

Paved with

Good Intentions:

Paths of Secondary Migration
Of Government-Assisted Refugees in Ontario

A Study for the Ontario Administration of Settlement and Integration Services,
Citizenship and Immigration Canada

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Executive Summary

This study is about why government-assisted refugees who are selected overseas for re-settlement in Canada change the course of their journeys. In particular, it is about those who are destined by Canada's refugee system to various parts of the country, but who choose instead to resettle in Ontario. Refugees do this in two or three ways: they are sent by Canadian officials to communities in various provinces where they stay anywhere from a few days to several months, after which they decide to migrate a *second* time, in most cases to, or within, Ontario. Alternatively, they disembark at the airport and choose not to continue on to their officially prescribed destination. In both cases, the government-assisted refugees who arrive in Ontario within the one-year period in which the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) in Canada supports them are referred to as "secondary migrants."

This report provides the results of an investigation of the reasons for these patterns of migration and discusses related problems. The first three chapters respectively present the research aims, provide a context for defining the problem of secondary migration, and describe how we carried out the research. Chapter 4 presents sample cases of secondary migration to provide a context for decisions from the migrant's point of view. Chapter 5 presents dual perspectives on the migration process. One perspective is that of key informants who were interviewed about overseas and in-Canada policies and procedures related to the problem. The other perspective is that of the government-assisted refugees who have been selected overseas, have been destined to some place in Canada, and have subsequently moved to Ontario. The findings are discussed in the final chapter, where recommendations address points in the migration process where modified approaches could potentially reduce secondary migration and ameliorate settlement prospects.

The study in brief

The scope of the research was comprehensive of the entire migration process, beginning with selection and destining in visa posts abroad, continuing with the refugees arrival in Canada and secondary migration to Ontario, and ending with settlement. A total of 70 secondary migrants participated in this study in interviews and focus groups. From among these participants, the primary sources of data were 47 in-depth interviews with Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) in Ontario reception centres affiliated with the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) and Immigrant Settlement Assistance Program (ISAP) agencies. In addition, 38 key informants were interviewed. For this problem-solving research, triangulated data-collection methods and qualitative research tools such as confidential, semi-structured, open-ended interviewing and interpretative analysis were used.

The main objectives of the research were first, to understand reasons for secondary migration through examining the factors that influence decisions about the migration process, and second, to help develop the conceptual tools to help improve the process. Additional objectives were to identify the reasons for decisions to migrate and to change locations, including factors considered by visa post officials during the destining process; to consider additional influences; and to analyse how these affect decision-making at each stage of the migration process (pre-migration, arrival, moving, settlement).

The fact that "settlement" may entail moving on to a second destination creates problems in delivering settlement assistance programs such as those in the reception centres and settlement agencies in various Ontario communities. However, refugees attempt through

secondary migration to maximise their opportunities for social support and self-sufficiency in ways meaningful to them, irrespective of the logistics problems that result.

For refugees, settlement means more than staying in one place in order to meet immediate material needs. Settlement also entails psychosocial well being. Migration is a stressful process in which refugees in particular must cope with loss of social support and self-sufficiency while adapting to an unfamiliar culture and environment. One might expect a refugee to use all possible coping strategies, including secondary migration, to reconstruct a normal life. Secondary migration, in other words, may be viewed as support-seeking behaviour.

Migrants do not make their decisions in isolation, as individual clients of a settlement program, but as members of extended social networks. Evidence accumulated from studies of refugee resettlement show that a slow and continual process of reconstituting family and social support networks assure emotional and material stability throughout many months of resettlement. Social support derived from these networks during resettlement can take the form of advice and information, emotional help in times of stress, or instrumental support in response to practical needs such as housing. For refugees, the social support of friends and relatives is necessary for successful resettlement. However, the means to become self-sufficient also must be present.

Selected findings

The presentation of research findings in this report follows the phases of the migration process itself. The process begins overseas where destining decisions are made and then proceeds to arrival and secondary migration within Canada. The reasons for secondary migration are explored from various perspectives to determine how better destining and management can enhance settlement outcomes. The report includes observations and selected quotes of key informants and secondary migrants about decision-making points in the migration process that influence destining, and ultimately secondary migration.

These points are as follows: 1) pre-migration experiences, 2) the interview, 3) orientation and other information, 4) destining, 5) arrival and reception, and 6) changing destination/moving.

Interviewing: Generally speaking, the areas in which CIC officials and settlement workers can do the most to lend support involve information exchange. The interview process that takes place in the Canadian visa posts overseas poses particular challenges. Several themes emerged from the material, including the following:

- The multiple goals of the interview, including selection and destining
- Recognition of differing priorities and how they are negotiated
- The time constraints under which Canadian officials work
- Underlying issues of trust and perceptions of risk, often due to pre-migration conditions
- The ambiguity of the interview as a source of stress for the refugee

Orientation: Orientation information can come through formal channels, such as orientation sessions delivered by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) at embassies; or informal channels, such as information exchanged among refugees and their friends and relatives. Informants revealed two basic problems: 1) formal orientation is frequently unavailable to government-assisted refugees. 2) orientation information that is available is often inappropriate

or incorrect.

Destining: Visa officers who conduct interviews generally ask if refugees have family or friends in Canada in order to send them where they will have the support of someone they know during settlement. Although this placement strategy can be difficult to accomplish in practice, it is standard policy and may well work in most cases. In the sample of secondary migrants interviewed for this study, however, we found the following:

- In 30 of the cases (64%), refugees expressed a preferred destination, generally because of the presence of friends or family, but were destined elsewhere.
- In 7 of the cases (15%), refugees had no preference because they had no contacts in Canada; 80% of these were sent to Quebec
- In 3 cases, refugees had a preferred destination, but were afraid to say so; 2 of these cases were sent to Quebec, and 1 to Manitoba.

In several cases, refugees had friends or family in Ontario, but did not know exactly where until they arrived. These refugees were sent to Quebec and other provinces, then migrated to Ontario. In other cases, were not asked if they had friends or family in Canada. In one case a relative had moved in the waiting period between destining and arrival.

Arrival in Canada and reasons for moving: Key informants suggested possible rationales for secondary migration at different points in the process, with different consequences. For example, they believed secondary migrants who change destination at the airport usually do so because of relative--a decision made prior to arrival. They also believed that secondary migrants who have stayed at their assigned destination for some time are more likely to move in search of job opportunities--a decision made after arrival. Key informants also suggested that refugees were just not being truthful about the presence of relatives in Canada, but had intentions of joining them soon after arrival. In fact in interviewing secondary migrants, we found the following:

92% of the PSMs (11 of 12 primary secondary migrants) in our sample had stated a preferred destination, usually because of the presence of friends or family members, but were not accommodated at the point of destining overseas.

60% of the SSMs (12 of 20 short-term secondary migrants) and **56% of LSMs** (9 of 16 long-term secondary migrants) had stated a preferred destination, but were not accommodated at the point of destining.

Conclusions

Why do government-assisted refugees move after being destined to a particular place in Canada to begin resettlement? We conclude that they engage in secondary migration for the following reasons:

- They change destination because their stated preferences are not accommodated at the

point of destining overseas, for various reasons.

- They lack meaningful orientation information about their destination, so cannot make informed decisions and are not prepared to commit themselves to settlement in an unknown place.
- They decide to move after arrival because of perceived lack of reliable social support in their original destination; they seek support from other sources, especially from friends and family members.
- They move to be in a place where they perceive there to be better opportunities for self-sufficiency (through work, language, educational or other opportunities), particularly under pressure of inadequate income support.
- They move to be in a place that provides a sense of comfort and familiarity, including the scale (small or large city) and ethnic composition of the community.

Some policy considerations

Ambivalence in policy has led to contradictions in procedures. Successful settlement is not the primary focus of refugee selection and destining as it is currently practiced. The shift toward selection based on the need for protection and away from ability to establish, as well as the push for efficiency, may have had unintended consequences. The result may be under-emphasizing careful and adequate settlement planning based on the needs of the refugees. Successful settlement, as always, requires social support and aims to achieve some measure of self-sufficiency. If so, then it may be unrealistic to think that migrants will stay in a place they don't want to be, without adequate social support, accurate information with which to evaluate their prospects, or the means to become self-sufficient. Refugees are unlikely to stay in the community to which they are destined unless conditions for social support and self-sufficiency are met. Other policy considerations include rethinking the wisdom of the geographic distribution of refugees and improving coordination and communication, both domestically and internationally. The report concludes with specific recommendations for procedural improvements.

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The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and research participants; they do not necessarily reflect the views of the funder.

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Paths of Secondary Migration of Government-Assisted Refugees in Ontario

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This study is about the reasons that government-assisted refugees selected overseas change the course of their journeys in Canada. In particular it is about those who are destined by Canada's refugee system to various parts of Canada, but who choose instead to come to Ontario. Refugees do this in two or three ways: they are sent by Canadian officials to communities in various provinces where they stay anywhere from a few days to several months, after which they decide to migrate a *second* time, in most cases to, or within, Ontario. Alternatively, they disembark at the airport and choose not to continue on to their officially prescribed destination. In both cases, the government-assisted refugees who arrive in Ontario within the one-year period in which the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) in Canada supports them are referred to as secondary migrants.

Throughout human history, people have been forced to migrate to escape misfortune and persecution. Through wisdom and compassion, organized social responses to human displacement have arisen. Canada is justifiably proud of its role in shaping the ideals behind global responses to the plight of refugees. Pragmatically, organized responses to the exigencies of human migration have taken bureaucratic form to serve national and international interests as well as the interests of the displaced. The purpose of the refugee resettlement bureaucracy is to respond to the need to re-establish uprooted people in large-scale, practical and efficient ways. It does so by formal mechanisms extending across Canada and around the world. The execution of plans to move and re-establish refugees from distant parts of the globe is difficult and complex.

Distinct from the organizational complexity is an additional layer of complexity that of the individual refugees experience and understanding of the aim of his or her particular journey. Being forcefully uprooted--becoming a refugee--is a wrenching experience. Successful re-establishment requires uncommon personal strength and concerted social support. We are assured that government-assisted refugees are generally well selected and well supported by Canada in critical ways. Why then would a large number of these refugees, who by definition have been violently uprooted and resettled somewhere in Canada, choose to uproot themselves again?

Normally, the organizational systems in place work well to assist refugees in migrating to and resettling in Canada. Many caring professionals pave the way. However, sometimes individual refugees and the bureaucracy (also consisting of individual decision-makers) operate at cross-purposes. People do not move according to bureaucratic plan or, exercising what choice they can, they move according to an alternate plan in apparent self-interest. The settlement path is consequently altered and may be disrupted at significant cost to the refugee and to the government. The tension between the basic human

right to move at will, embodied in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, collides with the need to plan and provide well-organized resettlement supports.

This report provides the results of an investigation of the reasons for these patterns of migration and discusses related problems. The first three chapters respectively present the research aims, provide a context for defining the problem of secondary migration, and describe how we carried out the research.

Chapter 4 presents sample cases of secondary migration to provide a context for decisions from the migrant's point of view. Chapter 5 presents dual perspectives on the migration process: that of key informants who were interviewed about overseas and in-Canada policies and procedures related to the problem, and that of the government-assisted refugees who have gone through the process of being selected overseas, have been destined to some place in Canada, and have subsequently moved to Ontario. These findings are discussed in the final chapter, where recommendations also address points in the migration process where modified approaches could potentially reduce secondary migration and ameliorate settlement prospects.

RESEARCH RATIONALE

Secondary migration is an ongoing problem for Ontario. Every year, over 7,000 Government Assisted Refugees are destined to various parts of Canada from visa posts overseas where they are selected for settlement. Over two thousand are destined, or matched, to Ontario annually. However within the first year in Canada, a significant number of these 7,000 refugees resettle in another province or city. In 1999, for example, over 1000 refugees in addition to those originally destined to Ontario settled in the province due to secondary migration. From the perspective of the refugee resettlement system, the problem created by secondary migration is that resettlement resources are allocated to the first destination of the refugees, necessitating the eventual redirection of resources and settlement support, which disrupts the settlement process. Engaging in secondary migration is often costly for the refugees also.

This qualitative study was undertaken to explore the underlying reasons for secondary migration in Ontario. It is hoped that the findings will be useful in reducing such movement. This does not assume that mobility itself is a problem. Canadians in general are very mobile and often migrate for reasons of family, employment or educational opportunities. But the settlement process for refugee newcomers is difficult enough without repeated migration in the earliest stages--unless it is undertaken to improve the chances to settle successfully. To the extent that government-assisted refugees find the destinations chosen for them to be contrary to their perceived best interests, we can expect continuing secondary migration. The task, then, is to try to reconcile the interests of the refugee resettlement system, including government and service providers, and the refugees themselves.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the research were first, to understand reasons for secondary migration through examining the factors that influence decisions about the migration process, and second, to develop the conceptual tools to help improve the process. Additional objectives of the research include:

- To identify the reasons for decisions to migrate and to change locations, including the following factors considered by Visa post officials at the start of the destining process: the refugee's personal preferences; the presence of family, friends or members of the cultural/ethnic group; and employment opportunities in the place of destination.
- To consider additional factors that influence the settlement process (for example, prior and acquired knowledge of Canada; changing expectations; personal resources and coping skills; the experience of stress; roles and obligations within family networks, social encounters and personal experiences on arrival; economic resources, barriers to settlement; and use of other social supports.)
- To analyse how the various factors influence decision-making at each stage of the migration process (pre-migration, arrival, moving, settlement).
- To explore how socio-demographic traits (age, gender, cultural identity, linguistic abilities, occupation, and level of education) affect these factors.
- To explore how these factors are negotiated between refugees and immigration officials.
- To compare reasons for secondary migration from the respective points of view of the refugees and key informants.
- To suggest points in the destining and settlement process at which improved approaches to the problem could be considered.
- To describe how the factors in decision-making affect refugees' sense of well-being.

RESEARCH OVERVIEW

The scope and design of the study are comprehensive of the entire migration process, beginning with selection and destining in visa posts abroad, continuing with the refugees arrival in Canada and secondary migration to Ontario, and ending with settlement. A total of 70 secondary migrants participated in this study in interviews and focus groups. From among these participants, the primary sources of data were 47 in-depth interviews with Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) in Ontario reception centres affiliated with the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) and Immigrant Settlement Assistance Program (ISAP) agencies

In-depth interviews were also conducted with 38 key informants, including immigration officials in Ontario and overseas, and settlement service providers, in order to understand relevant policies and procedures.

CHAPTER TWO: DEFINING THE PROBLEM

According to the International Conference on the Reception and Integration of Resettled Refugees held in 2001 in Sweden, there is perhaps no decision more critical to the course of the resettlement than the selection of an initial placement site. This site must have the capacity to meet both immediate and long-term needs. Furthermore, any placement strategy should allow refugees to make informed choices rather than experience resettlement as something that is done to or for them. The document also points out the benefits of matching strategies. Such a placement strategy may match the refugee's life experiences (e.g. from a small rural setting or large urban area) to the environment of a resettlement site. Matching also benefits an arriving refugee by placement in a community where family or clan members already reside, in that the refugee is immediately welcomed into the midst of a family support system and can draw upon the strength of meaningful relationships to cope with the effects of change.

The problem of secondary migration is not the mobility of refugees themselves, who understandably base their migration decisions on recreating social ties and economic opportunity, and who are generally supported in their decisions by settlement officials and service providers. The problem is one of mismatching--mismatching of people to places, and resources to needs, along an organisational continuum. The mismatching potentially adds to stress and undermines the social support necessary to resettlement and the self-sufficiency, which is its goal.

The organizational continuum normally begins with the UNHCR, which refers displaced people to Canada's visa posts overseas. (The location of these offices changes from year to year, depending on the origins of the refugees. At the time of this study, Canadian visa offices were located in Accra, Cairo, Damascus, Nairobi, Ankara, Islamabad, and Vienna.) Often after years of danger, displacement or a spare and uncertain existence in a refugee camp, fortunate applicants are invited for an interview at which refugee status is confirmed or denied and they are determined to be eligible for third-country settlement. Canadian visa post officials then choose a city in Canada to which selected refugees are sent for resettlement. In the sample interviewed for this study, most refugees expressed a preference for a particular place, often to join a friend or family member, but a minority did not, for various reasons.

The destining procedure currently followed in the larger visa posts is referred to as the Pre-Approved Plan (PAP), by which a minimum number of refugees from each visa post are supposed to be sent to designated cities in each of the provinces, which are assigned targets. This system generally has replaced the Destination Matching Request (DMR) procedure, which involved a lengthier process of assigning destinations at the posts and, through a matching centre in Ottawa, checking with the provinces to ensure the appropriateness of the match. Federal-provincial agreements also determine the proportion of refugees sent to various parts of Canada.

Upon arrival in Canada, refugees do not stop making decisions about where and how to settle. Refugees continue to gather information to weigh their options and begin to exercise choice. Those who view secondary migration as their best option have many reasons to do so in spite of the settlement assistance they receive from service providers in Canada.

As part of the support they receive from the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP),

Government-Assisted Refugees (GARs) are eligible for airport reception services, temporary accommodation and essential services, and temporary financial assistance to cover basic needs of life. GARs are also eligible for loans to cover processing, travel to Canada, and rent and telephone deposits in Canada. They are expected to begin repaying these loans within a few months of arrival in Canada.

Refugees are met at Pearson International Airport by staff from the Immigrant Reception and Information Services (IRIS), which arranges ground transportation to reception houses or onward travel for refugees destined elsewhere. According to funding formulas established with the Ontario reception centres, RAP counsellors provide 13 hours of orientation per individual, some of which is delivered in a group setting. Reception centre staff also provide assistance with obtaining health insurance, bank accounts, school registration and access to appropriate language classes. Refugees receive start-up cheques for clothing, household effects, linens, staples and telephone installation. Basic furniture is delivered to the client's permanent accommodation when they move out of the reception house, usually within two to three weeks, depending on the availability of housing in the private market. Assistance levels for food and rent are set according to provincial Social Assistance rates. For example, the monthly shelter allowance for a single person is \$325, the monthly food allowance, \$195, with allowable earnings of \$143 per month. After about ten days, refugees are interviewed once by CIC staff, given a list of settlement agencies to contact should they need further help and subsequently issued income support checks by mail. In order to regain self-sufficiency and to repay the loans they have received, clients are expected to seek employment as soon as possible after language acquisition is underway through the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) program.

While reception centres provide temporary accommodation and help with finding permanent housing for GARs, they cannot extend these services to secondary migrants, who must find other sources of help. Depending upon when they change destination, secondary migrants may not receive the full orientation. When secondary migrants come to Ontario from elsewhere, CIC counsellors must contact their counterparts in the first destination city to determine what services they have already received.

DEFINITION OF SECONDARY MIGRATION

For the purpose of this study, secondary migrants are defined as Government Assisted Refugees who move from the original province or city selected/assigned by Visa post officials overseas to another province or city. This study particularly concerns secondary migrants who move to, as well as within, Ontario. Government Assisted Refugees who remain in Ontario after arrival at Pearson airport rather than continuing to a previously selected city or province, frequently referred to as "primary" secondary migrants, are also included.

LITERATURE REVIEW

For everyone, life is a balance between social connectedness and independence. When refugees come to Canada, temporarily assisted by the government, they must achieve this balance in their adopted home by recreating social support networks among family and friends and regaining self-sufficiency through employment. Vital to successful settlement are the ability, independence, and freedom to act as well as the possession of the necessities of life (Sen 1993).

Studies about migration of refugees from Alberta and Newfoundland have identified the search for employment as a significant reason for migrating (Visions 2000; Abu Laban 1999). This is certainly an important practical consideration for government assisted refugees in Ontario as well. Employment leads to desirable self-sufficiency when income support comes to an end. However, the previous studies were conducted in provinces that experience low levels of employment opportunities, as one among several "push" factors. The focus of these investigations was out-migration, that is, reasons for moving away. By contrast this study is about the "pull" factors underlying in-migration to Ontario. It is about reasons for moving to a place, not only for jobs, but perhaps more significantly in search of social support by reconnecting with friends and family.

Migrants do not make their decisions in isolation, as individual clients of a settlement program, but as members of extended social networks. Evidence accumulated from studies of refugee resettlement show that a slow and continual process of reconstituting family and social support networks assure emotional and material stability throughout many months of resettlement (Bloom 1990; Thoits 1995; Golding 1990; Creese 1999). Social support derived from these networks during resettlement can take the form of advice and information, emotional help in times of stress, or instrumental support in response to practical needs such as housing. Social networks of friends and family are central to migratory movements. Migrants may move with the expectation that social networks of personal contacts or familiar ethnic communities will meet their support needs (Beiser 1999). This support is critical for emotional reasons and mental well being, but it also may be instrumental, serving practical needs. For example, relative and friends will offer temporary accommodation when affordable housing is in short supply. Moreover, many people, especially those arriving from non-western countries, are not accustomed to using formal support systems such as social service agencies and may seek out informal support from familiar contacts more readily. Social networks are assumed to be beneficial, but their strength may depend upon structural opportunities in the larger society (Menjivar 2000). That is, if people who comprise the existing network experience significant obstacles, they may not be in a position to help newcomers. For refugees, this means that social support of friends and relatives may be necessary but insufficient for successful resettlement if the means to become self-sufficient, such as employment, are not also present.

The fact that "settlement" may entail moving on to a second destination creates problems in delivering settlement assistance programs such as those in the reception centres and settlement agencies in various Ontario communities. The manner and context in which these services are delivered is potentially very important to the sense of welcome and well being that refugees experience (Beiser 1988). Linguistic commonality and cultural sensitivity are necessary in the communication process that takes place at the point of reception. The RAP and ISAP (Immigrant Settlement Assistance Program) programs may be quite good, but insufficient to meet refugees needs for information and counselling. It

would be expected that refugees would attempt through secondary migration to maximise their opportunities for social support and self-sufficiency in ways meaningful to them, irrespective of the logistics problems that result. In other words, secondary migration may be viewed as support-seeking behaviour.

Understanding policies, procedures, values and constraints behind decision-making, from the perspective of people working in refugee resettlement is also important if realistic improvements to the migration process and settlement outcomes are to be made (Hardy 1994; Hyndman 2000). Hence, the perspective of the immigration officials and settlement service providers who influence both ends of the process will be described in this report. Points at which intervention may improve the process are likely to emerge so that policy adjustments can be recommended.

CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEM

The secondary-migration problem is multi-faceted, but from the point of view of policy and planning, it is essentially that more secondary migrants enter Ontario than Ontario expects. Secondary migration is particularly high in Ontario. For example, in 1998, Ontario received 2431 GARs, *plus* 1271 secondary migrants, comprising over 50% of the total number of refugees brought to Canada.

Since 1998, the Ontario GAR targets, established in advance, have been exceeded in Kitchener, Toronto, London and Windsor. The great majority (76%) of the 1271 secondary migrants who arrived in Ontario in 1998 were distributed between Toronto and Kitchener. Of the secondary migrants into Ontario that year, over half (54%) arrived from Quebec (OASIS 1998 GAR allocations information provided to the COSTI Reception Centre, Toronto).

According to OASIS records provided for this study in 2001, Ontario received a total of 739 secondary migrants in the year 2000, in addition to the 2349 government assisted refugees who were landed in the province that year. The distribution pattern within the province may be changing. By October 2000, the greatest number of secondary migrants who transferred *into* Ontario still had settled in Toronto (323), but proportionally more secondary migrants appeared to be going to Windsor, and fewer to Kitchener.

Timing of arrival of GARs and secondary migrants is also uneven, often occurring at the end of the year when allocated funding is low. Overall, \$44 million is set aside for the 7300 Government Assisted Refugees who come to Canada each year; Ontario's portion is \$18 million, or slightly more than 40% of federal funding. Funds are then shifted from city to city within Ontario first, and then among Provinces (with the exception of Quebec) in response to discrepancies in flows. While the funds are shifted fairly quickly, a waiting period for income support of a week or two is significant for secondary migrants. The total monetary resources are not at issue, as much as the way in which financial and human resources must be stretched to meet the pressure of unplanned arrivals. The main concern is minimizing the need for resettlement of refugees.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH

For refugees, settlement means more than staying in one place in order to meet immediate material needs; it also entails psychosocial well being. Migration is a stressful process in which refugees in particular must cope with loss of social support and self-sufficiency while adapting to an unfamiliar culture and environment. One might expect a refugee to use all coping strategies possible to assess the situation and begin to reconstruct a normal life. A common psychosocial approach to the study of refugee wellness provides a starting point (see Figure 1, Appendix). This basic stress process model is adapted to this study by including the stages involved in migration decision-making. (Note that this linear model is not intended to suggest causation nor all possible factors producing stress in migration, but rather to suggest phases of a process.) The hypothesis is that refugees make the decision to engage in secondary migration as a coping strategy in the hope of easing the adjustment process and enhancing their psychosocial well being.

Refugees' coping strategies and decision-making entail several phases. During the pre-migration experience, displacement, loss of social support and means of self-sufficiency occur. The transition out of this phase occurs at the point of the selection interview, an ambiguous situation with an unknown outcome, which is both a source of stress and possible relief. Gathering information in order to cope and recreate support networks through contact with friends, family and community continues from this point through arrival in Canada, when secondary migration may be considered a coping strategy to seek support and regain self-sufficiency. When personal contacts such as friends and family are not available, refugees may turn to like-ethnic community members to reduce the stress of resettlement. Refugees lacking even that social network for support are particularly subject to stress and isolation (Baker 1993). Even when social networks are reconstituted, however, stress may continue particularly when the means for self-sufficiency such as income support and employment opportunities are inadequate.

