. In Chapter 3, I present the international context of displacement and the implications for young refugees affected by armed conflict. Chapter 4 focuses specifically on the Canadian context and how our history has shaped our laws and policy response to refugees. Chapter 5 is a review of the literature relevant to refugee youth in Canada, drawing on current issues and outcomes for refugee young people, as well as examples of programs for these young people across Canada. Each of these topics are introduced to underscore why this research is both relevant and important for future work with refugee youth. Chapter 6 will present the key findings and themes from this research and address the theoretical relevance of this dissertation in its use of the social

¹⁰ Boyden, Jo, and Gillian Mann. "Children's risk, resilience, and coping in extreme situations." In *Handbook for working with children and youth: Pathways to resilience across cultures and contexts*, edited by Michael Ungar. pp26, Sage Publications. 2005.

¹¹ Chatty, Dawn. "Researching refugee youth in the Middle East: Reflections on the importance of comparative research." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20, no. 2 (2007): 265-280.

ecological resilience approach. Finally, Chapter 7 will present recommendations for policy, practice, and research moving forward.

Chapter 2- Theoretical Approach and Methodology

Canada's immigration system has many strengths but also shortcomings. These strengths and shortcomings have unique manifestations in different urban contexts and jurisdictions. As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, the process for receiving refugees is flawed, with complex problems that need to be better understood. Finding a balance between responding to the needs to refugees with the obligation to safeguard Canada's security will not be an easy task. The political pressures also add a challenging dimension where the appropriate cost and volume of migration demands ongoing negotiation.¹² In this dissertation, I will present data on what services exist in the Halifax area for refugee young people. The goal is to identify policy solutions to help improve access to the necessary supports for this population. It is for these reasons that this research is framed within a pragmatic paradigm and makes use of qualitative research methods.

I have taken a qualitative approach to answering the main research questions. Two guiding theoretical frameworks will be employed to better understand the existing services for refugee young people: Resilience Theory and Grounded Theory. Specifically, I will employ an ecological perspective on resilience which encompasses the qualities of both the individual and their environment, as factors that impact their well-being. This framework will help guide the mapping of services that exist to support refugee young

¹² Fleras, Augie. *Immigration Canada: Evolving realities and emerging challenges in a post national world*. (UBC Press, 2014).

people in the city. These supports serve as external, environmental factors that can contribute to a young person's resilience. With a more comprehensive understanding of where these services are located and what they look like, I can make recommendations for how support for refugee young people can be improved.

As subsequent sections will show, I have employed two main methods. The first was a policy analysis of Canada's response to refugee young people who have experienced war or armed conflict. Secondly, by using a case study approach to understand what is happening in Halifax specifically, the intent is to shed further light on how current policies are working in centres which have not traditionally been major refugee and immigrant settlement centres, and where supports need to be strengthened. Considering this focus, a qualitative approach allows for the descriptive details to be captured, providing the insight needed to answer the research questions¹³. In this section, the interpretive and theoretical frameworks used in this research will be presented. The chosen methods and data analysis process will be described, and the methodological limitations will be explained.

2.1- Pragmatism: An Interpretive Framework

Charles Sander Pierce in 1878 was the first to formulate the theory of pragmatism, though he did not label it "pragmatism" at the time. His work was

¹³ Bryman, Alan. *Social research methods*. 5th Edition. (Oxford university press, 2016).

embraced by many scholars in the late 19th century, mostly in America, ¹⁴ including thinkers like John Dewey, William James, George Herbert Mead, and Arthur F. Bentley, who all rejected the idea that scientific methods could be used to discover “truth”¹⁵. Rather, they believed that practical thinking, or a “common sense” approach needs to be applied to answer questions about “truth” and “reality”. Thus, pragmatism has become more of an attitude one takes toward philosophy itself, putting a greater emphasis on “common sense and practical thinking”.^{16,17} As a point of contrast, a constructivist ontological assumption of truth would allow for multiple realities to exist based on an individual’s experiences.¹⁸ The pragmatic assumption is that the reality remains constant- that truth exists independent of human experiences- and individuals bring their own unique interpretation of that truth. While pragmatism does not subscribe to the assumption of multiple realities, it does leave room for a context-specific assessment of what the reality is and how to best solve a problem.

The meaning of the word “pragmatic” in Greek is to act, or be active¹⁹, which fits with the common pragmatic approach to research that will be presented in this section. The core principle of pragmatism is focused on solutions to problems. The emphasis within the pragmatic paradigm is on the application of ideas. This means that ideas are

¹⁴ Wells, Harry K. "Pragmatism, philosophy of imperialism." (1954).

¹⁵ Mertens, Donna M., and Amy T. Wilson. *Program evaluation theory and practice: A comprehensive guide*. (Guilford Press, 2012).

¹⁶ Mertens and Wilson, 2012. IBID

¹⁷ Talisse, Robert B., and Scott F. Aikin. *Pragmatism: a guide for the perplexed*. (A&C Black, 2008).

¹⁸ Creswell, John W. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. 3rd edition. (Sage publications, 2013).

¹⁹ Online Etymology Dictionary. “Pragmatic”. Accessed December 19, 2018.

<https://www.etymonline.com/word/pragmatic>

determined to be true or not based on their ability to make sense of a situation²⁰. Truth is not based on a dualism between the mind and reality, but rather in how a solution to a problem can be reached²¹. Therefore, early pragmatist thinkers argued that research was not about discovering truth but rather about demonstrating what is required to solve a problem^{22,23}.

As Dewey explained,

“[W]hen we take the point of view of pragmatism we see that general ideas have a very different role to play than that of reporting and registering past experiences. They are the bases for organizing future observations and experiences.”²⁴

Early Pragmatic thinkers argued strongly that practice cannot be separated from truth, meaning that all theories of knowledge and morality must match the researcher’s convictions and the methods of inquiry chosen²⁵. Thus, reality can be discovered using a variety of methods²⁶. The methodological assumption in pragmatism is that the

²⁰ James, William. *Pragmatism*. Vol. 1. (Harvard University Press, 1975).

²¹ Creswell, 2013. IBID. page 28

²² Mertens and Wilson, 2012. IBID

²³ Teddlie, Charles, and Abbas Tashakkori. "Major issues and controversies in the use of mixed methods in the social and behavioral sciences." In *Handbook of mixed methods in social & behavioral research*. Ed. Abbas, Tashakkori, and Teddlie Charles. (Sage, 2003): 3-50.

²⁴ Dewey, J. "The Development of American Pragmatism" in *Pragmatism: The Classic Writings*. Ed. Thayer, HS. (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1931). pp. 23-40. Page 32-33- quote.

²⁵ Migotti, Mark, and Cheryl Misak. "Pragmatism. Canadian Journal of Philosophy Supplementary Volume." (University of Calgary Press, 1999).

²⁶ Lincoln, Yvonna S., Susan A. Lynham, and Egon G. Guba. "Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences, revisited." In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Ed. Denzin, Norman K., and Yvonna S. Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2011): 97-128.

methods must match the purpose of the research²⁷. Mixed methods are a common choice in pragmatic research as a way of rejecting a qualitative/quantitative dichotomy and utilizing both as they apply to a given problem²⁸. Morgan presents a compelling argument that challenges the boundaries between research paradigms, arguing that abandoning the need to neatly categorize research within this dichotomy of qualitative and quantitative can allow the researcher to be more dynamic in their efforts to answer a research question.²⁹ Pragmatism fits with this conceptualization of the research process³⁰. For this research project, pragmatism has been a useful framework in this research, allowing the focus to be on what supports exist for refugee young people and what solutions for policy and service provision in Halifax can look like.

2.2- Resilience Theory: A Social Ecological Perspective

Resilience theory offers an important perspective when researching services for young people, as these supports serve as factors that can be used to support to a young person's resilience. As will be discussed in this section, resilience is not merely a description of an individual's personality but a combination of the personal and social resources that interact to positively impact their well-being. This concept is referred to in the literature as a social ecological perspective and is defined as:

²⁷ Patton, Michael Quinn. "Two decades of developments in qualitative inquiry: A personal, experiential perspective." *Qualitative social work* 1, no. 3 (2002): 261-283.

²⁸ Mertens and Wilson, 2012. IBID

²⁹ Morgan, David L. "Paradigms lost and pragmatism regained: Methodological implications of combining qualitative and quantitative methods." *Journal of mixed methods research* 1, no. 1 (2007): 48-76.

³⁰ Cherryholmes, Cleo H. "Notes on pragmatism and scientific realism." *Educational researcher* 21, no. 6 (1992): 13-17.

“In the context of exposure to significant adversity, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to the psychological, social, cultural, and physical resources that sustain their well-being, and their capacity individually and collectively to negotiate for these resources to be provided and experienced in culturally meaningful ways.”³¹

This definition acknowledges a culturally embedded understanding of resilience that prioritizes the individual’s capacity to overcome adversity in culturally relevant ways and highlights the diverse values, beliefs, and everyday practices that are associated with coping across populations^{32,33}. Focusing solely on individual traits does not address the contextual factors that could either support or restrict the individual’s ability to be resilient^{34,35}.

The concept of resilience has experienced significant changes over recent decades. There has been a shift from a descriptive, individual characteristic-focused approach, to a more integrative, multi-dimensional understanding of the factors and process that influence resiliency. Masten identifies two major models of resilience that are often applied to research: a variable-focused approach and a person-focused

³¹ Ungar, Michael. "Resilience across cultures." *The British Journal of Social Work* 38, no. 2 (2008): 218-235. Page 225.

³² Boyden, Jo, and Gillian Mann. "Children’s risk, resilience, and coping in extreme situations." In *Handbook for working with children and youth: Pathways to resilience across cultures and contexts*. Ed. Michael Ungar. (Sage Publications. 2005). Page 26.

³³ Ungar, Michael, Marion Brown, Linda Liebenberg, and Rasha Othman. "Unique pathways to resilience across cultures." *Adolescence* 42, no. 166 (2007): 287.

³⁴ Ungar, M. Resilience, trauma, context, and culture. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 14, no 3 (2013): 255-266.

³⁵ Vindevogel, S., Van Parys, H., De Schryver, M., Broekaert, E., & Derluyn, I. (2017). A Mixed-Methods Study of Former Child Soldiers’ Transition Trajectories from Military to Civilian Life. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 32, no 3 (2017): 346-370.

approach³⁶. The variable-focus- also referred to as process resilience- draws on the connections between independent risks or assets that impact resilience, while the person-focus- trait resilience- tries to identify what traits resilient people have in common³⁷. It is the former that is the predominant focus in this research.

Ungar et al. identified seven tensions, or resources, that resilient young people must typically navigate and resolve using the means available to them individually and within their wider context:

- Access to material resources
- Relationships
- Identity
- Power and control
- Cultural adherence
- Social justice
- Cohesion³⁸

Resources are defined as objects, conditions, personal characteristics, or energies valued by the individual or serving to obtain other resources³⁹. This concept presents resilience as a quality of a young person's social and physical ecology as well as

³⁶ Masten, W., & Wright, M. O. Resilience over the lifespan. In, *Handbook of adult resilience*. Ed. Prince-Embury, S. & Saklofske, D. (New York: Springer, 2009). pp. 213-237.

³⁷ Liebenberg, Linda, Natacha Joubert, and Marie-Lynne Foucault. "Understanding core resilience elements and indicators: A comprehensive review of the literature." (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2017). Accessed December 19, 2018.

<https://bettercarenetwork.org/sites/default/files/PHAC%20Resilience%20Report%20-%20Final%20Version%20November%252c%202017.pdf>

³⁸ Ungar et al. 2007, IBID. Page 295.

³⁹ Hobfoll, Stevan E., Natalie R. Stevens, and Alyson K. Zalta. "Expanding the science of resilience: Conserving resources in the aid of adaptation." *Psychological inquiry* 26, no. 2 (2015): 174-180.

their individual characteristics⁴⁰. These resources contribute to what resilience researchers now call the social ecology of resilience which includes an interactional, environmental, and cultural perspective⁴¹.

The idea that resilience is something that an individual *has* rather than a *process* that is facilitated by families, schools, communities, and governments has been criticized for oversimplifying the complex reality of young people in adversity^{42,43}. Essentially, protective processes help shield individuals from the effects of adversity and promote positive adaptation.⁴⁴ However, Cicchetti's research on resilience in maltreated children found that most of resilience research has adopted a single-level analysis, focusing on psychosocial processes. He argues that multilevel investigations are needed before an understanding of the complexity of the resilience process can be attained^{45,46,47}. The implication is that research needs to focus on the changing nature of both the individual and their environment and how the successful adaptation to change

⁴⁰ Ungar, M., & Liebenberg, L. Assessing resilience across cultures using mixed methods: Construction of the child and youth resilience measure. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 5, no 2, (2011).126–149.

⁴¹ Ungar, M. Social ecologies and their contribution to resilience. In, *The social ecology of resilience*. Ed. Ungar, M. (New York: Springer, 2012) pp. 13-31.

⁴² Boyden and Mann, 2005. IBID.

⁴³ Ungar et al. 2007. IBID.

⁴⁴ Rutter, Michael. "Psychosocial resilience and protective mechanisms." *American journal of orthopsychiatry* 57, no. 3 (1987): 316-331.

⁴⁵ Cicchetti, D. Annual Research Review: Resilient functioning in maltreated children – past, present, and future perspectives, *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 54, no 4, (2013): 402-422.

⁴⁶ Lerner, Richard M. "Resilience as an attribute of the developmental system: Comments on the papers of Professors Masten & Wachs." *Annals of the New York academy of sciences* 1094, no. 1 (2006): 40-51.

⁴⁷ Masten and Wright, 2009. IBID.

can be facilitated in a positive way^{48,49}. Resilience is thus both context-dependent and temporally specific.

It is important to note that resilience is not a static, permanent state of being where a person can arrive, but rather it is a continually evolving process. In Werner and Smith's longitudinal cohort study in Hawaii⁵⁰, they followed a group of 698 individuals from childhood into their adult years, studying the impact of their environment on their development and well-being. What they discovered was that psychosocial development trajectories are not linear but rather responsive to the changes in the individual's environment that had a direct impact on their well-being⁵¹. Thus, it is this interaction between an individual and their environment which can produce what they need in order to overcome adversity⁵².

Magid and Boothby⁵³ align more with this perspective by approaching resilience as an ongoing process. They present an overview of the risks young people face in war. Often in contexts such as armed conflict, the loss of physical and social resources can lead to more long-term consequences for the individual and community⁵⁴. Drawing on

⁴⁸ Rutter, M. "Resilience: Causal pathways and social ecology." In, *The Social Ecology of Resilience*. Ed. Unger, M. (New York: Springer 2012). pp. 33–42.

⁴⁹ Ungar et al 2007. IBID.

⁵⁰ Werner, Emmy E. and Smith, R. S. *Journeys from childhood to midlife: Risk, resilience, and recovery*. (Ithica, Cornell University Press, 2001).

⁵¹ Werner and Smith, 2001, IBID.

⁵² Liebenberg, Linda, Michael Ungar, and Fons Van de Vijver. "Validation of the child and youth resilience measure-28 (CYRM-28) among Canadian youth." *Research on social work practice* 22, no. 2 (2012): 219-226.

⁵³ Magid, Barbara, and Neil Boothby. "Promoting resilience in children of war." In *Handbook of resilience in children of war*. Ed. Fernando, C. & Ferrari, M. (Springer, New York, NY, 2013). pp. 39-49.

⁵⁴ Betancourt, Theresa S., Saida Abdi, Brandon S. Ito, Grace M. Lilienthal, Naima Agalab, and Heidi Ellis. "We left one war and came to another: Resource loss, acculturative stress, and caregiver-child

their past research with children in conflict, they were able to show how if protective factors were able to out-weight risk factors, the potential to counteract the negative impact on young people's resilience was increased. Thus, in supporting the resilience of young people in the contexts of war and armed conflict, it is important to identify and strengthen protective factors and resources^{55,56}.

This understanding of resilience needs to go beyond the individual, paying attention to the interactions between the individual and their environment^{57,58}. Tol, Song, and Jordans' systematic review of qualitative and quantitative studies of the resilience and mental health of CAACs in low and middle-income countries supports this conceptualization of resilience as a dynamic process⁵⁹, suggesting that focusing on individual factors can distract researchers from the complexity of the interactions between risk and protective factors, and the individual. Therefore, an effective line of inquiry is, "what conditions allow for and sustain resilience in individuals at different moments in life?"⁶⁰.

relationships in Somali refugee families." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 21, no. 1 (2015): 114.

⁵⁵ Kostelny, Kathleen, and Michael Wessells. "Child friendly spaces: Promoting children's resiliency amidst war." In *Handbook of resilience in children of war*. Ed. Fernando, C. & Ferrari, M. (Springer, New York, NY, 2013). pp. 119-129.

⁵⁶ Magid and Boothby, 2013. IBID

⁵⁷ Boyden 2005. IBID.

⁵⁸ Ungar and Liebenberg, 2011. IBID.

⁵⁹ Tol, Wietse A., Suzan Song, and Mark JD Jordans. "Annual research review: Resilience and mental health in children and adolescents living in areas of armed conflict—a systematic review of findings in low-and middle-income countries." *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 54, no. 4 (2013): 445-460.

⁶⁰ Fernando, Chandi, and Michel Ferrari, eds. *Handbook of resilience in children of war*. (Springer Science & Business Media, 2013). Page 291

Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory⁶¹ offers a conceptualization of how the individual is situated within a network of systems that all have an impact on their resilience (see Figure 1). When applied to the experience of refugee young people, this framework allows for a more dynamic understanding of what factors contribute to their well-being. This model underpins social ecological resilience theory, highlighting the importance of resilience resources found outside of the individual, and more particularly the important role services play in making these supports accessible to refugee young people.

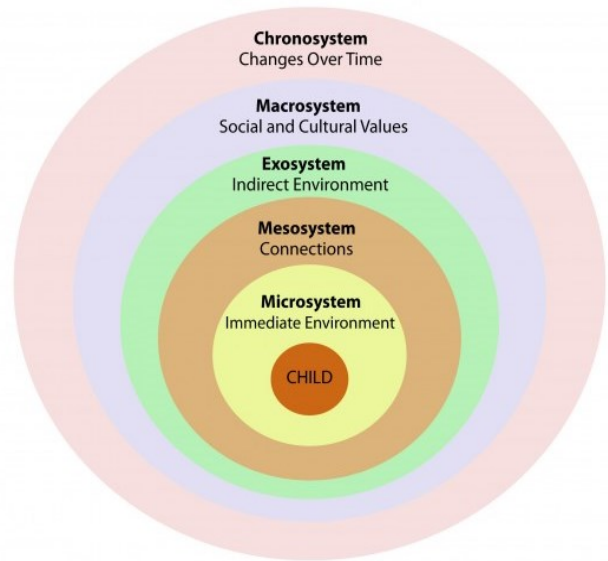


Figure 1- Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory, 2009

At the micro-level, for example, the importance of family is significant^{62,63,64,65}. School-level support (part of the mesosystem) is another effective point of engagement with young people. At the exo-level, the influence of organizations, such as community and youth service groups, and government is identified. While this may not be in the

⁶¹ Bronfenbrenner, Urie. *The ecology of human development*. (Harvard university press, 2009).

⁶² Betancourt, Theresa Stichick, Liesbeth Speelman, Grace Onyango, and Paul Bolton. "A qualitative study of mental health problems among children displaced by war in northern Uganda." *Transcultural psychiatry* 46, no. 2 (2009): 238-256.

⁶³ Garbarino, James, and Kathleen Kostelny. "The effects of political violence on Palestinian children's behavior problems: A risk accumulation model." *Child development* 67, no. 1 (1996): 33-45.

⁶⁴ Tol, Wietse A., Emily E. Haroz, Rebecca S. Hock, Jeremy C. Kane, and Mark JD Jordans. "Ecological perspectives on trauma and resilience in children affected by armed conflict." In *Helping Children Cope with Trauma*. Ed. Pat-Horenczyk R, Brom D, and Vogel JM. (Routledge: East Sussex, UK, 2014). pp193-209.

⁶⁵ Pynoos, Robert S., Alan M. Steinberg, and Ruth Wraith. "A developmental model of childhood traumatic stress." In *Wiley series on personality processes. Developmental psychopathology, Vol. 2. Risk, disorder, and adaptation*. (Oxford, England: John Wiley & Sons,1995). pp. 72-95.

direct experience of young people, the political and social climate can either support or hinder how young refugees are supported through their resettlement and integration. To fully apply Bronfenbrenner's model requires an analysis of the proximal processes. This refers to a young person's interactions with people and resources in their environment.^{66,67} What this model offers are levels in which the varied experiences of this population can be better understood, and how resources in those different levels influence each other. It is important to recognize that the contexts that refugees come from and go to vary, resulting in differing needs and values within this population group⁶⁸.

An ecological perspective of resilience encompasses the qualities of both the individual and their environment, and focuses on promoting their positive development by providing material and social resources^{69,70}. This framework has guided how I have mapped the services that exist to support refugee young people in the city. These services are an important part of the context in which refugee young people are experiencing their resettlement. These external, environmental factors can contribute to a young person's resilience. Once we have a better understanding of where these

⁶⁶ Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. The ecology of developmental processes. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Theoretical models of human development*. Hoboken, NJ, US: John Wiley & Sons Inc. (1998). pp. 993-1028.

⁶⁷ Tudge, Jonathan RH, Irina Mokrova, Bridget E. Hatfield, and Rachana B. Karnik. "Uses and misuses of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development." *Journal of family theory & review* 1, no. 4 (2009): 198-210.

⁶⁸ Zinck, E., Ungar, M., Whitman, S., Exenberger, S., LeVert-Chaisson, I., Liebenberg, L., Ung, J., & Forshner, A. "Working with Children and Youth in Challenging Contexts to Promote Youth Engagement." CYCC Network. Halifax, NS: 2013. Accessed December 19, 2018. <http://cycnetwork.org/engagement>

⁶⁹ Boyden and Mann, 2005. IBID.

⁷⁰ Ungar and Liebenberg, 2011. IBID.

services are located and what they look like, we can draw informed conclusions about how we can more effectively support the resilience of refugee young people in our city.

2.3- Grounded theory

The purpose of grounded theory is to develop a theory that emerges directly from the data which, in the case of this research, are interviews and an analysis of policy documents. The focus of grounded theory is on the interaction between key concepts and key words⁷¹. This methodology involves two parts of the same process - generating theory and doing social research^{72,73}. The research data is analysed, while conducting the field work, in repeated rounds that are meant to refine the codes and themes that emerge. This data is considered inductive in that it is used to generate a new theory as opposed to testing a previously identified theory. The data is thus used to develop categories that bring some theoretical explanation to the data itself⁷⁴. The founders of this theory were Glaser and Strauss⁷⁵, though different versions of grounded theory have developed since then. Strauss and Corbin outline the characteristics of a grounded theorist:

- “the ability to step back and critically analyze situations

⁷¹ Richards, Cameron, & Farrokhnia, Farrokh. Optimizing Grounded Theory for Policy Research: A Knowledge-Building Approach to Analyzing WTO E-Commerce Policies. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 15, no1, (2016): 1-14.

⁷² Glaser, Barney G. "Advances in the methodology of grounded theory: Theoretical sensitivity." (Sociology Pr, 1978).

⁷³ Strauss, Anselm, and Juliet Corbin. "Grounded theory methodology." In, *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Ed. Denzin, and Yvonna S. Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994): 273-85.

⁷⁴ Charmaz, Kathy. *Constructing grounded theory*. (Sage, 2014).

⁷⁵ Glaser and Strauss 1967

- the ability to recognize the tendency toward bias
- the ability to think abstractly
- the ability to be flexible and open to helpful criticism
- sensitivity to the words and actions of respondents
- a sense of absorption and devotion to the work process”⁷⁶

Early approaches were largely positivist in epistemology. In the 1990s, a constructivist approach to grounded theory began to emerge. Charmaz⁷⁷ has been a key contributor to this branch of grounded theory. The main criticism a constructivist approach addresses, is the role the researcher plays in interpreting the data. Viewing the research as constructed rather than discovered allows the researcher to acknowledge the values and preconceptions that they bring to the research. This dynamic element also includes the meanings which participants bring with them to the research process. It also emphasizes the external conditions influencing the research that may be both seen and unseen. By employing this constructivist approach, the emerging theory can be grounded in the perspectives of the research participants⁷⁸.

Grounded theory refers to both the method and the product of research. The methods of grounded theory consist of data collection and analysis happening simultaneously, allowing for each to inform the other throughout the process⁷⁹. Coding

⁷⁶ Strauss, Anselm, and Juliet Corbin. *Basics of qualitative research*. (Sage publications, 1990). Page 5.

⁷⁷ Charmaz, Kathy. “Grounded Theory Methodology: Objectivist and Constructivist Qualitative Methods.” In *Handbook of Qualitative Research 2nd ed.* Ed. N. K. Denzin and Y. Lincoln. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000). pp 509-535.

⁷⁸ Charmaz 2014. IBID.

⁷⁹ Charmaz, Kathy. “Views from the Margins: Voices, Silences, and Suffering.” *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 5, no1, (2008): 7-18.

is an important part of data analysis, where “data are fractured, conceptualized, and integrated to form theory”⁸⁰. Codes are assigned to words and phrases within the data, whether through interviews or written texts. These codes are then grouped into categories the researcher can use to develop a theory with which to explain the phenomenon being researched⁸¹. There has been some criticism of this coding as an unnecessary fragmentation of the data.⁸² However, one of the strengths of grounded theory is its structured approach to capturing a large amount of qualitative data in an effective way. One key concept in grounded theory is that of theoretical saturation – that is, when the data collection reveals that no new ideas relevant to the developing theory will arise and data gathering ends⁸³. According to Charmaz, this saturation usually occurs after 20-30 interviews, though each research focus will be different⁸⁴.

In policy research, grounded theory complements a macro-overview perspective that can capture a wide range of micro-level details to connect them into a unifying theory. Researchers such as Richards and Farrokhnia have adopted this constructivist model of grounded theory in relation to policy research, arguing that it provides a more systematic and purposeful approach to identifying themes.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Strauss, Anselm, and Juliet Corbin. *Basics of qualitative research*. Sage publications, 1990. Page 3

⁸¹ Charmaz, 2014. IBID.

⁸² Fassinger, Ruth E. "Paradigms, praxis, problems, and promise: Grounded theory in counseling psychology research." *Journal of counseling psychology* 52, no. 2 (2005): 156.

⁸³ Glaser, B.G. and Holton, J. "Remodeling grounded theory." *Forum Qualitative Social Research*, 5, no2, article 4, (2004).

⁸⁴ Charmaz, 2014. IBID.

⁸⁵ Richards and Farrokhnia, 2016, IBID.

a. An Integrated Model of Policy Research

This research has employed grounded theory to produce a policy analysis of Canada's response to refugee youth coming from war-affected regions. A policy analysis can refer to a collection of different methods that are used to reflect on policy formulation and implementation⁸⁶. A policy is a set of principles and guidelines, formulated and enforced by a government or governing body, to direct its actions in pursuit of a desired outcome or solution⁸⁷.

In Richards and Farrokhnia's work on a knowledge-building approach to analyzing E-Commerce policies from the World Trade Organization in 2016, they produced an integrated model of policy research for deep analysis and critique that goes beyond a descriptive presentation. They have taken grounded theory and applied a more structured model to allow for "problem solving grounded theory". This approach enables grounded theory to be applied to not only informal texts, but to formal policy documents⁸⁸.

⁸⁶ Chalip, Laurence. "Policy analysis in sport management." *Journal of sport management* 9, no. 1 (1995): 1-13.

⁸⁷ Business Dictionary. "Policy". Accessed December 19, 2018.
<http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/policy.html>

⁸⁸ Richards and Farrokhnia, 2016, IBID.

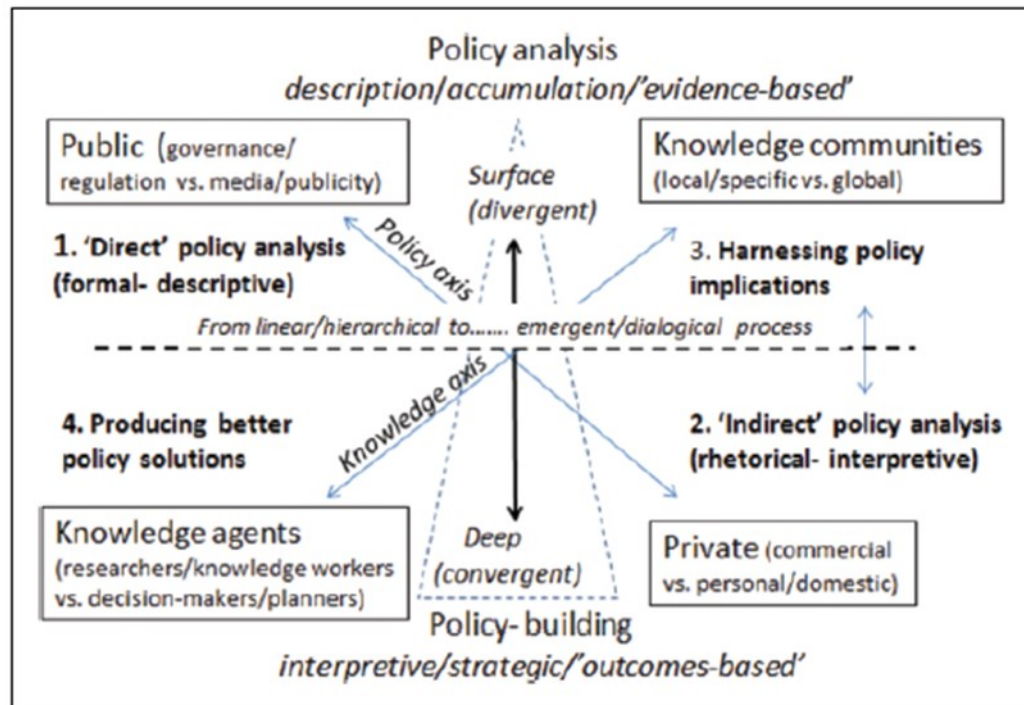


Figure 2- Integrated Model of Policy Research: Beyond “policy gaps”. 2016

As shown in Figure 2, this model includes four components for effective policy analysis. The first component is a direct, or formal, policy analysis that references policy statements or documents when they are available. Building from this formal analysis, the second component provides a more indirect, interpretive analysis of both formal and informal policy sources. As Richards explains, formal presentations of policy are often incomplete and require clarification that can be found in secondary sources of commentary and/or critique. By approaching policy in this way, this analysis presents a more complete picture of the policy environment in which refugee children and youth are received and supported⁸⁹.

⁸⁹ Richards and Farrokhnia, 2016, IBID.

This leads into the third component of the integrated policy analysis model that focuses on policy implications. This is where the voices of stakeholders can be captured through interviews and informal publications. As Richards and Farrokhnia propose, this is where policy analysis can become more of an interdisciplinary exercise, allowing for more informed theories and problem-solving strategies. This phase is particularly relevant for this research on the support for refugee young people, as the solutions we seek do not belong in one discipline or field but rather in their collaboration. The fourth component, thus, pulls together a strategy for moving forward building on the findings of the first three steps⁹⁰. As shown in this model, the horizontal axis represents the knowledge and theories that emerge through the process. The vertical and diagonal axes represent the relationship between policy and knowledge, and how different actors and sources contribute to that back-and forth⁹¹. This is a relatively new model, emerging from Richard Cameron's research on integrated problem-solving frameworks⁹². However, an integrated approach like this helps identify strategies and innovative policies that can respond to policy gaps. This is particularly relevant for this research, as I map services for refugee young people in the current policy context, and how they relate to each other.

⁹⁰ Richards and Farrokhnia, 2016, IBID.

⁹¹ Richards and Farrokhnia, 2016, IBID.

⁹² Richards, Cameron. "Old Wisdom for a New World In Crisis? The Enneagrammatic Structure of Integrated, Optimal and Sustainable Problem-Solving." *Emergence: Complexity & Organization* 15, no. 1 (2013).

2.4- Methods: Policy Analysis and Case Study

To recap, the main question guiding this research is: How are smaller urban centres, like Halifax, prepared to support refugee youth from war-affected regions in their resettlement and integration? This project is guided by the following research questions:

- What policies are guiding Canada's service provision for refugee youth from war-affected regions? Are they adequate in responding to the needs of these young people?
- What programs or services are in place in Halifax to support refugee children and youth from war-affected regions?
- How has the resilience of these young people been supported in their transition to life in Canada?
- How has the recent influx of Syrian refugees affected the environment of service provision to the refugee population as a whole?
- What are the gaps between the existing policies and the service provision to this population?

To follow the discussion of the theoretical frameworks employed in this research, the methods used to answer the central research questions will be presented in this section. First, a policy analysis was conducted. To develop further understanding of the policy environment around receiving young people from war affected regions, a policy analysis presents a qualitative approach to assessing what policies and supports

have been put in place using reliable and clearly articulated methods^{93,94,95}. It also creates space to discuss policy voids or gaps that may emerge. The purpose of a policy analysis is to define a problem and the goals, examine the arguments, and analyze the implementation of policy⁹⁶. The analysis included secondary data (including legal documents, reports, official statistics from government bodies, and published articles), to establish an informed analysis. These various resources were collected through a variety of channels. First, official publications and government documents were reviewed. Government documents refer to legal texts and public policies that were collected from the internet. Looking at these primary documents allows the specific goals of the existing policies to be clearly represented in this research.

Secondary data - including journal articles, policy reviews and commentaries, official statistics, and relevant reports - were gathered through online searches and recommendations from experts in the field. Official government websites were a great resource for this information, as well as those of non-governmental organizations - both globally, nationally, and locally - who are working in refugee settlement. Additionally, a Freedom of Information Act⁹⁷ was also filed to gather more information on plans and

⁹³ Richards and Farrokhnia, 2016, IBID.

⁹⁴ Spencer, Liz, and Jane Ritchie. "Qualitative data analysis for applied policy research." In *Analyzing qualitative data*. Ed. Bryman, A. and Burgess, R. (Routledge, 2002). pp. 187-208.

⁹⁵ Schon, Donald A., and Martin Rein. *Frame reflection: Toward the resolution of intractable policy controversies*. (Basic Books, 1995).

⁹⁶ Walker, Warren E. "Policy analysis: a systematic approach to supporting policymaking in the public sector." *Journal of Multi-criteria Decision Analysis* 9, no. 1-3 (2000): 11-27.

⁹⁷ Freedom of Information Act Request. "Policies related to the settlement of refugee children and youth in Canada." Filed with IRCC, Reference number- 663252180010201470. July 26, 2018

discussions have happened at the government level as it relates to the settlement of refugee young people.

The implementation of these policies refers to the realization of the policy's goals. The design of these policies is important in determining if the policy can be implemented effectively. This raises the question of how feasible a policy is, and how clearly the policy goals are communicated⁹⁸. Barriers to its implementation could include political, cultural, or financial factors just to name a few. The problem may also be that the policy itself is not a good policy, based on poor understandings by the policy makers of what happens in practice⁹⁹.

Clarity of purpose is vital for connecting policy makers and those who implement those policies so that they can all be working towards the same objectives. Those who implement policy have a powerful influence on whether a policy will succeed. Assuming complete compliance with the objectives of a given policy, which we know is almost an impossibility, can overlook what is really happening¹⁰⁰. Understanding the culture as well as the constraints on the "street-level bureaucrats"¹⁰¹ who implement policy through public service delivery therefore becomes vital for informing policy itself. These individuals could include teachers, law enforcement, health workers, just to name a few.

⁹⁸ Hu, Bo. "Education for Migrant Children: Policy Implementation in the Changing Urban Education System in China." PhD dissertation submitted to the London School of Economics and Political Science, 2012. Accessed December 19, 2018. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/16390478.pdf>

⁹⁹ Hogwood, Brian W., Lewis A. Gunn, and Sean Archibald. *Policy analysis for the real world*. Vol. 69. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

¹⁰⁰ Hill, M. *The Public Policy Process*. 4th edition. (New York, Pearson Longman, 2005).

¹⁰¹ Lipsky, Michael. *Street-level bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in public service*. Russell Sage Foundation, 2010

They have their own goals, values, and interests. If these goals conflict with organisational policy, the likelihood of policy being successfully implemented is significantly decreased¹⁰². Therefore, the second method incorporated into this research was a case study to explore more deeply the core question of how the policies that do exist are working to support young people from war-affected regions in the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM). Exploring how current policies are implemented and the degree to which people working with refugee young people have discretionary freedom in how they work and what they do is important for better understanding the effectiveness of the current policy environment.

Case studies are a common research tool for enhancing our understanding of a given issue by exploring a specific context related to the research focus.¹⁰³ This case study used semi-structured interviews with service providers across different sectors in Halifax (see Appendix B for a list of interview questions used). Keeping questions open and allowing space for the researcher to ask more probing questions left room for the interviewee to reveal additional insights reflecting their own situation and experiences^{104,105}. The interviews explored the services and supports in place for refugee young people resettled in the HRM who have experienced armed conflict. The

¹⁰² Hu, 2012. IBID

¹⁰³ Stake, Robert E. "Qualitative case studies." In, *Strategies for qualitative inquiry*. Ed. Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2008).

¹⁰⁴ May, T. *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*. 3rd Edition. (Buckingham; Open University, 2001).

¹⁰⁵ Ritchie, Jane, Jane Lewis, Carol McNaughton Nicholls, and Rachel Ormston. *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. (Sage, 2013). pp. 119-150

inclusion criteria for organizations and/or individuals to be a part of this research was a direct mandate to serve young people within the HRM.

Thirty-five interviews were conducted before saturation of the data was achieved. The individuals I interviewed were from a variety of backgrounds- some were newcomers themselves, though the majority were Canadian-born. Participants were evenly divide between men and women, ranging in age from early 20s to late 50s. There was also a range in their individual experience working with refugee youth. Working from an initial list of possible organizations to interview, purposive/ snowball sampling was used to invite additional participants. The inclusion criteria for organizations to be a part of this research was a direct mandate to serve young people in the HRM. Integration efforts cannot only exist in newcomer-specific programming but must be community-wide¹⁰⁶. There is research confirming this need for supports to be integrated in broader community service settings¹⁰⁷. This was part of the reasoning behind my focus on youth-specific services across the city. I wanted to capture how the broader community is prepared to respond to refugee young people.

One positive feature of purposive sampling is it allowed me to think critically about who was included in this research focus and how to best capture all these voices¹⁰⁸. One way that saturation was made evident was when I began receiving

¹⁰⁶ Ellis, B. Heidi, Alisa B. Miller, Heather Baldwin, and Saida Abdi. "New directions in refugee youth mental health services: Overcoming barriers to engagement." *Journal of Child & Adolescent Trauma* 4, no. 1 (2011): 69-85.

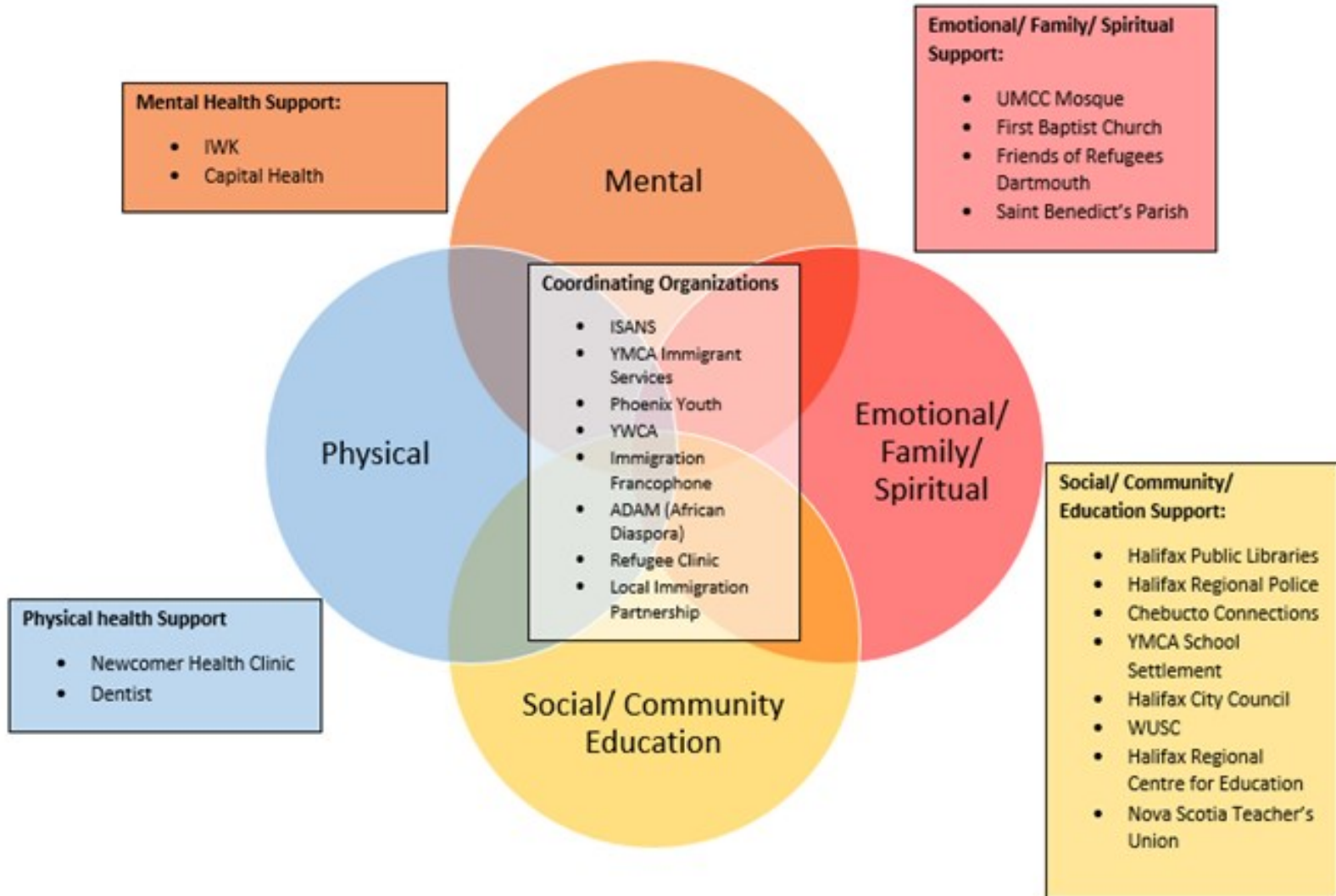
¹⁰⁷ Reynolds, Andrew D., and Rachel Bacon. "Interventions supporting the social integration of refugee children and youth in school communities: a review of the literature." *Advances in social work* 18, no. 3 (2018): 745-766.

¹⁰⁸ Silverman, 2013. IBID.

suggestions for interviewees who had already participated in the research. Also, the issues brought up in the interviews began to be repetitive, suggesting that saturation had been reached. Doing semi-structured interviews allowed the participants to express their thoughts and concerns on this topic of youth refugees. This provided me with rich data for my analysis

Both these methods were carried out congruently from the spring of 2017 until the summer of 2018. Figure 3 presents a complete list of the organizations that participated. This list was developed by looking at the different types of needs young refugees would have (i.e. physical, mental, emotional/ family/ spiritual, and social/ community/ education).

