Refugees, Sport and Belonging: A photovoice inquiry

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Abstract

This thesis examines the concept of sport as a vehicle for belonging and social inclusion amongst six Eritrean refugees participating in an ethno-specific soccer team located in the City of Toronto, and the ways in which settlement occurs through the sports environment. This study uses photovoice methodology and draws on Maxwell et al.'s (2013) modified application of Bailey's (2008) social inclusion framework, as well as Antonsich (2010) approach to belonging. Together, their work serves as the foundation upon which the study analyses participants' ideas of inclusivity and belonging within a sport a context.

Unlike the mainstream understanding of refugees as individuals who are displaced from their homeland and settle in a host country (Goodwin-Gill & McAdam, 2007), nearly all study participants had been born into a state of displacement, being children of parents who had fled or also born into displacement. This protracted and intergenerational state of displacement continued due to a lack of citizenship, status or rights for the participants in their birthplace. The study shows that the theme of intergenerational displacement was interwoven with the participants' understanding of what it meant to belong. Though belonging presented itself in many aspects of their daily lives, such as social and group belonging, participants attributed status and citizenship to feelings of belonging in Canada. In addition, the spatial dimension of social inclusion (Maxwell et al., 2013) was contingent upon the type of sport being played and facilitated by the ethnospecificity of the team. Soccer, being the sport played by the participants, was assumed to possess unique qualities that fostered sportsmanship and unity that other sports lacked. The shared experience of refugees from the same ethnic background provided a space for group-belonging and for seeking information relevant to the claimant process.

Foreword

I know a few things to be true. I do not know where I am going, where I have come from is disappearing, I am unwelcome and my beauty is not beauty here. My body is burning with the shame of not belonging, my body is longing. I am the sin of memory and the absence of memory. I watch the news and my mouth becomes a sink full of blood. The lines, the forms, the people at the desks, the calling cards, the immigration officer, the looks on the street, the cold settling deep into my bones, the English classes at night, the distance I am from home.

- Warsan Shire[1]

[1] Excerpt from *Conversations about home (at a deportation centre)* (Shire, 2011, p.55)

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Many Canadians may pride themselves on their country's approach and policies on refugee crises, described by Justin Trudeau's Liberal government as having "[...] a responsibility to expand [...] refugee targets and give more victims of war a safe haven in Canada" (Liberal Party of Canada, 2015, para. 2). Indeed, Canada's quick response to the Syrian refugee crisis by committing to the acceptance of 25,000 Syrian refugees in 2016 and for being a safe haven for persecuted and displaced people, have even received international recognition. For example, the United Nations responded to Trudeau's announcement with incredible enthusiasm and acclamation in the UN's private sector forum (September 19, 2016), with the Bulgarian president going as far as to tell the press, "I love him. I admire him. He's an exceptional politician. [...]If you look at the way he is accepting refugees at the airport [...] he is giving an example to everyone in the world" (Raj, 2016). Yet this penchant for applause ignores the hardships that refugees face post-arrival. I came face to face with the discrepancy between the celebratory and self-congratulatory rhetoric and the complex realities of refugees in Canada during a question and answer portion of the screening of *I am Rohingya,* where some of the featured Rohingya refugees were present (Azeez & Zine, 2019). One audience member proclaimed how proud the movie and the stories of the refugees had made her to be a Canadian and to live in a country that embraced and welcomed people in need from around the world. To this, Ahmed Ullah, one of the subjects of the film responded by saying, "Would you believe I was happier in the refugee camp? At least then my family was together" (Azeez & Zine, 2019). Having had his infant brother taken from his family by Child Protective Services as a result of his mother's mental illness, Ahmed explained that he

never imagined that coming to Canada would mean that he would now have to fight against "the system" to reunite his family again. Stories and voices like those of Ahmed's can get lost within the narrative of Canada as a 'sanctuary for all' which assumes that once refugees have arrived, their troubles and trauma are left in the past and they are able to ease into their (re)settlement process. For Ahmed and many refugees like him, the implications of their upheaval are compounded by new obstacles and exigencies that hinder or stunt their ability to successfully settle in their host country. For these reasons, while we can acknowledge Canada's role in taking action in the face of humanitarian crises, it is important not to fall prey to self-congratulatory narratives that serve to marginalize those feeling disillusioned and employ more critical awareness of the realities and experiences of refugees in Canada.

As a child of two refugees from Iran, I have witnessed my own parents' feelings of disillusionment and how these feelings became increasingly pronounced over time. As is the case with many other refugees, my parents did not plan to leave Iran. Growing up, my father would tell me countless anecdotes from his life in his beloved homeland, Iran. Each story was told with apparent fondness and nostalgia, which is what made his wistfulness so audible to me, especially when he would recount how a protracted and brutal war forced him to leave in 1985. Before the war, my parents had completed their undergraduate degree in the United States. Though given an opportunity many of their peers had yearned to achieve, they remained adamant about their plans to return to Iran. My parents had agreed that it was their national duty to invest their acquired skills back into their birthland and its people. Having stepped into a country where the dust from the 1975 revolution had barely settled and that was now gearing up to defend its borders from its neighbour Iraq, my parents' patriotic ambitions came to sudden stop in a single moment. One day, when my father was at work at a petrochemical factory, Iraqi war planes flew overhead undetected and dropped 13 missiles, intending on targeting the building. This factory stored ammonium gas and had it been hit,

the resulting explosion would have frozen everything within a five km radius. Amidst the chaos of the aftermath, he decided he could not stay in his homeland without fearing for his and his families' life.

In the process of their migration, my parents spent approximately a year and half between Turkey and Austria, where they awaited to have their refugee claim validated by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Eventually, a Muslim organization based in Toronto, privately sponsored my parents to come to Canada and I was born five years after their arrival in Canada. For much of my childhood, my parents spent a great deal of time ensuring that my siblings and I were well versed in their native tongue, culture, and traditions. Feeling it was integral to cultivate our identity as Iranians, my parents encouraged us to only speak Farsi at home, sent us to a Farsi school on weekends, and replaced our cable TV with a satellite feed showing Iranian TV programs. My parents did their best to instil as much of their heritage as they could, for fear that living in the West, might dilute, or worse, overtake our Iranian sense of self. Certainly, the rhetoric of Canadian multiculturalism states that all citizens can keep their identities; are free to preserve, enhance, share and take pride in their cultural heritage; and have a sense of belonging, all while retaining the right to "full and equitable participation...in all aspects of Canadian society." (Marc Leman, 1999, para. 22). Undoubtedly, my parents' lack of connection to Canada was related to the circumstances of their displacement and their continued longing for their homeland. However, my father was adamant that we were Iranians who happened to live in Canada and that we would never be like 'them', or in other words, 'Canadians,' and that 'they' would never entirely accept me as one of their own.

I recall one particular moment when this 'us-versus-them' sentiment was most striking. I overheard a conversation between my parents where my father complained that his Master's in Electrical Engineering from Queen's University should have warranted him

better opportunities. He felt overqualified and unappreciated being a bus driver, a job he indignantly went to everyday. My mother, in an attempt to console him, assured him that there is much for which to be grateful. "We should be thankful," she said, as "this isn't our country after all." This statement made it clear to me that while my father felt bitterness and my mother felt gratitude, they both felt like outsiders in their adopted country of Canada. The country where my parents had raised three children, pursued education, and rebuilt their entire lives, still had not become 'home.' Further still, their experiences had left them feeling like perpetual guests, as though they did not belong, and were not entitled the same things to which Canadians were. They had acquired education and training that would be valued within a Canadian context, but these efforts did not culminate in promised results. They were thus left feeling rejected, ignored, and invalidated. My parents' struggle reflects the paradox of a country that on the one hand offered them refuge, but on the other hand, failed to demonstrate that they belonged. It is this paradox that has framed my understanding of our place in Canada and has led me to questions about refugees and belonging.

1.1 Refugees in Canada

In 2017, Canada became the ninth-largest recipient for refugees and asylum seekers in the world and refugee claims had doubled to 47, 800 in that year alone (Wright, 2018). For refugees, the process of claiming refugee status in Canada can vary. While some may go through the international system of being recognized by the UNHCR or by a nation-state, other refugees may make an asylum claim once they have arrived at Canadian borders, with the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) or the Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) in-land offices (IRCC, 2017).

The claim determination process for refugees is regulated by the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB), an independent administrative tribunal that processes immigration and

refugee claims, and the Refugee Protection Division of the IRB is responsible for conducting the refugee claims hearings. In these hearings, refugees are meant to authenticate and prove their claims to a tribunal of board members via documents and answering questions posed by the IRB members. Following these series of protocols in order to gain protection by the Canadian refugee system can be taxing to say the least. Refugees anxiously await a hearing in which they are made to justify their claims by reliving the traumas of their past to a tribunal of IRB board members who are not required to have legal background in order to assess their claims. Furthermore, each of the departments responsible for immigration and refugee affairs (Immigration Department, Canada Border Services Agency and the IRB) has its own distinct accountability structures, which can at times result in duplications, lack of communication, and overall confusion when dealing with asylum cases and claims (Wright, 2018). This lack of coherence and continuum of accountability between these bodies that are responsible for deciding the lives of individuals and families, results in inefficiencies such that the average wait time for refugee claims made within the country to spike to an average of 20 months (Pauls, 2018).

Typically, refugees awaiting a decision of their claim application can wait up 60 days for their hearing, during which time they are granted legal refugee claimant status and are entitled to some federal settlement services, such as the Interim Federal Health Program (IFPH), as well as some provincial access to social assistance, social insurance number, education, emergency housing, and legal representation (aid). The IFPH covers doctor and hospital visits, some medications, physical therapy, dental work, mental health, and eyecare.

Once their claim is approved, refugees are able to access support services and are granted Refugee or Persons in Need of Protection legal status. These services provide them with information and orientation to facilitate settlement, including language and skill assessment in order to ease refugees' transition into the labour market. The support services

also offer access to community support networks in order to supplement social support. Once their refugee claim has been approved, individuals can also apply for their provincial or territorial health care insurance.

Other services are based on the provincial settlement services available where they have made their claim. In Ontario, refugees can apply for work permits, welfare (Ontario Works), and enrol their children (18 and under) in the public-school system. In order to apply for a work permit, refugees must undergo a medical examination, which is also required for the application of their asylum claim. Aside from financial assistance, in Ontario, refugees are entitled to certain rights and benefits such as education, healthcare and resettlement service (Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants, 2017). Resettlement services provided by the federal government, known as the Resettlement Assistance Program, include assistance at the airport, temporary accommodation, finding permanent residence (PR), and financial support for basic necessities such as clothing and household items (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2017). These services are provided by settlement agencies located throughout the province and major cities, such as Toronto. Settlement agencies also provide assistance with finding employment, filling out documentation, translation and interpreters if requested, English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, as well as information about local community programs, schools and health care (OCASI, 2017). These services are often free or provided for a subsidized fee.

Refugees who applied outside of Canadian borders and have subsequently been granted legal refugee status and acceptance into Canada are considered to be government sponsored refugees. Government sponsored refugees are given financial assistance on the condition that they did not claim refugee status whilst in Canada (IRCC, 2017). The financial assistance provided to government sponsored refugees is for temporary housing, help with finding permanent housing, household items, other general assistance, and income for up to

one year or until the refugees are able to support themselves. The maximum amount of financial aid provided to government sponsored refugees is $25,000 per family for the initial year. Government loans are also available in order to cover travel costs, medical examinations abroad, and for travel documents.

Privately sponsored refugees are refugees who are recognized by the UNHCR or a nation-state as being refugees and are provided financial support by Canadian citizens or non-governmental organization (OCASI, 2017). There are two main types of privately sponsored refugees: Group of Five and Sponsorship Agreement Holders (SAH) (OCASI, 2017). Group of Five sponsorship programs allow for five or more Canadian citizens to sponsor a refugee as a collective and to be responsible for supporting the individual for a minimum of one year (OCASI, 2017). The second type of privately sponsored refugees are sponsored by community organizations (Refugee Sponsorship Training Program, 2014). The types of organizations can vary, as some are established community organizations that have been approved by the Canadian government to sponsor individuals who have been given refugee status. SAH are required to support sponsored refugees for up to one year.

Privately sponsored refugees typically do not have access to the same government financial assistance provided to government sponsored refugees (Canadian Immigration and Citizenship, 2017). However, programs such as the joint assistance sponsorship program, and the blended visa office-referred program, offer some assistance to privately sponsored refugees for their initial settlement costs. The blended-visa referred sponsorship program involves a UNHCR identified refugee being matched to a sponsor by the Canadian government (IRCC, 2017). The Canadian government provides these refugees with up to six months of income, and their private sponsors must provide financial assistance for the following six months (Canadian Immigration and Citizenship, 2017). For many privately sponsored refugees, financial support does not quite meet their needs. While they may then

take advantage of government loan programs, this puts most refugees in debt, as it requires them to pay back the cost of transportation and settlement expenses with added interest (Puzic, 2015; 2017). Due to the conditions of government financial assistant programs, privately sponsored refugees do not qualify for loan-free financial assistance or government financial aid for their first year, leaving them to rely on either sponsors or to fend for themselves (Abedi, 2017; Rousseau, Crépeau, Foxen, & Houle, 2002).