The bureaucratic decision-making procedures (see Figure 2, Appendix) parallel the coping strategies of migrants in that they share stages in time, but priorities and interests diverge along the way. The presentation of research findings in subsequent chapters follows the phases of the migration process. The process begins overseas where destining decisions are made and proceeds to arrival and secondary migration within Canada.

CHAPTER 3: EXPLORING THE PROBLEM

This research was accomplished in a relatively short time period, with the majority of interviews conducted from late February to early May, and transcription, coding and analysis done in May and June 2001.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The reasons for secondary migration must be explored from various perspectives to determine how better destining and management can enhance settlement outcomes. The research design must be comprehensive of the complexities of migration on many levels--personal, familial, social, and economic. The secondary migration process first needs to be understood in detail at a practical level in order to be improved on a policy level. For such problem-solving research, triangulated data-collection methods and qualitative research tools such as confidential, semi-structured, open-ended interviewing and interpretative analysis are appropriate (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). Research in the qualitative vein is iterative, that is, feedback is constantly used to refine the research. Initial hypotheses are developed on the basis of a particular source of data such as key-informant interviews, which are then cross-checked against other sources, such as further in-depth interviews, documents, observation, and group discussions, in order to verify hypotheses and enhance the validity of findings (Diesing 1971).

Service providers and settlement officers also have particular and complementary perspectives on the problem in relation to their roles and positions which must be respected and understood (Foster 1999). In policy-oriented research, it is particularly important to understand the bureaucratic context to shape research questions and communicate the findings so that they are perceived to be relevant (Lomas 2000). Key informant interviewing of settlement officers, counsellors and service providers in Ontario was conducted in early stages of the project to initially define terms and themes. Key informants basically comprised two groups: those with experience overseas in the visa posts where refugees are interviewed, selected and destined; and those with experience in Canada where the refugees arrive at the airport, the various reception houses, or CIC offices as part of the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP). All key informants were asked about their perceptions of the problems related to secondary migration, general patterns of and reasons for secondary migration, the policies and procedures involved in selecting and processing GARs and in dealing with secondary migrants, and recommendations for improving them. In-depth interviews with key informants continued throughout the study to balance the information gathered from secondary migrants and to clarify policies and procedures related to destining and matching.

Studying reasons given by refugees for actual migration decisions requires sensitivity and attention to the cultural context of decision-making. Interviewing among the refugee population necessitates special approaches, such as introductions through trusted counsellors and conducting interviews in environments known to the refugees to be safe and supportive with competent translators (Omidian 2000). In accordance with ethical requirements of research, such supportive environments also allow on-site counsellors to refer clients to any health or social services for which they may express a need. Interviews with a range of secondary migrants who had moved to permanent accommodations were arranged through counsellors at known reception centres and settlement agencies in Ontario. While it

was important to understand procedures from the perspective of the bureaucracy, it was also clear that refugees were not familiar with terms such as destining that described how they were sent to specific places, nor could they easily distinguish official's roles and functions. The terms used in the study must be meaningful to all informants in order to ensure validity and to examine patterns of convergence for analysis and interpretation.

To increase the credibility of the research study, secondary migrants were asked to relate their experiences in their own words in guided narratives reflecting the phases of their migration process. This allowed refugee participants to construct their stories in terms that were most meaningful to them (Ryan and Woodill 2000). As there is a risk that refugees could be re-traumatized by relating pre-migration events, they were not questioned extensively about experiences they might deem sensitive. Refugees were asked to describe applying to the embassy, the selection interview, any preferences for destinations, the period before travel to Canada, arrival and reception experiences, reasons for moving and how they felt about their current stage of settlement. The interviewers probed or prompted for clarification as necessary. Focus groups with secondary migrants similarly asked participants to relate how they were destined, received in Canada, and how they decided to change destination or move.

RESEARCH POPULATION/STUDY POPULATION

There were 739 secondary migrants to Ontario in 2000, the greatest proportion settling in Toronto (344), followed by Kitchener-Waterloo (195), Windsor (90), London (57) and Ottawa (53). Table 1 (see Appendix) presents descriptive statistics of the sample of secondary migrants interviewed for this study. The list includes some spouses who participated to varying degrees in the interviews. There were 47 separate, in-depth interviews, with demographic data and comments collected from 55 secondary migrants in total. (Demographic data collected from focus groups is not included here.) Of the secondary migrants in our interview sample, 60% were male, 40% female, and 60% were married. One-quarter were aged 20-29, one-third were aged 30-39, and one-fifth were aged 40-49. More than 50% had at least a secondary school education, and over 30% had post-secondary or professional degrees.

Most refugees were from Bosnia (11), Croatia (9), Afghanistan (7), or Kurdistan (7), followed by Iraq (6), Iran (5) and Sudan (4). Others came from Kosovo, Algeria, Serbia, Sierra Leone, and Somalia. The highest proportion was destined through the Visa offices in Ankara (13), followed by Belgrade (9), Vienna (7) or Zagreb (5). The rest came through New Delhi (4), Cairo (4), and Damascus (3), followed by Accra, Islamabad, Malta (Rome), Nairobi and Bangkok.

The largest proportion of the secondary migrants had been originally assigned, or destined, to Quebec (22), with the next largest group being destined within Ontario (11). Others had been sent to Manitoba (6), Alberta (5), and New Brunswick (5), with the remainder destined to British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Over 40% of our sample were Along-term@ secondary migrants who stayed in their assigned destination a relatively *long* period of time, that is, from two weeks to one year (LSMs). Over 30% stayed in their first destination city for a *short* time, that is, less than two weeks (SSMs). About one-quarter changed destination at the airport; these refugees are known as primary secondary migrants (PSMs).

The relationship between sampling and the exploration of secondary migration was theoretically driven. For key informants, sampling was based on purposive clusters with theoretical and practical relevance to decision-making along the destining-migration-settlement continuum. Thirty-eight open-ended, in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants. These included interviews with CIC RAP counsellors in Toronto, Kitchener, London, Ottawa and Windsor; some of these with counsellors in charge of secondary migration; in-depth interviews with CIC national headquarters staff, including desk officers with overseas experience; interviews with visa post officials (conducted electronically or by telephone); and interviews with selected government and service provider informants in Quebec.

For government-assisted refugees, the sample was broad enough to understand variability in the population and was representative of secondary migrants recently arrived in Ontario. The sample was balanced by country of origin, age, gender and time of arrival in so far as possible. The sample of refugees was highly dependent on the availability of subjects at the time of the research due to the uneven flow of arrivals from various visa posts, through reception centres and to the ISAP agencies to which refugees are referred for services. Forty-seven in-depth interviews were conducted with secondary migrants (24 interviews with secondary migrants in Toronto; 16 interviews in Kitchener, and 7 interviews in London). In addition, two focus groups of 15 secondary migrants in total were conducted in a reception centre in Ottawa and in an ISAP agency in Toronto in order to confirm emerging themes and ground the ongoing interpretation of findings.

Throughout the study, government and non-governmental documents relating to refugee resettlement were also consulted. As explained, triangulation, or the use of multiple sources for cross-checking in research, is a cornerstone qualitative methodology.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Key informants were contacted by the researchers and provided with an information letter and consent form. Key informants were questioned about their specific areas of expertise and knowledge of secondary migration. Where possible, confidential face to face interviews were conducted and taped with consent for possible transcription. Telephone interviews with immigration officials in Ontario, elsewhere in Canada, and in selected visa posts overseas were also taped and followed similar semi-structured topical interview guides. A field trip was also made to Montreal to interview Quebec immigration officials and local settlement service providers. Key-informant interviews lasted from one to one and 1/2 hours.

For reasons of ethical conduct, rapport-building and efficiency, the first contacts with refugees were made through COSTI, the immigrant settlement agency in Toronto most experienced with Government-Assisted Refugees, the Kitchener-Waterloo Reception Centre, and in London, the Kerry Reade Newcomer Centre. Settlement counsellors in these agencies were informed of the study and asked to recruit a representative sample of recent secondary migrants for interviews. Face-to-face interviews were arranged and conducted by the researchers using interpreters for the Serbo-Croatian, Dari, Farsi, and Arabic languages. Some informants chose to speak English. For the refugees, a four-page, semi-structured interview guide (see appendix) was piloted and revised after the first six interviews.

Interviews with refugees also averaged one and one-half hours in length. Prior to each interview, consent forms explaining the purpose of the study and confidentiality procedures were provided for their information and signature. All were asked permission to tape the interview for later transcription. Researchers also took notes during the interviews. At the conclusion, refugee informants were asked to provide basic demographic information and were given a thank you letter and an honorarium for their time. Focus groups in Ottawa and Toronto were taped and participants also signed consent forms and received honoraria.

ANALYSIS

More than half of the interviews were selected for transcription. The selection was based on the quality and comprehensiveness of the taped interview, but was also limited by the brief time in which transcription, coding and analysis had to be completed. The selected transcripts were formatted and entered into the qualitative analysis software NUD*IST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorizing) for coding. The coding framework (see appendix) incorporated stages of the migration and decision-making processes and related topics. Basic demographic data was entered into SPSS to produce descriptive statistics such as frequencies and cross-tabulations.

CHAPTER FOUR: SAMPLE CASES OF SECONDARY MIGRATION

The following cases are derived from transcripts of interviews with secondary migrants. They are summarized below to illustrate the context for decisions made during migration process that create conditions for secondary migration. First are cases of individuals who, as primary secondary migrants (PSMs), did not proceed to their assigned destination from the airport. These are followed by cases of short-term secondary migrants (SSMs) who decided to move from their assigned destination within the first week or two; and cases of long-term secondary migrants (LSMs) who remained in their first destination city between several months and one year, and then decided to migrate.

Most of the problems encountered in these cases are not unique to the individuals described. They are examples of problems found rather widely, not all of which can be reported individually in this detail because of space limitations. Generally, they illustrate how refugees experience the stresses of the migration process (for example, being misinformed, not being sent to where they have personal contacts, being isolated and being without opportunities), and how they cope with these at different points in the process by using their available resources. The cases also show how secondary migration is an attempt to remedy loss of social support and concerns about self-sufficiency. In most cases, a search for social support is the primary reason for secondary migration, but in some cases the search for better opportunities or a familiar environment is also significant. In reality, it can be difficult to clearly delineate a single reason.

Case 1 (PSM) SMKI14

This mild, 30 year-old man from Bosnia smiled politely throughout the interview. He explained that he applied for refugee status in March 2000 and was interviewed in Zagreb. During the interview he was asked where he wanted to go in Canada, and he replied with the names of the only two cities he had heard of, Toronto or Montreal. When asked, he also replied that he had no relatives in Canada. The interviewer consulted a map and told him he would go to Kitchener, a small city near Toronto where there were many others from Bosnia. Since he was alone, he was pleased. The embassy later sent him papers on which Kitchener was the specified destination.

The morning he was to fly to Canada, he was given papers at the airport that indicated his destination was Winnipeg. Already a little anxious about the journey, he worried about this change. Thinking someone had made a mistake and having been given no information about Winnipeg, he didn't want to go there. During the flight he resolved to inform officials upon arrival in Toronto that he had been destined to Kitchener and wanted to go there as planned. A Serbo-Croatian speaking airport reception worker met him upon arrival and, when he explained his problem, replied, "You have to go to Winnipeg. We cannot change anything."

He was scared and argued stubbornly for almost an hour. She eventually said that if he didn't want to go to Winnipeg he could sign a paper and leave the airport, but without any help. He was not told how the decision to stay in Toronto would affect his resettlement services. A second airport reception worker tried to reassure him and give him a winter coat. He was upset and refused the coat, thinking that he didn't want to go to Winnipeg and didn't want anything from Canada. He noticed that the first worker was "nervous" and he didn't understand that, because "her job was just to interpret."

He continued to insist on going to Kitchener.

Fortunately during the dispute, he met someone picking up a Bosnian family on the same flight. The man offered him a ride to a Bosnian restaurant somewhere in Toronto, and phoned his father's friend to secure a place for him to sleep one night. He then drove him to Kitchener the next day. Without this help, he said, he would have been sleeping at the airport or in the streets.

The Kitchener reception house staff were notified by phone from Toronto that this seemingly placid young man was, much to their amusement, "a threatening and dangerous individual." The young man currently attends language classes in Kitchener, is planning to look for work, is making friends, and seems happy. He simply feels that having his destination changed at the last minute without his being informed was "not fair."

Case 2 (PSM) SMTO12

This 32 year-old lawyer from Baghdad was interviewed in 1997 at the Canadian embassy in Ankara. As a preferred destination on his application form he wrote Vancouver because he had a friend living there. At the refugee selection interview, when information on the form is normally reviewed, he was not asked about having friends or relatives in Canada. His situation in Turkey was very insecure and he was reluctant to ask any questions at the interview.

He discovered that he had been destined to Medicine Hat, Alberta, seven months after the interview, when he was boarding the plane to leave Turkey. On the plane, he asked other passengers if anyone knew anything about Medicine Hat and learned only that it was a small place. None of the other refugees on that flight had been destined there. He reasoned that he would have little chance of finding a job in a small community. Upon arrival at Pearson airport, he called an acquaintance for a ride from the airport and stayed with him for eighteen days. He had received no orientation while overseas, but thought that the RAP orientation was "not bad."

In retrospect he realizes that there may have been advantages in going to Medicine Hat, because the smaller city would have required him to learn English faster and his rent would have been lower, but no one discussed this with him before he made his decision to stay in Toronto. He also felt that someone should have advised him that people could change their professions in Canada. In his country, he pointed out, people finish their education in special areas and must practice that profession, without even applying for jobs outside it. He has sacrificed his own re-education by working as an assistant manager in a gas station so that his wife can attend school. He understands that being in Canada requires hard work and flexibility. Although optimistic, he is critical of an immigration system which is insensitive to the difficulties families face when they must attend classes, take care of children and work to make ends meet, all at one time.

Case 3 (SSM) SMLO04

This 27 year-old man from Bosnia had hoped to come to Canada since 1992 at the age of 18. After suffering mistreatment, as a member of a minority group in a country that he no longer felt was his own, he was determined to have equal rights. He waited through 5 years of turmoil for the chance to

apply at the Canadian embassy. He wanted to come to Ontario because many friends had already come. He sent his application to Canadian embassies twice, first to Belgrade, then Vienna when Belgrade was closed because of bombing, as he had reason to think that the application would not arrive in Belgrade. He lived by moving constantly among friends and distant relatives, everyone struggling for basic necessities. After his embassy interview, he waited almost a year for a reply. At the end of 1999 he learned by chance that he indeed had been given a visa, but had never been notified, and the visa had expired in the interim.

At his interview he was not asked at all about possible destinations or where he wanted to go, just why he wanted to come to Canada. There was just one word specifying “destination” on the application. He entered the place names, Ontario, Regina, and Vancouver, places where he believed he had contacts. His best friend was living in London, and a great aunt in Regina. He said, “I didn’t have any specific place. I just wanted to come to Canada and start a new life all over again”...He knew that in North America, people move from place to place to look for jobs, although such mobility seemed strange to him. Where he comes from, “people die in the same place they are born.” He was destined to Regina.

By the time he arrived in Canada with his wife, his aunt had moved to Calgary. At the airport in Calgary, a transit point, he was not encouraged to continue to Regina but was told that it was up to him. If he wanted to change destinations, he was told he should do it immediately. His aunt came to the airport and asked them to stay in Calgary. He phoned London and his best friend also asked them to come to London. After five years of uncertainty, he had five minutes to decide which way to go.

He chose to join his friend because he could communicate better with a close friend of his own generation. They proceeded to Regina for one night and by the time they arrived in London by bus from Regina, they had been traveling the better part of three days. They stayed with the friend in London for two weeks, during which time he drove them around to find an apartment. A difficulty was finding one without proof of a job. They finally found one to rent for \$525, the amount of support given by the RAP program. The friend helped in many other essential ways, including making his car available for a driving test.

He feels that “it is important to use all your power to achieve your goal, because otherwise you are not moving forward.” In fact, he acknowledges that psychologically he is pushing the past away and can’t even remember what happened in some periods ten years ago. “It was all a struggle for survival, and in one way,” he says, “I am happy that it doesn’t bother me, and it doesn’t create obstacles.” His only disappointment in Canada has been that as an electrical engineer, he is having trouble finding employment, because “wherever you turn everybody is asking for Canadian experience.” He now says he is willing to go anywhere in Canada for a good job.

The following cases are GARs who went to their assigned destination then moved a second time within about two weeks.

Case 4 (SSM) SMTO09

This 45 year-old accountant from Afghanistan was interviewed at the Canadian embassy in New Delhi, where, as Muslims, the police and Indian civilians routinely harass Afghani refugees. Grateful to be

given an interview, he was questioned predominantly about his reasons for leaving Afghanistan and for wanting to come to Canada. They were not asked about friends or family in Canada, except on the application form which asked them to identify contacts in Canada. He responded that his brother had been in Fredericton for five months, where he had been unable to find anything more than irregular, part-time work as a cleaner. He indicated his preference for Ottawa or Toronto, because he knew his brother had the intention of leaving Fredericton for Toronto within a few months. By the time of the interview, his brother had moved to Toronto where he wished to join him, a fact he relayed to the interviewer.

He and his family were nevertheless destined to St. John, New Brunswick. In St. John he was told that he could move to Toronto, but that he would receive no support. He only had \$25 in his pocket to care for his wife and three children. He was given money for one week, which he used for bus fare. A kind woman in St. John gave them some food for the trip, and offered them \$50 of her own, which he refused. He says, "If I had come directly to Toronto, I would have saved around eight hundred dollars. In other words, my loan would be eight hundred dollars less than the loan I am paying back every month."

He was very impressed with the friendliness and kindness of the people who greeted them in St. John. But, he said, "There are two main reasons why I changed the place. Number one is my brother living here in Toronto. He and I lived together for a long time. Our children and his children were so close to each other that they missed, and wanted to be with their cousins. Number two, the Afghan community here in Toronto is a large one.... I thought I could use some of the advice that I would receive from the Afghan community here. I could use some of their experiences. And, I would be able to find a job. I didn't know any English, so I thought I would receive a lot of help here. It was true. When I came here, my community helped me. My brother helped me a lot." He enumerated all the help received from Afghans living in his building, such as providing necessary household goods and having their children accompanying him to school. Now he feels his family is secure, healthy and happy.

Case 5 (SSM) SMT018

This man, whose 18-member family fled Sierra Leone in 1991 to escape civil war, survived by moving back and forth between a city and a refugee camp in Ghana where hostility and harassment continued. His brother, a prominent journalist who had fled the country earlier, advised him to apply to the UNHCR. After seven years of turmoil they spent a year confirming their relationship and obtaining refugee status. There were many months of postponements and uncertainties, during which time he became depressed. He was relieved to reach the point of an interview with a Canadian official in 1999. He had indicated his preferred destination as Toronto, because that was where his brother and several cousins resided.

He was asked to report suddenly one Friday in December 2000 to get his traveling papers for the following Monday. The requisite visa papers had just arrived at the end of the day, and he had to notify the IOM (International Organization for Migration) about traveling in two days time. On Monday morning, the IOM received confirmation and five members of the family were put on a flight that same day. The visa papers indicated that the family was being sent to St. John. He immediately phoned a cousin who said, "Stay on the phone! I'll find out where this is." He then told him, "Jack, it's a very far distance from me. When you go there we'll try to bring you over, because I would not like you to stay there. We have no relatives there."

“So, that’s exactly what happened,” he said. “I became a little bit worried. Then I said, ‘Dammit, I’m going to Canada, no matter, let me go. At least I’ll get out of here’.”

The family stayed at the reception house in St. John about one week. People were very kind, but he felt lonely, with no one but his wife and three children to keep him company. He needed more family, more people to talk to. He was encouraged to stay, but decided not to. He said, “The place is nice, but I have a problem. I need somewhere I can sit and forget about this problem. If I sit here I will keep on thinking about the problem. I will be sitting alone. I won’t have somebody to joke with. In my quiet moments, I will think about what happened with me back home. When I come to Toronto, I will have the places of my cousins to go, so I don’t have much time to sit and think about home.” A group of about eight family members and friends of the brother met them at the airport in Toronto. He recalled the encounter with a big smile, “So when I came down I felt like jubilating.”

Case 6 (SSM) SMKI15

This young Kurdish couple paid a smuggler \$11,000 US to get from Iran to a small city in Turkey in 1997, where they applied for refugee status through the UNHCR. In Turkey, the police first interviews refugees, and most official transactions then take place through them. They were directed to apply at the Norwegian embassy 18 hours away in Ankara, but were later rejected after almost a year of waiting, unable to get further information. They were then directed to apply to Canada, but missed the interview because the police did not notify them of it. When they did arrive at the embassy, they waited from 9 to 5, and were then told they should have come three days earlier. Again, the police had not told them.

During the interview, the man told the official he would like to join his sister in Toronto and provided her name and phone number as requested, but, “as soon as I mentioned the area code 416, they didn’t want any other details,” he said. For months they phoned the police to ask if the visa papers had arrived, then were not told when the papers did arrive nine months later. Normally refugees are given two weeks notice, but they learned on a Friday that they were to leave for Canada from Istanbul, 25 hours away by bus, on Monday. Everything was closed for the weekend. Without money and time to prepare, they were forced to borrow airfare from their landlord. Only when they received their visa papers, did they learn they had been destined to Calgary. Ironically, they knew others who had requested Calgary and had been destined to Toronto.

They stayed in Calgary fifteen days, during which time they called his sister, who by then had moved to Kitchener. They discussed how far apart they were. Reception staff in Calgary tried to cheer them up, but they became very depressed. It was cold, she was pregnant, and they were lonely. They looked for other Kurdish families in Calgary and found one other couple, also newcomers, in which the husband worked until two in the morning and could not be of help. What they wanted simply was to be with their own family. They say that had their relatives been in Calgary, they would have stayed. They learned they would have to pay their own transportation costs to move to Toronto. As it was high season and airfares very expensive, the brother-in-law rented a car and drove forty hours to Calgary to get them. After a few weeks stay with friends, their relatives found them an apartment.

The husband remains subdued and is reluctant to complain, but the wife is outspoken about the numerous barriers they have encountered. They are haunted by the stress of everyday life as refugees in Turkey, where they “were grateful for even a plate of yogurt on the table.” Even now, the wife imagines scorpions and snakes everywhere when she cleans her small apartment, recalling the difficulties of

maintaining a healthy life in Turkey. Yet, after several months in Kitchener, they are beginning to feel “like they are living again. Coming back to a normal life.” They share childcare, take turns attending ESL classes, and worry about the other Kurdish refugees left behind.

The remaining four cases concern long-term secondary migrants, that is, those who stayed in their assigned destinations from 5 to 12 months.

Case 7 (LSM) SMT010

This teacher and mother of three from Iran also lived through difficulties as a refugee in Turkey. She had hoped to be accepted to Australia where she had relatives, but was not given the opportunity to apply there. At her interview at the Canadian embassy, officials reviewed her case, but did not ask if she knew anyone in Canada nor where she wanted to go. She was very happy to learn her family was accepted at the end of the interview, then waited nine months for the papers to be sent to the police in the small town that they had stayed in. At six o'clock the morning of departure at the airport in Istanbul, she learned her family had been destined to New Brunswick. Close friends also leaving Turkey at that time had been destined to Toronto. Upon receiving this news, she cried very hard. She had been under the impression that she would be sent to Toronto where there were other Iranians. She called friends in Toronto who told her that there were no Iranians in New Brunswick and they should change their destination.

On the plane she was so depressed she was unable to speak to members of her own family. They flew from Istanbul to Amsterdam to Montreal, where she told an airport reception worker that she wanted to go to Toronto, not New Brunswick. The worker was “uneasy,” and said no. She was told, “If you insist, I’ll send you back to Iran.” Her husband said, “Don’t talk, keep quiet, they’ll send us back.” They were made to sign some papers and were told that after going to New Brunswick they could go where they wanted.

Two Canadian women met them in New Brunswick, where they stayed in a hotel for one week. When they said they wanted to move to Toronto, they were encouraged to remain. “It’s better for you here. You will be looked after here,” they said. The family stayed for five months. The mother says, “It was difficult for us to stay there, although they looked after us well.... We were emotionally detached; we had no emotional attachment there. I had heart problems.” They called Iran repeatedly at great expense until they found the telephone numbers in Toronto of the friends from whom they were separated that last day in Turkey. “That separation,” she says, “was a big psychological blow to me. God knows how big it was.”

In the process of moving, she relates, “We lost a lot. People should be told at the very beginning exactly where they are going,” she says. When they left Turkey they had to sell their furniture for fifty dollars and arrived in Canada with only twenty-five. She spent seven hundred dollars to move from New Brunswick to Toronto. On the long bus trip, the family lost a suitcase containing about six hundred dollars worth of goods, including the children’s clothing and many other things that were important to them. They did not know enough English to find it at the time, although they still have the receipts and continue to search. Counting the cost of moving and the cost of the lost luggage, the rent they paid in New Brunswick, plus the rent they had to cover when not in Toronto, she thinks they lost about five thousand dollars. “It’s a lot for a newcomer.”

“When we arrived here and saw our friends, we became happy.... We stayed with them for a

week at their house. This place is good for us.... In the building where we live now there are some Afghans with whom we have ties. We visit them, and they visit us...It is better for us here," she concluded. "One's feelings are very important.... It's very important for one to have another person that speaks the same language as you...it's difficult to be alone because you are suddenly cut from your family, from your sister, from your friends, and from people who speak your language. You are alone...We can benefit from the experience of other Iranians here. It would be expensive and difficult for me to make mistakes in New Brunswick or other places to gain this experience. But here I get advice from these people. They tell me 'Don't do this, because I have done this, and it is wrong.... You do this, not this.' They give us good advice."