Figure 3- Map of Services in the HRM



2.5- Data Analysis

I used a constant comparison approach when conducting the policy analysis and the interviews for this case study. I compared interviews to each other, as well as to the research and policy that I was uncovering through my analysis. As findings began to emerge, I was able to reshape some of my research questions. It quickly became clear that virtually everyone I spoke to knew that ISANS was the main organization here in Halifax that supported refugees. So instead of asking that question every time, I tried to explore with the interviewee what they knew about other programs for youth in the city and how refugee young people have been or might be able to engage with them.

All interviews were audio recorded (with the consent of participants), except for one¹⁰⁹, and all data was stored on an encrypted drive on my password-protected computer. Interviews were transcribed and coded using Atlas.ti. Following initial line-by-line coding, focused coding was used to assess the initial codes, make comparisons between them, and group the codes into categories. Once the data was fractured into these initial codes, axial coding was used to develop these categories of codes in order to determine their conceptual strength. I then used theoretical coding to compare how the codes related to each other, contributing to broader themes¹¹⁰. In keeping with Grounded Theory, the research data was analysed simultaneously with my interviews

¹⁰⁹ Interviewee was not comfortable with an audio recording of his interview, so the researcher took detailed notes of the conversation to ensure that their contribution would be reflected in the findings presented.

¹¹⁰ Charmaz, 2014. IBID.

and policy analysis. This was a reiterative process that helped to refine the codes and themes that emerged. The end goal of this process was to identify theory emerging from the data that would add to our understanding of what services we have in place to support and enhance the resilience of refugee youth in Canada, and where the key gaps in these services are^{111,112}. I was able to identify key themes, which will be presented in Chapter 6.

Using the integrated model of policy research, outlined previously, the data was organized to allow for emergent themes and connections that can ultimately contribute to effective problem-solving recommendations. The researcher becomes a key part of this analysis as they bring their perspectives to the data. However, it is important for the researcher to rely as much as possible on the data presented when drawing out theories to allow for more meaningful and relevant conclusions¹¹³. As the integrated model for policy analysis demonstrates, there is an ongoing review of the data and the emerging codes as more data is included¹¹⁴. To supplement this analysis, I used memoing throughout the research process as ideas of evolving theories emerged. Memoing is a tool for pulling together emerging themes and ideas¹¹⁵. It is a useful preparation step for conceptualizing and writing up final theories that come from the research. Participant

¹¹¹ Boyatzis, Richard E. *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. (Sage, 1998).

¹¹² Guest, Greg, Kathleen M. MacQueen, and Emily E. Namey. *Applied thematic analysis*. (Sage, 2011).

¹¹³ Silverman, 2013. IBID.

¹¹⁴ Richards and Farrokhnia, 2016. IBID.

¹¹⁵ Holton, Judith A. "The coding process and its challenges." *The Sage handbook of grounded theory III* (2007): 265-89.

observation was also captured through reflective journaling and was used to supplement the themes that arose.

2.6- Reliability and Validity

In this dissertation, I have taken a qualitative approach to answering the main research questions. The reliability and validity of the research findings are two important issues in qualitative research. Reliability refers to the degree that the research could be repeated by another researcher and the same findings be uncovered¹¹⁶. While the findings of this research are influenced by the timing of when it was undertaken (thinking of the political and social climate), I strove to ensure the findings were as reliable as possible. Interview questions were asked in a non-leading manner, allowing the interviewee to share what they felt comfortable with. The findings in this dissertation, particularly the quotes from participants, are presented verbatim wherever possible to ensure that the findings were not simply reconstructions of myself, as the researcher, but closely mirrored the data. This principle was applied both in the case study and the policy analysis^{117,118}.

Validity refers to the degree to which the findings are true or accurate¹¹⁹. In keeping with a pragmatic approach, truth is whatever supports the actions needed for a

¹¹⁶ Hammersley, M. "What's wrong with ethnography? Methodological Explorations." (Psychology Press, 1992).

¹¹⁷ Seale, Clive. *The Quality of Qualitative Research*. (London: Sage, 1999)

¹¹⁸ Hu, 2012. IBID

¹¹⁹ Silverman, 2013. IBID.

desired result to be realized¹²⁰. The policy analysis captured all the relevant documents and literature. The case study was able to include many voices from across the HRM. Interviews were confidential to ensure interviewees felt comfortable sharing their most honest assessment of the reality they were experiencing. By using both a policy analysis and a case study, the findings from each were used to triangulate the themes that emerged and the validity of those themes, and to reveal the distinctive features of policy implementation. The validation of these findings will be in their proposed application¹²¹.

2.7- Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was granted by the Dalhousie Social Science Research Ethics Board. Written consent was obtained from all interviewees and, where relevant, their organization. Every effort to ensure confidentiality was taken. Participants had the choice to either be anonymous or named in all presentations of the findings. Data that contains the real names of participants have been stored on the researcher's password-protected computer and files were encrypted. It is important to note that given the small community in Halifax, it is difficult to ensure complete anonymity of participants. This was explained to interviewees prior to their written consent. Any direct quotations that the researcher has used in this dissertation have been sent to the interviewee for

¹²⁰ Kvale, Steinar. "The social construction of validity." In Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. *Qualitative inquiry Reader*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002): 299-325.

¹²¹ Hammersley, 1992. IBID.

review, unless the participant has waived this right. To avoid any perceived coercion, participation was not be sought through a supervisor or boss. While introductions may have been made through superiors, all requests for participation came directly from the researcher to the potential participant.

2.8- Limitations

Requests for participation in this study was largely received in a positive manner. People were generally eager to participate and felt it was a relevant project to undertake at this time. However, the Halifax Regional Centre for Education (formerly the Halifax Regional School Board) did not give me permission to interview principals, teachers, or guidance counsellors in their schools. I was able to interview an employee of the school board, which offered valuable insight. However, it was still vital for me to include the perspectives of those in schools, as they are spending a large amount of time with these young people every day. I was able to capture the information from the schools by interviewing school settlement workers, school- based police officers, and the Nova Scotia Teacher's Union president.

Youth themselves have not been participants in this research. The focus of this research has been on the policy environment in Canada and how we are prepared to support refugee children and youth from war-affected regions, with a focus on supports for refugee youth settlement in Halifax, NS. The research questions delve specifically into what supports exist and how those servicing refugee young people perceive their role and ability to do their work. Engaging with such an at-risk population must be done

in a way that respects their experience, includes them in the research process and findings in a meaningful way, and ensures no further harm is caused through their involvement^{122,123,124}. While I believe strongly in the inclusion of youth voice in research, this study is intended to provide an evidence base on the policy environment here in Canada and what is needed for the future. This foundational research will provide a strong base for subsequent projects with these young people and inform how to best facilitate their engagement.

¹²² Gurstein, Penny, Chris Lovato, and Sally Ross. "Youth participation in planning: Strategies for social action." *Canadian journal of urban research* (2003): 249-274.

¹²³ Paterson, Barbara L., and Ciro Panessa. "Engagement as an ethical imperative in harm reduction involving at-risk youth." *International Journal of Drug Policy* 19, no. 1 (2008): 24-32.

¹²⁴ Zinck et al. 2013. IBID.

Chapter 3- The International Context

Global migration is not a new phenomenon, but one that has changed over time in response to many different influences. Understanding these trends can shed light on the current climate surrounding migration, and specifically the movement of refugees. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a basic understanding of the global displacement crisis and how it has impacted young people specifically. This will lay the groundwork for the next chapter on immigration in Canada and how national policies on refugees have been influenced by global trends.

This chapter will present an overview of the global displacement crisis and the response from the international community. First, I will explore some historical trends in the global movement of peoples and focus specifically on the impact of displacement on young people as a result of armed conflict. There is a critical link to be drawn between the vulnerability of young people and the exploitation they can face during situations of armed conflict. The international community's response to displacement will then be presented. This section will conclude with an overview of the impact of displacement on young refugees. This is particularly relevant for this research because we need to understand the contexts from which refugee young people are coming for resettlement supports to be more responsive to their needs. Therefore, it is important to begin this conversation about refugee young people in terms of young people affected by armed conflict, as the experiences they bring with them to their new home have significant implications for their resettlement and integration.

3.1- Historical Trends in the Global Movement of Peoples

The movement of peoples around the world is not a new phenomenon. Within modern history, distinct periods of large-scale international migration can be identified, each with unique circumstances that influenced the movement of peoples. One of the earliest was the mercantile period from 1500-1899, which was characterized by the migration out of Europe into the colonized regions of the world. The Transatlantic Slave Trade marked a significant movement of people from Africa to the Americas which lasted for hundreds of years. Unfortunately, indentured servitude, what we now refer to as human trafficking, continues to this day.

Another distinct period of international migration was the industrial period of the early nineteenth century in which the industrialization of Europe began to spread to the New World, along with an estimated 45 million Europeans. The decades surrounding the Great Depression and the two World Wars were marked by significant limitations on migration as economic development was impacted internationally. It was not until the 1960s that what is known as the post-industrial period began - the period we find ourselves in today. This period is characterized by a global movement of people between industrialized regions and post-industrial societies, often referred to as the "Global North"¹²⁵. This is significant in understanding the contemporary resettlement of

¹²⁵ Massey, Douglas S., Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, and Adela Pellegrino. *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. Clarendon Press, 1999.

refugees because past limitations on movement are no longer the hurdle they once were. Refugees have more opportunity now to travel beyond neighboring countries or regions, largely thanks to technology. Globalization¹²⁶ has been a controversial and contested phenomenon of intensifying economic and technological development that has allowed for more ease of movement around the world - for people, products, and information. In this globalized world, the movement of peoples who have been displaced has reached farther and at a greater scale than ever before in history. The barrier of physical distance in migration trends has been significantly reduced with the development of fast, long-distance travel, such as air travel¹²⁷.

Africa remains the continent with the greatest number of refugees and displaced persons. The history of colonialism, and the anticolonial wars in the 1950s and 60s, can be pointed to as significant factors that have shaped this situation for many African nations¹²⁸. However today, the problem of displacement has not decreased but has grown. For many, migration has not been a choice but a reaction to violence or disaster that makes their current home uninhabitable.

One common thread throughout history has been the displacement of peoples as a result of violence and war. While many people do stay in situations of armed conflict, there are those who, either by force or by choice, flee in pursuit of safety. The

¹²⁶ On the controversies surrounding globalization, see writings such as: Bayart, Jean-François. *Global subjects: a political critique of globalization*. Polity, 2007; Guillén, Mauro F. "Is globalization civilizing, destructive or feeble? A critique of five key debates in the social science literature." *Annual review of sociology* 27, no. 1 (2001): 235-260; Hirst, Paul, Grahame Thompson, and Simon Bromley. *Globalization in question*. John Wiley & Sons, 2015.

¹²⁷ Massey, 1999. IBID.

¹²⁸ Sorenson, John. *An overview: Refugees and development*. Boulder: (Westview Press, 1994).

two key aspects of conflict-induced displacement are the violence that caused the displacement and the characteristics of the resulting displacement crisis. This is an important distinction to make in order to understand the dynamics of displacement and how people are affected¹²⁹. Each conflict has its own set of complexities that will have different implications for each population¹³⁰. Wars that result from a hostile takeover of power, civil unrest, resource ownership, or ethnic conflict will all have significant and unique impacts on civilians and their ability to thrive at home¹³¹. People will either be forced to leave their home or left to survive in difficult and often dangerous circumstances.

The international community is grappling with the displacement of peoples as a result of a range of circumstances. Armed conflict is currently the leading cause of displacement globally¹³². Therefore, it is important to begin this investigation of refugee young people in terms of CAAC, as the experiences they bring with them to their new home have significant implications for their resettlement and integration.

¹²⁹ Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. "Causes and consequences of conflict-induced displacement." *Civil Wars* 9, no. 2 (2007): 142-155.

¹³⁰ Nafziger, E. Wayne, Frances Stewart, and Raimo Väyrynen, eds. *War, hunger, and displacement*. Vol. 2. OUP Oxford, 2000.

¹³¹ Adhikari, Prakash. "Conflict-Induced Displacement, Understanding the Causes of Flight." *American Journal of Political Science* 57, no. 1 (2013): 82-89.

¹³² UNHCR. "Figures at a glance." Accessed May 1, 2019. <https://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>

3.2- Children Affected by Armed Conflict (CAAC)

Contemporary civil wars reflect a societal crisis, where the social order is profoundly disrupted leaving civilians - particularly women and children – in situations of extreme precarity^{133,134,135}. It is in this context that children have been used as both the targets and the instruments of violence, intensifying the consequences of violent conflict on young people¹³⁶. According to Save the Children, approximately 357 million children are now living in areas affected by armed conflict¹³⁷. An estimated 27 million children are out of school in conflict zones¹³⁸. Thus, armed conflict is a reality for many young people around the world, exposing them to violence and displacement^{139,140}. In 2005, the UN Secretary General on children and armed conflict identified six grave violations against children in war that were chosen for monitoring and reporting to stem these abuses:

¹³³ Catani, C., Schauer, E., Elbert, T., Missmahl, I., Bette, J.-P., & Neuner, F. War trauma, child labor, and family violence: life adversities and PTSD in a sample of school children in Kabul. *Journal of traumatic stress*, 22, no. 3 (2009): 163-171.

¹³⁴ Honwana, Alcinda, and Filip De Boeck. *Makers & breakers: Children and youth in postcolonial Africa*. (James Currey, 2005).

¹³⁵ Vigh, Henrik E. *Navigating terrains of war: Youth and soldiering in Guinea-Bissau*. Vol. 13. (Berghahn Books, 2006).

¹³⁶ Morgan, D., Abdul-Razzaq, D., Black, D., Manion, I., Wekerle, C., Forshner, A., & Ungar, M. *Promising Practices to Help Children and Youth who have been Exposed to Violence*. CYCC Network, Halifax, NS. 2013.

¹³⁷ Mariam Kirillos, Caroline Anning, Gunvor Knag Fylkesnes and James Denselow. *The War on Children*. Save the Children. 2018. Accessed December 19, 2018.

<https://www.savethechildren.net/warchildren/pdf/warchildren.pdf>

¹³⁸ UNICEF. *Education Uprooted*. 2018. Accessed December 19, 2018.

https://www.unicef.org/media/files/Education_Uprooted_DIGITAL.pdf

¹³⁹ Boyden, Jo, and Gillian Mann. "Children's risk, resilience, and coping in extreme situations." In *Handbook for working with children and youth: Pathways to resilience across cultures and contexts*. Ed. Michael Ungar. (Sage Publications. 2005).

¹⁴⁰ Kline, Paul M., and Erin Mone. "Coping with war: Three strategies employed by adolescent citizens of Sierra Leone." *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal* 20, no. 5 (2003): 321-333.

- “killing or maiming children;
- recruitment or use of child soldiers;
- attacks against schools or hospitals;
- rape and other grave sexual violence;
- abduction of children;
- denial of humanitarian access”¹⁴¹

It is estimated that there are 1.6 million deaths every year that are a result of violence, with many more people suffering from its non-fatal injuries and health consequences^{142,143}. Violence also includes threats of violence as well as acts that expose people to more physical and/or mental harm¹⁴⁴. According to the WHO, violence is the leading cause of death worldwide for people aged 15–44 years¹⁴⁵, taking many different forms. The risks of this violence are not universal but rather are experienced differently across racial, class, gender, and geographic lines. Its impact can be long-lasting for not only the victim but the perpetrator^{146,147}. For those young people who become refugees in another country, they bring with them their experiences of violence

¹⁴¹ UNICEF. “The Six Grave Violations Against Children During Armed Conflict: The Legal Foundation.” 2009. Accessed December 19, 2018.

https://childrenandarmedconflict.un.org/publications/WorkingPaper-1_SixGraveViolationsLegalFoundation.pdf Page 18

¹⁴² Krug, Etienne G., James A. Mercy, Linda L. Dahlberg, and Anthony B. Zwi. “The world report on violence and health.” *The lancet* 360, no. 9339 (2002): 1083-1088.

¹⁴³ WHO, 2010. IBID.

¹⁴⁴ Kwast, Elizabeth, and Sophie Laws. “United Nations secretary-general’s study on violence against children adapted for children and young people.” *New York: Save the Children Publication by UN Study Secretariat on Violence Against Children* (2007).

¹⁴⁵ WHO, 2010. IBID.

¹⁴⁶ Kwast and Laws, 2007. IBID.

¹⁴⁷ Pinheiro, Paulo Sérgio. “World report on violence against children.” (United Nations, 2006).

which has implications for the services and support that they need in order to succeed in their new homes¹⁴⁸.

Machel and Salgado's 1996 UNICEF report about children affected by armed conflict (CAAC)¹⁴⁹ emphasized that children had become targets of armed groups and were at high risk for recruitment as well as sexual exploitation. Children typically comprise half the population in war zones¹⁵⁰. In situations where children engage as soldiers, they can discursively lose their 'child' status in the eyes of, among others, family, community, military and other security personnel when they act in contrast to their presumed innocence^{151,152}. The tension between how we define children and understand their capabilities carries over into the different schools of thought around the vulnerability and agency of the child, and how we respond to them in contexts of conflict.

The complexities of modern armed conflict involve children in historically new ways, through traditional warfare, civil unrest, guerrilla fighting, and terrorism¹⁵³. The distinction between combatants and non-combatants in war has largely disappeared, resulting in an increased number of civilians, including women and children, who are

¹⁴⁸ Kwast and Laws. 2007. IBID.

¹⁴⁹ Machel, Graça. *The Impact of War on Children: A Review of Progress Since the 1996 United Nations Report on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*. United Nations Children's Fund, 3 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017, 2001.

¹⁵⁰ Kostelny, Kathleen, and Michael Wessells. "Child friendly spaces: Promoting children's resiliency amidst war." In *Handbook of resilience in children of war*. Ed. Fernando, C. & Ferrari, M. (Springer, New York, NY, 2013). pp. 119-129.

¹⁵¹ Cook and Wall, 2011. IBID.

¹⁵² James, Allison, and Chris Jenks. "Public perceptions of childhood criminality." *British Journal of Sociology* (1996): 315-331.

¹⁵³ Cook, D., and John Wall, eds. *Children and armed conflict: Cross-disciplinary investigations*. (Springer, 2011).

directly affected by armed conflict¹⁵⁴. CAAC have been both targets and instruments of violence¹⁵⁵. The use of children as soldiers is one tactic of social upheaval, where this role reversal of the child as the perpetrator of violence, challenges and disrupts social norms¹⁵⁶. The internationally agreed definition for a child soldier is:

“Any person below 18 years of age who is, or who has been, recruited or used by an armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to children, boys and girls, used as fighters, cooks, porters, messengers, spies or for sexual purposes. It does not only refer to a child who is taking or has taken a direct part in hostilities”¹⁵⁷.

Children participating in armed conflict have unfortunately become a common feature of the modern-day battlefield¹⁵⁸. New information from the Child Soldiers World Index shows that children have been used in war in at least 18 countries since 2016, by both government and non-state actors¹⁵⁹. Studies of the impact of this violence show an elevated burden of mental health problems which can be attributed to wartime exposure as well as other post-conflict factors, including a lack of support, displacement,

¹⁵⁴ Magid, Barbara, and Neil Boothby. "Promoting resilience in children of war." In *Handbook of resilience in children of war*. Ed. Fernando, C. & Ferrari, M. (Springer, New York, NY, 2013). pp. 39-49.

¹⁵⁵ Morgan et al 2013. IBID.

¹⁵⁶ Boyden and Mann, 2005. IBID.

¹⁵⁷ UNICEF, 2007, IBID.

¹⁵⁸ Singer, Peter Warren. *Children at war*. (Univ of California Press, 2006).

¹⁵⁹ Child Soldier International. "*Child Soldiers World Index*." Accessed on December 19, 2018.

<http://childsoldiersworldindex.org/>

and unemployment^{160,161}. The risk of re-recruitment is exacerbated by high rates of youth unemployment, corruption, and deficiencies in the implementation of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programs¹⁶².

During periods of political violence, social norms and structures undergo significant strain, leaving people unprotected and/or displaced. This increases the vulnerability of children to abduction and recruitment¹⁶³. While violence continues to pervade the lives of children and youth all over the world, there have been many efforts to address the root causes of this violence and to prevent its occurrence^{164,165}. A key part of understanding youth violence is the risk factors that expose youth to this danger¹⁶⁶. The ecological approach to preventing violence against children and youth emphasises inadequate or decaying infrastructures within communities^{167,168}, pointing to the risk factors at the individual, family and community levels¹⁶⁹. Reducing the risk of violence by addressing risk factors associated with their social ecology can therefore have a

¹⁶⁰ Johnson, Kirsten, Gillian Morantz, Helen Seignior, Tanya Zayed, and Shelly Whitman. "From Youth Affected by War to Advocates of Peace, Round Table Discussions with Former Child Combatants from Sudan, Sierra Leone and Cambodia." *Journal of International Peacekeeping* 16, no. 1-2 (2012): 152-174.

¹⁶¹ Dimitry, Lydia. "A systematic review on the mental health of children and adolescents in areas of armed conflict in the Middle East." *Child: care, health and development* 38, no. 2 (2012): 153-161.

¹⁶² Child Soldiers International, 2008. IBID.

¹⁶³ UNICEF. United Nations. Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children, and Armed Conflict. *Machel study 10-year strategic review: Children and conflict in a changing world*. UNICEF, 2009.

¹⁶⁴ Safe Schools Declaration. Accessed April 18, 2019.

http://www.protectingeducation.org/sites/default/files/documents/safe_schools_declaration-final.pdf

¹⁶⁵ Morgan et al. 2013. IBID.

¹⁶⁶ While violence *against* youth, and violence *amongst* youth is both significant issues, the latter is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

¹⁶⁷ Aynsley-Green, Albert, and David Hall. "Safeguarding children: a call to action." *The Lancet* 373, no. 9660 (2009): 280-281.

¹⁶⁸ Morgan et al. 2013. IBID.

¹⁶⁹ WHO, 2009. IBID.

sustainable impact in protecting children and youth against violence¹⁷⁰. This ecological approach is an important framework to apply to supports for refugee young people, as discussed in the following chapters.

What is not commonly understood is the relationship between what child exploitation looks like during peacetime and war time¹⁷¹. Yet the connection between the two leads to a rich discussion about the risks young people face, along with the implications for the community and the impact on development. The reality is that child soldiering is a form of child trafficking¹⁷². While child soldiering is exacerbated by the presence of armed conflict, child trafficking can, in the same way, be intensified. Young people who would be vulnerable to trafficking during peace time experience the same vulnerability during war time to being abducted and forced to fight as soldiers. Essentially, when young people can be recruited and used as child soldiers, it is symptomatic of wider vulnerabilities and gaps in child protection.

Figure 4 shows the relationship between child trafficking and child soldiering as being linked via exploitation¹⁷³. Being recruited or sold out of other trafficking situations, these young people are prime targets to be used as soldiers. Even once the conflict has ended, they may be retained by the armed group in case the fighting continues, or to be sold into forces in neighbouring countries¹⁷⁴.

¹⁷⁰ Aynsley-Green and Hall, 2009. IBID.

¹⁷¹ RDCSI. Child Soldiers: A Handbook for Security Sector Actors. Accessed April 18, 2019.

<https://www.childsoldiers.org/publications/child-soldiers-a-handbook-for-security-sector-actors/>

¹⁷² OHCHR. *The Palermo Protocol: Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.* 2000. Accessed December 20, 2018.

¹⁷³ RDCSI, 2014. IBID.

¹⁷⁴ Conradi, 2013. IBID.

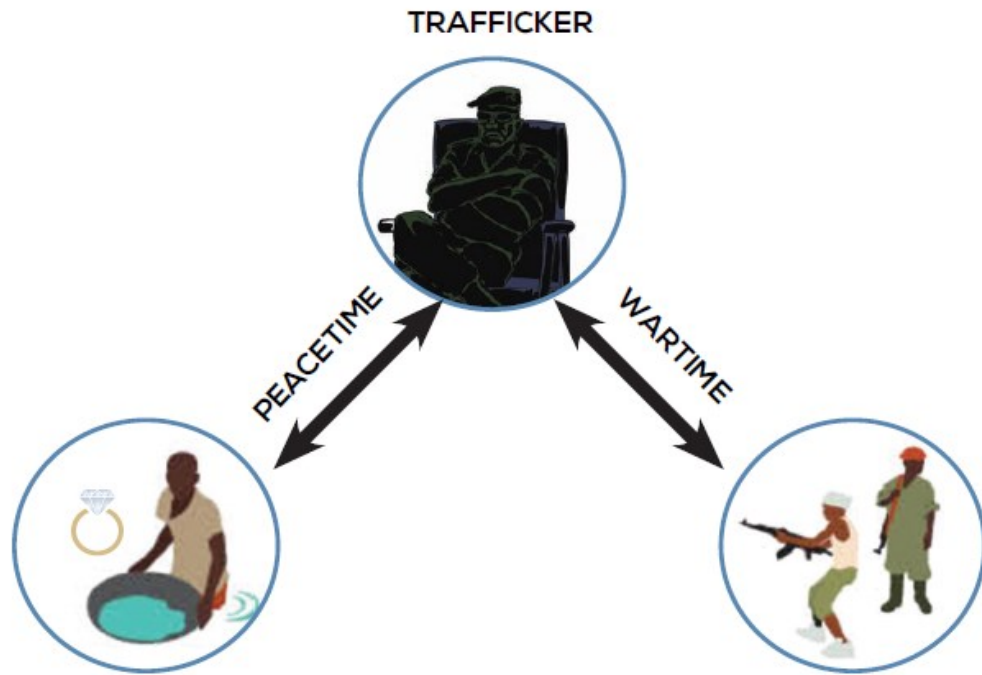


Figure 4- The Roméo Dallaire Child Soldiers Initiative: Sierra Leone Project, 2014

The lack of attention paid to the relationship between child trafficking and child soldiering undermines violence prevention efforts within countries at risk of conflict. This form of exploitation infiltrates all three phases of war: pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict¹⁷⁵. Therefore, when discussing how to protect young people displaced by armed conflict, attention must be paid to preventing violence against vulnerable youth in peace time, and to protecting them and reducing their vulnerability to abduction and exploitation. This is particularly relevant for this research because we need to understand the contexts from which refugee young people are coming for resettlement supports to be more responsive to their needs. For host cities, it is important for them

¹⁷⁵ Conradi, 2013. IBID.

to understand these vulnerabilities and how they translate through their resettlement and integration. Young people who flee conflict - either with their families or on their own - have been largely overlooked populations¹⁷⁶.

3.3- The International Community's Response to Displacement

The foundational convention that informs how young people are to be treated and protected is the UN Convention on the rights of the child (UNCRC). The UNCRC was passed 1989 and is today the most widely adopted convention in the world, with nearly universal ratification. It defines a child as a person under the age of 18 years¹⁷⁷. The implementation of the convention is guided by four key principles, which are shown in Figure 5: non-discrimination (Article 2); the best interests of the child (Article 3); life, survival and development (Article 6); and participation (Article 12)¹⁷⁸. There is significant debate around how children and 'childhood' are understood^{179,180}. Additionally, the belief in the neutrality of children in situations of armed conflict is a consistent theme throughout international legislation that has been developed to prevent violence

¹⁷⁶ Rudolph, T., Zinck, E., Whitman, S., Fairholm, J., & Ungar, M. *Promising Practices for Violence Prevention to Help Children in Disasters and Complex Emergencies*. CYCC Network, Halifax, NS. 2014. Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://cycnetwork.org/en/violenceprevention>

¹⁷⁷ UN. "Convention on the Rights of the Child." 1989. Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CRC.aspx>

¹⁷⁸ UNCRC. "Guiding Principles: General Requirements for all Rights." UNICEF. Accessed December 20, 2018. https://www.unicef.org/crc/files/Guiding_Principles.pdf

¹⁷⁹ Boyden, Jo. "Children, war and world disorder in the 21st century: a review of the theories and the literature on children's contributions to armed violence: Analysis." *Conflict, Security & Development* 7, no. 2 (2007): 255-279.

¹⁸⁰ Schultheis, Alexandra. "African child soldiers and humanitarian consumption." *Peace review* 20, no. 1 (2008): 31-40.

against young people in armed conflict^{181,182}. Childhood is often rationalized as a period of physical and emotional dependence, mental immaturity, and developmental needs.¹⁸³ Yet in the context of armed conflict, children can effectively lose this age-related identity of innocence when they are forced to engage in the violence around them¹⁸⁴. These experiences are part of what service providers in “receiving” countries like Canada must seek to understand in order to provide effective support to refugee young people.

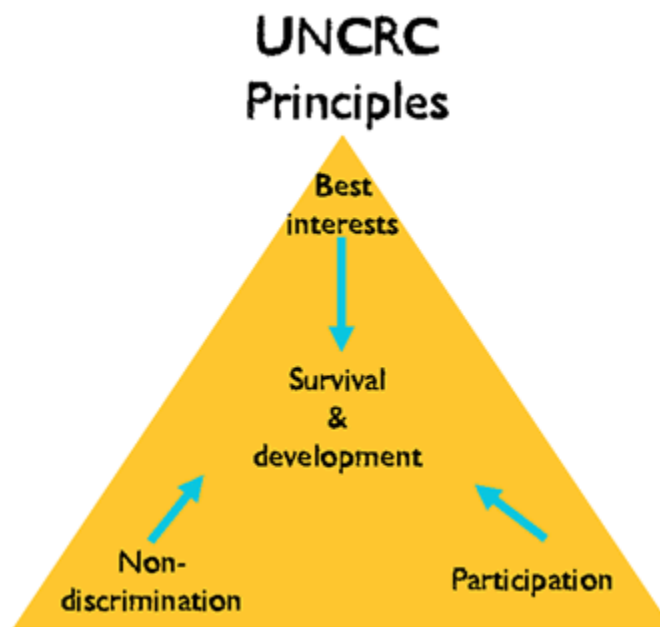


Figure 5- UNCRC Guiding Principles, Save the Children¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Barenbaum, Joshua, Vladislav Ruchkin, and Mary Schwab-Stone. "The psychosocial aspects of children exposed to war: practice and policy initiatives." *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 45, no. 1 (2004): 41-62.

¹⁸² Rosen, 2007. IBID.

¹⁸³ Boyden and Mann, 2005. IBID.

¹⁸⁴ Maguire, Sarah. "Putting adolescents and youth at the centre". FMR. 2012. Accessed April 18, 2019.

<https://www.fmreview.org/young-and-out-of-place/maguire>

¹⁸⁵ Thines. "UNCRC! What is it? Why is it so important?". Thines Talks. 2014. Accessed December 20, 2018.

<https://www.thines-talks.co.uk/blog/uncrc-what-is-it-why-is-it-so-important>

Child protection responses in armed conflict have often revolved around the vulnerability of children and the mandate of adults to ensure their needs are met. While many argue that the separation of “children” from the challenges of adult life must be a priority for governments and policy makers,¹⁸⁶ this concept of childhood is by no means a given in most of the world. It is important to explore the implications of how researchers and service providers conceptualize the role children play both in situations of armed conflict as well as in peace and reconciliation processes^{187,188}. However, the belief in the innocence of children in situations of armed conflict is a consistent theme throughout the UN resolutions that have been developed in an attempt by the international community to prevent violence against CAAC^{189,190}. By establishing a monitoring and reporting mechanism (MRM) for monitoring abuses against children, the UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict is striving to hold perpetrators accountable to stop these crimes from happening and to produce sanctions where applicable¹⁹¹.

However, according to a recent report by Save the Children, there has been a failure to hold warring parties accountable for their crimes against civilians, particularly

¹⁸⁶ Taylor, Affrica. "Reconceptualizing the 'nature' of childhood." *Childhood* 18, no. 4 (2011): 420-433.

¹⁸⁷ Bronfenbrenner, Urie. *Making human beings human: Bioecological perspectives on human development*. (Sage, 2005).

¹⁸⁸ Sagi-Schwartz, Abraham. "Children of war and peace: A human development perspective." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56, no. 5 (2012): 933-951.

¹⁸⁹ Barenbaum and Schwab-Stone, 2004. IBID.

¹⁹⁰ Rosen, 2007. IBID.

¹⁹¹ UN. "The Six Grave Violations." United Nations. Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://childrenandarmedconflict.un.org/effects-of-conflict/six-grave-violations/>

young people¹⁹². In recent research conducted by the International Committee of the Red Cross, they discuss International humanitarian law (IHL) violations and how these can often predict displacement of civilians¹⁹³. In response to the increase in violations committed against children, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict has launched a campaign in 2019 labeled, “ACT to Protect Children Affected by Conflict”. This campaign is working to raise awareness about child protection issues in war and to strengthen collaboration within the international community that will work to prevent and end these violations in situations of armed conflict¹⁹⁴. In the interim however, millions of people, including children and youth, continue to be displaced as a result of this violence, with many becoming refugees.

The protection of refugees under the auspices of the UN took official form in the 1950s. In 1950, the UNHCR was formed (known as the United Nations’ Refugee Agency). The establishment of the UNHCR was largely in response to World War II and the large number of European refugees that needed assistance. Displaced persons have been categorized into three groups by the UN: those who are internally displaced within their home country, those who leave their country and receive refugee status under UNHCR authority, and those who do not have refugee status but are seeking asylum in another country. The UNHCR works in many capacities to ensure refugees are provided with

¹⁹² Save the Children UK. “The War on Children.” 2018. Accessed April 26, 2019. https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/content/dam/global/reports/education-and-child-protection/war_on_children-web.pdf

¹⁹³ ICRC. “*Displacement in times of armed conflict: How International Humanitarian Law protects in war and why it matters.*” 2019.

¹⁹⁴ UN. “ACT to Protect”. Accessed April 26, 2019. <https://childrenandarmedconflict.un.org/act-to-protect-children-affected-by-armed-conflict/>

safe refuge in another state. They are accountable for making sure refugees are protected. UN humanitarian action uses a cluster approach which coordinates action in a region, and the UNHCR is no different. They employ a Refugee Coordination Model that can interface with other humanitarian bodies depending on the situation. They, in collaboration with the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and the International Organization for Migration, provide refugees with emergency assistance that includes food, shelter, and healthcare¹⁹⁵. In addition to emergency response, the UNHCR works to resettle refugees permanently. There are three long-term solutions often cited for refugees:

1. Return safely to their homes
2. Permanently settle in countries of first asylum
3. Resettlement in a third country¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ UNHCR. "What we do." UNHCR USA. Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/what-we-do.html>

¹⁹⁶ Newland, 2016. IBID.

Currently, the top five refugee-hosting countries are Germany, Sudan, Uganda, Pakistan and Turkey¹⁹⁷ (see Figure 6). According to UNHCR, there are currently 196,705 refugees and asylum seekers in Canada¹⁹⁸. This number equates to approximately 0.5% of the total population in Canada. Per capita, this compares to Australia (0.5%), The Netherlands (0.7%), Denmark (0.8%), and the United States (0.3%).

Top refugee-hosting countries

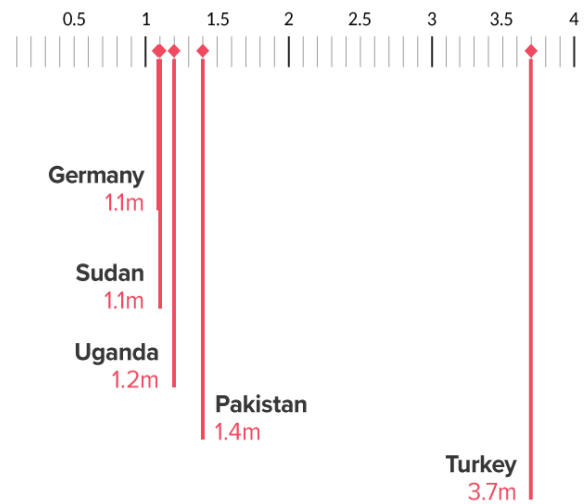


Figure 6- Top Refugee-Hosting Countries, UNHCR

Germany, for example, currently has almost 1.5 million refugees and asylum seekers, making up 1.8% of their total population. And while Sweden is not one of the top refugee hosting countries, 3% of their population are currently refugees and asylum seekers¹⁹⁹.

The number of refugees resettled in relation to the total number of refugees is small. This leaves many in situations of poverty and insecurity for long periods of time²⁰⁰. Figure 7 shows the numbers of refugees who were submitted for prospective

¹⁹⁷ UNHCR. "Figures at a glance." Accessed August 7, 2019. <https://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>

¹⁹⁸ UNHCR. "Statistics: The World in Numbers." 2017. Accessed May 1, 2019. http://popstats.unhcr.org/en/overview#_ga=2.110926214.2038716468.1556722190-1516511678.1540228011

¹⁹⁹ UNHCR. "Statistics." IBID

²⁰⁰ Newland, 2016. IBID.

resettlement by the UNHCR to member states, and the numbers of refugees who departed for resettlement²⁰¹.

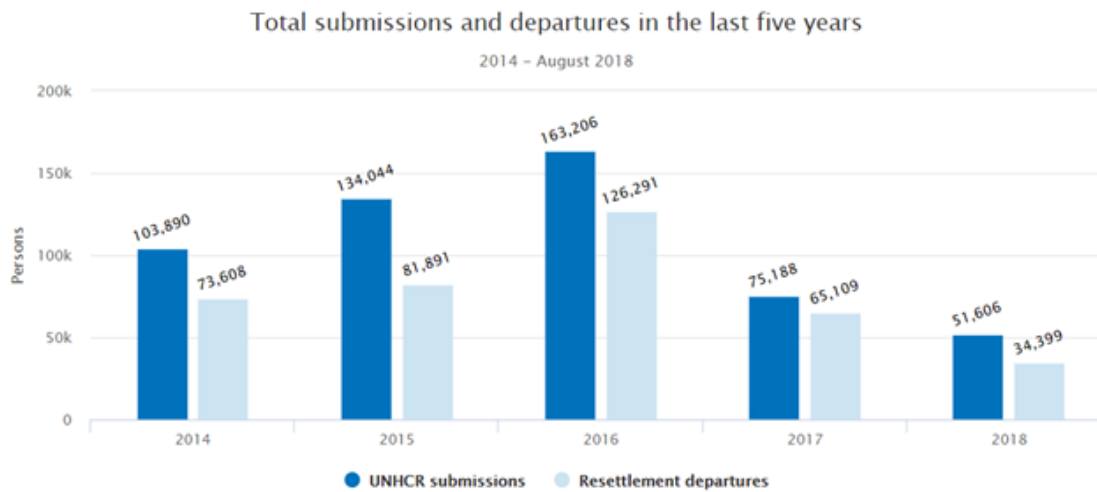


Figure 7- Total Submissions and Departures in the last five years, UNHCR

After two years of consultations with member states, the UN affirmed the Global Compact on Refugees in December 2018²⁰². This compact presents a framework for countries to follow in their response to refugees. It identifies children, adolescents, and youth as an area in need of support, outlining the need for age-sensitive services in order to best support their integration. The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), which was included within the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants in 2016, is a central component of the Global Compact, placing inclusion of

²⁰¹ UNHCR. "Resettlement Data". UNHCR USA. Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/resettlement-data.html>

²⁰² UNHCR. "The Global Compact on Refugees." Accessed May 1, 2019. <https://www.unhcr.org/the-global-compact-on-refugees.html>

refugees within host communities as critically important to successful resettlement, both for the refugees and for the host countries²⁰³. The Global Compact is a positive step towards further international cooperation in response to displaced persons, though there are some key issues that it fails to address. For example, while it does call on host countries to take responsibility for the root causes of refugee movements, it does not speak to the role of external interventions from other countries in exacerbating a given crisis²⁰⁴. As the focus of the compact is prevention, this seems a critical oversight²⁰⁵.

Despite this gap, the compact does take a human rights approach in responding to refugees, shifting away from talking about them as *burdens* to states taking *responsibility* for these vulnerable persons²⁰⁶. As Canada is a signatory of the Global Compact, it is important to assess what policies are in place to support the resettlement and integration of young people in the context of these commitments. Having presented an overview of the issues facing CAAC and the international community's response to their displacement, I will present a snapshot of the current situation of displaced persons in the next section.

²⁰³ UNHCR. "Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework." 2016. Accessed May 1, 2019. <https://www.unhcr.org/comprehensive-refugee-response-framework-crrf.html>

²⁰⁴ Chimni, B. S. "Global Compact on Refugees: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back." *International Journal of Refugee Law* (2019).

²⁰⁵ McAdam, Jane. "The Global Compacts on Refugees and Migration: A New Era for International Protection?." *International Journal of Refugee Law* (2019).

²⁰⁶ Khan, Fatima, and Cecile Sackeyfio. "What Promise Does the Global Compact on Refugees Hold for African Refugees?." *International Journal of Refugee Law* (2019).

3.4- The Current Situation of Refugees and Displaced Persons

Protecting children affected by displacement is an area that needs immediate attention. Research has shown that many refugees have witnessed violence - whether against themselves, family members, or neighbours - causing their home environments to be places of fear and panic²⁰⁷. Many experience treacherous journeys to escape the violence. In some regions, like the Mediterranean, the trip is a fatal one for thousands of refugees every year²⁰⁸. The risks posed in seeking refuge in another country are significant. This experience is usually followed by protracted shelter in a refugee camp or temporary housing, which has significant risks. Poor sanitation, limited access to food and water, and threats to physical safety are just a few of the risks they face²⁰⁹. Young people can often lose years of education as a result of their displacement, which has significant implications for their development. The dire circumstances in which displaced youth find themselves often require them to work in order to help provide for their families²¹⁰.

The crisis facing refugees internationally, is staggering in scope. To begin this discussion about displacement trends we need to begin with a review of the current

²⁰⁷ Cameron, Georgiana, Erica Frydenberg, and Alun Jackson. "Young refugees in Australia: Perspectives from policy, practice and research." *Children Australia* 36, no. 2 (2011): 46-55.

²⁰⁸ UNHCR. Mediterranean Situation. Accessed April 18, 2019.

<https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean>

²⁰⁹ Cronin, A. A., D. Shrestha, N. Cornier, F. Abdalla, N. Ezard, and C. Aramburu. "A review of water and sanitation provision in refugee camps in association with selected health and nutrition indicators—the need for integrated service provision." *Journal of water and health* 6, no. 1 (2008): 1-13.

²¹⁰ Norwegian Refugee Council. Refugee Children: 10 Dangers. 2016. Accessed April 18, 2019.

<https://www.nrc.no/perspectives/2016/refugee-children-10-dangers/>

number of displaced persons and where the crises leading to their displacement are originating. These numbers have surpassed anything in modern history²¹¹. Figure 8 presents the trends over the last decade in the numbers of displaced peoples²¹².