Though refugees attest to feeling safe in Canada, services and programs are failing to fulfil their needs as they are still struggling with financial insecurity and this insecurity may persist as it can take refugees an average of 14 or more years to achieve the same income level of a similarly education Canadian (Dharssi, 2018). Furthermore, the financial stresses refugees face can aggravate mental health issues and trauma that begin to surface after their initial year, and that health care resources are unable to meet (Dharssi, 2018). In addition to these gaps and lack of resources for programs and services, there is also the added obstacle of lack of awareness and information regarding how to access said programs and services (OCASI, 2017). Furthermore, despite the services provided to refugees, many are still struggling with integration in the labour market, finding secure and safe housing, and financial security (Zarzour, 2019; Keung, 2019). Refugees frequently find themselves facing difficulty in securing basic needs for survival such as housing, income, and employment and often experiencing poverty, food-insecurity, unsafe working and housing conditions, and unequal usage of health services (Galabuzi, 2004).

While some refugees express gratitude for being in Canada, they also point out the unforeseen difficulties they face which deflates the initial excitement of their arrival and subsequently shapes their (re)settlement and their sense of belonging in Canada (Immigrant Services Society of B.C., 2018.). Indeed, feelings of marginalization and social exclusion can pose a longer and persistent challenge to their integration into the host society (Basok &

Carasco, 2010). These feelings and experiences, as my parents' and Ahmed Ullah's experiences reflect, is likely in part due to the discrepancy between rights that are meant to afford equality to all through legal status or citizenship, and neo-liberal policies which have systematically denied disadvantaged groups the actualization of these social rights (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000; White, 2004). Thus, to provide refugees with legal status, PR, and eventually citizenship may not translate to the consistent protection of their rights and equal treatment, and thus, make them vulnerable to disenfranchisement and social exclusion. Furthermore, supporting the needs of refugees must extend beyond survival to facilitating the development of social networks which can ameliorate their situations through new opportunities and information, as well as foster a sense of belonging. Indeed, having a social network in the host country prior to their migration has been shown to contribute to the successful settlement of refugees (Lamba, 2003). Unfortunately, resources are scarce and programs that go beyond basic necessities, such as recreational programs, are typically not abundant or are very low on the priority list. There are, however, a few refugee organizations that do provide services beyond basic needs, such as COSTI immigration services centre, located throughout Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), which offers art therapy for children (IRCC, 2017). In addition, organizations such as the Centre for Immigration and Community Services (CICS) provide a wide array of programs, ranging from gardening and cooking classes, to day camps and sports. Such programs could help foster an environment through which refugees can not only develop and strengthen their social networks and relationships but also facilitate social inclusion. In particular, sport and its potential ability to foster inclusion and integration, has attracted growing interest and attention within refugee and (re)settlement discourse, and is the focus of this study.

This research focuses on the experience of refugees playing for a sports team based in Toronto (and the Greater Toronto Area). This study is concerned with examining belonging,

settlement, inclusion and obstacles to settlement and belonging by investigating the process of social inclusion and belonging within the sports context. The objectives of this study were to:

- Observe and understand the relationship between sport and social inclusion and how this relationship manifests.
- Observe and understand how participants conceptualize belonging and the relationship between sport participation in fostering belonging in Canada.

Thus, the main research question is whether a sport environment facilitates feelings of belonging among refugees, and whether their sport participation promotes social inclusion. Some of the secondary research questions to investigate the aforementioned experience were:

- How has sport participation influenced their settlement in Canada;
- What is the meaning and significance of soccer to these individuals;
- How do they define belonging and settlement;
- How do they construct their identities within a Canadian context?

Though the study was open to all refugees participating in sport, the participants in this study were entirely from a Toronto Soccer team, The Neo-Toronto[2], which catered to Eritrean newcomer youth. Having begun as an informal weekly pick-up game between community members in 2012, the team gained fast popularity amongst the Eritrean newcomer youth. Describing themselves as not only a soccer club, but a social movement, the Neo-Toronto hosts its practice games every Friday evening throughout the year in hopes to alleviate some of the loneliness and isolation newcomer youth may feel being in a new country. These practices are held outdoors in a public stadium that is in the city of Toronto, and accessible by the Toronto Transit Commission (both by bus and subway). Though the use

[2] Team name and participants' names are pseudonyms.

of the stadium was free (except in winter in which a small fee is required), the managers of the team had begun to charge players 5$ per game that they missed as an incentive for consistent attendance. Players practice year-round for seasonal tournaments (spring and summer) in which they play against other Muslim leagues in the Greater Toronto Area. They also enjoy social events, workshops, team building, and mentorship programs organized by their Team Manager, Aref. During the course of this study, I observed roughly 10-12 players in attendance for the weekly practices, doing warm ups and playing soccer together before practice actually began. As Aref would enter the field, the group stopped what they were doing and came together, and as sunset approached, organized themselves into formation for prayer, known as *Jama'at.* Players were energetic and very welcoming, as well as being inquisitive of my role as a researcher, the purpose and inspiration of my research and other various questions regarding my academic background. Though Aref warned me that the players might be mischievous if he was not present during group discussions, all players were very mild-mannered, respectful, and helpful with setting up the discussion room and carrying equipment.

1.2 Thesis Overview

In the following chapter, relevant literature is discussed and examined in order to establish both what is known and not known, and to demonstrate how this study begins to address these gaps. The main bodies of literature reviewed relate to sport, belonging, refugees, settlement, and social inclusion. Relevant frameworks for settlement are also reviewed, chiefly: integration, assimilation, acculturation, social inclusion, and multiculturalism.

In Chapter 3, the theoretical framework of Maxwell, Foley, Taylor, and Burton's (2013) modified version of Bailey's (2008) social inclusion framework, as well as

Antonsich's (2010) analytical framework for 'belonging' are discussed and their usage for the study justified. Moreover, the methodology employed for this study, photovoice methodology, is defined and established, followed by the protocols for data collection, analysis, reflexivity, rigour and ethical procedures.

In Chapter 4, results are presented and discussed in order to examine prominent themes in the data and to identify how they fit within the paradigms of the aforementioned theoretical frameworks. This includes themes such as Intergenerational displacement, Belonging and Citizenship, Granting and Claiming Belonging, Social Belonging and Ethno-specific teams. In similar fashion, the results are discussed in relation to Maxwell et al.'s (2013) social inclusion framework (originally introduced by Bailey in 2008)

Finally, in Chapter 5, the thesis concludes with a brief overview of the themes in relation to previous literature and discussion of novel findings, strengths and limitations and considerations for future research.

Chapter 2 Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

This study investigates the relationship between sport and feelings of belonging among a group of refugees and between sport and social inclusion within a Canadian context. Thus, this chapter reviews the literature relevant to the study of refugees, sport, belonging, and social inclusion to identify what is already known and assess the gaps within the literature. This chapter begins with a brief history of Eritrean refugee migration. Though not the original intent of the study, the team that was most receptive and willing to participate in the study was composed of Eritrean refugees. Thus, it is constructive to understand the migration history and context for displacement of this group of refugees in Canada. This is followed by a general review of literature in terms of how refugees are conceptualized, how refugee (re)settlement is defined, and the frameworks used to study and implement refugee settlement. Specifically, integration, assimilation, acculturation, social inclusion, and multiculturalism frameworks are reviewed and their implications for settlement policy are discussed. Following this, the way in which settlement is measured and the settlement markers identified in the literature are reviewed in this chapter. The literature on the relevance and intersection of settlement and sport are reviewed in the latter portion of this chapter. The chapter concludes with a summary of the key points of the literature reviewed and their connections to the research objectives for the study.

2.2 Historical Context of Eritrean Refugee Migration

Eritrea's borders were established in 1869 during the "Scramble for Africa," the occupation, division and colonization of African countries by European countries, and declared officially as an Italian colony in 1889 (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2018;

Tronvoll, 1999, p.1042). In 1941, the British expelled the Italians and placed Eritrea under British military rule until the end of World War II, proposing that the territory be divided and annexed to Sudan and Ethiopia, based on socio-religious lines (Bereketeab, 2007). The UN General Assembly (UNGA) tied Eritrea to Ethiopia through an imposed Federation in 1950 (Bereketeab, 2007). Eritrea had some autonomy in terms of its independent administrative and judicial structure, with some loose federal ties to Ethiopia, until then Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, sought to annex Eritrea as Ethiopia's 14th province in 1962 (BBC, 2018; Bereketeab, 2007). This ultimately led to resistance and opposition from the Eritrean people whose wishes for an independent country had continued to be ignored (Bereketeab, 2007). The contention and opposition of Eritreans led to systematic persecution and the first wave of refugee migration out of Eritrea (Bereketeab, 2007).

The persecuted Muslim population in Eritrea fled to nearby Muslim dominant countries such as Sudan, Egypt, and countries in the Middle East; Eritrea's Christian population fled to Ethiopia and the West (Bereketeab, 2007; Kibreab, 2000). This diaspora population would later play a major role in the fight for Eritrea's independence; in the 1960s, diasporic individuals returned to join the armed struggle for the independence of Eritrea (Bereketeab, 2007). The war for independence intensified in the mid 1970s, causing mass displacement, with an estimated 20,000 and 30,000 Eritreans seeking refuge in Saudi Arabia and Sudan, respectively (Bereketeab, 2007; Kibreab, 2000). Although Eritrea gained its independence on April 27th, 1993, conflict did not cease as disputes over townships and territories along its borders continued to fuel unrest until 2002 (Bereketeab, 2007; Kibreab, 2000). A peace treaty was signed in 2000, after a 30-year long war with 100,000 casualties (Bereketeab, 2007; Kibreab, 2000).

As a result of the protracted war, thousands of Eritreans were displaced to surrounding African and Middle Eastern countries, often living in exile and at times in

precarious conditions. For example, countries like Sudan and Saudi Arabia do not allow for refugees to gain citizenship and they must live with limited liberties, motivating many to make secondary migrations to Western countries, such as Canada (Bereketeab, 2007; Kibreab, 2000). According to the 2011 National Household Survey, a little over 13,000 Canadian residents have Eritrean ancestry, with 5,340 residing in the Greater Toronto Area (NHS, 2011). In 2016, 3,934 Eritrean refugees were admitted into Canada. Between 2016 and 2018, 11,690 more Eritrean refugees arrived in Canada and approximately 32% have settled in Ontario, closely followed by Alberta (29%) and Manitoba (21%) (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2016, as cited by Keung, 2019).

Despite being the second largest number of refugees admitted into Canada in 2016 (second to Syrians), not much is known about the specific settlement needs or obstacles Eritrean refugees may face in Canada. In fact, there is a stark contrast to the large focus placed on Syrian refugee plight, migration and (re)settlement to Canada by media and officials alike, leaving Eritrean refugees in the shadows with very little acknowledgement of their presence (Keung, 2019). Some limited literature on Eritrean refugee (re)settlement can be found on an international scale (e.g., Kibreab, 2000; Kuhlman, 1990; McSpadden & Moussa, 1993; Smock, 1982); however, information about the Canadian context is scarce. Some studies about the settlement of Eritrean refugees in Sudan is available, as it is home to one the largest portion of the Eritrean diaspora; however, much of that literature revolves around the lack of success in the economic integration of Eritrean refugees and their abjuration by the Sudanese society and government (Kibreab, 2000; Kuhlman, 1990;1994; Smock, 1982;). Within the North American context, McSpadden and Moussa (1993) provide one of the more geographically relevant studies, as they examine the gender dynamic in the asylum and (re)settlement process for Ethiopian and Eritrean refugees in Canada and the United States. In their study, they identify common themes (such as respect and shame) in the

experiences of Ethiopian and Eritrean women who shoulder not only the difficulties of migration but also the different domestic responsibilities, expectations and hardships of (re)settlement (McSpadden & Moussa, 1993). For example, if their husbands were to assist women in the kitchen in front of others, it would be deemed as shameful and embarrassing, even if they helped when they were alone. Though McSpadden and Moussa (1993) contribute valuable insight into a community on which literature is scarce, there is still much to be investigated, and in light of its size in Canada, greater importance must be given to the Eritrean refugee population in order to provide (re)settlement support that is tailored to their needs.