Case 8 (LSM) SMKI08

Fleeing civil war in Sudan, this couple applied to the UNHCR in Egypt and were referred to Canada. She spoke English and he, Arabic. They were granted an interview a year and half later, when they were asked if they had friends or relatives in Canada. They replied yes, but they did not know where. They were immediately told they would be sent to Quebec. Although they didn't want to go there, they were afraid to say so because they knew that if they refused they would be sent back to the UNHCR to wait another year or two for a chance to leave.

In Quebec City, they found the requisite French classes very difficult, but attended for seven months. They learned to speak a little, and said their problem was learning to write in French. The main reason for leaving Quebec, however, was the unhappiness of their children with school. Like all immigrants in Quebec, the children, already behind in their education, had to attend French language classes. The children had been educated first in Arabic, and in Egypt had begun to study English. Having to switch to French compounded their problems and was another setback. The oldest would have been in high school. They knew had they been in Ontario, she would have begun high school directly and learned English.

An additional problem was the way the parents were treated. They were placed far from the downtown core, with no compatriots nearby. The day they left for Canada, a helpful Sudanese woman approached them and gave them information about her brother living in Quebec. When they arrived, they showed an Immigration official the name to inquire about contacting him, but they were told that he couldn't be located. After they were moved into an apartment and had signed the lease, the immigration official told them that the man was living in downtown Quebec City, but that he had not told them because he wanted them to live apart. He worried that he would have encouraged the couple to live near him for support and that, if they did live close together, they "would talk their language and would not learn French."

"It was not a good reason," he said. "If you find somebody from your country, they can help you. You can feel good.... There are a lot of things someone from your country can help with, that nobody else, like a neighbour, can.... If you get a letter, and you call your neighbour to read this letter, they say, 'Go to Immigration, they can help you.' The man would have been a great help to them they felt, because he not only spoke Arabic, but also had learned French previously in Zaire. Moreover, they resented being lied to.

Those were not the only reasons for leaving. They were housed and provided only with beds and minimal kitchenware. They scavenged in the garbage for chairs for the living room, knowing that in Ontario, some other furniture is supplied. There were also restrictions on how and where to shop and

what they could buy. They were taken shopping, but could not go independently. After rent, the income support was sufficient for only about half the month for the family, so each month they borrowed money and obtained food from a church. He considered quitting school to work, but could not find work without knowing French. Furthermore, the school would not allow it. Even his friend who had learned French in Zaire was not allowed to work, but was made to attend school. "If you want to look for a job, the people say no. Our French is different from your French. You go back to school." That friend eventually moved to Hamilton because he could not find a job in Quebec.

The final impetus to move came from seeing army tanks. Hearing talk of separatism made them unhappy. "The children say they don't like this province. I think the children are correct. This time I said, 'okay, I moved from my country where there's a problem, I brought my children here, I need them to have a new life.' I'm looking for peace. In this country, people talk about separation, maybe war...but I don't want my children to be in the war." He decided to move again. He considered their destination carefully by visiting London, Toronto, and finally choosing Kitchener as the most peaceful and affordable. They left Quebec without informing Immigration. A friend advised them not to, or they would not have been allowed to go. They simply left the key with the landlord. They boarded a late night bus to Kitchener, where they have been warmly received.

Case 9 (LSM) SMKI13

The father of this family had a direct gaze. The mother was cheerful. In 1992, the family had been imprisoned in Bosnia. The father-in-law, mother and small son were released in a prisoner exchange, but the father-in-law died within a few days. The mother-in-law had survived in the meantime by living in the woods. Still imprisoned, the father was tortured, but escaped five months later. Together the remaining family went to live in Croatia in an abandoned house, their own house in Bosnia having been burned down.

In 1998 they applied for refugee status and waited for an interview for nine months. As required, the father related in writing the events leading them to request refugee status. He submitted a detailed, 13-page narrative which officials checked carefully during the interview. Because he included the names of people who committed acts of torture, he was asked if he would act as witness and give his signature. He did not know at that time if he had been accepted as a refugee or not, nor was he given any assurance of protection, so he declined. He was asked to provide a list of his friends, which he did. They did not know whether Canada had accepted them until they received a phone call three months later giving them their flight number.

During the interview, they were not directly asked where they would like to be sent in Canada, but they believe they were asked if they "had anybody in Canada." They were afraid to say that she had a brother who had been living in Kitchener for five years, because they had observed that people who said they had relatives in Canada were routinely refused. They believed this was because Canada expected the relative to provide transportation and support. They did say they had a friend in Windsor. Her brother advised them by phone not to worry, that it would be alright to change destination in Toronto. They laughed and said they didn't even believe him. After all they had been through, they did not believe that they could tell the Canadian officials about their desire to be reunited with him.

They went to Winnipeg, which they found "beautiful, but very, very cold." They felt as if they "were actors in a movie, everything seemed so strange and exciting." They couldn't believe in the first few months that no one came knocking on the door of the apartment to ask them to leave. For about

three months it felt safe and “like a honeymoon.” Then, when they started to look for work, they began to feel depressed. They realized that their diplomas were not recognized here. She had been a hospital nurse for fifteen years, but could not get a nursing job in Winnipeg. She knows she must learn English, but she asks, “why go back to school?” He had been a driver’s trainer in Yugoslavia, but his driver’s license wasn’t even valid. To his dismay, the first time he took the road test in Winnipeg he failed, because “the rules are different.” He was so disappointed that he didn’t want to go back. Now the incident seems funny to them, but at that time, they realized they needed other people’s help. “People who are living here a long time. People who know better.”

They felt again that they needed more support when their little boy got pneumonia. “The government may give you money, but you need someone to go with you when you are sick.” They took the boy to the doctor who prescribed antibiotics, but the pharmacist told them the medication wasn’t covered by the insurance given them by Immigration. They did not know why and had no one to explain it. They went back to the doctor’s office, which was closed. They did not have \$70 for the prescription and had to borrow it.

They moved *from* Winnipeg after ten months because of the cold, and for better job opportunities. They chose to move *to* Kitchener because of her brother. He was a truck driver who, having to deliver goods to Manitoba, made a return trip to Ontario with their things in his truck in order to save moving costs. She says now, “It’s so important to have somebody here, to have a relative or friend. I didn’t feel like that before, but when I came to Canada I realized its really, really important to have somebody to go to for help.” Her sister who is still back home would like to come to Canada, but she is unsure what advice to give her about revealing her wish to join them in Kitchener. The first destination is “no big deal,” she says. But if during an interview her sister reveals their presence in Canada, she fears that she will not be granted refugee status at all. “It’s better not to say anything over there.”

Case 10 (LSM) SMT022

This older professional woman from Sarajevo spent two years in Croatia and more than three years in Germany as a refugee before finding a way to apply to Canada under a special program for women. Her main reason was to give her son, an excellent high school student, an opportunity to continue his studies. Her years in Germany, where she made close friends, were not bad. However, to this day, she remains distraught over her loss of her home, her life, and her high status as the director of a prominent educational institution in Sarajevo. “We had a wonderful life. But now, who am I? Always, somebody asks me something and I don’t have any choice, to choose what is good for me. Other people decide my life now.” During the war, her job ended and her apartment was confiscated. She had to take sedatives to cope. Although she speaks expressively in English, she is very sad that her English proficiency is so much less than that in her mother tongue. “If I am in some office and somebody is not friendly to me, I am blocked.”

In her opinion, she was treated coldly by the interviewer at the Canadian embassy. She felt that the interviewer was “too young” and made very subjective decisions. She felt that an older person would have had greater understanding of her situation and would not have behaved as arrogantly, as if he wanted them to know that “he was *somebody*.” When her son, who was even then mature and spoke English, interrupted the conversation, the official told him, “Don’t interrupt. I am speaking with your mother. If you ask one more question, I will send you out.” They were stunned by his attitude. She

described “terrible angst” during the interview, because they had already been rejected by Australia and would never be able to return home.

At the interview she was asked if she “knew anyone in Canada.” The official recorded her wish to join a very close friend, as she had no relatives. “Because we were alone we would have liked to go to Vancouver because we know somebody who is there. I think it is very important to meet somebody in this moment. This is not just another country, but another continent. But we got Fredericton, New Brunswick. This, after he asked us where we wanted to go.” Later, they received a letter saying, “Congratulations, you have a visa. Your destination is Fredericton.”

They arrived in May and stayed for one year so that the son could begin studying at a local university in the fall. Though she tried hard, her main difficulty with adapting to the community was that it was so small. She recognized that she had somewhat more contact with kind, English-speaking people in this small city and should give herself time to adapt. But her overriding question now is how the government could have decided to send an educated person from a European city to such a place. “Compared to Europe, it was absolutely nothing...for us this is not a city...this is something other than a city. This is just a lot of nice houses.... Nothing but one color.” She fell into a deep depression.

The apartment was in one area from which she had to take an expensive and irregular bus to another area for ESL class. There was “barely enough money to go to school and come home,” which she found “embarrassing.” There were other Serbo-Croatian speaking people with whom she had cordial but superficial contact at the school. They were “different people, with different levels of education, different personalities, and different lives.” She found the quality of instruction to be unprofessional. The physical and hygienic conditions in the school were also depressing to her, but she realized that a smaller organization recently had taken over the service contract with CIC and had too little funding to make improvements.

The move to Toronto has improved their lives. The son is doing well in university, but they must share a one-bedroom apartment in a sub-standard building. Yet she likes Toronto better and says, “If you are alone and don’t have money, you can just go down on the street to see something. This is very important for psychology.... I am one hundred percent sure. The city is opportunity. I go outside and I meet people.... In Fredricton, this is not possible. I heard birds. I like birds, but not all the time.”

In her current life, her happiest moment comes every Sunday morning when she travels an hour and a half each way to teach a children’s language class in a Bosnian centre. I have a feeling that I am in my job, you understand. She is thankful to Canada for giving her son a chance to further his education, but very critical of the process by which they were destined. “This is not a personal affair,” she asserted. “This is a formal political thing.” She observed that at the beginning of the movement of refugees from the former Yugoslavia to Canada, the policy was to send applicants where they liked, but then “something changed.” She questions why uneducated people from small villages should be sent to Toronto where they are not comfortable, and people like herself and other urban professionals she has known are sent to small places in New Brunswick or Saskatchewan. Even now the thought of being sent to Fredericton for a year causes her “heavy pain.”

CHAPTER FIVE: INFORMANTS PERSPECTIVES ON THE MIGRATION PROCESS

This chapter includes observations and selected quotes of key informants and secondary migrants about decision-making points in the migration process that influence destining, and ultimately secondary migration. These points are as follows: 1) pre-migration experience, 2) the interview, 3) orientation and other information, 4) destining, 5) arrival and reception, and 6) changing destination/moving.

1) PRE-MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

The long, difficult period from displacement to departure for Canada is undeniably stressful. Refugees generally exist for several years in dangerous and uncertain conditions of displacement before reaching the point of the brief interview with a Canadian official that will determine the rest of their lives.

From the time they apply to the embassy to become a refugee, until they are finally allowed to come here, it takes average 27 months. That's long.... They say, "Yes, you will be going." It's February, right? "Your flight is arranged, you will be going in June." Now I come back a week later and say, "My life is in danger, please speed it up." I'm answered, "All of you people say that just to get your trip faster." And so my appeal is not heeded. Then two weeks later I am killed.... So if I'm a refugee and I'm in danger, I don't want to risk any of these things. I want to apply as silently as possible. Because those who are after me, if they know that I have a way to get out, they'll just gun me down faster.... See I'm struggling between life and death to be very, very blunt. And time is not on my side. (KILO01)

In almost all cases, the UNHCR is the first step in the process of applying for refugee status and resettlement in a third country. The UNHCR interviews applicants to determine whether they meet conditions for refugee status before individuals are referred to Canadian embassy officials. In some countries of asylum such as Turkey, the local police, who conduct their own interviews, are as much a hindrance as a help to the refugees. In other cases, the internal political organization of refugee camps determines how refugees reach the stage of the interview with a Canadian official. This Sudanese teacher had been in a refugee camp with his family since 1994 before reaching Canada in 2000.

The procedure is always hard because you have the interview facilitated by UNHCR working hand in hand with the local government and then the embassy, which is the third interviewing party. It's a very long way to go and the only way to go. You don't reach the embassy before you go to these people. You initially need to know that you are a registered refugee in its file. The government has to provide the security which means you don't go to the compound easily. And after entering the compound, getting into the offices, there is also heavy security. Jail would be better. In the camp where we were living, the local Kenyan citizens just kill us whenever they decide. Whether overnight or in the daytime. Whenever they are hungry and they feel they don't have something to eat they come and take.

After you apply you have to channel your application through the community you belong to within the refugee camp. We have to establish a system to govern ourselves. An elder either in age or in experience is elected to lead the group and his leadership will include the problem within

the membership and our external relations with UNHCR, with the Kenyan Government, with the Kenyan Police and the locals... they recommend that you are deserving. For example I am Sudanese. I have to get approval from the Sudanese community. Now getting approval from your community, the chairman who is chairing your community will sign over the application, then you have hope. Now you give this application to the UNHCR. It is up to UNHCR. UNHCR may bless it and may not. It may bless it by giving it to an embassy, and it may dump it in one of its baskets they no longer want. (SMLO06)

2) THE INTERVIEW

Although Canadian staff who make destining decisions are professional and sympathetic, it has been observed that procedures can be unclear and inconsistent. Sociocultural conditions and discretionary practices of local staff, who may not be well informed about Canada, also affect procedures (Canadian Council for Refugees 1996).

We explored with key informants the interview process that takes place in the Canadian visa posts overseas, where refugee selection and destining occurs. There is stress for both refugee and interviewers doing the destining under the circumstances. The interests of the two often diverge in the process. Several themes regarding challenges that the interview process poses to destining emerged from the material, including the following:

- The multiple goals of the interview; selection and destining
- Recognition of differing priorities and how they are negotiated;
- The time constraints under which Canadian officials work;
- Underlying issues of trust and perceptions of risk.

Multiple goals of the interview

As currently conducted, the visa post interviews have to serve many different purposes:

Applicants fill out an IMM8, they're called for an interview, and this is really make or break it.... That 45 minutes, including translation time, has to determine whether the individual is eligible. Are they a convention refugee? Or a member of a designated class? Are they admissible? Are they able to establish successfully? Part of it is delving into the person's story to get at what are the underlying issues. But that's not the paradigm the refugees are operating out of.... It's not exactly a badge of pride to be a refugee in a lot of countries. Right? And so all of a sudden it's good to be a refugee, it's good to present that stuff? You have to think of it this way. First, I have to determine if you are a convention refugee. Even if I don't ask the questions in that order. Secondly, do you meet Canada's requirements for ability to successfully establish? This obviously is going to be a policy problem here with the visa officer because it's discretionary. Discretionary! (KILO03)

You're doing twelve interviews a day. And you have to, first and foremost, figure if this person is a refugee...You have to give them counseling as to their transportation loan, they have

to sign it. They have to make sure that they understand that if they've lied to you and we find out that they did something wrong during the war then they could be deported. And that they sign. You go through all the questions. Plus, you're doing an assessment sometimes on war crimes in the same interview.... You sort of have to make a decision before you go into the counseling stuff, and you don't have time to get into a lot of details.... You ask them where they want to go. You ask them if they have relatives. I always said, did they have any preference where they wanted to go. And if they told me Toronto, and they didn't have relatives there, then I'd say, we can't send everybody to Toronto. If you have close relatives in Toronto, or a really good reason that we should send you Toronto, then tell me. Otherwise we'll try and find somewhere where we think you'll be able to get a job. (KIOT09)

Negotiating different priorities

One of the difficulties is that officials and refugees are not certain of the refugee's acceptance at the interview, which inhibits any clear discussion of the destination. One key informant described how and when the interviewer could broach the topic to receive a clear answer:

If the question is addressed this way: "Look, you have a complete choice, if you have relatives, to join them. Your statement saying that your relatives are where you want to go is in no way going to affect your acceptance, is not going to alter it, harm any of the privileges or rights you have," et cetera. Okay, then they will say, "I want to go to Winnipeg because my cousin has been there for nine years".... There's another thing too, if you ask these questions before the selection we don't want to answer them. Because that's not the priority for us. (KILO01)

Normally you would ask [about contacts] towards the end...If somebody's going too fast and they run out of time and they're spending time on the eligibility, they might not spend a lot of time on contacts in Canada.... It would normally be toward the end of the interview, but yeah we want to know this. It will help us decide where you're going.... Sometimes refugees might not want to tell you that they had contacts in Canada, because the interviewer might say--and I kind of did that a couple of times myself--why would I be using a government assisted place for you when you have contacts in Canada? When I could be helping somebody who doesn't have any contacts in Canada? You go get your brother or your cousin to get you a refugee sponsorship. Now that was in the old days when it was actually easier to get refugee sponsorship.... In my recent experience, I don't think people are afraid to tell you if they have contacts. "Oh yes, my friend went last year and I'm not quite sure where he is yet. But I'll get the address and give it to you." Or "my friend you know is in Vancouver, my friend is in Toronto." And then we do try and accommodate that as much as possible. (KIOT05)

Time constraints

Interviewers work under considerable time pressures when conducting interviews:

One important thing is to know how the interviews get done... if there's an area trip into remote parts... they would go for a couple of weeks and do as many interviews as they can.... When I was in X, I would go for interview trips and yes then we would probably see 8, 9, 10 cases

a day.... It is a lot. So if you've got any time, you try and make sure that you take care of everything, but if you're rushed at the end of the day, you might not. So it's not impossible that some of the things get cut short, which might explain why the information doesn't always come. (KIOT05)

These officers are really not supposed to spend a lot of time orienting a person to Canada. As much as possible, they should be spending time making decisions. Boom, get 'em in, and get 'em out.... Because they are the ones with the power under the Immigration Act that actually make these decisions. So they should be maximizing their efficiencies. The details around destining can be figured out by the admin people, the local staff who are hired, right? I've gone to the camp, I've interviewed you, and I'm catching the next flight back. I've just managed to squeeze you in. Let the UNHCR and IOM do the rest because the visa officers are way too expensive to be doing nitty gritty stuff. (KILO03)

I was told by a couple of Visa officers that I spent an extra ten minutes too long on some of my interviews ... I think that ten minutes might be worthwhile. (KIOT07)

Trust and perception of risk

Past experiences and existing circumstances make open communication between Canadian officials and refugees very difficult:

A lot of the new immigrants and refugees coming to Canada come from systems where you can't trust anyone and everything is corrupt. So there are a lot of politics involved in all of this. If you say the wrong thing to the wrong person, you could blow everything out of the water. You always have to be very careful and very almost distrustful of who you're talking to. Okay. So when they come here to Canada, which as far as I'm concerned is a very open and honest and all-your-cards-on-the-table type of country. They're not used to that. And that's why, often when we ask a question, we don't get a direct answer.... They don't know that they can be straightforward with us yet. It takes a long time to change attitudes. (KILO02)

This is a tough road to travel, you know. We are very, very cognizant of the delicacy of life. The difference is not that you don't get this job or you get another job six weeks later. It's between being able to seek refuge or not... They think if they say, "I don't want to go to London, I want to go to Vancouver," sorry, then you don't go. Then what happens? [In some countries] the encounter of bureaucracy with the civilian population is harsh and mostly arbitrary.... And so I don't trust you, just as I don't trust them, and therefore I'm as hesitant with you, cautious and also maybe not very direct, as I am with them. Because I don't want to get caught in a word that I don't know then how to retract.... I may have been a little bit more slow in my answers, because if I, as a human being, speak to you slowly then I have also a chance to see the impressions that what I am saying makes on your face. And perhaps in the process of being this slow maybe you will ask a couple of questions. And if you do that, then also I may become a bit more informed about how I should act, how I should proceed further. Whereas if I speak fast you don't have a chance to ask questions. It's all finished and I've already submitted myself. Then what happens? It's worse because once the embassy says no, there's no appeal. Your chance is finished. (KILO01)

The ambiguity of the interview is stressful for the refugee

In almost all cases, refugees reported being relieved to reach the point of an interview, where Canadian visa officials treated them very well. Yet, the interview is still an understandably stressful point in a difficult process.

That interview determines the gap between life and death, because when you are in the camp you are in constant fear. If you make that [interview] then you feel as if you reduce the degree of risk on your life. Because when you are in the refugee camp you can be shot at any time, you can be stabbed at any time, you can die of disease any time, you can die of hunger any time. Getting to the point of the interview does not get you better, but if you succeed, you succeed. It's really important because it changes your life. (SMLO06)

This Iraqi engineer expressed the commonly felt stress of not knowing what to expect, and looking for signs of security.

I felt very tense and worried, even though I tried to look more comfortable. Inside I was not like that. Especially when they started to ask questions, I wanted to be truthful but there were things I could forget, especially two years after making a claim to UNHCR. Dates especially.... That's why I was nervous. And naturally, I wasn't expecting these kinds of questions.... They should ask us questions same as any new immigrant.... After the interview, you can't feel anything. No idea. Thank you, thank you. That's all. You have to wait. I felt more tension and sickness because I didn't know exactly what was his (the officials) reaction. I didn't feel anything from him, if my interview was went well, if I answered the question he wanted, if he was satisfied with my answers.... They gave me an agreement to sign about a loan I will get and to pay it back when I get a job in Canada. I felt relief, because I thought it meant that probably I am going to be accepted. But after that, I knew that everybody got that paper. So I said, 'it's nothing'.... There is no certainty, nobody will hear. The chances are fifty-fifty. It's very hard to expect anything. (SMTO05)

The interview is largely about refugee determination and suitability for third country settlement, not destining or placement, although a refugee's contacts in Canada are sometimes noted at this time. Prospects in Canada are not discussed in depth, if at all.

That lawyer (the visa official) was very quiet, very calm. He was really easy. There were reasons for the questions, no line of religion, and no line of politics or race. When they interviewed me they were asking me the things that I had already filled in the form. They were asking me about the membership of my family, their relationship with me, their ages, their names and my age, my education level, my social life, political stand, relatives here in Canada and elsewhere as well.

I had not told them I have relatives. I didn't tell them I already had an uncle, an uncle to my wife, in Canada. I did not know that he was here because he left Sudan through Khartoum to Egypt and from Egypt he came here. We are not in contact with Khartoum, we don't have messages, we don't expect anything coming from the South either, telephone or a letter or anything, so I was not aware, until the day I arrived in Windsor when he came to me. (SMLO06)

Most refugees approach the interview with apprehension built on past experience and exacerbated by the unknown future. Although the interview fact checking is usually straightforward, the destining process is not transparent to the refugee. A Kurdish refugee described his interview this way:

I thought that it would be straightforward regarding my case, my story exactly. I had the case written and documented by the UNHCR. Maybe a few other questions like, why are you going to Canada, and what are you going to do in Canada. It was not a lengthy interview.... It wasn't a major problem. I think because I had an emergency situation with the police and Turkish authorities about the safety of my family, the Canadian official asked about life in Turkey. Those were questions I didn't expect, but they were fine. They did not really ask about Canada. At the end of the interview they told me that they would send me to a place where I could find easily a job, and I could communicate with people. But it wasn't like that. They sent me to New Brunswick....

They asked me whether I had a friend in Canada. I told them that I had some friends here in Toronto. I didn't know that I had family here. My wife's uncle has been here for a long time. We have not had contact in fifteen years. I found out later when we came that they are living here in Toronto.... But I was in contact with some friends from Toronto. Actually, the friends sent a letter to the Canadian Embassy. A letter saying that they know me. (SMT004)

This refugee, who suppressed memories of the past in order to cope with the stress, had escaped Iraq to live precariously in Jordan, Libya, then Malta. He was so desperate for information after his selection that he resorted to calling a friend in Holland to find out something about Newfoundland where he had been destined. He learned only that he was going from one island to another:

I was a little bit afraid and anxious. I didn't know exactly what was going to happen. I didn't know what was the future, what was going to happen to me, and where I was going. I was anxious, distraught, and confused. I had some bad memories with my story, so when they started asking me the same questions, I felt bad. I didn't want to remember it. I didn't feel good about telling the story. I want to forget it, not be reminded. My brain was wandering all over, and I was thinking, 'what's going to happen in Canada? I don't know anybody in Canada. What am I going to do in Canada, will it be hard, or easy?' I was asking myself a lot of questions. (SMT001)

3) ORIENTATION TO CANADA AND OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Orientation information can come through formal channels such as orientation sessions delivered by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) at embassies, or informal channels, such as information exchanged among refugees and their friends and relatives. Key informants revealed two basic problems: 1) Formal orientation is frequently unavailable to government-assisted refugees. 2) Information that is available is often inappropriate or incorrect. Currently, formal orientations are given by the IOM under contract to CIC, but the orientation sessions are irregular and delivery is imperfect. By contracting out this general service to an international organization, control over the specific nature and the utility of the information may be lost. Any information that is available is provided after the selection interview, when opportunities for a face to face discussion of settlement options seem to be limited.

