Canada's Syrian Refugee Program, Intergroup Relationships and Identities

1 author:

Michaela Hynie
York University

91 PUBLICATIONS **1,815** CITATIONS

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:

Project Virtual Mental Healthcare Access for Refugees View project

Project Exploring the mental health and service needs of Syrian refugees within their first two years in Canada View project

MICHAELA HYNIE – SPECIAL GUEST EDITOR

Canada's Syrian Refugee Program, Intergroup Relationships and Identities

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

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

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

REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE

Discourses both supporting and rejecting refugees and asylum seekers rest on the co-creation of two identities: that of a refugee "other", and a national "self" (Bauder 2008). These constructions are nuanced by national identities and current political realities (Akbari and MacDonald 2014; Berry, Garica-Blanco and Moore 2016; Krzyżanowski, Triandafyllidou and Wodak 2018; Triandafyllidou 2018). Nonetheless, there are common themes that emerge, particularly across high-income countries that have been destinations for refugee resettlement and asylum, themes which have been affected by highly publicized and debated events. These discourses tend to focus on refugee identities rather than explicitly describing national identities, the latter of which are assumed to be in opposition or contrast to the refugee "other".

The Welcome Refugee initiative in Canada coincided with the time of the greatest increase in asylum requests in Europe and multiple deaths during Mediterranean crossings, from 2015 to 2016. Triandafyllidou (2018) identifies a critical discursive shift among political, media and civic society debates in European media coverage during this time. Discourse shifted from a focus on management of newcomers into Europe, to the loss of life and dire conditions for refugees following several highly publicized deaths of asylum seekers. The discourse shifted again following highly publicized attacks in Germany and France, returning to a trend of framing refugees as a threat to security, social order, and economic stability and of their arrival as a crisis for Europe. As noted by Winter and colleagues, however, Canada's discourse did not shift in the same way (Winter, Patzelt and Beauregard 2018).

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

Negative discourses also construct refugee migration in dehumanizing ways by representing refugees as an uncontrolled and deindividuated mass (Haslam and Loughnan 2014). In Slovenia the media portrayal of the refugee situation repeatedly uses the metaphor of water (flow, river, flood, tsunami) to denote an out-of-control, dehumanized and agentless catastrophe (Vezovnik 2018). Common themes across multiple studies are that these large and deindividuated refugee/asylum migration flows are hiding terrorists within them, and that the (large but unspecified) numbers will overwhelm available resources (Berry et al. 2016; Guidry et al. 2018; Huot, Bobadilla, Bailliard and Rudman 2016; Triandafyllidou 2018). In this case the threat does not come from individuals and so the denial of asylum is not directed towards people but rather a catastrophic event.

With the increase in these discourses regarding asylum seekers has come an escalation of hostility towards refugees and asylum seekers in Europe (with the terms refugee, asylum seeker, and migrant often used interchangeably), and particularly towards Muslim refugees (Bansak, Hainmueller and Hangartner 2016; IPSOS 2017). As noted, these discourses are also connected to beliefs that those claiming asylum do not deserve protection or that protection is impossible. Challenging the validity of these asylum claims anticipates and counters humanitarian arguments for providing asylum, resettlement and support, thereby protecting the morality or humanity of those who argue against providing asylum.

Humanitarian themes focus on the suffering and hardship experienced by refugees and asylum seekers prior to migration and on their migration pathway. Some news and social media portrayals individuate refugees and emphasize perspec-

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

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

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

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

Two papers in this special issue explore the Liberal government's initiative to resettle Syrian refugees in terms of the construction of a Canadian identity. Drawing on the work of Harold Bauder, Winter and her colleagues (2018) use media coverage in "mainstream" national newspapers in Canada and Germany to document how the media construction of Syrian refugee identities reflect each country's general stance with regards to immigration. In analyzing articles published between September 2015 and January 2016 in two national newspapers, Winter and colleagues found both countries' newspapers reported common themes of refugees needing assistance, and of refugees posing a threat. In Germany, there was also a debate about whether refugees and asylum seekers could integrate into German society. This latter theme suggested an essentialized refugee "other" at odds with the German self. In the Canadian media, Winter and colleagues found that the vulnerability and need of Syrian refugees was accompanied by a critique of the Conservative government for not doing more to assist, contrasted against descriptions of how "true Canadians" were providing support to refugees. This line of discourse emphasized Canada's history of and commitment to helping refugees, thus explicitly aligning resettlement with Canadian identity, while also drawing attention to Canadian virtuous helping behaviour, rather than the experience from the perspective of the Syrian newcomers. Winter and colleagues also found evidence of Bauder's (2008) thesis regarding the sublimation of refugee "others" into the Canadian self, with reports of how earlier refugee newcomers had successfully integrated into Canadian society and promises of how these refugees would also become new Canadians. Critical to these discourses, however, is the emphasis on the "deserving" refugee, one who is passive,

grateful, needy and female and/or a child, with the male Muslim refugee still portrayed as a threat, and with assurances being offered during this resettlement initiative that only those refugees who fit the "good refugee" identity were being resettled.