2.3 Defining 'Refugee'

The conceptualization and definitions of what it means to be a refugee have transformed over time, having been shaped by global politics and world history, much like the way they have also shaped the experiences of refugees themselves (McSpadden & Moussa, 1993; Shacknove, 1985). Though the difficulties of post-migration and the experiences of refugees settling in a host country are the main focus of this thesis, "the histories of the nation-states, international diplomacy and transnational phenomena such as war [...] and the operation of international organizations" are important to acknowledge, as they are implicated in how one becomes a refugee to begin with (Stone, 2018, p.103). In other words, by understanding refugee migration and the relationships between the polities from through and within which they have fled and been received (and all the places in between), we can contextualize how a refugee's host state may have been implicated in displacing them in the first place. For example, in the case of Eritrea and Canada, the reception and promise to provide foreign aid, given by then Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson to Haile Selassie on April 26th, 1967 (Vestal, 2011) illustrates Canada's complicity in suppressing the Eritrean fight for independence, and endorsement of Selassie. Thus, through

understanding the history and politics involved in the making of the refugee identity and refugee migration, we can prevent ourselves from uncritically reproducing narratives of 'utopian multicultural societies,' one for which Canada seems to be a recurring poster-child (Stone, 2018). Moreover, history can shed light on unique context of various refugee groups, their migration, and their different experiences in their host countries, thus allowing us to resist the notion that a single approach or generalization can be made regarding their integration. Indeed, Gatrell argues that refugees are neither homogeneous nor monolithic in their experiences, and there is a rich history behind the conceptualization of the term 'refugee' itself (2015; Stone, 2018). Thus, it is important to outline the historical context in which this refugee category was created.

The end of WWII was a key turning point in contemporary global refugee crises, not only because it displaced a significant amount of people, but because it also initiated the 1951 United Nations' Refugee Convention[3] which propelled discourse on the definition of what it means to be a refugee. This historic Convention marked the first time that the rights of refugees were discussed and recognized on an international level. As a result of this Convention, a refugee came to be officially recognized as "someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion" (UNHCR, 1951, p.3). Though this notable event was a progressive move for its time, it was conceived as a post-WWII instrument, limiting the definition to events prior to 1951 (i.e., WWII) and to European people. In other words, refugee claimants were restricted to European individuals displaced by WWII, rendering the 'refugee' as being bound to a temporal and geographical definition, and more generally, by socially constructed notions of

[3] Hereafter referred to as the 1951 Convention

race. This narrow definition was reflected within Canada's own refugee policies and refugee population. Despite having refused Jewish refugees entry prior to World War II, Canada began trying to compensate for its tarnished reputation by accepting a large number of "desirable" refugees (desired because of their so-called 'proximity' to whiteness) from Western Europe, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, with a minority of "undesirable" immigration from Asia and the Caribbean (Hari, 2014, p.38). This Eurocentric definition of a refugee was amended through the lifting of the aforementioned limitations of the 1951 Convention (Chimni, 2004) via the 1967 UN Refugee Convention Protocol. This protocol led North American countries to open their borders to "undesirable" refugees, with Canada accepting "thousands of Asians expelled from East Africa and refugee claimants arriving on boats from Southeast Asia" (Hari, 2014, p. 38).

Though the 1951 Refugee Convention is a historic milestone for the rights of refugees, most of the rights under the convention are not universally guaranteed. The majority of the rights from the convention are contingent upon the standard of treatment enjoyed by the citizens in the host state, as well as the nature of the relationship between the refugee and the host country. Specifically, within the 1951 Convention, the rights of refugees are dependent upon the type of "attachment" that refugees have to the host country (Sharpe, 2014, p.5). In other words, the definition of refugees became inclusive of their attachments to their host country, and their rights dependent on the way in which they arrived in the country or the nature of their presence. The 1951 Convention identifies five kinds of attachments: mere jurisdictional control, physical presence, lawful presence, lawful stay, and habitual residence (Sharpe, 2014). Across these categories of attachment, the same rights are not conferred, and thus, where one form of attachment may confer one right, another form of attachment may not grant the same right (Sharpe, 2014). To give an example, a refugee with physical presence may not have access to public relief, while a refugee with a 'lawful

presence' could (Sharpe, 2014). This leaves refugees at the mercy and jurisdiction of the host country in which they are physically present, and international refugee rights provide little protection in the face of a particular country's refugee claimant system which decides what rights to afford refugees, depending on their legal status and method of arrival (Sharpe, 2014). The complexities of how refugee is defined, exacerbate the challenges of navigating the international refugee claimant systems, and together make displacement, claiming refugee status, (re)settlement even more harrowing (Zetter, 1999). While we should not reduce refugee identity to that of a helpless victim of trauma and circumstances, we must be mindful of how these broader challenges, and subsequent stress can impact refugees' agency and thus their (re)settlement (Lamba & Krahn, 2003; Zetter 1999)

2.4 Approaches to (re)settlement

In light of the documented challenges of being refugees, policy makers and researchers (particularly within the European context) have been re-examining various approaches to (re)settlement, in hopes of easing the transition from the country from which refugees were displaced to that of the host country, for refugees coming from diverse backgrounds (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; Daley, 2007; Korać, 2003). These newer policies and studies draw on previously existing refugee literature and subsequently may import assumptions or weaknesses therein, into new policies and studies. For example, terms used within the literature to describe settlement and how these terms are defined, are contested between researchers, and also critiqued due to their associated complexities and underlying assumptions (Ager & Strang, 2008; Aleinikoff & Klusmeyer, 2001; Castles, Korać, Vasta, & Vertovec, 2001; Korać, 2003). The following section reviews four approaches to (re)settlement, namely, integration, assimilation, acculturation, social inclusion and multiculturalism.

2.4.1 Integration

The lack of consistency within the literature of how terms are defined, according to Robinson (1998), makes it difficult to consolidate a single definition for terms. This includes the often-used term, integration (Ager & Strang, 2008). Indeed, Castles et al (2001) states that there is no single or commonly accepted paradigm for immigration and refugee integration. The reason for this chaos surrounding the definition of integration is due to its "individualistic, contested and contextual nature" (Robinson, 1998, p. 118). Nevertheless, despite being a controversial term, integration has been defined as a "two-way process" that affects both the new arrival and the established community, requiring each of them to adjust and participate in each other's culture (Ager & Strang, 2008; p. 177; Korać, 2003, p. 52). Additionally, Ager and Strang (2008) build on Robinson's (1998) observation of the nuances of this two-way process by introducing an extensive quadri-level model for integration consisting of: the functional aspect of integration, (housing, health, employment, education); the different forms of social relationships and networks (social bonds, social bridges, social links); factors that facilitate integration (language and cultural knowledge, safety and stability); and basic rights and citizenship. This framework identifies the dimensions affecting a refugee's integration process, thus allowing policy and program makers to establish and measure "successful" integration through markers such as employment, housing, health, and education, making integration a tangible policy goal (Ager & Strang, 2008; Korać, 2003; Schibel, Fazel, Robb & Garner, 2002). Though Ager and Strang's (2008) framework provides organization and observable indicators to what Robinson had described as the chaos of integration, there is an over compartmentalization of these levels of integration, and the categorization neglects to account for how the different levels interact and influence each other.

In contrast to Ager and Strang's (2008) specific and compartmentalized framework, integration has also been defined more broadly by the European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) as a dynamic, two-way process that is multidimensional and long term (ECRE, 1999). This definition has three components. First, the ECRE elaborate that integration is a dynamic and two-way process due to the negotiation between the refugees and their host society, as refugees must find a way to adapt to their new host society without completely losing sight of their cultural identity, while the host must willingly adapt public systems to fit the needs of refugees (ECRE, 1999). Second, integration is multidimensional because integration occurs through the participation of refugees in the host society's economic, political, social, and cultural life (ECRE, 1999). Lastly, integration is said to be long-term, in that it begins from the moment refugees arrive at their host country and comes to an end when the refugees are active participants in the aforementioned dimensions (ECRE, 1999). For the most part, much of the notions and definitions of the term within ECRE policy echo those of Canada's refugee integration and settlement policies because European policies and programs are largely inspired by Canadian models of immigrant integration (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; Triadafilopoulos, 2006).

2.4.2 Assimilation

As mentioned, the historical origins of refugee identity and its dynamic conception is an integral component to contextualize our contemporary understanding of what it means to be a refugee. These historical definitions have similarly shaped the frameworks and approaches used to address the settlement of immigrants, newcomers and refugees in Canada. In conjunction with a Eurocentric and racist criterion for the acceptance of refugees and immigrants into Canada, the framework implemented for their settlement was also similarly Eurocentric and with the intended purpose of establishing a white colonial settlement

(Simpson, James & Mack, 2011). Gordon (1964) defines this unidirectional process of assimilation as the disappearance of an ethnic group as its own unique entity and the dissolution of its "distinctive values" (p. 81). Assimilation frameworks for integration were not just reserved for newcomers and refugees arriving to Canada, but rather were first implemented and imposed upon Indigenous populations through residential schools, as well as the removal of children from their families under the guise of child welfare (Neegan, 2005). Through amendments in the Indian Act, social workers were given legal authority to remove, at their discretion, Indigenous children from their homes and parents and placing them into foster care (Neegan, 2005). Children forcefully placed into residential schools were severely punished for speaking their native tongue, with cultural symbolism being stripped from them such as cutting off their braids and enforcing European dress-codes (Neegan, 2005). The violent and harmful consequences of the assimilation framework was the preferred outcome for immigrants and non-whites among early theorists; however, by the late 1960s, due to aforementioned shift in social issues globally (such as the civil rights movement), this framework was replaced with multicultural frameworks to address the country's growing diversity (Sayegh & Lasry, 1993). Nevertheless, even while assimilation may seem ill-informed and outdated, we have witnessed a revival of assimilatory policy and frameworks in contemporary times, exemplified by the push for a ban on Hijab and Niqab in Quebec (Syed, 2013).

2.4.3 Acculturation

Another approach to integration is that of acculturation, a commonly used approach to the settlement of refugees and mentioned within the literature, particularly Berry's (1990) acculturation model (BAM) (Mana, Orr, & Mana, 2009; Safdar, Lay, & Struthers, 2003; Liebkind, 1996). Acculturation is defined by Berry (2003) as being the cultural and psychological processes that are altered as a result of intercultural contact, or the interaction

between two differing cultures. This process of simultaneously experiencing different cultures can ultimately lead to the formation of an altered individualistic identity in which acculturation has been adaptive or maladaptive. Acculturation frameworks have been used not only within research on refugees but also in the study of immigrants and Indigenous people, though the process for each group differs as the experience is understood to be voluntary or coercive in post-colonial spaces, respectively (Johnson & Lashley, 1989; Atkinson, Thompson & Grant, 1993). Acculturation frameworks still identify integration as the long-term objective for the (re)settlement of refugees; however, it differs from the aforementioned discussion of integration, as acculturation can expand the analytic lens by bringing into view the maladaptive ways in which the (re)settlement process may occur (Berry, 1990; Mana, Orr, & Mana, 2009).

Berry (1986) spearheaded the shift in moving from previous assumptions of refugee settlement existing on a continuum (i.e., Gordon's unidirectional process from one stage to the ultimate stage of assimilation), suggests that settlement occurs bidirectionally. According to Berry (1986), acculturation generally has two underlying components: first, the individuals' ties to their cultural origins and second, their ties to the new society in which they have settled. The degree to which they negotiate these ties and the preferences for what they wish to preserve or introduce in their acculturation process, are distinguished into four categories by Berry (2003), specifically, assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration. Assimilation is identified to be when individuals are not invested in the preservation of their 'original' culture, but rather seek to interact with the new society. Separation is restricting oneself to maintaining one's original cultural identity and the refusal to engage with those who are outside of this shared identity. Marginalization is when the individual seeks neither cultural preservation nor engages with others in the new society. Lastly, integration is the reconciliation and presence of both cultural preservation and

engagement with the new society. The strength of Berry's model lies in this acknowledgement of the dynamic nature of (re)settlement and the different pathways that may be followed.

Though this framework provides a holistic framework in which multiple settlement phenomena can be accounted for, Berry's acculturation model focuses primarily on individuals rather than considering their socioeconomic and political contexts (e.g., how the host society receives them and political rhetoric surrounding immigration and refugees) (Navas, Garcia, Sánchez, Rojas, Pumares, & Fernández , 2005). Additionally, Berry, Kim, Power, Young, and Bujaki's (1989) model and study using said model, does not include or provide much insight into the power dynamics between the state and individual, that may influence the type of acculturation process in which immigrants and refugees engage (Berry & Sabatier, 2011).

2.4.4 Social Inclusion

Social inclusion theory, policies and approaches in immigrant, newcomer and refugee literature are often found to be in contrast and a response to symptoms of social exclusion, which is defined as the "the complex range of social problems derived from increasing social inequalities in Western societies" (Oxman-Martinez, Moreau, Beiser, Rummens, Choi, Ogilvie & Armstrong, p. 378). Factors contributing to social exclusion are discrimination, psychological isolation, social isolation, and economic exclusion (Oxman-Martinez et al., 2012). Within the Canadian context, social exclusion is grounded within an economic lens and quantified by Canadian Income Adequacy Measure (CIAM), which examines the various aspects contributing to poverty (Oxman-Martinez et al., 2012). This is in part due to the fact that 36% of immigrants to Canada have been found to live in extreme poverty due to the transition period of settling and acquiring basic needs post arrival (Beiser, Hou, Hyman, and

Tousignant, 2002). Racialized newcomers, immigrants and refugees are at a greater risk for experiencing economic segregation (Beiser et al., 2002; Fleury, 2007).

