

**The Settlement and Integration Experiences of Immigrant Men in Canada:
A Case Study on the Somali-Canadian Diaspora**

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A Major Research Paper

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ABSTRACT

This research paper studies the settlement and integration experiences of Somali migrant men in Canada. It argues that because of obstacles regarding the recognition of immigrants' credentials in Canada, these men have struggled to adjust and Canada has failed to successfully economically integrate them. A small study consisting of 5 interviews were conducted, analyzed and related to literature, theoretical frameworks and current Canadian programs and policies. The results demonstrated that Somali migrant men have formed a diasporic attachment to the homeland in an attempt to regain their former status. Emerging from this are actions of transnationalism and return migration as well as identity meshing influenced from the homeland and the adopted country. Additionally, these experiences have affected the family unit due to financial difficulties stemming from un- or underemployment. This has also impacted the desire to return to the homeland, creating a physical absence in the family in the adopted country. As a result, it appears that these experiences are strengthening ties to their homeland and diminishing ties to the adopted nation.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Background

There is a general expectation in immigrant-receiving nations that newcomers will settle, and assimilate into their adopted country's way of living, while in time their ties to the homeland fade (Levitt and Glick Schiller: 2004: 1002). This expectation is apparent in Canada, where there is significant public policy in place that attempts to encourage newcomers to integrate into society, while supporting them economically and promoting active citizenship (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, Report on Plans and Priorities 2015-2016: 45). These policies are created to support and fulfill these expectations. They are also entwined into the nation state's role in shaping those who reside within its borders. For example, Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), the department responsible for immigration, citizenship and settlement/integration states that

“... Fundamentally, the Department builds a stronger Canada by helping immigrants and refugees settle and integrate into Canadian society and the economy, and by encouraging and facilitating Canadian citizenship” as a main duty for their department (Ibid: 3).

Many of these policies and programs are created to assist the most vulnerable migrants: refugees. Existing literature suggests that despite this, refugees, particularly focused on women, are strongly influenced by their homeland, forming diasporic connections (Mohammed 1999; Langellier 2010; Hopkins 2010; Tiilikainen 2003). Moreover, although integration policies are intended to support newcomers, these authors suggest that for forced migrants, in particular, maintaining these connections to the homeland is a very real occurrence. This is seen in various ways, from engaging in transnational activities such as remittances or engaging in cross-border

politics in their homeland and/or ideas, to the act of migration (return or circular) with possible impacts on how they belong.

The experiences of forced migrants and diaspora groups have been written about extensively in the literature with a particular focus on the experiences of women (Mohammed 1999; Langellier 2010; Hopkins 2010; Tiilikainen 2003). Furthermore, it appears that the existing research in this area seldom focuses on the experiences of men. It is because of this absence that this research project is focused on the experiences of migrant men. The reasons and impacts for this absence were key considerations of the research project and speak to its objectives. However, as I will discuss subsequently in the methodology section of this paper, I encountered unexpected obstacles that help to explain this absence. These obstacles also impacted the nature and results of this research.

Research Question(s) and Objectives

From existing literature on forced migrants, it seems settling, integrating and adjusting to the adopted country can be a challenging process (Danso 2002; Austin and Este 2001). Therefore, this research is aimed to explore these particular experiences of vulnerable forced migrants (i.e. former refugees) in Canada using the case study of older Somali males (former refugees) in Ottawa, Canada. The Somali community was used as a case study as most forcibly immigrated to Canada in the 1990s due to the conflict and turmoil in their homeland (Danso 2002: 4). A majority of the population of the Somali community that immigrated to Canada due to the civil war entered as *In Canada Asylum Claimants* (refugee claimants) (Danso 2002; Mohammed 1999), including the participants in this study. Using this case study, the central research question for this paper is as follows: *What are the settlement and integration experiences faced by forced migrant men in regards to adjusting to Canada?* This question raised several other sub questions such as: *How do Canadian citizenship and immigration*

policies impact on these experiences? How do these experiences shape their attachment to their homeland? What kind of problems does this present for the Canadian state with respect to the settlement and integration of immigrants? Drawing upon the literature on refugees, I hypothesized that these populations have struggled to adjust socially and economically, resulting in a diasporic connection to their homeland and that the nation state has similarly struggled to successfully socially and economically integrate these populations.

This paper will explore these questions in three ways. Firstly, this project will examine the first hand experiences of the male members of the Somali-Canadian diaspora. Secondly, it will discuss why and how their socio-economic experiences in Canada impact their sense of belonging in Canada. Finally, it will assess the impact of social belonging and the migration experience on the family unit as well as addressing the overall impacts of Canadian immigration and citizenship policies on newcomers. Ultimately, this project aimed to build upon literature on forced migrant groups and to create a new space for the particular discussion of the issues surrounding men in this population.

Before discussing the results of my research, I will first detail the structure of this major research paper. In *Chapter Two*, I start by recounting the history of immigration and citizenship in Canada that has led to the opening of doors for vulnerable immigrant populations into the country. In *Chapter Three*, I define the terms used in this paper as well as discuss the theoretical/conceptual frameworks and the literature from the study of migration, transnationalism, settlement and integration. In *Chapter Four*, I describe my methodology as well as the obstacles that I faced while undergoing my research. In *Chapter Five*, I detail an analysis of my findings and how they relate to literature, theoretical frameworks and current Canadian programs and policies on citizenship, immigration and integration. Finally, I end with

the conclusion in *Chapter Six*, where I summarize and review the main issues discussed in this paper.

Based on my findings, I conclude that Somali migrant men have formed a diasporic attachment to the homeland in an attempt to regain their former status. From this attachment to the homeland, I found that emerging are actions of transnationalism and return migration as well as identity meshing influenced from the homeland and the adopted country. Furthermore, the issues that stem from the settlement and integration experiences have negatively affected the family unit due to the dysfunction created from financial struggles stemming from the lack of proper employment opportunities for the men. As a result, this has affected the men's desire to return to the homeland, creating a physical absence in the family in the adopted country. Overall, it appears that these settlement and integration experiences are strengthening the ties to their homeland and diminishing ties to the adopted nation.

CHAPTER TWO: AN ACCOUNT OF CANADIAN IMMIGRATION, CITIZENSHIP AND SETTLEMENT POLICY

Each year, Canada welcomes over 200,000 immigrants (permanent residents) with 2015 seeing approximately 260,000 and 285,000 new permanent residents landed (CIC Notice – Supplementary Information to the 2015 Immigration Levels Plan). Immigration has become known as the foundation of which Canada has been built on (Gushulak and Williams 2004: 127) and policies in place are supposed to ensure the development of the nation, economically, socially and political as well as aiming to further support the social fabric (Ghosh and Pyrcce 1999: 233). In order to explore if and how immigrant populations are adjusting to Canada, I begin by reviewing the historical development of the immigration and citizenship system that enabled their arrival to the country. The following sections provide a brief discussion on the history and nature of immigration, citizenship and settlement in Canada.

Immigration Legislation in Canada: Post-Confederation

According to Jayati Ghosh and Vanessa J. Pyrcce (1999), who provide a concise overview of Canadian immigration policies, at the time of Confederation in 1867, there were three main immigration waves entering Canada: the Loyalists, Americans and immigrants from the British Isles. During this time, immigrants mostly immigrated to coastal provinces demonstrating a settlement pattern linked to water. However, due to falling fertility rates and increasing rates of out-migration, the first immigration act was introduced and passed in 1869 encouraging immigration from Great Britain, the United States, Northern Europe and specific types of individuals were targeted: farmers with capital, labours in the agricultural sector and female domestic workers (Ghosh and Pyrcce 1999: 234). This policy's backbone leaned towards the economic stability of the country.

In later years, changes to immigration volumes continued to occur (Ibid: 235). For example, due to the post war recession, the national government decreased immigration to Canada. Furthermore, in the 1930s, the national government introduced deportation as a means to resolve the economic issues faced in the country. Following the Second World War, there was pressure on Canada to open the country to displaced individuals in European Refugee camps who were awaiting relocation. Since it was a time of economic growth, new immigration policies followed suit and the number of immigrants to Canada increased following 1946.

New immigration measures implemented in 1956 were put into place related to economic requirements and immigration patterns. These new measures placed immigrants in four different categories, which was essentially a hierarchical system. This system began with British subjects from the United Kingdom who were unsponsored at the top, along with members of the white Commonwealth, persons of American origin and French origin in the “most desirable immigrant” category. In the next desirable category were unsponsored immigrants from particular western European nations, followed by a range of sponsored European relatives, America and specific nations in the Middle East. Lastly, the least desirable category was aimed to limit the sponsoring of relatives by Asians (Ibid: 235). However, in the early 1960s, new measures were put into place that started the process towards a non-racist immigration policy.

Canada: Towards a Non-Racist Immigration Policy

As described previously, in the early days of Canadian immigration acts, immigration to Canada from non-traditional/non-European sources was less common, given that the legislation instead favoured a “white Canada” immigration policy (Danso 2002: 3). However, this changed in the post-1960s climate in many developed countries, which supported the recognition of the plight of those in developing countries. Encouraged by the equality, justice and rights-based movements occurring in these countries at the time, liberalized immigration policies with a more

global vision were introduced and the racist policies founded on ethnicity and origin of the past that governed these nations' immigration practices were formally abolished (Ibid: 3). Thus, in Canada as well as in other Western countries, borders were essentially opened for migrants from non-traditional source regions, especially for those experiencing extreme turmoil in their homeland (Ibid: 3).

In the early 1960s and into the decade, economic development in Canada grew rapidly and the country found itself in need of a larger labour supply; therefore immigration was seen to be a means of accessing individuals who had the required skills, particularly in technical and professional occupations (Ghosh and Pyrcce 1999: 236). Moreover, some of these individuals targeted came from nations that previous Canadian immigration policies discriminated against (for example, nations in Asia). Thus, in 1967, a new immigration act was introduced in the form of the "points system" where potential immigrants were scored against criteria around skills, education, language and resources. This new system was designed to remove the discrimination and prejudice present in previous immigration acts and aimed to tend to the country's burgeoning economic needs. Additionally, a new immigration focus arose – one that emphasized family relationships and reunification (Ibid: 236). Furthermore, into the 1970s, a new class of immigrants began to arrive to Canada in droves: refugees. Ghosh and Pyrcce indicate that it is because of these immigration trends that Canada created and implemented the immigration act of 1976 (Ibid: 236).

Immigration Act of 1976

The Immigration Act of 1976 came into effect on April 1st 1978 and was seen positively and supported by various stakeholders such as parliamentary parties, interest groups, academics as a piece of legislation that was progressive (Kelley and Trebilcock 1998: 380) (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Immigration Act of 1976). At the early onset, the

Immigration Act of 1976 encompassed three categories of admissible immigrants: refugees, the family class and independents. The refugee category consisted of three distinct sub-categories entailing members of designated classes, Convention refugees and, finally persecuted and displaced persons admitted to Canada, who did not qualify as refugees under the Conventions, under special humanitarian and compassionate grounds. According to this act, refugees were individuals who may be admitted to Canada as per the Geneva Convention and Protocol. They were selected via the criteria created by the *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)* and the *United Nations (UN) Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* which states that individuals in this category are found to be persons who have a well-founded fear of persecution “...on the ground of their race, religion, nationality, membership to a particular group or political opinion” (Ibid: 237). Ghosh and Pyrcie explain that during this time, the nations of origins that saw the majority of refugees based on the criteria stated above were Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos (Ibid: 237). Additionally, this was the first instance of the inclusion of refugees as a separate class of immigrants as well it maintained Canada’s legal obligation to the convention as a signatory. Previously, refugees were admitted on a case-by-case basis (Knowles 1997: 169-170) (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Immigration Act of 1976).

The family category consisted of individuals who were immediate family members of Canadian citizens and permanent residents of nineteen years of age or older who were provided with the right to sponsor close relatives. These individuals were not subject to the points system. Finally, the last category included independents, assisted relatives and the individuals with business skills (business class). Applicants under the assisted relative category were required to have a relative in Canada sponsor them. Within the business class existed three sub-categories of individuals, who could apply for admission on their own, consisting of entrepreneurs, investors

and self-employed persons. These individuals were required to make a tremendous monetary investment to Canada in the form of establishing, purchasing or investing in a Canadian business. This class, as well as the Independent class, were subject to the points system (Ghosh and Jyrce: 1999: 236).