One of the issues is that maybe the people delivering the orientation they may never have been to Canada themselves. (KITO06)

Information is unavailable

Well it's not everywhere, first and foremost. We were having sessions and we understood eventually that there was actually some misinformation being put out.... They heard from a refugee that the locally engaged person giving the orientation session basically said, "Oh my God, you don't want to go to Newfoundland. Don't do it." Then there was a complaint from Newfoundland. And recently there was confusion because privately sponsored refugees were going to the sessions as well. And the person giving the orientation didn't quite understand the difference between government and private, and was telling everybody that they would get regular government cheques when they arrived in Canada, which caused some problems for the privately sponsored cases.... The sessions can work very well, but there are always growing pains. (KIOT09)

Information is inaccurate

Several key informants reported problems occurring because information is misconstrued, or apparent misinformation given out by embassies or local contacts:

We always get cases where people are really upset with the Canadian embassies because they were given the wrong information. A family will come to Canada with you know several thousand dollars and honestly declare that money because they were told overseas, you'll be able to use that money for your daughter's university courses and so on. And yet when they come here, CIC tells them, Oh no. You've got a couple of thousand dollars? You use that money to pay your own deposit for the apartment and buy your own furniture.... This has been going on forever.... I hate to be too critical, but some of the embassies give out completely wrong information.... If a client who wants to come to Canada goes to the Canadian embassy, they're told, 'Oh, you've got a sister who lives in Canada? Get your sister to put in some sponsorship papers.' Well that doesn't work. The sister here cannot sponsor a brother in another country. That category doesn't exist with immigration anymore. Yet embassies are telling them, 'Just go tell your sister to apply to sponsor you'. (KILO02)

I think that they need to have the destination done before they give any orientation, so that they can specifically tell the people about the areas they are going to. There's no need if somebody is going to London to know anything about Halifax or Saskatchewan. They need to focus on where they are going to be destined and tell them about the area.... One of the things that was told me was, [they have] to start paying the transportation loan back after a year and that's not so. So people come here and we tell them in about five months you are going to receive a notice from Ottawa requesting that you set up repayment with them.... Misinformation like that is devastating to somebody who is receiving little money anyhow. They're only here five months, 'we want you to learn English, do this, do that, oh yeah, and start paying back the money that you owe'. And they don't understand how expensive it is, for housing and food and things like that.

(KILO04)

Information is inappropriate

While some of the formal orientation information is presented overseas may be good, it is sometimes not relevant to immediate settlement needs of refugees, being about civic rules, social behavior and property ownership. For example, the orientation manual used overseas, *Canada: What you need to know before you go*, includes a picture of a tree in a backyard. The lesson cautions the reader that some cities in Canada have restrictions about cutting down mature trees (as if many refugees will have trees in their new homes).

Apart from ensuring accuracy and relevance, it is important that orientation information is conveyed in a manner sensitive to cultural differences:

I had a discussion with one of the Canadian officials overseas. That's where the problem starts. She said, if we tell everything to the refugee who is coming to Canada they will be disappointed and they will not want to come. But that's better than giving them wrong information. It was poor justification to say that.... I found out that the lack of information or misleading information is the major cause for other problems...First of all, the information they are given is outdated. For example, a client coming from a place where the visa officer from Vancouver or Halifax has stayed for four or five years and he didn't want to update himself-- what kind of information will he give to a refugee about Ontario? So that visa officer talks with a refugee about Canadian culture, 'Oh, you cant spit in the street, kind of putting some cultures down, and not exactly preparing this refugee.... Some people will say, 'We're not responsible for whatever refugees think. Friends misled them.' Why can they get the wrong information, but they can't get the right information? True information is the key factor for any independent and happy migrant coming to Canada. If he decides to come to Canada, let him come liking Canada, ready for Canada, regardless of all the obstacles he will face. There is a CIC website, but that is not enough because it doesn't give you the facts about the main problems--the housing problem, employment...(KITO08)

Ideally, information has to be tailored to the refugee. Some will need professional employment information; others may need basic geographic knowledge.

I have this single mum with three boys and I asked her, Why did you come to Toronto? She has a sister in Ottawa... I asked, "Did you know about Toronto or Ottawa? She said no. When you say, "Where do you want to go?" first you have to make sure that the refugee or client knows what the difference is between Ottawa, Toronto or Vancouver. (KITO08)

From CIC's perspective there could be a downside to providing information.

The visas are prepared, then they do the orientation. At that point they could explain more about where they are going. But you'd want to avoid getting into a big discussion about how I don't want to go there, I'd rather go there, because that's useless. Somebody's got to go to those places. Or we have to change our whole destining policy, and not destine people all over

the country. (KIOT09)

Refugees want specific information before departure but have difficulty acquiring it on their own

There was also an assumption voiced by settlement staff that overseas orientations are readily available and that refugees simply were unwilling to avail themselves of the information. One CIC staff member said, " If they don' t want to go to the orientations, we can' t compel them. " Some refugees did receive a day of formal orientation, but many, if not most, secondary migrants interviewed for this study had not received any orientation information at all before arrival. This single lawyer from Bosnia, who had expected to join her only sister in Toronto, but was abruptly destined to Saskatoon just before departure, said:

I barely gathered which city it was going to be. Even the program meeting for all of us in which we were supposed to gather all the information for what is next, and what to expect on arrival in Canada, only half of the group had that meeting. I was in the other half, which didn' t even have the meeting.... We only exchanged information between ourselves. Basically, information about the geographic location of Saskatchewan and Saskatoon I gathered from an acquaintance. (SMT019)

This Bosnian engineer, for example, did not receive orientation at the visa post before arrival in Canada, but felt that place specific information exchanged earlier would have been helpful in destining:

We only received an orientation package when we arrived in London.... My general knowledge is very good about the world, but not every single country. I was good in geography, so I knew a lot about population, about industry.... I think it' s different from case to case, but in general people have no idea where are they are going. In terms of what is the difference between one and the other place. I knew in general about Canada, but I didn' t know the difference between Regina and Calgary, and Calgary and London, and some other places.... I think that, maybe immigration officers should ask the applicant at the beginning, 'Would you like to move to a specific place and why?' Like the same questions you are asking me now, or they asked me in Regina when I told them I' d like to move. (SMLO04)

Refugees are often left to search for information on their own, and will make try to make pragmatic decisions when they are able. This Iraqi man, who eventually left Edmonton for Toronto because he felt isolated and hopeless about finding a job, spoke about his decision,

We didn' t get any official information from anybody. Somebody could search himself, or ask some friends or relatives he has. I started searching about Edmonton on the Internet. I didn' t know special things about Canada. I heard about Toronto. Anybody outside knows Toronto more than even the capital. I said, 'Okay, I will try Edmonton. I will see what is the city Edmonton. No problem.' Especially, because I got some information that there is petrol there, and may be some manufacturing. You know I am a mechanical engineer. I said, 'Maybe its good for me, so I will go there' (SMT005)

A musician from Kosovo who stayed in Toronto said,

To be honest with you actually I didn't really know what, or where, is Winnipeg. Then I used the Internet to get more information. I found six web pages, something that was called "100 reasons to live in Winnipeg".... We found out that it's a beautiful city, that it has rivers, that you can use transport. It has lots of rock and roll festivals and concerts and lots of happenings. And if I understood correctly, it has about 300 parks. But it was never mentioned about the cold weather, or winter, or winds.... Then I called my friend here in Toronto and I really found out that it's really cold over there. He arrived four months before me. He said as far as I can see on TV, it's really cold. My wife suffers from arthritis, so it's one of the main reasons why we didn't want to go there. (SMT007)

If useful information is not provided formally, refugees encounter many barriers to asking questions and are forced to rely on informal networks for advice. This Kurdish restaurateur, originally destined to Quebec, described it this way:

You start asking friends, especially if you are waiting ten months. A refugee knows if he is accepted in Finland, after three months he will be traveling, but for Canada they have to wait a long time. So during that period you have a lot of time to ask questions and meet people traveling from Canada. Friends have relatives, a brother, sister, or mother in Canada. On TV, on the Internet, so basically it's the way to search for information. It's not that any official package or information was given from Canada, no. You just keep asking and most of the people tell how they feel about Toronto, people that have experience...how they felt in Montreal, how it was in Toronto, so you get a big picture...

It was very hard to get information [from the embassy]. I had a friend who called them and they did not answer. I had a friend who had a Canadian passport. They couldn't get in and get any information. They would never answer the phone. The only thing we could do was wait. Mostly Canada is like that, compared to all other countries... You couldn't get even close. We asked friends or relatives here to call the Canadian Embassy there, because they speak English and it would be better if they could get some answers for us. They couldn't. (SMT006)

Information is an important part of regaining self-sufficiency and control

This Kurdish building contractor, who was destined for New Brunswick and stayed in Toronto, suggests that receiving little practical information before coming is not a good way to start building self-sufficiency.

I don't think there was any clarification or explanation about Canada, or about the situation--housing, employment, education, or anything here. As far as I remember, I think that, I received something in the mail. They sent me two or three pages about living in Canada--how to respect your neighbour in the building and stuff like noise. Nothing, specifically in detail, about employment or living in Canada. I don't remember them explaining anything either. They just asked me why I wanted to go to Canada. That's it...Basically, the program is not helpful at all like that because people after the year are not becoming self-sufficient or independent. During that year they are not comfortable enough to make the choice and do whatever they want to make them succeed in life. (SMT004)

Some know in advance that they will be free to change destination once in Canada, but many do not. In either case, it is not surprising that being able to move freely is important to refugees after years of being in situations of confinement and loss of control over their lives. This attitude might influence them contrary to CIC destining plans. Interestingly, one refugee described his experience in a country of asylum as educational in this respect:

Before you even make any decisions about Australia, Canada or anywhere else, you ask how free you are, after seven years in jail. We called it jail in Germany. We lived in Germany in one city, looks like Toronto. Any moving out of the city was prohibited; it really felt like jail. You first ask how can I move, how can I visit my parents in Bosnia? People told us always that after you arrive in Toronto or Vancouver with your visa, you are free, everything is allowed to you, you can move, you can work... It's very, very important to us to be able to move somewhere if we don't like that part or if we want to visit somebody, or if we want to go home to visit.... Germany was unfortunate, but very good experience for immigrants from Yugoslavia, because they were trained on what things are important. Being refugees, we really had good experience to ask very qualified questions. (SMT023)

4) DESTINING

Visa officers who conduct interviews generally ask if refugees have family or friends in Canada in order to send them where they will have the support of someone they know during settlement. Although this placement strategy can be difficult to accomplish in practice, it is standard policy and may well work in most cases. In the sample of secondary migrants interviewed (n=47) for this study, however, we found the following:

- In 30 of the cases (64%), refugees expressed a preferred destination, generally because of the presence of friends or family, but were destined elsewhere.
- In 7 of the cases (15%), refugees had no preference because they had no contacts in Canada; 80% of these were sent to Quebec.
- In 4 cases, refugees had friends or family in Ontario, but did not know exactly where until they arrived; these refugees were sent to Quebec, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and British Columbia.
- In 3 cases, refugees had a preferred destination, but were afraid to say so; 2 of these cases were sent to Quebec, and 1 to Manitoba.
- In 2 cases, refugees were not asked if they had a preferred destination or friends or family in Canada.
- In 1 case, the refugee stated three preferred destinations and was sent to one where there was a distant relative. During the time between the interview and travel to Canada the relative had moved to another city.

Based on key informant interviews, there appear to be contradictions in policies and procedures that can contribute to the sense of ambiguity and confusion in the destining process. As we have seen, one contradiction is that the primary aim of the single selection interview is refugee status determination/eligibility; destining and matching may not be given due attention. Another is that filling destining targets across Canada conflicts with family reunification. In addition, official goals diverge from refugees' goals.

Contradictory messages

One key informant surmised that refugees perceive risks in acknowledging their desire to join family members in Canada:

Just tell [the applicants] it's not a negative, it's a positive. The problem is that if you're saying that you've got family, then you're not really a refugee. You want to come to Toronto to be with your family members. That's the way it gets spun negatively. Whether the refugees are cognizant of that or not, the visa officers sometime spin that out.... As much as we're trying to sponsor them to come to Canada, as much as we think that's a good thing because they have

family links here, the issue they are being interviewed about is why they are a refugee. It's important to get that message out. In the most recent policy, family links are becoming more positive. (KILO03)

Canadian bureaucracy leaves an impression of being no more straightforward than any other. The refugees respond to this ambiguity with vague answers. Refugees will say what they think the officials want to hear. They learn that Canada is filling targets, and believe that revealing family support could undermine government support, so they will cooperate with the preferences of the bureaucracy to get through the interview. Why would they believe they have the option of voicing a preference if they know that other placement strategies, such as filling targets, are operative?

For the Yugoslavs it, it's such an established movement that everybody knows somebody. In many ways it's a self-destining movement. Everybody knew somebody, and they might not have been as forthcoming. You know, 'we're going to go where we want to anyway. I'll say what you want me to say. If you want me to know somebody, I'll know somebody and if you don't want me to know somebody, I won't know anybody'. ...There are established contacts. The Iraqi Christians as well. Damascus wasn't using a pre-approved plan then, so we could still work with it. You've got friends here in Windsor? Okay, that's where well try and send you. (KIOT05)

It's easier to come to Canada if you go to a province that will accept you. If they state Toronto in the first place, that may have already been filled so they would have had to wait longer. They know if they get here, it's a springboard to get to where they really want to be.... I think they do have some choice. There might be something else at play here with the Visa office, where they're also placing people, if you know what I mean--numbers. (KIHX01)

Different purposes

Meeting targets has a different purpose than appropriately matching refugees and communities. Experienced visa officers understand the need for flexibility, but pressures currently work against good destining fits.

One of the first things that are done is a review of the application. That's where we come across, okay, you say you have a relative in Canada. Or they might say 'no, I don't have a relative but I do have a friend.' Well, what kind? And you might get into a little bit of discussion. ...We've got targets for a number of cities that have got to be filled. When you're filling these targets, you're thinking of people that have close family in Toronto. I mean I could fill Toronto on the first interview trip. But now I fill Toronto, so if I come across someone with a brother or sister or mother or, then I've got to exceed Toronto's targets. That means no one else gets relatives. So we have to combine family reunification with Federal-Provincial sharing and the negotiations that are done to set targets and to set up infrastructures for delivery of RAP income support. All these have to be taken into consideration when we set the targets in each city. (KIOT07)

Difficult balances

This experienced key informant describes many of the dilemmas of the process, the difficulties of balancing contradictory objectives under pressure, and the need for more accessible information and flexibility.

If they found a relative later, if they thought of somewhere else they wanted to go... they should tell us and we'd try and take that into consideration. Even after the interview, but they would have to write me. You're also dealing with the domestic side which is saying, we want people spread out. They don't want all of their refugees to arrive in one month because they have accommodation that's paid for over the year....

You come back from your area trip. You have all these people that you haven't decided where to send them. If they said they wanted to go to Kitchener because they had a brother there, then I'd put Kitchener on the front of the file. And if I don't have any slots left in Kitchener and they've got a real close relative then I go back to the matching center and I say, 'look, give me some places for Kitchener'.... They can steal them from Nairobi, or something. Or they ask Kitchener, 'could you take another three? The problem is you go back and you're sitting there with your files ready for visa. You have your pile ready for visa and some have Kitchener on it and some have nothing. You're sitting there and you think, 'okay, where do I send this family? They have no preference. He does this. I have slots in Lethbridge. It looks as if he might find a job in Lethbridge'. Bang, he goes to Lethbridge. You don't have a chance to talk to the person about this, because you don't have a choice. Somebody's got to go. You've got to actually send people all over the country, because that's the policy of immigration.

The destination is not chosen until the end of the process just prior to issue of the visa:

.... And the point when they know where they're going is only about three weeks before they leave, because these are the visa ready files. And you can't really do it before then because you try not to deal with files any more than you have to... If you have nothing from them, then you send them where you think it will work. And you have to use what you got...

You don't have to be so bureaucratic. It's not set in stone so, if you have no more places left in Toronto but somebody's got really close relatives there, then you go and ask for it. And they usually give it to you.

There's an awful push also to meet the target. You want to get these people to Canada. You don't want to delay things. But I think sometimes that we should not worry about the target so much. And if its going to be a successful fit, then try and be a little more flexible.

This example also reveals the policy contradiction between the humanitarian objectives of refugee selection and the economic development objectives of the provinces.

.... I would say its all a balance because the instructions get too detailed. You're dealing with tons of people, not just the refugees. So, you don't have time to get into nitty gritty stuff that much. It's really hard when I can't send people in July to Calgary because they got the Stampede and there's no housing available. And I can't send singles to St. John because they told me I can't do that. And Vancouver wants architects, but Saskatchewan doesn't want engineers. Try to keep that all in your mind when you're looking at a visa pile and you're trying to figure out whom to send where. And you don't have time looking at each and every case....

It should be easier to do the destination. And I think if you had something on the computer, where you're going to send somebody and you just go 'click' and it shows up, 'don't send this, send this.' So you don't have to keep it all in your head and you can decide. So that it's not two years out of date, or five years out of date, and not in a book.

But the involvement of the refugee, I'm sorry, but I don't think that is necessarily going to work.... As long we've decided that we have to send this many here, this many here, all across the country.... Then you get into a discussion with somebody and you can't send them where they want to go. (KIOT09)

Practical difficulties

There are additional practical difficulties to resolve after the interview. For example, there is a time lapse of many months between the interview and departure, in which the refugee's knowledge of contacts in Canada changes. There is also the potential for errors and omissions by officials, IOM or locally engaged staff doing destining administration, and the fact that delays due to medical processing are unpredictable. There are "operational realities" such as last minute re-routing from one destination to another due to crisis overflow situations in Canada, or filling flights. While perhaps not arbitrary decisions, the refugees are sometimes the last to know of the problems.

Sometimes officers don't make selection decisions at interviews. An interviewing officer may not be able to make up their mind, yes or no for the applicant. Then maybe the destination doesn't come into it. So you're stuck with assigning a destination later on in the process. Sometimes it's just that the destination that they really want is not available. (KIOT08)

Sometimes we find that there are interview notes that will specify no family or family, but it's inadvertently not passed on. It doesn't happen often but we do find the refugee will say, "I told the interviewer that I have family," but nothing is ever passed on to us in the DMR. Sometimes not understanding how the pre-approved plan works, the mission will just see a number--send ten people to Toronto. They just see that number, so they send even if the person says 'No, I have a brother out in Winnipeg.' It's, "No, my Winnipeg target is full, so I have to. We found that the mission did not understand the pre-approved plan. That number could be adjusted if there are friends and family. You must send them where they have, because they're going to end up there anyway. (KIOT04)

Mismatching

In the end, availability of spaces in particular destinations is given more weight than the presence of family and friends:

What you're dealing with at a mission, is that you get this list of destinations. You're starting off with a deck of cards. And you've got a thousand cards in that deck, and there are only 50 or 100 cards in that deck that say Toronto. And there are more people that want to go there; there are more people that have relatives or whatever, connections in Toronto.... I think in interviews you kind of try to determine, you know, how close that connection really is, sometimes people exaggerate their family connections, too. But interviewing officers at the end of the day

have to decide and they can't always destine people to either the places where people want to go or the places where they would appear to have logical connections. So, I mean, that's one reason why you get obvious mismatches on some destinations. (KIOT08)

Refugees perceive the destining process as confusing, arbitrary and illogical

The part of destining process in which the refugee is involved takes only minutes, but it is critical. Adding to their stress, it is often unclear and seemingly arbitrary, especially to the refugees themselves, but also sometimes to the visa officials. This single Iraqi engineer, for example, was under the impression he was being sent to Quebec, although he expressed a preference for Toronto, and in the end was destined to *Edmonton*.

In the interview they asked whether I have family in Canada. They asked only about close family. No, I told them, I don't have close family in Canada. They didn't ask about friends. I have some friends, but not in Toronto. I had four interviews almost. Two interviews with the Canadian embassy, and after that one security check. After that another interview with the same person who asked two or three questions. From the beginning he said that the person at the first UNHCR interview told them that this is a special program from Canada for refugees destined to Quebec. We thought that we were all going to Quebec. Some people said its okay, they had some information that they could move after one year. For me, well, I said, 'I'm going to learn a new language. French is a nice language and the French also'....

When I had the security check it was a very nice interview. The person was very nice and gentle. The interview went very well and I was relaxed. I was about eighty percent sure that I would be accepted, especially when he started talking to me after the interview in general questions about life, soccer, what interested me, and information about Canada. Then at that interview, he asked me if I knew where I'm going. And I told him that I thought we were going to go to Quebec. He said, 'Why?' 'That's what we hear' I answered. He said, 'I don't know, I never heard anything like that'. He asked me, 'Where do you want to go?' I told him that if I have the choice, I want to go to Toronto. He said, 'Yes, it's a very nice city. I am from Toronto'. So I told him, 'I'll see you there later.' (SMT005)

Evidently, there is considerable duplication in the UNHCR and Canadian interviews. Before being destined to Alberta, this refugee reasoned that the point of the interview should have been about his prospects in Canada, not his status.

I thought I would have an interview same as any independent immigrant who wants to come to Canada, especially since I passed the interview and was recognized as a refugee by UNHCR. I think it was not necessary for the Canadian to do the same thing again. Why the duplication? I thought the questions were going to concentrate on my education, my personality, and my adjustment in Canada, not about my case and my political views. I was already recognized as a refugee by UNHCR. (SMT005)

The following refugee was more specific in her narrative than some, but her case was not unusual in the degree of uncertainty she faced, the appearance of arbitrarily executed local management, or neglect of what seems to be a reasonable request for family reunification. This single female Bosnian lawyer asked to join her only sister in Toronto, but was destined to Saskatchewan.

The interview was somewhere around July 9th. I was in Canada on November 15th. Seven days before coming to Canada I was told my destination was Saskatchewan by a lady who works in the office. Nobody asked me where I wanted to go. They asked me if I had anybody and I said I have a sister in Toronto. I think on every single application, because I was applying more than a few times, I specifically asked for the destination Toronto. But in one instance, after completing the medical examination, and because my passport expired, I had to wait for a UN traveling document. A Yugoslavian lady at the window at the Embassy asked me what I thought about Quebec. I said no, I wanted to come to Toronto. After that, her information was very short and usually she was only willing to talk on the phone. She knew that I was accepted. I think she makes travel arrangements and the list of travelers. The Canadian officer told me that now everything is okay. The interpreter told me that everything is all right now, sign the papers in regard to your airplane ticket. I thought I was going to Toronto.

Maybe a month and a half later, I was trying to get information about when my traveling documents would be ready. Two weeks before I came to Canada, she finally told me that my documents were ready and that I should expect mid to late November to be my traveling time. Seven days before coming to Canada, when I came to the Embassy to find out where to pick-up my visa, even then she did not want to tell me anything about my destination. I asked a question about how do we fly and then she told me you are going to Saskatoon. I was shocked. I said, 'How come? Isn't my destination, Toronto?' At that moment, she was very unkind and rough. She was almost arrogant, not really screaming at me. But the whole time she was talking to me I had the feeling that I am a little student or pupil sitting in front of the teacher. She was lecturing me that we were ignorant and that we don't know anything. We only know about one city in Canada and that is Toronto. As if we are not grateful. We are going to go to Canada, what else do we want now. My personal opinion is that she was simply lazy and careless.

After all that, she let me sit in that Embassy for three hours while she was checking if I specifically asked for Toronto during the interview and so on. She had to consult with Vienna. That is what she told me. Then she just left. The ladies who were working at those windows basically saw what the situation was and told me, 'Don't get nervous'. But I didn't really even know if I would be coming to Canada altogether. I really didn't know what to do that night. Should I start packing? It was a terrible situation. I was absolutely shocked and completely lost. She did not show up that day. But another officer told me that she went for her French class, and that I should come back tomorrow.

My sister was also very anxious because all of a sudden I had to go somewhere else. She was waiting for a long time as well. If they were to tell me right from the start 'No, you cannot come to Toronto,' I would probably feel at ease with that. Later on I would try to find another solution and speak with someone else. We immigrants are thoroughly confused and lost in those last moments before leaving. Lots of things have to be finished and dealt with and lots of things are to be prepared. All those preparations take a long time. When I spoke to my sister she told me that all of us immigrants are going through all that. For other people I would really appreciate for things to be more organized and for more care to be invested in whom is actually working on that program. (SMT019)

This single, French-speaking Algerian, was destined to St. John. He was willing to go anywhere in Canada, including Quebec, but either wanted to remain with compatriots or be sent to an urban centre

where he could find decently paid work, neither of which he found in St. John.

They didn't ask me which province I want to go to. I thought, if they accept me in Canada, its okay, they can send me any place, I accept. And after, if I don't like it, I don't like it. I can speak French and I can speak English. They sent me to St. John. All my friends, eleven Algerians, came to Canada. So ten, they're in Montreal, and only me in St. John. I stayed in St. John for six days. I did not feel that this is what I want.

I came to Toronto, because Toronto is a large city, different culture, a lot of higher jobs and everything.... They asked me if you have family or friends in Canada, and I don't have family or friends. They didn't ask me 'where do you want to go'. If you ask, I'm sure I would say Montreal, because that's what I know, Montreal or Toronto. (SMT017)

The destining process often seems illogical to the refugee:

At the interview the visa post official said that only Quebec was open. By the time we sent the first application, they sent us another one to fill out in French. Even before the interview they seemed to be planning to send us to Quebec.... Actually he asked us only if we wanted to go to Quebec, that is the only thing. On the application we had already put Ontario. We didn't put anything else, we actually didn't know so much about Quebec, but about Ontario everybody is saying Ontario looks something like back home. The first thing that you are thinking about Canada is climate. How is it? Is it snowing, or is it what we already know, knew.... Actually, I'm so surprised that somebody can send somebody from Germany to a French-speaking part, because German and English are so similar. You know if I've been living there for seven years and if I present to you some courses from a university in Germany, then you must know that I speak German very well and I will be able to learn English quickly. (SMT023)

In some cases, destining produced such confusion that moving immediately is the refugees overriding and goal and only reasonable course of action:

So you see, all these things made life difficult...I wanted to come to Toronto, I read something about Toronto. It's the biggest town and an industrial town. Because of the life I've had, it's easy to explain. If you were an immigrant to Iraq, you would rather go to Baghdad, and if you went to Baghdad and you don't speak any Arabic, you would start looking forward to people that who speak English, right? For me especially, I came here hoping that I can meet people.... Especially if they tell you that you have a loan you have to pay back, right away you are thinking, you have to start looking for work to try to pay back your loan. So you have to think about the place to find work.