In order to alleviate the adverse effects of social exclusion, theories of social inclusion have been developed and incorporated at a policy level in order to close the gaps and distances between newcomers, refugees and immigrants and full participation in the social, political, economic and cultural facets of their society (Caidi & Allard, 2005; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). Social inclusion is generally used to "describe a complementary approach which seeks to bring about system-level institutional reform and policy change to remove inequities in access to assets, capabilities and opportunity" (Bennett, 2002, p. 7; Gidley, Hampson, Wheeler, & Bereded-Samuel, 2010). This approach has been informed by a paradigm in which social inclusion exists in degrees of access to resources, participation or engagement in social, political, economic and cultural facets of their society, and success through empowerment (Gidley et al., 2010). The purpose of government and community organizations and agencies who catered newcomers, immigrants and refugees is to provide the resources (employment, language acquisition, housing, education, etc.) and information necessary to facilitate the aforementioned participation and engagement (Caidi & Allard, 2005; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). Without these resources and tools in place, newcomers are at risk for marginalization, feeling disenfranchised, and alienated (Caidi & Allard, 2005). Despite the existence of these organization and agencies, the barriers that prevent refugees from accessing these resources continue to persist. One of the main barriers identified by social inclusion theorists is access to information, as needs of refugees may change over time and the avenues through which they access information are not entirely identified (Caidi & Allard, 2005; Chatman, 1985; Mohanty, 2003; Narayan, 2003). What is known about newcomers, refugees and immigrants is that their needs arise from their particular environment and its composite social, cultural, and work climate (Caidi & Allard, 2005;

Chatman, 1985). Additionally, community and social networks are the primary source for refugees and newcomers seeking information, and those with established social networks are found to fare better in their settlement process (Caidi & Allard, 2005).

While the attempt to promote social inclusion to address the needs of those who exist on the margins of society, is a movement with merit, there is room for a critical examination of this approach. One criticism of social inclusion theory is its tendency to place the weight of its success on access to resources and economic participation, without considerable thought as to how this may propel neoliberal rhetoric of placing the responsibility of gaining access on marginalized groups (Gidley et al., 2010). This weakness is evident through the limited acknowledgement for the reason behind a lack of resources, and lack of access to economic and political participation. In other words, social inclusion ignores the ways in which structures and institutions systematically exclude marginalized communities and the need to hold these institutions accountable (Gidley et al., 2010).

On a policy level, social inclusion in Canada is promoted through the Multiculturalism Act. This is discussed in further detail in the subsequent section.

2.5 'Settlement' in Canada

Prior to Canada's shift to pluralistic framework for integration, Canada's colonial roots were explicitly apparent in their framework for immigration and were premised upon assimilation. Immigration policies in Canada were not only very rigid, but also discriminatory, confining the flow of immigrants to white Europeans, as they were deemed easiest to assimilate, and when non-white racial minorities were granted entry, they were segregated and systematically discriminated against (Abu-Laban, 1998; Aiken, 2007). The systematic racism against and segregation of these "aliens" (non-white minorities) was illustrated by the Head-Tax for Chinese labourers in order and the prevention of reunion with their families and the internment and mass-deportation of Japanese-Canadians during the

Second World War (Simpson, James & Mack, 2011). As a result, settlement in Canada centred around assimilation since 'acceptable' immigrants were presumed to be culturally adjacent to the pre-existing Canadian population (Harles, 1997; Lacroix, 2004; Papillon, 2002; Triadafilopoulos, 2006). In 1947, Prime Minister Mackenzie King defended this by stating:

> Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a "fundamental human right" of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege. It is a matter of domestic policy … The people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration to the character of our population. (Canada House of Commons, 1947, p. 2644–2546).

Though it may seem, according to King's statement, that this racist approach was reserved for those deemed as "alien" and an issue of immigration, Abu-Laban argues that the treatment of the Indigenous population made it "clear that the aim was to build Canada as a white British settler colony (with minimal accommodation of the 'French fact')" (1998, pg. 3).

Following World War II, the majority of Western nations rebuked Hitler's fanatical ideologies of ethnic cleansing, causing the renunciation of such ideologies and moving towards racial equality espoused by the United Nations (Harles, 1997). This shift in ideological systems acted as a precursor to several waves of political movements to dismantle any remnants of the previous racist systems (Harles, 1997). In the case of Canada, the "preferred nationalities and races" policy was officially removed in 1967 and the Canadian framework for immigration shifted (primarily due to the demands for skilled and technical workers) from one of assimilation and segregation to integration, which was implemented through the vehicle of pluralism, more commonly known as 'multiculturalism' (Abu-Laban, 1998, p.73). This change in policy however did not mean that Canada's borders were open to all, as Middle Eastern and African migrants composed only 21% of total immigrant intake in

2004, indicating that even within new immigration policy, there is a clear preference, even among the 'undesirable' migrants (Aiken, 2007). Furthermore, what has aggravated this under-representation of certain racialized demographics is the point system through which immigrants are granted admission based on how many points they receive (according to their level of education, language fluency, skills, work experience, age, and adaptability). However, what makes this system particularly problematic is the clause in which immigration officers can decide to veto the points and decide at their own discretion whether they believe the immigrant will be able to "successfully [establish]" themselves (Aiken, 2007, p.68). Consequently, the notion of open borders post the 1951 Convention was in reality more of a policy than practice, as 'undesirable' migrants were still being denied entry, but for more inconspicuous reasons as Canada had begun to reform itself as a multicultural society.

2.5.1 Multiculturalism policy in Canada

Multiculturalism policy was an attempt to address the rights of minorities and the inequities they face. However, James (2010) points to several social and political issues beyond just the recognition of the rights of racial and ethnic minorities, that led to the 1971 introduction of the multiculturalism in government policy and its writing into the Canadian Charter of Human Rights in 1982 (Harles, 1997; Lacroix, 2004; Papillon, 2002; Triadafilopoulos, 2006). These issues were chiefly the demand by French Canadians to have their distinct culture and language recognized, the demand by Indigenous peoples to settle land claims, and international turning points in history such as the Black liberation movement and Civil Rights movement in the neighbouring United States (McAndrew, 1991). The introduction of multiculturalism, then, can be summarized with the words of McAndrew (1991) who states that "the Canadian policy of multiculturalism can therefore be seen as a response to the major goals of political socialization in the turmoil that characterized

Canadian society in the 1970s" (p.133). Since then, many Canadian politicians speak highly of multiculturalism and its related policies for promoting social peace and democratic-liberal views, all while preserving the rights and identities of ethnic minorities (Triadafilopoulos, 2006). Indeed, Canadian multicultural policies have had their fair share of successes, for example, having high rates of naturalization, and participation of newcomers in politics (Harles, 1997; Kymlicka, 2004; 2010; Triadafilopoulos, 2006). This multiculturalism narrative has not only led Canadian journalists and academics to prescribe a host of solutions for European countries and their 'integration problems,' but Canada has also been continuously recognized internationally for its approach to refugee and immigrant integration through its multiculturalism policy. Multiculturalism has become the quintessential 'Canadian identity' (Harles, 1997; Kymlicka, 2004; 2010; Papillon, 2002; Triadafilopoulos, 2006).

However, Beiser (2006) argues that this has produced a false sense of self-congratulatory rhetoric amongst Canadians. Indeed, "the admission of refugees is symbolically and politically significant for Canada" (Beiser, 2006, p. 57), as it upholds the false narrative that Canada is a humanitarian safe haven where tolerance and justice supersedes all else. The illusion of a multicultural utopia is quick to shatter when examining Canada's immigration history (Harles, 1997; Papillon, 2002; Triadafilopoulos, 2006). Admittedly, the Canadian approach to integration (pluralism) is a more appropriate than its original assimilation framework. Nevertheless, it still carries many problematic assumptions. While it grants the permission for refugees to preserve their cultural identity, the fine print of this framework is conditional upon whether this cultural identity is digestible and bound by parameters of tolerance by the nation-state and its society. In other words, if refugees do not subscribe to 'basic values,' they are not granted acceptance. Even if they do accept these conditional terms, there is no guarantee that they will not face discrimination and exclusion,

rendering this 'reciprocal interaction' between refugees and host society less mutual. Furthermore, even with the ubiquity of multiculturalism discourse within Canadian society and its connection to nationhood, the notion of integration remains a key concept in Canadian (re)settlement approaches.

2.5.2 Multiculturalism as vehicle for integration

Since the early 1990s, Canada's approach to integration was presented through contrasting assimilation and segregation in a document by Citizenship and Immigration Canada in which integration was defined as the relationship between newcomers and their host society existing on a spectrum with two extremes (1994; see also Castles, 1995). On one end of this spectrum lies assimilation, which provides the newcomers with no other options but adapting through the abandonment of any differing cultural attitudes and beliefs in order to fit in. On the other end of the spectrum is segregation in which newcomers are deemed as aliens to the society and consequently marginalized and denied equal access to services and rights (CIC, 1994). The Canadian approach to integration is the encouragement of a reciprocated adjustment by both the newcomers and their host society (CIC, 1994). Newcomers are expected to adopt basic Canadian 'values,' in exchange for the host society to understand and respect their cultural differences, thus generating a pluralistic co-existence (CIC, 1994). Cardozo and Musto express that "the underlying theme [of the multiculturalism policy] can be summed up in one word, 'integration'" (1997, p. 14).

2.5.3 Multiculturalism and Social Inclusion

Canada's attempts to promote social inclusion through its multiculturalism act which encourages the "[...] full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to that participation" by protecting their rights to equal

access and participation while acknowledging their diversity (Canadian Multicultural Act, 1985, p. 3).

Despite this commitment to anti-racism and welcoming of differences and diversity (or perhaps more bluntly: other ethnicities), a rhetoric of social cohesion and conformity continues to survive, as "deserving" versus "undeserving" immigrants and refugees are identified based on race and country of origin within the immigration and refugee claimant systems (Caidi & Allard, 2005, p. 4; Li, 2003). Thus, while the objectives of social inclusion are vital and important to maintaining the right of refugees to full and equitable participation in all domains of their host country, the accountability structures within the institutions must be revised and strengthened in order to prevent the implicit and explicit denial of the rights and liberties of refugees and their enforcement.

2.5.4 Multiculturalism and (re)settlement practices

Since the introduction of the integrative framework of multiculturalism, Canada has declared itself a country of (re)settlement, rather than a place for temporary refuge, as reflected in the long-term objective and immigration policy to allow 1% of its existing population to be admitted into the country per year (Beiser, 2006). Of this approximate 300,000 people, 10% are refugees (Beiser, 2006). Canadian refugee (re)settlement and integration policy is focused on service: Direct Service Delivery, Support Services, and Indirect Services (IRCC, 2017). Direct Service Delivery entails the funding of service provider organization (SPO), such as non-profit immigrant and newcomer organizations and agencies, social service, and educational organizations (IRCC, 2017). These organizations are meant to provide specific services such as linking newcomers and immigrants to settlement and community services based on their needs, determine their language levels and direct them to language training services, provide employment-related services and community

connections to "support the two-way process of integration" (IRCC, 2017). Support services are dedicated to addressing barriers that newcomers may face in accessing the aforementioned services (IRCC, 2017). Issues like child care, transportation, and disability needs are supported through the funding of services that address and resolve these obstacles to access (IRCC, 2017). Indirect support is given through the support of projects and programs that projects that develop partnerships and can inform best practices and program delivery amongst SPOs (IRCC, 2017).

2.5.5 Critiques of multiculturalism

Despite these services and funding, Beiser believes that Canada has not allocated the same emphasis to post-migration and settlement resources, due to the fact that the most overlooked factor in refugee services is mental health and a lack of information of how (re)settlement stress can further aggravate pre-existing mental health issues (2006). Marginalization due to a lack of English fluency and social isolation was shown to be a significant factor for refugee youth in adjusting to school (Hyman, Vu, & Beiser, 2000). For adults, the integration into the labour market, or a lack thereof, can prove to be a defining factor in integration of adult newcomers and refugees in Canada. This could be due to the lack of nuance Robinson (1998) believes integration discourse has, by often reducing integration objective to economics, since poverty among refugees is considered an exclusionary consequence and the result of a lack of integration (Hynie, Korn, & Tao, 2016).

Moreover, the proclamation of a multicultural framework for integration does not necessarily mean that the Canadian government has invested the appropriate resources into implementing this framework and created functional services and programming designed to facilitate integration (Abu-Laban, 1998). Indeed, multiculturalism related policies and programs have been critiqued for being short-sighted, with little funding towards municipalities that work with non-profit organizations to sustain long-term programs

(Kymlicka, 2004; 2010; Lacroix, 2004; Papillon, 2002; Triadafilopoulos, 2006). According to Cooper, Canadian service-delivery models are inadequate because they are largely shaped by political discourse surrounding securitization and border protection, and cutbacks are justified by reasons like economic recessions (2002).