Valerie Knowles (1997) wrote in “*Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1997*” with the Immigration Act of 1976, there was a momentous change in immigration legislation in Canada. Overall, it was the first act on immigration to explain and dictate the main objectives of immigration in Canada, outline refugees as a separate category and indicate that the government had a responsibility to set and plan out immigration to the country (Knowles 1997: 169) (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Immigration Act of 1976). In the Act, the preamble clearly indicated these objectives, which included family reunification, rejection of discrimination, providing a safe haven for refugees along with the advancement of Canada’s goals, economically, socially and culturally (Hawkins 1991: 70) (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Immigration Act of 1976). As well, under this act, the classes of immigrants considered admissible also experienced a major change. The previous comprehensive list of individuals who were inadmissible to Canada was replaced in favour of wider inadmissibility reasons for health, the safety of the public, criminality, violence and fraud reasons relating to immigration (Hawkins 1991: 73) (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Immigration Act of 1976).

Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA), 2002

Despite the significant change in Canadian immigration policies, particularly in the Immigration Act of 1976, more revisions and modifications were required in order to keep up with the fast changing nature of immigration. Therefore, an overhaul in legislation was needed (Jimenez and Crépeau, “The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act”).

On November 1, 2001, the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act of 2002* (IRPA), was given royal assent. Created to address the issues of the previous immigration act, it came into effect on June 28, 2002. This act is the current legislation in place used to select, process and admit immigrants to the country. IRPA is a lengthy piece of legislation divided in four main parts: 1) immigration to Canada, 2) refugee protection, 3) the enforcement of the Act, and 4) the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB). A key aspect of this act is the distinction between *immigration* and *refugees* as two separate and important entities that require its own special set of rules and regulations (Jimenez and Crépeau, 2013).

Jimenez and Crépeau (2013) write in their column for *Policy Horizons Canada* that IRPA is a “framework legislation” meaning that it can really only be used to set out general principles, leaving the government to “expand on them through its regulatory power”. IRPA provides a framework for the key values and describes the important features of immigration and refugee protection programs. For example, it details the rights and responsibilities of immigrants (permanent residents), foreign nationals who want to enter and/or live in Canada (temporary residents such as foreign workers and international students) protected persons, immigration officers’ responsibilities, and information of protection and enforcement. IRPA covers particulars on how to select immigrants/future permanent residents, temporary residents, the examination process, inadmissibility and enforcement issues such as detention, release and stays of deportation as well as how the IRB determines the eligibility and the validity of refugee protection claims. Additionally, due to these vast regulatory powers, various stakeholders and groups such as the Canadian Council for Refugees voiced concerns over the Act. For example, amendments can be made without Parliament being given the opportunity to examine these amendments (Jimenez and Crépeau, 2013).

The implementation of that IRPA was seen as representing a tougher stance on immigration in Canada. The Act contained various provisions on issues of public safety, disregard for the law and abuse of the system. It also introduced key revisions to the concept of refugee protection. For example, IRPA was created to increase the processing times of refugee claims and a new process was established for decision making on refugee claims where decisions are grouped according to risk. Moreover, any grounds relating to the protection of refugees was sent for examination at a hearing before the IRB's Refugee Protection Division (RPD). This was a change from previous policy where it was reviewed at different stages by various authorities. With IRPA, claim hearings were examined before a one-member panel and the Refugee Appeal Division (RAD) provides the refugee claimant the right to appeal the IRB decision. (Jimenez and Crépeau, 2013). Moreover, the Act introduced the concept of the Pre-Removal Risk Assessment (PRRA) where repeat claimants, rejected refugee claimants and persons who have been deemed inadmissible are to be assessed in accordance to the *1951 Geneva Convention on Refugees and the 1984 UN Convention Against Torture*.

Overall, the implementation of IRPA - which was passed after the anxiousness of September 11 - demonstrated a trend in immigration policy in Canada which moved away from the societal emphasis on acceptance and integration of immigrations and towards the protection of the country, border control and combating threats from migration. Jimenez and Crépeau (2013) indicate that with IRPA, the government took a defensive approach and reinforced and maintained the already present negative perceptions that immigrants and refugees can be threats.

The previous section was a brief account of the historical nature of Canadian immigration policies and legislation. The following section will provide an account of citizenship policies and legislation in Canada.

Citizenship Legislation in Canada

The Canadian Citizenship Act of 1947 established Canadian citizenship as a separate and distinct category, as well as allowed individuals who were residents of Canada to receive citizenship despite their country of origin (Knowles 2000: 65) (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Immigration Act of 1976). Before the implementation of this Act, individuals were subject to the Naturalization Act (May 22, 1868 to December 31st, 1946) and considered British subjects despite being born in Canada or being naturalized immigrants. In some statutes, “Canadian Citizen” and “Canadian Citizenship” were used, however, until the Act of 1946, this did not create a legal status (Kelley and Trebilcock 1998: 314) (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Canadian Citizenship Act, 1947) (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, History of Citizenship Legislation).

As for immigrants, they could apply for citizenship after meeting the residence requirement of five years. This was also providing that they were individuals of character and had knowledge of English or French, however those who resided in Canada for twenty years or more did not have to meet that language requirement. Additionally, immigrants who served in the First or Second World War were able to obtain citizenship after one year. For women, they would no longer have their citizenship revoked or lost upon marrying a non-Canadian citizenship or if their spouse had their citizenship revoked or lost. However, if they had received their citizenship as a result of marriage, they would be subject to losing their citizenship (Knowles 2000: 65) (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Canadian Citizenship Act, 1947).

After the Immigration Act of 1976 came into effect, a new Citizenship Act was also implemented. The 1977 Citizenship Act, which is still in force today, redefined the concept of the citizen by declaring that a citizen is a citizen. British subjects no longer received special treatment as naturalized and natural born citizens became equally entitled to the same rights,

powers and responsibilities (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, the 1977 Citizenship Act). Unlike the previous Citizenship Act, this Act holds only one provision for automatic loss of citizenship, which occurs to individuals born in second or more generations outside Canada. However, these individuals could act to retain citizenship if they took necessary steps before their 28th birthday (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, History of Citizenship Legislation).

The Citizenship Act did not encounter much change until late 2007. Much of these changes were to family reunification processes. However, on June 11, 2015, a major piece of legislation, *Bill C-24: Strengthening Canadian Citizenship Act*, came into force. This Bill was extremely controversial due to its many provisions and was the first comprehensive reform to the Act since its implementation in 1977. Officially, IRCC describes Bill C-24 and its amendments to the Act as aimed to "...further improve the citizenship program". The controversial nature of the Bill was due to the following: it increased the permanent residency obligation, from three years out of four years to four years out of five years, so that permanent residents would have to live in Canada longer before applying for citizenship. Furthermore, those aged 14 to 64 years old would have to meet the official language requirements and pass the citizenship test. Prior to the legislation, only those aged 18 to 54 years old would be subject to those requirements. It also increased the citizenship application fees by 3 times (from \$100 to \$300). However, the key changes to the Act were in respect to the provisions on revocation of citizenship. Bill C-24 gave the government the ability to revoke the citizenship of individuals for engaging in acts against Canada and/or convicted of treason or terrorism – only if they held a dual citizenship or could possibly hold/receive a dual citizenship (CBC News, New citizenship rules target fraud, foreign terrorism). However, since the Canadian election in 2015, the new government has announced

that they plan to repeal Bill-24 and the particular provision that allows the government to revoke citizenship (Globe and Mail, Liberals to repeal Bill C-24 on citizenship: Immigration Minister).

Overall, immigration and citizenship in Canada has gone through a significant amount of change and modification that reflect global and national realities around immigration. However, once the immigration and/or citizenship process is complete for individuals, other processes begin: settlement and integration.

Immigration and Settlement in Canada: the Report on Plans and Priorities

Every spring, each government department and agency produces, and tables to Parliament, an annual Report on Plans and Priorities (RPP) that provides parliamentarians and Canadians with a summary of the department's plans and priorities for the next three years. This report is an accountability mechanism to Parliament and provides expenditures as well as information on strategic outcomes and program activities, expected results, performance indicators and resource requirements over three years (ECCC, Departmental Planning and Performance Reports). The following section provides an overview of key strategic outcomes and program activities of the department responsible for the immigration, citizenship and settlement in Canada: Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) as per the department's RPP.

Refugee Protection in Canada

The protection of vulnerable populations has been a major cornerstone in Canadian immigration programs so much so that over 30 million dollars have been allocated to protect refugees globally in 2015-2016. In IRCC's 2015-2016 Report on Plans and Priorities (RPP), *Refugee Protection* exists under Strategic Outcome 2: "*Family and humanitarian migration that reunites families and offers protection to the displaced and persecuted*", and IRCC indicates that "...every year, Canada resettles 10,000 to 14,000 refugees, and is one of the top three

resettlement countries globally” (Ibid: 34). Note that in 2016, this number is expected to increase significantly, with the resettlement of Syrian refugees.

Refugee Protection (Program 2.2) is described as a program that is “...about saving lives and offering protection to the displaced and persecuted” (Ibid: 39). The program has two branches: ‘overseas’ and ‘In-Canada’. Overseas, refugees and individuals in vulnerable refugee-like situations are selected by officials to be resettled as permanent residents. The ‘In-Canada’ branch consists of the in-Canada Asylum system where individuals claim asylum in Canada (also known as refugee claimants) and officers evaluate these claims. Individuals are granted protected person status once the IRB renders a positive decision (Ibid: 39).. IRCC explains that the in-Canada Asylum provides protection to persons fleeing persecution and risk of torture, risk to life, or risk of cruel treatment or punishment, by way of legislative and regulatory measures that enable Canada to meet those obligations” (Ibid: 43). Under this sub program, claims are considered and individuals are granted protected persons status upon a positive decision from the IRB (Ibid: 43).

Settlement, Integration and Citizenship Awareness in Canada

As mentioned in the previous section, as immigration acts created and modified to reflect world and national realities, Canadian immigration policies became more globalized and left the formally race-based selection criteria and policies in the past (Danso 2002: 4). Canada began accepting more immigrants from non-European backgrounds, particularly a large amount of refugees from African countries such as Ethiopia and Somalia.

To help with the settlement and integration of new immigrants and citizens, IRCC, the department responsible for development of immigration and citizenship programs, over time, began to dedicate on average billions of dollars every fiscal year to Newcomer Settlement, Citizenship Promotion and Multiculturalism for immigrants and citizens. In fact, as part of

Strategic Outcome #3: “*Newcomers and citizens participate in fostering an integrated society*” in IRCC’s RPP, the government is projected to spend over 3 billion dollars on just this Strategic Outcome (one out of 4 Strategic Outcomes) (2015-2016 Report on Plans and Priorities 2015: 46). Program 3.1 in the RPP, “Newcomer Settlement and Integration”, particularly, receives a significant amount of funding (approximately over 1 billion dollars alone). The goal is to “...support the settlement, resettlement, adaption and integration of newcomers into Canadian society” (Ibid: 46) and “...to encourage newcomers to be fully engaged in the economic, social, political and cultural life of Canada” (Ibid: 47).

Settlement Program

The *Settlement* program is sub-program 3.1.1 under program 3: *Newcomer Settlement and Integration* and covers the first years since arrival during which newcomers receive support and services from the government. It assists new immigrants in overcoming barriers that tend to be part of the newcomer experience such as “...a lack of official language skills, limited knowledge of Canada and the recognition of foreign credentials” (Ibid: 47). The provisions under this program also aim to provide language learning, community and employment bridging services, settlement information and support services. Moreover, the Foreign Credential Referral Office (FCRO) exists at IRCC to provide path-finding and referral services and information to individuals trained internationally so that they can have their credentials assessed in order to find employment in their fields (Ibid: 47). As well, as part of Settlement, IRCC also has various sub-sub programs such as the following:

- **Language Training:** aimed to assist newcomers in developing sufficient language skills to support their settlement and “...longer-term integration. It aims to help with communication and literacy skills in order to assist newcomers to integrate more smoothly into society and participate in the economy. Language training is provided to

newcomers by Service Provider Organizations (SPOs) who deliver services regarding language assessment and instructions on official languages (Ibid: 48).

- **Community and Labour Market Integration Services:** aimed to lessen the barriers in finding "...information and connections to social and economic networks" (Ibid: 49), this sub-sub program of Settlement is designed to bring settlement information, bridging, foreign credential referrals to the newcomers. Delivered by SPOs and IRCC offices, newcomers are provided with information that they can use to make "...informed decisions about immigrating and settling in Canada" (Ibid: 49). Furthermore, information of foreign credential recognition is provided through this program on behalf of the FCRO (Ibid: 49).

These various programs essentially exist to assist newcomers in their settlement and integration process. Linked to this are additional programs developed by IRCC to strengthen the concept of citizenship awareness and belonging in newcomers, immigrants and citizens in the country.