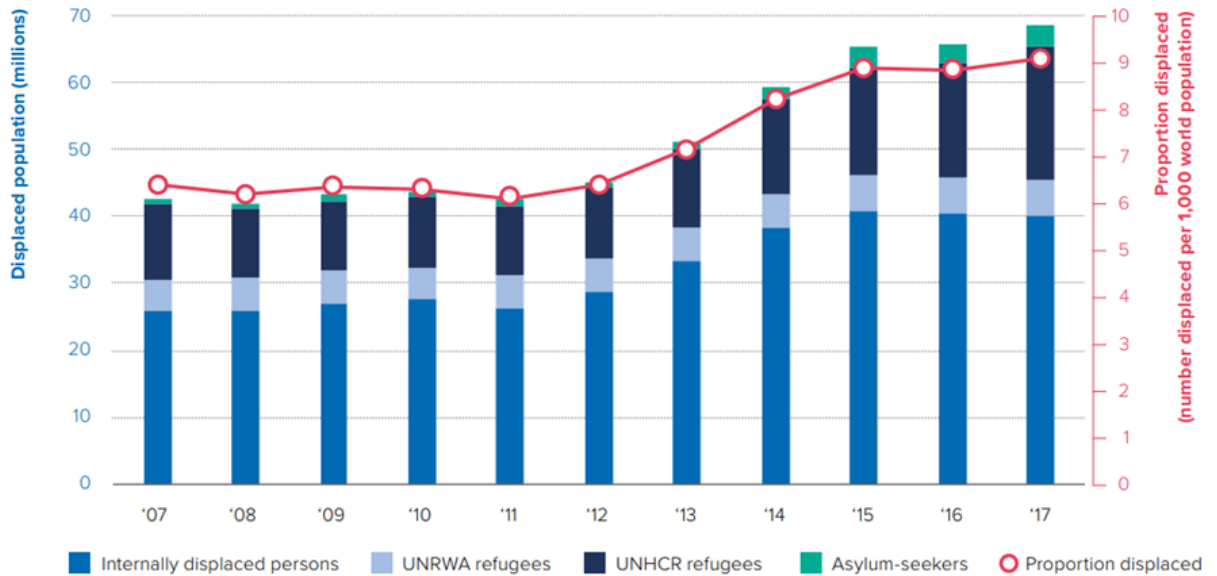


Figure 8- Trend and Global Displacement and Proportion Displaced, 2007-2017

In 2018, the UNHCR reported that 70.4 million people have been displaced worldwide, with just over half of them being under the age of 18. Of the total number of displaced persons, 41.3 million have been internally displaced in their home country, 25.9 million are refugees, and 3.5 million are asylum seekers²¹³. Asylum is a status given to non-citizens which can protect them from the laws of their home country, at least

²¹¹ UNHCR. "Facts and Figures about Refugees." United Nations Refugee Agency. Accessed December 19, 2018. <http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>

²¹² UNHCR. Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2017. (UNHCR, 2018). Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://www.unhcr.org/5b27be547.pdf> Page 6

²¹³ UNHCR, 2016. IBID.

until the state in which they are requesting asylum rules on whether that individual does in fact qualify for refugee status²¹⁴. These statistics demand our attention because of their sheer scale. Currently, there are 5 countries from which 68% of refugees globally originate: Syria, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar and Somalia. It is important to note that all these countries are also listed on the UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Children Affected by Armed Conflict list of violators of the six grave violations against children²¹⁵. These crises involve comparable situations of desperation that have left the populations in urgent need of security.

The Syrian crisis has received a lot of attention in recent years, with the highest numbers of refugees in the world. To date there has been seven years of armed conflict in Syria; more than 250,000 Syrians have been killed and 13 million have been displaced. There are currently 6.3 million Syrian refugees, with 90% of them living outside of refugee camps - mainly in urban areas or make-shift shelters. Turkey currently hosts 3.5 million Syrians, with many others finding safety in other neighboring countries including Jordan, Iraq, Egypt, and Lebanon²¹⁶. Of those displaced, approximately half are under the age of 18²¹⁷. Following anti-government protests in 2011, a civil war erupted between forces loyal to President Bashar al-Assad and rebel groups, which included

²¹⁴ Dirks, Gerald E. *Canada's refugee policy: Indifference or opportunism?* (McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 1977).

²¹⁵ UN SRSG for CAAC. *"The Six Grave Violations."* 2017. Accessed May 1, 2019.

<https://childrenandarmedconflict.un.org/six-grave-violations/>

²¹⁶ UNHCR. *"Syrian Refugee Crisis."* Accessed December 20, 2018.

<https://www.unrefugees.org/emergencies/syria/>

²¹⁷ UNHCR. *"Syria Emergency."* Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://www.unhcr.org/syria-emergency.html>

militants from the Islamic state²¹⁸. Civilians were caught in the crossfire that ensued. Allegations of war crimes, including the use of chemical weapons, have been made against all sides of the conflict²¹⁹. This war is being described as the worst humanitarian disaster of our time²²⁰. As refugees from Syria fled the country, a large number began moving to Europe, sparking a new humanitarian crisis in 2015. In addition to the Syrian refugees, refugees fleeing conflicts in fragile states in the MENA region also began to seek refuge in Europe. The news outlets were flooded with pictures of masses of people moving on foot to Western European countries. This crisis sparked the international community to respond. For example, the UN held its first summit meeting to specifically address the movement of refugees and migrants in 2016²²¹. One of the significant outcomes from this increase in attention has been to challenge the policy silos that have kept issues separate. No longer is it appropriate or viable to consider national security, humanitarian response, development, and public safety as separate but rather as intertwined and thus requiring collaborative responses²²².

This recent crisis in Syria has sparked a discussion about displacement globally, prompting many governments to reassess their policies for supporting refugees. In 2015, the Canadian government made a commitment to resettle a large cohort of Syrian

²¹⁸ BBC. "Syria: The Story of the Conflict." BBC World News- Middle East. 2016. Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26116868>

²¹⁹ BBC, 2016. IBID.

²²⁰ ISANS. "Welcoming Refugees." Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia. Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://www.isans.ca/welcoming-refugees/>

²²¹ UN Summit for Refugees and Migrants. 2016. Accessed May 1, 2019. <https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/summit>

²²² Newland, Kathleen. "New Approaches To Refugee Crises In The 21st Century: The Role Of The International Community." *Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute*. 2016. Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/TCM-Dev-Newland-FINAL.pdf>

refugees across the country. The number and speed with which this was done drew a lot of attention to the situation of refugee resettlement in Canada more generally. The increased interest from the general public in the resettlement process, and related increase in scrutiny, has meant this has become an important issue for policy makers.

For many host countries, it is the lack of policies and procedures that result in increased risk for refugees, particularly for children. In 2016, approximately 100,300 refugee children arrived in Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, and Spain, which are currently the largest receivers of refugees in Europe; of this number, one in three were unaccompanied²²³. The numbers of unaccompanied and separated children (UASC) has increased exponentially in the last 10 years²²⁴ - global estimates are in the hundreds of thousands. The scale of unaccompanied and separated children (UASC) has reached a crisis point in Europe²²⁵, requiring significant policy changes. Young people can find themselves alone for any number of reasons - being separated from their family while fleeing their homes, abducted by traffickers, sent with smugglers by their parents to deliver their children to safety, or becoming orphaned. Their experiences would be distinct from that of young people who have been displaced with their families, and

²²³ UNHCR. "Europe". Accessed May 1, 2019. <https://www.unhcr.org/europe.html>

²²⁴ UNHCR. "Children on the Run". Accessed December 21, 2018. <http://www.unhcr.org/children-on-the-run.html>

²²⁵ UNICEF. "Latest statistics and graphics on refugee and migrant children." (UNICEF Europe and Central Asia, 2018. Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://www.unicef.org/eca/what-we-do/emergencies/latest-statistics-and-graphics-refugee-and-migrant-children>

often put them at greater physical and emotional risk²²⁶. Mann²²⁷ found that the Congolese refugee children living in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, faced intense physical challenges, with limited access to healthy food and shelter. Yet, the young people she interviewed were more distressed by the lack of social support and the discrimination they felt in their new home. These experiences of marginalization can exacerbate the effects of the war on these young people's lives²²⁸.

This is just one example of how a lack of policy can put young refugees at risk. Host countries have a responsibility, under the international agreements discussed here, to support the inclusion of refugees into their communities. As will be discussed in the subsequent chapters, Canada needs to consider how effectively its resettlement program is responding to the needs of young refugees, and thus its international obligations. The implementation of these policies often happens at a municipal level in Canada, which also requires us to assess how well cities are prepared to mobilize support for refugee young people.

One of the key objectives of the Global Compact is to increase the opportunities for refugees to be resettled²²⁹. The reality is that extended periods spent in temporary accommodations and refugee camps are a more common experience for refugees. In

²²⁶ UNHCR. "Unaccompanied Minors and Separated Children: Young, Alone and Vulnerable." UNHCR Central Europe, 2016). Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://www.unhcr.org/ceu/90-enwhat-we-docaring-for-the-vulnerableunaccompanied-minors-and-separated-children-html.html>

²²⁷ Mann, Gillian. "On being despised: Growing up a Congolese refugee in Dar es Salaam." In *Childhood Poverty*. Ed. Boyden, J & Bourdillon. (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2012). pp. 185-199.

²²⁸ Mann, 2012. IBID.

²²⁹ UN. "Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees." Part II- Global Compact on Refugees. 2018. Accessed May 1, 2019. https://www.unhcr.org/gcr/GCR_English.pdf

many situations, refugee and internally displaced persons camps have become long-term dwellings because of a drawn-out conflict or the destruction of their homes to the point where they have nothing to return to²³⁰. One example of this are the Bhutanese refugees who were violently persecuted by their government based on their Nepali ethnicity²³¹. More than 100,000 people fled in the early 1990's and spent 15-20 years in refugee camps. Over the last ten years, 90% of these refugees have been resettled around the world, though there are still approximately 12,000 refugees living in camps with nowhere to go²³². Living conditions in these camps are often substandard, leaving inhabitants vulnerable to many risks such as violence and disease²³³.

In the Kutupalong camp in Bangladesh, 55 percent of the 912,852 who live in the camp are school-aged children as of August 2019²³⁴. UNICEF has been able to establish learning centres throughout the camp which is currently reaching 145,000 Rohingya children with education²³⁵. As the camp struggles to expand, and simultaneously resettle refugees that have been pouring in, the challenge has been to maintain sanitation and hygiene standards as well as ensure access to clean drinking water within

²³⁰ Agier, Michel. "Between war and city: Towards an urban anthropology of refugee camps." *Ethnography* 3, no. 3 (2002): 317-341.

²³¹ Maung, M. "No way home: time runs out for Bhutanese refugees in Nepal." (IRIN, 2016). Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://www.irinnews.org/news/2016/10/07/no-way-home-time-runs-out-bhutanese-refugees-nepal>

²³² UNHCR. "Nepal." Global Focus. Accessed May 1, 2019. <http://reporting.unhcr.org/node/10316>

²³³ Olujić, Maria B. "Children in extremely difficult circumstances: war and its aftermath in Croatia." *Small Wars: The Cultural Politics of Childhood*. Ed. Scheper-Hughes, N. & Sargent, C. (1998): pp. 318-30.

²³⁴ UNHCR Rohingya Refugee Response- Bangladesh. Accessed August 24, 2019 <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/70840>

²³⁵ UNICEF. *More than 145,000 Rohingya refugee children return to school in Bangladesh refugee camps as new school year starts*. 2019. Accessed May 1, 2019. <https://www.unicef.org/press-releases/more-145000-rohingya-refugee-children-return-school-bangladesh-refugee-camps-new>

the camp²³⁶. Flooding in the area has not helped. Another factor impacting young people in this crisis has been the ongoing conflict in neighboring Myanmar, where the recruitment of child soldiers remains high, despite Myanmar signing the OPAC in 2015²³⁷. This is a significant risk factor for young people in these refugee camps as they become prime targets for recruitment. Unfortunately, these problems are common across many refugee camps²³⁸. For many refugee young people coming to Canada, they have had to face these conditions and risks for a long time. The implications of this pre-migration experience on resettlement requires further research.

In any discussion of the displacement of people around the world, refugee camps need to be included as they are a reality for so many, including those who are eventually resettled in another country. Refugee young people will have varying experiences in refugee camps, depending on where they come from, but the difficulties they experience are an important part of their story. The availability of resilience resources as well as their ability to navigate those resources are important for service providers to understand in terms of how to best support the resettlement and integration of these young people.

²³⁶ MSF. "Bangladesh- The Rohingya refugee camp of Kutupalong-Balukhali, an ever-expanding camp." (Relief Web, 2018). Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://reliefweb.int/report/bangladesh/bangladesh-rohingya-refugee-camp-kutupalong-balukhali-ever-expanding-camp>

²³⁷ Child Soldiers International. "Myanmar." Accessed May 1, 2019. <https://www.child-soldiers.org/myanmar>

²³⁸ Cronin, A. A., D. Shrestha, N. Cornier, F. Abdalla, N. Ezard, and C. Aramburu. "A review of water and sanitation provision in refugee camps in association with selected health and nutrition indicators—the need for integrated service provision." *Journal of water and health* 6, no. 1 (2008): 1-13.

Refugee crises can further intensify tensions within the host state as meeting the needs of both the refugees and their own populations can strain already over-taxed resources²³⁹. Thinking beyond the conditions within the camps, there are implications for the host countries where these camps are located. For those countries that host refugees, local governments often struggle to meet the needs of their own populations. In these instances, the UNHCR frequently steps in and sets up refugee camps, offering refugee programs and services. Yet these efforts are often separate from local development programs. In many cases, refugee camps are placed in regions where communities are living in absolute poverty but are not given access to the resources necessary to escape this condition - resources that may be available to those within the camp. This causes tension and frustration²⁴⁰. This is an approach that could be made more effective in meeting the needs of displaced persons while considering the long-term development implications for the host country.

The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement were presented to UNHCR²⁴¹ in 1998 in response to the many challenges that are faced in supporting persons displaced within their own country, often living in temporary dwellings like refugee camps. These principles have been an important turning point in international collaboration around displacement. As 2018 marks the 20-year anniversary of these principles, a Plan of

²³⁹ Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. "The Global Refugee Crisis: Regional Destabilization & Humanitarian Protection." *Dædalus* 146, no. 4 (2017): 85-97.

²⁴⁰ Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. "The Global Refugee Crisis: Regional Destabilization & Humanitarian Protection." *Dædalus* 146, no. 4 (2017): 85-97.

²⁴¹ IDMC. "*Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*." Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://www.internal-displacement.org/internal-displacement/guiding-principles-on-internal-displacement>

Action for Advancing Prevention, Protection and Solutions for Internally Displaced People (IDPs) has been launched (2018-2020)²⁴². This plan is intended to improve the response to IDPs through a more strategic and coherent response from the global community. As the scale of displacement continues to rise, this is a critical issue facing both national and international responses²⁴³. While these principles are focused on the African context, there needs to be an extension of this initiative to assess other regions and how those nations can best respond to these crises.

In most cases however, the international response has been reactive in this discussion of migration and displacement. Whether for political or economic reasons, proactive engagement in the mitigation of violent conflict is not common²⁴⁴. The lack of knowledge management on the part of the United Nations is a weakness and is why many conflicts were not prevented despite ample information leading up to the violence²⁴⁵. These early warning opportunities for prevention are often missed because of the large and often disconnected nature of the organization. This is a significant problem that must be addressed before effective violence prevention can be realized. The question that remains is how these resolutions as well as the other international

²⁴² UNHCR. "Plan of Action for Advancing Prevention, Protection and Solutions for Internally Displaced People." 2018. Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/64693>

²⁴³ Walicki, N., Eyster, E., and Caterina, M. The CP20 Plan of Action: A Rallying call to Stakeholders. *Forced Migration Review*. (Oct 2018). Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://www.fmreview.org/GuidingPrinciples20/walicki-eyster-caterina>

²⁴⁴ Campbell and Meier, 2007 IBID.

²⁴⁵ Campbell and Meier, 2007 IBID.

legislation can be effective in systematically preventing violence against young people who are displaced²⁴⁶.

An understanding of this system and the broader global trends is relevant for the subsequent discussion in this dissertation about the response to resettling refugee young people in that it provides a context in which to understand the processes of global migration within the current displacement crisis. This section has presented an overview of the current situation of displacement globally, the historical trends influencing migration, and the international community's response to displaced persons, focusing particularly on refugees. Refugee populations are often caught in the middle of the politics and security of a conflict. Unfortunately, leaving home is only the beginning of a long journey of integration and settlement in a new home.

3.5- The Impact of Displacement on Young People

H.L. Mencken, an American journalist from the early 1900s, wrote that, "a home is not a mere transient shelter. Its essence lies in its permanence, in its capacity for accretion and solidification, in its quality of representing, in all its details, and the personalities of the people who live in it."²⁴⁷ Countless studies on resilience in young people have pointed to the importance of belonging - not only with a group of people

²⁴⁶ Campbell and Meier, 2007. IBID.

²⁴⁷ H.L. Mencken. Prejudices. (1926)

but with a stable, safe physical environment in which those relationships can develop²⁴⁸. This presents a problem for young people who find themselves as refugees, where such stable homes are not a reality.

When thinking about young refugees, it is important to consider that most youth have very little migration autonomy - generally their parents chose to migrate or not. Often such decisions are made for them as to where they will go and what lives they will lead. For unaccompanied minors, their autonomy may be greater, but is still at the mercy of the political and socioeconomic framework in which they are cared for²⁴⁹.

The issue of young people on the move has garnered significant international attention as the amount of displacement due to armed conflict has steadily increased in recent years²⁵⁰. The impact that this displacement will have on a young person's well-being and development over the long-term is an area that needs to be studied further^{251,252}. This section will discuss what is known about the impacts of displacement on the mental health of young people.

It is important to recognize that refugee youth do not form a homogenous group. While some have spent most of their lives in refugee camps or temporary

²⁴⁸ Pieloch, Kerrie A., Mary Beth McCullough, and Amy K. Marks. "Resilience of children with refugee statuses: A research review." *Canadian Psychology/psychologie canadienne* 57, no. 4 (2016): 330.

²⁴⁹ Pieloch, McCullough, and Marks, 2016. IBID.

²⁵⁰ Duputy, K. and Rustad, S.A. "Trends in Armed Conflict, 1946-2017." Peace Research institute Oslo (PRIO). (2018). Accessed December 20, 2018.

<https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Dupuy%2C%20Rustad-%20Trends%20in%20Armed%20Conflict%2C%201946%E2%80%932017%2C%20Conflict%20Trends%205-2018.pdf>

²⁵¹ Garbarino, James. *Children and the dark side of human experience: Confronting global realities and rethinking child development*. (Springer Science & Business Media, 2008).

²⁵² Akesson, Bree. Refugee Youth Affected by War and Displacement: A Socio-ecological Approach. In Wilson-Frosberg, S. and Robinson A.M. (Eds.). *Immigrant Youth in Canada: Theoretical Approaches, Practical Issues, and Professional Perspectives*. (Oxford University Press, 2017).

dwelling, others may not have experienced this form of temporary dwelling.

Additionally, refugee young people come from a variety of experiences leading to their refugee status. These differing experiences result in differing needs and values.

Furthermore, in research with immigrants and refugees, there is a tendency to merge the two into one group. As a result, the specific needs of young refugees can go unattended.

There is a significant body of research on childhood exposure to violence and the correlation with negative mental health outcomes for the young person and their family including post-traumatic stress, depression, anxiety, substance abuse, risky sexual behaviour, suicidal behaviour, and difficulties maintaining healthy relationships later in life^{253,254,255,256,257}. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that the younger a person is when they encounter violence, and the longer they remain involved with or exposed to an armed group, the more severe the negative consequences for their mental health and reintegration at home²⁵⁸.

²⁵³ Anda, Robert F., Vincent J. Felitti, J. Douglas Bremner, John D. Walker, C. H. Whitfield, Bruce D. Perry, Sh R. Dube, and Wayne H. Giles. "The enduring effects of abuse and related adverse experiences in childhood." *European archives of psychiatry and clinical neuroscience* 256, no. 3 (2006): 174-186.

²⁵⁴ MacMillan, H. L., Wathen, C. N., Barlow, J., Fergusson, D. M., Leventhal, J. M., & Taussig, H. N. (2009). Interventions to prevent child maltreatment and associated impairment. *The Lancet*, 373, no9659, (2009): 250-266.

²⁵⁵ Margolin, Gayla, and Elana B. Gordis. "The effects of family and community violence on children." *Annual review of psychology* 51, no. 1 (2000): 445-479.

²⁵⁶ Morgan, David, Abdul-Razzaq, Dalal, Black, David, Manion, Ian, Wekerle, Christine, Forshner, Alison, & Ungar, Michael. *Promising Practices to Help Children and Youth who have been Exposed to Violence*. CYCC Network, Halifax, NS. 2013.

²⁵⁷ Norman, Rosana E., Munkhtsetseg Byambaa, Rumna De, Alexander Butchart, James Scott, and Theo Vos. "The long-term health consequences of child physical abuse, emotional abuse, and neglect: a systematic review and meta-analysis." *PLoS medicine* 9, no. 11 (2012): e1001349.

²⁵⁸ Betancourt, Theresa S., Robert T. Brennan, Julia Rubin-Smith, Garrett M. Fitzmaurice, and Stephen E. Gilman. "Sierra Leone's former child soldiers: a longitudinal study of risk, protective factors, and mental health." *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry* 49, no. 6 (2010): 606-615.

The prevailing conceptual framework used to understand the effects of armed conflict on young people has been PTSD (Post-traumatic stress disorder)^{259,260}. PTSD has been identified in CAAC - whether they actively engaged in the conflict or were civilians left to live through the impacts of war. In a study on the comorbidity of PTSD and depression among refugee children during armed conflict, children living in war zones were found to be at higher risk of PTSD than those who did not experience violence²⁶¹. However, exposure to trauma was not found to necessarily lead to PTSD, which calls into question what other factors influence a young person's reaction to armed conflict.

A systematic review by Dimitry²⁶² of mental health studies done with children and adolescents living in areas of armed conflict in the Middle East categorized the factors that impact mental health to risk factors and protective factors. Findings showed that increased exposure to violence was directly correlated with instances of PTSD; however, the presence of a supportive family would decrease PTSD. These findings are consistent with other research with young people in difficult situations where the

²⁵⁹ Friedman, Matthew J., Patricia A. Resick, and Terence M. Keane. "PTSD: Twenty-five years of progress and challenges." In, *Handbook of PTSD: Science and practice*. Ed. Friedman, M. J., Keane, T. M., & Resick, P.A. (New York: The Guilford Press, 2007). pp. 3-18.

²⁶⁰ Macksoud, Mona S., and J. Lawrence Aber. "The war experiences and psychosocial development of children in Lebanon." *Child development* 67, no. 1 (1996): 70-88.

²⁶¹ Thabet, Abdel Aziz Mousa, Yehia Abed, and Panos Vostanis. "Comorbidity of PTSD and depression among refugee children during war conflict." *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 45, no. 3 (2004): 533-542.

²⁶² Dimitry, Lydia. "A systematic review on the mental health of children and adolescents in areas of armed conflict in the Middle East." *Child: care, health and development* 38, no. 2 (2012): 153-161.

presence of certain protective factors and psychosocial supports can significantly mitigate the negative effects of stress^{263,264}.

Considering the large number of children affected by war today, the trauma of violence has broadened from a specific event to a normal part of their daily lives. One conceptual flaw of PTSD is that it places the individual as the main actor in trauma instead of the collective (family, community, etc). This approach is not necessarily accurate or helpful across all cultures²⁶⁵. The universal use of PTSD obscures differences in experiences and outcomes that could be identified across contexts, oversimplifying the complexity of response to trauma²⁶⁶. By seeking out these context-specific realities and capacities, there is more opportunity to identify the needs of young people and implement effective strategies for their protection²⁶⁷.

This is particularly relevant when developing services and supports for young people who have experienced trauma and are being resettled in a new place. Most of the research on young refugees' experiences of trauma have either been presentations

²⁶³ Ungar, Michael, and Linda Liebenberg. "Cross-cultural consultation leading to the development of a valid measure of youth resilience: The International Resilience Project." *Studia Psychologica* 51, no. 2-3 (2009): 259-268.

²⁶⁴ APA. "Resilience and Recovery after War: Refugee Children and Families in the United States." APA Task Force on the Psychosocial Effects of War on Children and Families who are Refugees from Armed Conflict Residing in the United States. 2010. Accessed May 30, 2019. <https://www.apa.org/pubs/info/reports/refugees-full-report.pdf>

²⁶⁵ Bracken, Patrick J., Joan E. Giller, and Derek Summerfield. "Psychological responses to war and atrocity: the limitations of current concepts." *Social Science and Medicine* 40, no. 8 (1995): 1073-1082.

²⁶⁶ Berman, Helene. "Children and war: Current understandings and future directions." *Public Health Nursing* 18, no. 4 (2001): 243-252.

²⁶⁷ Zinck, Emily, Ungar, Michael, Whitman, Shelly, Exenberger, Silvia, LeVert-Chaisson, Isabelle, Liebenberg, Linda, Ung, Jimmy, & Forshner, Alison. *Working with Children and Youth in Challenging Contexts to Promote Youth Engagement*. Halifax, NS: CYCC Network. 2013. Accessed December 19, 2018. <http://cycnetwork.org/engagement>

of descriptive, anecdotal accounts, or of quantitative findings that have been gathered using assessment tools that have not been tested sufficiently to ensure validity and reliability of findings²⁶⁸. Creating validated screening tools would help refine the ability to both identify healthy young people and the mental health problems that may be hindering a young person's recovery from a violent or traumatizing event²⁶⁹. There are challenges in diagnosing and responding to the mental health needs of refugees. Differences in language and concepts of well-being can make it difficult to establish a test that can be applied to people from different backgrounds²⁷⁰. The research on trauma and mental health in refugee young people in comparison to adults is lacking²⁷¹, which poses a risk for missing critical issues in both diagnosis and treatment. We need a better understanding of their experiences in order to help mitigate the risks for their development²⁷².

Research with CAAC and young refugees often focuses on the vulnerability of young people which can be ineffective in providing relevant and effective support²⁷³.

Opportunities need to be made to engage these young people in the research process

²⁶⁸ Hollifield, Michael, Teddy D. Warner, Nityamo Lian, Barry Krakow, Janis H. Jenkins, James Kesler, Jayne Stevenson, and Joseph Westermeyer. "Measuring trauma and health status in refugees: a critical review." *Jama* 288, no. 5 (2002): 611-621.

²⁶⁹ Gadeberg, Anne Kristine, and Marie Norredam. "Urgent need for validated trauma and mental health screening tools for refugee children and youth." *European child & adolescent psychiatry* 25, no. 8 (2016): 929-931.

²⁷⁰ Betancourt, Theresa Stichick, Liesbeth Speelman, Grace Onyango, and Paul Bolton. "A qualitative study of mental health problems among children displaced by war in northern Uganda." *Transcultural psychiatry* 46, no. 2 (2009): 238-256.

²⁷¹ Vossoughi, Nadia, Yo Jackson, Stephanie Gusler, and Katie Stone. "Mental health outcomes for youth living in refugee camps: a review." *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse* (2016): 1524838016673602.

²⁷² Gadeberg 2016 IBID

²⁷³ Ward, L. M., & Eyber, C. (2009). Resiliency of children in child-headed households in Rwanda: implications for community based psychosocial interventions. *Intervention*, 7(1).

so that their perspectives can better inform findings^{274,275}. It is when their voice is neglected that interventions become insensitive to local social and cultural conditions, and as a result ineffective for youth^{276,277}. The threats posed to refugee children and youth in terms of their safety, stability, and long-term development have significant impacts on their well-being²⁷⁸. It is important for resettlement efforts to understand the contexts and experiences from which these young people have come for services and supports to be relevant to their needs.

3.6- Conclusion

The experiences of CAAC can have long-term effects on their well-being. But studies have shown that these consequences are influenced by post-conflict risk and protective factors. Knowing the importance of community acceptance for positive recovery, it then becomes crucial for anti-stigma efforts to be integral in rehabilitation processes, engaging with community members to raise awareness to better support reintegration²⁷⁹. We cannot assume that there is one service or program that will address the needs of all young people who have experienced trauma as a result of

²⁷⁴ Boyden & Mann 2005 IBID

²⁷⁵ Guyot, Julie. "Child and Youth Participation in Protracted Refugee Situations." *Children Youth and Environments* 17, no. 3 (2007): 159-178.

²⁷⁶ Honwana and De Boeck, 2005. IBID.

²⁷⁷ UNICEF. "The Paris Principles: Principles and Guidelines on Children Associated with Armed Forces or Armed Groups." *United Nations Children's Fund*, (New York, NY, 2007). Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://www.unicef.org/emerg/files/ParisPrinciples310107English.pdf>

²⁷⁸ Khanlou, Nazilla. "Young and new to Canada: Promoting the mental wellbeing of immigrant and refugee female youth." *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction* 6, no. 4 (2008): 514-516.

²⁷⁹ UNICEF, 2007. IBID.

armed conflict. There needs to be meaningful engagement with the communities these young people come from, as well as the youth themselves, in order to accurately capture their needs and what supports would be most effective.

There is a shift happening around the world, where countries that had relatively open immigration policies in the past are beginning to restrict such movement, while other countries are becoming hosts for refugees for the first time in their history²⁸⁰. The international community is at a pivotal moment in a time between crisis and opportunity. Together with the unprecedented number of displaced persons, there has been an increase in international meetings and collaborations that have explored ways to improve how displacement is handled, and how people are supported. This is a step in the right direction, though more collaboration and consultations are needed, especially in the area of supporting young refugees. Countries who are receiving refugees need to adopt a child protection lens in their resettlement and integration supports. Helping to mitigate the stress of settling into a new home needs to be a priority in order to best support the well-being of these young people.

The purpose of this chapter was to provide a basic understanding of the global displacement crisis and how it has impacted young people specifically. As I will discuss the current policy environment in Canada in response to young refugees in the next chapter, it is important to establish the international context specific to CAAC and how displaced young people are seen on a global stage, as well as how their experiences of

²⁸⁰ Pieloch, Kerrie A., Mary Beth McCullough, and Amy K. Marks. "Resilience of children with refugee statuses: A research review." *Canadian Psychology/psychologie canadienne* 57, no. 4 (2016): 330.

displacement may affect the challenges they confront in their countries of settlement.

The next chapter will delve deeper into these issues by looking at Canada's immigration history and the laws that have shaped the country's response to refugees up to the present day.

Chapter 4-Refugees in Canada: Policies and Processes

This chapter will present a comprehensive overview of migration in Canada. The immigration and refugee processes in Canada have been greatly influenced by events throughout the country's history and understanding these trends will allow for a clearer perspective on current policies. Particularly in relation to refugee law, and how it has been developed and enacted throughout time, there is a story to be told about what policies have worked well and which have failed to meet their objectives. This historical perspective also highlights those policies that were inconsistent with our constitution and how, even today, the system for receiving and supporting refugees and refugee claimants needs revision.

Despite these flaws, Canada has a long history of resettling refugees from around the world²⁸¹. The resettlement program will be presented in order to better understand the context in which resettlement services at the local level are provided to refugees. To establish the context for the case study of this research, I will present an overview of the Nova Scotian Case in the last section of this chapter.

²⁸¹ Pieloch, Kerrie A., Mary Beth McCullough, and Amy K. Marks. "Resilience of children with refugee statuses: A research review." *Canadian Psychology/psychologie canadienne* 57, no. 4 (2016): 330.

4.1- Immigration and Refugee Policy in Canada

a. An Historical Reflection

In Canada, the first legislation related to immigration was enacted in 1775, by the Legislature of Nova Scotia. This legislation was in response to the large number of people immigrating to Eastern Canada from Europe because of political and economic challenges in their home countries as well as the promise of new opportunities in Canada²⁸².

It is important to acknowledge that the Canadian territory was not an uninhabited land before the arrival of the Europeans. The Indigenous population which existed across the country at the time of the European arrival is estimated to have been approximately 500,000 people²⁸³. At that time, there were about fifty different languages spoken by Indigenous peoples. There was significant variation between the tribes not just in language but in occupation, sedentary vs. nomadic lifestyles, and distribution of labour²⁸⁴. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 was the first official step in establishing a formal, and unfortunately unequal, relationship with the Indigenous peoples of Canada²⁸⁵.

²⁸² Bonikowsky, L.N. "Coming to Canada: An Overview of Immigration History." Diplomat and International Canada. 2013. Accessed December 20, 2018. Retrieved from

<http://diplomatonline.com/mag/2013/09/coming-to-canada-an-overview-of-immigration-history/>

²⁸³ Thornton, Russell. *American Indian holocaust and survival: A population history since 1492*. Vol. 186. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1990).

²⁸⁴ Dickson, O.P. Canada when Europeans Arrived. In "The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada." Ed. Walker, B. (Canadian Scholars Press- Toronto, 2008). p17-26.

²⁸⁵ Government of Canada. "Indigenous History in Canada." Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. Last Modified 2018. Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100013778/1100100013779>

In 1793, regulations were put in place requiring newcomers to declare themselves and their intentions for staying in then pre-confederation Canada. There was a perceived link between public disorder and the presence of aliens. This led to a similar act that was passed in Nova Scotia in 1798 which stated that, “no alien...shall be permitted to be, and remain, within this Province, without a special permit, under the hand and seal of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Commander in Chief...”²⁸⁶.

While this negative perception of immigrants did not go away completely, it was acknowledged that the wellbeing of those passengers coming to Canada needed to be supported. When the Provincial Parliament of Canada first convened in 1841, an act was passed that would offer some financial support for newcomers upon arrival until they were able to find employment. This was partnered with a levy- or fee- that newcomers were required to pay to prove they could be self-sufficient and not a drain on public resources²⁸⁷.

The geographically isolated nature of Canada resulted in a typically small number of refugees seeking asylum. Canada was a long journey, mostly by sea, from most parts of the world. Therefore, British loyalist and fugitive slaves fleeing the United States made up most refugees in Canada at the time²⁸⁸. By 1784, approximately 30,000 loyalists and troops sought refuge in Nova Scotia. While African Americans were now freed from slavery, they were met with many discriminatory laws in Canada that

²⁸⁶ Nova Scotia Statutes at Large. “An Act respecting Aliens coming into this Province, or residing therein, S.S.S. 1798, section 1”. Joseph Howe and Son Printers to the King, 1805). Page 390.

²⁸⁷ Nova Scotia Statutes at Large, 1805. IBID. section 7

²⁸⁸ Dirks, Gerald E. *Canada's refugee policy: Indifference or opportunism?* (McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 1977).

prevented them from receiving the land and benefits that they were promised²⁸⁹. Many did settle in black communities across the province, with a large number in the Halifax and Preston areas²⁹⁰. The Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, which was established in 1852, continued this work of helping the escaping slaves to resettle across the Canadian territory²⁹¹²⁹². Another large influx of refugees belonged to Russian Mennonite community, who fled persecution from the Russian Czar in the 1870s²⁹³. In the early days of Confederation, it was agreed that immigration was the most effective way to secure control and cultivation of the land. Therefore, the federal minister of agriculture was the main overseer of immigration and settlement across the county.

In October 1868, the first federal-provincial conference on immigration was held in Ottawa. It is from this meeting that the first federal provincial immigration agreement was established and enacted through Canada's first Immigration Act in 1869. This agreement made provisions for provincial governments to make decisions on immigration as they saw appropriate for their region²⁹⁴. While the coordination of efforts between the two levels of government would experience seasons of strain, it

²⁸⁹ Walker, J. G. Land and Settlement in Nova Scotia. "*The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada.*" Ed. In Walker, B. (Canadian Scholars Press- Toronto, 2008). p49-65.

²⁹⁰ Walker, J. G. 2008. IBID

²⁹¹ Winks, R.W. Slavery, the Loyalists, and English Canada 1760-1801. In "*The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada.*" Ed. Walker, B. (Canadian Scholars Press- Toronto, 2008). p27-40.

²⁹² Baker, N. "Anti-Slavery Society of Canada." *Historica Canada, The Canadian Encyclopedia*. 2018. Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/anti-slavery-society-of-canada/>

²⁹³ Dirks, 1977. IBID.

²⁹⁴ Vineberg, Robert. History of federal provincial relations in Canadian immigration. In, "Integration and inclusion of newcomers and minorities across Canada." Ed. Biles, J., Burstein, M., Frideres, J., Tolley, E. and Vineberg, R. (2011). P17-44

would ultimately be agreed that this was the optimal approach to facilitating immigration across the country.

The completion of the transcontinental railway in 1885 made it easier for immigrants to be settled throughout western Canada, establishing the strong agricultural presence the federal government desired²⁹⁵. The first immigration act passed after confederation was the 1869 Immigration Act²⁹⁶. This act made it clear that jurisdiction over immigration would be shared between federal and provincial authorities, where the federal government was tasked with the arrival and screening of immigrants while provincial governments oversaw the settlement and “colonization of uncultivated lands”.

This began a long and troubled history of racial exclusion in Canada’s immigration. The country’s immigration history has been accused of being very racially driven²⁹⁷. One important example of this was the Chinese Regulation Act of 1884, under which Chinese immigrants faced high taxes and restrictions on their movement in Canada²⁹⁸. This legislation remained in effect for many years. Those who were deemed unsuited for life in Canada, because of their race, disability, literacy, etc., were not permitted entry into the country. In fact, six categories of immigrants were identified that would be allowed into Canada:

- Agriculturalists with the means to begin farming

²⁹⁵ Dirks, 1977. IBID.

²⁹⁶ Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21. “*Immigration Act, 1869.*” Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/immigration-act-1869>. c.10

²⁹⁷ Roy, P.E. The Colonial Sojourners, 1858-1871. In, *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada*. Ed. Walker, B. (Canadian Scholars Press- Toronto, 2008). p82-89.

²⁹⁸ Galloway, 1997. IBID.

- Farm labourers with arranged employment
- Female domestic servants
- Wives and children under eighteen of those residents in Canada
- United States citizens whose labour was required
- British subjects with sufficient means for self-maintenance²⁹⁹

These categories highlight the transformation of Canada's immigration policy from permissive with undefined exceptions to exclusionary. With many different peoples coming to build a life in Canada, tensions arose between groups that would manifest in conflict and/or legal battles. The government enacted policies that would favor immigrants from countries they felt would best fit into the Anglo-Canadian way of life³⁰⁰. The 1930s saw significant public opposition to immigration considering the recession and unstable economy of the Depression years. It was agreed that any influx of peoples would only exacerbate the already desperate situation³⁰¹. It was not until the influx of Hungarian refugees in 1957, following the Soviet invasion of 1956, and the impact of the Suez crisis on the British, that immigration figures began to rise significantly³⁰².

²⁹⁹ Galloway, 1997. IBID. Page 16.

³⁰⁰ Avery, D. European Immigrant Workers and Labour Protest in Peace and War, 1896-1919. In, *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada*. Ed. Walker, B. (Canadian Scholars Press- Toronto, 2008). p125-141.

³⁰¹ Galloway, 1997. IBID.

³⁰² Vineberg, Robert. *Responding to immigrants' settlement needs: The Canadian experience*. (Springer Science & Business Media, 2011).

The circumstances surrounding a newcomer's departure from their home were seldom a concern for immigration officials. An important development in Canada's immigration policy was the need to distinguish between refugees and immigrants. This began to change following the two World Wars as knowledge of the atrocities faced by various European countries began to spread around the world. Family reunification became a part of immigration law following the Act of 1919,³⁰³ largely in response to the first World War. Though Canada did begin responding to refugee situations globally, it did not originally sign the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1951³⁰⁴, citing as justification that it was "inconsistent with Canadian interests"³⁰⁵. At the time, the concern over Soviet spies infiltrating the west was given top priority in policy decisions. The Government of Canada was concerned that certain sections of the convention would prohibit signatory states from deporting refugees even if they were found to be a threat to national security³⁰⁶. Canada did sign the convention as amended in the 1967 protocol³⁰⁷, once provisions were made that would allow nations to have greater influence over who was given, and who maintained, refugee status in their country³⁰⁸. However, despite signing this protocol, the implementation of those commitments would not be evident in Canada until the Immigration Act of 1976.

³⁰³ Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21. "Immigration Act Amendment, 1919." Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/immigration-act-amendment-1919-c-25>.

³⁰⁴ UNHCR. "Convention and Protocol relating to the status of refugees." 1951 Convention & 1967 Protocol. 2010. Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10>

³⁰⁵ Hathaway, J.C. The Conundrum of Refugee Protection in Canada: From Control to Compliance to Collective Deterrence. In, *Refugees and the Asylum Dilemma in the West*. Ed. Loescher, G. University Park Penn: Pennsylvania State University Press (1992). pp. 72-73

³⁰⁶ Dirks, 1977. IBID.

³⁰⁷ UNHCR, 2010. IBID

³⁰⁸ Wydrzynski, Christopher J. "Refugees and the Immigration Act." *McGill LJ* 25 (1979): 154.

This section has given a brief overview of the historical roots of Canadian immigration policy. It is from this point that two important developments in immigration law unfolded: the Immigration Act of 1976, and the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act of 2001.

b. The Immigration Act of 1976

Following the appointment of a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons in 1973, immigration policy and practice underwent a review resulting in the recommendation of major changes. Many of these recommendations were adopted in the 1976 act. It was through this act that a points system was enacted for those looking to immigrate to Canada. This new immigration act was the first time since Confederation that federal-provincial agreements were again adopted as the most beneficial arrangement moving forward³⁰⁹. In 1978, the first of these agreements were signed, including the Canada-Nova Scotia Immigration agreement³¹⁰ which would prove to streamline communication and efforts to support immigration in the province.

It was widely acknowledged that there was a need to develop a streamlined settlement program. In 1974, the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP) was formed and began developing relationships with non-governmental organizations

³⁰⁹ Vineberg, 2011. IBID

³¹⁰ IRCC. "Canada-Nova Scotia Cooperation on immigration." Government of Canada. Originally signed in 1978, Revised 2007. Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/mandate/policies-operational-instructions-agreements/agreements/federal-provincial-territorial/nova-scotia/canada-nova-scotia-cooperation-immigration-2007.html>

servicing immigrants. This would later be replaced by the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) in 1998, which works with RAP service providers across Canada to provide support to refugees for their first year in the country³¹¹. A concern for the federal government was that the uneven provision of quality settlement services for immigrants and refugees was contributing to the uneven distribution of newcomer settlement across the country. It was hoped that a more defined settlement program would help solve this problem.

Canada adopted the definition of “refugee” that was incorporated in the UN protocol of 1967, which is still an important document in international refugee law^{312,313}:

“A Convention Refugee is a person who, by reason of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion:

- (a) Is outside each of their countries of nationality and is unable or, by reason of that fear, unwilling to avail themselves of protection of each of those countries; or
- (b) Not having a country of nationality, is outside the country of their former habitual residence and is unable, by reason of that fear, unwilling to return to that country.”³¹⁴

³¹¹ Vineberg, 2011. IBID.

³¹² Aiken, Dauvergne, Galloway, Grey, and Macklin. Book. Immigration and Refugee Law. 2nd edition. (2014). Page 847

³¹³ UNHCR. 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol. IBID. Page 14, Article 1.

³¹⁴ IRPA. “*Refugee Protection*.” Immigration and Refugee Protection Act. 2001. Accessed December 21, 2018. <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/i-2.5/page-18.html#h-53>. C. 27, Section 96.

In addition to the convention and protocol on refugees, international human rights law is an important source that informs decisions relating to refugees. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms echoes the principles in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), providing newcomers with the same rights and freedoms as citizens excepting the right to vote or run for public office³¹⁵. One criticism of refugee law is, however, that it does not encompass all human rights law. For example, its limitation to the protection of those who are “deserving” of protection, is contrary to a human rights position that extends protection to anyone being ill-treated. Therefore, while human rights law is an important influencer of refugee law, it is important to acknowledge the inherent limitations of the latter in both philosophy and implementation³¹⁶.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)³¹⁷ and the Convention Against Torture (1984)³¹⁸ are two other sources that inform Canada’s international human rights commitments as they relate to refugees. The obligations within these conventions have informed the above definition of a refugee that is still used in Canada³¹⁹. As a signatory to various international conventions, legal cases in

³¹⁵ Garcea and Hibbert. Policy frameworks for Managing Diversity in Canada. In *Integration and inclusion of newcomers and minorities across Canada*. Ed. Biles, J., Burstein, M., Frideres, J., Tolley, E. and Vineberg, R. (Eds) (2011). pp. 45-75.