Like Cooper (2002), Leung and Chiu are also critics of multiculturalism, and define multiculturalism to be a systematically taught set of beliefs that is frequently propagandized such that those who are invested in it are oblivious to how it is constructed or even how it exists (2010). The primary objective of this set of beliefs, according to Simpson, James, and Mack (2011), "is to systematically deny, reject, and minimize the need for an anti-colonial approach" (p.286). The "myth of multiculturalism", according to Simpson et al. (2011), is the claim that Canada is a post-racial society with harmonious coexistences that supports the enjoyment of a quality life for all, regardless of race, ethnicity, or religion (p. 287). In reality, Thobani (2007) and Simpson et al. (2011), argue that multiculturalism is a superficial level of tolerance and acceptance for minorities and newcomers, just enough so that discourse surrounding race and power can be silenced and dismissed. In truth, multiculturalism, according to Bloemraad and Wright (2014), has failed, as they argue that tolerance is conditional; 'harmless' cultural practices such as cuisine, music and clothing as acceptable and tolerable, while other cultural practices are deemed 'harmful' (such as the Niqab and Burqa in Quebec). Furthermore, multiculturalism can generalize diverse groups and adversely marginalize individuals who do not fit the imposed culture script, such as expectations of what a practicing Muslim does that may neglect the nuances of different sects and interpretations of the Islamic religion (Kymlicka, 2004; 2010).

The reality of the Canadian multiculturalism framework is that it is still failing to integrate highly educated, highly skilled immigrant professionals that Canada so purposefully seeks, let alone refugees who may not possess these sought-after qualities (Triadafilopoulos,

2006). While some refugees may face fewer difficulties with integration due to their cultural affinity with the host population (Danso, 2002), refugees (particularly people of colour) are still likely to experience great difficulty in settlement into the Canadian labour markets, putting them at risk for poverty (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). Refugees (as well as newcomers and immigrants) experience higher rates of unemployment, income-based discrimination, gender-based income discrimination for women (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003), and are at high risk for discrimination, inequality, social exclusion, and high poverty and unemployment rates (Beiser et al., 2002; DeVoretz & Pivnenko, 2005; Reitz, 2018). Furthermore, refugees tend to relocate to urban centres (e.g. Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal) where there is greater access to settlement support services but is also strongly associated with the racialization of poverty (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). Multiculturalism, in its current form and implementation, are clearly not addressing the complexities of (re)settlement for refugees. While this may lead some to conclude that multiculturalism has failed and must be replaced, such a response shifts attention away from the real and immediate concerns that refugees have. The next section examines how settlement is defined and measured in order to grasp how settlement may be deemed 'successful.'

2.6 Settlement Markers

Within the literature, settlement is deemed successful if it can offer the opportunity for an individual to participate in economic, social, cultural and political activities in the host country, to the fullest extent (e.g., Ager & Strang, 2008; Fozdar & Hartley, 2013; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003; Simich 2003; Voltanen, 2004). Successful settlement is often determined by income, type of employment, and housing, with little evidence that the criteria for settlement were defined by refugees themselves (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003; Simich 2003). Moreover, integration and settlement are defined within Canadian policy and program frameworks as being temporal, and eventually conclude once the figurative checklist

(housing, education, employment, etc.) is met (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). For example, the Canadian federal government provides funding to three main programs as a part of its settlement policy, Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), the Host Program, and the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) (Mukhtar, Dean, Wilson, Ghassemi & Wilson, 2016). These programs focus on assisting with filling out documents, translation, referral to community resources, language acquisition, temporary or long-term housing, referral to employment opportunities in their field and skill development (Mukhtar et al, 2016). These programs are confined to address factors necessary for survival and do not deliver many services that are long term and extend beyond these rudimentary needs. This critique is not to suggest that these basic needs and the government services that meet them are not an integral part of the settlement process. Rather, it is important to acknowledge trends, such as higher risk of social exclusion and poverty among refugees, which suggest that successful settlement is not guaranteed by the aforementioned services (Ager & Strang, 2008).

This lack of guaranteed successful settlement is particularly apparent when considering the significant number of refugees arriving in Canada who then embark on secondary migrations (between 1999 to 2001, nearly 2000 refugees had made a secondary migration from their initial settlements) to urbanized areas where family members and friends may reside, established ethnic communities may be located, and subsequently are preferred by refugees (Simich, 2003). These networks of support are vital to many refugees as they navigate and confront the stresses of settlement in a new country. For example, social networks can facilitate access to resources (i.e. employment and education), meet basic needs (i.e. finding permanent housing), and of critical importance, provide emotional support (Beiser, 1999; Creese, Dyck, & McLaren, 1999; Golding & Baezconde-Garbanati, 1990;

Lewis, 2010; Simich, 2003). Those individuals who had networks prior to their migration were observed to have higher incomes and more success in entering the labour market (Lamba, 2003). Thus, the literature tells us that refugees are actively seeking other ways of easing their settlement process (via social networks and secondary migrations to be nearer to their social networks) (e.g., Danso, 2002; Haines, 1982; Lewis, 2010; Mortland and Ledgerwood, 1987; Simitch, Beiser & Mawani, 2003) making it imperative to acknowledge that implicitly relying on a criteria or checklist for (re)settlement can be limiting. Rather, there is a need to broaden the scope of what counts as successful settlement beyond achieving a set of benchmarks. Instead, we must think of (re)settlement as an ongoing process and consider how (re)settlement is defined and negotiated by refugees themselves; this would offer a more holistic understanding of settlement experiences. It may also provide a better understanding of the notion of 'belonging.'

2.7 Belonging versus Settlement

Limiting the definition of settlement to the acquisition of certain income-based markers cannot account for whether refugees 'feel' settled and feel that the they belong within their host society. Researchers may attempt to probe if refugees attest to feeling a sense of belonging; however, the questions and approaches used are embedded with assumptions and definitions that may not fit the experiences of the refugees (Ager & Strang, 2008; Spaaij, 2015). According to Antonsich (2010), Fozdar and Hartley (2013), and Spaaij (2015), researchers have often used 'belonging' synonymously with the achievement of citizenship, representing a static milestone and presuming a homogenous experience for refugees. However, belonging is a dynamic process and experience that may manifest in various forms of emotional attachment to places, people, or states of being (Wood & Waite, 2011; Lewis, 2011). It is the intimate feeling of 'being at home,' though home may not carry

the literal sense of permanent residence (since safety and security may not always be present in one's place of residence), and is subject to change (Antonsich, 2010).

Furthermore, Spaaij (2015), Walseth and Fasting (2004) also concluded in their respective studies the importance and evidence of refugees negotiating belonging and that settlement does not end with the achievement of basic needs in the host country (Ager & Strang, 2008; Amara, Aquilina, Argent, Betzer-Tayar, Coalter, Green, & Taylor, 2005; Spaaij, 2015). For instance, in Lewis' (2015) study on refugee, music, clothing and belonging, she found that through wearing cultural clothing in community events and gatherings, refugees' belonging was facilitated through feeling safe in a space where they could "proudly announce one's cultural origins" (p. 52). Moreover, Walseth and Fasting found that sport widened the refugee women participant's social networks, which facilitated them finding job opportunities and thus increased their participation in other areas; however, their sense of belonging was still absent and their relationships with their team members remained weak. Additionally, Spaaij's studies find that through playing sport in inter-ethnic communities, Somali refugee youth were able to eventually feel 'at home' by having a space in which they preserved their cultural identity while hybridizing this identity with Swedish culture (2012; 2013; 2015). This, according to Spaaij, can be attributed to their participation in a multi-ethnic sports club, where they have more 'power' to grant belonging through acceptance, thus participants are able to feel a greater sense of agency. Similarly, Ager and Strang support the notion that belonging exists beyond the realm of citizenship or a static milestone (2008). In their study of refugees who settled in Pollokshaws, Glasgow, they found that much of the understanding of integration by the refugees was based on the expectations of relationships with the local community. Specifically, a majority of participants within their study had higher expectations from the groups in their community to have more diverse mixing and establishing of social relationships than was the reality. Participants pointed to

belonging as the "ultimate marker" of being integrated into a community (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 178). As seen in Spaaij's (2015) study, belonging is very much a self-determined process, in which sport can provide a supportive environment for them to define for themselves whether they belong or feel 'at home'. Nonetheless, we must also recognize that belonging also involves the working of power, such as how governments 'grant' or 'deny' belonging in the form of categories like refugee status, permanent residency, and citizenship (Antonsich 2010; Hage, 1998; Lewis, 2011; 2010). Institutions may also limit access to employment through devaluing education, training and work experience obtained elsewhere, much like the way in which my parents were not 'granted' the belonging they sought in this way.

2.8 The Role of Sport

2.8.1 Sport and (re)settlement

In the last two decades, a number of scholars argue that sport could serve as a mechanism for the (re)settlement and social inclusion of newcomers and refugees (e.g., Amara et al, 2005; Hancock, 2006; Jeanes, O'Connor & Alfrey 2015; Long, Hylton, Lewis, Ratna & Spracklen, 2011; Rich, Misener, & Dubeau, 2015; Oliff, 2007; Spaaij, 2015; Whitley, Coble & Jewell, 2016). This approach has been particularly well received by policy makers, especially in the European context, as reflected in the use of sport as a tool in integration, settlement, and building social capital (Amara et al., 2005). Amara et al. (2005) found, in their evaluation of policy and practice, *The Roles of Sport and Education in the Social Inclusion of Asylum Seekers and Refugees*, that some of the direct benefits of sport for refugees and newcomers include: individual benefits, such as health and stress release; maintenance of physical health; prevention of illness or disease; and learning or enhancing the technical skills of the sport being played. In addition, sport is conceived as a universal language that can break down cultural and linguistic barriers, as well as provide a direct

benefit of language acquisition and familiarity with the customs of a host country (Amara et al., 2005). Some indirect benefits that can be a byproduct of sport are an increase in social benefits, such as building networks and reducing isolation, particularly for women who may be subjected to greater social exclusion and marginalization (Amara et al., 2005; Taylor & Toohey, 2002). Social benefits can also indirectly garner individual benefits, such as increasing self-esteem and self-worth (Amara et al., 2005; Oliff, 2007; Whitley et al., 2016).

Sport can also provide community benefits, such as sport serving as a common language across communities, bringing people across communities together either in spectatorship or participation in the sport (Amara et al., 2005; Stack & Iwasaki, 2009). For example, the Cardiff Zimbabwean Association football team aimed to unite individuals of various ethnicities and differing political ideologies within the Zimbabwean community, through the use of sport (Amara et al., 2005). Additionally, sport can be an effective mechanism to facilitate the integration of refugees into a host community, such as through establishing positive relationships with other ethnic minorities that can in turn reduce tensions and improve relations between communities (Amara et al., 2005; Kelly, 2013; Spicer, 2008; Stack & Iwasaki, 2009). For example, in one study, refugees from Bosnia and Serbia were found to focus on their shared identity as refugees while playing sport together, rather than upholding the religious or nationality differences that had displaced them to begin with (Kelly, 2013). This sense of community can in turn cultivate greater societal benefits, such as crime and delinquency reductions (Amara et al., 2005; Bailey, 2008). Moreover, in a study by Oliff (2007) on Sudanese refugee women and sport and recreation, the participants themselves identified sport as facilitating settlement, in that they were given resourceful information and support from their coaches. Further, playing the sport served as an opportunity for language acquisition (Oliff, 2007).

In addition to individual and community benefits, sport is also believed to be a site for accumulating social capital, particularly for immigrant groups. The idealization of sport as providing the model environment for cultivating social capital is supported by many scholars (e.g. Seippel, 2006; Putnam 2000; Warren, 2001), such as Uslaner who stated: "Sports build social capital because they build self-confidence and teach respect for rules[…] Sports widen our social contact" (1999, p.147). Other scholars have also emphasized how sport can serve as a foundation for cultivating unity, comfort, and education, among other things (e.g. Gough, 1997; Papp & Prisztóka ,1995). Furthermore, sports participation can provide a space for family bonding, promoting of social networks, as well as an overall sense of wellbeing (Amara et al., 2005, Doherty & Taylor, 2007). As a result of such findings, it comes as no surprise that policy makers have been looking to sport as a means to facilitate the settlement process and the achievement of some of the aforementioned factors deemed essential to the success of settlement (e.g. Commission for Racial Equality & Sport England, 2000; Sport England, 2004; Finnish Multicultural Sports Federation (FIMU), 1999).