Citizenship Awareness

Much like the Settlement program and its sub programs, IRCC also has a program for Citizenship of which is funded to the tune of 68 million dollars for the 2015-2016 fiscal year. Program 3.2 in the RPP called "Citizenship for Newcomers and All Canadians" is aimed to administer the citizenship legislation in place (i.e. process citizenship applications) and "...promote the rights and responsibilities of Canadian Citizenship" via "...events, materials and projects" (Ibid: 53). This promotion normally consists of a focus on Canadian history, values and institutions and the rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship (Ibid: 53). This program consists of various sub programs such as **Citizenship Awareness**, which is designed to enhance the "...meaning of Canadian citizenship for both newcomers and the Canadian-born and to

increase a sense of belonging to Canada” (Ibid: 54). This is done by implementing and carrying out knowledge-building and promotional activities to demonstrate the value in Canadian history, values and the importance of rights and responsibilities for Canadian citizens (Ibid: 54).

This account of immigration, citizenship and settlement is important to this research paper as it provides a broad understanding of the ways that individuals can immigrate to Canada and under what circumstances. It also demonstrates that the world climate is often reflected in immigration and citizenship legislations and that this has significant consequences for immigrants once they arrive in Canada. Government policies, programs and objectives have billions allocated to help vulnerable populations immigrate, settle, integrate and feel like they belong in the country. My discussions in later sections will face these objectives against current literature and as well as interviews I conducted for this paper and analyse the results.

CHAPTER THREE: REVIEWING THE DEFINITIONS, THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS AND THE LITERATURE

It seems that recently, the concept of immigration has become highly discussed on various platforms and in the minds of Canadians. The citizenship and immigration discussion usually includes terms and concepts that are used to describe situations, individuals and statuses. Since the main research question is in regards to exploring the settlement and integration experiences of forced migrant men, I will be referencing many of the terms and concepts used in this field of study, and accordingly, I define them in the following sections. Furthermore, in this chapter, I will describe the theoretical and conceptual frameworks as well as the literature that underpins my research questions and the research conducted for this paper.

Definitions

While IRCC is responsible for the delivery of programs and policies in relation to citizenship and immigration (IRCC, Reports on Plans and Priorities 2015-2016: 3), other

governmental departments produce work and publications using IRCC information. For example, Statistics Canada often produces data, surveys and information reports using IRCC data and, as such, has defined various terms in their products. As well, other organizations that work with IRCC in delivering their programs or have stake have also defined various terms (for example the United Nations, Canadian Council for Refugees and the Red Cross).

To begin, what is a *migrant*? According to the Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR), a migrant is a general term to describe a “...person who is outside their country of origin” (Canadian Council for Refugees, Refugees and Immigrants – A Glossary). At times, this term is used to reflect everyone who lives outside their country of birth, which may include those who are Canadian citizens. The CCR indicates that it is also “...used for people currently on the move or people with temporary status or no status at all in the country where they live” (Ibid). Further to this, the term “*immigrant*” has been used often. Officially, Statistics Canada indicates that an immigrant as “[p]ersons residing in Canada who were born outside of Canada, excluding temporary foreign workers, Canadian Citizens born outside of Canada and those with student or working visas” (Statistics Canada, Definition of “Immigrant”). Moreover, CCR defines an immigrant as “a person who had settled permanently in another country” (Canadian Council for Refugees, Refugees and Immigrants – A Glossary). In Canada, an immigrant is also referred to as a *permanent resident*.

People arrive in Canada in many ways and under various immigration categories, however the circumstances surrounding their arrival to Canada can differ. For example, every year, Canada lands thousands of people who have fled their country due to a well-founded fear of persecution or due to conditions in their home country (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, The Refugee System in Canada), such as with members of the Somali

Canadian community who fled their homeland due to the growing unrest. In these cases, these people are classified under several terms: *forced migrants, vulnerable migrants/populations, refugee claimants, refugees, convention refugees and protected persons.*

Firstly, the concept of *forced migrants* and *forced migration* comes from the idea of displacement of persons, meaning that there was the forced movement of people from their “locality or environment and occupational activities” (UNESCO, Displaced Person/Displacement). International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) indicates that, with this population, there is usually an intention to return home (IFRC, Complex/manmade hazards: displaced populations). A form of social change, UNESCO specifies that the most common reason for forced migration or displacement is due to violent armed conflict (Ibid). As well, UNESCO indicates that upon being forced to leave their home “...to which they are attached and for which they have the knowledge to make a living most effectively, displaced populations often become impoverished” (Ibid), which can lead to vulnerability.

IFRC and the World Health Organization (WHO) designates *vulnerability* as a “diminished capacity of an individual or group to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact of a natural or man-made hazard” (IFRC, “What is vulnerability?”) (World Health Organization, Vulnerable Groups). While the IFRC includes various types of populations as vulnerable, two in particular stand out for the purposes of this research paper, in regards to the circumstances of the broader Somali community in Canada:

- Displaced populations who leave their habitual residence in collectives, usually due to a sudden impact disaster, such as an earthquake or a flood, threat or *conflict*, as a coping mechanism and with the intent to return;

- Migrants who leave or flee their habitual residence to go to new places, usually abroad to seek better and safer perspectives

This is an important aspect to note as it demonstrates how the action of migration due to force can lead groups towards vulnerability which can have impacts past their arrival to a new place.

When Somalis immigrated to Canada in droves in the late 1980s to the early 1990s (Mohammed 1999: 53-56), they arrived in Canada as mostly *refugee claimants*, sometimes referred to as asylum seekers, which according to the Canadian Council of Refugees is "...a person who has fled their country and is asking for protection in another country". Until their case has been decided, it is not known whether a claimant is a refugee or not (Canadian Council for Refugees, Refugees and Immigrants – A Glossary). While being a *refugee* generally means that the person was forced to flee from persecution and who is located outside of their home country, a *convention refugee* is a definition that has legal status in Canada and is accepted internationally. It means that the person has met the refugee definition in the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and is "...outside their country of origin and have a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" (Ibid). As such, they have met this definition; they become a "*protected person*" which is a legal status under IRPA (Ibid).

Defining of the terms that will be used in this article is imperative to understand the context of the research paper. The following section of this chapter will discuss the conceptual and theoretical frameworks as well as the literature that underpin the research of this paper.

Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks

Open Borders and Immigration

From the 1960s on, as seen in Canadian immigration legislation, the human rights influenced climate changed the nature of immigration, opening the Canadian border to non-European persons. Since that time, this opening of the border, its rationalities and argument has been heavily discussed in the arena of immigration policy (Moses 2006, Carens 1999).

Open borders essentially means what it states: opening the border for people in need (Carens 1999: 1082). Those opposed to open mobility argue that instead of pursuing the practice of open borders, societies should be more concerned with the potential loss of state power, their own population rather than those outside and recognize how open borders can be detrimental to security and protection of rule of law and civil rights (Moses 2006: 68). However, those in favour for open borders tend to demonstrate the most powerful ideas that lie within this debate: the principles of liberalism and issue of morality. Within this, proponents of open borders stress the immorality of restricting migration from those outside the community, as one of the most basic human rights is the right of free mobility. For example, in Joseph H. Carens' article called "*Reply to Meilaender: Reconsidering Open Borders*", he notes the difficulty in managing the ethics of immigration, especially when weighing the exclusion of those in need with the acknowledgement that admitting everyone would be detrimental to already disadvantaged populations in the host society (Carens 1999: 1082). However, he illustrates that liberal theories, of which tend to favour open borders, are at the foundation of many Western states; yet they continue to engage in exclusionary immigration practices and, as such, highlights both the moral problems of liberal states and the limitations of liberalism itself. Thus, he indicates that there must be a reformulation of liberalism where the concept of rights is taken seriously and where the "...fundamental liberal commitment to human freedom and equality...more pluralistic and

open-ended in its understanding of the human good...” is retained (Ibid: 1082-1083). With this new liberalism, a contextual approach must be taken where exclusion of migrants must be done in such a way that is justified. Thus, since mobility is a human good, Carens explains that it will be hard for liberal states to find appropriate excuses for restrictions on migration (Ibid: 1084).

Linked to Carens’ argument, Jonathon Moses illustrates the moral argument of open borders in his book titled “*International Migration*”. Moses explains that there are two moral arguments for free human mobility; the first being part of universalistic and egalitarian discourses where free mobility is viewed as a basic and universal human right and where freedom, justice and equality are concepts that should be provided to everyone (Moses 2006: 58, 60), while the second describes an instrumentalist argument where free mobility is “...seen as a means to achieve greater moral ends...” such as economic and political justice (Ibid: 59). In the case of both these arguments, Moses notes how trumpeting universal rights and moral obligations to help people escape from injustices of a social, political and economic nature have become too important to dismiss for liberal states (Ibid: 59). Moreover, at its core, these arguments are part and parcel of liberal designs where the notion of citizenship is voluntary, thus an individual has the right to leave or stay, affirming the voluntary nature of the social contract (Ibid: 61), indicating an innate right to mobility.

Global Social Transformation

While I defined the concept of forced migration previously in this chapter, there are theoretical discussions on this topic. For example, Stephen Castles (2003) argues that forced migration needs to be described in the context of global social transformation (2003: 14). He mentions that forced migration was once a study of “...people forced to flee from one society and becoming part of another one” (Ibid: 23) but since the national boundaries are becoming blurred due to globalization and transnationalism, this concept is out-dated. He indicates that forced migration

is a "...pivotal aspect of global social relations" and thus, the concept of globalization is key here where global flows and networks are the "...key frameworks for social relations" (Ibid: 2728) where migrants are moving within transnational social space instead of container societies. Therefore, these transnational social spaces are becoming a "...new focus for social and cultural identity..." for migrants (Ibid: 27). Ultimately, these transnational communities are emerging as the focus for social and economic identity for immigrants (Ibid: 27). As a result, it is evident that migration as well as the ability to act transnationally is transforming how the migrant attaches to both the home country and the adopted country.

Assimilating the Migrant

Additionally, Castles' mentions that sociology has always studied the problems relating to migration, integration and order in national industrial societies using the politically and culturally frame created by the nation-state (Castles 2003: 23). The central characteristic of western nation states has been to colonize the world and sociology was concerned with "... understanding societies and cultures in order to control 'dangerous classes' ...and 'dangerous peoples'..." (Ibid: 23). Castles cites development models, which emphasize the superiority of the Western industrial model and models of social order and conformity. He indicates that this has two consequences, one of which is particularly relevant to this paper: the stranger, or the 'Other', is seen as "...deviant and potentially dangerous" (Ibid: 23). This is related to the concept of Orientalism, examined by Edward Said in his book *Orientalism* (1994), which refers to domination and power over the Orient (the 'Other', the East) on the part of the Occident (the West) (Said 1994: 3) and describes a tension between the two groups. This tension is seen in the assimilation theories created in North America (mainly in the United States) as a result of the mass immigration in the early 20th century (Castles 2003: 23).

This is linked to Ramon Grosfoguel (2004)'s discussion where he describes how the context of reception to the host society assists with the modes of incorporation to the labour market. In his explanation, he uses this context of reception as a sociological framework that defines diverse labour market incorporation. Within it, he illustrates that the context of reception refers to state policies in regards to a particular migrant/ethnic group (i.e. core-periphery relationship analysis, geopolitical, colonial, neo-colonial and military), the perceptions of public opinion of that group (i.e. considered white or racialized depending on sending nation) and the presence or absence of an ethnic community in the host society. Therefore, a group's identity becomes racialized in negative or positive ways depending on this context of reception (2004: 216-317).

Post-National Citizenship

While these frameworks and examples in place demonstrate the concepts of transnationalism and assimilation, in her article titled *Twilight of Sovereignty or the Emergence of Cosmopolitan Norms? Rethinking Citizenship in Volatile Times*, Seyla Benhabib writes that we are moving away from citizenship in terms of national membership and heading towards a citizenship of residency, which strengthens ties of multiple ties to locality [and] to the region (2007: 22, 30) - a post-national citizenship. Citizenship is no longer tied to one nation and rights are exercised without the boundaries of the nation state. Benhabib explains that the idea of state sovereignty refers to the capacity "...to act as the final and indivisible seat of authority..." (Ibid: 21). Despite this, she discusses how there are new modalities of citizenship where it has been decoupled from specific national belonging and involves an extension of civil, social rights and political rights in a universal sense. For example, she indicates that immigrants and denizens are exercising political, social and civil rights and engaging in political action globally (Ibid: 30). Moreover, more and more people are navigating back and forth between spaces and national

economies demonstrating that the "...institution of flexible citizenship is taking hold" (Ibid: 20). However, the emergence of a global civil society and the characteristics of citizenship of residency may have impacts and result in the weakening of the state and its sovereignty. Due to this, she indicates that state sovereignty, in its ability to protect borders, has increasingly started to depend on global flows with differing results across states and regions (Ibid: 24).