³¹⁶ Harvey, Colin J. "Refugees, Rights, and Human Security." *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 19, no. 4 (2001).

³¹⁷ OHCHR. "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights." 1966. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx>

³¹⁸ OHCHR. "Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhumane, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment." 1984. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cat.aspx>

³¹⁹ Aiken et al. 2014, IBID.

Canada have drawn on their specifics in the absence of national legislation in relation to their claims. For example, in the case of *De Guzman v Canada* in 2005, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) was used to interpret how immigration and refugee law should be applied³²⁰.

In 1989, the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) was established. This board is Canada's largest administrative tribunal, playing a central role in reviewing the cases of non-citizens who wish to come to Canada³²¹. In 1992 it was revised to include two Adjudication Divisions - the Immigration Appeal Division, and the Convention Refugee Determination Division. In the early 1990s, concerns about criminals gaining access to Canada or avoiding deportation grew, reflected in Bill C-86 (1992) and Bill C-44 (1995) which ensured refugees and asylum seekers were receiving status documents, restricting the ability of claimants with criminal charges to have their appeals heard³²². Whether these restrictions were effective in targeting actual guilty parties was a point of criticism, with many calling for further revisions to ensure that criminals were not being allowed into the country³²³. Following a reorganization within the federal government in 1994, the Citizenship and Immigration Department was established. The department was later renamed in 2015 to Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC).

³²⁰ *de Guzman v. Canada (Minister of Citizenship and Immigration)*, [2006] 3 FCR 655, 2005 FCA 436. Accessed December 21, 2018.

<https://www.canlii.org/en/ca/fca/doc/2005/2005fca436/2005fca436.html>. Paragraph 84.

³²¹ Aiken et al. 2014, IBID.

³²² Bill C-11 Immigration and Refugee Protection Act. 2001.

<http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection-R/LoPBdP/LS/371/c11-e.htm>

³²³ Galloway, 1997. IBID.

c. The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA)

The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) was passed in 2001, replacing the Immigration Act of 1976³²⁴. The IRPA was presented as framework legislation, containing broad principles under which a variety of regulations could be introduced³²⁵. Initially, a modified points system was introduced through the IRPA with the aim of attracting the most skilled and educated immigrants to Canada³²⁶. Immigrants are now admitted into Canada under three broad categories: Family Class, Economic Class, or Refugee Class³²⁷.

As the enactment of the IRPA closely coincided with the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States, several increased security measures were adopted to better review the immigrants who were coming to Canada. In comparison to earlier legislation, the IRPA was a move away from more open policies to the enactment of more strict enforcement measures. In 2003, the Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) was formed to enforce immigration policy at all points-of-entry into Canada, giving border security decision-making power. This change received criticism, mainly for

³²⁴ IRPA. *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act.* 2001. Accessed December 21, 2018.

<http://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/i-2.5/>

³²⁵ CBA. *Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations. Issue Papers.* Canadian Bar Association, National Citizenship and Immigration Law Section. 2002. Accessed December 21, 2018.

<https://www.cba.org/CMSPages/GetFile.aspx?guid=ff1625a9-4d41-4a54-839c-730be9a344a0>

³²⁶ Liew, Jamie Chai Yun, and Donald Galloway. *Immigration Law, 2/e.* (Irwin Law, 2015).

³²⁷ Li, Peter. "Federal and provincial immigration arrangements in Canada: Policy changes and implications." In, *Management of Immigration and Diversity in Quebec and Canada.* Ed. Rodriguez-Garcia, D. School of Policy Studies, Queens University. 2010.

the nature of CBSA officers' training, or lack thereof, in immigration. The focus of CBSA training is on customs, and not on admitting immigrants into Canada. This approach has been criticized for supporting a negative perception of immigrants and creating an atmosphere of control^{328,329}.

Section 96 and 97 of the IRPA provide the foundation for Canada's refugee law. One important change initiated by the IRPA in relation to refugees was a revision of the refugee determination process³³⁰. The Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) still exists though it has been reorganized significantly. As outlined in part 4 of the IRPA, the IRB now has four divisions: The Immigration Division, the Immigration Appeal Division, the Refugee Protection Division, and the Refugee Appeal Division³³¹. The Refugee Protection Division (RPD) is the biggest division of the IRB, ruling on an average of 28,441 applications annually³³². The Convention Refugee Determination Division was introduced in 2012 which made important changes to the RPD, introducing stricter timelines on hearings, and making civil servants members of the RPD instead of "governor in council appointees"³³³. It was from this reform in 2012 that the Refugee Appeal Division was enacted. There are now 10 RAD boards across the country³³⁴. While

³²⁸ Liew and Galloway, 2015. IBID.

³²⁹ CBSA. "Canada Border Services Agency- Report on Plans and Priorities 2016-2017." Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.cbsa-asfc.gc.ca/agency-agence/reports-rapports/rpp/2016-2017/rpp-2016-2017-eng.pdf>

³³⁰ Liew and Galloway, 2015. IBID.

³³¹ Aiken et al. 2014, IBID.

³³² Aiken et al. 2014, IBID.

³³³ Aiken et al. 2014, IBID. page 46

³³⁴ Aiken et al. 2014, IBID.

this appeal process was outlined in the original IRPA in 2001, it was not fully implemented until 2012, leaving over a decade of refugee claims unreviewed³³⁵.

Multiculturalism has been an influential policy framework in recent decades. The purpose of multiculturalism policies is to both create welcoming communities and integrate newcomers and minorities into all aspects of local life³³⁶. Nova Scotia, along with British Columbia and Saskatchewan, have followed the federal government's lead in enacting multiculturalism statutes³³⁷. While Halifax is not as diverse as larger cities, it does have a substantial and growing immigrant population, and communities of refugees^{338,339}.

Canada has had a strong reputation in the international community for supporting refugees and asylum seekers³⁴⁰, though public opinion at home, and perceptions of the immigration process within Canada, have fluctuated over time³⁴¹. Influenced by current events, economic crises, and perceived security threats, Canadians have long been divided on the topic of immigration. Some believe we are not doing enough to support refugees, while others feel Canada's policies are being taken

³³⁵ Liew and Galloway, 2015. IBID.

³³⁶ Garcea and Hibbert. 2011. IBID.

³³⁷ Nova Scotia Multiculturalism Act. 1989. Accessed December 21, 2018.

<https://nslegislature.ca/sites/default/files/legc/statutes/multicul.htm>

³³⁸ Living in Canada. 2017. IBID.

³³⁹ According to data from a 2016 Census, approximately 11% of people living in Halifax would be considered a visible minority, with 9% being born overseas. This compares to 51% and 47% respectively in Toronto, and 49% and 41% respectively in Vancouver (see reference "Living in Canada" in bibliography).

³⁴⁰ GFDWG. "Migration Challenges and Opportunities for Canada in the 21st Century." Accessed May 2, 2019. <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/CIMM/Brief/BR10225707/br-external/GlobalForcedDisplacementWorkingGroup-e.pdf>

³⁴¹ Armstrong, M. "The Canadian View on Immigration." The Statistics Portal. (2018). Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.statista.com/chart/13314/the-canadian-view-on-immigration/>

advantage of, with too many people being admitted into the country³⁴². There is disagreement about what piece of this issue presents the greatest security threat³⁴³. Some have argued that restrictive policies about refugees feed into the narratives of terrorist agendas, and that newcomers were being discriminated against, helping to attract people to their cause³⁴⁴. Others cite the need for restrictions on the movement of peoples in order to maintain national security. This nexus of migration and security has shaped the field of migration studies and informs how migration issues are analyzed at a policy level^{345,346}.

In many instances, there is a reluctance to engage in meaningful debate on this topic for fear of offending or alienating substantial sectors of the population. As a result, the discursive void is often filled with politically motivated agendas, ultimately driven by the pursuit of re-election^{347,348}. The political biases within media feeds into this confusion with headline stories focusing on controversial, and often emotional responses to immigration issues with very little airtime given to balanced discussion. In

³⁴² Fleras, Augie. *Immigration Canada: Evolving realities and emerging challenges in a postnational world*. (UBC Press, 2014).

³⁴³ Wike, Richard, Bruce Stokes, and Katie Simmons. "Europeans fear wave of refugees will mean more terrorism, fewer jobs." *Pew Research Center* 11 (2016): 2016.

³⁴⁴ Boswell, Christina, Andrew Geddes, and Peter Scholten. "The role of narratives in migration policy-making: A research framework." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 13, no. 1 (2011): 1-11.

³⁴⁵ Huysmans, J., and V. Squire. "Migration and Security. Chapter 15 In: Dunn Cavelty, Myriam and Mauer, Victor eds. *Handbook of Security Studies*." (2009).

³⁴⁶ Guild, Elspeth. *Security and Migration in the 21st Century*. Polity, 2009.

³⁴⁷ Mulvey, Gareth. "When policy creates politics: The problematizing of immigration and the consequences for refugee integration in the UK." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23, no. 4 (2010): 437-462.

³⁴⁸ Jubilut, L.L. "Refugees are victims of the crisis, not the creators." World Economic Forum. (2017). Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/11/the-refugee-crisis-or-a-crisis-for-refugees/>

a recent Ipsos poll, it was found that just over half of Canadians felt that the country was “too welcoming” to newcomers³⁴⁹. There is general lack of confidence in our current political leaders, resulting in part from recent corruption scandals, which is believed to feed this discontent³⁵⁰. Also, the increased numbers of asylum seekers coming to Canada, and the media coverage of those peoples coming from the United States, has brought immigration issues to the forefront of public discourse³⁵¹. With a convoluted immigration process, many Canadians do not have a clear understanding of how immigration decisions are made, or what it even means to be a refugee in Canada. Political actors continue to take advantage of this lack of knowledge, shifting their message to support their immediate political agenda.

The current debate comes back to the question, “Do the rights of the nation-state trump the rights of the individual?” With an increasingly integrated and globalized community, many researchers challenge the practical value of national borders. Kelley and Trebilcock³⁵² frame this debate around 2 core ideas: liberty and community. Liberty would represent more liberal, open policies where the rights of the individual to safety and opportunity are of central importance. Conversely, community would privilege the need for people to unite together in communities of common values, meaning that the

³⁴⁹ Global News. “*Ipsos poll shows Canadians have concerns about immigration. Here are the facts.*” January 2019. Accessed May 2, 2019.

<https://globalnews.ca/news/4794797/canada-negative-immigration-economy-ipsos/>

³⁵⁰ Neuman, K. “*Canadian Public Opinion on Immigration and Refugees.*” April 30, 2019. Accessed May 2, 2019. <https://www.environicsinstitute.org/projects/project-details/canadian-public-opinion-on-immigration-and-refugees---focus-canada-spring-2019>

³⁵¹ Schertzer, R. and Paquet, M. “*A lot is riding on how we manage asylum seekers.*” Policy Options. 2019. Accessed May 2, 2019. <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/february-2019/lot-riding-manage-asylum-seekers/>

³⁵² Ninette, Kelley, and Michael J. Trebilcock. “The making of the mosaic: a history of Canadian immigration policy.” 2nd edition. (University of Toronto Press, 2010).

state has the right to enforce limitations to entry as they see necessary for receiving newcomers in a way that preserves the security and well-being of the nation. As these two world views continue to meet through debates among our policy makers and elected officials, what is needed is a balanced policy response that effectively protects both the individual and the community.

Since 2002, there has been an annual gathering of provincial and federal immigration ministers to help support immigration policy and its implementation. One role cities play is in antiracism initiatives. Most antiracism policies have arisen in sector-specific formats, and cities are often the leaders in implementing those policies³⁵³. This is particularly relevant in these smaller jurisdictions, as combatting racism becomes critical for the successful integration of newcomers.

This section provided an overview of current Canadian law as it relates to immigration and refugees. With this context established, the next section will highlight the current situation of refugees in Canada and the process by which they come to and settle across the country. A specific look at the policy response to young refugees in Canada will also be presented.

³⁵³ Garcea and Hibbert. Policy frameworks for Managing Diversity in Canada. In "Integration and inclusion of newcomers and minorities across Canada." Ed. Biles, J., Burstein, M., Frideres, J., Tolley, E. and Vineberg, R. (2011). P45-75

4.2- Refugees in Canada

a. The Current Situation

Nearly 10% of Canada's annual immigration quota is made up of refugees³⁵⁴.

Until recently, Canada was the only country to allow private citizens to sponsor refugees³⁵⁵. According to the IRCC, the top 10 source countries of refugees coming to Canada as of 2017 were:

- Nigeria
- Hungary
- China
- Iraq
- Pakistan
- Syria
- Turkey
- Colombia
- Somalia
- Afghanistan³⁵⁶

There have been instances where Canada has received large cohorts of refugees following a conflict or natural disaster. The late 1960s, for example, saw 11,000 Czech refugees fleeing the Soviet invasion. 20,000 Soviet Jews came to Canada as refugees throughout the 1970's and 80's as a result of attacks on their religious freedoms. In 1972, 7,000 Ismaili Muslims were brought to Canada from Uganda, after many Ugandan

³⁵⁴ Beiser, Morton. "The health of immigrants and refugees in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Public Health/Revue Canadienne de Sante'e Publique* (2005): S30-S44.

³⁵⁵ Hyndman, Jennifer, William Payne, and Shauna Jimenez. "Private refugee sponsorship in Canada." *Forced Migration Review* 54 (2017): 56-59.

³⁵⁶ IRCC, "How Canada's Refugee System Works." 2017. IBID.

Asians were expelled from the country³⁵⁷. Between 1979 and 1980, approximately 60,000 “boat people” arrived in Canada after fleeing the Communist government in Vietnam³⁵⁸. Refugees from Yugoslavia (5,000 in 1992), Kosovo (5,000 in 1999), and Bhutan (6,500 in 2015), to name a few, represent commitments by the Canadian government in response to a sudden need for resettlement³⁵⁹.

Currently, Canada is faced with an unprecedented number of asylum seekers crossing the border from the United States. These crossings are referred to as “irregular” under Canada’s Safe Third Country Agreement with the United States which was part of larger border reforms in 2001³⁶⁰. Right now, the two largest groups arriving in this manner have been from Haiti and Nigeria³⁶¹. Overall, the number of asylum claims has increased from 4,240 in 2013 to 19,419 in 2018³⁶². There are many factors influencing this sharp increase in claims, linking back to an increase in conflicts worldwide and the need for more resettlement opportunities for refugees³⁶³. The

³⁵⁷ Mohamed, R. “A Brief History of the Ismailis in Canada.” Policy Options. 2017. Accessed May 3, 2019. <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/march-2017/a-brief-history-of-the-ismailis-in-canada/>

³⁵⁸ IRCC. “Canada: A History of Refuge.” Government of Canada. Accessed May 3, 2019. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/canada-role/timeline.html>

³⁵⁹ IRCC. “Canada: A History of Refuge.” IBID

³⁶⁰ IRCC. “Canada-US Safe Third Country Agreement.” Accessed May 3, 2019.

<https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/mandate/policies-operational-instructions-agreements/agreements/safe-third-country-agreement.html>

³⁶¹ IRB. “Refugee Protection Claims (New System) by Country of Alleged Persecution – 2018.” Accessed May 3, 2019. <https://irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/statistics/protection/Pages/RPDStat2018.aspx>

³⁶² IRCC. “Asylum claims by year”. Government of Canada. Accessed May 3, 2019.

<https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/asylum-claims.html>

³⁶³ Schertzer, R. and Paquet, M. “A lot is riding on how we manage asylum seekers.” Policy Options. 2019. Accessed May 2, 2019. <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/february-2019/lot-riding-manage-asylum-seekers/>

rejection rate is very high for these applications³⁶⁴. Of the 2,256 claims from Haiti that have been finalized with the IRB, for example, 1,555 have been rejected, with 6,811 more cases pending³⁶⁵.

The largest commitment to date on behalf of the Canadian government to resettle refugees has been in response to the Syrian crisis in 2015. As of September 2018, 58,650 Syrian refugees have been resettled in 350 communities across Canada.³⁶⁶ This recent influx of refugees has effectively shone a light on the existing infrastructure for receiving these newcomers. For example, the Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) from Syria were found to be less educated, with more limited English and/or French language ability compared to those Syrian GARs who came between 2010 and 2014³⁶⁷. The need for better language support has been a leading issue in recent resettlement programs. In response to the need to support Syrian refugees, Nova Scotia, like other provinces, saw many community groups and individuals get involved in supporting refugees, both through private sponsorship as well as volunteering and/or supporting organizations like the Immigrant Services Association of Nov Scotia (ISANS) who serve this population.

³⁶⁴ Paperny, A.M. "Canadian refugee ruling unfair to Nigerians: lawyers." Reuters. 2018. Accessed May 3, 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-canada-immigration-nigeria/canadian-refugee-ruling-unfair-to-nigerians-lawyers-idUSKCN1L621Q>

³⁶⁵ IRB. 2018. IBID

³⁶⁶ Syrian Refugee Family Composition- Ad Hoc IRCC (Specialized Datasets). Accessed April 12, 2019. <https://open.canada.ca/data/en/dataset/ca243c40-a6d3-4a46-a578-b4fad4369df0>

³⁶⁷ IRCC. "Rapid Impact Evaluation of the Syrian Refugee initiative." Evaluation Division, IRCC. December 2016. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/resources/evaluation/pdf/evaluation-syrian-refugee-initiative.pdf>

b. How Refugees Come to Canada

Today in Canada, there are three resettlement programs through which a refugee can be admitted. The first is as a government-assisted refugee (GAR). These individuals are usually identified by the UNHCR or another referral agency. While their travel to Canada is covered by the government, they are expected to repay this amount after their first year in the country. They are supported by the government of Canada through their first year in Canada, receiving income support and resettlement services which are provided through a service organization that is a member of IRCC's resettlement assistance program (RAP). There are currently 35 organizations across Canada who support GARs by delivering the RAP. In Nova Scotia, that representative organization is the Immigration and Settlement Association of Nova Scotia (ISANS).

The second program through which resettlement occurs is as a privately sponsored refugee (PSR). These individuals are sponsored by Canadian citizens or permanent residents, and the RAP for their first year in Canada is provided by their sponsor. PSRs can be sponsored through three possible channels: a sponsorship agreement holder (SAH), a group of five (G5), or Community Sponsors (CS). A SAH refers to an incorporated organization that regularly sponsors refugees and has a formal agreement with the IRCC. G5 is five or more Canadian citizens or permanent residents who come together to sponsor a refugee and act as their guarantors. Finally, CS are organizations that sponsor only once or twice and, therefore, do not have a formal agreement with IRCC.

The third program is the blended visa office-referred (BVOR). These refugees are referred by UNHCR and their profiles are posted for SAHs and CGs to take on as potential sponsors. For these refugees, their first six months of RAP are supported by the government, while the remaining 6 months are the responsibility of the sponsor³⁶⁸.

In addition to these three categories of refugees, individuals can make an asylum claim at any Canadian port of entry. These claims are referred to the Refugee Protection Division of the IRB for a hearing³⁶⁹. One striking absence in the international refugee convention, and any subsequent international conventions, is the right to asylum, despite article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1958): “Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution”³⁷⁰. In Canada, section 115 of the IRPA does make provisions for those whose situation would fall under the definition of a refugee, protecting them from being returned home to a situation that puts them in immediate danger³⁷¹. According to data from an Access to Information Request filed by CBC, 70 percent of asylum claims made in 2017 in Canada were accepted, which is an increase from 44 percent acceptance in 2013³⁷². The case of *Singh v. Canada* in 1985 was a significant moment for Canadian refugee policy. It was ruled

³⁶⁸ IRCC. “*Evaluation of the Resettlement Programs (GAR, PSR, BVOR, and RAP)*.” Government of Canada. July 2016. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/reports-statistics/evaluations/resettlement-programs.html#toc1>

³⁶⁹ IRCC. “*Asylum Claims*.” Government of Canada. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/asylum-claims.html>

³⁷⁰ UN. “*Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.” 1958. Accessed December 21, 2018. <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

³⁷¹ Aiken et al. 2014, IBID.

³⁷² Carmen, Tara. “Canada’s acceptance rate of asylum seekers is the highest in 27 years- here’s why.” CBC Investigates. Feb 7, 2018. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/asylum-seekers-overview-data-1.4503825>

that the process for refugee claims “did not meet the procedural requirements of section 7 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms”³⁷³, as an oral hearing was not made available to claimants. As a result, all asylum seekers in Canada now have the right to an oral hearing. This is one characteristic of Canada’s refugee response that is praised by the international community and has contributed to this country’s relatively more positive reputation. 85 percent of claimants do receive legal aid which is meant to better support them through the claim and the appeal process if needed³⁷⁴. While Canada has taken some positive steps in its response to asylum seekers, processing of these claims can take a long time because of the limited capacity of the courts to hear their cases. This leaves many in a “limbo” status for extended periods of time. The Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) has stated that wait times are currently 21 months³⁷⁵. The current average wait time according to the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRCC) is 2 years. There are 71,675 asylum claims pending review from countries of alleged persecution³⁷⁶. During these extended periods of waiting for their cases to be heard, claimants have limited access to services or employment.

³⁷³ Galloway, 1997. IBID. Page 19

³⁷⁴ Fleras, 2015. IBID.

³⁷⁵ Globe and Mail. Asylum seekers will wait up to two years for refugee claims to be processed, Immigration and Refugee Board says.” November 2, 2018. Accessed May 29, 2019. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/politics/article-wait-times-for-asylum-claims-at-21-months-despite-infusion-of-federal/>

³⁷⁶ IRB. “*Refugee Protection Claims (New System) by Country of Alleged Persecution – 2018.*” Accessed May 3, 2019. <https://irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/statistics/protection/Pages/RPDStat2018.aspx>

c. Resettlement Assistance Program

The purpose of the resettlement assistance program (RAP) is to “provide direct financial support and fund the provision of immediate and essential services to eligible recipients”³⁷⁷. The essential services provided through RAP include:

- a. welcoming refugees at their first port of entry
- b. helping to find a temporary place to live
- c. helping to find a permanent place to live
- d. assessing refugee needs
- e. information and support while settling into life in Canada, and
- f. referrals to other federal and provincial programs, and to other settlement services including language training, and support for finding employment.³⁷⁸

As a way of promoting accountability of the RAP with partner organizations, the IRCC developed the Immigration Contribution Accountability Measurement System (iCAMS). The iCAMS outlines a performance measurement strategy that involves a logic model, a reporting schedule for RAP, and a list of on-going performance measurement indicators which include:

- “the number of clients served by RAP services,

³⁷⁷ IRCC. “Program Terms and Conditions: Contributions in Support of Resettlement and Assistance Program.” Government of Canada. 2017. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/transparency/program-terms-conditions/resettlement-assistance-program.html> Section 2.1

³⁷⁸ IRCC. “How Canada’s Refugee System Works: Help for Resettled Refugees.” Government of Canada. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/canada-role.html>

- the extent to which RAP services were useful and accessible,
- the extent to which stakeholders report that the immediate and essential needs of RAP clients were met³⁷⁹.

These findings are gathered through surveys that are administered by the department.

Another feature of RAP is the Interim Federal Health Program (IFHP). The IFHP provides temporary health services to all refugees and refugee claimants across Canada. All IFHP claims are managed through Medaive Blue Cross, and a list of registered health care providers is maintained for each province³⁸⁰. Basic and supplementary benefits include:

- in-patient and out-patient hospital services
- services from medical doctors, registered nurses and other health-care professionals licensed in Canada, including pre- and post natal care
- laboratory, diagnostic, and ambulance services
- limited vision and urgent dental care
- home care and long-term care
- services from allied health-care practitioners including clinical psychologists, psychotherapists, counselling therapists, occupational therapists, speech language therapists, physiotherapists

³⁷⁹ IRCC, 2017. IBID. Section 2.4

³⁸⁰ IRCC. "What is the Interim Federal Health program?" Government of Canada. Last modified 2018. Accessed December 21, 2018. <http://www.cic.gc.ca/English/helpcentre/answer.asp?qnum=1272&top=33>

- assistive devices, medical supplies and equipment
- prescription medications
- emergency dental care³⁸¹

All the benefits outlined in this section are funded by RAP at the federal level.

They are then implemented by provincial partners, which will be presented in more detail in the next chapter. These benefits are available to all refugees for one year, upon their arrival to Canada though there are some pre-departure medical services included in this coverage, including vaccinations and medical exams³⁸². However, in 2012, the federal government made cuts to this program which limited access to certain healthcare services depending on one's status³⁸³. In a study done on the impact of these cuts on refugee children, The Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto saw a drop in the number of emergency healthcare bills paid by IHFP for refugee children from 46% to 7%³⁸⁴. The cuts to the IFHP have effectively cut health coverage for most refugee claimants. These changes are leaving refugees, particularly claimants, vulnerable to serious health consequences³⁸⁵.

³⁸¹ IRCC. "Interim Federal Health Program: Summary of Coverage." Government of Canada. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/help-within-canada/health-care/interim-federal-health-program/coverage-summary.html>

³⁸² IRCC, "Interim Federal Health Program: Summary of Coverage." IBID.

³⁸³ Barnes, Steve. *The real cost of cutting the interim federal health program*. Wellesley Institute, 2014.

³⁸⁴ Evans, Andrea, Alexander Caudarella, Savithiri Ratnapalan, and Kevin Chan. "The cost and impact of the interim federal health program cuts on child refugees in Canada." *PloS one* 9, no. 5 (2014): e96902.

³⁸⁵ Harris, Helen P., and Daniyal Zuberi. "Harming refugee and Canadian health: the negative consequences of recent reforms to Canada's interim Federal Health Program." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 16, no. 4 (2015): 1041-1055.

4.3- The Nova Scotian Case: ISANS and Refugee Support

This dissertation has focused on how Halifax, as a smaller city in Canada, has been able to support refugee young people. This concept of a “small city” is an inherently relative one³⁸⁶. In this dissertation I categorize Halifax as small in relation to the country’s largest cities, named above. Halifax is a smaller city, compared to other cities across the country, with a population of just over 400,000 people³⁸⁷. Other cities of comparable size include Kitchener, Saskatoon, and Oshawa³⁸⁸. Halifax is the main urban centre in Nova Scotia, and there are important comparisons to be drawn with smaller cities in the Atlantic region, including St. John’s, NL and Moncton, NB, who also function as hubs in each province, particularly regarding refugee resettlement³⁸⁹. One key feature of refugee resettlement support in smaller cities is that services are usually provided by one settlement organization, as opposed to several organizations in larger cities³⁹⁰. In this regard, Halifax can also learn from the experiences of some larger cities who also function as the hub in a region for resettlement support. Winnipeg is one such example. As I will discuss in the section 5.1a, Winnipeg has adopted some innovative

³⁸⁶ Bonifacio, Glenda Tibe, and Julie L. Drolet, eds. *Canadian perspectives on immigration in small cities*. Springer International Publishing, 2017.

³⁸⁷ Statistics Canada. “*Census Profile, 2016 Census- Halifax Regional Municipality, Nova Scotia, Canada.*” Accessed May 3, 2019. <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Geo2=PR&Code2=01&Data=Count&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&TABID=1&B1=All&Code1=1209034&SearchText=halifax>

³⁸⁸ Living in Canada. “*Canadian Cities Compared.*” 2017. Accessed May 3, 2019. <https://www.livingin-canada.com/compare-canadian-cities.html>

³⁸⁹ IRCC. “*Resettled Refugees. Data Set: Canada - Admissions of Resettled Refugees by Province/Territory and Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) of Intended Destination and Immigration Category, January 2015-September 2018.*” Government of Canada. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://open.canada.ca/data/en/dataset/4a1b260a-7ac4-4985-80a0-603bfe4aec11>

³⁹⁰ Akbari, A. and Ramos, H. “Doing immigration differently in secondary centres.” *Canadian Diversity*. Vol 16. No. 1. (2019). 3-4.

strategies for optimizing the support available in other community organizations for newcomer young people, specifically refugees.

Though Nova Scotia has always received refugees, it has historically done so on a much smaller scale than in recent years. Nova Scotia's immigration history has been characterized by colonial settlement. The first colonists to arrive were the French in 1604 in Port Royal. Later, when the British took control of the province, the capital was moved to Halifax where it remains to this day. The mid-1700s was a time of huge immigration into the province, with thousands of immigrants arriving from Europe and the United States, including black Loyalists. A significant number of Scottish immigrants arrived in the late-eighteenth century, settling in the Highlands of Cape Breton³⁹¹. The Mi'kmaq people are the First Nations peoples who have called the Maritimes home for centuries before these colonists arrived, and the province's history is marked by conflict with them over land and resources.

Another conflict early in Nova Scotia's history was with the French colony of 'Acadie' which was estimated to be 13,000 strong until war broke out between the English and French in 1744. Some 6,000 Acadians were forced to leave the province, with many being taken by boat to the New England states or deported to France. When the war was over, some did return though they were forced to start from scratch in less hospitable parts of the province. Today, Acadian culture is vibrant, though declining in

³⁹¹ Cassin, A.M. Immigration, Settlement and integration in Nova Scotia: Provincial Perspectives. In, *Integration and inclusion of newcomers and minorities across Canada*. Ed. Biles, J., Burstein, M., Frideres, J., Tolley, E., and Vineberg, R. School of Policy Studies, Queen's University, (2011): pp 301-324.

population with approximately 23,700 people identifying as Acadian in 2016 Census³⁹². While they are located throughout the province, most Acadian communities are currently located along the Bay of Fundy³⁹³.

All the groups mentioned above had a significant impact on the development of the province's cultural identity³⁹⁴. Between 1928 and 1971, Halifax became the main port of entry for over a million newcomers to Canada who arrived through Pier 21³⁹⁵. One feature of Canada's current immigration policy has been the partnerships between the federal and provincial governments in both accepting and settling immigrants and refugees across the country. Section 10 of the IRPA states:

“The Minister must consult with the governments of the provinces respecting the number of foreign nationals in each class who will become permanent residents each year, their distribution in Canada taking into account regional economic and demographic requirements, and the measures to be undertaken to facilitate their integration into Canadian society.”³⁹⁶

³⁹² Statistics Canada. Census Profile, 2016. Accessed May 29, 2019. <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=PR&Code1=12&Geo2=PR&Code2=01&Data=Count&SearchText=Nova%20Scotia&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=Ethnic%20origin&TABID=1>

³⁹³ Nova Scotia Archives. “Acadians.” Accessed May 3, 2019. <https://archives.novascotia.ca/genealogy/acadians>

³⁹⁴ Cassin, 2011. IBID. Page 301

³⁹⁵ Schwinghamer, Steve. “Historic Pier 21”. *Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21*. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://pier21.ca/research/pier21/historic-pier-21>

³⁹⁶ IRPA. “Enabling Authority (continued).” Immigration and Refugee Protection Act. 2001. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/i-2.5/page-2.html>. c.27, Section 10.2

The Canada-Nova Scotia Cooperation on Immigration agreement was signed in 2007³⁹⁷. This agreement outlines in more detail the shared responsibilities of attracting newcomers to the province and the support available to them once they arrive. The varying needs across the provinces in terms of immigration and settlement support requires this type of province-specific cooperation³⁹⁸. The Nova Scotia Office of Immigration (NSOI) was founded in 2006 to guide provincial policy as it relates to immigration in the province³⁹⁹. Attracting immigrants to the province for work has been a significant piece of their mandate, while refugees and refugee policy is not something they directly engage.

In addition to setting immigration policy within each province, there are 35 organizations that have partnered directly with the federal government as part of the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP). The RAP provides essential supports for GARs for their first year in Canada. This support includes a household start-up allowance and monthly income support. GARs can access the Immigration Loans Program (ILP) which covers the cost of their trip to Canada; however as noted above, this amount must be repaid once they arrive⁴⁰⁰. BVORs receive half the support given through the RAP, while

³⁹⁷ IRCC. "Canada-Nova Scotia Cooperation on Immigration." Government of Canada. Originally signed in 1978, revised 2007. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/mandate/policies-operational-instructions-agreements/agreements/federal-provincial-territorial/nova-scotia/canada-nova-scotia-cooperation-immigration-2007.html>

³⁹⁸ Li, Peter. Federal and provincial immigration arrangements in Canada: Policy changes and implications. In, *Management of Immigration and Diversity in Quebec and Canada*. Ed. Rodriguez-Garcia, D. Queens University- Canada. 2012. p87-112.

³⁹⁹ Cassin 2011, IBID.

⁴⁰⁰ ISANS. "ISANS Role Helping to Settle Government Assisted refugees in Halifax." 2010. Accessed December 21, 2018. http://www.isans.ca/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/ISANS_Role_GARs_final_Email.pdf

the other half is provided by the private sponsor. There are special cases of refugees with special needs, and they are often supported through the Joint Assistance Program (JAS) through which the RAP and private sponsor support the refugee family for up to 24 months, depending on the specific situation⁴⁰¹. PSRs rely completely on their sponsors for all settlement support within the first year.

In the case of Nova Scotia, ISANS is the body responsible for the settlement of refugees. Their offices are in the Halifax area, where government-assisted refugees (GARs) are settled. In addition to ISANS, there are 4 other sponsorship agreement holders in Nova Scotia, who can privately sponsor refugees to come to the province. Community Sponsors (CS) and Groups of Five (G5) are other ways in which refugees can be privately sponsored to come to Nova Scotia.

ISANS uses a case management approach to serving GARs in which each “refugee unit” (individual or family) are assigned a settlement counsellor. This counsellor works with other ISANS staff to better coordinate services and supports for refugees as they settle into Halifax and other communities in the province. Within the first two weeks of a refugee’s arrival, an ISANS counsellor will help them find accommodations, connect them with healthcare services as needed, offer general budget support, and assist them in buying groceries and other essential items. Once these immediate needs are met, the settlement counsellor then connects them with additional settlement services. They offer a variety of training opportunities,

⁴⁰¹ IRCC. “*Joint Assistance Program*.” Government of Canada. Last modified 2018. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/help-outside-canada/private-sponsorship-program/joint-assistance-program.html>

counselling, and employment support to newcomers, further supporting their integration into life here in Halifax. In terms of services specifically for newcomer youth, ISANS and the YMCA are the two main organizations in Halifax that provide these supports. The young adult services provided through ISANS are targeted at people between 18 and 25 years old, while youth programs through the YMCA include those as young as 12.

According to ISANS, Nova Scotia receives an average of 300 refugees every year from around the world; this makes up approximately 8% of all immigration to the province⁴⁰². There have been times where larger groups have arrived in response to a crisis. The conflict between Nepal and Bhutan is one example, where 6,500 refugees were resettled in Canada between 2012 and 2013⁴⁰³. In 2016, the Nepali and Bhutanese community in the province was recorded to be 235 and 350, respectively⁴⁰⁴.

ISANS and the YMCA are the organizations in Halifax that have programs and services specifically designed for newcomer and refugee young people. The young adult services provided through ISANS are targeted at people between 18 and 25 years old. These services include employment support, life skills development, recreation partnerships in the community, support groups, and language support. While there have been times during which larger refugee groups have been settled in the province, the

⁴⁰² ISANS. "Refugees in Nova Scotia 2008-2012." Accessed May 3, 2019.

https://immigration.novascotia.ca/sites/default/files/Immigration_Facts_Refugees_Aug26.pdf

⁴⁰³ ISANS. "Butanese Refugees say thank you to Halifax." Accessed May 3, 2019.

<https://www.isans.ca/bhutanese-refugees-say-thank-you-to-halifax/>

⁴⁰⁴ Toughill, K. "Pulling up roots: Bhutanese exodus from halifax offers clues to why newcomers stay or go." Public Policy Forum. 2018. Accessed May 3, 2019. <https://ppforum.ca/articles/pulling-up-roots-bhutanese-exodus-from-halifax-offers-clues-to-why-newcomers-stay-or-go/>

largest influx to date were the Syrian refugees who were settled between 2015 and 2018. Within the first year of Canada's commitment to resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees, Nova Scotia received 2,435 Syrian refugees between January 2015 and August 2018.⁴⁰⁵ This is almost 5 times the usual number of refugees who are settled in the province each year. Table 1 presents data on the number of refugees that have been settled in Nova Scotia, by age and gender. The 1,435 who were Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) were settled in the Halifax area, according to the Immigration Services Association of Nova Scotia (ISANS)⁴⁰⁶. In addition, the PSRs (615), and BVORs (385) were settled throughout the province, as well as in Halifax. There was an increase in the number of private sponsors, mostly community sponsors (CS) and groups of five (G5), in response to this crisis. The number of PSRs is four times higher than the previous decade (before 2015)⁴⁰⁷. Considering that over half of these refugees were under the age of 18 when they arrived, this movement requires us to assess the state of youth services and supports that are available.

⁴⁰⁵ IRCC. "Resettled Refugees. Data Set: Canada - Admissions of Resettled Refugees by Province/Territory and Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) of Intended Destination and Immigration Category, January 2015-September 2018". Government of Canada. Accessed December 21, 2018.

<https://open.canada.ca/data/en/dataset/4a1b260a-7ac4-4985-80a0-603bfe4aec11>

⁴⁰⁶ ISANS was created from a merger between Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association (MISA) and the Halifax Immigrant Learning Centre (HILC) in December 2009. MISA had been active since 1980 and HILC since 1988.

⁴⁰⁷ IRCC. "Canada welcomes more privately sponsored refugees in 2018." Government of Canada. Last modified 2018. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/mandate/policies-operational-instructions-agreements/timely-protection-privately-sponsored-refugees.html>

Table 1- Data from IRCC- Canada - Admissions of Resettled Refugees by Province/Territory of Intended Destination, Gender, Age Group and Immigration Category, January 2015 – August 2018

	Blended Sponsorship Refugee	Government-Assisted Refugee	Privately Sponsored Refugee	Total
Females 17 years old and under	110	355	115	580
Females 18 years old and above	85	305	185	575
Female Total	195	660	300	1,155
Males 17 years old and under	110	420	105	635
Males 18 years old and above	85	355	210	645
Male Total	190	775	315	1,280
Nova Scotia Total	385	1,435	615	2,435

While this is not the first time a larger cohort of refugees has been settled in the province, this is the largest group to arrive in such a short time. This influx of newcomers has shone a bright light on the current resettlement process in our province. The organizations that partner with this process in Nova Scotia are doing great work despite their unprecedented workload. In 2016, a donations centre was opened in the Bayer’s Lake area - a 100,000 square foot building that was soon filled with donations of clothing, furniture, toiletries, and school supplies, in response to the needs of the Syrian refugees⁴⁰⁸. This is just one example of how the public has positively engaged to support

⁴⁰⁸ NS. “Refugee Response”. Government of Nova Scotia. Last modified 2016. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://novascotia.ca/refugeerresponse/>

these newcomers. However, as will be discussed in the next chapter, support for these refugees beyond the short-term, emergency support is a problem in Halifax. In a recent knowledge synthesis conducted by CERIS - a project funded by the IRCC - they found a significant gap in research on how settlement services for newcomer youth have been functioning in smaller urban centres⁴⁰⁹. This dissertation provides some insight into one region that is under-researched with the hopes of sparking more discussion and attention to policy needs in this area.

The next chapter will present the findings of this research. It will begin with addressing the specific research questions that I used to guide this work. I will focus on the specific resources and services that are available to refugee young people in the HRM.

4.4- Conclusion

Looking over the progression of refugee law in Canada, its evolution has been significantly influenced by the historical context of immigration in Canada and our collective role within the global community in responding to humanitarian crises. Overall, however, there is a glaring lack in Canada's refugee resettlement policy relating to young people. The threats posed to refugee children and youth in terms of their

⁴⁰⁹ Shields, J. and Lujan, Omar. *Immigrant Youth in Canada: A Literature Review of Migrant Youth Settlement and Service Issues.* CERIS- Immigrant Women, Youth and Seniors: A Project funded by Immigration and Refugee Council of Canada. 2018. Accessed May 30, 2019. <http://ceris.ca/IWYS/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/IWYS-Knowledge-Synthesis-Report-Youth-report-Sept-2018.pdf>

safety, stability, and long-term development have significant impacts on their well-being, and on their capacity for successful integration.

The resettlement process in Canada for refugees needs to consider the specific needs of these young people, including their mental and emotional health⁴¹⁰. Therefore, it is important for Canadians to assess how well we are supporting refugee youth. In the next chapter, I will present an analysis of current research in the area of refugee services and outcomes in Canada, as well as examples from across the country of focused resettlement and integration supports for refugee young people.

⁴¹⁰ Davies, Susanna. & Batchelor, Carol. "Resettlement as a Protection Tool for Refugee Children." *Forced Migration Review*. 54, (2017): 38-41. Accessed December 21, 2018.
http://www.fmreview.org/resettlement/davies-batchelor.html?utm_source=FMR+54+Resettlement&utm_campaign=FMR+Alert+Eng+54+online&utm_medium=email

Chapter 5- Refugee Youth in Canada: Service Provision and Outcomes

The successful resettlement of newcomer children and youth is an important part of our country's future success⁴¹¹. The resettlement experiences of refugees have a significant effect not only on their health and well-being but on their ability to engage in their new home^{412,413}. For those refugee young people who are resettled in a new country, either alone or with their families, there are a myriad of adjustments to be made that can become a source of stress. Acculturation stress can be experienced and manifest in different ways as they settle in a new home^{414,415}. As discussed in the last chapter, resettlement services have been delegated to the provinces, which has resulted in a variety of experiences for refugees. In this chapter I will focus on what is known about the resettlement process in smaller cities in Canada and present some examples of programs for refugee youth in different parts of the country. I will then present some key outcomes for refugee youth in Canada, focusing on family, health, education, and cultural integration. Providing this national context is important for comparing the Nova

⁴¹¹ Wilson-Forsberg, Stacey, and Andrew Mackenzie Robinson, eds. *Immigrant Youth in Canada: Theoretical Approaches, Practical Issues, and Professional Perspectives*. (Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁴¹² Beiser, Morton. "The health of immigrants and refugees in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Public Health/Revue Canadienne de Sante'e Publique* (2005): S30-S44.

⁴¹³ Betts, A. Resettlement: Where's the Evidence, what's the Strategy? *Forced Migration Review*. 54, (2017): 73-73. Accessed December 20, 2018.

http://www.fmreview.org/resettlement/betts.html?utm_source=FMR+54+Resettlement&utm_campaign=FMR+Alert+Eng+54+online&utm_medium=email

⁴¹⁴ Zinck, E., Ungar, M., Whitman, S., Exenberger, S., LeVert-Chaisson, I., Liebenberg, L., Ung, J., & Forshner, A. "Working with Children and Youth in Challenging Contexts to Promote Youth Engagement." CYCC Network. Halifax, NS: 2013. Accessed December 19, 2018. <http://cycnetwork.org/engagement>

⁴¹⁵ Powell, M.A. and Graham, A. Researching the experience of refugee children: key ethical considerations. In Hess, J.M. (Ed). "*Creating new futures: Settling children and youth from refugee backgrounds*." The Federation Press- Australia (2015) 30-48.

Scotian example, which is the focus of this dissertation. What is important about this case study in Halifax are the implications for other smaller cities across Canada and how they can best optimize the resources and infrastructure they have in order to meet the needs of refugee children and youth.