I was destined to Montreal with my wife and there was another Afghani family, my friends. We stayed in Montreal two days. When we tried to change the destination to come here, they sent us by bus and they charged \$550 for two persons, on a bus! Immigration added that to the loan they had. Why do we have to pay such expensive things if they know that it's a loan and that you can have a hard time finding a job?

In Istanbul just before the flight I found out that we were destined to Montreal, I told them that I don't want to go. When the IOM person handed us the ticket and the visa at the airport, at that minute I asked why we had to go to Montreal. He said he doesn't know. Those are the landed papers and visa and I have to go there. I was so confused, because even the landing paper

said Toronto. I don't know why we had to go to Montreal. (SMTO06)

The IOM appears to play a role in creating confusion for the refugees, by making people aware of their final destination only at the airport, in contradiction to what they are expecting. The refugees are not told why this happens and react by relying on the social support of friends. This is the case of a Kurdish building contractor who came to Canada with his wife and two children:

I got my documents from the Canadian Embassy, my visa, in a city in the south of Turkey. It was documented Toronto, and I thought we were coming to Toronto. I gave the Embassy a Toronto address, and had friends send a letter from Toronto. From there, we had to travel to Istanbul and take the plane to Toronto. At the airport, people from IOM met us to give us the tickets and everything else. They told us the destination was not Toronto, only transit Toronto, and we had to continue to New Brunswick.... I was upset and bothered by that. I didn't have time to do anything. We took the plane and stopped in Amsterdam. I called my friends in Toronto, and told them this is what happened. We are going to stop in Toronto, but they are going to take us somewhere else. I don't want to go. My friend said, okay, I am going to come to the airport. He came to the airport, and we refused to continue the journey. (SMTO04)

5) ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION EXPERIENCES

Once in Canada, what resources can migrants call upon to cope with the stresses of being destined to an unfamiliar place in Canada? According to informants, what procedures are followed and what services are provided that influence a migrants decision to stay or move again? There are two or three formal points of contact upon arrival--the airport, various reception houses and CIC offices--which are weighed against sources of informal support such as a migrants personal contacts and perception of the community at large.

Counseling at the port of entry

At the airport, government-assisted refugees are met by interpreters from NGO airport reception services, then seen by immigration officials for their landing papers. They are given winter clothing October through April. Their visas are checked to see what destination they have been assigned, and they are put on connecting flights or buses to their final destination. Airport reception procedures are sometimes inconsistent at this critical point in the reception process.

They have all kinds of people hopping off the plane wanting to change destination. And they spend part of their time trying to convince people to go where they were supposed to go initially. (KIOT02)

Some refugees decide not to continue to their destination and they are within their rights to do so. However, they are often discouraged from changing plans by airport reception staff, some of who believe they are supposed to tell refugees that they cannot change destination. Staff sometime misinform them about the consequences of their decisions, by saying they will not receive their government cheques. At this relatively late point in the journey, refugees may be told how high housing costs are in Toronto as a negative incentive. Those who decide to change destination at the airport are asked to sign a form

stating that they understand that since they are not going to the final destination, they will not receive complete resettlement services. They are normally informed that they are responsible for any additional transportation costs incurred.

Additional stress

This kind of intervention at the airport was reported as an additional source of confusion and stress. For example, the Kurdish contractor previously mentioned as having his destination changed at the last minute described his arrival at the Toronto airport with his family this way:

I had mixed feelings, but I was happy. It was a long trip and we had waited seven hours in Amsterdam. I was tired. I was worried about my family, not about myself. The fact that I left the country wasn't a problem for me. I had serious problems with the government. My main concern was the safety of my wife and children because they could do something to them. All these feelings came to me, and also the excitement of seeing my friend after a long, long time. All this comes to my mind....

When we arrived at the airport, I knew that my friends were waiting outside. First we met the Immigration people at the airport. They told us that we are going tomorrow. We were lucky that the plane to New Brunswick was the day after. Otherwise, maybe, if it was the same day maybe I couldn't manage to stay. They were going to take us to the hotel. I told them at that point that I didn't want to go, I wanted to stay here. They told me you have to go there. Everything was arranged for you to go there. Everything is ready there. 'No, I can't go,' I said. 'Why are you forcing me to go? This is a free country and that is why I came here, because it is a free country. I didn't come here for you to put me in a jail. Take my family, okay, and I will go back from wherever I came from if you are going to force me.' They said, 'you have to go'. 'I have friends outside', I said. 'I have to go and see them'. They said, 'We'll take you to the hotel, and after that you can call the friend and they can come to the hotel'.

While we were going out we saw our friends. We hugged and kissed. The Immigration people changed when they saw all the emotion. They changed, and started thinking about it. Our friends said 'let's go'. Immigration told them that we had to go to the hotel, and then to New Brunswick. The friends said 'no, they are staying here. Why do you force them?' The Immigration people told us go to New Brunswick and if you don't like it, then come back. Why would I spend all that time and money? I have a loan of five thousand already to pay to the Government of Canada, why are you making it seven thousand? Our friend said there is no way that they can force you to go. Okay, they finally said, but your friend has to take responsibility for you for six months, which is not true. That night, we went to our friend's house. (SMT004)

Another example from a Kosovar refugee who did not want to be destined to Winnipeg, is as follows:

My friend was waiting for me in the airport. When I told the gentleman who is in charge in the organization at the airport that is accepting immigrants, told him that my friend is waiting for me, he told me that he already knows about it and there are no problems. I was not able to see my friend but I was informed that I have to wait. They took us to the basement where they gave

us some clothing. We spend maybe hour and a half there. And then the gentleman told us, 'let's go upstairs so you can pick up your luggage'. The luggage actually didn't arrive for anybody, and he was kind enough to take us to the lost luggage department to make a claim.

When I told him that my friend was waiting for me he told me, well its too late now, you have to go on the flight to Winnipeg. Apparently the plane was almost to take off and we were actually sort of rushing to the plane. The same man who said 'it's okay, there's no problem'. All of a sudden he changed and said 'now you have to go to Winnipeg.' Then I told him "I don't want to go to Winnipeg" and at the same time my friend arrived on the scene. Then he also told me specifically that I'm going to have to wait for 3, 4, 5 months to get assistance and documents, so I shouldn't play with that, since in Winnipeg people were waiting for us. He said, "You have to make a decision. Talk fast, you are late for the plane." My wife said to me, 'let's not make a problem now, because we are in a foreign country'. But I was pig-headed. I was stubborn and said I don't want to go to Winnipeg, and the gentleman said alright. Then he took my plane ticket and said, "I will send them to the United Nations so that you can get your money back." We had already been flying for seventeen hours. Whatever happened, it was almost the same for us.... But my friend was there. He had to sign some sort of a form that he's taking me in. (SMT007)

In other cases, airport and reception centre staff advise refugees to change their destination quickly if they are going to do so in order to avoid incurring extra costs, advice which the refugees say they appreciate.

Understanding the importance of social support

Several sympathetic key informants understood the importance of social support, especially in emotional terms. One related this scenario where family members were waiting at the airport,

They came through Pearson airport. That's when IRIS would put them on another flight. But they would have had contact with their family in London before they came to Canada. They must have told them 'we are arriving on this day.' So the family was actually at the airport. The clients would then sign the form stating that they didn't want to go to Halifax and that they were requesting a change of destination on their own, then they would just come with their relatives to London. In this case, the person who brought them in actually passed away after arrival. So that was a good thing that they went to London to be with their family. (KILO04)

At reception centres in Ontario, government-assisted refugees who arrive as scheduled are helped with a variety of practical matters in a short period of time. They are assisted with applying for health cards, opening bank accounts, assessment for language classes and searching for permanent accommodation. After a week or more the first cheque, including an allowance for basic household goods and the first and last month's rent, is issued.

Immigration would like them in and out in 10 days [21 days in Toronto], which is a very tight time frame. Because they might arrive on a Monday night, Tuesday they are zonked because of jet lag and traveling. So it's Wednesday before we can start any kind of orientation and that's if everything goes well. Barring any illnesses and other complications there are two or three days of orientation at least. Then we have to wait for Immigration to provide them with their first

cheque and that can sometimes take up to a week. So there's ten days gone already. But unless they have a cheque in hand it's difficult for them to start looking for apartments, because many landlords want cash on the table. They want the money up front. So we can't start looking for apartments until we get the money, which is a week to ten days.

So during that time, we are giving the clients orientation. We're helping them with any emergencies, we get to know them and do paper work and documents and help them to feel as comfortable here as possible, because it's a scary thing going to a new country. You probably don't have the language, everything is uncertain and if you're here with a family, you have to try and look brave as an adult. Even though you're scared silly inside. (KILO02)

As valuable and personally supportive as these services delivered as part of the RAP program can be, government-assisted refugees turn to other sources for help in the early stages of migration and settlement. Even when reception workers counsel the refugees about the advantages and disadvantages of secondary migration, refugees appear to be weighing their options by simultaneously consulting friends and relatives in Canada and planning to be reunited with them. This consultation process with all available sources of supports, which has both short-term (e.g. immediate housing needs) and long-term (e.g. jobs) benefits, is to be expected. It is desirable for settlement, and has to be taken into account in program delivery.

Refugees weigh their options for successful settlement

Many of them don't tell us the first few days that they are here that they intend to live in another city. We don't know why. I welcome them and I greet them. During the meeting, I mention to them that if you do intend to go to any other city say so, and we will help you to go, not pay for it, but for example, we will take you to the bus depot or train station.... You have absolute freedom to do so but let us know because we don't want to search for housing here. And they don't say anything.... Because suppose a relative or friend says, "Don't tell them, wait until I can find you an apartment first.... Let the procedure go". Then we are obligated to look for an apartment. And in those sixteen days, [the client] may be hesitant but I take him to view apartments. Then he hears, "The apartment is ready, you can come tomorrow". Then he comes to us and says, "Oh, I think I've changed my mind, I'm going to Toronto". Okay, so we call the landlords.... Because his brother has spoken to them before they came. And he has told them everything and they follow him more than they follow my advice and suggestions. (KILO01)

This suggests that refugees rely on alternate sources of support and information, which can lead to secondary migration, to meet critical needs such as housing that the RAP program is not able to meet easily. Even when the reception house staff do their jobs well--and many do establish close relationships with residents of the reception houses--refugees are bound to weigh their options in light of the possibility of long-term social support and self-sufficiency. Although RAP workers do help refugees find accommodation (secondary migrants excluded), other informal sources of help may be enlisted in the search for affordable housing. Refugees rely on other sources of support and information in conflict with the CIC destining plans and RAP services, but consistent with attitudes about trust and with personal needs.

The refugees' decision-making about where to settle is extremely important, as they feel it could

influence, if not determine, the course of their lives.

In the beginning everything was nice, especially at the airport. They took us to the reception house in Edmonton. It was nice. It was like staying in flats. And the day after we were given some money and the person went with us shopping, because we had to cook. They had a stove and fridge. We had to do some shopping and cooking. Later, we had other interviews, and orientation about what to expect....

Before I did anything, I wanted to ask more questions. I even asked some friends I know in New York what they thought. What information do they have about Canada, about Edmonton, about Toronto? All of them said it is better to go to Toronto. I came with my sister and she was more interested and more excited.... Girls like social life, they care more in those terms, so she wanted to come and start having some friends and communicating with other people. She had finished her business college in computer systems. We took the two weeks, the whole two weeks, day and night to do the research to get the final answer about what we should do. Because that's the time we were allowed to stay in the reception centre. That decision to come here was a very hard decision. It was almost like a lifetime decision to settle in Toronto. We had to be very careful.

When we told people at the reception house, the counselor explained that's normal. You're right, you can choose where you want to stay, and he helped us to purchase tickets to Toronto. We arrived at night. A friend came and picked us up from the airport, and we stayed with the friend until the next day. The immigration office gave us an appointment in two weeks and sent us to COSTI for orientation. I asked them about if there is any place to stay and they said, 'no it's your responsibility'. We didn't want to stay with the friend because it was hard for him. We asked him to take us to a shelter, any place until we could find.... But when we went to the shelter, we stayed half an hour. We couldn't believe the way it was. We couldn't stay there. The friend said, 'okay, lets go back home.' (SMTO05)

The role of community

Familiarity of a like-ethnic community supports may be part of the attractiveness of any place for a newcomer. However, in this case, members of the community advised a newcomer *not* to stay because of lack of employment opportunities and possibly cultural barriers in the larger community.

I stayed two weeks in Edmonton. I went out during these two weeks. After the second or third day going out, walking around, I met so many people. I went to some Arabic stores. I met one person from Iraq who has been there for a long time and a young person who has been there for a long time. All these people I met, of all of them ...none of them gave me encouragement to stay there. Even the person who had been there for a long time. Everybody told me, 'if I were you I would move, better than waste time here.' Because it looks like there are not so many people, and especially from Arabic and Iraqi community, so don't expect so much help. They are almost invisible those communities, and its very, very hard ...that's the main thing they told me... its very hard to get a job here. (SMTO05)

Key informants also pointed out that secondary migration is not just a problem of poor destining or following personal preferences to be near family. There is also little emphasis on making receiving communities attractive to the refugees, so that they can be assured of successful settlement in the long-

term.

In one country, I think in Scandinavia, communities have to apply to the government for refugees to come there. It might be fine for the national government to talk about destining refugees and immigrants to different places, but it really has to be backed up by communities wanting people to come. (KIHX01)

6) CHANGING DESTINATION/MOVING

Key informants suggested possible rationales for secondary migration at different points in the process, with different consequences. For example,

Secondary migrants who change destination at the airport usually do so because of relative--a decision made prior to arrival.

Secondary migrants who have stayed at their assigned destination for some time are more likely to move in search of job opportunities--a decision made after arrival.

One key informant summed up:

Somebody who arrived at the airport and said 'No, I'm not going to Halifax, I want to go to London', usually that happens because they have relatives, because they definitely do not want to go to where they are destined. The ones that are coming for jobs, I think those are the ones that would go to Halifax and then hear from somebody else that it's better in London.... Those are the ones who I think are more disappointed. (KILO04)

Key informants often suggested that refugees were just not being truthful about the presence of relatives in Canada, but had intentions of joining them soon after arrival. In fact we found the following:

92% of the PSMs (11 of 12 primary secondary migrants) in our sample had stated a preferred destination, usually because of the presence of friends or family members, but were not accommodated at the point of destining overseas.

60% of the SSMs (12 of 20 short-term secondary migrants) and **56% of LSMs** (9 of 16 long-term secondary migrants had stated a preferred destination, but were not accommodated at the point of destining.

There is some truth to the notion that people may settle for a while in the assigned destination, then move in search of job opportunities. However, we found that most are also moving in search of social supports. In other words, their reasons for moving are more complex. Other rationales offered by key informants with overseas experience warrant critical examination:

The presence of a large ethnic receiving community is not only a pull factor, it is critical to "harder-to-settle refugees," who will migrate in search of a like-ethnic community.

The profiles have changed. They're more difficult settlement cases. They are deserving refugee cases but they need more help when they arrive in Canada.... St. John's was quite I think bowled over when they started receiving women wearing traditional clothes outside that looked like night dresses and babies didn't have proper diapers on...They weren't really familiar with the North American set-up.... I mean, some of the Sudanese cases out of Newfoundland haven't stayed there. (KIOT05)

It could be said that seeking a like-ethnic community is a reason to move away in the absence of other social supports and incentives to stay in a first destination. The question is, if the biased perceptions of refugees that are evident in the above comment do exist, what is being done to bridge cultural differences and create a welcoming atmosphere in the receiving community? Refugees we interviewed who had been destined to Newfoundland did experience a marked sense of isolation.

Another reason for secondary migration was presented as follows:

The larger, longer established ethnic communities produce some self-destining that feeds secondary migration.

In examining the above rationale we might ask, whether it is fair to depict the conflict between the current destining policy and the tendency for chain migration as a problem of dishonesty on the part of the refugees. Speaking of GARs from the former Yugoslavia, one key informant noted,

I think they were manipulating the system to a certain degree. It was a self-destining movement that we had to work around, instead of with. Is just because it was a longer movement. And everybody knew somebody. ... As people know more and more people, then that's to a certain degree good. We can try sending them there to a community where the settlement seems to be working.... I mean you just have to deal with the older movements and try to get honest information out of people. (KIOT05)

Paradoxically, mobility is sometimes perceived as evidence that refugees are “harder-to-settle,” and sometimes that certain refugees are more intelligent and simply have higher expectations. A third rationale was given as follows:

More highly educated refugees are more likely to be mobile and to engage in secondary migration because their expectations of finding satisfying opportunities are higher.

You probably get more secondary migration from highly skilled, mobile people. As you move down the ladder of settlement prospects, you may get less secondary migration.... That's the reason why people from the former Yugoslavia migrate is because they know how to think, they have brains and they size up the situation.... And they have very high expectations in terms of employment, so they're going to be moving primarily for those reasons. (KIOT08)

Our data suggest that all refugees are assessing their situations and looking for employment opportunities. In fact, the more highly educated refugees in our sample move for mixed reasons--of

social support from friends and family and job opportunities--as much as refugees with less formal education. Those with less formal education are equally likely to move for reasons of employment opportunities. (See table 9) Moreover, our data do not support the notion that refugees from the former Yugoslavia are more highly educated or more intelligent than refugees from other parts of the world. In our sample, the proportion of those with university degrees was almost twice as high among refugees from the Middle East as among refugees from the former Yugoslavia

In data collected for purposes such as monitoring of CIC programs in the last couple of years, migrants have been asked why they move from their original destination in Canada. The responses recorded are typically short, fill-in-the-blank answers, such as "relatives," or "jobs." Reasons such as family and friends are predominant, which is consistent with our findings. IRIS has also tracked changed destinations at the airport. For July 2000-January 2001 comprising a total of 168 refugees, every reason recorded was "staying with relatives."

Social support of friends and family is related to self-sufficiency

Refugees who engage in secondary migration are searching for necessary day-to-day social supports that are not available from CIC. One settlement worker who himself had come to Canada as a refugee said,

You see relatives like first cousins are also close in our culture.... We don't get attachments and the attention we would get from family members from anybody else. For example, my wife was hospitalised.... It's not that she's will be better taken care of if we had a sister or a brother here. The hospital does their job to the best of their ability and knowledge. But just a sister calling me saying "Don't worry I will take care of this part", or a brother saying "Wait, I know someone else who can help matters". These are helpful and I don't know anybody here. My English is okay but my association outside my work environment is zero almost. So if I have a brother who has been here ten years, he knows his way better than I do. You would be the same, too, if you were in my country.

Most of the people who went to Toronto and said, "Jobs are better for us there".... None of these people who go there have gone there on their own.... They know that there is the cost of going there from that other place is their own, they have to pay. They do not have a place and even when they move a family of six they have gone. So then, however long it took until they found their own accommodation, they live with that person. Now who can take that burden? That's heavy, because we don't have big houses here, we have apartments. So this person who is a relative or a friend must be reasonably intimate and there's enough mutual respect so that he resides with them.... Therefore, it's not the job alone, you see, because they have to be able to be in this place.

Now if the community is large, finding a job in that community is possible, because we can assess each other. I can say to the person, look, I think you can't get an independent job yet. Why don't you work in my restaurant or my shop for six months. I'll pay you something. Here you get a chance for language practice and I don't fire you instantly just because you don't meet my standards. I have patience to deal with people from my own culture. And then after you can apply for other jobs in Canada, but right now I have a protective umbrella for you. (KILO01)

Practical views from the front lines

Whatever course individual settlement takes, personal support is considered essential in a number of ways:

I think that [refugees] feel more comfortable that if they need any help and if their friends and relatives have been here longer than they have, then they can give them support. They can help each other in terms of babysitting. And in terms of jobs if their friend is working in some company maybe the friend can help them out to get a job in that company. (KIOT02)

The destining does have to set up relatives or even a friend, because having somebody in Canada--it doesn't have to be a relative, just having a friend--somebody that can say this is how you go to the store, this is how you get on the bus. Come with me, and I will go with you, somebody like that. That can make all the difference in whether they are going to settle or not. (KILO04)

One apparently undervalued issue in current policy is the psychological importance of familiar physical and social environments in destining and initial settlement. This lends an important sense of security and control:

If a client comes to Toronto and they hate it, they are not going settle. They do not want to leave the reception center. They know that they get their three meals a day. It's not like they are taking advantage of the government or anything like that, but they are comfortable with their surroundings and they are petrified to be thrown out there. 'What do you mean I can't get enough money to rent a room? You mean I have to rent a room in a house with strangers?' On the other hand, if a client doesn't want to settle in a small town because it is not what they are used to, its better they come to Toronto. (KITO09)

Secondary migrants reasons for moving

Searching for better social support evidently is the main reason that secondary migrants make the decision to depart from the plans made for them. Social support can be in the form of information and advice, emotional support or instrumental support. Among the secondary migrants interviewed in this study, reasons for changing destination or moving were predominantly focused on the emotional and instrumental social support anticipated from contact with family and friends, which often was mixed with concerns about employment and other opportunities. Less frequently did migrants mention employment opportunities as a sole reason for secondary migration (See table 4)

The examples below illustrate how social support is related to regaining self-sufficiency. For example, personal contacts or the existence of an ethnic community can provide job leads. These are practical reasons for moving that are tied to social contacts that also provide support in other ways. This Bosnian engineer was sent to Saskatchewan, but moved to London where a close friend lived in hopes of advice and help in finding work. He said, "People are moving because of jobs as the main reason," but he added,

Anyone that I know who got a job here, got the job not based on his experience, or based on his qualifications, but based on whom he knows. Its very important and I realize, unfortunately, presently in Canada that its very difficult to get a job somewhere if you don't know anyone in that company, or a factory, or have some personal reference to say that this is my guy.... The next thing is you think of is a job because everything in future will depend on your job. (SMLO04)

Or this Croatian textile worker, age 47:

My motivation was to move and to learn the language, get away from any kind of social assistance, and find a job. We only had one friend in Toronto who we met in Quebec from Bosnia, and it was those friends who had some friends here. We saw that everybody was moving. What were we supposed to do? Because of school and years lost over there for children. Those friends actually contacted their friends in Toronto to find them an apartment in Toronto. They left Quebec. Our friends left with their two children, and they called us everyday to tell us that it is nice here. It is better for jobs and employment and it is better for schools. Children are going to a normal school and to a normal grade level with their peers. That was the most important for us. Later on they found an apartment for us. (SMT024)

Or this Afghani doctor, age 32:

Number one, I was seven months pregnant, and I wanted the trip to be as short as possible. Calgary required another trip to go there. Number two, Calgary is cold. It's no good for me to be in a cold place. Number three, I knew no one in Calgary. I had no acquaintances or friends there. They changed the destination from Calgary to Ottawa. We knew no one in Ottawa, and our friends and acquaintances were here in Toronto. We called them, and they said that it was better for us to come here because there were people that we knew and we thought that they would help us. They told us that employment is much better here in Toronto. After Immigration stops helping us, its easier to find a job here. When we got here at the airport, we changed our destination. We stayed with our friend for one month. Both him and other people helped us find a house. We were actually told that Immigration would not help us, so we didn't go to Immigration. (SMT011)

Reasons for wanting to move are often mixed, and sometimes rooted in knowledge of contacts from back home. This young man was sent to Regina where an aunt lived, but really wished to join friends in London, where the job opportunities also seemed better.

Actually, I also wanted to come to Canada because I can say that maybe 30-40 percent of my friends are in Canada from my hometown. From my building there are four of them, from my high school class there are ten of them. And that was also one more reason to tell me that this is good place. ...I had initially had contact with some of them and I also have aunt who came to Canada. Some of them are in London and mainly in Ontario. (SMLO04)

SETTLEMENT AND SOCIAL SUPPORT

CIC officially recognizes the importance of close family ties in supporting refugee resettlement, but these family ties should be defined in ways that are meaningful to refugees. CIC may need to be more understanding of their breadth. For example, in many cultures, siblings and even distant cousins of the same generation are considered close and reliable sources of social support. In one case documented here, the close tie, around which a secondary migration decision revolved was a wife's uncle, obviously a family elder due respect. Not even the refugee was aware of his presence before migrating, but once in Canada, he was obligated to reunite the family. This move produced instrumental benefits:

I went to Immigration in Windsor to discuss it with them and they told me they would like me to be with them, but I could go if I'm willing to go with my uncle. Where I come from we have family values that matter very much. I would not have considered moving but to save the interests of the family who are behind at home and others who are with me here. I had to accept it because if I refuse its as if I had refused the whole family, not just he himself. He left the country in the 40s and later on he came in the 80s. We had not met him again until we met him in Windsor....

He's a really close uncle, a brother to her mum and I am married to her. Even if I have not seen him after a long time. If I am stable and I feel as a necessity that I should leave London or any other part of Canada, it will be in agreement. Some of the Sudanese whom I met in Windsor, who came to me when they heard that I am coming, told me about the other Sudanese and relatives who are here in Canada, among them our uncle.... [My wife] is going to school now and we don't have a car, so he is the one who is driving her to the school and back home. It's helpful because Immigration may not be able to make that assistance at this moment. (SMLO06)

Important sources of support for settlement often include friends, a fact that should not be underestimated in destining. The emotional and instrumental help friends provide, such as temporary housing, housing searches and securing leases, is also essential and not adequately provided by CIC.