Transformations of National Identity, Transnationalism and Diaspora

In a publication released in 2010, IRCC released a publication in which they indicate that immigrants begin to identify with a culture different from their culture of origin when they relocate to another country (Gilkinson and Sauv  2010: 4). IRCC states that this is associated with successful integration, however they do indicate that the successful integration process does involve acculturation and a shift in national identity; it does not mean that former national identities should be eliminated (Ibid: 4).

Interestingly, IRCC and authors like Seyla Benhabib have similar views on this topic. For example, IRCC writes that it is the "...transcendence of national boundaries and the involvement of several nations or nationalities" and quotes Pauline Gardiner Barber (2003) when they state, "...it may be said that all migrants, potentially at least, hold transnational identities" (2003: 45) (Gilkinson and Sauv  2010: 4). Therefore, this transnationalism means that immigrants are embedded in, identify with, maintain and strengthen ties and identities (familial, cultural, economic and political) globally and across borders in multiple localities (both home societies and host societies). Essentially, they are not limited to one national collectivity (Ibid; Ehrkamp & Leitner 2006, 1593).

Similarly, Benhabib writes that the transformations in the patterns of migration are leading migrants to maintain ties with their home nations, however she states that they are not necessarily undergoing "...total immersion in their countries of immigration" helped by

globalized networks (Benhabib 2007: 24). Therefore, migrants do not have totally assimilate and socialize in the host country. Benhabib writes that in the modern system, nation-states are, in actuality, supporting diasporic ideals among their migrants and former citizens. This is because the diaspora has become key in political support for projects in the host nation as well as a source of "...networks, skills and competencies that can be used to enhance a state's own standing in an increasingly global world" (Ibid: 24).

In regards to diaspora, the term derives from the Greek *diaspeirein* in which *-speirein* means "to scatter" and *dia-* means "from one end to the other" (Vertovec 2004: 275). Helly notes that the term has been in popular use for decades and was often described as a dispersion of peoples as a result of their forcible displacement (exile) from countries or regions defined as their cultural or historical centres (Helly 2006: 3). However, beginning in 1960s, the meaning of diaspora began to shift from the illustrations of exile and began to merely denote a population living outside of its homeland (Ibid: 5). As well, its conceptualizations began to describe those of minority peoples of immigrant ancestry who have developed strong ties with their kin state. Since the latter part of the twentieth century, immigrants and their descendants have been able to remain in constant contact with their homeland, primarily due to the impacts of globalization communications and its forces (Ibid: 5). Helly indicates that the growing association of diasporas with people who keep ties with their kin state in order to reinforce allegiances is not a new phenomenon, but had become more easily demonstrated during this time period, due to globalization. Furthermore, this notion of diaspora has further expanded to include how kin states depend on the commitment from their emigrants in the form of votes, financials, expertise and eventual return (Ibid: 6). Thus, this new image of the diaspora emphasized migratory movements and highlighted the ties to the kin community from the emigrant population.

Diaspora groups are illustrated as participating in a different sense of “open borders” within themselves in which they engage in practices aimed at preserving ties with their homeland while residing in their host society. As well, this new connotation left behind the central ideas of exile (Ibid: 8) and became a category of identification, referred to peoples of a shared origin and the notion of the political nature of a potential community (Kleist 2008: 308-309). With that in mind, Helly describes that diasporas have now created this widespread double dissociation between “...national identity, collective identity, economic practices, and the political system that formally combined into a nation...” (2006: 8). From this, the concept of transnationalism has become linked to diaspora groups as a result of globalization of trade and the decrease in national and territorial importance (Ibid: 8). Therefore, the diaspora has become a group to which national borders have little meaning, for they have created a space where ties between two societies or a transitional community exists. They are a transnation; a group of people who challenge the notions of the state borders, state authority and the inflexibility of national identities (Ibid: 9).

Literature Review

The Settlement and Integration Experience

The central research question for this paper is: *What are the settlement and integration experiences faced by forced migrant men in regards to adjusting to Canada?* Within the literature, there is discussion on the overall social and economic struggles faced by newcomers and immigrants in their adopted nation that underpins this question and also sheds some light into their livelihoods. Ransford Danso (2002) explains in his study on Ethiopian and Somali refugees in Toronto that this population hoped that they could rebuild their lives in Canada. Although they were grateful for the protection, they found themselves having to start from the beginning and rebuilding their self-dignity (2002: 6). They also believed that once settled in Canada, they would have access to well-paying jobs and have the ability to practice in their area

of education and training (Ibid: 6). Before arriving in Canada, they believed that they were arriving to the "...land of opportunities and equality... [and] expected to be treated fairly and equitably" (Ibid: 6). What is interesting as well is that Danso indicates that longer term residents (those with more than ten years of residence) were more disappointed in their situation in Canada as "...if they would have any luck for their future in Canada, it should have given them plenty of signs by now" (Ibid: 7). Essentially, the hopes and dreams of this population had to be adjusted once the initial optimism of the possibility of accessing new resources and opportunities gave away to insecurity of being in a new country (Ibid: 7).

In addition to these insecurities, most in Danso's study felt like they were marginalized as the unwelcome additions in society once arrived in Canada (Ibid: 7). They believed that discrimination based on race, ethnicity, religion and gender was a major factor and that "... [t]here is a general belief that black Africans are not welcome, nor would they ever be accepted, by whites as equal members of Canadian society" (Ibid: 7). As well, there was a dissatisfaction of the fact that Canada claims to be a country of equality, opportunities and access but, in reality, there are minority groups within its borders who are falling behind due to the "...pervasive effects of systemic and everyday racism in its institutions and communities" (Ibid: 7).

Danso notes that the largest obstacle to settlement for these migrants was access to and difficulties with the job market despite that black Africans in Canada, in actuality, have high levels of education but are denied access to various job opportunities. The major issue for this is due to the denial of foreign credential recognition of education and training earned outside of Canada and the lack of Canadian experience. This impacts the levels of income received by these migrants and as a result, the settlement and integration experience (Ibid: 10).

Similar to Danso's article, Christopher Austin and David Este (2001) noted occupational status is a major factor in the settlement and integration experience, particularly for men. Immigrant and refugee men interviewed in their study experienced a drop in employment when compared to their home country, felt discriminated against and had to take up occupations of unskilled, menial work or face unemployment. This resulted in feelings of powerlessness and anger as well as feelings of alienation from the broader Canadian society, which subsequently affected their home life (2001: 219). In these cases, the settlement experience was a negative one – they felt like second-class citizens (Ibid: 222, 225).

The authors note that lack of opportunities to participate in the labour market or underemployment can increase the stress levels of immigrants and that the main obstacle is the lack of foreign credential recognition (2001: 214). The authors write that these obstacles, foreign credential recognition is more difficult for immigrants than other groups. For example, when immigrants resettle with families they need to provide for, retraining to get the credentials can be a challenging and impossible feat. As well, in some cases, immigrants often send money back to assist family members in the home country. As a result, the authors indicate that immigrants and refugees "...often have to sacrifice reconstruction of their careers to survive economically and, in the process, are stigmatized and marginalized in dead-end jobs, the result being less opportunity to obtain higher paid employment" (Ibid: 215).

As part of their article, Austin and Este conducted a study where they interviewed nine immigrant men from South Asia, Europe, Central America and Africa to discuss these issues. Firstly, the men indicated that they working in menial jobs and the repetitive nature of these jobs and its mindless actions were reminders that they were not able to use their skills, education and knowledge learned in their home country. In some cases, the men quit their jobs instead of

coping with the jobs, impacting their financial status. What is more, these men questioned whether immigrating to Canada was the right decision or if they could even stay under the conditions of un- or underemployment (Ibid: 218). Despite this, the men understood that improving other skills, such as language and employment skills, was a necessary step to increasing their opportunities and hoped that they would get the opportunity to improve and develop these skills (Ibid: 219).

With un- and underemployment, Austin and Este note, comes stress. The men interviewed in this study indicated that when they were employed, it was actually only for short periods of time, the nature of their occupation was part-time or temporary, the job loss was a constant threat, resulting in looming insecurity. As well, when the men participated in English classes and hoped their opportunities would improve, they realized that they were still working at these menial jobs for longer than anticipated and "...struggled to remain hopeful that they could obtain higher paid and more skilled work..." leading to disappointments and stress for the men and their families (Ibid: 221). The authors indicate that once that the men realized the permanency of these barriers; they were at risk of giving up trying to rebuild their careers resulting in financial stress on the family.

Additionally, Austin and Este describe that the result of these employment conditions for the men their study was the negative impact on their family. The inability to meet the financial needs of the family as well as of long work hours and stressful conditions at work increased the dysfunction in the family unit. The men indicated that their situations resulted in feelings of guilt, withdrawal from the family, role changes in the family unit and break ups of the marital relationship (Ibid: 222). From this, it is evident that stresses that stem from employment related issues have become a factor in family dysfunction among immigrant families. To add to that,

Hamdi S. Mohamed (1999) notes the revolutionary change in gender roles specifically in the Refugee Somali community, as women have become the breadwinners (1999: 54). In her study, she writes that there is a general absence of Somali men, and among the men that remain, there is a feeling of depression as they have failed to maintain the role of the breadwinner due to lack of employment or underemployment, leading to feelings of demoralization and emasculation. Much like Austin and Este's study, Mohamed notes that this has led to conflict and strife in the family (Ibid: 54).

Within these articles, there is a discussion of feelings of discouragement among refugees that they have not been able to establish themselves as quickly as they initially believed upon arrival in Canada. Although, there is still an appreciation of the protection that Canada has provided them, they still meet significant challenges that Canadian programs and policies in place are aimed to counter, particularly when it comes to employment. What is interesting is that the Canadian immigration policy shift, settlement and integration became major pieces to the immigration agenda, especially for vulnerable migrants. Several decades later, there appears to be an integration and settlement problem among these populations. This, as a result, may be impacting their sense of belonging.

Forming Diasporic Attachments

The experiences of members of diaspora have been written about extensively and their lives in their adopted country have been studied at length, in particular (Mohammed 1999) (Langellier 2010) (Hopkins 2010) (Tiilikainen 2003). Much literature has outlined that for many members of ethnic diasporas, the preservation of ties to the homeland is paramount in maintaining their identity in the adopted country. As well, the adjustment issues they face as immigrants can be difficult. Much of the discussion surrounding immigrants (including diasporic Somalis) speak to the challenging experiences of migration, settlement and integration. These

challenges are often exacerbated if the factors that forced migration came from violence or war, as was the case with the Somali population in Canada who mainly arrived as refugees (Mohammed 1999: 52). Often, newcomers leave behind their entire social networks: other family members, friends and their means of livelihood: employment and businesses. When they arrive to their adopted country, they experience significant challenges as they attempt to adjust to a new social, cultural and economic environment. Overall, these circumstances impact on how the newcomer will adjust.

Much of the current literature on Somali diasporic communities discusses how Somali women have managed to maintain a strong connection and have developed a sense of diasporic imagination to their homeland along with their the stories of their struggle of living abroad, raising a family alone, understanding their cultural and religious identity in their adopted country and attempting to reconcile with their identity issues in their new role as the head of household as well as mothers and wives is often discussed in the literature (Mohammed 1999) (Langellier 2010) (Hopkins 2010) (Tiilikainen 2003). With this focus on women, it appears that the existing research in this area seldom focuses on the experiences of men and it is this absence that has informed this research project. Given that the current literature on the experiences of the Somali diaspora generally focuses on specifically on women, the following section will outline the current literature on their lives.

In her article, Kristin M. Langellier (2010) illustrates how diasporic Somali women assert their cultural and religious identity in their host society in order to stay “Somali”, preserve ties to the homeland or create ties, which were lost due to homeland turmoil. She notes the case of a young Somali woman residing in Lewiston, Maine who continuously finds herself narrating and negotiating her identity (2010: 71). However, regardless of this negotiation, Langellier describes

how this woman frequently asserts a strong communal sense of Somali identity which has followed her from her country of origin. What is more, she notes that this sense of identity described by this woman develops further from the individual and into the group, as the same rings true among many female members of the Somali diaspora community (Ibid: 72-73). As well, in their adopted country, women are often expressing the cultural narratives of “knowing who they are” by emphasizing cultural authenticity based on shared images of their past livelihoods in their homeland. Langellier also explains that the Somali women frequently assert religion in identity affirmation and this sentiment is echoed by Gail Hopkins (2010) when she mentions that the actions of Somali diasporic women in consciously reaffirming their ‘Somaliness’ are in order to “...maintain accepted Somali and Muslim norms and values...” (Ibid: 533). Therefore, Hopkins and Langellier agree that this public display of religion from Somali women comprises a new identity used to sustain the values of the homeland and culture. The choice is viewed as a deliberate act in which certain values belonging to the Somali community are expressed. Generally, this practice by women appears to reflect a longing to emphasize connections to the homeland, both for themselves and their diaspora community (Ibid: 532-533).