5.1- Resettlement in Smaller Cities in Canada

Resettlement and integration supports are incredibly varied, both in theory and practice. The UNHCR presents the following definition of resettlement in their Resettlement Handbook:

“Resettlement involves the selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them – as refugees – with permanent residence status. The status provided ensures protection against refoulement⁴¹⁶ and provides a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependents with access to rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. Resettlement also carries with it the opportunity to eventually become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country.”⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁶ According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, Refoulement is defined as “the act of forcing a refugee or asylum seeker to return to a country or territory where he or she is likely to face persecution”.

⁴¹⁷ UNHCR. “*UNHCR Resettlement Handbook*.” 2011. Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://www.unhcr.org/46f7c0ee2.pdf> Page 9.

The reality is that resettlement is a temporary, short-term process while integration is a long-term requirement of refugee youth. However, a lack of available funding and resources for long-term integration support can impede potential resilience resources. This is where further attention needs to be directed in order to develop more supportive avenues for young refugees to succeed in their new homes. The focus in this dissertation is on the ability of services and programs to create resilience resources for young refugees that will support their integration with more long-term strategies. In this section, I will present current policy issues that smaller Canadian cities face in terms of resettling refugees, as well as a snapshot of the service landscape in these cities.

Approximately 75% of immigrants settle in larger urban centres, which include Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver^{418,419}. This has resulted in smaller cities and rural areas developing policies to attract more immigrants to settle in these regions, which are experiencing population losses and resulting economic struggles⁴²⁰. The situation of refugees is somewhat different, insofar as they are settled by the federal government or, in the case of PSRs, are settled in the community of their sponsor. However, there is a significant number who do migrate to these larger urban centres following their first year in Canada. The retention rate of refugees in Atlantic Canada following their first year in the country is low. According to Statistics Canada, 60% of refugees who are

⁴¹⁸ Radford, Paul. "A call for greater research on immigration outside of Canada's three largest cities." *Our diverse cities* 3, no. Summer (2007): 47-51.

⁴¹⁹ Yoshida, Yoko, and Howard Ramos. "Destination rural Canada: an overview of recent immigrants to rural small towns." *Social transformation in rural Canada*. Ed. Parkins, J.R. and Reed, M.G. (UBC Press-Vancouver, 2012). p67-87.

⁴²⁰ Yoshida and Ramos. 2012. IBID.

settled in Nova Scotia stay, while the retention rate in New Brunswick is 43.5%, and in PEI 37.5%⁴²¹. One of the outcomes of this concentration of refugees in larger cities is the presence of more resources for them.

The economic reality of rural regions of the country present both a need for more immigrants, as well as difficulty in retaining those newcomers. In response to this need, federal and provincial governments have recently called on cities to play a greater role in the integration and settlement support for newcomers. Resettlement and integration require cities to be key players in creating welcoming environments for newcomers. Intergovernmental cooperation also promotes better coordination of resources for resettlement programs and services⁴²².

As Canadian cities become more diverse, local institutions need to be intentional about promoting integration and preventing the exclusion of newcomers from the labour market as well as the city's wider resources. Creating environments that attract industry and innovation complement policies that aim to reduce the exclusion of newcomers⁴²³.

Employment opportunities are an important part of the successful integration of refugee families⁴²⁴. Kilbridge and Anisef, for example, found that refugee youth in

⁴²¹ Statistics Canada. Retention Rate five years after admission of the 2010 cohort of immigrant tax filers by admission category and destination province. 2015. Accessed August 9, 2019. Retrieved from: <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/171127/cg-a002-eng.htm>

⁴²² Papillon, Martin. *Immigration, diversity and social inclusion in Canada's cities*. Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2002.

⁴²³ Papillon, Martin. *Immigration, diversity and social inclusion in Canada's cities*. Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2002.

⁴²⁴ Hyndman, Jennifer, Nadine Schuurman, and Rob Fiedler. "Size matters: Attracting new immigrants to Canadian cities." *Journal of International Migration and Integration/Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale* 7, no. 1 (2006): 1.

Ontario identified employment and economic opportunities as their most important concern regarding their prospects for integration⁴²⁵. Fostering these opportunities for refugee young people in smaller cities is an important part of resettlement.

Organizations, like “Helping Newcomers Work.ca”⁴²⁶ have started in recent years, connecting refugees with work opportunities across Canada. In Halifax, the Atlantic Immigration Pilot is an important initiative focused specifically on supporting employers to sponsor and hire newcomers in their business. The pilot has been an important incentive program for employers in Nova Scotia to hire foreign workers, including refugees⁴²⁷.

According to the IRCC, the Syrian cohort that arrived between November 2015 and December 2016 accessed settlement services at a higher rate than other refugees—87% in comparison to 70%⁴²⁸. The volume of arrivals during this time period placed a huge demand on existing services. A report by the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI) found that balancing case loads along with expectations from funders was a significant hurdle for settlement service providers⁴²⁹.

⁴²⁵ Kilbride, Kenise Murphy, and Paul Anisef. *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, 2001.

⁴²⁶ Helping Newcomers Word.ca. Accessed August 24, 2019. <https://helpingnewcomerswork.ca/about/>

⁴²⁷ “Atlantic Immigration Pilot.” Nova Scotia Immigration. Accessed December 20, 2018.

<https://novascotiainmigration.com/help-for-employers/atlantic-immigration-pilot/>

⁴²⁸ IRCC. *Rapid Impact Evaluation of the Syrian Refugee Initiative*. Immigrant and Refugee Council of Canada- Evaluation Division. 2016.

⁴²⁹ OCASI. *Refugee Settlement Pilot Project Report: For Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada*. Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants. 2017.

Several cities across the country, including Toronto and Winnipeg, have become signatories to immigration agreements with the federal government⁴³⁰. These agreements are intended to streamline resources available to newcomers as well as include cities in the decision-making process. Whether or not smaller cities in Canada engage with the federal government in this way remains to be seen. But if these federal-municipal agreements prove effective, we will see cities across the country pursue such partnerships. There is a need for more research outside of the three major urban centres as to what smaller regions can do to foster opportunities and welcoming communities to make it both possible and beneficial for newcomers to stay⁴³¹.

The political and social climate which governments create can either support or hinder innovation in how young refugees are supported through their transition. Through further engagement with these young people there is an opportunity to develop more informed policies that create space for relevant services and supports. Recreation is one important space for social integration to be supported⁴³². Community initiatives that exist outside of newcomer-specific services has the potential to support

⁴³⁰ Vineberg, Robert. History of federal provincial relations in Canadian immigration. In, "Integration and inclusion of newcomers and minorities across Canada." Ed. Biles, J., Burstein, M., Frideres, J., Tolley, E. and Vineberg, R. (2011). P17-44

⁴³¹ Radford. 2007. IBID.

⁴³² Benimmas, Aïcha, Fadila Boutouchent, and Lamine Kamano. "Relationship Between School and Immigrant Families in French-Language Minority Communities in Moncton, New Brunswick: Parents' Perceptions of Their Children's Integration." In *Canadian Perspectives on Immigration in Small Cities*, pp. 235-253. Springer, Cham, 2017.

this long-term integration⁴³³. Breaking down these silos of services is an important finding from this research that will be discussed in the next chapter.

Technology plays an important role in resettlement, particularly social media. In a study on the resettlement of Syrian youth in Ottawa for example, it was found that social media platforms operated as a transcultural space that allowed young people to become more familiar with their new communities⁴³⁴. While this might not be true of all refugee populations, for Syrian youth, their familiarity with social media provided a space for them to engage with the new culture as well as their own. One key lesson from this research is that technology can be better optimized to provide more support to refugee young people, particularly in terms of language support⁴³⁵.

Finally, ensuring that the resettlement process includes a child protection lens that includes their mental and emotional health is also critical⁴³⁶. This means considering the varying contexts from which refugees come and how factors within these contexts impact their current situation.

⁴³³ Selimos, Erwin Dimitri, and Glynis George. "Welcoming Initiatives and the Social Inclusion of Newcomer Youth: The Case of Windsor, Ontario." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50, no. 3 (2018): 69-89.

⁴³⁴ Veronis, Luisa, Zac Tabler, and Rukhsana Ahmed. "Syrian refugee youth use social media: Building transcultural spaces and connections for resettlement in Ottawa, Canada." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50, no. 2 (2018): 79-99.

⁴³⁵ Marshall, Anne E., Roche, T., Comeau, E., Taknint, J., Butler, K., Pringle, E., Cumming, J., Hagedstedt, E., Deringer, L. and Skrzypczynski, V. *Refugee Youth: Good Practices in Urban Resettlement Contexts*. UN-Habitat Youth and Livelihoods Unit, University of Victoria, Canada. (2016)

⁴³⁶ Davies and Batchelor, 2017. IBID.

a. Service Landscape in Smaller Canadian Cities

This chapter presents some key issues in resettlement in smaller cities in Canada, as they have emerged from recent academic research. As discussed, larger urban centres in Canada have greater numbers of newcomers and as a result, there are more resources available to this population. In this section I will highlight some programs that have been developed for refugee young people outside of Canada's three largest cities. I have focused on how they have optimized the resources in their city to meet their integration needs.

In the Greater Toronto Area alone, there are 9 organizations devoted to refugee services; this does not include grassroots supports that exist but not listed as an official agency⁴³⁷. When you include the other cities in the near vicinity of Toronto, that number jumps to 30. British Columbia is like Ontario in the breadth of services they can provide to refugee youth⁴³⁸. The infrastructure that is in place to provide resettlement support to refugee youth across British Columbia is impressive, with many organizations- both newcomer specific and more general youth organizations- providing programming that supports refugee youth. This is compared to smaller cities that typically have only one settlement services agency, making it clear that the context in which these refugee youth are resettling and integrating is very different in terms of formal service supports. The differences between smaller and larger urban centres in Canada in terms of services

⁴³⁷ Government of Ontario. *Services for Newcomers and Refugees: Refugee Services*. Accessed August 18, 2019. <https://www.ontario.ca/page/services-newcomers-and-refugees#section-1>

⁴³⁸ New to BC: The Library Link for Newcomers. Accessed August 18, 2019. https://newtobc.ca/settlement/immigrant-and-refugee-service-providers/?isp_com=--all--&isp_cat%5B%5D=ca06&isp_cat%5B%5D=ca07

available to refugee young people is important and more research is needed to understand what this means for young people who are resettled in smaller cities. In this dissertation, I have used Halifax as a key example of this. There are important comparisons that can be drawn across the country in cities of similar size and geography.

Manitoba is a unique example in Canada of the role ethnocultural community organizations have played in providing services and supports for refugees, particularly in the Winnipeg area⁴³⁹. Of the 26 ethnocultural organisations that exist in Manitoba, 15 of them offer youth-specific programs and services⁴⁴⁰. One resource they have created for service providers are mental health fact sheets, that give an overview of what distress can look like in refugee young people and how they can best respond with the support they need⁴⁴¹. This work has been relatively recent in Manitoba, and as such the research has been largely anecdotal.⁴⁴² The Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba (IRCOM) runs its own programs for newcomer youth (ages 13-18) as well as collaborating with a larger Youth Agencies Alliance, which fosters partnerships in youth programming and support⁴⁴³. Collaboration between these organizations and others in the wider community, including schools and health care providers, is a critical part of

⁴³⁹ Bucklaschuk, Jill, Janelle Gobin, and Ray Silvius. "Youth Engagement in Ethnocultural Organizations in Winnipeg." Child and Youth Refugee Research Coalition (CYRRC). (2019)

⁴⁴⁰ Bucklaschuk, Gobin and Silvius. 2019. IBID

⁴⁴¹ Government of Manitoba. *Optimizing Well-being and Responding to Emotional Distress of Children and Youth*. Refugee Mental Health and Addictions Fact Sheet for Service Providers. (2016). Accessed August 24, 2019. https://www.gov.mb.ca/health/primarycare/providers/docs/triageguide_cy.pdf

⁴⁴² Bucklaschuk, Gobin and Silvius. 2019. IBID

⁴⁴³ Youth Agencies Alliance. Accessed May 3, 2019. <https://www.youthagenciesalliance.com/about-us>

their success in supporting the integration of these youth⁴⁴⁴. For other cities in Canada, including Halifax, finding ways to engage ethnocultural organizations in this support for refugee young people would be strategic in creating more resources for these youth to access.

Another example of a newcomer youth engagement program can be found in Saskatoon. They place a lot of their focus on skill development for newcomer youth, providing comprehensive instruction on language, Canadian culture, financial literacy, and communication skills. Like the work being done in Winnipeg, young people are connected to resources in the wider community through collaborations between organizations⁴⁴⁵.

In areas with fewer resources for newcomers, collaboration has emerged largely out of necessity to try and meet the needs of refugee youth. The multi-cultural associations of both Fredericton⁴⁴⁶ and Moncton⁴⁴⁷, in New Brunswick, collaborate with the schools and other community agencies in providing education and social support to newcomer children and youth. In Newfoundland, newcomer youth are referred to broader organizations, such as Thrive which is a broader community development organization that has some youth-specific programming⁴⁴⁸.

⁴⁴⁴ Reynolds, Andrew D., and Rachel Bacon. "Interventions supporting the social integration of refugee children and youth in school communities: a review of the literature." *Advances in social work* 18, no. 3 (2018): 745-766.

⁴⁴⁵ Saskatoon Newcomer Youth Engagement Program. Accessed August 18, 2019. <https://nyep.ca/about/>

⁴⁴⁶ Multicultural Association of Fredericton. "Newcomer Youth Programs and Services." Accessed May 3, 2019. <https://mcaf.nb.ca/en/newcomer-youth/>

⁴⁴⁷ Multicultural Association of the Greater Moncton Area. "Settling In." Accessed May 3, 2019. <http://magma-amgm.org/site/index.php/settling-in#intergrating>

⁴⁴⁸ Thrive. Accessed May 3, 2019. <https://www.thrivecyn.ca/youth-development/>

School-based supports are also a common feature across resettlement services in most provinces. In areas with smaller populations however, the diversity of services is limited. All the programs and approaches mentioned here provide opportunities for learning what supports are working well in the resettlement experiences of young people in smaller urban centres across Canada. As these stories are shared, they increase the opportunities we have as a country to make the resettlement experience of young people more positive.

It is important to note, however, that most of the services presented in this section do not differentiate between immigrant and refugee youth. There is a divergence between the experience of immigrant youth and refugee youth in the resettlement process⁴⁴⁹. While immigrant families most likely had time to prepare for their transition to life in Canada, many refugees would not have known to which country they would be settled. As was discussed in previous chapters, the experiences of fleeing conflict and living in temporary dwellings provides an added layer of stress within which refugees are being resettled. The pre-migration experiences influence a different integration experience between the two groups, as refugees often come from more unstable situations and are more likely to have experienced violence and/or trauma⁴⁵⁰.

While refugee young people would receive most of these services, often depending on which city or town they are settled in, there are no federal mandates to

⁴⁴⁹ Berry, John W., Jean S. Phinney, David L. Sam, and Paul Vedder. "Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation." *Applied psychology* 55, no. 3 (2006): 303-332.

⁴⁵⁰ Ferede, Martha K. "Structural factors associated with higher education access for first-generation refugees in Canada: An agenda for research." *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 27, no. 2 (2012): 79-88.

set a standard for settlement agencies concerning what they must provide to young people (outside of the aforementioned immediate needs). That makes their resettlement and integration experiences of exceptional importance for us to understand and improve upon. We know that over half of all refugees coming to Canada are under the age of 18. We also know that refugee young people face a higher risk of violence both in their home country as well as their host country⁴⁵¹. They are a unique part of the newcomer population and understanding their needs can help services be more effective in supporting them. This next section provides an overview of what we know about refugee youth in Canada.

5.2- Outcomes for Refugee Youth in Canada

The literature on refugee children and youth outcomes is highly varied, often leaving the reader with many unanswered questions. In terms of the resettlement experiences of young refugees, there has been relatively little research done in Canada⁴⁵². In the last few years however, new studies have started to address this issue. I present the findings of these studies in this section. More research in this area will be very important for informing how the integration of these young people can be best supported, especially research in the areas of family, mental health, education, and

⁴⁵¹ Davies and Batchelor, 2017. IBID.

⁴⁵² Bucklaschuk, Gobin and Silvius. 2019. IBID

culture and integration⁴⁵³. In this section, I have organized the discussion according to the themes that emerged from a review of the literature. This literature provides context for what refugee young people face when they are resettled in Canada, including sources of stress or conflict. All four of these categories are important parts of a young person's world and are, therefore, resources for their resilience. As will be discussed in the next chapter, there is a need for more research that explores how young refugees conceptualize their resilience, as well as how these objectives are conceptualized by service providers⁴⁵⁴.

a. Family

Within the resettlement process, family relations can become a significant source of stress. The struggle between holding onto traditional culture and adapting to a new home can cause a rift between family members, straining relationships⁴⁵⁵. In 2001, the New Canadian Children and Youth Study (NCCYS) began tracking the health and development of approximately 4,500 newcomer youth in six Canadian cities, including

⁴⁵³ Beiser, Morton, R. Armstrong, L. Ogilvie, A. Rummens, and Jacqueline Oxman-Martinez. "The new Canadian children and youth study. Research to Fill a Gap in Canada's Children's Agenda." (2005).

⁴⁵⁴ Shea, Jennifer M., and Natalie Beausoleil. "Breaking down 'healthism': Barriers to health and fitness as identified by immigrant youth in St. John's, NL, Canada." *Sport, Education and Society* 17, no. 1 (2012): 97-112.

⁴⁵⁵ Hyman, Ilene, Nhi Vu, and Morton Beiser. "Post-migration stresses among Southeast Asian refugee youth in Canada: A research note." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* (2000): 281-293.

[list them here]⁴⁵⁶. The study tracked youth for five years.⁴⁵⁷ The NCCYS found that parenting was a key determining factor in the well-being of newcomer youth, underscoring the need for family-focused programming to be a central part in resettlement supports⁴⁵⁸.

In many cases, migration and resettlement result in changing of roles within the family unit. For example, as young people are usually able to pick up the language faster than their parents, they often act as a translator and service navigator for their parents⁴⁵⁹. This shift in the power relationship between parent and child can pose a challenge for the family dynamics. Morant, Rousseau and Heyman, for example, found that adults and children within the family unit often have different resettlement experiences, with each presenting different needs, challenges, and triumphs⁴⁶⁰. This finding was echoed in interviews with Afghan refugee youth in Vancouver, where the young people shared their appreciation for their cultural heritage, but also welcomed the influence of “Western” norms in ways that were different from their parents⁴⁶¹. This complex perspective on identity allows the agency of young people to be better

⁴⁵⁶ Beiser, Morton, Sofia Puente-Duran, and Feng Hou. "Cultural distance and emotional problems among immigrant and refugee youth in Canada: Findings from the New Canadian Child and Youth Study (NCCYS)." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 49 (2015): 33-45.

⁴⁵⁷ Beiser, Morton, and Feng Hou. "Mental health effects of premigration trauma and postmigration discrimination on refugee youth in Canada." *The Journal of nervous and mental disease* 204, no. 6 (2016): 464-470.

⁴⁵⁸ Beiser. 2015. IBID.

⁴⁵⁹ Hynie, Michaela, Sepali Guruge, and Yogendra B. Shakya. "Family relationships of Afghan, Karen and Sudanese refugee youth." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 44, no. 3 (2013): 11-28.

⁴⁶⁰ Morantz, Gillian, Cecile Rousseau, and Jody Heymann. "The divergent experiences of children and adults in the relocation process: Perspectives of child and parent refugee claimants in Montreal." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 25, no. 1 (2011): 71-92.

⁴⁶¹ Moosa, Al-Rahim. "Cultural reflections of Afghan youth living in Canada." *Forced Migration Review* 40 (2012): 27.

understood - that they are both the recipients of their cultural heritage from their families as well as creators of their own path and ambitions⁴⁶². Beliefs surrounding gender roles and relationships with elders were issues where youth felt they were different from their family. It was this engagement with Canadian culture that often creates distance and division within families⁴⁶³.

The migration and resettlement experiences of families greatly influences their ability to integrate into their new communities. Each family member brings their experiences from their own, individual journey which contributes to the atmosphere at home in terms of the willingness and/or ability to make new friends, learn the culture, and becoming active members of their community. This section has established that families play an important role in a young refugee's resettlement and integration. There is agreement in the existing research concerning the need for service providers to adopt a family-focused approach, allowing for this potential resilience resource to be available to young people⁴⁶⁴.

⁴⁶² Hart, Jason. "Beyond struggle and aid: Children's identities in a Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan." *Children and youth on the front line: Ethnography, armed conflict and displacement* (2004): 167-188.

⁴⁶³ Moosa. 2012. IBID

⁴⁶⁴ Beiser, Morton, Sofia Puente-Duran, and Feng Hou. "Cultural distance and emotional problems among immigrant and refugee youth in Canada: Findings from the New Canadian Child and Youth Study (NCCYS)." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 49 (2015): 33-45.

b. Mental Health

The overall health and well-being of refugee youth is a central part of their resettlement experience. Fazel et al. found for example that 20-50% of refugee youth who resettle in a high-income country such as Canada experience mental health problems⁴⁶⁵. Research on the health of refugees has largely been a story of statistics, lacking significant qualitative discussion about the perceptions of health on the part of refugees.

The area of newcomer youth health and well-being has been dominated by an assumed predisposition to problems such as mental illness, behavioural problems, and developmental disorders. Yet identifying the reasons for why this is happening is a neglected area of research⁴⁶⁶. Considering factors such as migration stressors, country of origin, social support, gender, and cultural norms allows for a multivariate approach to understanding the well-being of young refugees⁴⁶⁷. The rates of mental illness do vary within the refugee population based on several indicators, including nationality, gender, and age. In a review conducted by Hansson et al., the authors found that most studies focused on rates of depression within refugees had varying results⁴⁶⁸. Furthermore,

⁴⁶⁵ Fazel, Mina, Ruth V. Reed, Catherine Panter-Brick, and Alan Stein. "Mental health of displaced and refugee children resettled in high-income countries: risk and protective factors." *The Lancet* 379, no. 9812 (2012): 266-282.

⁴⁶⁶ Beiser and Hou. 2016. IBID

⁴⁶⁷ Beiser, Puente-Duran, and Hou. 2015. IBID.

⁴⁶⁸ Hansson, Emily K., Andrew Tuck, Steve Lurie, and Kwame McKenzie. "Rates of mental illness and suicidality in immigrant, refugee, ethnocultural, and racialized groups in Canada: a review of the literature." *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 57, no. 2 (2012): 111-121.

suicide rates were found to be relatively low among refugees, though there was variance across the different indicators including gender, nationality, and age.

Most of the literature that currently exists on young refugees in Canada is focused on mental health. *Canadian Psychology* recently devoted a special issue to the topic of newcomers, with studies focused on pre- and post-migration challenges and their implications on mental health^{469,470}. Guruge and Butt identified a list of determinants of mental illness in this population: “pre-migration experiences, number of years since arriving in Canada, post-migration family and school environment, in- and out-group problems, discrimination, and lack of equitable access to health care”⁴⁷¹. They also noted that female youth experienced more mental health problems than male youth.

However, there are important factors that have been found to mitigate the negative impact of these stressors and challenges that refugee youth face⁴⁷². In a scoping review of research on immigrant and refugee youth mental health in Canada, Khan et al identified that factors such as family, school and cultural connectedness helped reduce settlement stress and promote mental health⁴⁷³. The role that these and

⁴⁶⁹ Canadian Psychology, Vol 57, No 4. 2016.

⁴⁷⁰ Hadfield, Kristin, Aly Ostrowski, and Michael Ungar. "What can we expect of the mental health and well-being of Syrian refugee children and adolescents in Canada?." *Canadian Psychology/psychologie canadienne* 58, no. 2 (2017): 194

⁴⁷¹ Guruge, Sepali, and Hissan Butt. "A scoping review of mental health issues and concerns among immigrant and refugee youth in Canada: Looking back, moving forward." *Canadian Journal of Public Health* 106, no. 2 (2015): e72-e78.

⁴⁷² Guruge and Butt. 2015. IBID.

⁴⁷³ Khan, Attia, Nazilla Khanlou, Jacqueline Stol, and Vicky Tran. "Immigrant and Refugee Youth Mental Health in Canada: A Scoping Review of Empirical Literature." In *Today's Youth and Mental Health*, pp. 3-20. Springer, Cham, 2018.

other social determinants of health play in the long-term health and well-being of newcomers is important for policy makers to consider when funding integration supports, as these determinants (whether it be poverty, housing, or employment) will impact the effectiveness of other supports. For example, according to Beiser's research on immigration in Canada, poverty is one of the most powerful factors placing the mental health of children and youth in jeopardy.⁴⁷⁴ Considering that almost half of Syrian refugees who recently arrived in Canada report having accessed a food bank at least once since they arrived,⁴⁷⁵ it is important to consider how the social determinants of health can be supported for refugee young people.

According to the IRCC, stigma and concerns about privacy were two of the main reasons that were reported for not seeking out or accessing mental health support. In a recent research study with Syrian refugees in Canada for example, it was found that they were much less likely to seek out mental health care than people who were born in Canada, instead turning to family and friends for support⁴⁷⁶. The IRCC found that delays in receiving treatment, language barriers, and isolation were the leading reasons for a declining health status⁴⁷⁷. In a longitudinal study done on the engagement of immigrant youth with mental health care in Ontario, Saunders et al. found that newcomers are less likely to access outpatient mental health services than more long-term residents in

⁴⁷⁴ Beiser. 2005. IBID

⁴⁷⁵ IRCC. 2016. IBID.

⁴⁷⁶ Oda, Anna, Andrew Tuck, Branka Agic, Michaela Hynie, Brenda Roche, and Kwame McKenzie. "Health care needs and use of health care services among newly arrived Syrian refugees: a cross-sectional study." *CMAJ open* 5, no. 2 (2017): E354.

⁴⁷⁷ IRCC. 2016. IBID.

Canada⁴⁷⁸. This raises the concern about lack of access to preventative mental health care for this population. Indeed Edge, Newbold, and McKeary found that the young refugees were concerned about the mental health of themselves and their peers. For many, there is a reluctance to discuss mental health issues, mostly because of cultural norms around this topic⁴⁷⁹.

In a recent knowledge synthesis report on programs for refugee youth in Canada, one of the main findings was the need for culturally appropriate mental health services⁴⁸⁰. One example of how this could be done is Project SHIFA (Supporting the Health of Immigrant Families and Adolescents) in Boston, MA. Project SHIFA is a School-based Trauma Systems Therapy program for Somali refugee youth run through the Children's Hospital in Boston⁴⁸¹. This project adopts a multi-tiered approach to services for refugee youth that engages with schools, community groups, mental health systems, and the Somali community within the Boston area. There have been positive outcomes

⁴⁷⁸ Saunders, Natasha Ruth, Michael Lebenbaum, Hong Lu, Therese A. Stukel, Marcelo Luis Urquia, and Astrid Guttmann. "Trends in mental health service utilisation in immigrant youth in Ontario, Canada, 1996–2012: a population-based longitudinal cohort study." *BMJ open* 8, no. 9 (2018): e022647.

⁴⁷⁹ Edge, Sara, K. Bruce Newbold, and Marie McKeary. "Exploring socio-cultural factors that mediate, facilitate, & constrain the health and empowerment of refugee youth." *Social Science & Medicine* 117 (2014): 34-41.

⁴⁸⁰ Shields, J. and Lujan, Omar. "Immigrant Youth in Canada: A Literature Review of Migrant Youth Settlement and Service Issues." CERIS- Immigrant Women, Youth and Seniors: A Project funded by Immigration and Refugee Council of Canada. 2018. Accessed May 30, 2019. <http://ceris.ca/IWYS/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/IWYS-Knowledge-Synthesis-Report-Youth-report-Sept-2018.pdf>

⁴⁸¹ The Center for Health and Healthcare in Schools. *Project SHIFA: Supporting the Health of Immigrant Families and Adolescents School-based Trauma Systems Therapy for Somali Adolescent Refugees Children's Hospital Boston, Massachusetts*. Accessed August 18, 2019. <http://healthinschools.org/caring-across-communities/childrens-hospital-boston/#sthash.9f8YFC4B.dpbs>

from this project, mainly an increased access to mental health resources for refugee young people⁴⁸².

c. Education

The third area of the existing literature to be analysed here is education.

Korntheuer et al conducted a comparative study of education policy in Toronto, Canada and Munich, Germany focused on implications for refugee youth⁴⁸³. They found that refugee youth in both contexts were forced away from educational pathways more often than immigrant youth or Canadian-born youth because of economic difficulties in their new homes. They linked these challenges with unintended impacts of refugee resettlement policies that keep refugees from fully integrating. Similarly, Francis argues that Canadian resettlement policies have effectively dehumanized this population, casting them as criminal figures where they inevitably end up in this predicament by virtue of their identity and the cycle this creates⁴⁸⁴. This discourse is often amplified in media and politics⁴⁸⁵.

⁴⁸² Ellis, B. Heidi, Alisa B. Miller, Saida Abdi, Colleen Barrett, Emily A. Blood, and Theresa S. Betancourt. "Multi-tier mental health program for refugee youth." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 81, no. 1 (2013): 129.

⁴⁸³ Korntheuer, Annette, Ashley Korn, Michaela Hynie, Baptista Shimwe, and Lina Homa. "Education Pathways: Policy Implications for Refugee Youth in Germany and Canada." In *Today's Youth and Mental Health*, pp. 287-304. Springer, Cham, 2018.

⁴⁸⁴ Francis, Jenny. "Human rights violations as humanist performance: Dehumanizing criminalized refugee youth in Canada." *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien* 63, no. 1 (2019): 129-144.

⁴⁸⁵ Hynie. 2018. IBID

Education is an important space in which young refugees can engage with their new communities⁴⁸⁶. Creating space for learning - including language and culture - is a vital support for young people as they try to get their bearings in this new environment. If these supports do not exist, the potential stress and negative impact this can have on young people can affect their long-term development and ability to become contributing members of society⁴⁸⁷.

Language is often the greatest obstacle that refugees need to overcome. For example, of the total number of Syrian GARs who arrived in Canada between November 2105 and December 2016, 92% declared that they had little or no knowledge of either English or French upon arriving in the country⁴⁸⁸. This poses significant issues for translation and access to services and supports.

When a young refugee arrives in Canada, they are placed in a school grade level according to their age⁴⁸⁹. This poses a challenge for those who have been out of the classroom for several years. Starting off behind their peers, while struggling to communicate in English, has been shown to negatively impact their ability to complete high school. Consequently, newcomer youth, particularly boys, are over-represented in the number of high school dropouts⁴⁹⁰. We also know that refugee youth are more likely

⁴⁸⁶ Wilkinson, Lori. "Factors influencing the academic success of refugee youth in Canada." *Journal of youth studies* 5, no. 2 (2002): 173-193.

⁴⁸⁷ Marshall, et al. 2016. IBID.

⁴⁸⁸ IRCC. 2016. IBID.

⁴⁸⁹ Francis, Jenny, and Miu-Chung Yan. "Bridging the gaps: Access to formal support services among young African immigrants and refugees in Metro Vancouver." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 48, no. 1 (2016): 77-100.

⁴⁹⁰ Frønes, Ivar. "Status zero youth in the welfare society." *Child Indicators Research* 3, no. 3 (2010): 313-326.

to be unemployed than Canadian-born youth⁴⁹¹. This has implications for their well-being, but also for their subsequent ability to get a job⁴⁹². According to the IRCC, refugee youth often struggle with navigating the new education system⁴⁹³. Many have had their education interrupted for a significant length of time, making it difficult for them to catch up to the material being taught to their age-group. There is also confusion about what is needed to apply to universities and pursue post-secondary education.

Schools can offer newcomer youth a sense of belonging in the wider community^{494,495}. Factors such as an inclusive environment, relationally engaged teachers, and family-focused support are an important part of what makes a school a positive resilience resource for young people⁴⁹⁶. Providing English as an additional language (EAL) classes is necessary for supporting newcomer youth. However, in order to foster integration, schools also need to find ways to nurture relationships between newcomers and Canadian-born students⁴⁹⁷.

Training for teachers and school personnel in the area of refugee education is limited in Canada, forcing teachers to turn to community organizations in order to

⁴⁹¹ Shields and Omar. 2018. IBID.

⁴⁹² Wilkinson, Lori, Miu Chung Yan, A. Ka Tat Tsang, Rick Sin, and Sean Lauer. "The school-to-work transitions of newcomer youth in Canada." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 44, no. 3 (2013): 29-44.

⁴⁹³ IRCC. 2016. IBID.

⁴⁹⁴ A sense of belonging is defined as the extent to which students feel personally accepted, respected, included, and supported by others in the school social environment. (Goodnow. 1993. p80)

⁴⁹⁵ Goodenow, Carol. "The psychological sense of school membership among adolescents: Scale development and educational correlates." *Psychology in the Schools* 30, no. 1 (1993): 79-90.

⁴⁹⁶ Liebenberg, Joubert and Foucault. 2017. IBID.

⁴⁹⁷ Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo, and Carola Suárez-Orozco. "Moving stories: Immigrant youth adapt to change." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 4, no. 1 (2007): 251-259.

connect their students with the services they need⁴⁹⁸. These partnerships play a positive role in fostering community connectedness. However, the schools cannot afford to be void of effective supports for these young people. The reality is that school-based programs for refugee youth, specifically focused on mental health and well-being, are limited in Canada⁴⁹⁹. However, a best practice identified in a study on integration support for refugee youth in Canada is the need for schools to take a holistic approach to education, offering support to families and their communities⁵⁰⁰. The challenge with this is often the funding constraints schools face. This is where policy needs to adapt to the current need, making resources available to schools so that they can play this supportive role in their communities. Traditional policy lines- such as education and immigration- also need to be crossed in the interest of creating an effective and cohesive policy response to the needs of refugee young people⁵⁰¹.

d. Culture and Integration

Integration is a concept that is discussed throughout this dissertation. While there are many definitions of “successful integration”, there is some agreement that integration is a “dynamic, multi-faceted two-way process which requires adaptation on

⁴⁹⁸ Stewart, Jan. "Community Initiatives to Support Refugee Youth: A Canadian Perspective." In *Educational Policies and Practices of English-Speaking Refugee Resettlement Countries*, pp. 113-130. Brill Sense, 2019.

⁴⁹⁹ Young, Marta, and J. Chan. "School-based interventions for refugee children and youth." *Immigrant and refugee students in Canada* (2014): 31-53.

⁵⁰⁰ Stewart. 2019. IBID.

⁵⁰¹ Hajer. 2003. IBID.

the part of the newcomers, but also the society of destination”⁵⁰². There is a growing body of literature focused on how young people experience resettlement services and what their needs are for supporting their long-term integration⁵⁰³. A significant portion of this literature calls for more inclusion of youth voice in policy making to improve existing resettlement supports⁵⁰⁴.

One important theme from the existing research in Canada is the need for collaboration between schools, community organizations, and settlement services to support refugee youth^{505,506}. As will be discussed in the next chapter, fostering these spaces where refugee youth can access support is an important part of supporting the resilience and long-term integration of these young people.

The Canadian Council of Refugees created the Newcomer Youth Civic Engagement Project (NYCE) in 2017 as a national initiative to create opportunities for newcomer youth to take a leadership role in their communities and help identify issues that need to be addressed⁵⁰⁷. Thirteen communities across Canada were involved, with approximately 450 youth participants. The result of this program was the creation of small projects across the country where young people could get involved and share their resettlement experiences and how host communities could better support newcomer

⁵⁰² Yu, Soojin, Estelle Ouellet, and Angelyn Warmington. "Refugee integration in Canada: A survey of empirical evidence and existing services." *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 24, no. 2 (2007).

⁵⁰³ Selimos, Dimitri, and George. 2018. IBID.

⁵⁰⁴ Van Ngo, Hieu. "Patchwork, sidelining and marginalization: Services for immigrant youth." *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 7, no. 1 (2009): 82-100.

⁵⁰⁵ Liebenberg, Joubert and Foucault. 2017. IBID.

⁵⁰⁶ Reynolds, Andrew D., and Rachel Bacon. "Interventions supporting the social integration of refugee children and youth in school communities: a review of the literature." *Advances in social work* 18, no. 3 (2018): 745-766.

⁵⁰⁷ Bucklaschuk, Gobin and Silvius. 2019. IBID.

youth. Initiatives like this have the potential to effect real change if service providers and policy makers are committed to the process and to making necessary reforms.

Opportunities for employment and engagement in their new home also help young refugees to integrate in their communities⁵⁰⁸. There is a tendency to view this population as solely in need of help while neglecting their identity as capable young people with talents and the ability to contribute to their new communities. It is important to note that programs and services for refugee youth must consider both their vulnerability as well as their agency. This strengths-based approach to programs and services creates more opportunities to support the resilience of these young people⁵⁰⁹.

With various competing political agendas shaping public opinion, refugees can encounter resistance to their presence simply based on their identity as refugees⁵¹⁰. Consequently, many often hide their status as a refugee when interacting with others in order to avoid prejudices. However, for those who are visible minorities, this becomes a more complicated and often unattainable goal⁵¹¹.

In a recent study done with Syrian refugees who were resettled in Alberta, it was found that the presence of positive social relationships was key to successful integration⁵¹². In fact, refugees who were settled in more rural areas in Alberta reported

⁵⁰⁸ Yu, Ouellet, and Warmington. 2007. IBID.

⁵⁰⁹ Marshall, et al. 2016. IBID.

⁵¹⁰ Bryan, Catherine, and Myriam Denov. "Separated refugee children in Canada: The construction of risk identity." *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 9, no. 3 (2011): 242-266.

⁵¹¹ Chareka, Ottilia. 2017. IBID.

et, Julie, and Gayatri Moorthi. "The Settlement Experiences of Syrian Newcomers in Alberta: Social Connections and Interactions." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50, no. 2 (2018): 101-120.

a greater engagement with community organizations, though they were less involved in the wider community activities. Overall, this study found that refugees across the different centres in the province often faced social exclusion because of their status. This tells us that fostering positive relationships and social connections is an important part of integration support for refugee young people.

In a longitudinal study of the social networks among Syrian refugees in Montreal, it was found that strong social connections help prevent isolation and contribute to strong social capital- essentially the resources in the community that individuals can access^{513,514}. The importance of a strong social network is emphasized in examples where none exist. In a study done with Sudanese and Somali refugees in two major cities in Canada, the participants identified a depleted social network and a lack of peer supports as negatively impacting their resettlement experience⁵¹⁵.

In June 2019, the IRCC released a report on the experiences of Syrian refugees who arrived in Canada between November 2015, and December 2016. One interesting finding was that 90% of those surveyed remained in the original province of settlement. While this varies according to where they were settled, as was discussed in a previous section, this is a higher number than usual. For many, finding a community- both ethnic

⁵¹³ The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has provided the following definition of social capital: "networks, together with shared norms, values, and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or among groups"

⁵¹⁴ Hanley, Jill, Adnan Al Mhamied, Janet Cleveland, Oula Hajjar, Ghayda Hassan, Nicole Ives, Rim Khyar, and Michaela Hynie. "The Social Networks, Social Support and Social Capital of Syrian Refugees Privately Sponsored to Settle in Montreal: Indications for Employment and Housing During Their Early Experiences of Integration." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50, no. 2 (2018): 123-148.

⁵¹⁵ Makwarimba, Edward, Miriam Stewart, Laura Simich, Knox Makumbe, Edward Shizha, and Sharon Anderson. "Sudanese and Somali refugees in Canada: Social support needs and preferences." *International Migration* 51, no. 5 (2013): 106-119.

and religious- of which they could feel a part was a significant factor in their willingness to stay.⁵¹⁶ The majority reported that their communities were very welcoming to newcomers.

In a study looking specifically at friend-support for young people who had experienced trauma, the authors found that friendships and peer support went a long way in preventing depression and other negative mental health outcomes⁵¹⁷. Similarly, Stacey Wilson-Forsberg's research in rural New Brunswick found that the community of Florenceville-Bristol offered a unique example of how an engaged community can help create a welcoming and inclusive place for newcomers⁵¹⁸. She found that people were making a big effort with the youth through schools, recreation, and other community programs to engage them in community life and help them feel at home. As defined in this dissertation, integration is a "two-way" process⁵¹⁹, requiring newcomers to adapt to their new home but also for host communities and institutions to strive to be more inclusive. Participation in civic life is an important part of that process, supporting a sense of belonging and fostering the concept of good citizenship^{520,521}. What is important

⁵¹⁶ IRCC. 2016. IBID.

⁵¹⁷ Powers, Abigail, Kerry J. Ressler, and Rebekah G. Bradley. "The protective role of friendship on the effects of childhood abuse and depression." *Depression and anxiety* 26, no. 1 (2009): 46-53.

⁵¹⁸ Wilson-Forsberg, Stacey. *Getting Used to the Quiet: Immigrant Adolescents' Journey to Belonging in New Brunswick, Canada*. McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2012.

⁵¹⁹ Chareka, Otilia. "Dilemmas and Challenges of Democratic Participation of Immigrants in Small Atlantic Canadian Communities." In *Canadian Perspectives on Immigration in Small Cities*, pp. 211-232. Springer, Cham, 2017.

⁵²⁰ Mondak, Jeffery J. *Personality and the foundations of political behavior*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

⁵²¹ Noltemeyer, Amity L., and Kevin R. Bush. "Adversity and resilience: A synthesis of international research." *School Psychology International* 34, no. 5 (2013): 474-487.

for supporting the resilience of these young people is to help create a place within our society where they can proudly identify with their ethnic identities as well as Canadian culture⁵²². Both provide protective factors that can support a young person's resilience.

5.3- Conclusion

The research undertaken to date suggests that the solution to the integration needs of newcomers is not separate programs and services but an increase in the cultural competency of existing services to reach out to the population in an effective way while not segregating them from the rest of the population. The current literature shows us that there are some significant barriers to their integration that often stem from a lack of policy, or insufficient policy. As this section has demonstrated, cities across the country are trying to find ways to support the resettlement of refugee young people. The existing literature on refugee young people in Canada largely focuses on the three largest cities in the country, with more research needed in smaller urban settings. This is a gap that this research has attempted to address through its case study of the experience of Halifax. The next chapter will present the findings of this research and the implications for supporting the resilience of refugee young people.