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

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

IDENTITY AND INTERGROUP RELATIONSHIPS

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

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

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

THE INTEGRATION OF NEWCOMER AND ESTABLISHED COMMUNITIES

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

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

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

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

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

CANADIAN IDENTITY, REFUGEE IDENTITY, AND BECOMING CANADIAN

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

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

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

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

REFERENCES

Aiken, Sharryn J., David Lyon and Malcolm Thorburn. 2014. Introduction: 'Crimmigration, Surveillance and Security Threats': A Multidisciplinary Dialogue. *Queen's Law Journal* 40.1: 8 pages.

Akbari, Ather H., and Martha MacDonald. 2014. Immigration Policy in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States: An Overview of Recent Trends. *International Migration Review* 48.3: 801-822.

Bansak, Kirk, Jens Hainmueller and Dominik Hangartner. 2016. How Economic, Humanitarian, and Religious Concerns Shape European Attitudes Toward Asylum Seekers. *Science* 22 Sep.

Bauder, Harald. 2008. Dialectics of Humanitarian Immigration and National Identity in Canadian Public Discourse. *Refuge* 25.1: 84-93.

Berry, Mike, Inaki Garcia-Blanco and Kerry Moore. 2016. *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries.* Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.html.

Campion-Smith, Bruce. 2015. Stephen Harper Defends Refugee Response as 'Generous'. *Toronto Star.* September 20. https://www.thestar.com/news/federal-election/2015/09/20/stephen-harper-defends-refugee-response-as-generous.html.

Cooper, Samantha, Erin Olejniczak, Caroline Lennette and Charlotte Smedley. 2017. Media coverage of refugees and asylum seekers in regional Australia: a critical discourse analysis. *Media International Australia* 162.1: 78-89.

Devictor, Xavier, and Quy-Toan Do. 2016. How Many Years Have Refugees Been in Exile? Policy Research working paper; no. WPS 7810. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/549261472764700982/How-many-years-have-refugees-been-in-exile.

Diop, Petra Molnar. 2014. The "Bogus" Refugee: Roma Asylum Claimants and the Discourses of Fraud in Canada's Bill C-31. *Refuge* 30.1: 67-80.

Drolet, Julie, and Gayatri Moorthi. 2018. The Settlement Experiences of Syrian Newcomers in Alberta: Social Connections and Interactions. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50.2: 101-121.

Environics Institute for Survey Research. 2018. Canadian Public Opinion about Immigration and Minority Groups. *Focus Canada—Winter 2018.* March 22.

Esses, Victoria. M., Stelian Medianu and Andrea S. Lawson. 2012. Uncertainty, Threat, and the Role of the Media in Promoting the Dehumanization of Immigrants and Refugees. *Social Issues* 69.3: 518-536.

Glăveanu, Vlad Petre, Constance de Saint-Laurent and Ioana Literat. 2018. Making Sense of Refugees Online: Perspective Taking, Political Imagination, and Internet Memes. *American Behavioral Scientist* 62.4: 440-457.

Goodman, Simon, Ala Sirriyeh and Simon McMahon. 2017. The Evolving (Re)categorisations of Refugees Throughout the "Refugee/Migrant Crisis. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 27: 105-114.

Government of Canada. 2017. #WelcomeRefugees: Key Figures. Accessed from: https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/refugees/welcome-syrian-refugees/key-figures.html.

Guidry, Jeanine P. D., Lucinda L. Austin, Kellie E. Carlyle, Karen Freberg, Michael Cacciatore, Yan Jin and Marcus Messner. 2018. Welcome or Not: Comparing #Refugee Posts on Instagram and Pinterest. *American Behavioral Scientist* 62.4: 512-531.