It is evident from much of the literature that the connection to the homeland is strong among Somali women in the diaspora, particularly after the migration experience. From the works of these authors, the notion of the diasporic imagination in the homeland among Somali women is key and the conceptualization of what is meant by a diasporic imagination has also been discussed by many scholars.

In her discussion, Nadia Lewis (2008) compared and contrasted the understanding of the concept of diasporic imagination by two authors, Appadurai (1991) who insists the nation-state is

placed outside the centre of diasporic imagination and Cohen (1997) who discusses that it involves a creation of the homeland in the sense of imagined homelands (2008: 138). The concept behind “imagined identity” demonstrates how people understand themselves as a group (Ibid: 138) as well as in what ways their homeland remains a central element in how they act, perceive themselves and others. For example, the attachment to religion and culture indicates a desire to remember the practices of the homeland in preparation for an eventual return. Marija Tiilikainen (2003) illustrated that it is this emphasized role of religion in their lives, which has enlightened them on the reasons for the chaos of their homeland (2003: 65). Furthermore, Mohammed notes that from the beginning, these women faced challenges such a culture shock, isolation, language difficulties and economic marginalization as well as the absence of normal homeland social networks, which assisted in caring for the family and household (Ibid: 53). Additionally, Hopkins explained that Somali women constantly attempt to understand their place as refugees in the adopted country and this encourages their connection to the cultural and religious aspects of their homeland (2010: 534). Therefore, it is possible that the struggles that Somali women encounter due to their status in their new environment may trigger this imagination of their homeland.

This literature review brings to light the practices and the challenges encountered by Somali women in the diaspora. For these women, it appears that culture and religion has become the centre of the identification of diasporic Somali women. Thus, women are constantly engaging in a sense of diasporic imagination in order strengthen ties, set a stage for the end the civil war in their home country and an eventual return. Still, this review also demonstrates a void. By and large, despite the large amount of literature on the Somali diaspora community,

there is a noticeable lack of discussion of the males' experiences from their perspective in Canada.

Despite this absence, there are some scholars who have written generally about the issue. For example in their articles, Mohammed and Al-Sharmani discuss the whereabouts of men by framing them as absent. Mohammed briefly describes men as being antagonistic to the women as their absence has changed the family structure. Similar to what Austin and Este found in their study on the struggles of immigrant men, Mohammed indicates that they fail to maintain the survival of their family, are unwilling to take up domestic responsibilities while at the same time, not finding employment. Thus, the burden is placed on women to obtain employment and raise the family and this, as a result, creates tensions (1999: 53-54). This means that the issues that males face in their family and in the adopted country be responsible for their absence.

Related to this, diasporic groups have actively contributed to their homeland in the form of social remittances. In the article, "*Somali and Ethiopian Diasporic Engagement for Peace in the Horn of Africa*", Hoehne et al. state that social remittances, developed through experiences, knowledge and skills gained by diaspora members while in the host society, are the ideas, values, norms and information transmitted to the homeland. One of the most prominent examples of social remittances, especially from diasporas originating from countries in turmoil, is the political engagement of peace building and political stability (2011: 77).

Therefore, it appears that the impacts of the hardships of settling in Canada have assisted with the desire to create a transnational identity more closely related to their nature of their origin, in order to preserve ties and contribute to the future of the homeland. This has important implications and opportunities for the immigrant as well as the host nation state. The next section of this paper will discuss the research methodologies and approaches for this project.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES AND APPROACHES

Research Question(s) and Hypothesis

When I first began this research project, my research questions and hypothesis focused on the transnational behaviours of males in the Somali-Canadian diaspora. My research question was the following: *What are the internal and external impacts of post landing migratory behavior of immigrants in Canada?* However, after approaching members of the community, completing interviews and simply informally speaking to other members, I faced and realized that I was going to face obstacles that I never expected as a member of the Somali-Canadian community myself. As a result of my discussions while completing the research for this major research paper and the results of the interviews that I conducted, the focus and research questions had to be changed. Therefore, my research questions were changed to: *What are the settlement and integration experiences faced by forced migrant men in regards to adjusting to Canada? How do Canadian citizenship and immigration policies impact on these experiences? How do their experiences shape their attachment to their homeland? What kind of problems does this present for the Canadian state in respect to the settlement and integration of immigrants?* From this, I hypothesized that some vulnerable immigrant populations have struggled to socially and economically adjust to a new country, resulting in a diasporic connection to their homeland, and that the nation state has similarly struggled to successfully socially and economically integrate vulnerable immigrant populations. I will speak on this more at the end of this section.

In the following sections, I will discuss my research methodology as it was when I carried out my research. This approach was taking with my previous research question in mind, despite that, I believe the results that came out of this approach actually opened up a new series of questions that I felt were compelling and sociologically relevant in today's climate and attention on immigration and citizenship. As such, I will begin with discussing the

methodological approaches, sample selections and acquisition, details on the questionnaires and interviews, data analysis and will end with a discussion of the unexpected obstacles I faced while carrying out this paper's research.

Methodological Approaches and Sample Selection

This project employed a qualitative case-study approach, as its tools are the most effective in investigating how individuals gauge their experiences and their place in their day-to-day lives and environment. This is useful given that the goal of this research is to understand the perspectives of Somali males as members of a diasporic community. In addition to accounting for their experiences before, during and after transnationalism, this project also aimed to explore if men experience the same events as the women (cultural and religious fervour, social isolation and exclusion and an imagination of the homeland). As demonstrated in much of literature, the experiences of males are usually discussed in works from the perspective of their female counterparts, therefore, it was imperative that this project utilized a strategy that encourage interaction with the participants and captured the ways that they interpret and give meaning to their situations.

Seeing as two of the primary goals of this research project were to fill the void in the literature and add to the discussion regarding the lives of diasporic men, I set out to examine the experiences of diasporic Somali males in Ottawa. Ottawa was selected due to its large population of Somalis. Generally, the city of Ottawa has been acknowledged as a city where the majority of residents are of white European descent. Furthermore, around of the time of the 1967 immigration legislation, this group encompassed the majority of newcomers to Ottawa (Statistics Canada 1967). However, since that time, the city has increasingly become ethnically diverse. Following the start of the civil war in Somalia, Ottawa received a significant number of Somali

refugees. The region had not experience such a rapid flood of immigrants since the 1980s influx of Boat People from South East Asia (Mohammed 1999: 56). By 1993, Somalis comprised the largest group of new immigrants in the city (Ibid: 53). In 1999, roughly 13,000 Somalis were estimated as residing in Ottawa, making it home to Canada's second largest Somali immigrant community after Toronto (Kusow 2006: 541). Due to this, this group was the main source of information for this project. As well, given that an aspect of this project hoped to assess whether Somali males follow similar homeland attachment practices and face similar adjustment issues as women, the sample was limited to those Somali males who migrated to Canada as adults. The rationale for the selection of this particular life stage was that it can be generally understood that they may have a stronger attachment to their homeland and are living or have lived through the challenges of adjusting to a new country.

Sample Acquisition

When carrying out this research project, I obtained my sample through various sources. As a When carrying out this research project, I obtained my sample through various sources. Firstly, through my personal network as a member of the Somali community in Ottawa and through my past volunteer work at the Catholic Centre for Immigrants (CCI Ottawa) and occasional assistance at local community health centres, I developed connections to a social network through which I attempted to access a number of contacts that fit my desired sample. In order to acquire respondents for this project, I used these networks to obtain potential participants, while at the same time, contacting community organizations such as the Somali Fathers Association in Ottawa, volunteering and advertising my study via posters in community houses. By finding participants through these methods, I believed that this would ensure that I obtain participants with a variety of statuses (i.e. employment, language skills, education, marital

status, etc.). In addition, I interviewed a daughter a potential participant. I believed obtaining the perspective of a child of migrants might provide insight on family dynamics.

Questionnaires and Interviews

As part of a qualitative approach, I conducted interviews and supplemented these interviews with questionnaires. Overall, I conducted eight interviews in order to attain a variety of viewpoints and experiences – however I only used five in my project (I will discuss why below). Following the interview, I asked participants to complete a questionnaire with closed questions in order to determine general biographical data (i.e. name, birth date, place of birth) as well as information on their migration practices, employment, education, family and religion. Generally, this should smooth the interview process and allow for me to adapt and modify my questions to the particular participant as well as reduce the total length of the recorded interview and eliminate the tedious process of asking biographical questions.

In terms of my questions, I asked questions in regards to their migration experience (reasons for migrating), their experiences and lives in the home country and in Canada which included questions about their family. For the female participant, I asked questions on her parents' experience in Canada from her perspective and her feelings on being a child of immigrants. The interview questions were designed to be semi-structured and open-ended. The interviews were conducted primarily in English; however, if the participant chose or encountered challenges in conveying his thoughts in English; he was allowed to communicate in Somali. In addition, with permission from the participants, the interviews were recorded. Furthermore, I made notes throughout the interview in order to highlight any interesting concepts brought up. Finally, I provided participants with the option to use a pseudonym of their preference.

Data Analysis

The interviews were transcribed in completion using Express Scribe software. To assist with the data analysis of the data acquired through these interviews, I used the QDA Miner software program. This software aids in organizing the interviews, thus making for a simpler process of analysis and allowing for important data to be highlighted and drawn out. The research was completed through the immersion of the content within the literature in order to identify aspects that emerge and are of importance to the topic. Subsequently, I thematically organized the data in QDA Miner through the creation of codes where I coded for concepts and categories from the theories and literature. From this, the selection of codes and themes drawn out aimed to bring forward complex and rich analysis as well as speak to the literature and the policies and programs in place in Canada.

Ethical Considerations

Prior to conducting this research, there were a number of ethical considerations. Firstly, my background as a member of the community and a female requires me to acknowledge what that means for this research. While this could have impacts on the research process, it may prove as beneficial in terms of access as I am a member of the community. Along with the fact that this sample group is under-researched in the study of diasporas, one of the factors that influenced my selection of the particular sample was my ability to access this group more easily than a researcher who may not share the same background. A researcher outside the community might find it challenging to locate participants due their status as an outsider as well as to understand and interpret both the participants and the data. However, through previous volunteer work and my membership in the community where I plan on obtaining my sample, I have acquired the tools to conduct research and build rapport with participants.

Secondly, since I obtained my sample through my past volunteer work, my social networks and volunteering, there are a few ethical issues that I had to consider. Initially, I had to reflect on my role as a volunteer and research and make certain that others and I understand where one role ends and the other begin. I ensured that potential participants who utilize the services of the organization are briefed on my role as a researcher and have given their consent before the research process.

Thirdly, because, for the most part, the sample group's first language is Somali, I could have faced a language barrier that might prevent the participants from communicating a manner in which they can fully convey their thoughts. By and large, I aimed to conduct the interviews in English, however, if a participant requires, I was to encourage them to answer in Somali.

The possible ethical issues in this research are essential to consider. This is because these issues may impact the process of building a sample of participants, developing and gauging methodological tools, conducting interviews, transcribing and interpreting – all aspects which are imperative to the strength and success of this project. Understandably, I was not able to predict and solve all issues; however, I tried to prepare myself for their materialization. Despite these considerations, I submitted an ethics review for this research project and my ethics application was approved by the University of Ottawa.

Unexpected Obstacles in the Research Process

As I touched on previously, while conducting my research, I believed that because I was a member of the Somali-Canadian community, I was going to be able to access my sample group of older Somali males with relative ease. Although I did not expect to have no issues with my research, I did not expect that I would have had a difficult time in getting people to speak to me - formally by interviews and simply informally. I found trying to access the Somali male community using my contacts and networks that I established through my volunteer experiences

and through my own social networks difficult. There were very few individuals willing to speak to me. When I asked others in my community why this was happening, they pointed to a few things that I did not realize I would face.