While sport can have constructive effects for settlement and integration, sport should not be viewed as a panacea. Research suggests that sport can produce unwanted side effects as a result of competitiveness, particularly among spectators, which can result in the disunification of a community, and other unhealthy behaviours (social exclusion) (Bradbury, 2011; Burdsey, 2007; Dyreson, 2001). Indeed, Tännsjö and Tamburrini (2000) go as far as to wonder whether sport in contemporary times will become a milieu for misogyny, ableism, violence, nationalism, and racism, depending on the shift in the norms and culture of the time. In some cases, sport environments have adversely increased the chance for conflict, as Sugden found in his study regarding the use of sport to cultivate coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians, where the sport environment only "offer[ed] more opportunities for racial and ethno-national confrontation" (2008. P.407). Additionally, some scholars have suggested

that sport has, and can be, used as a neo-colonial method of control over developing countries (e.g., Hayhurst, 2009; Darnell, 2010). Thus, it is important to remain critical of the possible adverse effects sport may have on participants and their (re)settlement.

2.8.2 Sport and belonging

Just as sport has been studied and used as a vehicle for promoting settlement and integration, studies have also found that sport can serve as a mechanism through which a sense of belonging can be fostered and in turn have a positive effect on settlement (e.g., Spaaij, 2015; Walseth & Fasting, 2004). Sport participation can be a valuable medium for cultivating feelings of belonging. Sport participation among refugees, especially youth, has been found to be not only therapeutic, but also be a vehicle for fostering social support, feelings of trust, a better understanding of their local community and a space for information exchange (Amara et al., 2004; Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Long et al., 2011; Oliff, 2007; Spaaij 2015; Whitley et al., 2016). One explanation for this is that sport environments offer participants the opportunity for self-expression through the use of their bodies and the ability to build emotional closeness or distance, with people of their own choosing (Walseth & Fasting, 2004). Furthermore, individuals with refugee backgrounds may perceive sport as a "way to make it" in the host countries, as sport is an arena for cultural production and achieving social prominence (Spaaij, 2015, p. 304; see also Institute for Canadian Citizenship, 2014). In addition, sport offers various means through which acculturation can occur. Specifically, refugees participating in sport are able to construct their own identities within the context of the host countries' culture, thus forming a sense of belonging (Walseth, 2006).

Though sport has taken up by policy makers as a method for facilitating refugee settlement, integration and/or belonging, Spaaij (2015) warns that this view of sport may produce yet another form of tunnel vision when it comes to settlement. Spaaij (2015)

observes that studies that have used sport as a vehicle for social inclusion tend to concentrate on integration and acculturation as the most important processes of settlement, and research expanding beyond this horizon is sparse. Furthermore, we should refrain from placing the responsibility for social inclusion, settlement and belonging entirely on sport (Spaaij, 2015; Bailey, 2008). Sport should not be viewed as a cure for all, but simply as a possible mechanism through which the aforementioned benefits can be accrued and/or developed. Even if we were to acknowledge sport for its strengths, it is important to recognize that sport is not easily accessible for all. Refugees who could potentially benefit from sport as a means of settlement still face barriers when it comes to sport participation (Jeanes et al., 2014). These barriers include cost, lack of transportation, and lack of information. In addition, according to the Institute for Canadian Citizenship (ICC) report on sport and belonging (2014), structural challenges, such as other priorities, time and cost, posed the biggest barriers to sport for most new Canadian citizens. Although the definition of 'new Canadian citizen' used by the ICC refers to new citizens who have been residents for at least three years (ICC, 2014) and individuals with refugee background are included in the ICC study, individuals with refugee status at the time of data collection were not included, as they do not possess citizenship or PR. Nevertheless, the structural barriers to sport among new citizens could also pose as challenges to refugees as well.

Interestingly, the ICC report also declares that "we are no longer dealing with systematic cultural issues," when discussing barriers to sport for new Canadian citizens (ICC, 2014, p.16). What is meant by systematic cultural issues is not defined within the report but includes "not feeling welcomed" and having "no interest in participation" (ICC, 2014, p.16). This conclusion by the ICC is troubling since 19% of study participants still felt unwelcomed and 24% lacked interest (ICC, 2014). To suggest that structural barriers are the only factor requiring concern and that feeling of exclusion or not belonging no longer pose a problem

can further marginalize those who feel ignored. In fact, studies have found that racism, discrimination, and feeling unwelcome have, and continue to have, an effect on refugees' willingness to participate in sports (Amara et.al, 2005; Jeanes, O'Connor & Alfrey, 2014; Long et al., 2011; Spaaij, 2015). For example, refugee youth participants in Jeanes et al. (2015) study cited an unwelcoming and discriminatory attitude in the sports club environment that had deterred them from attending or participating in sport. Other barriers highlighted by participants were fees and costs for sport participation in mainstream clubs, as well as a lack of funding for sport programs geared towards refugees (Jeanes et al., 2014; Whitley, Coble & Jewell, 2016). Spaaij's research also suggests that refugees have a preference for ethno-specific sports teams, which could point to feeling excluded from the rest of society, if they are most comfortable with people from the same ethnic background (2012). Though it may seem counterintuitive to have ethno-specific sports teams, Spaaij (2012) and Giossos (2008) maintain that ethno-specific teams are valuable in the integration process as they allow for refugees to construct their identity in a new society while maintaining their cultural values. Another factors that shapes sport participation is that it can be a gendered experience, presenting different obstacles for refugee women and men (Spaaij, 2015). For these reasons, it is vital that structural, and social barriers to sport are addressed if it is to be used as a vehicle for assisting settlement, integration, and/or a sense of belonging.

2.9 Review of Literature and Research Objectives

To date, though there has been research on sport and social inclusion, and on sport and belonging, there is limited literature on the how social inclusion and belonging occur in the same space. This study examines both frameworks of social inclusion and belonging to provide a holistic perspective of how sport may facilitate both phenomena for refugees in particular. Additionally, there is limited literature on Eritrean refugee populations, much less on their (re)settlement and social inclusion in Canada or sport participation. Furthermore,

there is a tendency to use a one-size-fits-all approach to support refugee (re)settlement, due to how refugees and their needs have been conceptualized. However, as is discussed in this thesis, refugees are not a homogenous group and can have diverse experiences in the same host country. Furthermore, due to the emphasis on settlement and subsequent focus on important needs like shelter, language acquisition, and employment, there is limited knowledge about settlement and the place and meaning of sport in the lives of refugees. This study aims to address these gaps by exploring the experiences of Eritrean refugees who play soccer and examining the meaning of participation and its impact on settlement, belonging, sense of identity, as defined by the participants.

2.10 Summary

The review of the literature suggests that the discourse surrounding refugee settlement and belonging, often places them in separate categories, with greater emphasis on settlement and a marginal acknowledgement (if any) to feelings of belonging as a component of the settlement process. This could be a result of defining settlement in terms of particular markers and studying settlement through measuring and quantifying said markers. Certainly, achievements such as permanent housing or language acquisition serve as a foundation for refugees to settle in their host country. Nevertheless, belonging merits being incorporated into sport and refugee research. Though sport participation may not be a direct source for achieving settlement markers such as income, housing, and type of employment, they could be a byproduct of sport participation (Amara et al, 2005). Sport can also provide an avenue for the social and cultural participation of refugees in their host society, as it helps to build relationships within the team and with the community at large (Amara et al, 2005). The challenge then is to examine the experiences of refugees and sport using a framework in which both settlement markers and belonging can be accounted for. For this reason, I have chosen Bailey's social inclusion framework to inform my approach in examining settlement

and belonging, as components of the overarching theme of social inclusion (2008). I discuss and elaborate on this concept and social inclusion theory in the following chapter (Chapter 3).

Chapter 3: Theory and Methodology

This chapter examines the theoretical frameworks that informed this study, beginning with social exclusion, social inclusion and the forms that social inclusion may take, and how belonging is conceptualized, with a specific focus on the theoretical framework and concepts used in this study. The second half of this chapter discusses the methodology used, how it is informed by theory, and its relevance to and application in the study. Additionally, the hindrances faced during recruitment, the procedures for analyzing the data, and consideration for rigour and ethics are discussed in this chapter.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

Social exclusion is the multidimensional process in which individuals or groups are partially or entirely excluded by the society in which they reside (Amara et al., 2005; Bailey, 2005; 2008; Power & Wilson, 2000). Social exclusion as a whole, regardless of how it may present itself, can be a threat to social cohesion and economic success for those subjected to it (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003; Bailey 2008). Social exclusion, an emerging issue within Canada, may manifest in different forms, including a lack of, or denial of power and/or knowledge, and lack or denial of access to services and resources (Bailey, 2008; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003; Oxman-Martinez et al., 2012). Burchardt, Le Grand, and Piachaud (2002) provide a framework through which they identify the following four areas where social exclusion can occur: production (participation in economic or social activities), consumption (the capacity to purchase goods and services), social interaction (integration with family, friend and the community), and political engagement (having input in local or national

decisions). The production and consumption dimensions are representative of socioeconomic status, and are indicated through income, job type, housing, and education (Burchardt et al. 2002; Correa-Velez, Spaaij & Upham, 2012). Social interaction is a measure of individuals' social networks (Burchardt et al., 2002; Correa-Velez, Spaaij & Upham, 2012). The political engagement dimension is concerned with voting (or lack thereof) or participating in campaign groups for political parties (Burchardt et al., 2002). Levitas, Pantazis, Fahmy, Gordon, Lloyd, and Patsios (2007) identified an additional dimension of service exclusion, specifically service exclusion, which refers to the lack of access to public services, (transportation, libraries, and community spaces), as well as private services (commercial shops and banks). This lack of access could be due to a lack of their availability or the inability to afford them (Levitas et al., 2007). Burchardt et al.'s (2002) framework is useful because it provides ways to examine and measure social exclusion; however, it does not address how these dimensions are related to one another. Additionally, according to Stanley and Vella-Brodrick (2009), social exclusion is very much interwoven with poverty, as it is one of the biggest factors hindering access to the aforementioned dimensions. Furthermore, social exclusion frameworks are primarily focused on identifying risk factors for marginalization such as insecure and unsafe housing, crime, drugs, unemployment, poor quality of schooling, and so on, and offer limited direction on how to reduce social exclusion.

3.1.1 Social Inclusion

While social exclusion serves as a way to understand the effects of socio-economic systems on marginalized peoples, social inclusion serves as a framework to address the issues that are at the root of social exclusion, such as poverty, inequality and social injustice (Bailey, 2008). It offers tangible solutions by mobilizing resources in order to resolve the problems that occur as a result of social exclusion (Bailey, 2008). Social inclusion is an approach to address structural barriers, such as unemployment, discrimination, poverty and

disenfranchisement, by reforming policies that acknowledge and protect marginalized communities, and that tackle discrimination and exclusionary practices which can lead to marginalization (Amara et al., 2005; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). Though social inclusion addresses the symptoms of social exclusion, it is not solely a response to social exclusion but has independent merit (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). Specifically, the purpose of social inclusion is to ensure that all people are able to be valued and respected members of society. Omidvar and Richmond define social inclusion as representing "a proactive, human development approach to social wellbeing that calls for more than the removal of barriers or risks" (2003, p.7). It calls for the acknowledgement and validation of diversity as well as shared experiences and aspirations among people (Omidvar and Richmond, 2003).

When discussing the implications of social inclusion in a Canadian context, it is important to consider Canada's framework of multiculturalism as an approach to the inclusion of newcomers (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). Canadian multiculturalism policy is founded upon the notion that diversity is a strong suit and a resource for Canada and Canadians, as well as the view that civic participation is possible if immigrants and ethno-racial minorities are encouraged to maintain and be proud of their cultural identities (James, 2010, p. 136). Additionally, the multiculturalism act and its related policies are valued for being some of the most inclusive policies in the world, serving as a foundation upon which social inclusion frameworks may be built and reformed (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). Though the multiculturalism approach may seem to align with a tenet of social inclusion by acknowledging diversity, its roots are founded in the recognition of only two nations, that being its 'founders,' English and French (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). In an attempt to move away from Canada's historically pro-conformity and assimilation policies and respond to visible minorities' call to have their place in Canada recognized, Pierre Elliot Trudeau's government sought out to establish a multiculturalism framework within the pre-existing

bilingual framework (James, 2010). However, the multiculturalism act does not expand beyond encouraging the preservation of one's culture. Thus, political, social and economic concerns are overlooked, particularly for Indigenous peoples who are then left unrecognized and outside of this particular nation-building framework (James, 2010). Omidvar and Richmond (2003) also point out multiculturalism's failure to resolve issues such as demands for Quebec's independence, Indigenous claims to land, and anti-racist mobilization by visible minorities. Indeed, James highlights that "the growing reality that [racialized minority immigrants] are identifying themselves as Canadian, less and less suggest that multiculturalism as practiced does not 'translate' well for minorities" (2010, p. 4). Evidently, multiculturalism has failed to address social exclusion in its attempt to promote social inclusion.