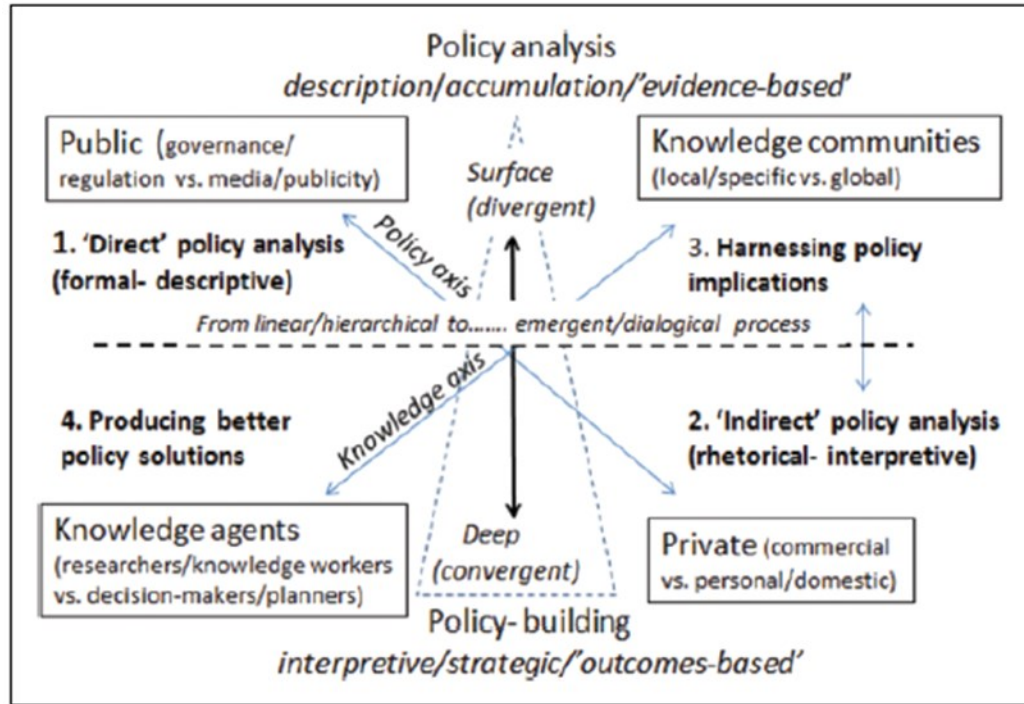
⁵²² Costigan, Catherine L., Céline M. Koryzma, Josephine M. Hua, and Lauren J. Chance. "Ethnic identity, achievement, and psychological adjustment: Examining risk and resilience among youth from immigrant Chinese families in Canada." *Cultural diversity and ethnic minority psychology* 16, no. 2 (2010): 264.

Chapter 6- Findings

There is a rich story to tell about Halifax's response to refugees who have been settled in the region. Many good people are involved in supporting these newcomers through their resettlement, and this chapter will present what these services look like. In keeping with the Integrated Model of Policy Research (see Figure 9), outlined in the methodology chapter of this dissertation, a policy analysis and case study were conducted simultaneously within a grounded theory framework. In my analysis I used a constant comparison approach both between interviews, and between interviews and the policy and research findings I gathered through the policy analysis. This technique, together with the coding of all data, allowed me to identify themes directly from these sources. In this chapter I present my findings and key theoretical insights. In keeping with grounded theory, these themes have been drawn directly from the data following a systematic approach to identifying codes and themes that can then be connected into a unifying theory, presented in the discussion of this chapter. It is from these findings that policy recommendations will be drawn in the following chapter.

The horizontal axis of Figure 9 captures this emergent process in which findings and theories can be identified through the data collected.

Figure 9- Integrated Model of Policy Research: Beyond “policy gaps”. 2016



This discussion on the contents of my findings will be organized according to the research questions that have guided this dissertation, as well as the themes that have emerged through the data collection. The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings of this research. See Table 2 for a summary of these findings and themes organized according to the levels of the Bronfenbrenner social ecological model. These findings will be used to both draw conclusions on theory as it relates to service provision, as well as support the policy recommendations presented in the next chapter.

6.1- Summary of Findings and Themes

Table 2 – Bronfenbrenner’s Social Ecological Model: A Summary of Findings and Themes

Individual Level

- **Mental Health Support:** Mental health services and supports are a huge gap for refugees. Despite the apparent strength of refugees, we cannot dismiss the mental health needs that exist.

Micro-system

- **English and Communication Barriers:** Serving a population that, for the most part, does not speak the same language is an incredibly difficult task, requiring thoughtful and creative policy solutions to make sure their needs do not go unnoticed.
- **Families** play an important role in the resettlement experiences of young people, making them key actors in supporting their long-term integration.

Meso-system

- In Halifax, there are two main organizations that offer support specific for refugee young people- **ISANS and the YMCA**.
- **Schools** are a main hub in terms of access for and to these young people and the opportunities they need for language training and integration support.
- Traditional youth organizations in Halifax **do not have a newcomer focus** in their programming.

Exo-system

- There is **no policy** in the IRPA directly addressing young people’s integration if they are being settled as part of the family unit.

- **Interim Federal Health Plan (IFHP) coverage:** Significant gaps keep the IFHP from effectively supporting the overall health and well-being of refugees.
- A significant gap is the need for **more cohesive service provision** for refugees. Even though Halifax is a smaller city, the disconnect between various forms of service provision remains a problem.
- There were some important positive outcomes from the arrival of a large cohort of **Syrian refugees** in the last few years, such as an increase in resources made available to service providers who work with refugees, as well as an increase in public awareness about issues facing refugees.
- **Accessibility of Services:** Language, lack of funding, transportation, and an absence of youth-focused policies and inadequate policies all challenge young refugees' ability to engage with existing supports.

Macro-system

- **Cultural competency** across service providers in the city has the potential to facilitate increased resilience resources for refugees as well as to improve the public perception of newcomers.
- **The Label of "Refugee":** A possible barrier for refugees resettling in Halifax.
- **The Importance of Integration:** Supporting integration is a vital part of resettlement. Integration requires long-term strategies to support a young person's effort to build a new life and become a contributing member of society.

Theoretical Findings

- The interaction of resilience resources across the different levels of the social ecological model is an important dimension of serving refugee young people. Schools are a prime example of this interaction, as the resilience resources available are influenced directly by policy, and by their ability to be inclusive,

welcoming environments. Supports that exist in different systems of a young person's life often influence each other for better or worse.

- Policy that adopts an ecological perspective is necessary for effectively supporting the integration of refugee young people. Effective integration requires resilience resources to exist in all systems of the young person's environment.

6.2- What is in place in Halifax to support refugee children and youth from war-affected regions? How has the resilience of these refugee young people been supported in their transition to life in Canada?

This section will respond directly to two guiding research questions in this dissertation:

- What is in place in Halifax to support refugee children and youth from war-affected regions?
- How has the resilience of these young people been supported in their transition to life in Canada?

As was presented in chapter 2, the service providers included in this research were those who had some mandate to serve young people more broadly. This was done to capture where informal as well as formal services exist in the community where refugee young people can engage. Resilience theory provides a compelling approach to understanding services for young refugees in that it places the experience of engaging

with supports as a key protective process for young people through their resettlement and integration. Figure 10 shows the complete list of organizations who were interviewed for this research.

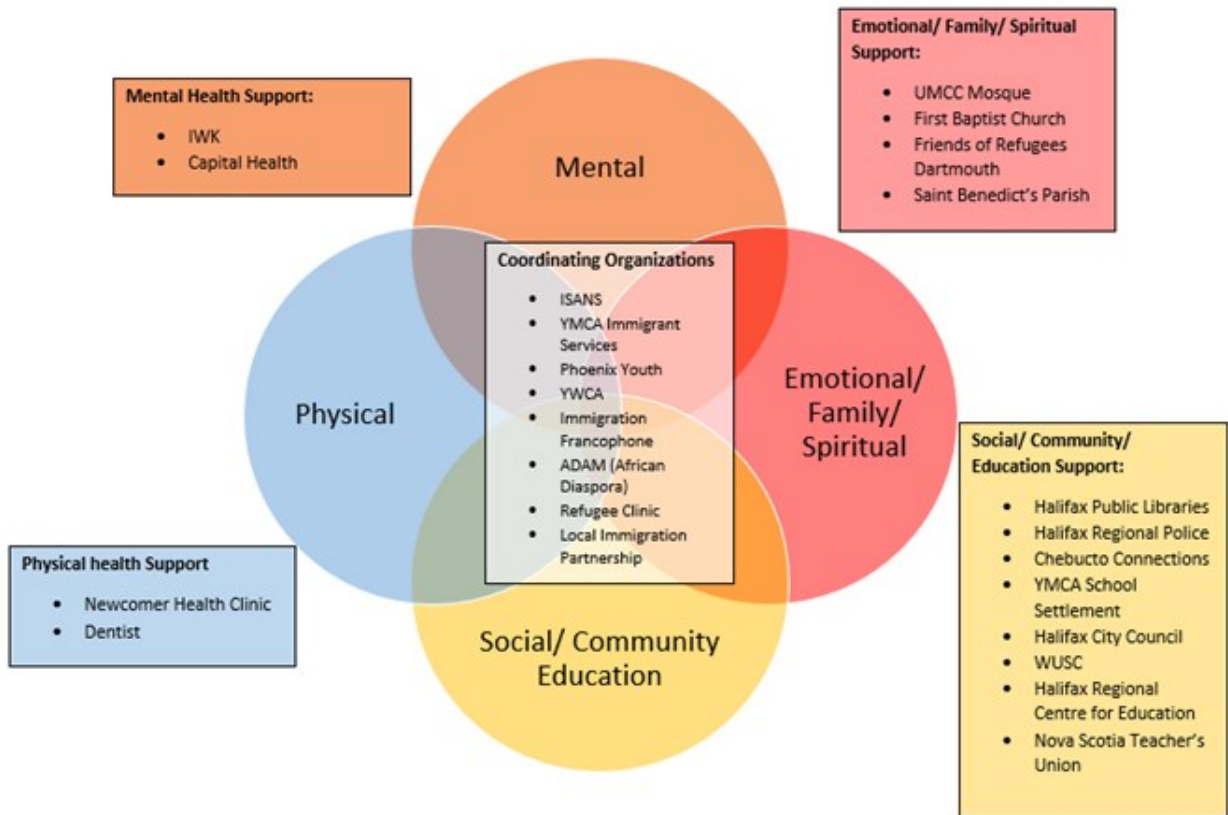


Figure 10- Map of Services for Refugee Young People in the HRM

ISANS and the YMCA are the organizations in Halifax that have programs and services specifically designed for newcomer and refugee young people. The young adult services provided through ISANS are targeted at people between 18 and 25 years old. These services include employment support, life skills development, recreation partnerships in the community, support groups, and language support. ISANS has

recently held community events that create a platform for these young people to share their stories. This creates opportunities to educate the wider community concerning the struggles refugee young people face in their resettlement and integration journeys.

It is important to note that services for those younger than 18 has been largely delegated to the YMCA Immigrant Services. One of the main things the YMCA runs is school settlement program⁵²³. School settlement workers are assigned a school, or a group of schools, where they act as the entry-person for newcomer young people as they first arrive. They help orient them and their families with the school system here and support them as they start to attend classes. These individuals play an important roll in the initial phase of a young person's resettlement, acting as their advocate, assisting them as they settle into the new school system. Schools are the main hub for services to refugee youth, whether it be language training or some other introduction to Canadian culture. Students spend on average 7 hours a day in school, thus making them a very important place to consider how newcomer supports are provided. This will be discussed later in this section.

In addition to school settlement, the YMCA runs a Youth Outreach program which focuses on youth between 13 and 18 years old. Youth Outreach provides a range of programs and activities, including recreation, field trips, volunteer opportunities, leadership development, homework clubs, and girls and guys groups⁵²⁴. These

⁵²³ YMCA. "YMCA School Settlement." YMCA of Greater Halifax/ Dartmouth. Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://www.ymcafx.ca/ymca-school-settlement/>

⁵²⁴ YMCA Youth Outreach, Accessed April 24, 2019. <http://www.ymcafx.ca/youth-outreach-young-adult-programs-immigrants/>

programs are usually hosted at the YMCA location in Fairview, though local libraries have been an important location for some of their services, particularly the homework club.

The importance of youth-centred services will be discussed later in this chapter. But it is important to note here that the YMCA has been a leader in advocating for youth engagement in programming.

“We try to invest so much in building relationships. So, when we hired someone here, their first 2 months is just [to get] to know the youth. Get to know them, build that relationship, that trust and building everything.”

Fadi Hamdan, Manager Child and Youth Settlement, YMCA

While there are many different service providers included in this research, there were a limited number who had been specifically involved with services for refugee youth. Even though Halifax is a smaller city, it was not widely known where refugee young people could go for support, outside of ISANS and the YMCA. Some traditional youth serving organizations in the city did not participate in this research because they felt they did not have a newcomer-specific lens from which to discuss how to serve this population. Even looking at ISANS and the YMCA, their programs for newcomer youth do not differentiate between immigrant and refugee. This is important in helping young people to integrate and not feel segregated because of their migration status. What this means, however, is that the specific needs of those with refugee experience may be overlooked.

In this dissertation, the definition of a young person was kept deliberately broad, including anyone under the age of 25. What I found was that services for young refugee children, outside of the school setting, do not exist. A study of services for children so young involves a very different focus, especially in terms of youth engagement.

As noted in the previous chapter, Halifax has a long history of receiving refugees from around the world. ISANS remains the frontline response vehicle for newcomers into the region. This is a distinctive feature of smaller urban centres, like Halifax, which have one resettlement organization serving refugees as opposed to several⁵²⁵. Specifically, for government assisted refugees, they provide settlement counselling and support, connecting people with services, housing, and many other training opportunities.

Important initiatives have started in the HRM in recent years. For example, the Newcomer Health Clinic is a unique collaboration to provide primary health care to refugees, improving their access to the healthcare system. They follow the primary care amplification model which uses a beacon practice, where health care providers create a hub of services for refugees⁵²⁶. This clinic has received a lot of attention because of their work and has grown significantly in recent years. Members from the clinic were eager to participate in this research, as reflected in this chapter.

⁵²⁵ Akbari, A. and Ramos, H. "Doing immigration differently in secondary centres." *Canadian Diversity*. Vol 16. No. 1. (2019). 3-4.

⁵²⁶ Kohler, Graeme, Timothy Holland, Ashley Sharpe, Mandi Irwin, Tara Sampalli, Kolten MacDonell, Natalie Kidd et al. "The newcomer health clinic in Nova Scotia: a beacon clinic to support the health needs of the refugee population." *International journal of health policy and management* 7, no. 12 (2018): 1085.

To support recent arrivals one noteworthy project is the Halifax Local Immigration Partnership (HLIP)⁵²⁷, which was founded in 2013. Such local immigration partnerships are a type of initiative taking place across Canada. HLIP builds partnerships across sectors in the city to make Halifax a more welcoming and inclusive place for newcomers. They work with partners to improve access to the labour market for newcomers, help coordinate newcomer services, and strengthen cultural competency in the community, all to support integration. These local immigration partnerships exist across the country. In a recent evaluation of the immigration settlement program, one of the main recommendations to the IRCC was to develop a plan for realizing the potential contributions that these groups can make to the settlement process.

Chebucto Connections runs a program called Pathways to Education⁵²⁸, which works with high school-aged youth in the Spryfield area to support their education and provides opportunities for them to go on to post-secondary education, if that is something they want. While this is not specific to newcomer youth, the demographic of the Spryfield area is very diverse, with the second largest number of refugee families being settled in the HRM.

Many interviewees reflected on how their engagement with refugee youth has had a positive impact on their own wellbeing.

⁵²⁷ HRM. *“Halifax Local Immigration Partnership.”* Halifax Regional Municipality. Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://www.halifax.ca/about-halifax/newcomers/halifax-local-immigration-partnership>

⁵²⁸ Pathways to Education. Pathways Halifax. Accessed May 30, 2019. <https://www.pathwaystoeducation.ca/halifax-spryfield>

“I can only speak for myself, but I counted it a blessing and an honor and privilege to have them in my room. Like I’ve never felt more Canadian than I did when these students were figuring out what it was like to be Canadian in my class.”

Paul Wozney, President, Nova Scotia Teacher’s Union

At the municipal level, initiatives such as a free bus pass were provided to refugees for their first year in Halifax. Also, subsidized recreation fees were made available as a way of engaging newcomers in healthy exercise and community activities. While there are some struggles related to the capacity of a small city like Halifax to respond to the needs to refugees, there are also some advantages to being a smaller, more connected city.

“I think in general our city is actually a perfect size for immigrants because it is easy for settlement agencies like us to have very close working relationships with other agencies and other service providers. It is easier for service providers to contact us, to partner on things or to problem solve on issues.”

Wenche Gausdal, ISANS, Director of Programs, Settlement,
Community Integration and Support Services

Many different interviewees expressed the view that being in a small city made connecting with other service providers simpler than in a bigger urban centre. The importance of collaboration in providing services cannot be overstated, as supporting

people through the settlement process requires different moving pieces, such as housing, education, financial support, and health care, to ideally operate in conjunction with each other. This seamless provision of services has not, however, been realized in Halifax.

It is one thing for services that are directly intended for newcomers to be prepared to serve them effectively, but it is also important for the general public to be made more aware of what newcomers face upon arrival in Canada and where the needs are.

“But we always try to encourage not just us who work with refugees. We need everybody to work with refugees and immigrants - everybody in every place you go to have a positive experience.”

Fadi Hamdan - Manager Child and Youth Settlement, YMCA

Many businesses, organizations, etc., have asked to receive cultural competency training for their employees as a way of better equipping them to serve newcomers, and to make a newcomer’s experience more positive and fulfilling. This free training is offered by ISANS, upon request, and it is hoped that there will be more interest in this program in the future.

“It's one thing to have free access to get in some of these programs, and it's another thing were they actually go to these organizations and feel welcomed and to feel like the staff obviously reflect the population that they serve and

they're able to communicate with the staff people at the front desk... and for an organization to do these things without having to rely on ISANS all the time.”

Anonymous, service provider in the Halifax area

In Halifax, as noted above, there are two main organizations that offer support specific for refugee young people - ISANS and the YMCA. As was previously mentioned, schools are a main hub in terms of access to resources for these young people and the opportunities they need for language training and integration support. As many interviewees expressed, supporting resettlement of newcomers cannot be left solely to organizations that serve this population. This is where cultural competency across service providers in the city would offer a huge benefit to the experiences of refugees as well as the public perception of newcomers. More organizations and agencies should provide their employees with this training to foster the development of cultural competency. As Halifax is a smaller city, the opportunities for collaboration do require a more common understanding of the issues refugee young people face and what effectively supporting their resettlement looks like.

6.3- What policies are guiding Canada's service provision for refugee youth coming from war-affected regions? Are they adequate in responding to the needs of these young people?

This section will respond to two guiding research questions regarding policy:

- What policies are guiding Canada's service provision for refugee youth coming from war-affected regions?
- What are the gaps between the existing policies and the service provision to this population?

Considering how Halifax has responded to refugee young people, it is important to explore the gaps between the policies guiding these services and the programs made available to newcomer youth. What is important to note here is that the number of refugee young people settling in Nova Scotia has been largely a footnote in most settlement programs and responses, even though they make up over half of all refugees who are settled. No resettlement assistant program (RAP) initiative to support these young people exists. A Freedom of Information Act request was filed with the IRCC which confirmed that there is no mention within the RAP or related policy documents of refugee young people and their specific settlement needs. Outside of mentions relating to unaccompanied minors and asylum-seekers, refugee children and youth are addressed as part of the family unit. Services follow this pattern. While family-focused settlement is very important, we cannot overlook the specific needs of young people.

According to Wenche Gausdal, Director of Programs, Settlement, Community Integration and Support Services at ISANS, a new Immigrant Youth Strategy is being co-

developed with Heartwood⁵²⁹ and is intended to be released in 2019. This strategy has been a youth-led initiative to identify the gaps in service provision and how organizations can respond more effectively to the needs of newcomer youth. This is a huge development for immigrant services in the city, as such a strategy has not existed before. In fact, I was unable to find a comparable initiative anywhere else in Canada. It will be critical to see how this strategy is put into action.

A significant gap is the need for more cohesive service provision for refugees. Even though Halifax is a smaller city, the disconnect between service provision and providers remains a problem. In some instances, the problem rests with inefficient policies.

“So, for example, someone who is a refugee claimant, and has their hearing and gets refugee status, they have to apply for permanent residence before they get a health card. This is the Department of Health and Wellness policy and it’s really problematic because someone who’s a protected person is told ‘yes, you are a refugee, you can stay’ by the Federal government – but then why won’t Nova Scotia give them a health card?”

Anonymous, service provider in the Halifax area

In this example, the policy for obtaining a health card can prevent refugees from accessing basic services for an extended period, putting their wellbeing at risk. This

⁵²⁹ Heartwood Centre for Community Youth Development is an organization that supports youth leadership, working to support youth engagement as a means of positive community change. (<http://heartwood.ns.ca/>)

shows how policies that are not informed by newcomer needs can become obstacles in supporting this population. One important example is the end of support from the RAP after one year in Canada. Refugees transition from being supported by ISANS to more broad community services that do not work solely with newcomers and may not understand their experience or cultural differences. This can create obstacles for accessing the services they need in a timely fashion.

“I think more conversations need to take place around systemic barriers rather than which group helped, which group didn't help. Incremental support is important in the time of need but the root cause of the problem for example living in poverty or even below the poverty line if you are on income assistance, is not being addressed.”

Mira Musanovic, ISANS Crisis Intervention Counsellor

“And everyday I have the calls and I have the requests, especially for those who passed the one year here in Canada... they need a lot of things, and most of them even the language they needed to get the amount they [need to] deal with...daily life.”

Shaykh Abdullah Hussein, Imam, UMCC Mosque

The solution to this is not to create new organizations or programs, but rather to optimize and improve upon current services so that they can better meet the needs of this population. This move towards integrating services and supports would require an

evaluation of the existing infrastructure in order to strategically include the needs of newcomers.

“What I see as a gap is the bridging within the existing infrastructure that what we already have; not creating separate structures but creating something by removing some of the existing barriers so that the outcome for refugee youth will be much more positive. Positive for the community and positive for the individual, the refugee child, youth or adult. So, I think that's where I see the real bulk of the work.”

Sonja Grcic-Stuart, EAL Consultant, Halifax Regional Education Centre

Systemic barriers exist in many different parts of our society. These barriers are often policies and procedures that do not operate in the best interest of the client. Education is an important example of this problem. While teachers and educators work hard to serve young people, they themselves operate in a system that is flawed because of competing agendas. Priorities for the education of young people are assessed alongside, for example, funding decisions. This dilemma requires a more long-term approach to assessing the benefits of investing in how young people are educated and the positive impact that supportive services can have on a young person's success. The frustration in how resource decisions are made has direct implications on the quality of support refugee young people can receive in the current system. This is an important gap between policy and practice that needs to be addressed. As reflected in the quote

below, teachers are faced with the large difference between what refugee young people need and what they receive.

“As a teacher to have the very best of intentions, to work your guts out and know that your best is not remotely good enough. Like it doesn’t make a difference what a student needs from you. That is... about the sickest feeling I can think of as a teacher.”

Paul Wozney, President, Nova Scotia Teacher’s Union

Several interviewees reflected on the needs of refugee young people and how the structure of the classroom, school board policies, or other realities can keep educators from giving students the support they need to succeed.

It is important for refugee young people to be able to access youth-centred programs and services in the community. Programs that have a youth focus can respond to what young people need, creating a space for youth to engage with the support they need. A key finding of this case study was that traditional youth organizations do not have a newcomer focus in their programming. While there are the odd occasions where refugees are involved, there is no strategic focus in reaching this population. Some of these organizations shared the fact that they do not collect background information on the young people they serve, while others reflected that the majority of at-risk youth they see are not newcomers. This categorization of “newcomer” would refer to an observation based on ethnicity, so these service providers who work with at-risk youth in Halifax are largely working with Canadian-born young people, whose families have

been here for several generations. This is an interesting finding, and one that may be unique to smaller cities as the demographic of at-risk youth in larger cities like Toronto is more diverse. More research would be needed to better understand who these at-risk youth are and what their background may be in terms of migration to Canada.

There has been enormous progress in the area of teen mental health services in Canada in the past decade⁵³⁰. Nevertheless, an overview of these services will uncover a lack of newcomer-specific supports in the area of mental health. While newcomer youth cannot be lumped into a homogenous group with identical needs, stressors accompanying resettlement and integration are significant. What is needed is more research and support in this area, to develop mental health supports for young people with refugee experience, and these need to be developed in collaboration with those who have this lived experience. Youth-centred services are valuable in that they can support young people in a way that makes sense to them. This is where there is need in Halifax, according to many interviewees.

“I feel like we're missing youth spaces in the city for refugees and immigrants. So, I feel like the youth sometimes wonder what do they do here in the city. There's not a lot of things to do for young people in the city unfortunately unless you have money. So, if you have money you can join a soccer team, you can join basketball team, and you know a gym, but if you don't have that money, how can you access these places?”

⁵³⁰ Mental Health Commission of Canada. Accessed April 24, 2019.
<https://www.mentalhealthcommission.ca/English/what-we-do/children-and-youth>

Fadi Hamdan, Manager Child and Youth Settlement, YMCA

It is important to note that many soccer clubs do offer subsidies for newcomers, particularly in response to the Syrian youth who arrived in 2016. However, the costs of recreation can still pose a barrier to access. This points to a need for the wider youth population in Halifax , including but extending beyond newcomer youth- the need for accessible youth spaces that do not cost money, and that are safe and welcoming.

“I think the conversation that never seems to happen is how could the money and the resources that are devoted or earmarked for this be more efficiently used, right? How could we reorganize and redeploy the resources to optimize their impact (be)cause there's a whole lot of waste?”

Paul Wozney, President, Nova Scotia Teacher’s Union

As this section has presented, there is a significant policy gap with regards to refugee young people. There is no policy directly addressing young people’s resettlement if they are being settled as part of the family unit. Moreover, there is no mechanism or systematic effort to better coordinate the resources available from different service providers. The gaps identified here are related to general policy implications that affect young people as well as the wider refugee population. The next section will speak specifically to the arrival of Syrian refugees in 2016 and the implications of their arrival for service providers.

6.4- How has the recent influx of Syrian refugees affected the environment of service provision to the refugee population as a whole?

This section will address one of the guiding research questions for this dissertation:

- How has the recent influx of Syrian refugees affected the environment of service provision to the refugee population as a whole?

As discussed in the last chapter, Nova Scotia receives, on average, 200-300 refugees a year. However, in response to the federal government's commitment to resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees across Canada, approximately 1,600 refugees were settled in Nova Scotia between November 2015 and December 2016. Since this time, the number of refugees brought into Canada, and arriving in Nova Scotia, continues to be above the historic average. According to many interviewees, this increase in numbers has not been matched with enough resources to meet the needs of the incoming refugees.

“Everyone had the best will, the best intentions. Everyone wanted to welcome and receive refugees. They all want refugees to stay in Nova Scotia, to succeed. But no one really had the experience...of having to settle so many people at one time.”

Roberto Montiel, Coordinator, Halifax Local Immigration Partnership

In many cases, interviewees commented on the increased workload and working overtime to try and meet the unprecedented need. The urgency behind this need has attracted new volunteers and community groups to get involved in the form of private sponsorships as well as general involvement in organizations like ISANS.

There have been some positive outcomes from this influx. One important change was an increase in resources made available to service providers who work with refugees. The Newcomer Health Clinic is one such example.

“I saw largely what came out of it is this like a giant positive where we had more physicians come on board and become interested in working with us. We really didn't have a large cadre of people to draw from who were interested, say, in doing the work or even knew what we were doing but we kind of became more visible. So, we had family docs coming and saying they wanted to work with us. We had obstetricians and gynecologists wanting to come, we had pediatricians, we had all these like specialty colleagues as well coming to say, oh we want to help because of the visibility of this, right? We got more physical space to work in... it became an issue that the province gets behind.”

Dr. Mandi Irwin, Newcomer Health Clinic

Another positive outcome was the increased public awareness about refugees and their specific needs in the community. However, this focus seems to have been restricted to the Syrian refugees, at a very particular point in time. The reality is that refugees have been resettled in Halifax, both before the Syrian crisis and after.

“We kind of rose up as a country to meet those needs in the special circumstance, but what about people landing here through the normal process of seeking asylum and stuff like that?”

Paul Wozney, President, Nova Scotia Teacher’s Union

“The focus was solely on Syrians, but people started to think outside... ok wait a minute- we've got refugees coming from Congo, we've got refugees coming from all these other countries. So, I think that people understand a little bit better the needs of refugees or at least that Halifax has refugees that are coming and how can we be more welcoming.”

Anonymous, service provider in the Halifax area

While the attention this sudden surge of arrivals brought to refugee issues in the city was very important, problems still exist even after this increased focus. And as the crisis has begun to fade in public discourse and consciousness, so has some of the support that was offered. Many service providers voiced this concern, hoping that the public would not stop supporting refugee initiatives, as this need is ongoing. There were also some critical questions asked by service providers about why this crisis was attracting so much support while there are conflicts ongoing around the world that cannot get the same level of support for resettling refugees.

“Part of what our experience has found is that Canada, like many other Western countries, responds to the hot spots, and they usually do a good job. But once the hotspot has kind of subsided, then the issues become semi-forgotten.”

Rev. Elias M. Mutale, Office Manager,
African Diaspora Association of the Maritimes (A.D.A.M)

The sheer volume of refugees who arrived during this period proved to be the greatest challenge. All the interviewees for this research were happy to see the federal government step up and commit to supporting more refugees. The stress that such a large number put on already limited resources is what needs to be assessed.

“In the maelstrom of all this, you have Prime Minister Trudeau who's not concerned with the provincial politics and the regional politics of school boards, say, ‘as a nation we're going to welcome 25,000 Syrian refugees and create a safe haven or them’. But the responsibility to greet these people and support the people and help these people make a home and make a life and wherever they land, in our case Nova Scotia, falls to people outside of federal jurisdiction. So, you've got people at [the federal] level making a decision and then people at [the provincial] level carrying out the nuts and bolts of trying to make that work.”

Paul Wozney, President, Nova Scotia Teacher's Union

According to many service providers, there was a profound disconnect between the federal government's promises and the support provided to provincial settlement services as well as the wider community services sector. While support did increase during the arrival of refugees from Syria, it did not match the need.

"I'm glad the government did follow through with their commitment, and Justin takes a great selfie with Syrian babies and everything, but at the end of the day that baby needs a mom who's going to English school, and a health care system that's accessible and everything else that's going on."

Anonymous, service provider in Halifax

"It's one thing is to bring people here and of course it's nice to help. Another story is you have to bring these people here and then you have to take care of the people here."

Mile Mitrovic, YMCA School Settlement Worker, Duc d'Anville Elementary School

Resettling refugees is not simply a one-year commitment. It requires policy makers to respond to the long-term needs of newcomers in order to support their successful resettlement. This is where the federal government needs to play a leading role:

"I would hate to see that or think that the federal government would just say ok we got them here, you know they're in their place and we're done, right? I mean... this is a work in progress. This isn't just a 12 to 18 months plan, this is

going to take some time... If issues arise down the road, it shouldn't be left on you know, from a policing stand point, just the municipal police services to figure it out. I mean it should come from the national level to say ok listen - what are we dealing with now, what problems are we dealing with from a policing standpoint, whether it be charter issues, language issues..."

Constable Ryan Morash, Community Response Officer
for Spryfield and Sambro, Halifax Police

Racism is often blamed for the systemic barriers that newcomers face in our political, economic, and social contexts. Structural violence against this population can manifest in policies that favor those whose language, ethnicity and background better suit them for establishing a new life in Canada.⁵³¹ This is an area that has been researched extensively, with evidence to show that racism can be entrenched in systems and often goes unnoticed by those who are not affected by it. There is a need for our policies to consider the inequities that newcomers face and produce policy that can better support their long-term resettlement in Canada.⁵³²

There are also instances reported of refugees facing racism in the wider community.

⁵³¹ DeCuir, Jessica T., and Adrienne D. Dixon. "'So when it comes out, they aren't that surprised that it is there': Using critical race theory as a tool of analysis of race and racism in education." *Educational researcher* 33, no. 5 (2004): 26-31.

⁵³² Hajer, Maarten. "Policy without polity? Policy analysis and the institutional void." *Policy sciences* 36, no. 2 (2003): 175-195.

“I think some people within society think of a mosque they think negatively due to today's perception and what is portrayed in the media. The Public has a perception that they're preaching negativity and with the images and information such multi-terrorist attacks you see in the media. This is absolutely not it the case. They're teaching love, they're teaching family... and they're just simply trying to fit into our society that's what we have here.”

Constable Alicia Joseph, School Response Officer,
Clayton Park (Park West), Halifax Police

This struggle with racism of course is not specific to refugees, or refugee young people. While the issues of racism and prejudice needs to be better addressed with the public, often it is in the refugees' dealings with the system that they encounter more barriers to accessing the services they need as a result of their identity. Due to a lack of understanding, people in other community services are not always aware of the needs of newcomers and what services or supports to which they may have access. This frustration was shared by several interviewees who are trying to help refugees to transition from relying on ISANS to broader service providers.

Essentially, the arrival of refugees from Syria shone a spotlight on service provision in the HRM. This attention has highlighted some strengths within the city as well as key gaps. Having now responded to the guiding research questions, the next section will discuss the themes that emerged from the policy analysis and case study

interviews. It is from these themes that key recommendations and theoretical insights will be drawn.

6.5- A Social Ecological View of these Findings

The theoretical framework used in this dissertation was the social ecological model of resilience. The ability of services to support the resilience of young people is a vital area of exploration. Interviewees repeatedly spoke of the amazing strength and resilience that these young people demonstrated as they have started their new lives in Canada.

My research highlights the resilience resources that do exist in the community for refugee young people as well as important gaps in these resources. Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory⁵³³ offers a conceptual model of how a refugee young person is situated within a network of systems that all have an impact on their access to resilience resources (see Figure 11).

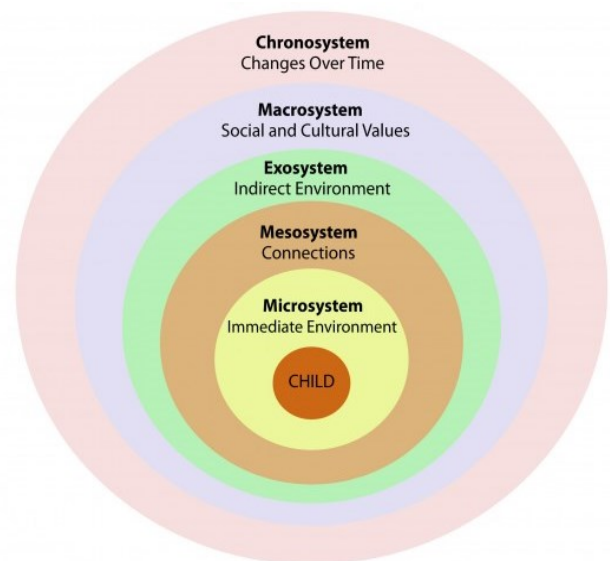


Figure 11- Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory, 2009

⁵³³ Bronfenbrenner, Urie. *The ecology of human development*. (Harvard university press, 2009).

Looking at the social ecological model of resilience, the focus becomes on resources located in the environment of the individual and how those resources can be effectively mobilized to support their well-being. Masten describes the interconnectedness of these different systems and the interactive nature of these resources⁵³⁴. This is where the potential for service provision as resilience promoting resources is seen- in their ability to provide tailored support to young refugees, facilitating their engagement with additional resources that support their wellbeing⁵³⁵.

Service provision for refugee young people, thus, needs to be relevant, available, and accessible to them. Effectively supporting the integration of refugee youth requires a holistic, wrap-around approach to service provision⁵³⁶. This holistic approach allows for informal resources, such as relationships and physical environments, to be supported as prime sources of young people to draw on⁵³⁷. Sanders and colleagues for example, explored the role of service provision on the outcomes of young people. Their longitudinal study showed that increased services provision did not support better outcomes. Rather, it was the relevance, availability and respect shown by service providers to youth that improved outcomes⁵³⁸.

⁵³⁴ Masten, Ann S. *Ordinary magic: Resilience in development*. Guilford Publications, 2015.

⁵³⁵ Liebenberg, Linda, and Daphne Hutt-Macleod. "Community development approaches in response to neoliberalism: The example of Eskasoni Mental Health Services, Canada." In *The Routledge Handbook of Global Child Welfare*, pp. 47-58. Routledge, 2017.

⁵³⁶ Stewart, Jan. "Community Initiatives to Support Refugee Youth: A Canadian Perspective." In *Educational Policies and Practices of English-Speaking Refugee Resettlement Countries*, pp. 113-130. Brill Sense, 2019.

⁵³⁷ Stewart, Jan. "Community Initiatives to Support Refugee Youth: A Canadian Perspective." In *Educational Policies and Practices of English-Speaking Refugee Resettlement Countries*, pp. 113-130. Brill Sense, 2019.

⁵³⁸ Sanders, J., Munford, R., & Liebenberg, L. (2017). Positive youth development practices and better outcomes for high risk youth. *Child abuse and neglect*, 69, 201-212.

It is important to consider that not all resilience is seen as positive or beneficial for the individual⁵³⁹. Masten explains that these resilience processes can be hijacked when young people draw on negative or harmful resources, for example violence or criminal activity, as a means of surviving in difficult contexts⁵⁴⁰. Consequently, the conditions in which we make decisions can greatly impact the outcome⁵⁴¹. For refugee young people, the risks posed to them during their resettlement experiences- whether they be physical, emotional, mental, or social- can act as these critical moments where positive resilience pathways can be obscured.

a. Individual Level: The refugee young person

There is a breadth of research that focuses on the individual resources associated with resilience processes and positive outcomes. A young person's biology and mental health play an important role in their ability to engage with and draw on resources that may be in their environment⁵⁴². Their world view and what they believe

⁵³⁹ Panter-Brick, Catherine, and James F. Leckman. "Editorial commentary: resilience in child development—interconnected pathways to wellbeing." *Journal of child psychology and psychiatry* 54, no. 4 (2013): 333-336.

⁵⁴⁰ Masten, Ann S. *Ordinary magic: Resilience in development*. Guilford Publications, 2015.

⁵⁴¹ Liebenberg, Linda, Natacha Joubert, and Marie-Lynne Foucault. "Understanding core resilience elements and indicators: A comprehensive review of the literature." (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2017).

⁵⁴² Cicchetti, Dante, and Jennifer A. Blender. "A multiple-levels-of-analysis perspective on resilience." *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 1094, no. 1 (2006): 248-258.

about life and success also has a significant impact on how they perceive the resources in their environment and their ability to engage with them^{543,544,545}.

Many interviewees spoke of the resilience of the refugee population, specifically the youth. Despite the strength of refugees however, we cannot dismiss the mental health needs that exist. In the case of young people, there has been no comprehensive study of what those needs are, which is a significant gap that prevents policy and services from being effective.

Mental Health Support

Almost every interviewee mentioned that mental health services and supports are a huge gap for refugees. While the IFHP does cover mental health care, there are limitations. One of the biggest barriers is how the current referral system is set up. The main issue for refugees navigating the referral process is timing. After the first year in Canada, refugees do not have access to IFHP funding, which means they do not have coverage for mental health services.

“Now, because the coverage is just during the first year, we cannot refer clients who have been here longer than 8 months because they need to work through

⁵⁴³ Boyd, Rhonda C., and Christine Waanders. "Protective factors for depression among African American children of predominantly low-income mothers with depression." *Journal of child and family studies* 22, no. 1 (2013): 85-95.

⁵⁴⁴ Cicchetti, Dante, and Fred A. Rogosch. "Adaptive coping under conditions of extreme stress: Multilevel influences on the determinants of resilience in maltreated children." *New directions for child and adolescent development* 2009, no. 124 (2009): 47-59.

⁵⁴⁵ Lee, Tak-yan, Wai-man Kwong, Chau-kiu Cheung, Michael Ungar, and Maria YL Cheung. "Children's resilience-related beliefs as a predictor of positive child development in the face of adversities: Implications for interventions to enhance children's quality of life." *Social Indicators Research* 95, no. 3 (2010): 437-453.

an approval assessment process. By the time IFHP has responded, the year is gone. So, it has to be before 8 months. So that creates a huge limitation because experience shows that most of the people, and it's not just refugees, they need to build a certain kind of trust and report with the community here, the services providers they are working with in order to address issues of mental health.”

Anonymous, Healthcare support worker in the Halifax area

This healthcare provider addresses the time constraints on both IFHP support and the wait times for mental health care. The central barrier to newcomers accessing mental health care is the referral system that is currently in place. In this extended quote, the founder of the Newcomer Refugee Clinic explains each step in the referral process and what the typical timeline would look like for someone looking for clinical care.

“Traditionally speaking, the referral goes in, at the triage level. The triage is central booking-they’re going to call the patients. So they call the patients, they have to know to use an interpreter. Quite often they’ll call them and speak to them in English and the family will not understand. So, there’s that language barrier. So that person has to start the process of getting an interpreter on the phone to do the initial intake. So that first hurdle usually never happens. So that interpreter gets on the phone and calls the parent, there are trust issues right off the bat. They don’t know who is calling and they are asking about the inner, private, intimate mental health issues of their child. They are not going to

necessarily trust this person so they will not say what the problem is because they do not know if this is going to lead to them being persecuted, stigmatized, deported, and even if they get past those fears, there's a lot of cultural issues about admitting to an issue like that to a complete stranger. Let's say they get past all those barriers...they then have to begin in triage to get an appointment...that takes 3 or 4 months for that appointment to then be done...Often reminders for that appointment are not sent to the patient, and for privacy reasons are not always sent to us at the clinic... Then let's say that the patient knows about the appointment, they are going to have a hard time knowing how to even get to a different place. And a lot of mental health places aren't necessarily well-marked, say they make it to that appointment. They get there, the appointment itself has to have independently set up an interpreter who understands how to interpret mental health issues which often hasn't happened. They get in.... it's usually two people and they are asking a lot of intense questions to be able to understand where the final treatment office should be, and it takes multiple appointments of trust to be able to get to understand the deeper meanings. And so, in that first appointment they don't necessarily understand what that person is going to need. They then are set up for what the next appointment is going to be which is going to be finally with they permanent therapist that they are going to need. I have never been able to get a patient to that level."

Dr. Timothy Holland, Newcomer Health Clinic

As a result of this protracted process, if someone needs to receive mental health support, their referral needs to begin before their eighth month in Halifax if they are to have a chance at receiving care before their first year is up. There are fast-tracks available in emergency situations, but this does not support preventative care for this population, nor does it really allow time to identify what the issues and needs are. This is an example of a systemic barrier that refugees of all ages face to supports for their well-being. It is a barrier caused by a lack of carefully thought-out policies related to healthcare costs and regulations that all converge on the newcomer who must live with the consequences of inadequate mental health care.

The reality is that existing mental health services do not meet the needs of the general population, with the gap being even more pronounced for the refugee population. Some interviewees, including Dr. Holland, spoke of their frustration with the system and trying to navigate it on behalf of refugees.

“Mental health is such a challenge for the entire province, the entire country, let alone you know just this little corner of it with this population, so funding would absolutely be a challenge. And I am frustrated by this system as a whole. I think we're just constantly trying to reinvent mental health like it just seems like every time I turn around, there's some new process for referrals and so on... I'm not sure why we can't get this right.”

Dr. Alyson Holland, Newcomer Health Clinic

In Halifax, there is currently no psychologist or psychiatrist that is specialized in young victims of trauma as a result of war or armed conflict. According to ISANS, anyone who discloses a mental health struggle as a result of their displacement before coming to Canada is often settled in places that have services devoted to this need, particularly in Toronto where resources like the Canadian Centre for Victims of Torture is located. However, if this is not disclosed before arrival, which could be quite common given the cultural attitudes and stigma surrounding mental health, it is likely that someone in need of this specialized care is not located where such support is available. This is an issue that needs to be better understood and anticipated in policies and programs.

Several interviewees shared how, in their experience, relatively few young refugees have presented with a struggle with their mental health as a result of past trauma.