Firstly, I am employed by the Department of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). I did not realize that this aspect would make such a frustrating impact on my attempts to access my sample. At IRCC, I work as a research data analyst and I do not work in any capacity with any enforcement or process immigration or citizenship applications, but the fact I am even somewhat associated with IRCC was a frightening for some potential participants. I did not even realize that members of my community knew that I worked at IRCC since it is an aspect I tend not to discuss openly. When it occurred to me that individuals were fearful that my research would be shared with IRCC, I tried to explain that my research was part of a master's degree in Sociology, was not related to my work at IRCC and data collected would be kept strictly confidential. However, despite my explanations, there were some individuals decided not to take part in my study. Through my informal discussions with my networks and contacts, I was told that potential participants simply did not want to take the risk to be part of my research study.

Secondly, this community is still traumatized from the immigration process to Canada and appears to shy away from discussing issues on immigration or citizenship. The Somali community immigrated to Canada in the late 1980s to early 1990s by showing up at the Canadian border and requesting asylum (i.e. as refugee claimants), due to their nation's burgeoning civil war at the time. Many were desperate to get out and arrive somewhere that their families could be safe. Many of these Somali families that immigrated to Canada during this time moved to low-income social housing projects and suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder

while adapting to life in a vastly different environment (Wingrove and Mackrael 2012: Globe and Mail). Despite living in Canada for more than twenty years, this community has not reached its full potential in Canada and still requires a lot of social assistance and programming in order to try to reach that potential. There have been news articles and discussions regarding the disappointment of this immigrant community in Canada, as other immigrant communities who have been in Canada just as long have found ways to become relatively successful. Young Somali men have been the focus of much of this discussion, due to the high amount of gang and gun related deaths of this group in large Canadian cities such as Calgary and Toronto each year (Wingrove and Mackrael 2012: Globe and Mail) (Fortney 2015: Calgary Herald) (Clarke 2015: Toronto Star). The Somali community leaders claim that the community faces systemic racism and stereotyping as an immigrant group prone to criminality (Fortney 2015: Calgary Herald). This might have play a part in why individuals may not want to discuss personal details about themselves, especially with someone who is employed at the department responsible for immigration and citizenship, to further typecast their community.

Additionally, my own history might have impacted my ignorance of the trauma still occurring in the Somali community. I should state that I have always been aware of the trauma but its presence and influences have not been heavily impactful in my own life. My parents immigrated to Canada through the United States of America in 1985 and I was born in Montreal in 1987 - before the civil war in Somalia broke out but during the beginning stages. I grew up with my Tanzania raised mother and my globally raised father (who were both born in Somalia) and the civil war related trauma that has affected many Somali families in Canada has not affected mine for the most part. There was also virtually no family, on either side, in Somalia at the time of the civil war. Therefore, I had little personal knowledge of the impacts of civil war on

the community in Canada, other than stories from family friends who were present during this time. I did not really consider that individuals might not want to discuss their personal stories with me due to ongoing distress they have faced.

Finally, the experience of interviewing some of those who did agree to take part in this research was strange. Out of the eight interviews that I conducted, two asked to be removed from the study afterwards and one struggled to answer any of the questions posed. Therefore, only five were used in this study. As well, I found that when discussing their feelings and thoughts on adapting to Canada informally, the participants were extremely open. However, once I pressed the button on the recorder, the spirit of their responses did not align with our previous informal chats. This may correspond to my discussion above on the reputation of the Somali community and the reluctance of some to make any perceived negative connotations against the community.

This experience brings to mind the question of if someone within the community can face these obstacles in researching their own community, who can? Although I did not realize these obstacles before coming across them, I believe that it is part of research. I will not be able to account for all considerations when conducting a research project. However, despite these difficulties, it, as a result, changed my research focus towards something I find to be more timely and relevant given the current climate on immigration and citizenship – the adaption of vulnerable (forced migrants/refugees) immigrant communities in Canada using a case of study of a community that has been in the country for more than two decades and still requires social assistance. Using the results from the interviews, current literature, legislation and the policy and program objectives of the Government of Canada (GoC), I aim to analyze and discuss how the legislation has impacted these communities and if various policy objectives in place on refugee

protection, settlement/integration and citizenship can assist these communities in making steps towards success.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section will discuss the findings of the interviews conducted for this research paper, and compare as well as contrast the ways that they relate to current literature, theoretical frameworks and current Canadian programs and policies on citizenship, immigration and settlement.

Findings – Recognizing the Immigrant Experience

The participants in this study were Somali men between the ages of 50 to 65, who immigrated to Canada after the civil war in Somalia as adults, with the exception of female participant – a daughter of a potential participant- that I interviewed who had been 22 at the time of the interview. This woman, who is Canadian-born, is a child of parents who often travelled back and forth between Canada and Somalia. In this case, I believed that her outlook of a child of well-travelled Somali immigrants would provide an interesting perspective. The main concepts that appeared to come up while conducting the interviews were in respect to migration, connection to Canada and the homeland, the difficulties of the settlement and integration experience and issues of the family unit.

Interview Themes

From the interviews conducted, my analysis found three main themes and uncovered some sub-themes. These themes were developed using the evidence emerging from the interviews, however not all themes were present in every interview.

Theme 1: Settlement and Integration Difficulties

This theme was present in all interviews conducted. The participants spoke of the differences between their lives in Somalia and what became of their lives once they immigrated to Canada. A sub-theme of *un-employment and/or un-underemployment* emerged from this theme. One of the major obstacles faced by the participants was the job-related difficulties they faced as recent

immigrants despite their education levels. As the woman spoke of her father's struggle and the reason he returned to the homeland:

"... [My] dad's experience - he could've easily been like other fathers. Some fathers who are educated - well educated - have decided they are just going to stay here him but my dad is a workaholic...and he is a workaholic that wants to be doing the things he was trained to do. He's done the stints here, he's done the taxi driving, he's done the convenience drug thing, he's done all of that but it's not self-fulfilling".

It appears that many of the participants had similar experiences. The men noted that they, and other fathers, experienced difficulties with obtaining employment in their field as well as integrating:

"I think, this is my opinion - the fathers - many came here and their English language and French was not strong and that even if they speak English, they have a heavy accent and... some of them they may be like, you know, were politicians, ministers, journalists and when they came here and they came here, they had nothing to do. Some of them, they were doctors, some of them were lawyers, some of them had businesses back home and when they came here everything was up and down. Their certifications, like they have a degree, it was not recognized and if they were politicians there, politics would not work here, so they ended up doing nothing. Some of them went back to school, as I did, and still there are a lot of people who are so lucky, who got a good job from the government and other companies."

"...[Then] in that case, they still wanted to go back because they know they were somebody, they were something when they were there and probably they were trying to go back and regain that thing".

One of the men explained that the culture, language and the act of integration are not easy feats. He mentioned imagining moving to a country that you have never been to, where you do not know anyone and you do not speak the language. The integration

process is not simple and is not helped by lack of employment or chances provided to immigrants. He discussed how there are former classmates that have more than one degree but yet drive taxis. This, this participant explained, was the reason that many men might feel like going back to Somalia was the best option.

The conversation regarding employment opportunities was extremely present in the interviews where each man discussed the hardships of working in menial jobs below their skill level. For example, one man noted that:

“As a professional, I didn’t get my professional job in Canada. I tried to manage to live in a decent life in Canada to adjust myself.”

Moreover, this man holds a master’s degree in agricultural development from the United States but he was unable to find a position in his field. He chalked this up to the lack of “Canadian Experience”:

“The obstacle was that, even though my credentials was good because I graduated from the States, because of, what they used to call, Canadian experience – that was the main thing that blocked me – the Canadian experience. And you can’t get Canadian experience unless you are given a chance to get it. But my credentials were good because I graduated from the States.”

This man decided to work independently as a delivery man, a shipping and receiving clerk and even tried to open his own small business. After these attempts, he decided to upgrade his credentials and become an international consultant to obtain access to higher employment wherever he could. He currently works in Africa (mainly Somalia) as a consultant. This participant stressed the problems that arise from lack of Canadian experience as one for many immigrants:

In Canada, the Canadian experience kills the professional people and they don't give chances to get training this in field to get it. I have friends who are doctors who came here and couldn't get it. They went to the States and they got it. It took my friend 10 years to be accepted as a medical doctor in Canada. Here is harder. You have to start new things. How many doctors are taxi drivers?

He indicated that racism might play a factor in the lack of employment opportunities (note that he was the only participant that highlighted this):

"How to a find a job is very challenging, especially if you are an immigrant and being a Muslim too. By the time you apply and your name is Muslim ...there is discrimination."

Ultimately, this issue that stems from the difficulties of the settlement and integration experiences, some participants noted, is what drives men back to Somalia:

"They feel that they can find better jobs in Somalia than here. The ones who can find professional or better jobs don't go back. They can visit but they don't go back. Mostly the men go back – if someone couldn't get a job for 14 years or he was working as a cleaner...if he can get a job over there if even if it pays less, it's pride. If you were given a job, would you stay here as a cleaner?"

He also noted that back in Somalia, these men feel like they are someone, unlike here in Canada:

"I was middle class, I was working with the government and had a good job. I was regional director. To the level of the Somalis, I was upper middle class...you are not feeling as a second-class citizen kind of like we feel over here. You are who you are. You are more proud and looking forward that you can be anything – president, minister. Here, you just have to survive. I'm not expecting to be minister or director. Just want to get a good paying job."

Overall, it appears that this idea of lack of foreign credential recognition and the resulting underemployment appear to be encouraging men to migrate and leave Canada for greener pastures, often returning to the homeland to find opportunities or regain the status they once had.

Theme 2: Migration Experience

In general, the participants (with the exception of the female participant) all entered Canada through the same path: as refugee claimants who then were granted convention refugee status. Many did not want to speak about the specifics relating to their path but some spoke to their migration experience before and during the civil war in Somalia as well as arrival in Canada.

One man discussed his life prior to the war:

“My father's business - import and export. And I start that business - not me, but my family. My father and brothers - a network. And it played a big role because I was the only one back home in Somaliland. All the other brothers were not there. And my father at that time, he was aged was not able to run the business. So I had a chance to run the business when I was 22 years old. Then from 22 to 30, I was really good businessman. Then everything went upside down.”

While one participant detailed his migration path:

“I moved in 1984. I came for studies in the US. Where I got my Masters. The reason I left was because I was clan-wise, I was subjected to abuse, I was put in jail for no reason other than my clan in Somalia. Then after being released from prison, I planned to go out of the country and looked for means of going out. With some help from friends, I found a way”.

As well, this man noted that once he was completed his studies in the States, he realized he could not go back:

“After I finished my Master's program, I was informed that if I come back to Somalia, I could be taken back to prison like most of the traitors from my clan as most of my clan has been arrested. I got a fax telling me not to go

back otherwise you'd go to jail again. After that I decided the best country to accept me for asylum was Canada. I came through the border. I was interviewed at the border which is the way you can apply for a convention refugee."

As well, despite various choices for claiming asylum in developed countries, he chose to come to Canada:

There are two reasons: first as research that I did, I found that Canada was the best country that allows immigrants or refugees for asylum as well as looking for a safe haven, Canada is the best. In the states, as I was staying there for 2 years, I was ineligible to file to asylum.

Furthermore, the woman I interviewed also spoke of what she knew to be her parents' immigration path:

"Before the civil war because my parents were in the States. My dad was doing his masters and he was about to go do his PhD but the civil war happened hence cutting his funding... so they came to Canada. Personally my mom wanted to go to England but...that's how we ended up in Canada."

Sub-theme: Transnationalism and Return Migration

From the migration experience main theme, spawned a sub-theme of ***transnationalism and return migration***. Many of the participants noted that they would go back to Somalia under the right circumstances or have already returned to Somalia. The idea of transnationalism or return migration appears to be encouraged by the business and the investment opportunities that are taking place in the homeland. Some men noted that:

[W]e still have assets there and we have big connection there. There are still a lot of great chances and opportunities to make business. So it's good for me. You have two countries, it's good. You can come back here, you can go there and you know, back and forth."

Some men that went back and got successful for their business and for their political motivations or any other way. Some of them even work for organizations like UN agencies and other organizations...

One of the participants explained that the interest in returning to the homeland includes the participating in the push to help Somalia rebuild economically:

“There are others, Somalis or Somalilanders that invest into their country and there are other foreigners. And this year, there will be a lot of investments. I know a man who is originally from Somaliland who has a big company in London, England and he came to London like 55 years ago - he came there when was 5 years old. And we were talking one day, and you can't believe it - the guy was speaking fluent Somali and 55 years ago he went or when he was five years old. So this guy, he has a lot of connections, he wants to bring oil companies to produce. There's oil there!”