I feel okay. I have an apartment and I come to school. It is much easier now than in the beginning.... When I am finished learning I need a job, any job.... I have friends who are helping me. My roommate is also from Iraq. We help each other. None of my friends are helping financially, but if it is a question or going somewhere, then they help. If I have a question I can ask them. Immigration is helping me with the income assistance. They would help me in Newfoundland also, but I find it easier here for me. (SMT001)

We flew first from Frankfurt to Calgary. Then we changed from Calgary to Regina, and we had a break of one or two hours. I phoned my aunt, and she came to airport and we spoke. She told me she would like me to stay there. I phoned my friend. And he told me he would like me to come here, and I was like, what to do? She is my relative; he is my best friend. I know him better than her because I was in high school with him, and we were very close. I decided to come here. He is my generation and, you know, he's a friend. A relative is something different. You can rely sometimes better on relatives, but you don't communicate with relatives as much as a best friend. Different generations have different ways of life it seems, so that is one of the reasons I decided to come here. We are actually the same age, same ideas. And he already passed through all the process, and he could help to tell me what's good and what's bad. (SMLO04)

After one month, the friend got us--me and the three kids--a place to live, and I don't know how to thank him. The friend had to go to work, but they did everything for us. They helped us look for the house. After that, he registered the kids in school. Paper work and family doctors and everything, taking us to Immigration to COSTI, the furniture, and everything. Until today, we need them for phone bills, cable, and stuff like that. We ask them and they help us...We were eight people.... Now, I have somebody staying in my place.... [I am] receiving and giving back. (SMT004)

Some migrants try to be self-reliant, but still would go to friends for help rather than an agency:

I always thought that it was not a good idea to be dependent on others, except if I'm going to a doctor and ask a friend to escort me or translate. If I have to go to the Arab centre even they can't communicate well. The only solution actually is to be working and learning English. Count on myself, I say. It is the only solution. I can't see that it is helpful and useful to be counting on other people every day. I can't see helpful places for me because of that feeling. I cannot see help coming except from Immigration assistance, and some friends I ask them sometimes for a favor. (SMT003)

Women with children in particular may need informal social support and the means to become self-sufficient, as well as the formal support offered through settlement services. This medical doctor from Afghanistan said,

[The children] are happy with their school. I'm the one who does not go to school. The others go. Because of the baby I have to be here. I've been told if I take the baby to a day care, I have to pay some money. I don't have the money. I cannot afford it, so I have to stay with the baby. So, that's why I can't work or go to language classes. I can't do anything...As a newcomer here, I'm proposing that when people like me come here the Immigration or some place should introduce us to the system or find some place where they can go to study English, or do other things with a baby.... Maybe, the people are staying at reception house are given this information or help. As they say, because we are secondary we don't get any assistance. If they had done this it would have been very helpful...

One of our friends has been here for twenty years. He helped us find a house. He helped us a lot, especially when I had this difficulty giving birth.. If he hadn't been here it would have been very difficult for us. Taking a taxi would have been very difficult for me. He took me to the hospital and back home, and helped us go around.... Certain things I could respond by myself... There were other things--filling out forms-- he was the one who helped us. Sometimes, I tell myself if this person weren't there, what could we do? He calls us every night. When I was ill, he used to come every day to see if we were okay. (SMT011)

The stress arising from the need to find social support and to be newly self-sufficient in a strange environment is underlined by a variety of individual psychological responses. Refugees may see the first destination as a problem when in reality, it's the entire migration process that is difficult. Settlement is a long and arduous process that few people are prepared for psychologically.

Everybody really cries when they get here. Immigrants, refugees, everybody and that's one

of the things we don't do---culture shock. I don't even want to talk to them the first six months they're here because it makes me wonder what am I doing, these people are miserable. It's just culture shock and its normal. That's what happens with a lot of these people. They get to Lethbridge, and they're hitting culture shock anyway. And they wish they never left wherever they left. Lethbridge doesn't help. They blame it all on Lethbridge and they move. (KIOT09)

Some people really they just blame all their problems on the place...if the client understood the differences from the beginning that would make it less hard. If you're thinking always that your place is a problem and, you are not succeeding because you are living there, you are going to blame on that place or that part of the world whatever you cannot solve. You have to feel that you are stable and that is your place, otherwise you cannot succeed, you cannot even continue.... If I don't accept the fact that this is my place, that I'm going to try to work, have a new life here, if I think this is temporary, you know what, let me try somewhere else. (KITO08)

Settlement goals

To compare the objectives of secondary migrants' decisions on the one hand with the objectives of destining, it may be helpful to consider what settlement means to each. Evidently refugees move to recreate familiar social support networks, which can be informational, emotional or instrumental. Settling then involves having reasons to *stay* someplace, usually having the means to be self-sufficient. Settlement for the refugees is expressed in terms that are specific and personal. For CIC, having social support is a component of successful settlement as well, but in a more general sense, in that communication and connection with the community at large is an indicator of success. Successful settlement incorporates a range of objectives ideally accomplished in as short a period as six months, approximately when the settlement outcomes of government-assisted refugees in the RAP are monitored:

If you hear that the children are doing well in school, you've got a success story. Because I'm sure if the kids are doing well, the parents are generally happy. And usually if you have two people in a family attempting to speak English I think they are well on their way... usually those are the people that are going to be successful. They hopefully have a lot of friends, they have connections, and a little apartment set up to have a life. (KILO04)

I think when the family start to be able to communicate within the community start to be able to move about the community, feel comfortable looking for work, or are furthering their goals.... It might be the school that comes first for some of them. It might be work for some of them, education later. It's really so individual. (KIOT007)

As we have seen, ambivalence in policy has led to contradictions in procedures. Successful settlement is not a focus of refugee selection and destining as it is currently practiced.

I think there has been a huge change in mindset by and large within the last couple of years, where settlement prospects are not being considered as much. You know, do I think the person is a refugee? Then fine, they'll settle somewhere.... It's been driven by Refugee Branch. In headquarters, there has always been this debate, battle maybe. It's so hard to get the number of refugees, most likely because we were trying to get people who are real refugees, who are eligible

for refugee processing AND people who have good settlement prospects. And I think that was the issue. So, so I think a kind of a philosophical change was, 'Let's not be so picky about settlement. Most refugees do settle'. I mean once they get here, you know if there is enough help for them, they will settle. So let's concentrate on selecting people who need help, rather than selecting people who are going to find a job in a year. (KIOT05)

The shift toward selection based on the need for protection and away from ability to establish, as well as the push for efficiency, may have had an unintended consequence. The result may be under-emphasizing careful and adequate settlement planning based on the needs of the refugees. Yet, successful settlement continues to entail achievement of self-sufficiency. If so, then it may be unrealistic to think that migrants will stay in a place they don't want to be, without adequate social support, accurate information with which to evaluate their prospects, or the means to become self-sufficient. Refugees are unlikely to stay in the community to which they are destined unless conditions for social support and self-sufficiency are met.

There's nothing like good, genuine employment. If there's employment to be found which will pay, then people will stay, because there's a lot of economic pressures on people from family members to get money. Now, I not saying this because working is such a valuable thing for self-esteem. I don't mean that at all. Employment is a good thing because as soon as you get employment, people stop telling you what to do with your life. They stop trying to control you.... One of the tensions is, some people are saying that the refugees should slow down, not look for work right away because they need language acquisition. And the refugees are saying "Well, that's great. No, I want to get a job because the money you're giving me is not enough". (KILO03)

Arrival and settlement in Canada is not really the end of journey. It is a dynamic process, a means to an end, not an end in itself. In fact, it is a beginning of a search for social support and opportunity.

SOURCES OF SOCIAL SUPPORT AND BARRIERS TO SELF-SUFFICIENCY

If, as suggested earlier, secondary migration is a means to reduce the stress of migration by finding social supports and opportunities for self-sufficiency, migrants will have the sense that the decision to move was right. Our findings suggests that they do feel satisfied with their decisions to change destination or move because, in doing so, they find the social support they need. However, the practical barriers to self-sufficiency are many, primarily the inadequacy of the income support and the challenges of finding work. Talking about the deduction due to the child tax benefit, this Sudanese father of two describes the pressures of his financial struggles and the hope of finding a job to make ends meet:

It's as if they are just giving this empty hand.... They are giving me for a bus pass, which is \$120. They are giving me for rent, that is \$602. They are giving me for food \$570.57. I had already to get a phone; I had to get the hydro. The rent is not \$602, its more than that. I had to raise \$107 to make about \$709 to get a room, so already I had to use money from either bus pass or money from the food or any other money left. That made it difficult even to live. Furthermore, work itself is... I have been looking for work ever since I came and up to now I have not worked. I can just let my family go to school, but for me I can work, I am already aged. Considering the

years that have gone by, I'm not in a position to even pass a minute. (SMLO06)

One goal of settlement is self-sufficiency for the migrant. Indeed, employment is expected within the year in which the refugee is assisted by the RAP program. A supportive social environment is necessary, but so are the conditions for investing in and taking advantage of opportunities for work and education. This secondary migrant has contemplated the supports needed:

In Sweden or in Finland or Norway, they serve them better.... Everything was better than the settlement services in Canada. They know there's someone coming from Turkey and they prepare a house, everything, the place for kids, for everyone. In Norway they provide food because they don't know about shopping and stuff like.... Everything is ready when they go there. They stay for two, three days and after that they'll do orientation for them.

In the economic view, I think that way is better, because COSTI and the government of Canada spend too much money. If you compare this to searching for housing, it costs you too much.... That's the problem in Canada. The government should be preparing everything to learn the language, the job search and everything. Yes, it's going to be helpful. This way we are now - if you compare between the way in Scandinavia and this way in Canada, the government of Canada spends more than Scandinavia. Because you don't let an immigrant concentrate on his future here.... I know somebody who has been searching for a one-bedroom apartment for two months, but he cannot find it. After that you know he has to go see which school he has to go. After that he stays on assistance for a long time. The federal government has to pay. Even if they get less help, it's for a long time, it means the government has to pay too much money.... Because if you pay \$850 for a one-bedroom apartment you get \$1000 from the government, you cannot live like this. You cannot pay attention to your education, to learning the language.

.... You know this thing is your responsibility. Even in a small city, if you are educated maybe you cannot find a job. In Toronto there's a big job market. Actually you can find jobs, if you have education. Even if it's a lighter job, you can find it easier. Just because it's a big city it's easier to find work.

The greatest stress he faces in settling is paying the high costs of living, working and studying simultaneously on limited income support. Although discouraged, he persists in trying to adapt under difficult circumstances.

Actually working here takes all my thinking.... Every day you have to write a resume and cover letter and apply for a job. You have to take some course or you have to apply to get that kind of job or other kind of job...My wife is good, because she has a better opportunity than me, because I have to work, I have two children. Now she is studying computer science. Here you and your wife cannot study at the same time. You have to let her or him, finish, get a job, and after that you can study.

I think it will be better, it will be good. Everybody progresses, I think. You get tired, it's hard, and you don't have time, that's all true. But you are in progress. This year is not like last year. You learn more, you get more experience.... You can breath more comfortably. Maybe you get familiar with it.

To come to Canada... if [other refugees] had to think about Canada, it means working. It doesn't mean depend on some other kind of resources to live. If somebody doesn't like to work, or to be hired, don't try to come to Canada.... if you like to work here, come. If you don't, stay

somewhere else.... When I tell them that, they don't believe it. When I talk to my family, I have no time; they try to talk too much, two hours, three hours on the phone. I have no time, I have to sleep, I have to wake early, I have to go somewhere, I have to...there we have time free time, but here, no. (SMT012)

Sheer determination doesn't ease the financial problems that frustrate successful settlement:

One month we stayed with the friend in the living room. The problem started when they told us how much we would get for housing. My sister and I cannot be in one bedroom. We couldn't afford two bedrooms. It's very expensive. And anywhere we go for rent the normal procedure. Most of the landlords will ask for an employment letter.... Nobody was willing to rent us until we got a friend who was willing to put our name under his name. He's working and rented an apartment for us.... It's very expensive. After we pay the rent, we have two hundred and fifty dollars to live on, both of us.

People like me want to work. We do have very strong educational backgrounds, like mechanical engineering, but we definitely need some Canadian training before we start working. That would help as a long-term investment for us and for the country. But we were not able to do that in a short time in the beginning, because the financial assistance we were given was just enough barely to survive. Better to be more comfortable, to be able to study or do some training even part-time, that would help a lot to be settled for the year after. But now because of the rent, we can't do anything. We are very much tied because of that financial situation. I could go look for any work and lose all the background I have, but to lose everything I did for the twenty-five years? If I was able and comfortable I could invest this year in that. By giving me the rest of money that is needed for rent--they give us six hundred forty for two people--if we are renting for eight hundred and fifty, and they give us the rest, two hundred and fifty, even as a loan, we will accept it. Just to make people not feel this is a gift. It's a loan, so its better for you, you will find work sooner. With this situation we are tied. We don't know what to do.

To government-assisted refugees, Canada feels safer, not easier.

To be honest leaving our country was very hard. You escape from the country and become refugees. You go to a country with no money, nothing. When we left Iraq, it was most difficult, and we will not forget it. This is the same. The only difference was that there, it was just more dangerous. Both are hard. (SMT005)

QUEBEC

Quebec merits separate discussion because the Canada-Quebec Accord (1991) gives the province special jurisdiction and exclusive responsibility over selection of GARs and their integration into Quebec society. In addition, a large number of the secondary migrants we interviewed were originally destined to Quebec. In this section, we present selection, reception and integration of GARs into Quebec from the perspective of those working in the field in Quebec (government and non-governmental organizations). All these stages in the process have an influence on people's reasons for moving from Quebec. We note that secondary migration from Quebec appears to have declined recently. Quebec informants attributed this decline in part to the fact that the economy has improved.

Selection/Destining

The selection and destining of GARs into Quebec is often done separately from their selection into the rest of Canada. Sometimes there are two interviews. A CIC representative assesses whether or not the claimant is a refugee (admissibility) and the MRCI representative assesses the claimant's ability to establish in Quebec. Sometimes the CIC representative will take responsibility for both selection criteria and send the file to MRCI for ultimate selection. At other times, an MRCI representative interviews for both criteria, particularly when interviews are done in refugee camps. The refugees we interviewed who were destined to Quebec talked about not being given any choice or just being told that they were going to be interviewed by a Quebec official. They were often not sure why they were "chosen" for Quebec. Many of them didn't want to go there after finding out that Quebec was a French-speaking province.

Part of MRCI's selection policy includes placing priority on selecting Francophones or Allophones (people who don't speak French but are not Anglophone) because those are considered to be the groups most likely to integrate successfully in Quebec. From the perspective of Allophone refugees, many of them have had at least some exposure to English and feel that they could learn English more easily and quickly than French. In addition, most of them feel that English is more widely spoken internationally and would give them more opportunities. Many of them feel particularly strongly about the opportunities afforded their children. They expressed concern over their children's progress in school being delayed due to requirements that they study French prior to continuing their education. They also worried about their children's future. One key informant noted that even for those refugees who settle in Quebec, most work environments require ability in both English and French. It is difficult enough for people to learn one new language, let alone two simultaneously. Having to do so delays their settlement by delaying their education and making it more difficult to find employment.

In terms of destining within Quebec, there has been a regionalization policy in place for the past seven years by which refugees are sent to smaller urban centres. GARs are no longer destined to Montreal, and not very frequently to Quebec City. MRCI tries to send single people to bigger cities such as Hull and Sherbrooke and tries to match people to destinations according to their level of education, profession. From the perspective of the refugees we interviewed, it is even more difficult to settle initially in smaller communities where there is little or no English spoken, and where there is limited access to interpretation and services. For example, one of the secondary migrants interviewed for this study was a single mother with two small children who was sent to a small town in Quebec during the

winter. Unfortunately, she was placed in housing a great distance from the nearest grocery stores. Yet, she reported, settlement workers criticized her for taking the children out in the winter weather to buy food.

Reception

Centre Social d' Aide aux Immigrants (CSAI) has been mandated by MRCI since 1992 to receive and settle GARs. CSAI provides service analogous to that provided by Reception Houses in Ontario. They have responsibility for reception of GARs although the way in which that reception is organized is different from that in Ontario. They have an agreement of service with hotels. They book hotel rooms for refugees and accompany them from the airport to their hotel, where they stay for a minimum of three days. Since January, hotel stays have been much longer. There is a lot to accomplish in such a short amount of time with limited staff. Although they are only paid for three days, CSAI claims that it takes longer than that to accomplish everything necessary (obtain health cards, open bank account, purchase groceries, enroll children in school, enroll adults in language classes). CSAI also has difficulty with transportation because MRCI doesn't cover costs such as cars and mileage that are high because the services are widely dispersed. CSAI relies on on-call volunteer interpreters. As a result, they have difficulty getting interpretation for some languages. They have particular difficulty when they are not given enough notice of arrivals by MRCI. They need at least two weeks notice to arrange for interpreters.

Some key informants from other parts of Canada expressed a perception of Quebec as "encouraging" people to move. Based on our interviews with key informants in Quebec, we found that people were supported in their decisions rather than "encouraged" to move. In Quebec, great importance is placed on respecting the individual freedom of refugees. Once a person has expressed a desire to move, it is felt that it is their right to do so and they should be respected, not discouraged. It has also been reported that Quebec sends letters to secondary migrants to Ontario asking that government financial assistance be reimbursed. As far as we could determine, this is the case with any assistance given as a loan, such as the telephone deposit. This may also apply in cases in which refugees decide to move to Ontario right after receiving a support cheque in Quebec.

At the airport if people want to change destination, workers are told to respect the wishes of the client. The use of resources is taken into account as well. MRCI feels that it is not worth investing time in looking for housing and spending money on GARs only to have them leave after the first month. Their experience indicates to them that if GARs have decided to leave, they will regardless of any attempts to convince them to stay. Also, according to CSAI, relationships with landlords are being damaged because of people leaving and breaking leases. This was a particular problem with Kosovar refugees who left to go back to Kosovo or to go to Ontario. As the vacancy rate in Montreal goes down it is getting harder and harder for them to find landlords who are open to renting to refugees. Discrimination is becoming more of an issue. Settlement workers in Quebec do not attempt to advise refugees about the consequences of moving to Ontario and are not knowledgeable about the available options. For example, it was not widely known that secondary migrants to Toronto would not have access to temporary housing.

Integration

In looking for housing, CSAI searches in Francophone areas in order to facilitate language acquisition. They do recognize, however, that having family, friends or members of the same ethnic community nearby facilitates integration.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Before discussing the implications of the research, we briefly review the findings:

Pre-migration, interviewing and destining

Refugees may not know the outcome of the selection interview, let alone where they are going to be sent, until late in a long and stressful process. The destining process as it played out in these cases appears to have added to the stress of the migration process for the refugees. When destining was contrary to refugees' own perceived best interests, secondary migration became a strategy in their search for support and opportunity. The refugees interviewed attempted to plan to meet these needs, but had no control over the process for doing so. Uncertainty and lack of control undermined the search for social support and a renewed sense of self-sufficiency at a cost to the refugees and the system itself.

Our findings show that a very large proportion of secondary migrants we interviewed were not destined according to preferences to be near friends and family. The current method of destining according to a target numbers of refugees for each mission and province, known as the pre-approved plan (PAP), has replaced the more flexible but time-consuming destination matching request (DMR) system in many Visa posts. The mixed objectives--efficiencies of meeting targets sometimes taking priority over the core value of family reunification and sending the refugee to the optimal social environment--create confusion. Out of this confusion however may come an opportunity for improvements that could benefit stakeholders (Hardy 1994:292).

Orientation, information and support seeking in Canada

Being accepted as a refugee and preparing to move to Canada is made less stressful by acquiring information about what to expect upon arrival. Reliable information, whether from formal or informal sources, is a significant type of social support both before and after coming to Canada. Our assumption has been that reliable information is critical to decision-making about where to settle, although it may not be the only factor. Poor information may be more harmful than no information at all.

The sources of information and social support during initial settlement are critical. As we have seen personal contacts such as friends and family provide are considered the most reliable. CIC policy acknowledges that family connections are vital, even if it is difficult to place people where their relatives are. Securing employment is also recognized to be important in successful settlement. Although one or the other factor may predominate in secondary migration, there often is no single reason for moving, and the reasons may be linked. Not surprisingly, personal contacts are extremely important for the reason that such support is not only helpful in settlement, it is a source of help often not obtainable in any other way and serves several purposes.

Reasons for secondary migration

The most common and salient reasons for secondary migration have been expressed by refugees in terms of interrelated social supports informational, emotional and instrumental help that they can receive by being nearer to family, friends, or sometimes, a familiar community or social environment. In a

few cases, usually in the absence of, or in addition to important social ties, secondary migrants said that employment opportunities were a reason for moving or changing destination. The various reasons for these decisions are not easy to tease out, because social support networks are so central and multipurpose, and are often the means to regaining self-sufficiency as well.

The findings raise a question about *when* in the migration process reconstituting social support networks is most critical, and similarly *when* concerns about self-sufficiency are uppermost. With this relatively small sample this is not possible to determine definitively. However, the migrants and key informants' comments suggest that the search for social supports, particularly connections with friends and family, is most important immediately, as soon as refugees arrive in Canada, or even before they do so. The concern for self-sufficiency--the worry over making ends meet or practicing one's profession--seems to surface a bit later in the adjustment process, when the realization of the inadequacy of the income support and the difficulties of finding employment become apparent. This sequence suggests a few points of intervention: at the points of destining and arrival, when more information, counseling and advice could be offered. These are the points at which refugees are seeking social support. Another reasonable point of intervention for building self-sufficiency could follow as a component of retention and settlement strategies, such as effective employment programs, which lend long-term practical help.

We have seen that refugees and those who work to help them are parallel decision-makers, in a sense, operating under difficult circumstances and sometimes at cross-purposes, as the interests of choosing a personal resettlement path and overall destining policy diverge. The process is not only stressful for refugees. For all the good intentions, tensions appear in the bureaucracy as well. From the point of view of the migrants, secondary migration is a way to cope with this stress because it is a means to recreate necessary social supports. What these migrants have described are informal social supports beyond what CIC can provide. CIC could, nevertheless, facilitate them by recognizing them as vital to settlement. CIC can continue to work on improving destining and orientation procedures and providing better incentives for settlement in certain communities, such as genuine help with employment to increase self-sufficiency. Such measures would be in the best interests of CIC and refugees alike.

POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

Secondary migration is not likely to cease, although better destining practices can certainly be achieved. Apart from the specific destining problems revealed in the relatively small scale of this in-depth study, larger issues have been illuminated. First, for all the good intentions apparent in the refugee resettlement system, there is the risk that humanitarian policies may be undermined by the very management practices meant to uphold them. As an extreme example, refugee camps are places where, in the name of protection, refugees may be practically imprisoned and denied basic rights such as movement and earning a living (Hyndman 2000). Care must be taken to ensure that refugee placement strategies in Canada also do not conflict with the Canada's interest in promoting basic human rights. Some points to consider are the following:

1) If refugee selection is based on the needs of the refugees for protection, then destining policy also should be refugee-centred and needs based. Pursuing successful placement settlement strategies should not be confused with using exclusionary criteria that determine ability to establish. Placement strategies should not be based on provincial interests in population and economic growth rather than the refugees' need for social support, as destining according to the pre-approved plan might appear to be. It might be fair to involve immigrants who have some choice in selective provincial economic development programs, but not refugees whose needs and motivations are different.

2) The wisdom of the policy of geographic distribution of refugees might be questioned. If refugees feel the need to migrate to certain urban centres for social support and employment opportunities, they actually have the same objectives that the resettlement program is supposed to have. Furthermore, encouraging geographic dispersion doesn't seem to work. It is contrary to refugees' welfare and contrary to the humanitarian intent of Canada's refugee resettlement and family reunification policies. If it is decided that widely distributing refugees to each province is to be Canada's policy, then more settlement supports have to be provided to the refugees. Government-assisted refugees should not be used as living experiments to open up or revitalize communities. The communities have to be prepared first in terms of settlement supports and public understanding. It is sometimes argued that the settlement services infrastructure would have to be dismantled if refugees were not geographically dispersed. The settlement services infrastructure should be supporting the refugees, not the refugees supporting the infrastructure.

3) As Canada and other refugee-receiving countries increasingly rely on international organizations such as UNHCR for assistance in processing refugees, it is important to pursue better coordination of interview purposes and procedures. There are two reasons for avoiding duplication: one, a second interview about pre-migration experiences may re-traumatize refugees, and two, it is inefficient. Other processing problems need to be resolved with relevant organizations such as the IOM, which plays a large role in refugee orientation and transportation. Better coordination of these activities, not just contracting them out, might free up additional time for Canada's visa officials so that good destining and counseling can continue to be done in the interests of refugees.

4) Greater communication between CIC branches and local offices about refugee destining and settlement could improve first, understanding within the bureaucracy of the respective roles of the staff, and second, efficiency in carrying out procedures related to destining, matching and secondary migration

when it occurs. This study revealed a lack of understanding of settlement from the point of view of overseas staff, and little understanding from settlement staff of the conditions under which visa officials must work. The ongoing work at CIC on internal feedback is a positive step in this direction. There is a similar need for communication and follow-up between RAP and ISAP. It is artificial to treat refugees as RAP clients one day, and ISAP clients the next, especially when clients' decisions about settlement versus secondary migration may take place in the context of both programs. Division of labour is, of course, necessary, but the division artificially severs the settlement process. The refugee's need for support is continuous.