“I myself and my practice have seen a few kids, a few youth, or young people who probably had met the medical definition of having PTSD, but... that would be very unusual. I would say that for the most part... we notice how quickly young people seem to adjust to their life in Canada... They have some adjustment reaction...[but] as they become more settled, it seems to be that most of this stuff kind of works itself out. And I would say that for young people that's even more true that I see.”

Dr. Mandi Irwin, Newcomer Health Clinic

“Thankfully, children and adolescents tend to be incredibly resilient and able to work that previous trauma into their personal narrative and start a new chapter.... more so than adults.”

Dr. Timothy Holland, Newcomer Health Clinic

Interviewees all reflected on their work with refugee young people and how they demonstrated strength and perseverance in the face of extreme difficulty. For those young people who they felt were struggling, very few were in need of acute, clinical care. For most, the interviewees spoke of behavioural problems and a reluctance to integrate at school or in the community, as signs of depression or other mental health struggles. For the most part, the interviewees conceptualized resilience as being that personal strength and ability to move on and start fresh in a new place. However, with this social ecological model applied in this thesis, I listened to interviewees for what they saw as indicators of a “resilient” youth. What was interesting was that they identified resources that exist outside the individual (i.e. supportive parents, good friends, support in school, English training, civic engagement, etc) that have been instrumental in the young person’s successful resettlement. Several people at ISANS reflected on the opportunities that young refugees have had to share their stories through various community events and the empowerment they witnessed as the young people were open about their experiences and what they want for their lives now. For example, Robert Lunn from St. Benedict’s Parish saw the connections made within the

youth group, between refugee and Canadian-born young people and how important those relationships became in the young refugee's lives.

What was missing from the data I gathered was examples of individual resources for refugee youth in Halifax. These quotes above highlight the ways in which service providers can contribute to the resilience processes and resources supporting refugee young people, especially by understanding where youth go for support and what resources need to be mobilized to ensure their wellbeing. In the next section, my analysis will be extended to the micro-system.

b. Micro-system: Immediate Environment and Relationships

Creating a safe space for youth is vital, especially when trying to meet their mental health needs. It is vital that they have a physical space that is warm and inviting, filled with people who understand youth culture and how to communicate effectively with them. Making these spaces relevant to youth is important. Thinking specifically of those who have been out of education for a long time because of their refugee experience, or have been in the workforce, these spaces need to reflect that diversity of experience. The location of these spaces needs to be accessible and safe, where young people feel they can relax and use the space as they need it. Having this kind of safe space presents more opportunities for young people to open up. Creating an atmosphere of safety and comfort is a very important part of a strategy for supporting their resilience. The findings from this research highlight two areas within the microsystem that impact the young refugee: family and communication.

Family

At the micro-level, family plays a vitally important role in a young person's resilience journey^{546,547,548,549}. Good communication and respect within the family unit offers a positive source of strength that can go a long way in supporting resilience⁵⁵⁰. While the family can look different across cultures and contexts, the sense of belonging and protection that a family provides can be a pivotal resource that young people can draw to overcome difficulties or trauma⁵⁵¹. This is particularly relevant for refugee young people who come to Canada as part of a family unit.

Many interviewees drew the correlation between the conditions a young person experiences at home and their ability to integrate into their community. The school settlement workers I spoke to shared insights regarding their involvement with families when they arrive, and how many parents are unsure of how to support their children's education in a new system. By counselling parents through that journey of familiarizing themselves with how education is done here in Halifax, and how they can support their

⁵⁴⁶ Betancourt, Theresa Stichick, Liesbeth Speelman, Grace Onyango, and Paul Bolton. "A qualitative study of mental health problems among children displaced by war in northern Uganda." *Transcultural psychiatry* 46, no. 2 (2009): 238-256.

⁵⁴⁷ Garbarino, James, and Kathleen Kostelny. "The effects of political violence on Palestinian children's behavior problems: A risk accumulation model." *Child development* 67, no. 1 (1996): 33-45.

⁵⁴⁸ Tol, Wietse A., Emily E. Haroz, Rebecca S. Hock, Jeremy C. Kane, and Mark JD Jordans. "Ecological perspectives on trauma and resilience in children affected by armed conflict." In *Helping Children Cope with Trauma*. Ed. Pat-Horenczyk R, Brom D, and Vogel JM. (Routledge: East Sussex, UK, 2014). pp193-209.

⁵⁴⁹ Pynoos, Robert S., Alan M. Steinberg, and Ruth Wraith. "A developmental model of childhood traumatic stress." In *Wiley series on personality processes. Developmental psychopathology, Vol. 2. Risk, disorder, and adaptation*. (Oxford, England: John Wiley & Sons,1995). pp. 72-95.

⁵⁵⁰ Peterson, Gary W., and Kevin R. Bush. "Conceptualizing cultural influences on socialization: Comparing parent-adolescent relationships in the United States and Mexico." In *Handbook of marriage and the family*, pp. 177-208. Springer, Boston, MA, 2013.

⁵⁵¹ Bush, K. R., S. A. Bohon, and H. Kim. "Stress and coping among immigrant families." *Families and change: Coping with stressful events and transitions* 4 (2009): 285-310.

children, these settlement workers were strengthening an important resilience resource in the lives of the young refugees coming to the school.

The role of the family in supporting a young person's integration was repeatedly discussed by interviewees. A young person observing how their family members engage with their new home is very influential in how they themselves perceive their new life. An important factor to investigate further would be a young refugee's experiences through resettlement and the role their families played. Many service providers advocate for more family-focused programming as a way of helping all members of the family settle into their new life.

"I mean the priority for a lot of the organizations I work with has been to provide the English language support for the adults, so they can become employable, that type of thing. So, I think that's been the focus, and it needed to be the focus, but I think if there was a gap, I think that's probably... family programming, programming for young children outside of the school system."

Heather Mackenzie, Manager of Diversity Services, Halifax Public Libraries

Representatives from the Halifax Police had an interesting perspective on the role of the family and how their engagement with law enforcement can determine the young person's wellbeing.

"Most [parents] are receptive to us saying that maybe [their child] would benefit from [a program or service]... whether or not they actually take and go and use it... but most of them are really receptive to hearing suggestions."

Constable Raylene Way, Community Response Officer for
Clayton Park and Fairview, Halifax Police

“Family means everything to them. They've come this far and now you know you may be forced to arrest the mom or the dad for assault with the children present so you got to think... the whole thing about re-victimization and you know you don't want to re-victimize. They've been through a lot we don't want to traumatize them again, but we still have a responsibility and a job to do, right?”

Constable Ryan Morash, Community Response Officer for
Spryfield and Sambro, Halifax Police

As refugees adjust to life in Canada, part of that adjustment is learning about the laws and the role of law enforcement in the community. This learning goes both ways, as it is important for law enforcement officers to understand the cultural norms and expectations that newcomers bring with them. Gently guiding people through this learning in a way that will not negatively impact their wellbeing does present a challenge. But what is important is to see the need for long-term commitment from both sides to come together and learn from each other.

Family can also be a source of stress for young people. As was discussed in the previous chapter, refugee children and youth can learn the language and the culture of their new home much quicker than their adult relatives. This can cause some tension in their relationships and conflict between the expectations of their families and those of

their new home. The pressure for young people to succeed can be a source of stress, as the director of programs at ISANS suggests:

“Another stressor is that usually there's a lot of expectations that refugee young people are going to be successful in being able to support the parents as they grow up. It's often you hear the parents say that they came to Canada to give their children a chance, but also there is an expectation that they need to succeed, and they need to be able to take care of the family. So, they need it to be a successful settlement, and dealing with a lot of that stress and emotion can be hard. They provide a lot of support to their family (i.e. interpretation at appointments, go shopping, caring for younger siblings).”

Wenche Gausdal, Director of Programs, Settlement,
Community Integration and Support Services, ISANS

Several interviewees linked the ability of a young person to integrate successfully into their new communities to the dynamics at home. If the family unit is unified in their desire to become part of life here in Canada, the young person can draw on that support in their individual integration experience. However, if there is a pull at home to stay separate from the community and not engage in their new culture, the young person is faced with the challenge of navigating how to move forward. Several school settlement workers that I interviewed spoke about these dynamics as being critical during resettlement. They recounted stories of families who “pulled together” to make Canada their home, as well as those who isolated themselves from the wider community. The

stressors which the latter placed on the refugee youth they worked with was significant. This demonstrates the need for family-based programs and services as a means of supporting the resilience of refugee children and youth. When families are receiving the support they need to establish a new life here in Canada, there is more opportunity for the family to be a resource for positive resilience for the young person. While I have argued for specific policy related to service provision for refugee children and youth, this family-focused support is also important.

One issue that came up in several interviews was the stress of family separation that many refugees in Halifax are currently facing. Family separation is a serious concern for many refugees that impacts their mental health. Many refugees fear for the wellbeing of their loved ones either back home or in a refugee camp.

“Family separation is a huge stressor, not just for the youth but for the whole family. They are worrying about family overseas- it could be siblings, it could be parents. The strongest families are those that are able to feel more complete; they have the whole family or extended family here.”

Wenche Gausdal, Director of Programs, Settlement,
Community Integration and Support Services, ISANS

The federal government does have an avenue for refugees to bring family members to Canada; however, this process has been criticized for not adequately responding to the circumstances of refugees. For example, Canada does not include siblings or grandparents as an “eligible family members” which can cause significant

stress for those whose definition of family is broader than such a policy⁵⁵². There are many scenarios in which refugees can become separated from their families. Often separation happens outside of the individual's control, or out of desperation to bring themselves and their families out of temporary camps and dangerous environments⁵⁵³. In 2016, the government did announce that processing times for Family Class spousal sponsorships would be faster. Most reunification applications are done through the One-Year Window (OYW) program, which has no limit on the wait times expected. However, the wait time for refugees seeking to bring dependents (Dependents of Refugees DR2s category) is an average of 38 months⁵⁵⁴.

“Mothers with new-born babies are left behind in unsafe environments like a refugee camps, without the husband/father's protection. The husband submitted his application before he married and had a child. Some refugees live in a refugee status for many years before they are considered for resettlement. They go on with their lives, they get married, have children but do not report the changes to an immigration officer or UNHCR officers before they resettle to Canada not knowing how the change would affect their application and resettlement process. Once in Canada it may take a very long time before they are able to reunite with their families. They report high level of stress and

⁵⁵² Dargy, Tania. "Family Reunification in Canada: Towards Authentic Humanitarianism." (2016).

⁵⁵³ IRCC. Processing family members as a part of a resettlement sponsorship application. Accessed April 24, 2019. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/operational-bulletins-manuals/refugee-protection/resettlement/eligibility/determining-which-family-members-eligible-resettlement.html>

⁵⁵⁴ Canadian Council for Refugees, Refugee Family Reunification. Accessed April 24, 2019. <https://ccrweb.ca/en/refugee-family-reunification>

emotional pain due to powerlessness and frustration that impact and prolongs their settlement process.”

Mira Musanovic, ISANS Crisis Intervention Counsellor

This is a serious concern for many refugees and the stress it causes can exacerbate many problems they may have with integration. The toll this takes on their mental health can also result in struggles with depression, anxiety, and many other serious issues. Many interviewees spoke about how these young people need that familial support as they navigate their new lives which may be separated from family members. Programs like the YMCA Youth outreach are an example of how to reach young people with that relational support. We know from research that refugee youth do not often want separate, targeted programs but would rather have opportunities to engage with their Canadian-born peers. This engagement is an important part of a young refugees’ integration and their ability to feel connected and a part of a supportive community can be a valuable resilience resource.

English and Communication Barriers

The ability to communicate falls within the micro-system, directly impacting a young person’s opportunity to connect and access support. Language, specifically the ability to communicate in English, has been a huge struggle for service providers working with refugees. Refugees arrive in Halifax with relatively lower levels of English training, making it important to have interpreters available for them. Particularly with

the arrival of Syrian refugees, there was a greater percentage as well as number who had little, if any, English training. There were also assumptions made that English was the preferred language in which refugee families wanted to communicate, and not French. While providing interpretation is a common practice within services that are geared towards newcomers, for the wider community, is not something that is typically available. In many cases, there is not enough funding to ensure that interpreters are available to clients.

“So, there's a lack of understanding that [language is] an accessibility issue and it's a right for someone to have an interpreter.”

Anonymous, service provider in the Halifax area

This service provider made a strong case that language is an accessibility issue. In the same way that having wheelchair-accessible buildings has become required for new buildings, interpretation across service provision can also be seen as a right, facilitating access to necessary services. According to several interviewees, one of the indicators they used for a young person “doing well” was the development of their English ability. They saw this as connected to their overall willingness to become part of their new communities, and that those youth who did not learn the language remained isolated and depressed.

Providing English training to newcomers is an important service that ISANS provides. However, with the increase in the number of refugees in recent years, it has been difficult to keep up with the demand. One gap is for mothers with young children

who are not in school. There are limited childcare spots available while the moms would be in language class which keeps many from accessing language training until their children are all in school. This has significant implications for their integration, keeping them generally isolated from the wider community.

There has been a lot of effort on the part of the city to ensure signage in public spaces is multi-lingual. Places like the public library have made extra effort to have staff who are multi-lingual as well as resources available in different languages. One issue that was raised by ISANS was the need to understand different types of literacy, and that even though people can read English it does not necessarily mean they are catching culturally embedded meanings.

“So, because of that, we can't make any assumptions about signage in English or any communication spoken or written getting to the people, right? That's one of our struggles teaching literacy is that I think people think, oh they even learn to read in like a year, it's like, well, but you don't have the strategies to know- you might be able to read a word but you won't be able to sort of decipher it in the context to understand what that means.”

Vanessa Lent, ISANS, Language Services Teacher

“But we would focus more on the linguistic appropriateness and understanding- what it means to become bilingual or multilingual. Interestingly in Canada, we often talk about Canada as a multi-cultural country, however, we very rarely talk about multilingualism and multi-literacies.”

Literacy and the embedded meanings in language are important issues raised by these interviewees. They place the emphasis on service providers across the city to consider how accessible they are in terms of language. And at the policy level, how is government considering this dynamic of multilingualism?

There have been some creative solutions to the lack of interpreters in Halifax. One common program used in hospitals is a telephone-based translation service.

“I'd have to say translation services have also really improved over the last couple years. We can now... even in emergency departments they have a special phone with two receivers on it where you pick up one and you give the other to the patient and you dial up a translation service based in the (United) States which is a good one and they translate for you right there on the spot with this telephone.”

Dr. Tim Bood, Newcomer Health Clinic

Interpretation services in healthcare settings is vitally important, though it can present a barrier to communication between the patient and the doctor. Having to tell private details to a stranger who then turns and interprets for you can be intimidating and off-putting, particularly when there is a mental health concern that needs to be addressed. It is important to note that an interpreter is not covered by the IFHP

“So then for our government assisted refugees, if they've been here within a year, they can have I think it's 10 to 12 sessions covered by a psychologist ... through IFHP, but the cost of the interpreter isn't covered. So, you can get, let's say, 10 hours of psychotherapy or 12 hours but only ... 8 hours of interpretation. So, it's ridiculous. It's just like, a bureaucratic nightmare basically to get someone seen by a psychologist and they don't speak the language.”

Dr. Mandi Irwin, Newcomer Health Clinic

Serving a population that, for the most part, does not speak the same language is an incredibly difficult task, requiring thoughtful and creative policy solutions to make sure their needs do not go unnoticed. Making interpretation a normal part of service provision across the city would be a step in the right direction. To make this happen, of course, there needs to be funding as well as personnel with adequate language training to make this resource available. This is an opportunity to develop more creative solutions that can be both affordable and meet the communication needs of refugees.

c. Meso-system: Community Connections

Within the mesosystem of the young refugee, schools and community spaces are an important space of engagement. This section highlights the resilience resources that exist within this system and the implications for refugee young people in terms of access and support.

Schools

The education outcomes for young refugees that were presented in the last chapter provide some context for understanding the different factors that impact their ability to succeed in school. For refugee young people, the main space where they are learning English is often the classroom. Interviewees generally noted that the refugee youth they work with have picked up the language relatively quickly.

“80% out of the 100 [youth] are doing fantastic. They came with no English whatsoever, now you can have a conversation all in English with them, which is impressive again in one year and a half. They navigate, they know a lot of places, and they learned a lot of things. They try and they are really willing to understand, and learn, and study and succeed because they've been through a lot of struggle. And that's resilient.”

Fadi Hamdan, Manager Child and Youth Settlement, YMCA

In a study on the indicators of resilience in schools, Arthur et al. found that key aspects of school life, including relationships, disciplinary action, and attendance had a significant influence on a student's journey through secondary school to graduation⁵⁵⁵. They found that strong school-based interventions could sometime counteract negative decisions that students made ultimately supporting their successful completion of high school. This is relevant for this discussion on school-based initiatives to support refugee

⁵⁵⁵ Samel, Arthur N., Toni A. Sondergeld, John M. Fischer, and Nancy C. Patterson. "The secondary school pipeline: Longitudinal indicators of resilience and resistance in urban schools under reform." *The High School Journal* 94, no. 3 (2011): 95-118.

young people. The resilience services and processes that exist within schools are a significant resource for young people to navigate.

“Some of the schools are doing much better, but all of the schools are struggling a lot because lack of resources. So, when you have a population that has diverse learning needs, and you don't have all the supports that you need... it can be very overwhelming.”

Anonymous, service provider in the Halifax area

Many service providers expressed concern about the ability to meet the language needs of refugee young people when they first arrive, given how classrooms are structured.

“The problem is that all these newcomers coming here from different countries, mostly (have) no English so we have that huge language barrier. Then you put a student, in our case elementary, aged 5-11 years old, in the regular school in the regular classroom. A teacher, she or he, they have no time to spend with those students, cuz they already have enough in their classroom. So, if you have 25 kids you cannot spend your time with 2 in your classroom, cuz you have (the) whole classroom.”

Mile Mitrovic -- YMCA School Settlement Worker, Duc d’Anville Elementary

School

This school settlement worker reflected on the burden placed on teachers as the frontline service provider for refugee children and youth. The Halifax Regional Education Centre (HREC) does have a group of EAL teachers who serve newcomers in schools across the city. Some schools and neighborhoods obviously have more demand for this service than others, which can make it a challenge for these EAL teachers to balance their workload.

“So then... people get frustrated cuz there's no EAL support or whatever. Well the EAL teacher in our school technically has a case load of 6,000 students. Out of that 6,000...you're talking about 200 kids in 7 different buildings...How are you supposed to support those kids in any kind of intensive, meaningful way?”

Paul Wozney, President, Nova Scotia Teacher's Union

Interviewees repeatedly expressed concern over the need for EAL support in schools to be increased to match the scale of need. The frustrations they see in young people who are not able to understand what is being taught, or participate in school activities because of the language barrier, causes significant stress on the young person and has resulted in some youth giving up on education entirely. Some interviewees reflected on their reliance on native Arabic speakers who may be 2nd or 3rd generation in Canada, to help them communicate with newcomer youth. This communication struggle carries over to the teacher's engagement with the family, as many parents of refugees are learning English themselves.

This problem of a “lack of resources” was raised in most of these interviews, particularly in reference to the recent arrival of Syrian refugees to the province. The sheer volume of refugees in need of support was unprecedented in Nova Scotia and was a huge challenge for service providers.

“But what we find is that there's a much bigger need for language classes and support, or ESL support, than what's in the school. I think (it) would be good if the school board had been able to provide more language or academic support to the youth. And they do provide some support, but sometimes the gap is so big between what they need and what support they are provided that it can be frustrating. We have seen youth dropping out from school because of that.”

Wenche Gausdal, Director of Programs, Settlement,
Community Integration and Support Services, ISANS

While there was some increase in resources from the federal government to provide more personnel and other services for this population, it was not enough. In schools, this was keenly felt, as the demand for EAL support was greater than the existing infrastructure of the EAL program. While there were more resources made available to schools, there was a delay between the arrival of the Syrian cohort and the receipt of funding from the federal government.

“So here they are in a new country, with language they don't speak in a school community where they know no one in a class room, with a teacher that doesn't speak their language, with resources that they don't understand, and sort of

ultimately... forget about teaching, you're trying to navigate relationship with students through Google translate.”

Paul Wozney, President, Nova Scotia Teacher's Union

What is important to take from this quote is that while schools are an important hub where young refugees can access support, the absence of effective support can have counterproductive impacts. This finding was echoed by a recent study done with teachers in the Greater Toronto Area, who reported that they did not have enough preparation or support to work with their new Syrian students and their families⁵⁵⁶. This need for more support for teachers was echoed throughout most of my interviews as paramount for the education experiences of refugee youth to be resources for positive resilience.

As discussed in greater detail in section 5.2, refugee youth perform below the national average in Canada in terms of academic success. For example, 20% of refugee youth do not finish high school. Factors such as refugee camp experience, family life, appropriate grade placement on arrival, and the length of time in Canada all proved to be important in determining academic performance.⁵⁵⁷ This exemplifies the interconnections that exist between the different systems within the ecological model.

⁵⁵⁶ Gagne, Antoinette, Nadeen Al-Hashimi, Michelle Little, Morgan Lowen, and Anoop Sidhu. "Educator Perspectives on the Social and Academic Integration of Syrian Refugees in Canada." *Journal of Family Diversity in Education* 3, no. 1 (2018): 48-76

⁵⁵⁷ Wilkinson, Lori. "Factors influencing the academic success of refugee youth in Canada." *Journal of youth studies* 5, no. 2 (2002): 173-193.

One of the factors identified by the interviewees that presented a significant barrier to the academic success of refugee young people was language.

“I would say the language is a big barrier for newcomer youth. Newcomer youth who come with no English language at all and are attending Junior high and high schools are placed in classrooms according to their age, lessons are provided in English and youth do not understand what is being said or communicated in the classroom. Although they get some EAL support that is not enough to make them understand what is being taught in the regular classes. These newcomer youth get very frustrated and sometimes to the point of not wanting to go to school.”

Halima Omar, ISANS, Life Skills Program Coordinator

Schools are an important space where young people face a large part of their integration journey. We need to consider where these young people are coming from and how their past experiences are going to inform their integration. Rev. Elias Mutale of the African Diaspora Association of the Maritimes (A.D.A.M.) questions if there is capacity at schools in Halifax to provide refugee youth with the extra attention and monitoring they require, because of the violence they may have witnessed or experienced. Many refugee young people have experienced an interruption in their education, presenting additional challenges in adapting again to a classroom environment:

“Having students now suddenly in class again after so many years out of class, who spent a good chunk of their teenage years working, in a very adult world, then to convince them that it's totally worth it to sit in this class for 5 hours a day and learn, that's been an interesting [experience]... not everyone's on the same page.”

Vanessa Lent, ISANS, Language Services Teacher

While schools are the place where young people spend most of their time, this does not necessarily mean that those are the spaces where they feel the most comfortable.

“In the school, sometimes it's hard when you have so many students and sometimes you don't want to open up about it. So sometimes the after-school program, because we have unformal settings here, they can come and hang to with your friends... and when you are more comfortable in your own zone, you'll open a little bit more and you'll share more.”

Fadi Hamdan, Manager Child and Youth Settlement, YMCA

Engagement with teachers and learning in the classroom can be a positive experience, but when those supports are either not there or not appropriate for the specific needs of this population, it can add stress for a young person and ultimately have a negative impact on their resilience journey. Similarly, if supports are consistently provided in ways that “isolate” or highlight the young person’s status as refugee, they

can amplify their social isolation. This is where more attention needs to be paid in terms of figuring out what supports can be an effective resilience resource for a young refugee's wellbeing outcomes. This needs to be followed by policy that allocates enough funding for that support to be delivered effectively.

Recreation

Recreation is a positive space for young people to develop skills, make friends, and become a part of a new community. Yet for refugee young people in Halifax, participating in recreation programs remains very difficult, and in some instances impossible. This is a systemic problem that needs to be addressed as the potential benefits it presents for this population are vital.

There is a general lack of affordable recreation in the city. Organizations like KidSport and Jumpstart offer support to young people who cannot afford the fees for some recreation programs in the city, though they are not able to meet every need. There were some initiatives established in response to the arrival of Syrian refugees, but these were not long-term.

“Some of these soccer clubs would absorb the remaining balances, but they can't again. They were inundated by so many kids last year, they ran too much deficit and they just had to come back this year and said no we're not doing it. If they don't pay the full fee or if you can't get funding for the full fee, then they can't play.”

Anonymous, service provider in the Halifax area

Another barrier to accessing recreation is the lack of transport to get to different facilities across the city who offer programs. Metro transit offered a free bus pass for Syrian refugees for their first year in Halifax. This initiative was expanded to all refugees after being criticized for favoring some newcomers over others. However, learning how to use the transit system remains a barrier for newcomers to overcome. Transportation remains a critical issue in accessing services. Engagement in recreation is supporting more than a young person's physical health; it also supports social and emotional wellbeing and can be instrumental in helping a young person settle into their new home.⁵⁵⁸

“So, one of the key things for refugee young people is to have access to recreation programs like... soccer, volleyball, basketball, acting- whatever it is. If we don't meet them at those points, they're going to get bored, and become vulnerable to undesirable contacts and activities.”

Rev. Elias M. Mutale, Office Manager,
African Diaspora Association of the Maritimes (A.D.A.M)

Most interviewees identified the value of recreation as a means for young people to make friends and connect with their new communities. The findings in this research showcase the meso-system as a prime space for developing resilience resources among refugee young people. The limitations revolve around a lack of

⁵⁵⁸ Olliff, Louise. "Playing for the future: the role of sport and recreation in supporting refugee young people to settle well in Australia." *Youth Studies Australia* 27, no. 1 (2008): 52.

adequate funding and cohesive policies that could optimize the potential of these resources.

d. Exo-system: Indirect Environment

At the exo-system-level, the influence of organizations, such as community services and government are identified. We need to better understand how positive social networks can effectively support a young person's well-being, particularly their access to emotional support and dependable advice⁵⁵⁹. Essentially this describes positive relationships with individuals from organizations or agencies that these young people can draw on for the formal support they need. This requires services to be accessible and policies to be relevant and cohesive in their response to refugee youth. This section discusses these issues, drawing from the findings of this research.

Accessibility of Services

The accessibility of services in Halifax poses significant challenges for refugee youth. Language is huge barrier to access, as discussed in section 6.5b. However, for many refugees who arrive in Canada, there is very little understanding of what their rights are with regards to services. Many refugees need a representative from ISANS, or a member of their private sponsorship group. to help them navigate the system and who they need to call for a given service.

⁵⁵⁹ Dolan, Pat. "Travelling through social support and youth civic action on a journey towards resilience." In *The social ecology of resilience*, pp. 357-366. Springer, New York, NY, 2012.

“If a client is not able to access a service on their own, due to a language barrier for example and they need someone to help them, then I would say there is a huge gap.”

Mira Musanovic, ISANS Crisis Intervention Counsellor

This need for support is not just a function of a language barrier. The systems we have in place are complicated and are not designed for newcomers to navigate easily. Refugee claimants⁵⁶⁰ face an even greater challenge, as supports provided through the RAP are not available to them.

“It's a huge challenge for refugee claimant youth and refugee claimants in general in terms of accessing a wider array of services in the community, especially if those services are funded by immigration, (as) refugee claimants would be excluded from eligibility.”

Anonymous, service provider in the Halifax area

Housing is one example of a systemic gap in support for refugees, according to many of the interviewees. Halifax faces an affordable housing shortage in general, and it is particularly felt by this population⁵⁶¹. According to the CEO of Housing Nova Scotia, the waitlist for public housing in 2018 was at 3,519⁵⁶². Finding housing when they arrive

⁵⁶⁰ As discussed in a previous chapter, refugee claimants differ from other refugees in that they do not yet have permanent residence status and are in the process of requesting refugee protection in Canada. As a result, the resettlement assistance program is not available to them until their status is determined.

⁵⁶¹ Affordable Housing Association of Nova Scotia. Accessed April 24, 2019. <https://www.ahans.ca/reports>

⁵⁶² Global News Report, “Affordable housing options ‘not meeting demand,’ says Halifax Deputy Mayor”. June 19, 2018. Accessed April 24, 2019. <https://globalnews.ca/news/4283913/affordable-housing-halifax/>

can take a long time, sometimes prolonging a stressful journey and desire to begin building a new life.

Many interviewees expressed frustration with how the system is set up, as it often presents the main barrier to effectively supporting the resettlement of refugees. What is often talked about as the system refers to how services are delivered. It is important to acknowledge that the “system” is not an amorphous structure beyond our control. It is the result of policy and its implementation. Therefore, responding to this gap requires concerted effort by policy makers and service providers to evaluate how programs need to be provided in order to meet the objectives of policy and meet the needs of refugees in their resettlement process. As Paul Wozney, President of the Nova Scotia Teacher’s Union, observed:

“So, the system as a whole is not, well, it's not relational. It's not, it doesn't acknowledge you as a human being that works with other human beings who's trying to support other human beings, and that understanding of the human beings is an essential part of what you do.”

Paul Wozney, President, Nova Scotia Teacher’s Union

The ability of these systems to dehumanize the individual poses a threat to resilience resources in this exo-system. These is where more cohesive policies could make a difference in transforming systems in such a way as supports young people as they navigate programs and services that they need.

Interim Federal Health Plan (IFHP) Coverage

An important part of the eco-system of young refugees, particularly in their first year in Canada, is the Interim Federal Health Plan (IFHP). The IFHP is the means by which healthcare is covered for these newcomers and ultimately decides what services they can access. As was discussed in a previous chapter, the significant changes made to the IFHP in 2012 have serious implications for the extent of coverage provided to refugees, specifically refugee claimants. Health providers from each province must register with IFHP in order to be reimbursed for providing care to refugees. Across Nova Scotia, approximately 1,000 providers are registered, though this number fluctuates⁵⁶³. In Halifax, the Newcomer Health Clinic is a great example of a hub of healthcare services for refugees and has been an important access point for treatment.

“The clinic started because of the withdrawal of funding for healthcare services under the Harper government, where lots of claimants and failed claimants lost access to health coverage...so that was one of the main pushes for starting the clinic. It came from the fall out of that decision to remove that funding, and then also from the fact that there was a clinic... in Lacewood where ISANS was sending most of their patients but that clinic closed. So, they started to have to use walk-ins, the emerg... it became pretty clear that we should have some kind of clinic to help people out.”

Dr. Mandi Irwin, Newcomer Health Clinic

⁵⁶³ Medavie Blue Cross. “IRCC Provider Listing- Nova Scotia.” Last modified July 2018. Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://ifhp-pfsi.medavie.bluecross.ca/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/12/NS-2018-11-26.pdf>

One significant gap in the IFHP coverage that was repeatedly identified in the interviews was dental health coverage. This was echoed in the literature discussed in the last chapter. Oral health is an important part of physical health. It is both the cause and the result of more serious illnesses⁵⁶⁴. Yet for many refugees, particularly those who have been living in protracted temporary dwellings, access to oral health care was nonexistent⁵⁶⁵. Support for oral health in Canada, through the interim-federal health plan (IFHP) for refugees is minimal, providing only emergency care. Private dental practices have also been slow to take on patients who are covered by IFHP. This came up multiple times with interviewees.

“There are very few dentists who see children at all in Halifax if they don’t have the full insurance. And the insurance that is offered through MSI and provincial services, and the federal IFHP program...is much less than private insurance. So, dentists who accept those patients because...with that child, they are going to have to do a lot of the work pro-bono, or just get paid to do half the work, which a lot of them are not willing to do ethically.”

Dr. Timothy Holland, Newcomer Health Clinic

⁵⁶⁴ MCISc, Kevin Pottie MD, and Barry Maze. "Appendix 16: Dental disease: evidence review for newly arriving immigrants and refugees." *Ethnicity* 1 (2011): 8.

⁵⁶⁵ Macdonald, Mary Ellen, Mark T. Keboa, Nazik M. Nurelhuda, Herenia P. Lawrence, Franco Carnevale, Mary McNally, Sonica Singhal, Khady Ka, and Belinda Nicolau. "The Oral Health of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Canada: A Mixed Methods Study Protocol." *International journal of environmental research and public health* 16, no. 4 (2019): 542.

One local dentist in Halifax made a huge effort to meet the dental health needs of this population by offering her services either free or significantly subsidised, absorbing the remaining cost herself.

“I had some volunteers that did the hygiene part too because they don't cover it, so I had a couple weekends where you know hygienists came in volunteering to help out too. I did this for a full year and that just kind of took my whole energy. I did about \$250,000 worth of work, without counting my time, my materials, staff and all that.”

Dr. Sura Hadad, Dentist, Private Practice

While Dr. Hadad’s work is certainly commendable, it should not have rested on her shoulders to cover the costs of necessary dental procedures for this population. In short, such responses are simply not sustainable. This is an example of the IFHP policies favoring cost-control at the expense of the well-being of refugees and highlights an area where it needs to be revised. More research is needed to understand how to better improve access to dental care for refugees⁵⁶⁶.

⁵⁶⁶ Macdonald, Mary Ellen, Mark T. Keboa, Nazik M. Nurelhuda, Herenia P. Lawrence, Franco Carnevale, Mary McNally, Sonica Singhal, Khady Ka, and Belinda Nicolau. "The Oral Health of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Canada: A Mixed Methods Study Protocol." *International journal of environmental research and public health* 16, no. 4 (2019): 542.

e. Macro-System: Culture and Values

The macro-system of refugee young people is made up of the cultural and social values that exist in their communities. The wider political and social climate has an impact on young refugees and the extent to which they are supported through their resettlement and integration. Understanding the connections between culture and values on the one hand, and the resilience of refugee young people on the other is an important dynamic of the ecological model as its influence is not immediately recognizable and may go unaddressed in assessments of existing services and supports for this population.

“When you look into the literature, they're saying that while some refugees need counselling, more what they need is support in settlement. They need the practical support, they need the orientation, they need to feel that they are moving on, they need to feel that they are in school. Their family needs to have structure. They need to know that they're getting up in the morning and that they have a plan for the day. A lot of the work that we do here is making sure that their settlement is moving, that the family is seeing that it was worth coming, that they're feeling safe, and they are getting their basic needs met. That's very important.”

Wenche Gausdal, Director of Programs, Settlement,
Community Integration and Support Services, ISANS

This interviewee reflected on the existing research we have on what refugee young people need in relation to their resettlement and integration. What is important to note here is that the refugee experience does not inevitably lead to negative outcomes. Rather, supportive resilience resources in the environment of the young person can make a huge difference. In a study done in several disadvantaged neighborhoods in Denver and Chicago, it was found that simply growing up in a lower income neighborhood does not always result in an individual perpetuating a cycle of poverty or crime. As I have discussed, the presence of supportive family members, inclusive and supportive environments (including schools), and peer groups, all play an important role in a young person's ability to succeed despite their context⁵⁶⁷. The findings from this research showcase three issues within the macro-system of refugee young people that have implications for their resilience journey: community acceptance; the label of refugee; and the importance of integration.

Community Acceptance

Looking at the community as a space where resilience can be fostered is an area that has received more research attention in recent years. Children living in communities that have resources such as employment opportunities, education, natural

⁵⁶⁷ Liebenberg, Linda, Natacha Joubert, and Marie-Lynne Foucault. "Understanding core resilience elements and indicators: A comprehensive review of the literature." (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2017). Accessed December 19, 2018.

<https://bettercarenetwork.org/sites/default/files/PHAC%20Resilience%20Report%20-%20Final%20Version%20November%252c%202017.pdf>

resources, community cohesion, and safety, have been found to have higher instances of success and positive resilience^{568,569,570}. Resilience resources provided at the community level, in the context of a cohesive community, have the potential to impact the psychosocial outcomes of young refugees⁵⁷¹.

“I think isolation of any kind is not a good thing. Although we want comradery and understanding, we want integration in the true sense. You know, you want to become part of; to create that sense of belonging to your new community.”

Sonja Grcic-Stuart, EAL Consultant, Halifax Regional Education Centre

As this quote demonstrates, being able to identify with your community and feel “a part of” it is a critical piece of successful integration. Resilience is strongly influenced by context, which is why it is important for us to understand what factors support resilience for young refugees in Canada in order to harness the protective influences on this population⁵⁷². Factors such as their experience in a conflict setting, and the length of time they experienced displacement or lived in a refugee camp are important issues to understand in terms of how young people are processing their experiences and engaging with their new life in Canada. What we need to understand better is what helps a young person “settle” and “adjust” to life in Halifax, and similar municipalities,

⁵⁶⁸ Noltemeyer, Amity L., and Kevin R. Bush. "Adversity and resilience: A synthesis of international research." *School Psychology International* 34, no. 5 (2013): 474-487.

⁵⁶⁹ Obrist, Brigit, Constanze Pfeiffer, and Robert Henley. "Multi-layered social resilience: A new approach in mitigation research." *Progress in Development Studies* 10, no. 4 (2010): 283-293.

⁵⁷⁰ Ungar et al., 2007. IBID

⁵⁷¹ Liebenberg, Joubert and Foucault. 2017. IBID.

⁵⁷² Noltemeyer, A.L. and Bush, K.R., 2013. Adversity and resilience: A synthesis of international research. *School Psychology International*, 34(5), pp.474-487.

so that we can better support this population by ensuring the resources they need are both accessible and effective.

I heard many times from participants that when young refugees were accepted into the community and were able to access the positive resources it had to offer, whether that be recreation, faith support, or simply just making friends, the service providers saw a positive outcome for these young people. This is consistent with one of the seven tensions of resilience that Ungar et al. outlined- having that sense of purpose, of value, and seeing oneself as a member of a group⁵⁷³.

While connecting with people and supports in their community can produce wide-spread benefits for newcomers as well as foster understanding in the wider community, there are other needs to consider. Some interviewees reflected on the distinctive issues for women and girls, and the challenges they must face when integrating into life here in Halifax. While the challenges women and girls face were mentioned several times, this does not mean that boys would be immune from the challenge of new cultural norms and expectations. Often the lives that women lead in Canada do not match the cultural ideas they bring with them about what women are able to do in society.

“I had to go and speak with some ladies of the community. Where I'm a lady police officer that's kind of unheard of where they're from so... I mean it is odd for them but probably good to see as well... I found especially the young girls

⁵⁷³ Ungar et al, 2007. IBID

really want to take pictures with me because I was a police officer and I'm a woman."

Constable Raylene Way, Community Response Officer for
Clayton Park and Fairview, Halifax Police

A big part young people being able to process these new norms are influenced by the extent to which their new communities are inclusive spaces⁵⁷⁴. In a study done on pre-migration trauma and post-migration discrimination towards refugee youth in Canada, it was found that youth experienced higher levels of observable emotional problems and aggressive behaviour when they encountered racism. Anti-refugee discrimination plays a significant role in the young person's ability to positively adapt to life in Canada⁵⁷⁵. There is an opportunity here to foster a welcoming community for young refugees amongst their peers through education about different cultures and the important role that they can play in making their city and community a positive space for newcomers. The benefits not just for the newcomer but for themselves is something that is not really talked about and giving Canadian-born youth this sense of ownership over the atmosphere of their schools is an important resilience resource in which programs could contribute in a positive way⁵⁷⁶.

⁵⁷⁴ Liebenberg, Joubert and Foucault. 2017. IBID.

⁵⁷⁵ Beiser, Morton, and Feng Hou. "Mental health effects of premigration trauma and postmigration discrimination on refugee youth in Canada." *The Journal of nervous and mental disease* 204, no. 6 (2016): 464-470.

⁵⁷⁶ Liebenberg, Joubert and Foucault. 2017. IBID.

The Label of “Refugee”

In many of my interviews, there was concern expressed about the label of “refugee” and the barriers that presents for refugees in resettling in Halifax. In many cases, refugees have resisted being identified as a refugee for several reasons. One is the reluctance of a refugee to forever carry this label. According to the 1951 Convention, a person is no longer a refugee when they either return to their home country, or when they integrate into their host country and stay permanently⁵⁷⁷. In Canada, refugees are given permanent residency when they arrive. While they did arrive as refugees, many do not want to be forever identified with how they arrived and the often stressful and dangerous circumstances that surrounded their need for a new home.

“A lot of clients here want to shed their refugee or refugee claimant label as soon as they can, and I think that [is because] they don't want to be viewed as victims or have to deal with stigma because of the label and a lot of people make assumptions about refugees. There are a lot of stereotypes surrounding refugees: that they're poor, uneducated, this and that, and you know a refugee could be anyone. What they have in common is that it wasn't safe for them to be at home and the general public does not understand that.”

Anonymous, service provider in the Halifax area

⁵⁷⁷ UNHCR. *“The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 protocol.”* 2011. Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://www.unhcr.org/about-us/background/4ec262df9/1951-convention-relating-status-refugees-its-1967-protocol.html>

According to many interviewees, the refugee young people they work with shared this sentiment and wished to be seen as newcomers instead of refugees and all of the preconceptions they felt that title brought with it. Many youths that the interviewees work with preferred to be referred to as “youth with refugee experience”, placing their time as a refugee not as their primary identity but as just a part of who they are.

Another issue with the label of refugee is a refugee’s reluctance, or fear, of being identified as a refugee and the prejudice that they would face from friends, colleagues, and so forth. In 2017, the Refugee Health Clinic changed its name to the Newcomer Health Clinic in response to this issue to make their services more accessible to refugees who are concerned about the stigma surrounding their status.

“There were some patients that wouldn't even come to the clinic because it had this big, title refugee on the outside, and they felt there was a lot of stigma attached to that word and so, instead of reinforcing our patient's perspectives of being Canadian and being home as well as allowing patient access by taking away that stigma, we felt that it was imperative for taking that refugee out of the clinic title.”

Dr. Timothy Holland, Newcomer Health Clinic

“So, I know some people they feel embarrassed of the word “refugees” or “immigrant” and they feel... there's a stigma about refugees. And you know

people feel that stigma will haunt them. The minute you mention refugee, they will say oh you've been in a camp, war. So yes, that's some of them but you could be a refugee and you could be sent out of your home but because of (being) a political refugee, you could be facing violence at home."

Fadi Hamdan, Manager Child and Youth Settlement, YMCA

There has been some criticism of this move from the use of "refugee" to "newcomer". While the label might change, the stigma or misunderstandings about this population will not go away simply by changing the word.

"'Refugee' in itself is not a bad word. It's an immigration status like any other. The problem is that label. So, we need to work on the label not on the word, because if you ban the word you still have the label, which is what we found out later on. Yeah, let's call them new Nova Scotians, let's call them something else. The label is still there."

Roberto Montiel, Coordinator, Halifax Local Immigration Partnership

This is a complicated problem requiring a significant effort on the part of policy makers to find ways to educate the public on issues related to refugees and how the resettlement process works. Addressing these misconceptions will be an important step in responding to this issue. What service providers and policy makers need to consider is what the ultimate goals for the resettlement and integration of refugee young people? In light of the need for integrated services, as discussed throughout this dissertation,

what do programs and services need to look like for those goals to be realized? This has important implications for refugee young people as well as the wider community.

The Importance of Integration

Supporting integration is a vital part of resettlement and, ultimately, resilience. This goes beyond the one-year of resettlement support that refugees receive. Integration is a long-term process in which young people need support as they build a new life and become contributing members of society. This is a key feature of the chrono-system of a young refugee's environment, characterizing many important transitions and events in their life. Understanding the long-term process of integration can help inform how services are provided to these young people. In these two quotes, both interviewees remark on the need to understand integration as long-term.