Interestingly, the female participant indicated that she considers Canada to be a temporary home and plans on migrating in the future, mostly to help Somalia rebuild as well:

“As of late, I've started to think of it as perhaps a temporary home....Cause like all of my experiences going back to Somalia, I've realized that there is more to offer to a country that's still needs restructuring. Canada – everything is done pretty much. Here I'll just be a number, a statistic but over there, like there is a possibility of directly helping people...”

While one participant indicated that there are also many reasons for migration back to the homeland outside of, or including, business:

“There should be a lot of reasons. Some people want to see their parents who stayed behind there. Some people may have a business there, some people they just want to go and visit and come back. Some people go to help like as I did in 1999 and 2000. Some people they even try to participate in politics.”

“You need to learn your own language, you need to learn your old culture and you have to learn to go back and do something. And if this can become possible...you will get the benefit. You learn something, you know something and you will have a chance to go there and work there and be like a boss or really - there is a lot of opportunity.”

As well, one participant noted that he would like to make Somalia and Canada his permanent homes simultaneously:

“How about both homes? Make them permanent. It's possible. Yes it is possible. You are lucky that you can make life there and you can come here. There are actually many people who are doing that. They make money there and come back here because we have something here that few people in the world have like our health system - it's great, right? So come here and get your medical checkup and all that stuff and... go back again. Here and there. And the world - the whole world - is now too small, it's a village now. A global village, right? So you need like 15 hours to go there. 15 hours is not long. 15 hours. And then stay there and do your business and do your other work and come back. And then it's another 10 hours.”

From this, it is evident that the theme of migration and its sub-theme of transnational and return migration resonate with these men. Most of the participants indicated that they would not permanently remain in Somalia but instead lead lives between Canada and Somalia due to the fact that they have children in Canada as well as their perceived connection to Canada. Yet still, the appearance of opportunities and stability in the homeland may be opening doors for an eventual return.

Sub-theme: Identification and Belonging to Canada and Somalia

The interviews with this theme were present in all interviews and male participants expressed a general appreciation for Canada, the safe haven it provided them and that they felt very much Canadian. For example, one man noted that:

“...I have a Canadian passport, I went to school here, I get loans, everything from the country. I'm feeling I'm Canadian and part of this community.”

This participant mentioned that he felt like he belonged to both countries and that although he felt Canadian, he was Somali at the end of the day. His connection to Somalia was strong as it was his country of origin and where he was raised. For example, one participant noted that he has been back and would return to the homeland long term. He specified that:

“It is the place I grew up and believe me before the war, the family was well off. Both of my family and my wife's family.”

Some other quotes from men interviewed also touched on their gratitude and feelings of connection towards Canada. For example:

“I like Canada for a couple of things. It's a hospitable country, it's a multicultural country. It's a free country that you can access your rights and religion-wise and you can be anything you want...It's a country to raise your children – safe, acceptable and it's a decent life.”

“Very proud to be being part of the Canadian community...”

As well, generally, the participants indicated that they are actively involved in the “Canadian” community (although mostly volunteering for organizations that reflected their own ethnic identity). One participant explained how he volunteered in the Herongate area of Ottawa, where Somalis are heavily present, and another indicated that he was also actively involved in the community:

“I like to participate. I really do and my children too. All of them. In the hospitals, fundraising. I myself, I participate in fact in fundraising. Like [in the] Somali community and even other communities. I participate in all fundraising. Same with the children.”

This was not the case for the woman with the parents who travel back and forth between Canada and Somalia as her parents do not really participate in volunteering for the broader community, however, she is involved in volunteering in a community house and an elementary school.

Further to this, some participants explained how Canada has added to their identity, or not. One man mentioned that being in Canada has opened his mind and provided him with skills if he were to go back to Somalia:

“I remember before I came, the only country I knew was Somaliland and the way people think I came outside and I just completely came completely different from where we were and now I have a chance that I can think like the Canadian way and I can still Somaliland's way as well. So, I think that is a lot of opportunity that even if I go back, there is something that I can contribute that I learned from here. Like you know how to do things or how to help other people or how to even play political game.”

However, the female participant mentioned that while she is Canadian born, she does not feel a strong connection to Canada. She explained that, at times, she feels like she is part of the community but because she does not vote, she does not “... *feel like... [a] Canadian or [is] just apathetic.*” As well, she indicates that her father is in Somalia and that her parents do not consider Canada as their base or have any affiliation to Canada, due to the family’s strong connection to Somalia, outside the fact the woman and her younger sister live in Canada.

Overall, many participants indicated that, in general, they enjoy living in Canada, particularly now that they are longer-term residents. The participants interviewed appear to have managed to adjust in Canada, which is clear in their response in regards to making Canada a permanent home. One in particular noted:

“Canada could be a permanent home. As a Muslim, you always have to be where you kids are. Since my kids are born here, I am going to be here. And

then you don't have to leave unless there is health issues or the weather or age happens, then there's no better place than here."

Theme 3: Stresses on the Family Unit

This theme is one that came up in all interviews conducted. The participants noted that there has been a shift in the Somali family unit since immigration to Canada. Various aspects related to this theme emerged during the interviews as many of the participants discussed separation between parents and children created by return migration of the father, the weakening of the family structure and the degradation of breadwinner status for the father.

The female participant interviewed indicated that her father was not present in Canada and as such, does not spend any time with him because he is "halfway across the world" and when he does call, he mostly speaks to her mother and not to her. As well, her mother travels frequently back to Somalia due to her educational background:

"My parents travel frequently. Like my mom...she's involved in land distribution business because my mom went to school for business admin.... there is an issue of land transfer and mistaken purchase of plots so my mom tends to go back...specifically for her family...pretty self centered but I guess so she plans to go back."

In terms of the structure of the Somali family, one man discussed how the family was before arriving to Canada:

"... [So] solid and so connected, one entity that works together, that has a hierarchy. Father, mother and mother has her role and everybody respects. That was the case."

However, after the family immigrated, the participants noted that structure and dynamics changed rapidly. Participants explained that fathers faced challenges from the beginning. Formerly the breadwinners, the fathers were encountering long working

hours, poor working conditions or even unemployment, which led to a growing lack of respect from the family:

“The father does not have a job and if he has a job, it is not going to be a good one and when the children grow up, when they were little it was okay but when they grow up, they see their father is not doing that good. He works for the parking lot or he works for a cleaner or something like that and his son, no respect, he doesn't want to respect. He says that his father is a loser. He doesn't understand where his father's coming from. This is the situation at the present time, then the father has the mentality of home but...he lost his country and he lost his job and he lost everything and he is trying - it's a struggle”.

Furthermore, the participants noted the weakening of the family structure due to the above stresses. For example, the breadwinner status, which was once held solely by the father, is now shared with the mother:

“... [Before] the man was the only breadwinner and the woman was working from home and at home, he had a kind of pride but he came here, it changed. The woman now can be independent and go to work. And that will affect the family itself”

As a result, the marital relationship has changed. One participant indicated when the father is at home due to a lack of employment, conflicts and tension can occur. Another participant discussed what he believed to be happening to the Somali wife-husband relationship:

“If the mother [was to] understand the situation of her husband and to think a minute what he was and just give him the credit that he brought them here...then the situation he is in is giving him a chance. But...when things go awry, everyone gets mad and no patience...”

These instances of themes as well as the evidence from the interviews indicate that there is something to the immigrant experience of the Somali community. This may have to do with

their particular migration story of being refugees and forced to flee their homeland where they were established to come to a country where they did not know anyone, did not speak the language or had any economic foothold to assist their settlement experience.

The next section will discuss these findings and how they relate to the literature, theoretical frameworks and current Canadian programs and policies on citizenship and immigration.

Discussion

The previous section outlined the themes that materialised from the interviews conducted.

The following section will discuss the themes and subthemes and how they correspond and speak to the literature, theoretical frameworks and the Canadian policies and programs described earlier. It appears that simply from the stories told by the participants, their stories shed light into my research question(s) and hypothesis.

Theme 1: Settlement and Integration Difficulties

The theme of settlement and integration difficulties was at the forefront during the course of the interviews and is discussed in the literature provided. In Canada, the one of the most important aspects of the country's immigration and citizenship policies is the settlement program (which includes integration). This program is allotted billions of dollars each fiscal year and is key for the smooth transition of immigrants to Canada (IRCC 2015-2016 Report on Plans and Priorities 2015: 46). This program promises programming for language training and community and labour market integration – two very significant indicators for success in Canada (Ibid: 47). While the participants claim to now have integrated well and adjusted to Canada, all participants flatly indicated that this is a major problem and obstacle to their success.

Sub-theme: Un- and/or underemployment

As mentioned in the previous section, the participants discussed that language ability as a crucial issue that impacted their settlement experiences, however the most pressing issue was the lack of job opportunities. The participants described their first jobs upon arriving in Canada as menial, low skill and temporary, despite their education and credentials. One participant noted that even though he had a master's degree from the United States, he was blocked from applying to "professional" jobs due to lack of Canadian experience. As well, they indicated others they knew in similar positions that are working in taxi drivers despite their many degrees and credentials. This links much of the literature discussed previously by Ransford Danso, Christopher Austin and David Este. In his article, Danso writes about the belief held by Ethiopian and Somali refugees that they would have access to well-paying jobs in Canada in their field of education or training (2002: 6). However, much like the participants in this study, they soon found that not to be true as soon as the reality of having to start over in a new country set in. Austin and Este write that occupational status is an important factor in settling and integrating, just as IRCC has stated in their RPP. However, immigrant men have, more often than not, experienced a huge drop of in employment in their countries of immigration (2001: 219). From this, Danso also concluded that the main problem with the integration of immigrant men is the obstacles that surround denial of foreign credential recognition due to lack of Canadian experience or training from outside Canada (2002: 10).

Foreign credential recognition is a main part of IRCC's settlement programming. This is evident from the fact IRCC has an entire office dedicated to it located at their National Headquarters. The Foreign Credential Referral Office (FCRO) is supposed to provide path-finding and referral services as well as information to individuals trained internationally so that they can have their credentials assessed in order to find employment in their fields (IRCC 2015-

2016 Report on Plans and Priorities 2015: 47). Despite the existence of this program and the FCRO, immigrant refugee men in Canada, in this case, still have significant difficulties in finding work in their fields of training and education. The participants and the authors also discussed the idea of ‘being given a chance’. The men interviewed indicated that they just wanted a chance to improve their skills and language ability or to prove themselves in their field of training. As well, Austin and Este’s participants also noted they just wanted the opportunity to improve their skills (2001: 219). However, from the interviews and literature it seems that chances and opportunities are difficult to access when one is trying to get their bearings in a new country, particularly economically. Ultimately, this has led these men to continue working in menial jobs that are significantly below their skill levels, impacting their financial status and ability to settle and integrate in the many years after immigrating to Canada. This has also resulted in feelings of stress and regret in these men as these authors as well as the participants all noted that they were, at least at one point, disappointed in their lives in Canada and have flirted with the idea of leaving to have access to better economic opportunities (Austin and Este 2001: 218).

Other items that were discussed in the literature review, but only by one participant in the interviews conducted for this paper was the issue of racism, discrimination and being a second-class citizen. One man noted that finding a job is very challenging, especially being an immigrant and being a Muslim. He mentioned when applying for jobs, his Muslim name would block him from any chance of obtaining that particular job. This is an aspect that fits into Grosfoguel’s discussion in the literature review. Essentially, the context of reception and its components are important to note in this situation as it assists in understanding the modes of incorporation to the labour market. These men are immigrants and of different religion than the

majority of the members of the host society. The idea is that due to the fact they are coming from racialized countries from the Global South, they are more likely to have difficulty in integrating into the labour market due to the prevailing attitudes and their stigmatized status of being immigrants and minorities. Grosfoguel's context of reception is echoed in Danso's article when he states that, among the migrants, there is a general belief that black Africans are not welcome by whites and will never be considered an equal part of Canadian society (2002: 7). The concept of being a second-class citizen was also brought up in one of the interviews and in Austin and Este's article, which also ties into Grosfoguel's account of the context of reception. The participant in this study indicated that, in Somalia, he could be anything he wanted – he did not feel like a second-class citizen. However, in Canada, he would never dream to be a minister or a director – he is just trying to get a good paying job. Austin and Este's article discussed this as well as the men in their study described the settlement experience as a negative one due to the fact they felt like second class citizens (Austin and Este 2001: 222, 225). This has had impacts on their ability to access employment appropriate to their skill levels and high levels of education as the institutions in place, as well as the communities, perpetuate systematic racism against them due to their racialized status (Ibid: 7).