5) The evident need for social support among government-assisted refugees may have implications for expanding joint sponsorship programs. Improving the speed of processing will encourage greater participation of private sponsors in general. Some government-assisted refugees lacking other sources of social support could benefit from the emotional support and advice sponsors are able to give. In this connection of encouraging joint sponsorship, it is crucial to do more public education about the value of immigration and the cultural barriers for minority cultures settling particularly outside large urban centres. This public education should be carried out in a horizontally organized federal program including CIC, Canadian Heritage, HRDC and the individual provinces.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge that it may be more difficult to work within a bureaucratic system to carry out policy than to make observations and suggest improvements from the outside. Yet these observations and suggestions must be heeded. Whatever paths to problem solving are taken, good intentions are a laudable place to begin.

CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of the research was to answer the question, Why do government-assisted refugees move after being destined to a particular place in Canada to begin resettlement? In this regard, we can conclude that they engage in secondary migration for the following reasons that relate to phases in migration:

- They change destination because their stated preferences are not accommodated at the point of destining overseas, for various reasons.
- They lack meaningful orientation information about their destination, so cannot make informed decisions and are not prepared to commit themselves to settlement in an unknown place.
- They decide to move after arrival because of perceived lack of reliable social support in their original destination; they seek support from other sources, especially from friends and family members.
- They move to be in a place where they perceive there to be better opportunities for self-sufficiency (through work, language, educational or other opportunities), particularly under pressure of inadequate income support.
- They move to be in a place that provides a sense of comfort and familiarity, including the scale (small or large city) and ethnic composition of the community.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We have sought to highlight points in the migration process at which current destining practices could be enhanced in hopes of reducing secondary migration and facilitating successful resettlement. The recommendations regarding procedures summarized below are based partly on suggestions expressed by secondary migrants and key informants who were interviewed for this study. They are organized around points in the migration process as discussed throughout the report (e.g. destining, orientation and settlement), while others are more general policy and organizational issues that Citizenship and Immigration could consider. In many areas there is agreement between refugees and key informants about what improvements are needed.

General comments

Secondary migrants felt strongly that they should be given a choice about their destination and more useful information in order to make that choice. Above all, they would have liked officials to respect their wishes to join friends or family for reasons of psychological security and the ability to fill practical needs. They also felt that secondary migrants should be treated equally to other government-assisted refugees, at least in terms of information, because the information they receive may be condensed or not about the place in which they settle at all.

Key Informants concurred that refugees should be consulted and have as much choice as possible. They must be sent to where their families and friends are. Those without friends and family should be given more information with which to decide their destination. Like the secondary migrants, they felt that it would be advantageous to be more explicit about their options and the costs and benefits associated with different destinations and consequences of possible decisions. Both refugees and key informants felt that if there is a good reason for placement strategies that spread refugees out to benefit the various provinces and cities, then that policy should be more open and the receiving communities more prepared to offer positive reasons for long-term resettlement.

The following recommendations concern desired improvements to current procedures:

Destining and Processing

Send people to where their friends and family are living. If refugees are going to be asked where they want to go it is only fair to meet their expectations.

Send people to places where they will not be isolated from members of their ethnic group to seek advice and to avoid feelings of isolation.

Exchange clear information about choosing a destination before departure for Canada.

Outline the pros and cons of different destinations, especially the lesser known places, so people can make informed decisions on their own. For example, compare Toronto to other cities in terms of costs/benefits

Give refugees an explanation for long delays and changes in destining and processing to allay anxiety. Long delays and changes are discouraging and stressful

Speed up the process once status is determined. Many refugees are less interested in Canada because of long delays.

Advise applicants of their destination immediately after the selection decision is made to give them time to prepare mentally and to find out about the city through brochures and counseling.

Create a hybrid of the PAP and DMR systems that retains efficiencies of the former and the placement strategies of the latter

If policy emphasis is to be on refugee protection resulting in harder to settle cases, enhance counseling and resettlement resources

Make greater use of joint sponsorships for government-assisted refugees, especially in cases where friends or family are not available to lend social support.

Make more frequent area visits for selection interviews and coordinate arrivals to communities from visa posts to even out destining flows and reduce strain on in-Canada SPOs.

Train visa officers, particularly those who are new, in conduct and purpose of interviews

Lengthen interviews by 10-15 minutes to provide time for better destining

Pay closer attention to what refugees say during the interview at the visa posts

Make more use of computers for updating information for destining

Discuss with refugees whether they would settle better in a small or large city

Do not send refugees to small places unless in a group to avoid sense of isolation

Do destining, orientation and processing in groups for efficiency.

Destine groups of refugees who have been together in camps or countries of asylum to the same place to provide mutual social support.

Only destine groups of refugees, according to minimum numbers, to smaller communities.

Send a letter explaining the reason for destining decision with the visa. The letter should include information about the destination, including advantages and disadvantages

Confirm destination with refugees before departure

Orientation and Information

Provide an opportunity to begin language classes prior to departure for Canada.

Make orientation specifically geared to the place of destination, not Canada in general.

Ensure that the information given about specific places is positive, but truthful, so that refugees can plan effectively.

Provide more specific information on employment and educational opportunities.

Provide more complete, accurate information about the costs of living in specific cities and what income support payments refugees will receive in comparison to costs. The community profiles are not well used, are not up-to-date and are not adequate to this task.

Provide promotional information about a place, prepared by people from that place. Deliver it to people who are considering moving there.

Provide good orientation *everywhere*. Be sure the orientation tools are understood and used well

Provide more realistic orientation materials for refugees (e.g. costs of rental housing, not etiquette of tree pruning).

Make it clear *prior to arrival in Canada* what financial assistance the RAP program provides
Provide the type of information given in the RAP orientation earlier.

Make orientation more interactive so refugees have a chance to ask questions and do research on their own. Where possible, provide a resource centre with access to appropriate materials.

Spend more time counseling refugees before departure, but not necessarily at the selection interview. Give refugees an opportunity to ask questions about their destinations and what will happen in Canada.

Use videos of the settlement experience (some in slow English, some dubbed in other languages). These have worked well in the past

Involve people with settlement experience in Canada in the orientation overseas. Have another newcomer give the orientation

Where formal orientation is not available, at least provide basic materials, a letter or package of practical information. Missions report not having even simple maps of Canada to distribute.

After arrival, invite refugees to an information session to discuss the pros and cons of moving.

Settlement, income support and employment services

Understand that it is critical to have the kind of social support provided by a friend or family member in addition to financial assistance for settlement.

Make it easier for people to find ongoing settlement advice after coming to Canada. RAP and ISAP should be better integrated. The division of labour is artificial.

Provide more follow-up counseling by CIC. RAP counselors used to see clients monthly. Now that income support cheques are mailed, there is little contact and less personal contact. Simply providing a list of local ISAP agencies to refugee clients is not good information and referral practice.

Increase financial assistance. Income support is not reflective of real costs.

Assign housing or provide more assistance with finding low-cost housing to reduce costs in the long run. Rent consumes too large a proportion of income support.

Decrease the pressure for early repayment of the loan.

Do not force refugees into low-wage jobs too soon, when they should be learning English or retraining, by not providing enough financial assistance to get by.

Provide employment certification and placement programs. The well educated still need Canadian experience, but cannot get it.

Make it possible to study English and survive financially at the same time. The combination is especially difficult for families.

Provide better employment services that are linked to the RAP program. Otherwise integration in the labour market is not possible within a year.

Teach people to be flexible about finding work. This concept is hard to understand because many people were educated in countries where working outside of one 's field is not possible.

Build in employment services. The system fails most at what most people really want and are expected to do, which is to get a job.

Be truthful. Canada is safer, but refugees may not be better off than where they were. Refugees should expect to face a significant financial struggle.

Retention Strategies

Give people encouragement and positive incentives to stay in their original destination. The alternative is to make placement compulsory, which is contrary to basic human rights.

Provide additional sources of information and support to refugees who do not have friends or family on which to base a decision.

Provide incentives to refugees to stay in lesser-known or smaller cities.

Ensure a commitment and responsibility by an entire host community, not just settlement services, if refugees are expected to settle. In some countries, cities have to apply to the government to receive refugees

Especially in smaller cities, mainstream services as well as settlement services have to be better prepared to serve refugees for them to stay.

In summary, these improvements to destining and matching procedures can be considered:

Better determine and honor destining preferences by exchanging clear information

Provide specific counseling at decision points in process, such as destining, orientation and arrival

If the policy of geographic distribution is to be followed, supply more positive and practical incentives for settlement in the original destination

Enhance placement and retention strategies to serve the refugees interests

Provide adequate income support and favorable loan repayment options

Investigate ways to offer better housing options and employment counseling

APPENDICES

Interview guide

Coding framework

References

Figures and Tables

**A STUDY OF SECONDARY MIGRATION
OF GOVERNMENT ASSISTED REFUGEES IN ONTARIO**
Culture, Community and Health Studies Program
Centre for Addiction and Mental Health

Interview guide

Location of interview: _____

Interviewer: _____

Date of interview: _____

Interviewee initials: _____

The introduction is not scripted, but should describe the project and the interview procedures in plain terms. We will answer any questions that respondents might have. We also will state that the interviewers are not immigration officials and repeat that the respondent's name will not be used in reporting. The aim is to put people at ease and let them know we are willing to listen to their histories.

Pre-migration experiences

- Could you describe how you came to Canada?
- How did you make this decision?
- What choices did you have?
- Did you talk to anyone else about moving to Canada?
- What else influenced your decision?

The interview with the visa post official

- Tell me about the meeting with Visa post officials in_____.
- How long did you wait for an interview (with UNHCR?) (with a Canadian official?)
- How did you feel while waiting?
- What was the interview about?
- Did the officials listen respectfully to what you had to say?
- Did anyone give you advice about what to say or what would happen in the interview?
- Did you know what questions would be asked in the interview with the visa post official?
- What were you thinking during the interview?
- What concerns did you have in the interview?
- When did you learn that you were selected to come to Canada?

The Destining Process

- Did you choose where you wanted to live in Canada? How?

Did someone ask you if you knew anyone in Canada, or if you had family or friends here?
What did you say? Did you understand why you were being asked?
When were you asked what city you wanted to go to in Canada? During the interview, or after?
When did you learn what city you would be sent to?
Who did you discuss your destination with, a Canadian visa post official or someone else working there?
What did you think about being sent to _____?
Did you talk about what you would do when you arrived?
What did you learn about _____(city) and Canada before you came?
How did you feel about moving to _____? To Canada?
What were you told at the Visa post before coming?
Did you receive any orientation? Is your experience in agreement with what you were told?
How much could you plan ahead?
How did you know what services the government would provide in Canada?

Arrival

Where did you first arrive in Canada?
Tell me what happened when you arrived. What was it like there?
Did you contact anyone for advice after you arrived?
When you arrived, what decisions did you have to make?
What was your greatest concern? Anything else?
How long did you stay in that first place?
Describe your relationship with the people you first met (family, staff at reception house, other refugees, sponsors)?

Moving

Why did you feel that you should move from _____ to _____?
Any other reasons? What else?
What about...housing? Work? Health? Climate? Language? Religious reasons? Schooling for children?
To find a community? Opportunities for family members? Other family reasons?
Discrimination against you or your family members? Did you make this decision with the help of others?
What was wrong there? Did you have problems there?
What did you think would make things easier for you and your family in _____?

Psychosocial well-being

How do you feel about being here now? How have things improved?
How are your plans working out?
How do you feel about your housing situation now? Work? Health? Climate? Language? Religious life?
Schooling for your children? Relationship to a community? Opportunities for family members?

Other family matters? Have you felt that anyone discriminated against you or your family here?

Who or what is helping you the most in Canada?

What do you think the next five years will be like for you and your family? Why?

What does successful settlement mean to you?

What advice would you give to others coming to Canada?

What can be done to improve how refugees are destined to various places in Canada?

Is there anything else you would like to say?

The following information is to be completed (or confirmed) at the end of the interview:

Demographic information:

_____ male _____ female How old are you? _____
Are you married? _____ #children: _____
Are other family members with you? _____
Occupation: _____ Education: _____
Language at home: _____ English ability? _____ French? _____
Ethnic identity _____ (How do you identify yourself?) Where were you born? _____
Did you live in any other countries before coming to Canada? _____

Thank you for telling me about your experiences.

I have received a \$50 honorarium for participation in the Study of Secondary Migration.

Initials of respondent: _____ Date: _____

Location of interview: _____ Interviewer: _____

SECONDARY MIGRATION STUDY CODING FRAMEWORK
Q.S.R. NUD.IST 4.0.

- (1) pre-migration
- (1 1) /pre-migration/interview process
- (1 1 1) /pre-migration/interview process/question re. family or friends
- (1 1 2) /pre-migration/interview process/question re. city, prov. of choice
- (1 2) /pre-migration/orientation and other information
- (1 3) /pre-migration/destining
- (1 4) /pre-migration/processing flows
- (1 5) /pre-migration/country of asylum experience
- (1 6) /pre-migration/reasons for leaving home

- (2) /arrival
- (2 1) /arrival/airport
- (2 2) /arrival/reception experience
- (2 3) /arrival/contact with family or friends
- (2 4) /arrival/sense of place or community rapport

- (3) /moving
- (3 1) /moving/reasons for moving or staying

- (4) /settling, or settlement outcomes
- (4 1) /settling, or settlement outcomes/outcomes for secondary migrants
- (4 2) /settling, or settlement outcomes/impact on in-Canada SPOs-CIC RAP program
- (4 3) /settling, or settlement outcomes/sources of support

- (5) /recommendations

- (F) //Free Nodes
- (F 1) //Free Nodes/expectations of Canada
- (F 2) //Free Nodes/recommendations
- (F 3) //Free Nodes/Kosovars
- (F 4) //Free Nodes/Quebec
- (F 5) //Free Nodes/PAP or DMR
- (F 6) //Free Nodes/policy
- (F 7) //Free Nodes/communication issues
- (F 8) //Free Nodes/urban vs rural, sm vs lg city
- (F 9) //Free Nodes/motivation, choice
- (F 10) //Free Nodes/methodology
- (F 11) //Free Nodes/knew preferred destination pre-arrival
- (F 12) //Free Nodes/no destination preference

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Descriptive Statistics of Secondary Migrants Interviewed

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Table 9

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Table 10

Years of Schooling / Cultural Identity

Table 11

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Table 12

Descriptive Statistics of Secondary Migrants Interviewed in Focus Groups / Toronto and Ottawa

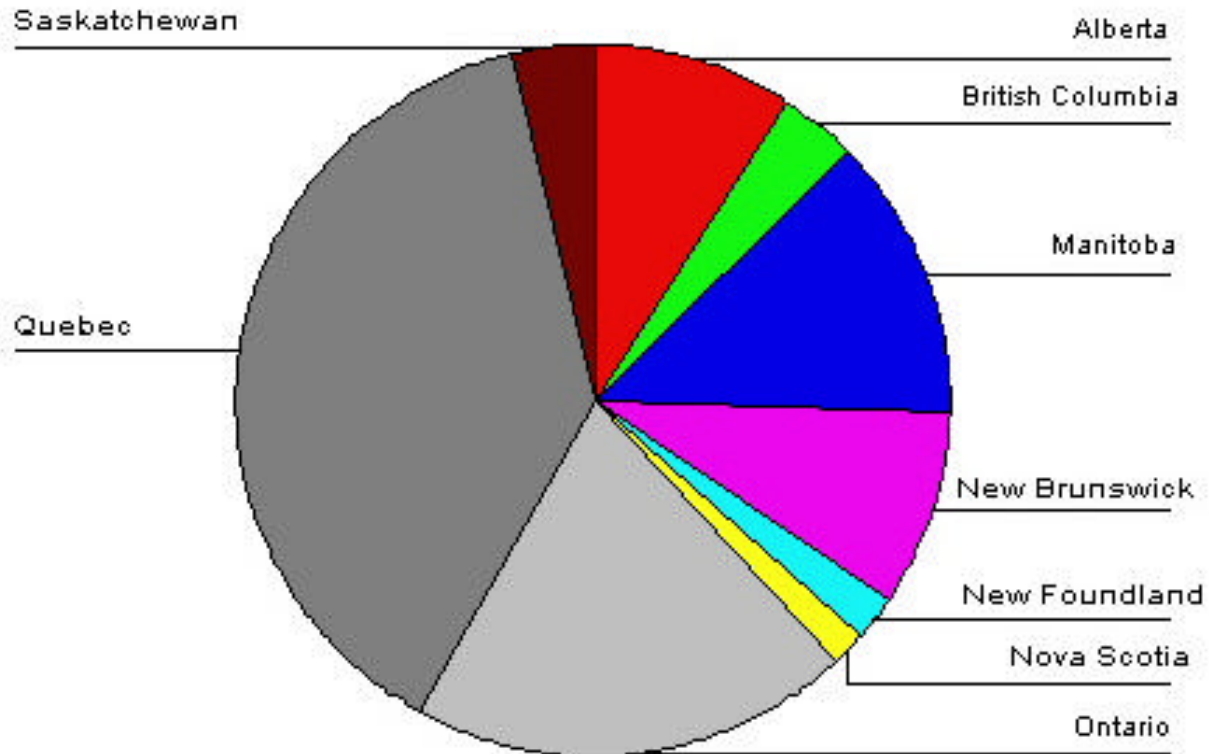
Descriptive Statistics of Sample of Secondary Migrants Interviewed

TABLE 1

Document	Sex	Age	Mar Stat	# of Chil	Occupation	Years of School	Language	Cultural Identity	Place of Birth	Other Country of Residence	Destination Province	VISA Posts
SMTO01	M	33	S	0	Sailor	College	Arabic	Iraqi	Iraq	Libya & Malta	New Foundland	Malta
SMTO02	F	22	S	0	Student	1 year University	Arabic	Iraqi	Iraq	Thailand	British Columbia	Thailand
SMTO03	M	38	M	3	Auto Mechanic	na	Kurdish	Kurdish	Iraq	Turkey	Quebec	Turkey
SMTO04	M	33	M	2	Building Contractor	High School	Kurdish & Farsi	Kurdish	Iran	Turkey	New Brunswick	Turkey
SMTO05	M	35	S	0	Mechanical Engineer	University Degree	Arabic	Iraqi	Iraq	Malta	Alberta	Malta
SMTO06	M	29	S	0	Small Restaurant Owner	High School	Kurdish	Kurdish	Iraq	Turkey	Quebec	Turkey
SMTO07	M	41	M	2	Musician	High School	Serbo Croatian	Bosnian	Kosovo	Sarajevo	Manitoba	Kosovo
SMTO08	M	63	M	5	Teacher/Interpreter	Masters in Linguistics	Dari	Afghan	Afghanistan	US, Pakistan, Lebanon, Phillipine	Ontario	Pakistan
SMTO09	M	45	M	3	Accountant	University Degree	Dari, Pushto	Afghan	Afghanistan	India	New Brunswick	India
SMTO10	F	40	M	3	Teacher	University Degree	Farsi	Iranian	Iran	Turkey	New Brunswick	Turkey
SMTO11	F	32	M	4	Doctor	University Degree	Farsi, Dari	Afghan	Afghanistan	Iran, Turkey	Alberta	Turkey
SMTO12	M	32	M	1	Lawyer	University Degree	Arabic, Kurdish, Farsi, Turkish	Kurdish	Kurdistan	Turkey	Alberta	Turkey
SMTO13	F	33	M	1	Music Teacher	College	Kurdish, Arabic	Kurdish	Kurdistan	Syria	Quebec	Damascus
SMTO14	M	29	M	0	Banker	Business College	Kurdish, Arabic	Kurdish	Kurdistan	Turkey	Quebec	Turkey
SMTO15	F	na	D	2	Basketball Coach	1 year University	Dari	Afghan	Afghanistan	India	Quebec	India
SMTO16	M	49	M	5	Tailor	1 1/2 year college	Dari	Afghan	Afghanistan	Pakistan	Ontario	Pakistan
SMTO17	M	27	S	0	Cook	High School	Arabic, French	Algerian	Algeria	France & Malta	New Brunswick	Former Yugo
SMTO18	M	35	M	1	Former Manager	High School	English	Temne	Sierra Leone	Guinea, West Africa	New Brunswick	Ghana
SMTO19	F	32	S	1	Lawyer	University Degree	Serbo Croatian	Bosnian	Sarajevo	Mostar, Belgrade	Saskatchewan	Former Yugo
SMTO20	M	47	M	1	Banker	Business & Accounting	Bosnian	Bosnian	Bosnia	None	Quebec	Austria
SMTO21	M	23	S	0	Industrial Mechanics	High School	Croatian	Bosnian	Bosnia	Croatia	Quebec	Croatia
SMTO22	F	54	na	1	Teacher, Principal, Gen Sect	na	Bosnian / Serbo Croatian	Bosnian	na	Germany	Nova Scotia	Germany
SMTO23	M	36	M	2	Chemical Engineer	University Degree	Bosnian / Serbo Croatian	Bosnian	Croatia	Germany	Quebec	Germany
SMTO24	F	47	na	2	Technical Technology	na	Serbo Croatian	Croatian	na	None	Quebec	Former Yugo
SMKI01	F	21	S	0	Student	Grade 9	Somali	Somali	Mogadishu	Egypt	Manitoba	Egypt
SMKI02	M	20	S	0	Mechanic / ESL Student	Grade 8	Kurdish	Kurdish	Kurdistan	Kurdistan, Iraq, Turkey	Quebec	Turkey
SMKI03	M	24	S	0	ESL student/computer	Diploma Math Physics	Persian	Iranian	Iran	Turkey	Ontario	Turkey
SMKI04	F	34	M	1	ESL Student	High School	Serbo Croatian	Serbian	Bosnia	Germany	Quebec	Germany
SMKI05	M	45	M	2	na	University Degree	Serbo Croatian	Serbian	Bosnia	Serbia	Quebec	Former Yugo
SMKI05	F	40	M	2	na	High School	Serbo Croatian	Serbian	Croatia	Serbia	Quebec	Former Yugo
SMKI06	F	40	M	1	Lawyer	Universtiy	Serbo Croatian	Croatian	Croatia	None	Quebec	Austria
SMKI07	M	30	M	2	Mill Machine operator	High School	Serbo Croatian	Serbian	Croatia	None	Quebec	Austria
SMKI08	M	41	M	6	Mechanic and Welder	High School	Lotuk, Arabic	Sudanese	Sudan	Egypt, Iraq, Turkey	Quebec	Egypt
SMKI08	F	39	M	6	Cafeteria Worker	High School	Lotuk, Arabic	Sudanese	Sudan	Egypt, Iraq, Turkey	Quebec	Egypt
SMKI09	M	28	S	0	Optician	High School	Farsi	Iranian	Iran	Turkey	Ontario	Turkey
SMKI10	F	28	S	0	Student	High School	Farsi	Iranian	Iran	Turkey	Ontario	Turkey
SMKI11	F	27	S	0	Student	High School	Serbo Croatian	Serbian	Croatia	None	Quebec	Former Yugo
SMKI12	M	39	M	1	Textile Technician	High School	Serbo Croatian	Serbian	Croatia	Yugoslavia	Quebec	Former Yugo
SMKI12	F	31	M	1	Mechanical Technician	High School	Serbo Croatian	Serbian	Croatia	Yugoslavia	Quebec	Former Yugo
SMKI13	M	36	M	2	Economist	High School	Serbo Croatian	Serbian	Croatia	None	Manitoba	Austria
SMKI13	F	37	M	2	Nurse	High School	Serbo Croatian	Serbian	Bosnia	None	Manitoba	Austria
SMKI14	M	30	S	0	Glass Factory	High School	Serbo Croatian	Muslim	Bosnia	Croatia	Manitoba	Croatia
SMKI15	M	28	M	2	Clothing shop owner	High School	Kurdish	Kurdish	Kurdistan	Turkey	Alberta	Turkey
SMKI15	F	26	F	2	Home maker	High School	Kurdish	Kurdish	Kurdistan	Turkey	Alberta	Turkey
SMKI16	M	33	M	2	Technician	High School	Serbo Croatian	Serbian	Bosnia	None	Quebec	Austria
SMKI16	F	31	F	2	Administrator	High School	Serbo Croatian	Serbian	Bosnia	None	Quebec	Austria
SMLO01	M	31	M	2	Farmer	2 years of School	Kurdish	Kurdish	Iraq	Syria	Manitoba	Syria
SMLO01	F	33	M	2	na	na	Kurdish	Kurdish	Iraq	Syria	Manitoba	Syria
SMLO02	F	23	S	0	Maid	Didn't complete Gr.12	Dinka	Sudanese	Sudan	Egypt	British Columbia	Egypt
SMLO03	M	41	M	4	Mason	High School	Bosnian	Bosnian	Bosnia	Croatia	Ontario	Croatia
SMLO03	F	na	M	4	na	na	Bosnian	Bosnian	Bosnia	Croatia	Ontario	Croatia
SMLO04	M	27	M	0	Engineer	High School	Serbo Croatian	Bosnian	Bosnia	None	Saskatchewan	Former Yugo
SMLO05	M	45	M	4	Economist	University Degree	Dari, Farsi, Pashtu, Hindi	Afghan	Afghanistan	India	Ontario	India
SMLO05	F	na	M	4	Accountant	University Degree	Dari, Farsi, Pashtu, Hindi	Afghan	Afghanistan	India	Ontario	India
SMLO06	M	31	M	2	Teacher	High School	Dinka, Arabic, English	Sudanese	Sudan	Kenya	Ontario	Kenya
SMLO07	M	27	M	1	Student	High School	Kurdish, Arabic	Kurdish	Kurdistan	Syria	Ontario	Syria