Clearly, social inclusion is complex and connected to other concepts like social exclusion and anti-racism. Even in the name of inclusion, as demonstrated in the critique of multiculturalism in Canada, the question of who is part of the nation and who is marginalized may be ignored or, if addressed, could overlook and therefore reproduce ongoing forms of disenfranchisement in social, economic, political and cultural realms. Despite this complexity, sport has frequently been presumed to unite people and reduce differences through providing a common language and offering a 'level' playing field where the only thing required by the players is knowledge of the game. Because of the social nature of sport, researchers on diversity and cohesion are of the belief that sport could potentially minimize the social exclusion of immigrants and minority groups (Bailey, 2008; Janssens & Verweel, 2014; Niessen, 2000; Spaaij, 2015). For example, Janssens and Verweel found in their study, that migrants experienced social inclusion in the sports environment as the interactions between themselves and Netherland natives provided a space for them to develop a cultural understanding and familiarity through their native-born counterparts (2014). The Dutch

government has gone so far as to say that "[s]port is a perfect meeting place for everyone. [...] Sport provides migrants and especially the youth among them many opportunities to gain a place in society. Sport has specific features that can be used to pursue full citizenship" (Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport, 2005, p. 13). In an attempt to critique this assumption of sport being a unifying social phenomena, in this particular study, social inclusion is understood not just as an end point, but as a the theoretical framework to critically examine the relationship between sport and belonging.

Frameworks by which to foster, analyze and/or measure social inclusion in a sport context, have been offered by researchers such as Donnelly (1996), Kelly (2010), and Bailey (2005, 2008). Donnelly's (1996) conceptualization of social inclusion is premised upon five dimensions which are essential to the social inclusion process: valued recognition, human development, involvement and engagement, proximity, and material well-being. Valued recognition is the recognition and respect of individuals and groups, for example through cultural and gender sensitive approaches when dealing with refugee or newcomer youth (Donnelly, 1996). Human development is concerned with cultivating skills and the capacity to have quality of life and to find a way to contribute in a way that is meaningful to themselves and others. This includes, for example, providing child-care in which children are challenged and able to grow developmentally (Donnelly, 1996). The third dimension, involvement and engagement, is having the right to be included in the decision making process for affairs affecting individuals, their family and community, for example, the involvement of parents in school programming or political participation (Donnelly, 1996). Proximity is usage of public spaces and the way that they are shared, so that inequality and barriers are reduced and the opportunity for interaction is available, for example in local community centres and libraries (Donnelly, 1996). Material well-being is having the material (financial, or otherwise) resources to allow individuals to participate in community life,

namely, having security in housing and income (Donnelly, 1996). Through the use of recreational sport, Donnelly (1996) believes that the dimensions of social inclusion can be fulfilled among children by providing a safe environment, opportunities for developing and demonstrating competence, supporting their social connections with their peers, moral and economic support, supporting their agency in the face of the structures through which they navigate, and instilling a sense of hope for the future.

Donnelly's (1996) framework makes an important contribution to our understanding of sport and inclusion. Specifically, Donnelly provides criteria for how to create and support socially inclusive environments for sport. Thus, this approach would be more useful for sport administrators and practitioners, rather than for researchers, who wish to understand social inclusion as an organic and dynamic process. This latter objective aligns with the research questions of this study: how and in what way does sport facilitate social inclusion, and does it foster a sense of belonging among its refugee participants? The purpose of this thesis is more to understand how these phenomena manifest, without requiring intervention on behalf of the researchers.

A second way in which sport and social inclusion is demonstrated is in Kelly's (2010) research on social inclusion through sport-based intervention. Kelly (2010) utilizes Levitas' (2005) framework which is largely shaped and specific to social inclusion policies in the United Kingdom (UK) and the way they are conceptualized. Levitas (2005) identifies three discourses surrounding social inclusion/exclusion, a redistributionist discourse (RED), where social exclusion is connected to poverty, which includes not only material poverty but exclusion from social, political and cultural participation as well. The social inclusionary solution within this discourse is to redistribute resources. The second discourse is a moral underclass discourse (MUD), where exclusion is the result of moral inadequacy of the marginalized, and inclusion is addressed through proposing behaviour modification for those

excluded. This third discourse is a social integrationist discourse (SID), where inclusion/exclusion is based on labour market participation and employment. Kelly adds that in addition to these discourses, sport-based intervention for social inclusion has been focused on reducing juvenile crime by investing in youth as productive citizens whilst distrusting them and viewing them as a threat to social order (2010). Though Kelly (2010) and Levitas (2005) provide insight into what discourses shape social inclusion policies and the subsequent focus of these policies, they are very specific to the context of the UK, making it difficult to translate to practical settings and to a context outside of the UK, as they are constructed around their labour laws.

A third example of how to conceptualize the relationship between sport and social inclusion is offered by Bailey (2005, 2008). Bailey (2008) suggests that sport has the potential to serve as a mechanism for social inclusion through four dimensions: functional, relational, spatial dimensions, and a change in the locus of control/power. The functional dimension is the acquisition of competency and skills, the relational dimension is the fostering of belonging and acceptance, the spatial dimension is reduction of social and economic disparities, and the change in locus of control is marked by a sense of agency and control over one's own life (Bailey, 2005; 2008). Bailey's (2008) framework seems to suggest that these dimensions must occur simultaneously, and to the same degree in order for social inclusion to occur. Maxwell et al.'s (2013) framework thus builds upon Bailey (2005, 2008), by suggesting that that social inclusion occurs in two stages. The initial stage occurs through spatial relations, which is the equal playing field, and reduction in differences that sporting environments are thought to offer. The second stage highlighted by Maxwell et al. (2013) is composed of the functional, relational dimensions as well as the locus of control. Maxwell et al.'s (2013) framework provides a more refined framework, as Bailey's (2005; 2008) framework alone does not account for the socially inclusive activities within sport that

can have an exclusionary effect on others (Nakamura, 2017). Thus, Maxwell et al.'s (2013) application of Bailey (2005, 2008) is a better tool for understanding which specific aspects of sport contribute to each dimension, and whether social inclusion can be ultimately achieved. Bailey (2008) and Maxwell et al.'s (2013) frameworks together served as the foundation upon which to investigate whether sport can be socially inclusive.

Comparatively, Bailey's (2008) social inclusion framework allows for researchers to observe how social inclusion may manifest via the sports environment by assessing how dimensions may or may not be fulfilled, whereas Donnelly's (1996) framework is primarily focused on how to cultivate and promote social inclusion through the implementation of a framework. Bailey's framework is thus, less about how to implement and facilitate social inclusion, but more of an exploratory framework to determine required factors for its occurrence in a more organic fashion. Furthermore, Kelly's (2010) use of Levitas' (2005) social inclusion framework and its focus on UK policies and "operat[es] within New Labour politics" (p. 128), makes it difficult to apply to Canada (despite some convergence in terms of policy), let alone a broader practical environment. In contrast, Bailey's framework is general enough to be applicable to other contexts.

3.1.2 Belonging

Though Bailey's (2005) discussion of social inclusion identifies specific dimensions that imply a reduction in distance between individuals, improvement along any of the four dimensions or even social inclusion in general does not necessarily guarantee that one belongs. We cannot assume that belonging is a natural byproduct of this process. Belonging itself has seldom been given distinction as its own concept, particularly how individuals experience belonging, and what specific encounters are associated with belonging (Antonshich, 2010; Spaaij, 2015). When belonging is mentioned within refugee, diaspora or

newcomer literature, it may be equated belonging with ethnic or national identity (e.g., Antonsich, 2010; Fozdar & Hartley, 2013; Spaaij, 2015). In cases where belonging has not been used synonymously with identity, then it carries assumptions related to citizenship (a validation of national identity), and that belonging is illegitimate without it (Antonsich, 2010). Thinking of belonging in this way reflects Yuval-Davis's (2006) critique that political projects of belonging tend to assume that belonging can be reduced to a singular level (either social locations, political systems or emotional identification with collectives or groups) (2006).

In contrast, Yuval-Davis (2006) conceptualizes belonging as being constructed on three analytic levels: (1) social locations, (2) identification and emotional attachments to groups or collectivities, and (3) the political and ethical systems that influence the way people assess their own and others' belonging. Yuval-Davis's framework distinguishes between social locations, which is the history and power a group may hold and the social capital it gives to the individual who identifies with this group, from political systems (2006). To elaborate, she believes that when individuals claim belonging to a group (often layered, such as gender, race, sexual orientation, economic class, and so on), they are either disempowered or advantaged based on the group's positionality along an axis of power. Yuval-Davis's (2006) framework illustrates the connections between individuals, groups, capital, and politics, and highlights how belonging is multi-layered and can be both a position of privilege and disempowerment. This concept can be likened to that of theories surrounding intersectionality, power, and privilege. I would also add that intersectionality is embedded within the political dimension of belonging, as structural power is very much linked with politics, both international and domestic (Baines & Sharma, 2002; Brah & Phoenix, 2004). For example, in Canada, racism and anti-racism discourse is dismissed by assumptions of meritocracy and neoliberal policies, which both emphasize individual agency and ignore

structural barriers. This displays how political and economic ideologies work in conjunction with each other to uphold structures that empower some groups at the cost of the disenfranchisement and disempowerment of others (Baines & Sharma, 2002; Godsey, 1995; McIntosh, 2004; Roberts & Mahtani, 2010). Thus, to separate politics and 'social location', as Yuval-Davis has, is redundant, as politics directly affect one's social location.

Yuval-Davis' (2006) conceptualization of belonging is further refined by Antonsich (2010). Antonsich's concept of belonging is the result of the interaction between the place-belonging and politics of belonging. For Antonsich, place-belonging is defined as the "a personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place", where home is a place of comfort, familiarity, security and emotional attachment (2010, p. 4). In Antonsich's political dimension, the socio-cultural norms as well as political rhetoric are both embedded in the structures that have the power to grant or deny belonging (via citizenship for example), thus acknowledging the interdependent relationship between social locations and politics (2010). In simpler terms, he identifies belonging as being shaped by both structure and agency, instead of creating further distinctions that Yuval-Davis (2006) does in her conceptual analysis, which he describes as "clearly lean[ing] towards the politics of belonging [...]" (2010, pg. 7). Furthermore, Antonsich (2010) recognizes belonging on two dimensions of being both personal and political and does not have redundancy like Yuval-Davis' levels (social location and the political and ethical system).

Another strength of Antonsich's framework is the recognition of the agency of individuals in their ability to claim or assert their sense of belonging and their emotional attachments, something he states is missing in Yuval-Davis's (2006) conceptual framework (Antonsich, 2010). Antonsich (2010) argues for deconstructing the assumptions surrounding belonging, and to allow for individuals themselves to ascribe meaning to the word. While Antonsich highlights the economic (financial stability) and legal factors (citizenship and

resident permits) that contribute heavily to feeling safe and to the construct of a socio-spatial identity, he maintains that belonging also represents a personal and emotional feeling (2010). Thus, belonging according to Antonsich (2010) includes an emotional process to 'feel at home,' and the political and social reception individuals experience which support their sense of belonging or are exclusionary. Using Antonsich's (2010) framework in this study allows for conceptualizing belonging as a personal experience that is subject to change and interpretation. In doing so, study participants had a platform to exercise their agency in defining belonging according to their experiences, potentially resulting in a more nuanced understanding of how sport participation may influence these feelings. Antonsich's discussion of agency and structure on belonging are complementary to the Maxwell et al. (2013), modified version of Bailey's (2008) framework, as the dimensions presented in the framework are focused on examining how the tensions between structure vs agency are played out in a sports environment and how it affects social inclusion. Additionally, Maxwell et al.'s (2013) framework places the reduction of the structural differences (spatial dimension) between participants as the precedent in order for players to feel a sense of control or agency (locus of control/power dimension) within the sport environment. This complementary relationship between the two frameworks is further discussed in the Methodology section.

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Review of methodologies in refugee studies

Just as definitions, conceptualizations and policy approaches to issues relating to refugees have changed over time, so too have methodologies deployed in the study of refugees also changed and expanded. For example, one increasingly common approach is mixed methods. Researchers are also likely to use this practice of using mixed methods, in which both quantitative and qualitative approaches are used to interpret and understand

refugee resettlement issues in order to inform integration policies (Voutira & Doná, 2007). The use of mixed methods may reflect the interdisciplinary nature of refugee studies and the various paradigms of research intrinsic to a discipline would influence the methodological approach used (Voutira & Doná, 2007). For example, in a recent study by Immigrant, Refugee and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), they attempt to provide a more holistic approaches to settlement by employ mixed-methods. These methods were geared towards the objectives of the IRCC's settlement policy and services, which is to evaluate existing programs and services in order to assess the overall settlement program. Data were collected through means of questionnaires, surveys, interviews with Service Providing Organizations and stakeholders, and case studies in order to evaluate programs and services being offered (IRCC, 2017). Researchers are also likely to use this practice of using mixed methods, in which both quantitative and qualitative approaches are used to interpret and understand refugee resettlement issues in order to inform integration policies (Voutira & Doná, 2007). The use of mixed methods may reflect the interdisciplinary nature of refugee studies and the various paradigms of research intrinsic to a discipline would influence the methodological approach used (Voutira & Doná, 2007).