Hanley, Jill, Adnan Al Mhamied, Janet Cleveland, Oula Hajjar, Ghayda Hassan, Nicole Ives, Rim Khyar and Michaela Hynie. 2018. The Social Networks, Social Support and Social Capital of Syrian Refugees Privately Sponsored to Settle in Montreal: Indications from their Early Experiences of Integration. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50.2: 123-149.

Haslam, Nick, and Steve Loughnan. 2014. Dehumanization and Infrahumanization. *Annual Review of Psychology* 65: 399-423.

House of Commons. 2013. Bill C-31: A act to amend the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, the Balanced Refugee Reform Act, the Marin Transportation Security Act and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Act. Ottawa, Canada: Parliament of Canada. Accessed at: https://www.ourcommons.ca/Committees/en/CIMM/StudyActivity?studyActivityId=7523846.

Huot, Suzanne, Andrea Bobadilla, Antoine Bailliard and Debbie Laliberte Rudman. 2016. Constructing

Undesirables: A Critical Discourse Analysis of "Othering" within the Protecting Canada's Immigration System Act. *International Migration* 54.2: 131-143.

IPSOS. 2017. Global Views on Immigration and the Refugee Crisis. Accessed from: https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2017-09/Global_Advisor_Immigration.pdf.

Kumin, Judith. 2015. Welcoming Engagement: How Private Sponsorship Can Strengthen Refugee Resettlement in the European Union. Migration Policy Institute Europe. Available from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/welcoming-engagement-how-private-sponsorship-can-strengthen-refugee-resettlement-european.

Krzyżanowski, Michal, Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruth Wodak. 2018. The Mediatization and the Politization of the "Refugee Crisis" in Europe. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 16.1-2: 1-14. DOI: 10.1080/15562948.2017.13531189.

Kyriakides, Christopher, Lubna Bajjali, Arthur McLuhan and Karen Anderson. 2018. Beyond Refuge: Contested Orientalism and Persons of Self-Rescue. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50.2: 59-78.

Labman, Shauna. 2016. Private Sponsorship: Complementary or Conflicting Interests? *Refuge* 32.2: 67-80.

Macklin, Audrey, Kathryn Barber, Luin Goldring, Jennifer Hyndman, Anna Korteweg, Shauna Labman and Jona Zyfi. 2018. A Preliminary Investigation into Private Refugee Sponsors. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50.2: 35-58.

Molnar, Petra. 2016. The Boy on the Beach: The Fragility of Canada's Discourses on the Syrian Refuge 'Crisis'. *Contention: The Multidisplinary Journal of Social Protest* 4.1-2: 67-75.

Nadler, Arie, Samer Halabi, Gal Harapz-Gorodeisky and Yael Ben-David. 2010. Helping relations as status relations. In M. Mikulincer and P. R. Shaver (Eds.), *Prosocial Motives, Emotions, and Behavior: The Better Angels of Our Nature* (181-200). Washington, USA: American Psychological Association.

Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Triandafyllidou, Anna. 2018. A "Refugee Crisis" Unfolding: "Real" Events and their Interpretation in Media and Political Debates. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 16.1-2: 198-216.

Tyyska, Vappu, Jenna Blower, Samantha DeBoer, Shunya Kawai and Ashley Walcott. 2017. The Syrian Refugee Crisis in Canadian Media. *RCIS Working Paper No. 2107/3*. Toronto: Ryerson University.

UNHCR. 2017. Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2016. Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Accessed at: http://www.unhcr.org/statistics/unhcrstats/5943e8a34/global-trends-forced-displacement-2016.html.

———. 2018. Syria Emergency. Accessed from http://www.unhcr.org/syria-emergency.html.

Veronis, Luisa, Zac Tabler, and Rukhsana Ahmed. 2018. Syrian Refugee Youth Use Social Media: Building Transcultural Spaces and Connections for Resettlement in Ottawa, Canada. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50.2: 79-100.

Vezovnik, Andreja. 2018. Securitizing Migration in Slovenia: A Discourse Analysis of the Slovenian Refugee Situation. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 16.1-2: 39-56.

Vollmer, Bastian, and Serhat Karakayalf. 2018. The Volatility of the Discourse on Refugees in Germany. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 16.1-2: 118-139.

Wallace, Rebecca. 2018. Contextualizing the Crisis: The Framing of Syrian Refugees in Canadian Print Media. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 51.2: 207-231.

Winter, Elke, Anke Patzelt and Mélanie Beauregard. 2018. L'Imaginaire National, l'Asile et les Réfugiés Syriens en Allemagne et au Canada: Une Analyse Discursive. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50.2: 15-34.

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

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