Secondary Migrant Destination Provinces

TABLE 2



Change of Destination

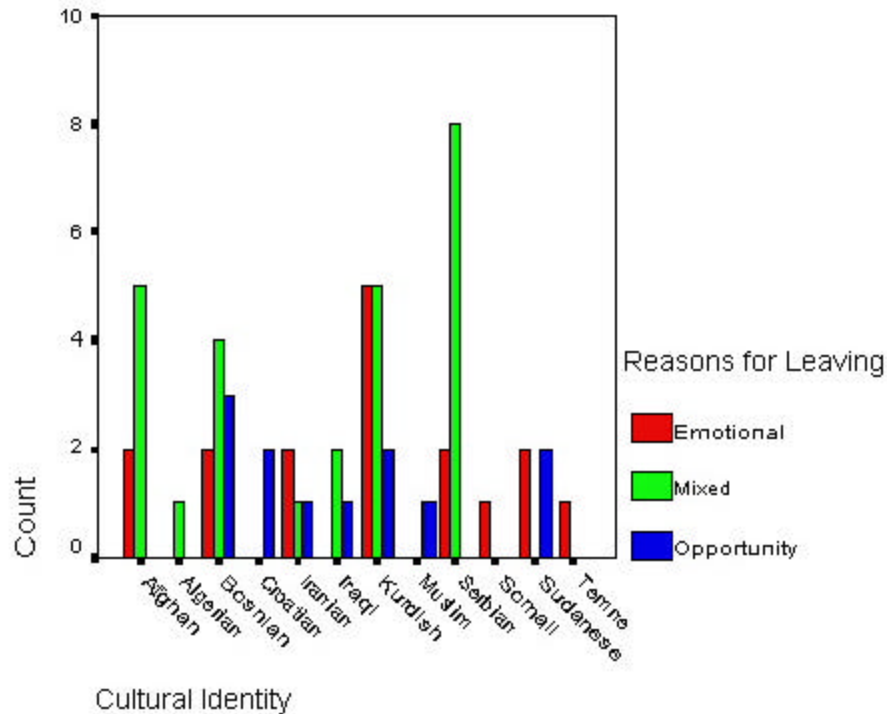
TABLE 3

Document	Cultural Identity	Destination Province	Reasons for Leaving				
SMTO01	Iraqi	New Foundland	(Mixed) Social Support			No work, no community	
SMTO02	Iraqi	British Columbia	(Mixed) Social Support			Didn't like environment	
SMTO03	Kurdish	Quebec	(Mixed) Social Support			No work, No fam/comm	
SMTO04	Kurdish	New Brunswick	(Mixed) Social Support			No jobs, friends in TO	
SMTO05	Iraqi	Alberta	Opportunity for work education and better lifestyle			No work, No comm	
SMTO06	Kurdish	Quebec	(Emotional) Social Support			No work, Lang Barrier	
SMTO07	mixed	Manitoba	(Emotional) Social Support			Had friends in transit city	city TO.
SMTO08	Afghan	Ontario	(Mixed) Social Support			Daughter was there in TO	
SMTO09	Afghan	New Brunswick	(Mixed) Social Support			Family & Comm in TO	
SMTO10	Iranian	New Brunswick	(Emotional) Social Support			Friends in TO, Comm in TO	
SMTO11	Afghan	Alberta	(Emotional) Social Support			Friends in TO, Support in TO	
SMTO12	Kurdish	Alberta	Opportunity for work education and better lifestyle			No work in Med Hat	
SMTO13	Kurdish	Quebec	(Mixed) Social Support			Jobs in TO, English in TO	
SMTO14	Kurdish	Quebec	Opportunity for work education and better lifestyle			Education in TO, jobs in TO	
SMTO15	Afghan	Quebec	(Mixed) Social Support			Didn't have anywhere else to go	
SMTO16	Afghan	Ontario	(Emotional) Social Support			Friends in TO	
SMTO17	Algerian	New Brunswick	(Mixed) Social Support			Friends in TO, jobs	
SMTO18	Temne	New Brunswick	(Emotional) Social Support			Family & Comm in TO	
SMTO19	Bosnian	Saskatchewan	(Emotional) Social Support			Sister in TO	
SMTO20	Bosnian	Quebec	(Mixed) Social Support			Sister in TO, jobs	
SMTO21	Bosnian	Quebec	Opportunity for work education and better lifestyle			More opp in TO	
SMTO22	Bosnian	Nova Scotia	Opportunity for work education and better lifestyle			Better for her to be in a big city	
SMTO23	Bosnian	Quebec	Opportunity for work education and better lifestyle			Better lifestyle in TO	
SMTO24	Croatian	Quebec	Opportunity for work education and better lifestyle			English and Needed a job	
SMKI01	Somali	Manitoba	(Emotional) Social Support			Lack of support	
SMKI02	Kurdish	Quebec	(Emotional) Social Support			Support in Kitchener	
SMKI03	Iranian	Ontario	(Emotional) Social Support			Had family in Kitchener	
SMKI04	Serbian	Quebec	(Mixed) Social Support			More support, Better jobs	
SMKI05	Serbian	Quebec	(Mixed) Social Support			More support, Better jobs	
SMKI06	Serbian	Quebec	(Mixed) Social Support			More support, better jobs	
SMKI07	Croatian	Quebec	Opportunity for work education and better lifestyle			jobs, English	
SMKI08	Serbian	Quebec	(Emotional) Social Support			Community	
SMKI08	Sudanese	Quebec	(Emotional) Social Support			No support, children not happy	
SMKI09	Sudanese	Quebec	Opportunity for work education and better lifestyle			Jobs better and school.	
SMKI09	Iranian	Ontario	Opportunity for work education and better lifestyle			Job. Language	
SMKI10	Iranian	Ontario	(Mixed) Social Support			Sister, jobs	
SMKI11	Serbian	Quebec	(Emotional) Social Support			More support	

SMK112	Serbian	Quebec		(Mixed) Social Support			Detrimental to health. Wife had miscarraig
SMK113	Serbian	Manitoba		(Mixed) Social Support			Detrimental to health. Wife had miscarraig
SMK113	Serbian	Manitoba		(Mixed) Social Support			Better Support
SMK114	Muslim	Manitoba		Opportunity for work education and better lifestyl			Better support, jobs
SMK115	Kurdish	Alberta		(Emotional) Social Support			Better Support
SMK115	Kurdish	Alberta		(Emotional) Social Support			Better Support
SMK116	Serbian	Quebec		(Mixed) Social Support			Better Support
SMK116	Serbian	Quebec		(Mixed) Social Support			Better jobs. Sister there
SMLO01	Kurdish	Manitoba		(Mixed) Social Support			Better jobs. Sister there
SMLO01	Kurdish	Manitoba		(Mixed) Social Support			Better Support. Better jobs
SMLO02	Sudanese	British Columbia		Opportunity for work education and better lifestyl			Better jobs
SMLO03	Bosnian	Ontario		(Mixed) Social Support			Better environment
SMLO03	Bosnian	Ontario		(Mixed) Social Support			Sister there, better opp
SMLO04	Bosnian	Saskatchewan		(Mixed) Social Support			Wanted to be with friend, more opp
SMLO05	Afghan	Ontario		(Mixed) Social Support			Cheaper housing, better support
SMLO05	Afghan	Ontario		(Mixed) Social Support			Cheaper housing, better support
SMLO06	Sudanese	Ontario		(Emotional) Social Support			Uncle in London
SMLO07	Kurdish	Ontario		(Emotional) Social Support			Uncle in London

Reasons for Change of Destination / Social Support

TABLE 4



Definitions for Social Support in the context of Reasons for Change of Destination / Moving:

1) Emotional Social Support

Includes the personal support expected from a like ethnic community, friends and family in response to feelings of loneliness, depression or isolation.

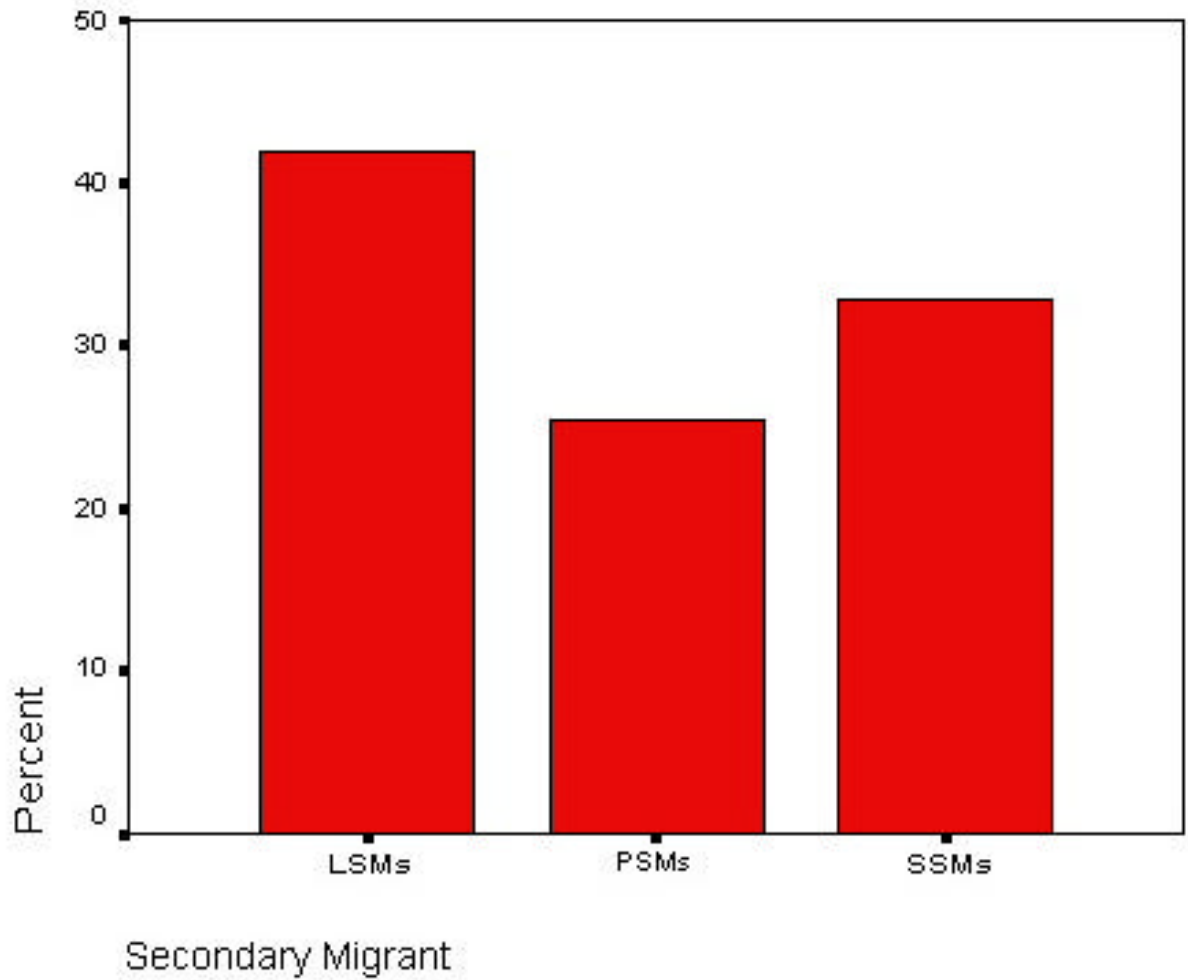
2) Mixed Social Support

Includes emotional support as well as perceived opportunities for work, education and other opportunities.

3) Work, education and other opportunities

Secondary Migrant Groups by Length of Stay in First Destination

TABLE 5



Secondary Migrant Groups:

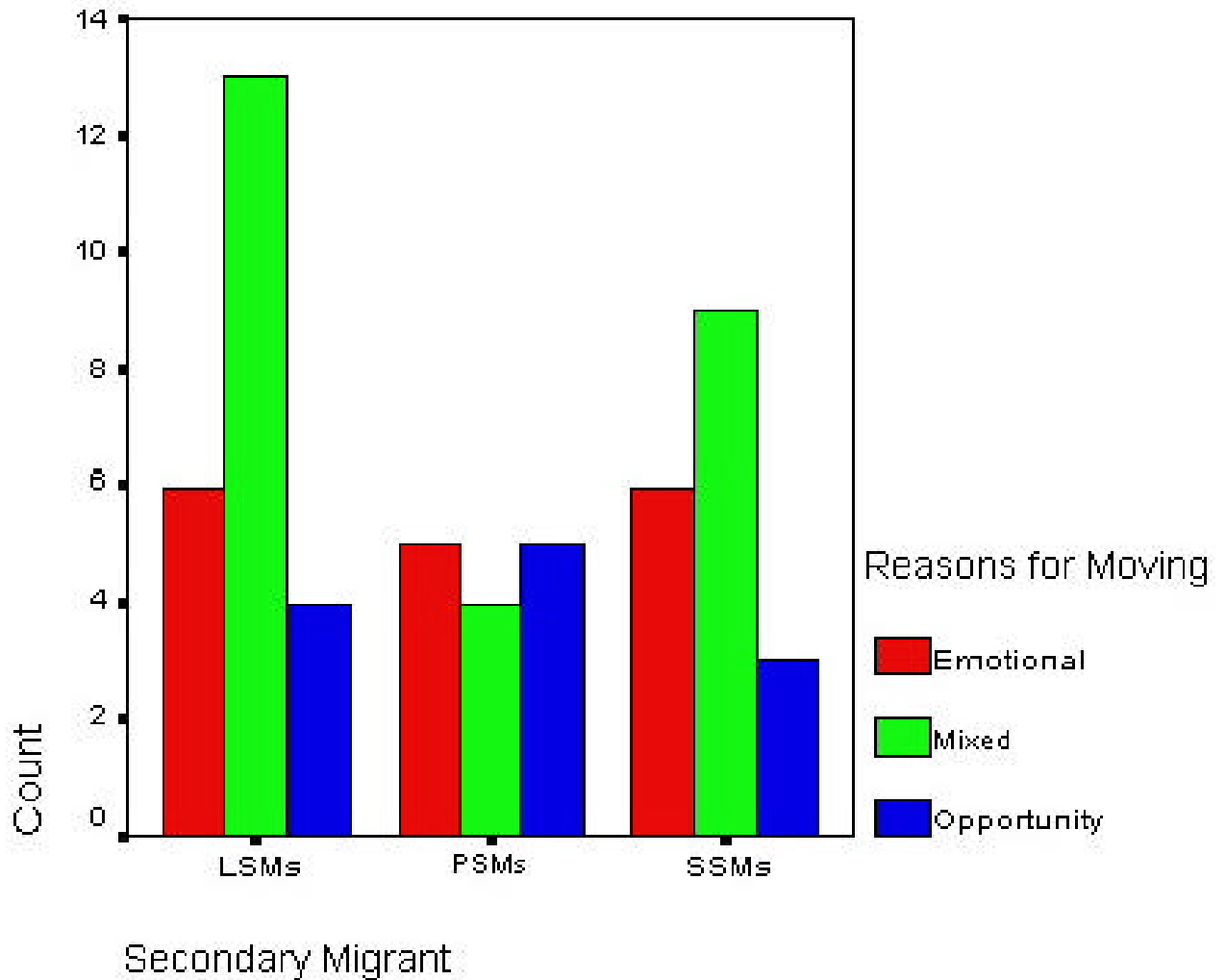
Long Term (>2 weeks in first city) – LSMs

Primary Secondaries (airport) – PSMs

Short Term (< 2 weekd in first city) - SSMs

Secondary Migrant Groups by Length of Stay in First Destination / Reasons for Change of Destination

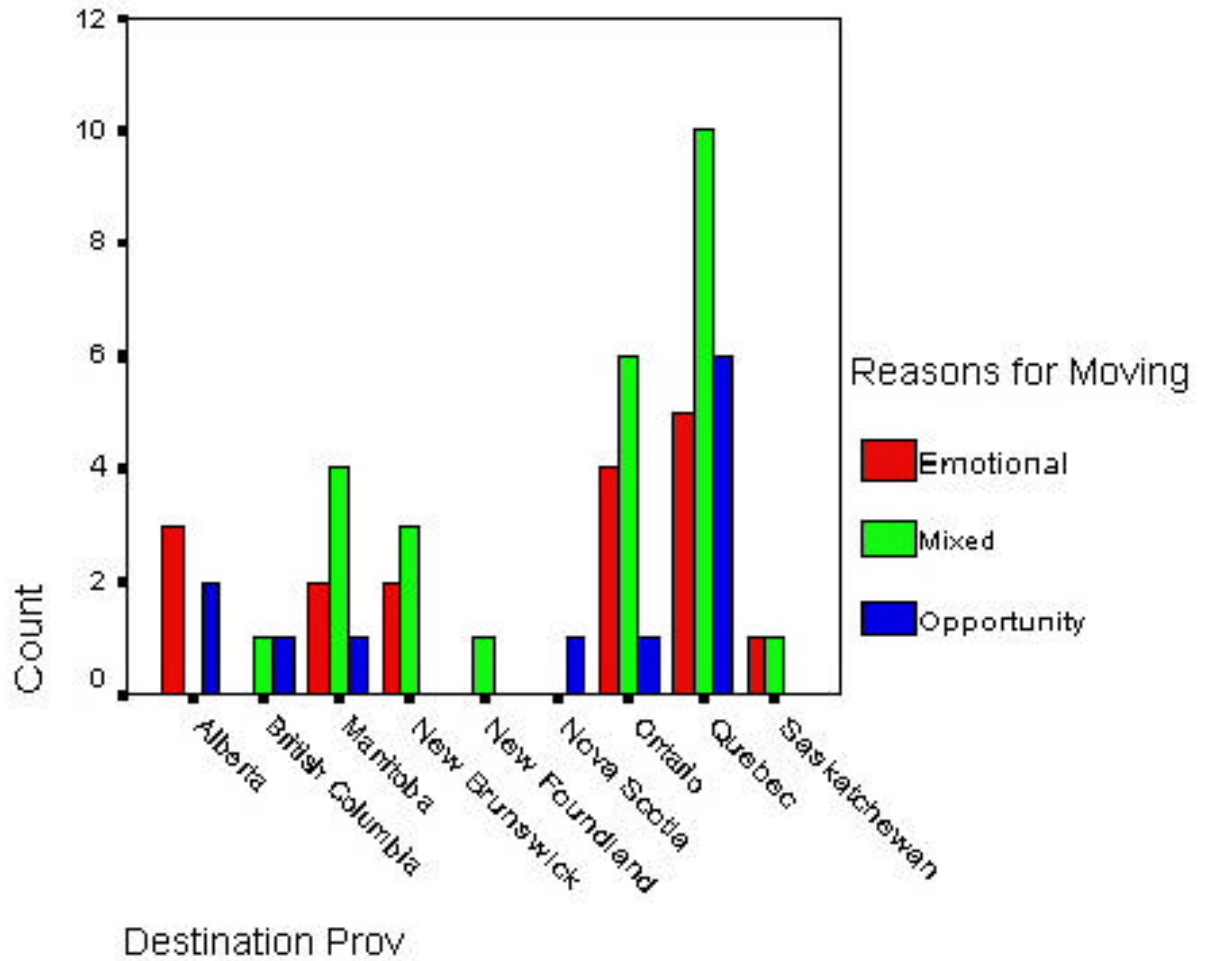
TABLE 6



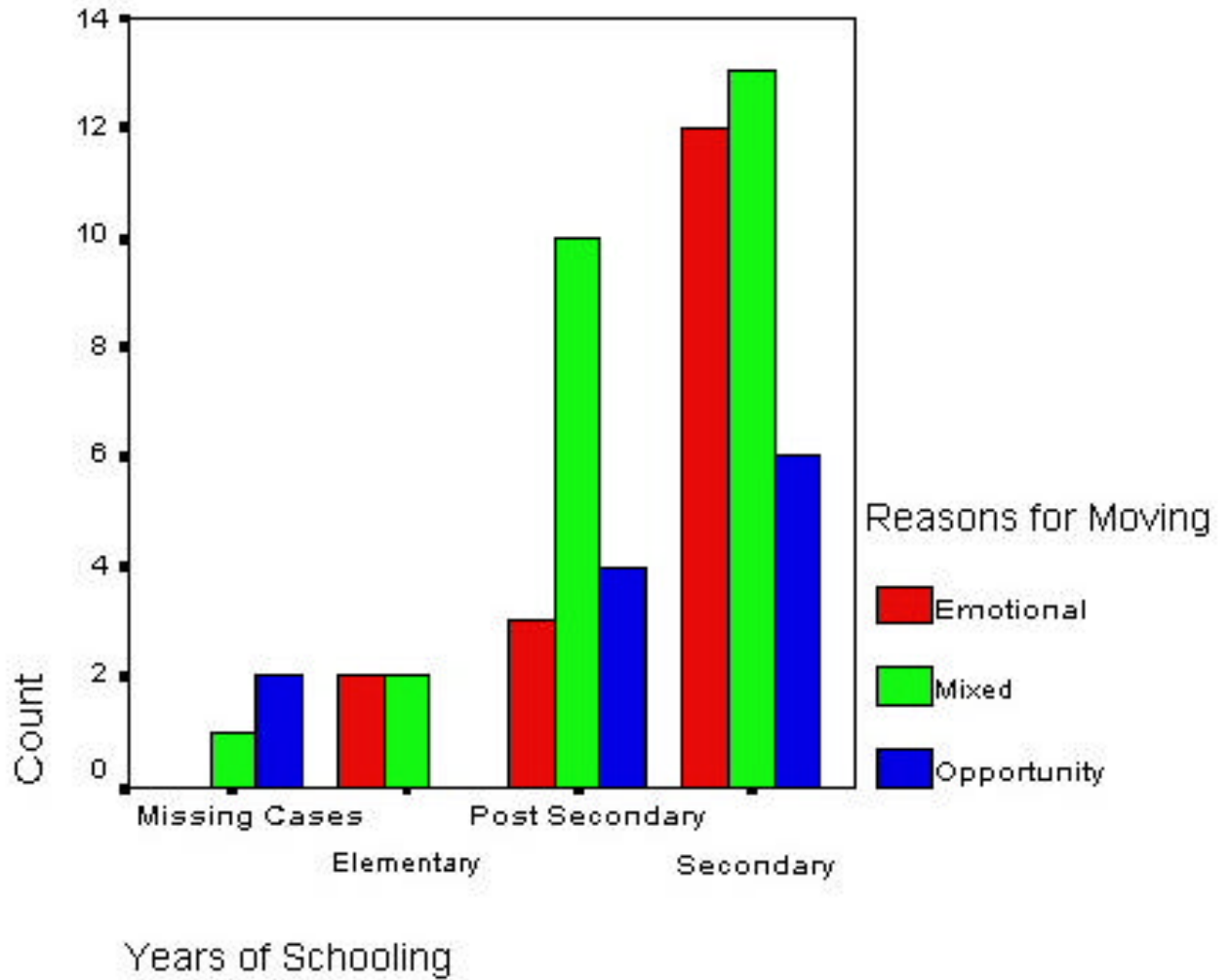
Secondary Migrant Groups:

Primary Secondaries (airport) – PSMs
 Short Term (<2 weeks in first city) – SSMs
 Long Term (>2 weeks in first city) - LSMs

Destination Province / Reasons for Change of Destination
TABLE 8



Years of Schooling / Reasons for Change of Destination
TABLE 9



Descriptive Statistics of Secondary Migrant Interviewed in Focus Groups / Toronto And Ottawa

TABLE 12

Document	Sex	Age	Marital Status	# of Children	Occupation	Education	Languages Spoken	Cultural Identity	Country of Birth	Other Country of Residence	Destination Province
FGOT01	F	33	S	2	Pharmacist	Diploma in Pharmacy	Amharic; Spanish	Ethiopian	Ethiopia	Cuba	British Columbia
FGOT02	F	28	S	0	Interpreter	University Degree	Serbo Croatian	Serbian	Bosnia	Yugoslavia	Quebec
FGOT03	M	29	S	0	Journalist	University Degree	Serbian	Serbian	Bosnia	Serbia	Quebec
FGOT04	M	44	M	5	na	University Degree	Arabic	Iraqi	Iraq	Iran	Saskatchewan
FGOT05	M	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	Nairobi	na
FGOT06	F	25	S	0	Student	na	na	Turkish	Turkey	Gateneu	na
FGOT07	M	34	M	2	Orthopedist	University Degree	Dari	Afghan	Afghanistan	Pakistan	na
FGOT08	F	20	M	0	ESL Student	Grade 7	Dari	Afghan	Ghazni	Pakistan	British Columbia
FGOT09	M	49	M	2	na	Secondary	Swahili	DRC	DRC	Nairobi	Quebec
FGOT10	F	45	M	2	na	Secondary	Swahili	DRC	DRC	Nairobi	Quebec
FGTO01	F	30	M	3	Programmer	College	Serbian	Serbian	Yugoslavia	None	New Brunswick
FGTO02	F	31	S	0	Agricultural Engineer	University Degree	Serbian	Serbian	Croatia	None	Ontario
FGTO03	F	28	M	1	Settlement Counsellor	Mechanical Technician	Serbian	Serbian	Yugoslavia	na	New Brunswick
FGTO04	M	44	M	2	Delivery Driver	High School	Serbian	Canadian	Yugoslavia	na	na
FGTO05	M	33	M	2	Student	High School	Serbo Croatian	Serbian	Yugoslavia	None	Nova Scotia