“Sometimes in the first year you come, and you feel like everything is new and exciting and refreshed but after [a while] things start peeling like an onion. Things will start to come up in terms of like you know really missing home, missing the language, the environment, you're missing the celebrations, the holidays you're missing, your peer friends and families. And also, youth struggling in terms of catching up to life here...financially, language wise, culture adaptations. That could be hard too. So that could be triggering for a lot of things.”

Fadi Hamdan, Manager Child and Youth Settlement, YMCA

“Sometimes people think... that process of adaptation will be just you know a few weeks or few months. Usually it takes years you know. Again, it's some students you know quicker, some faster but usually it takes a long, long time. So, a lot of challenges.”

Mile Mitrovic, YMCA School Settlement Worker, Duc d’Anville Elementary School

What is important to note here is that both interviewees are first-generation Canadians, having experienced being a newcomer in Halifax and integrating into the community. They speak both from the perspective of both a newcomer and of a service provider about the need for integration support to be long term.

Many interviewees pointed to the value of community engagement and connection in supporting integration. Fostering a sense of belonging in your new home can help a young refugee feel that they are a part of things in their community and can contribute something to their new home. This quote reflects the value placed on community, though more research needs to be done to determine if the importance of this type of connection is as valuable as believed by many interviewees.

“I really am convinced that the best model of refugee sponsorship is having a group around the refugees, the newcomers. I think that that community support is as valuable and maybe even more valuable than the financial support.”

Rev. Martin Zwicker, First Baptist Church, and
member of Friends of Refugees Dartmouth

This is echoed in recent qualitative research in Canada, that those refugees who are privately sponsored have had more positive experiences with integration as the community support that they received through their sponsors played an important role in fostering new relationships and connections⁵⁷⁸.

“I would say the majority of the population for sure want to adjust and resume their normal way of life... they want to continue and look forward and be very positive. There are others though that may tend to dwell and look back, and I find that depends on the circumstances that they find themselves (in) when they settle. So, the more optimistic the environment to settle, the more supports... I'm talking about human supports, people who understand, people who do not make them feel any different.... Either you can make or break the situation, and if people aren't feeling optimistic in their new [home], then it may go in a different direction and manifest itself into some mental or health issues. But I do find that that the better the newcomers are received in their new community, you mitigate those stressors.”

Sonja Grcic-Stuart, EAL Consultant, Halifax Regional Education Centre

Not all refugees will have the same integration needs. Engaging directly with people like the police in a positive way can go a long way in bridging such cultural gaps.

⁵⁷⁸ Hanley, Jill, Adnan Al Mhamied, Janet Cleveland, Oula Hajjar, Ghayda Hassan, Nicole Ives, Rim Khyar, and Michaela Hynie. "The Social Networks, Social Support and Social Capital of Syrian Refugees Privately Sponsored to Settle in Montreal: Indications for Employment and Housing During Their Early Experiences of Integration." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50, no. 2 (2018): 123-148.

Again, this is linked to the value of community engagement and overcoming misconceptions on both sides to foster new relationships.

In Halifax, the community of people that serve newcomers is relatively small, allowing for relationships and more opportunities (often deriving from necessity) for collaborations than in larger cities. What is lacking in the city, however, is connections outside of this “newcomer services” sector, to broader programs that exist for youth. There are several youth initiatives that exist in Halifax, from mental health support to art-based expression, leadership training, and general groups that have formed around hobbies or interests. What surprised me was how disconnected the world of youth services is from newcomer services. In a smaller city, these two groups still do not constitute a large number of individuals or organizations and yet there has not been a lot of meaningful engagement or collaboration between them. For example, several youth organizations that I reached out to did not feel they could participate in this research because they did not have a specific newcomer focus.

Resettlement is a difficult process that is strewn with potential stressors and challenges that can isolate refugees and keep them from establishing their lives in their new home. This requires us to see resettlement as broader than that first year after arrival. Policy needs to reflect this need for more effective services that can reach this population over the long-term.

6.6- Theoretical Findings

Bronfenbrenner's social-ecological theory was applied in this dissertation to identify resilience resources in the environment of young refugees in Halifax. It is an important framework for exploring service provision to this population, as effective resources in a young person's environment are vital for their wellbeing. While their individual strengths play an important role, there are supports in their environment that contribute to their resilience process. This idea of resilience resources allows policy makers and service providers alike to conceptualize the programs and services available to refugee young people as critical contributions to their well-being. In this section, I will present key theoretical findings from this research.

Over recent decades, resilience research has broadened its focus from an individual's experiences and identifying individual characteristics to understanding the processes leading to well-being, capturing the many contributing factors that support a person along their journey⁵⁷⁹. Early research paid specific attention to the individual characteristics associated with positive outcomes of well-being, focusing on the risk and protective factors associated with an individual's ability to cope in challenging circumstances. This idea that resilience is something that an individual *has* rather than a *process* that is facilitated by families, schools, communities, and governments has been criticized for oversimplifying the complex reality of young people in adversity^{580,581}.

⁵⁷⁹ Liebenberg and Ungar 2009

⁵⁸⁰ Boyden and Mann, 2005. IBID.

⁵⁸¹ Ungar et al. 2007. IBID.

Instead, an understanding of resilience needs to go beyond the individual into their “life space”, paying attention to the interaction between the individual and their environment^{582,583}. Policy makers and services providers need to see resettlement and integration support as a means of making available resilience resources that promote positive outcomes.

While the systems in this social ecological model do not always depend on each other for a young person to succeed, they can impact outcomes in other systems. The interaction of resilience resources between system levels is an important dimension of serving refugee young people. For example, the ability of schools to be spaces for resilience resources (Meso-system) is influenced by the need for policy that directs adequate resources to the teachers and educators (Exo-system), and that guides culturally informed responses to the needs for refugee young people (Macro-system). This theme clearly emerged from my research, as interviewees repeatedly emphasized the need for more informed policy that would empower schools to better serve these young people. This is where the concept of proximal processes comes into play. Another example from this research was the connection that was drawn repeatedly between family life and integration for young people. Many service providers spoke of how a supportive family often allowed refugee youth to fully integrate into the community.

⁵⁸² Fraser, Mark W., Laura D. Kirby, and Paul R. Smokowski. "Risk and resilience in childhood." *Risk and resilience in childhood: An ecological perspective 2* (2004): 13-66.

⁵⁸³ Ungar and Liebenberg, 2011

To fully apply Bronfenbrenner's model requires an analysis of the proximal processes that exist, which refers to a young person's interactions with people and resources in their environment.^{584,585} There are many moving parts required to support resilience, particularly as a young refugee is dealing with many changes through their migration and settlement experiences.⁵⁸⁶ One way in which we can think about Bronfenbrenner's model is that although it identifies systems within a young person's world that they can draw from for support, the absence of support in one of those systems does not automatically lead to a negative outcome for the child⁵⁸⁷. Therefore, the connection between risk and outcome should not be considered automatic⁵⁸⁸, given the potential of protective resources that can be made available to refugee young people through service provision. For example, the absence of recreation opportunities for refugee young people was identified in this research. Yet, while this is an area that needs more support many of the youth have found other avenues to make friends through their school, faith communities, and newcomer services, like the YMCA Youth Outreach Program. This is where Bronfenbrenner's model helps identify a gap in research, specifically youth-centred research on how refugee young people would

⁵⁸⁴ Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. The ecology of developmental processes. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Theoretical models of human development*. Hoboken, NJ, US: John Wiley & Sons Inc. (1998). pp. 993-1028.

⁵⁸⁵ Tudge, Jonathan RH, Irina Mokrova, Bridget E. Hatfield, and Rachana B. Karnik. "Uses and misuses of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development." *Journal of family theory & review* 1, no. 4 (2009): 198-210.

⁵⁸⁶ Pieloch, Kerrie A., Mary Beth McCullough, and Amy K. Marks. "Resilience of children with refugee statuses: A research review." *Canadian Psychology/Psychologie canadienne* 57, no. 4 (2016): 330.

⁵⁸⁷ Elliott, Delbert S., Scott Menard, Bruce Rankin, Amanda Elliott, William Julius Wilson, and David Huizinga. *Good kids from bad neighborhoods: Successful development in social context*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

⁵⁸⁸ Noltemeyer, Amity L., and Kevin R. Bush. "Adversity and resilience: A synthesis of international research." *School Psychology International* 34, no. 5 (2013): 474-487.

position themselves within these proximal processes. This will be discussed in more detail in the next and final chapter in terms of recommendations for future action.

When looking at my research findings using Bronfenbrenner's model, there are some gaps in my data that suggest a gap in services for refugee young people. Mental health services for refugee young people are one example of a lack of resources available at the individual level. As noted earlier, there is no psychologist or therapist in the HRM with specialized training on trauma experienced in war. When interviewees were asked where they refer young people who are presenting signs of distress or mental health issues, they all said that they would connect them with someone at the IWK. While this is the only clinical care facility for young people in the province, there is still more resources needed to provide individual mental health care and support.

Many interviewees spoke about the strength of young refugees. As a result, my case study data did not highlight a trend toward mental health problems among this population. However, this is not consistent with the existing body of research about young people who are exposed to violence and displacement, as reviewed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. Therefore, despite the strength of these young refugees, or at least the appearance of strength, we know that young people with refugee experience face significant struggles that can negatively impact their mental health and their successful integration into their new communities. Understanding the experiences of refugee youth in navigating these resources in Halifax is an area that needs more research.

Another gap exposed by my data was in the policy analysis of Canada's response to refugee young people. I identified a void of federal policy as it relates specifically to

this population. By looking at the exo-system of the refugee young person, I was able to incorporate an analysis of issues relating to accessing services and the existing resettlement programs. This helped to establish that the current policy environment presents an opportunity to engage refugee young people to help inform new strategies for integration support that can provide them with resilience resources. Applying a social ecological model to the findings from this research allowed me to capture these dynamics. Cicchette echoes this need for multilevel investigations in order to understand the complexity of how resilience processes can be realized⁵⁸⁹.

In responding to the main research question, Halifax, as a smaller city in Canada, has limited services that are specific to newcomer youth. However, solutions to this are not necessarily through more newcomer-specific programs being developed, but rather for existing services to adopt a newcomer-lens that would allow them to tailor their supports to be more culturally responsive to this population's needs, specifically for those of refugees. This can help support their integration and enable them to become part of the wider community. The youth serving organizations I spoke to expressed a desire to better support newcomer youth but felt either ill-equipped to do so, or that newcomers were not part of their clientele. As I have argued in this dissertation, long-term integration requires services across the city to be inclusive spaces where refugee young people can engage with members of the wider community, and to access the supports they need. More awareness among these organizations is required about what

⁵⁸⁹ Cicchette, D. Annual Research Review: Resilient functioning in maltreated children – past, present, and future perspectives, *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 54, no 4, (2013): 402-422.

refugee youth need and how their integration can be best supported. While Halifax has less resources for responding to refugee young people than larger cities, there is opportunity to foster a collaborative response across community services in the city in order to offer more cohesive supports to this population.

Integration requires culturally competent services for youth beyond newcomer settlement services⁵⁹⁰. Cultural competency is an important idea that impacts resilience resources across the systems surrounding a young person. It is also an important value for cities in general as they strive to be welcoming places for newcomers. Refugee young people often express a desire to connect with Canadian-born youth, and the potential benefit for both themselves and the organizations is creating effective resilience resources in the wider community. For these relationships to be effective, youth services providers need to consider if they are operating in a way that is culturally sensitive. By not attending to their culturally relevant resources, available resilience resources can be limited, leading youth to engage in maladaptive coping⁵⁹¹.

In terms of policy development, applying Bronfenbrenner's model would be a useful strategy in not only identifying the systems that exist around refugee young people, but also how proximal processes can be best supported. This is where researchers and service providers can be involved in championing the inclusion of the voice of these youth as a key strategy for developing effective integration policies.

⁵⁹⁰ Reynolds, Andrew D., and Rachel Bacon. "Interventions supporting the social integration of refugee children and youth in school communities: a review of the literature." *Advances in social work* 18, no. 3 (2018): 745-766.

⁵⁹¹ Bottrell, Dorothy. "Dealing with disadvantage: Resilience and the social capital of young people's networks." *Youth & Society* 40, no. 4 (2009): 476-501.

6.7- Conclusions

This chapter has presented findings that answer the guiding research questions of this dissertation. The themes presented in this section provide an overview of the key issues confronting services and supports for refugee young people, and those agencies and people who provide them. The Bronfenbrenner model provided a conceptual approach to the different systems in which service providers can reach refugee young people with support. The application of a social ecological resilience framework in this research has allowed me to focus on resilience resources located in the environment(s) of refugee young people and how those resources can be effectively mobilized to support their well-being. This framework has guided how I have mapped the services that exist to support refugee young people in Halifax. These services are an important part of the context in which refugee young people are experiencing their resettlement. Research shows that these environmental factors can contribute to a young person's wellbeing by supporting resilience processes.

This again emphasises the importance of effective service provision and the availability of supports for refugee young people. No one deserves to be dismissed as beyond help because of their background, trauma, or limitations. There is an opportunity for services and programs to be that presence in a young refugee's life that can help support their journey and provide them with the resources they need to put them on a positive resilience path.

The findings presented in this chapter provide the foundation for the fourth component of the integrated model of policy research, where recommendations can be

presented that are grounded in the data collected. The vertical and diagonal axes represent the relationship between policy and knowledge, and how different actors and sources contribute to that back-and-forth. It became clear through this research that this is where the policy conversation needs to move for more effective policies to be developed. In Dutch scholar Maarten Hajer's work, he presents an argument for "policy without polity". He argues that policy making today often takes place in an 'institutional void' between the boundaries of traditional polity⁵⁹². Support for refugee youth is an important example where solutions for resettlement and integration require the crossing of traditional lines for effective and cohesive policies to be created⁵⁹³. This requires more systematic engagement between policy makers and the service providers who put those policies related to refugees into practice. Fostering this exchange between service-based knowledge and policy is the central requirement in responding to the needs of refugee young people.

⁵⁹² Hajer, Maarten. "Policy without polity? Policy analysis and the institutional void." *Policy sciences* 36, no. 2 (2003): 175-195.

⁵⁹³ Ratković, Snežana, Kovačević, D., Brewer, C., Ellis, C., Ahmed, N. and Baptiste-Brady, J. *Supporting Refugee Students in Canada: Building on What We Have Learned in the Past 20 Years*. Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. 2017. Accessed August 8, 2019. Retrieved from: <https://espminetwork.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Supporting-Refugee-Students-in-Canada-Report.pdf>

Chapter 7- Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1- Key outcomes of this research

The purpose of this research has been to better understand the policy environment in Canada for the reception and support of refugee young children and youth who are coming from contexts of war and armed conflict. I have used a policy analysis and case study approach to understand how Halifax, as an example of a smaller city, has responded to refugee young people who have been impacted by war and armed conflict. This research required an interdisciplinary approach due to the complexity of the story surrounding the support for young refugees in Canada. By drawing on political science, social work, and international development, I have been able to present a discussion on policy, on services and community supports, and on mental health and resilience in young people, situating this issue within the global context of migration and displacement. None of these issues exist in silos and each must be understood together in order to draw conclusions about the degree of influence each has on the other. Chapter 6 has presented the findings from this case study, highlighting the key areas of both strength and weakness in how Halifax, as a smaller city, has been able to respond to this need. A case study allowed me to gather insights into how service provision in a smaller city operates and how other cities with similar population and infrastructure could benefit from these findings. This will be discussed later in this section.

The goal of this research has been to understand the intersections between policy and implementation that exist and make recommendations for how service providers can be better supported in their work with these young people. The application of resilience theory in this research has focused on resilience resources located in the different levels of the environment of the young person and how those resources can be effectively mobilized to support their well-being. This is where the potential for service provision is seen. It is their ability to provide tailored support to young refugees that facilitates their engagement with resources that in turn support their resilience⁵⁹⁴.

What is important to note here is that the number of refugee young people settling in Nova Scotia has been largely a footnote in most settlement programs and responses, even though they make up over half of all refugees who have settled in Halifax and Nova Scotia. As noted in the Findings (chapter 6), a resettlement assistance program (RAP) initiative designed specifically to support young people does not exist. A Freedom of Information Act request filed with the IRCC, confirmed that there is no mention within the RAP or related policy document of refugee young people and their specific settlement needs. Outside of mentions relating to unaccompanied minors and asylum-seekers, refugee children and youth are addressed as part of the family unit. Services follow this pattern. While family-focused settlement is very important, we cannot overlook the specific needs of young people. This is where the integrated model

⁵⁹⁴ Liebenberg, Linda, and Daphne Hutt-Macleod. "Community development approaches in response to neoliberalism: The example of Eskasoni Mental Health Services, Canada." In *The Routledge Handbook of Global Child Welfare*, pp. 47-58. Routledge, 2017.

for policy research has been useful in this dissertation, in that it has allowed me to capture more informal policy sources and examine this issue across disciplines and services.

ISANS remains the frontline response agency for newcomers into the region. The YMCA Immigrant Services has been the main organization responding to the needs of newcomer young people, providing a variety of programs and services for these youth, including refugee youth. One main function the YMCA fulfils is School Settlement Support⁵⁹⁵, ensuring that schools in the HRM are staffed with a settlement worker that can support a newcomer in registering and settling into a new school system. There have also been some important initiatives that have started in the HRM in recent years, such as the Halifax Local Immigration Partnership (HLIP)⁵⁹⁶, and the Atlantic Immigration Pilot which have been influential in changing how service providers, governments, and businesses work together in responding to the needs to newcomers in the city. All these services demonstrate opportunities to enhance the resilience resources available to these refugee young people.

While there are many different service providers included in this research, there were a limited number who had been specifically involved with services for refugee youth. When we apply a resilience framework, the more important question is where these young people can turn for support in their communities, schools, and so forth, and

⁵⁹⁵ YMCA. "YMCA School Settlement." YMCA of Greater Halifax/ Dartmouth. Accessed December 20, 2018. <http://www.ymcahfx.ca/ymca-school-settlement/>

⁵⁹⁶ HRM. "Halifax Local Immigration Partnership." Halifax Regional Municipality. Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://www.halifax.ca/about-halifax/newcomers/halifax-local-immigration-partnership>

how accessible these services are. We need to consider if services have a newcomer-informed approach to programming. What was found during this case study in Halifax was that traditional youth organizations do not have a newcomer focus in their programming. While there are some instances where refugees are involved, there is no strategic focus on reaching this population. Several gaps and/or challenges were identified through the policy analysis and case study interviews. The previous chapter presented these themes in detail:

- The label of “refugee”
- Accessibility of Services
- Interim Federal Health Plan (IFHP) coverage
- English and Communication barriers
- The Importance of Integration
- Mental Health Support

One important conclusion from this research has been that the existing policy vacuum, as it relates to refugee young people, is a central flaw in our national response to this population. There is no directive, no national mandate, that addresses their needs specifically through the resettlement process. In a scoping review conducted in 2017 of resettlement support for refugee young people, it was found that there was a lack of instructional data for supporting these young people⁵⁹⁷. At the provincial level,

⁵⁹⁷ Ratković, S., D. Kovačević, C. A. Brewer, C. Ellis, N. Ahmed, and J. Baptiste-Brady. "Supporting refugee students in Canada: Building on what we have learned in the past 20 years." (2017).

this gap means that resettlement supports for refugee young people are left to the resettlement agency's discretion, or local initiatives that may or may not develop. In the case of Nova Scotia, this situation is exacerbated by the absence of policies or mandates focused on this population. Collectively, this policy vacuum does not allow for a national standard of excellence in serving refugee children and youth. ISANS is embarking on the development and adoption of a new Immigrant Youth Strategy which is planned to be released in 2019. It will be critical to see how this strategy is conceived and put into action. With so many having come from difficult circumstances, many fleeing armed violence or civil war, a concerted effort to respond to these young people is needed. In the next section, I will lay out several important policy recommendations for both decision makers and service providers who work directly with refugee young people in Halifax.

7.2- Recommendations:

a. Prioritize Youth Engagement

“We have to be more than just observers of children’s suffering; we have to be partners in their struggles.”

The Honourable Landon Pearson, O.C.

One aspect of the broader macro-system in which the resilience of young people can be supported is in their engagement with research and policymaking. I have argued

in this dissertation the need for youth engagement in these processes as their voice is critical for informing policy and services. Another dynamic of this participation is the individual benefit a young person can experience from having their contributions valued and feeling some ownership in the policies and systems that impact them^{598,599}. This is particularly relevant for refugee young people, as their experiences of armed conflict and displacement influence how they engage with the world around them, particularly with services and programs⁶⁰⁰. This is a key recommendation to come from this research- the need to prioritize youth engagement at all levels of decision making. Services and programs can benefit from their contribution and, in turn, can become a resilience resource for young refugees.

Creating space for youth engagement means that there are opportunities for young people to be involved in a program that is intended for them, not just as recipients of support, but as co-creators. This engagement focuses on the positive contribution that young people can make to programs and their effectiveness. Young people are then able to see that their contribution can make a difference, and that they can contribute to some positive changes in their community. In any instance of youth programming, it is important to consider the capacity of the young people in the community and what they would be both willing and able to contribute. Especially

⁵⁹⁸ Guyot, Julie. "Child and Youth Participation in Protracted Refugee Situations." *Children Youth and Environments* 17, no. 3 (2007): 159-178.

⁵⁹⁹ Mniki, Namhla, and Solange Rosa. "Heroes in action: Child advocates in South Africa." *Children Youth and Environments* 17, no. 3 (2007): 179-197.

⁶⁰⁰ McAdam, Jacqueline. "Coping and adaptation: a narrative analysis of children and youth from zones of conflict in Africa." In *Handbook of Resilience in Children of War*, pp. 163-177. Springer, New York, NY, 2013.

thinking of refugee youth, it is important to find ways to engage them that will help and not risk re-traumatization⁶⁰¹.

Young people need to be engaged in this discussion about resettlement. The successful resettlement of newcomer children and youth is an important factor in our country's future success⁶⁰². There is a body of research to show that engaging young people is not only a positive experience for the young people involved but has real implications for the effectiveness of a program or policy^{603,604}. Similarly, resilience research has highlighted the role of civic engagement as a resilience resource in facilitating good outcomes⁶⁰⁵. Therefore, engaging young people is vital for the success of a program or intervention as well as supporting positive youth outcomes. Youth-adult partnerships are a constructive way to make this a reality and can have a positive impact on both the individuals and the success of a program or intervention⁶⁰⁶. When using a resilience framework, we can see that opportunities for young people to see the value of their involvement in a program can be an important factor supporting their resilience. Article

⁶⁰¹ Skeels, Anna, and Monika Sandvik-Nylund. "Participation of adolescents in protection: dividends for all." *Forced Migration Review* 40 (2012): 9. Accessed April 2019.

<https://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/young-and-out-of-place/skeels-sandviknylund.pdf>

⁶⁰² Wilson-Forsberg, Stacey, and Andrew Mackenzie Robinson, eds. *Immigrant Youth in Canada: Theoretical Approaches, Practical Issues, and Professional Perspectives*. (Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁶⁰³ Tedeschi, Richard G., and Ryan P. Kilmer. "Assessing Strengths, Resilience, and Growth to Guide Clinical Interventions." *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice* 36, no. 3 (2005): 230.

⁶⁰⁴ Polack, Emily. "Child rights and climate change adaptation: Voices from Kenya and Cambodia." *Children in A Changing Climate Research Report, Brighton/London: Institute of Development Studies/Plan* (2010).

⁶⁰⁵ Dolan, Pat. "Travelling through social support and youth civic action on a journey towards resilience." In *The social ecology of resilience*, pp. 357-366. Springer, New York, NY, 2012.

⁶⁰⁶ Zinck, Emily, Ungar, Michael, Whitman, Shelly, Exenberger, Silvia, LeVert-Chaisson, Isabelle, Liebenberg, Linda, Ung, Jimmy, & Forshner, Alison. *Working with Children and Youth in Challenging Contexts to Promote Youth Engagement*. Halifax, NS: CYCC Network. 2013. Accessed December 19, 2018. <http://cycnetwork.org/engagement>

12 of the UNCRC does state that a young person has the right to participate in decisions concerning them. Many different approaches have been used in both research and programming to try and fulfil this mandate⁶⁰⁷. However, there are still limited examples of opportunities for partnership with young people where their contributions have a meaningful impact, both globally but also locally⁶⁰⁸.

What was found during this case study in Halifax was that traditional youth organizations do not have a newcomer focus in their programming. While there are the odd occasions where refugees are involved, there is no strategic focus in reaching this population. This is an issue that each youth organization should be challenged to re-evaluate. These organizations represent hubs of services and supports for young people, yet they need to adopt a newcomer lens in order to offer relevant and culturally sensitive support.

Key Recommendations:

- Prioritize involvement of young people at all levels of decision making. This could take the form of youth board members, youth consultations or committees, and so forth. Whichever opportunity is chosen, it must be structured so that young people are truly partners in the process, not token attendees. For those young people facing cultural norms that would prevent their engagement outside of

⁶⁰⁷ Lowicki, Jane. "Beyond consultation: in support of more meaningful adolescent participation." *Forced Migration Review* 15 (2002): 33-35.

⁶⁰⁸ Davis, A., de la Harpe Bergh, G. and Lundy, A. "Young people's engagement in strengthening accountability for the post-2015 Agenda". 2014.

the family context, there needs to be culturally sensitive initiatives to minimize any stress this involvement may cause for both the young person and the other family members. Planning such initiatives requires close collaboration in order to better understand these cultural dynamics and respond effectively.

- Traditional youth organizations would benefit from a needs-assessment study to better understand what newcomer youth might be lacking in terms of supports in the community and how their services might be adapted to meet those needs.

b. Cohesive policies and services for refugee resettlement support

While there are challenges related to the capacity of a small city like Halifax to respond to the needs to refugees, there are also advantages to being a smaller, more closely inter-connected city. Many different interviewees explained that being in a small city made connecting with other service providers simpler than in a larger urban centre. This was based on their personal experience. The importance of collaboration in providing services cannot be overstated, as supporting people through the settlement process requires different moving pieces, such as housing, education, financial support, recreation, and health care, to ideally operate in conjunction with each other^{609,610}. The Integrated Model of Policy Research that was presented in Chapter 2 exemplifies the

⁶⁰⁹ Burchard, JOHN D., ERIC J. Bruns, and SARA N. Burchard. "The wraparound approach." In *Community treatment for youth: Evidence-based interventions for severe emotional and behavioral disorders 2* (2002): 69-90.

⁶¹⁰ Silove, Derrick, Peter Ventevogel, and Susan Rees. "The contemporary refugee crisis: an overview of mental health challenges." *World Psychiatry* 16, no. 2 (2017): 130-139.

importance of collaboration by showing how policy and local knowledge can interact to form more effective policies and an informed response to the needs of this population in the community. The solutions we seek will not come from one organization or government agency, but rather in their collaboration. This collaborative provision of services has not been fully realized in Halifax, mainly because of the siloed nature of service provision and funding. However, the potential to realize this goal exists. The solution to this is not to create new organizations or programs, but rather to optimize and improve upon the current array of services we have so that they can better meet the needs of this population.

Key Recommendations:

- Support initiatives like the Halifax Local Immigration Partnership that can strengthen relationships between service providers in the city.
- Policy makers have an opportunity to optimize the resources already invested in resettlement by promoting coordination and facilitating connections between service providers.
- Cities with a similar-sized population and infrastructure have an opportunity to learn from each other. They can optimize the potential strength in coordinating their services with the goal of creating a wrap-around support network for young refugees.

c. Comprehensive Mental Health Support for Refugee Young People

There has been enormous progress in the area of teen mental health services in the past decade⁶¹¹. Particularly in Canada, there have been new initiatives, including online and mobile platforms, that make relevant information and support accessible for young people. As with other groups of youth, newcomer youth cannot be included into programming as if they are part of a homogenous group with identical needs. Within these initiatives, the various needs of these young people need to be addressed. Also, in terms of traditional, in-person clinical care in Halifax, there is currently no psychologist, psychiatrist, or other mental health professional that is specialized in young victims of trauma as a result of war or armed conflict. This has important implications for any refugee young people who need this level of intervention.

Despite the strength of refugees, we cannot dismiss the (often unseen or unspoken) mental health needs that exist amongst this population. In the case of young people, there has been no comprehensive study of what those needs are, which is a significant gap that prevents policy and services from being effective. There are important cultural dynamics that need to be considered when providing mental health support. Using both an individual-centric and a community-wide approach to mental health and well-being support for young people would be extremely beneficial. This multi-tiered approach not only responds to the needs of those in distress, but to the important environmental elements in the community that (drawing on the insights of

⁶¹¹ Mental Health Commission of Canada. Accessed April 24, 2019.
<https://www.mentalhealthcommission.ca/English/what-we-do/children-and-youth>

resilience theory) can directly impact a young person dealing with trauma⁶¹². Some of these elements can help or hinder the health process. We need to better understand what helps a young person “settle” and “adjust” in their new life so that we can better support this population by ensuring the resources they need are both accessible and effective.

Key Recommendations:

- The process for accessing mental health services needs to be more streamlined in order to improve the speed of access. In the case of refugee young people, extending the time in which they can access mental health services under the IFHP would be an important change that is supported by a large evidence base in both research and practice.
- An in-depth, participatory research study is required in Halifax to better understand the needs of refugee young people through their resettlement process. This would inform both policies and services related to this population.
- Mental health initiatives for children and youth need to assess how they might be able to expand to include formal and informal mental health supports specific to newcomer young people.
- Engaging with the wider community about the issues that newcomers face, and the mental health struggles that they face, would go a long way in supporting the success of any new initiatives to support refugee young people. This would help

⁶¹² Bronfenbrenner, Urie. *The ecology of human development*. (Harvard university press, 2009).

build a network of trust which can go a long way in destigmatizing mental health treatment by connecting acute care with broader supports offered to the general population^{613,614}.

d. Importance of supporting school-based initiatives

“I think schools are a focal point for supports for newcomer children and adolescents... I couldn't believe any more profoundly in the value of those students being in our school, not just for their sake but for my sake and for the sake of the students in the class, it was good for all of us.”

Paul Wozney -- President, Nova Scotia Teacher's Union

Schools are the main hub for services that refugee youth can access, whether it be language training or their broader introduction to Canadian culture. Students spend a large part of their time in school, thus making them a very important place to consider how newcomer supports are provided. Unfortunately, the HRCE did not allow me to approach principals and teachers in the HRM to be interviewed. However, as I explained in an earlier chapter, I was able to speak with school settlement workers, school-based police officers, as well as the president of the Nova Scotia Teachers Union who all offered valuable insights into how our schools have been able to respond to refugee

⁶¹³ Ellis, B. Heidi, Alisa B. Miller, Saida Abdi, Colleen Barrett, Emily A. Blood, and Theresa S. Betancourt. "Multi-tier mental health program for refugee youth." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 81, no. 1 (2013): 129.

⁶¹⁴ National Research Council & Institute of Medicine. *Preventing Mental, Emotional, and Behavioral Disorders Among Young People: Progress and Possibilities*. (Washington, DC: The National Academic Press, 2009).

young people. Interviewees repeatedly expressed concern over the need for EAL support in schools to be increased to meet the needs of refugee young people. The frustrations they see in young people who are not able to understand what is being taught, or participate in school activities because of the language barrier, causes significant stress on the young person and has resulted in some youth giving up on education entirely⁶¹⁵. Schools are an important space where young people face a large part of their integration journey and supporting their resilience throughout this transition. We need to consider where these young people are coming from and how their past experiences are going to inform their integration.

Key Recommendations:

- More resources need to be made available in schools to develop more wrap-around supports for refugee young people as they begin their schooling.
- EAL support needs to be improved to match the scale of the need, especially in schools in certain neighbourhoods where the majority of GARs are settled (in the case of Halifax, this would be the Clayton Park and Spryfield areas).

e. Systemic barriers need to be overcome

“People want to help. Service providers and specialist specialists- you know they're really willing. However, there are barriers - mostly systemic - that really

⁶¹⁵ Frønes, Ivar. "Status zero youth in the welfare society." *Child Indicators Research* 3, no. 3 (2010): 313-326.

make it hard for service providers to really provide a quality standard of health care. You know... we mostly talk about the barriers for clients. But there are barriers for service providers which is really important to acknowledge as well, if you want to change things.”

Zrinka Seles-Vanjes -- ISANS Coordinator, Immigrant Health

Systemic barriers to accessing services and support exist in many different parts of our society. These barriers are often policies and procedures that do not operate in the best interest of the newcomer. The example given in the findings chapter about receiving a health card shows how disjointed policies can have a serious impact on individuals. Many interviewees expressed frustration with how systems are set up, as this often presents the main barrier to effectively supporting the resettlement of refugees.

Whether it is the education system, transportation, community services, or health care, when policy decisions are made without accounting for newcomers, this becomes a significant obstacle to effective service provision. The “system” is not an amorphous structure beyond our control. It is the result of policy and its implementation. Therefore, responding to this obstacle requires concerted effort by policy makers and service providers to evaluate how programs need to be provided or adapted in order to meet the objectives of policy and meet the needs of refugees in their resettlement. I have used an integrated model for policy research in this dissertation to respond to this need for more dynamic evaluation of the current policy

and service environment. I have mapped out the services for refugee young people in the current policy context, and how they relate to each other. This integrated problem-solving approach has allowed me to use grounded theory to identify strategies and recommend next steps so that we can respond to existing policy gaps.

As was discussed earlier, it is one thing for services that are directly intended for newcomers to be prepared to serve them effectively, but it is also important for the general public to be made more aware of the issues that refugees face upon arrival in Canada and where the needs are most acute.

“I think that for our organization, from a Christian standpoint, it goes beyond any sort of just general human goodness to a real capacity to participate in God's love for other people, right? And so, it's not just a good political practice, it's not just a good societal practice, it is a spiritual pursuit to love to welcome these people.”

Ronnie Lunn, Youth Ministry Coordinator, St. Benedict's Parish

There is much potential here for people from all walks of life to engage with this country's newcomer populations. Yet often this potential is overshadowed by stigma and prejudices. Misunderstandings in the public and the stereotypes associated with refugees are a complicated problem requiring a significant effort on the part of policy makers to find ways to educate the public on issues related to refugees and their circumstances once they arrive in Canada. Clearing up misconceptions will be an important step in responding to this issue.

Key Recommendations:

- With many disjointed policy structures and regulations surrounding service provision, an evaluation is needed to assess how service providers can function more collaboratively to meet the needs of their clients and what can be changed to improve this process.
- There needs to be a thoughtful strategy developed to better reach the general public with sound information about newcomers, and specifically refugees. Challenging misinformed ideas about this population, arising from false information or perceptions, policy makers need to consider how to counter with facts and clarity about the resettlement process and how the wider community can be involved.
- Cultural competency training needs to be mainstreamed to businesses, government offices, and service providers. This will help with facilitating a positive integration experience for both newcomers and their host communities.
- The media is an important actor in informing public opinion. Therefore, collaboration with media outlets to find effective ways of sharing information about refugee young people and how the wider community can contribute to a positive resettlement experience is an important objective.

7.3- Recommendations for Future Research

One common element that can be drawn from these findings is the need for more youth-centred research, to better understand not just where these services exist in Halifax and elsewhere, but how accessible they are to youth and how effective they are in meeting the needs of refugee children and youth. Effective resources in a young person's environment are critically important for their wellbeing and ability to be "resilient".

The role that families play in the resettlement experiences of refugee young people would also be an important factor to investigate further. Many service providers advocate for more family-focused programming as a way of helping all members of the family settle into their new life. Also, understanding the gender dynamics in resettlement is an important area that needs further research. While the challenges facing women and girls were mentioned several times, this does not mean that boys are immune from distinctive challenges associated with new cultural norms and expectations. In the previous chapter, I discussed the differing outcomes between boys and girls, both in terms of education and health. Outside of quantitative data, there is not a lot of research into the gendered experience of migration for refugee youth in Canada.

As I have argued in this dissertation, what we need to understand more, is what truly supports a young person through their resettlement and ensure that those resources are both accessible and effective. We need this insight to better understand how our existing services are meeting the needs of these young people and where there

are gaps. Engaging refugee young people in assessing and developing resettlement resources and services will allow for the development of more effective programs to support their needs and circumstances. Providing more informed supports can better allow them to successfully integrate into Canadian society. Another important research focus would be how our current policy-making structure is set up to engage with these young people in a meaningful and culturally sensitive way, that will ultimately impact how services are made available in the city.

7.4- Conclusion

There is a rich story to tell about Halifax's response to refugees who have been settled in our region, and many lessons that still need to be learnt. The main question guiding this research was, "How are smaller urban centres, like Halifax, prepared to support refugee youth from war-affected regions in their resettlement and integration?" As I have presented in this dissertation, there are opportunities and challenges to effectively meeting the needs of young refugees in smaller cities. There are many dedicated people involved in efforts to support these newcomers through their resettlement. This research has been a journey of discovery, as I have gained understanding of the strength and potential that Halifax has as a city to facilitate a more positive, effective, and sustainable resettlement experience for refugee young people. I believe the above recommendations have the potential to move this community closer to achieving this goal.

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Appendix A: Key Terms

Children affected by armed conflict (CAAC): “A very broad category referring to the various groups of children that are adversely affected by armed conflict...either directly or indirectly.”⁶¹⁶

Blended Visa Office-Referred Refugee (BVOR): Refugees who are referred by UNHCR and their profiles are posted for private sponsors to take on. For these refugees, their first six months of support comes from the government, while the remaining 6 months are the responsibility of the sponsor. BVORs are preapproved before arriving in Canada, and thus arrive as permanent residents.⁶¹⁷

Displacement: “Refers to the forced movement of people from their locality or environment and occupational activities. It is a form of social change caused by a number of factors, the most common being armed conflict. Natural disasters, famine, development and economic changes may also be a cause of displacement.”⁶¹⁸

Government assisted Refugees (GARs): “A refugee who is referred to Canada for resettlement by the UNHCR or another referral organization. GARs are preapproved before arriving in

⁶¹⁶ ICRC. “Workshop Reports: Children Affected by Armed Conflict and Other Situations of Violence.” Geneva, March 2011. Accessed December 19, 2018. <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/publications/icrc-002-4082.pdf>. Page 9.

⁶¹⁷ IRCC. “Evaluation of the Resettlement Programs (GAR, PSR, BVOR, and RAP).” Final Report 2016. Government of Canada. Accessed December 19, 2018. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/reports-statistics/evaluations/resettlement-programs.html#toc1>

⁶¹⁸ UNESCO. “Displaced Person/ Displacement.” Last modified 2017. Accessed December 19, 2018. <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/displaced-person-displacement/>

Canada, and thus arrive as permanent residents. GARs receive support for up to one year from the date of their arrival in Canada or until they are able to support themselves.”⁶¹⁹

Gender: “...refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, expressions and identities of girls, women, boys, men, and gender diverse people. It influences how people perceive themselves and each other, how they act and interact, and the distribution of power and resources in society. Gender is usually conceptualized as a binary (girl/woman and boy/man) yet there is considerable diversity in how individuals and groups understand, experience, and express it.”⁶²⁰

Integration: “A dynamic, multi-faceted two-way process which requires adaptation on the part of the newcomers, but also the society of destination.”⁶²¹

Internally displaced person (IDP): “Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border.”⁶²²

⁶¹⁹ IRCC. “Government-Assisted Refugees Program”. Government of Canada. 2016. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/help-outside-canada/government-assisted-refugee-program.html>

⁶²⁰ CIHR. “Definitions of Sex and Gender”. Last modified 2015. Accessed December 19, 2018. <http://www.cihr-irsc.gc.ca/e/47830.html>

⁶²¹ Yu, Soojin, Estelle Ouellet, and Angelyn Warmington. “Refugee integration in Canada: A survey of empirical evidence and existing services.” *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 24, no. 2 (2007).

⁶²² UNHCR. “IDP Definition. *Emergency Handbook*.” Accessed December 19, 2018. <https://emergency.unhcr.org/entry/250553/idp-definition>

Mental Health: “A state of well-being in which every individual realizes his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to her or his own community.”⁶²³

Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs): “Refugees who are sponsored by Canadian citizens or sponsorship agreement holders, to come to Canada. PSRs are preapproved before arriving in Canada, and thus arrive as permanent residents. Private sponsors provide financial and settlement support for the refugees they sponsor.”⁶²⁴ This support is provided for 1 year, similar to GARs.

Refugee: “A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries.”⁶²⁵

Refugee Claimant: “A person who has not yet received legal status from the government. They are in the process of making a refugee claim and are working through the refugee determination process.”⁶²⁶

⁶²³ WHO. “Mental Health: A state of Well-being.” Last modified 2014. Accessed December 19, 2018. https://www.who.int/features/factfiles/mental_health/en/

⁶²⁴ CCR. “Private Sponsorship of Refugees.” Canadian Council for Refugees. Accessed December 19, 2018. <https://ccrweb.ca/en/private-sponsorship-refugees>

⁶²⁵ UNHCR. “What is a Refugee?”. Accessed December 19, 2018. <https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/what-is-a-refugee/>

⁶²⁶ Halifax Refugee Clinic. “What is the different between a refugee and a refugee claimant?” Last modified 2009. Accessed on December 19, 2018. <http://halifaxrefugeeclinic.org/?p=226>

Resettlement: “The transfer of refugees from an asylum country to another State that has agreed to admit them and ultimately grant them permanent settlement.”⁶²⁷

Resilience: “In the context of exposure to significant adversity, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to the psychological, social, cultural, and physical resources that sustain their well-being, and their capacity individually and collectively to negotiate for these resources to be provided in culturally meaningful ways.”⁶²⁸

Social Capital: “Networks, together with shared norms, values, and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or among groups.”⁶²⁹

Violence: “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation.”⁶³⁰

⁶²⁷ UNHCR. “Resettlement.” Accessed December 19, 2018. <https://www.unhcr.org/resettlement.html>

⁶²⁸ Ungar, Michael. “Resilience across cultures.” *The British Journal of Social Work* 38, no. 2 (2008): 218-235. Page 225.

⁶²⁹ Hanley, Jill, Adnan Al Mhamied, Janet Cleveland, Oula Hajjar, Ghayda Hassan, Nicole Ives, Rim Khyar, and Michaela Hynie. “The Social Networks, Social Support and Social Capital of Syrian Refugees Privately Sponsored to Settle in Montreal: Indications for Employment and Housing During Their Early Experiences of Integration.” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50, no. 2 (2018): 123-148.

⁶³⁰ WHO. “Definition and typology of Violence.” Violence Prevention Alliance. Accessed December 19, 2018. <https://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/definition/en/>

Appendix B: Interview questions

Q1. Tell me about your work. Do you work directly with young people?

Q2. What has been your experience in working with refugee young people?

Q3. How has the recent influx of Syrian refugees impacted your work?

Q4. What other organizations/ agencies do you know of that offer support of some kind to refugee young people?

Q5. Is there a main agency, or government department, that coordinates the response to refugee young people? If so, who? If not, where do you see the potential for a more coordinated approach to services?

Q6. To your knowledge, are refugee young people who are coming from war-affected regions offered any additional support? If so, what does that look like?

Q7. Do you see any gaps in services and support for refugee young people coming from war-affected regions?

Q8. What strengths have you seen in Halifax's response, as a municipality and as a community, to refugee young people? What weaknesses?

Q9. Where do you see areas for improving how services are provided to young refugees?