There appears to be feelings of discouragement among migrant refugee men that they have not been able to establish themselves as quickly as they initially believed upon arrival in Canada. Although, there is still an appreciation of the protection that Canada has provided them, they still meet significant challenges that Canadian programs and policies in place are aimed to counter, particularly when it comes to employment, however, in practice, these programs do not appear to be easing the settlement process. Moreover, many of these refugees describe themselves as unwanted additions and feel that they are discriminated against. What is

interesting is that the Canadian immigration policy shift, settlement and integration became major pieces to the immigration agenda, especially for vulnerable migrants like refugees. However, several decades later, there appears to be an integration and settlement problem among these populations. This, as a result, may be impacting their sense of belonging to the adopted country and the homeland.

Theme 2: Migration Experience

As mentioned, the participants (with the exception of the female participant), entered Canada as part of the *In Canada Asylum Program* (refugee claimants) in order to escape the burgeoning war in Somalia. This program, according to IRCC, exists to save lives and offer protection to the displaced and persecuted (IRCC, Report on Plans and Priorities 2015-2016: 34). The participants saw Canada as a safe haven and had similar experiences in regards to immigrating to Canada and were grateful that they were able to claim asylum as part of Canada's generous program. Overall, Canada's asylum program - in the days where these Somalis immigrated to Canada - appears to align with Moses' and Carens' discussion on open borders where people have the right to escape from social, political and economic injustices and the fact, states will have difficulties in finding excuses for restricting immigration (Moses 2006: 59) (Carens 1999: 1084). As well, the changing immigration legislations towards a non-racist policy appear to be spawned from these moral and political arguments and as such, have been applied in practice by Western countries such as Canada.

Sub-theme: Identification and Belonging to Canada and Somalia

The male participants from the interviews indicated that they feel a general belonging to Canada as they identify themselves as Canadian since migrating, while the lone female participant mentioned that she did not (she is Canadian born and this appeared to be due to the influence of her parents who travelled between Canada and Somalia). However, these

identification and the stories told around this sub-theme were not robust and more symbolic. The male participants noted that they were proud to be part of the Canadian community and that they could access rights and live their lives in safety (in comparison to the lives they fled). They also participated in volunteer activities in Canada, however, mostly in relation to their ethnic identity.

The subject of identity and belonging to Canada and Somalia was multifaceted for the participants. For example, some participants noted that while they were happy to have immigrated to Canada and felt Canadian, they were still Somali and would still identify as such. This conception was touched on by IRCC in their publication on immigrant identities when they stated that while a successful integration process includes acculturation and a shift in national identity, former national identities should not be eliminated (Gilkinson and Sauv  : 2010: 4). Moreover, one participant spoke to this shift where he was able to pick up new skills (and identities) that he could possibly bring back to Somalia to employ creating in a mesh of identities and skills from both nations.

Sub-theme: Transnationalism and Return Migration

Despite these connections to Canada, these men also noted that they would return to Somalia if the circumstance arose due to business or investment opportunities, as well as to help Somalia rebuild, highlighting the sub-theme of transnationalism and return migration. Some participants noted that they still have connections and have gone back since immigrating to Canada. As well, that desire to return is not limited to staying in Somalia permanently but they plan to travel back and forth between Somalia and Canada. This concept of transnational and return migration corresponds with several of the literature previously discussed as well as the Moses' and Carens' argument regarding open borders. As well, IRCC indicated that due to the global migration process, immigrants and citizens do have multiple attachments and connections and that these connections lead people to see the world transnationally and as a result,

immigrants identify and maintain ties globally (Gilkinson and Sauv  2010: 4). This also relates back to Seyla Benhabib’s discussion of transnationalism where she mentions that the patterns of migration are leading migrants to maintain those ties back in their home country and are not undergoing total immersion into their adopted countries, impacting the ability of the state to act as the ...” final and indivisible seat of authority” (Benhabib 2007: 21).

With this in mind, it also appears that this transnationalism, whether it shows itself as return migration or the desire to move between nations, has assisted the migrants’ diasporic attachments to the homeland. Benhabib indicates this as she mentions that this modern system is resulting in nation states supporting diasporic ideals, as this group is a key source of skills, money and networks. This was echoed the article written by Hoehne et al where they discussed how the experiences, knowledge and skills developed in the host society by diaspora members can be transmitted to the homeland (2011: 77). Many of the participants interviewed also noted this at play and mentioned that would assist Somalia to rebuild.

With these theme and sub-themes, it seems apparent that these men are participating in what Benhabib called “flexible citizenship” (2007: 20). She indicates that we are moving away from national citizenship and towards a citizenship uncoupled from nationality but tied to multiple localities and regions – a post national citizenship (Ibid: 22, 30). The concept of citizenship and the duties associated are no longer tied to the nation state and people can exercise these duties outside the boundaries of one particular nation state (Ibid: 21). This does raise questions about the strength of the nation state to enforce ties to within their border. With this post national citizenship, there is significant impact on the concept of state sovereignty, which provides the state the power to wield authority, however the more people navigate between “transnational spaces” – as Castles also wrote (2003: 27) – a global civil society emerges that is

not centered on one particular national polity (Benhabib 2007: 24). This speaks to the stories told by the participants. Gathering from the information gathered from the interviews and comparing and contrasting to the literature and theoretical frameworks, it appears that the experiences of forced migrant men have experienced a sense of transnationalism and a desire to migrate back to, in this case, Somalia. They want to navigate between the two nations freely, utilize their skills, knowledge and capacities in both national spaces and maintain their ties across border identities. However, the Government of Canada has programs and policies in place to ensure that newcomers feel tied to Canada such as the Citizenship Awareness program which is aimed to reinforce the meaning of Canadian citizenship, create a sense of belonging to Canada and promote the rights and responsibilities of being a citizen (IRCC, Reports on Plans and Priorities 2015-2016: 53-54). If their citizens maintain these transnational ties that place them outside and inside the national boundaries, simultaneously, how can Canada ensure that a sense of belonging to their nation is maintained and not diminished over time? One aspect that Benhabib noted is that nation states are picking up on this concept of post nationalism and that stronger states (such as Canada) are now taking part on global transactions, agreements and flows (Ibid: 24). Therefore, both the nation state and its citizens are participating in a new global society where ties are universal (Ibid: 30).

Theme 3: Stresses on the Family Unit

The participants noted that the family structure has certainly changed since the immigration to Canada. This topic was discussed at length during the interviews and appeared to resonate with the participants.

One participant spoke of the family unit prior to the migration experience as being solid and connected but unravelled upon facing the settlement challenges. In essence, in the Somali family, the husband is the breadwinner and the stress of long working hours and

underemployment impacted the familial relations as well as how the family saw him as the breadwinner, resulting in a lack of respect for him. Austin and Este also noted this when they discussed how the family unit of immigrants became dysfunctional due to the men's inability to meet the financial needs of the family. Therefore, the embarrassment that stems from lack of good employment created feelings of guilt and withdrawal from the men (Austin and Este 2001: 222). From this, came a change in roles in the family structure as the participants indicated; now the wife could go to work. Mohammed also discusses this role reversal as she states that gender roles changed after the migration process – women became the breadwinners (1999: 54). This change produced a feeling of demoralization and emasculation among the men as they failed to maintain that breadwinner role (Ibid: 54). Participants noted the impacts of this role reversal, in the form of tension and conflicts and this issue was also discussed by the authors in the literature review. For example, one man noted that due to the husband's lack of employment or underemployment, a breakdown of the marital relationship has occurred. We know this as Mohammed wrote that Somali women have now taken up the responsibility to maintain the economic survival of the family along with the domestic tasks they are already responsible for, creating strife and conflict in the relationship between the husband and wife (Ibid: 53-54). As well, Al-Sharmani noted that this transfer of breadwinner status from the father to the mother has had further impacts on the family and the marital relationship as it has encouraged some fathers to leave to find employment back home in order to regain former status (2006: 64-65) or back in Somalia as one participant noted,

“...if someone couldn't get a job for 14 years or he was working as a cleaner...if he can get a job over there if even if it pays less, it's pride. If you were given a job, would you stay here as a cleaner?”

This quote sheds some light into the reasons why fathers leave their families as the disappointment of being unable to support their family and the embarrassment resulting from this drives them to seek positions in places where they once held status.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper was to explore the overall experiences relating to feelings of belonging, settlement, integration and adjustment of vulnerable migrants such as refugees in Canada. From the evidence presented in this small study, it seems that the adjustment experiences of forced migrant men in Canada is one of significant difficulty. Similar to what Danso (2002) and Austin and Este (2001) found in their studies, starting from their settlement and integration experiences, Somali men encountered significant challenges in coping economically and socially due to barriers of finding employment (foreign credential recognition and, for some, racism). Expecting to arrive in Canada and have access to the opportunities, the men found that for them, and their peers, this was not the case. Despite their education and training, they were unable to access employment that would mirror the positions they had prior to the migration to Canada. The issues of employment were significant for them. From this, it appears that the diasporic attachment they have to Somalia – what they used to be and what they could be again – may be producing transnationalism and meshing of identity from the homeland (and the adopted country), assisted by the ease of globalization, open borders and the emergence of post national citizenship. As a result, these experiences are strengthening the ties to their homeland and diminishing ties to the adopted nation. While participants noted that they were happy to be in Canada, they did not speak deeply about their connection to Canada, instead focusing on Somalia, going back and their former lives. Their experiences are unique being that they are men and, in many cases, the breadwinner for the family. It seems that these thoughts and actions have been created by the settlement struggles of these men. Moreover, as Mohammed (1999) and Al-Sharmani (2006) also demonstrated in their articles, the family dysfunction and loss of breadwinner status created by the settlement experience has also affected

the men's desire to return to Somalia, creating a physical absence in the family in the adopted country.

The Canadian citizenship and immigration programs and policies in place have had significant impact on these experiences and the problems since have implications on the Canadian state. While Canadian immigration policies shifted and opened the doors for the Somali community fleeing to escape the violence in their home country, the programs and policies in place did not assist their transition and still do not help them establish themselves in Canada. From the evidence presented in this paper, it seems to stem from the problems with IRCC's Settlement program. IRCC admits that foreign credential recognition is an important part of the settlement program (IRCC, Report on Plans and Priorities 2015-2016: 47), however the denial of recognition is an experience shared by the men in this small study as well as the men discussed in the articles in the literature review, decades after immigration. It seems that this program has not worked and is still not working in practice. The Somali community is not that far from where it was when it arrived in Canada decades ago. It is a community still traumatized and has experienced a breakdown of its family structure due to the ineffectiveness of these policies and programs that were aimed to help them settle and integrate. Instead, a major factor for the integration process was blocked for them, just like many other immigrants, due to credentials not being adequate enough, not having Canadian experience, not being provided with the chance and, perhaps, even embedded and institutional racism. Further, these issues demonstrate the inability of the state to assist their newcomers, particularly forced and vulnerable migrants such as in the case of the Somali community, in properly integrating so that they can become functioning and contributing members of the national polity. As such, the nation state has lost their allegiance and the power to wield their authority (Benhabib 2007: 21) in this sense.

However, there appears to be a shift in the direction towards improving the foreign credential recognition program for immigrants. In an interview, IRCC minister, John McCallum, recently indicated that on the government's agenda is "...tackling the decades-old problem of how to recognize foreign credentials for newcomers..." (Solyom, Montreal Gazette, John McCallum on Phase 2 of the Syrian refugee op, and where Canada goes from here). This push is a direct result of the 2015-2016 immigration wave of Syrian refugees to Canada and the desire to help them integrate well and succeed (Ibid). Essentially, this is a commitment to newcomers and includes the assumption that they need to – and will be - encouraged to participate and integrate economically, socially and politically and as well as remain in Canada (Kymlicka 2010: 7). Nevertheless, while Canada spends a significant amount of money on settlement services in order for immigrants to develop the necessary tools to become active in the fabric of the nation (CIC Backgrounder 2011), the legacy remains that immigrants still face socio-economic obstacles (Banting 2008: 2)

While the limitation of this study is that it was small, the information presented in this paper does begin to indicate that migrant populations, particularly Somali migrant men, have struggled to adjust due to the lack of credential recognition from the nation state. Moreover, Canada has struggled to successfully economically integrate them and future research could shed more light into its reasons and consequences. It appears that as a result of these problems, various developments have occurred in the lives of these men such as difficulties in settling and integrating in the adopted nation. As such, these developments are being expressed in the form of diasporic attachments to their homeland leading to actions relating to transnationalism and return migration, issues within the family and a lack of robust attachment to the adopted nation.

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