Other methodologies used by researchers who study refugee issues attempts to empower and amplify the voices of refugees and try to avoid further marginalizing or silencing them. According to Ellis, Keating, Yusuf, Lincoln, and Nur (2007), this silencing can often be the result of an attempt to obtain immediate answers to pressing questions in order to address the needs of refugees; however, in doing so, refugee voices may be misrepresented and false conclusions may be made (Ellis et al., 2007). For these reasons, participatory methodology is particularly favoured in the study of refugees as it is flexible, multi-faceted, and has been suggested as a more ethical approach to researching with

refugees (e.g., Ellis et al., 2007; Hugman, Pittaway, & Bartolomei, 2011; Reimers, 2016; Rogers, Carr & Hickman, 2018).

There are many types of participatory methodologies, including photovoice methodology. Photovoice methodology has been referred to as a "grassroots peacebuilding tool" (p.108) and valued for its ability to engage and build trust and rapport between the participant and researcher, particularly with refugee youth, as demonstrated by Rogers, Carr and Hickman (2018) in their study on unaccompanied asylum-seeking children (Reimers, 2016). In the study, foster Carers (their guardians) and their asylum-seeking foster children were both involved in the focus groups. Rogers et al. (2018) found that not only did the photographs serve to facilitate conversation but they also helped Carers better understand their foster children, breaking down barriers and decreasing the distance in their relationships. In some sense, the photographs humanized the foster children for the Carers, and showed promise in counteracting "powerful discourses using language that could be argued to dehumanise asylum seekers and refugees" in the Carers (Roger et al., 2018, p. 111). Photovoice can provide a variety of data, extending beyond the pictures taken, and also facilitate communication which may be difficult for those who have limited language fluency, as was the case for the participants in Rogers et al study (2018). Thus, photovoice methodology can be a particularly useful tool for capturing the voices and perspectives of refugees so that they are active participants rather than being passively observed.

3.2.2 Methodology for current study

The methodology for this study was photovoice. Photovoice is a form of participatory research (PR), meaning that it takes a 'bottom-up' approach whereby research and methodology are meant to be a collaboration between the researcher and participants rather than being contractual (Cornwell & Jewkes, 1991). Furthermore, PR is a subset of Action Research (AR) which is the "systematic collection and analysis of data for the purpose of

taking action and making change" (Gillis & Jackson, 2002, p. 264). Features of AR were included in the methodological approach of this study through knowledge mobilization and translation of the study's findings in order to impart a realistic and achievable change for participants involved (these steps are discussed in section 5.3 of Chapter 5 of this thesis)In addition to initiating social action and supporting participants post-study, participants in PR are empowered through their involvement in the research process, such as collaborating in identifying the key issues and topics, and in collecting and analysing the data (as was done in this study) (Cornwell & Jewkes, 1991). This empowerment is derived from acknowledging and being cognizant of the nature of the conventional researcher-participant relationship, and the inherent power inequities that may be present in these interactions (Cornwell & Jewkes, 1991). PR differs from conventional forms of research in that the motives for each step of the project must be subject to self-reflection of the researcher (Cornwell & Jewkes, 1991). For example, researchers consider questions like 'What will the project achieve? Who is it for? Who is identifying the problem and topics of concern?' In conventional research, the response to many of these questions may be centred around the researcher, such as the achievement of academic acknowledgement or funding, producing the project for an employer or institution, and designating strict parameters for the study (Cornwell & Jewkes, 1991). In essence, PR places the greatest value in the process of the study, rather than the outcome (Cornwell & Jewkes, 1991). PR aims to mitigate the often-disempowered position of research participants, by providing them with the access and resources to support their active contribution to the study, thus redistributing power within the researcher-participant relationship (Cornwell & Jewkes, 1991).

Following this premise of PR, photovoice methodology offers a way: "(a) to enable people to record and reflect their community's strengths and concerns, (b) to promote critical

dialogue and knowledge about personal and community issues through large and small group discussions of photographs, and (c) to reach policymakers" (Wang & Burris, p.370, 1997). Photovoice methodology is similar to narrative approaches, as it too aims to understand a person's 'life story' and gain insight into the lived experience of research participants. A significant difference though is the use of visuals and photographs, instead of interviews, to collect this data (Plunkett, Liepert & Ray, 2013; Rose, 2016; 2012; Wang & Burris, 1997). With photovoice, participants are typically asked to take images and photographs, which are meant to be subjective snapshots of topics and themes that researcher participants identify as significant, and/or responses to prompts and questions provided by the researcher (Wang & Burris, 1997). These photos are then used by participants as material upon which they can elaborate, unpack, and interpret as being relevant to their personal lives and experiences (Wang & Burris, 1997). Thus, photovoice, is a form of PR due to its aims of shifting the control of the research process from being exclusively in the hands of the researcher, to those of the participants, in order to reduce the power disparity between them (Cornwell & Jewkes, 1991). This collaborative feature is fundamental to photovoice, as it provides the opportunity and tools to empower marginalized communities in order to bring their issues and concerns to light, through the use of visual images (Wang & Burris, 1997). Researchers and academics are often in the primary positions of power, especially when it comes to being an intercessor between disadvantaged groups, who are often the object of studies, and policy makers. However, by placing participants behind the camera, all discussions revolve around data (images) that research participants themselves collect. Given this platform and support, participants can commandeer discussions and focus on what they feel needs to be addressed (Wang & Burris, 1997).

3.2.3 Theory informed methodology

As previously mentioned, this study is grounded in the work of Bailey (2008) Maxwell et al. (2013) and Antonsich (2010), who are in their own ways concerned with examining how individuals' environment and the structures therein affect the way individuals experience social inclusion (Bailey, 2008). The second key component of the theoretical framework is the emphasis on individuals' agency to act within their environment as autonomous individuals, and to set the parameters for how they define social inclusion and belonging (Antonsich, 2010). A third component of the theoretical framework is the tension between structure and agency. Within Bailey's (2008) framework, individuals must experience empowerment as result of their sport participation, in order for social inclusion to achieved. Maxwell et al.'s (2013) modified version brings into focus the influence of structures and power (and how they may in fact disempower individuals) by further categorizing Bailey's (2008) dimensions into two stages. The preliminary stage of the framework is dedicated to neutralizing the structural factors that may prevent empowerment (which according to Maxwell et al. (2013), may present itself in the form of power shifts, resources and collaborations) on an individualistic level. Additionally, Antonsich's conceptualization of belonging also account for how it is both self-determined and influenced by social and political structures.

These three key dimensions of the theoretical framework guided the choice of methodology, as photovoice shares many of these features. First, Maxwell et al. (2013) states that in order to foster social inclusion through sport, the disparity in power amongst players must be marginal, and this condition must precede all other steps taken to cultivate social inclusion. Photovoice echoes this sentiment within its methodology as research participants take on roles usually held exclusively by researchers. Conventional research typically places participants, particularly those belonging to marginalized groups, under the figurative

microscope of researchers and policy makers. This acknowledgement by photovoice methodology of the effects of structures (like that of academia) and the narratives they perpetuate can affect the individuals and communities, is congruent with both Antonsich's (2010) and Bailey's (2008) work in which the structural inequalities shape the way in which individuals experience belonging or social inclusion. Photovoice attempts to attenuate this tendency for academia and research to disempower its participants, by placing the camera in the hands of participants, allowing them to change the perspective from being on them to being a reflection of their own gaze. This directly challenges the normative research procedures due to photography being, as Packard puts it "a political process in deciding what to make and what not to make visible" (2008, p. 69). Though this method does not completely allay the researcher-participant power relationship, it provided an opportunity for participants to take on a more active role in the study (Wang & Burris, 1997). Through this redistribution of power, not only is open discussions on what is both physically and metaphorically in their line of vision facilitated, it also supports Maxwell et al.'s (2013) argument to dismantle and reduce the power disparities that may be present due to structural and institutional systems, as a priority for social inclusion (Wang & Burris, 1997). By having participants take on active role, it emphasizes and supports their agency, which directly resists the ways structures and institutions may try to subdue or manage individuals. Such resistance is emphasized by Antonsich, as he believes that claiming a right to feel belonging is an act of both resistance and exertion of agency in the face of structure systematically excluding the individuals (2010). Much in line with the notion of agency and its value, photovoice as a visual method is said by Allen to "offer more moments of participant agency" for participants (2008, p. 566).

A second way in which Bailey (2005, 2008), Maxwell et al (2013) and Antonsich (2010) have informed the methodology is the emphasis on agency as a component of social

inclusion through sport. Specifically, Bailey (2005, 2008) and Maxwell et al's (2013) conceptualization of social inclusion is composed of a 'locus of control' dimension which is concerned with participants' ability to preserve or exert their autonomy and agency. Maxwell et al. preserves Bailey's (2008) definition of 'locus of control' (also known as the 'power dimension,' and/or 'agency') as a way to account for an individual's agency by resolving inequities between players, community and sponsors through the "redistribution of power" (2013, p. 469). This redistribution of power within a sport setting occurs by providing resources and giving the teams/communities control over the resources, and voluntary collaborations with the community, ultimately leading to self-determination of the individuals. This is a critical component of Bailey's (2008) social inclusion framework, as self-determination and empowerment of individuals leads to a strengthening of the overall cohesion of the community and improved social inclusion. While this dimension is constructed in regards to the use of sport to facilitate social inclusion, it parallels the active inclusion of refugees in the research process of this study, as there is a shift in the normative power dynamics of research; putting participants in the position of active participants rather than being passive subjects of observation.

This notion of self-determination is echoed in Antonsich's analytical framework, as it is emphasized that too much focus placed on the structures surrounding belonging does a disservice to the agency of individuals and their ability to negotiate what belonging means to them (2010). Antonsich believes that individuals should be at the forefront of constructing their identities and the way in which individuals relate to the space they occupy (2010). According to Antonsich's (2010) definition, while belonging can be politically and socially driven, it is also individualistic in that it is "a personal, intimate, feeling of 'being at home'" (p. 4). Thus, to proclaim what belonging is or where one feels a sense of belonging, are expressions of one's agency. To reiterate, photovoice methodology aligns with the theoretical

frameworks' emphasis on agency of research participants by placing them behind the camera. Instead of being the subject of images, they are being given control of resources (camera) and engaging in what Gubrium and Harper (2016) call collaborative photography. Participants exercise their agency by determining what is seen by the researcher, what is discussed, and what is of value. Photographs taken by participants are not meant to replace them as the subjects of analysis and inquisition, but rather serve as points of discussion in which participants themselves can contribute to the data analysis by capturing and interpreting the images (Wang & Pies, 2004).

Photo methodology upholds the agency of participants by valuing them as active contributors to the research process, as they set the parameters for the way concepts such as 'belonging', 'settlement', 'social support' and 'social inclusion' are defined and interpreted (Antonsich, 2010; Wang & Pies, 2004). In addition to its compatibility with the theoretical frameworks, this methodology is particularly valuable as it does not require the ability to read and write and serves as a communicative tool in its own right (Bach, 2007). Because of the lack of fluency in the English language for some of the participants in the study, photographs can capture the hidden meanings of emotions and experiences which cannot always be articulated through words, especially when the vocabulary to express them may be missing (Wang & Hannes, 2014). Due to the principles and features of the aforementioned frameworks, photovoice methodology was determined to be a suitable and effective approach to the study and its intended objectives.

3.3 Community of Study

Though the study was open to all refugees in the GTA, the focus was on sport teams that were specific to refugees. This included players from "Syrian Hawks," composed entirely of male Syrian refugees, as well as players from a soccer team composed of male Eritrean refugees, known as "The Neo-Toronto." The names of the teams have been changed

in order to preserve the anonymity of the participants. Both of these teams are based in Toronto, Ontario. The eligibility criteria for the participants were as follows. Participants must:

1. Be over the age of 16;
2. Have arrived as a refugee or asylum seeker.
3. Is, or has been, a participant in recreational or organized sport;
4. Be able to give informed consent to participate in the study in English.

Ethics approval was granted by the York University Research Ethics Board, and recruitment was initiated with permission by the team managers.

3.4 Ethics

This study followed the research criteria outlined by the York University Graduate Student Human Participants Research Protocol, and was approved by the York University research ethics board. Specifically, participants were provided with an informed consent letter (Appendix A) explaining the purpose of the study, methodology, potential risks and benefits via email and the initial focus group, in order for players to make an informed decision on whether or not they would like to participate. Participants were also given the option of consenting for the researcher to use direct quotes in any documents and reports produced from the research. Participants were provided with the option of having a translator, should they feel the need, so that they may understand the content of the consent form as well as the research process, to the fullest degree. Translators were not requested for the signing of the consent forms.

Pseudonyms were given to each participant, as well as the leagues and soccer teams. This was done to ensure anonymity of the identity of the participants to the best of my abilities. Participants were informed, however, of the possible risk that their identity may be

compromised due to the ethno-specific nature of the team. This risk was included in the letter of informed consent.

It was my priority to provide participants with "genuine and informed consent" with regards to their participation in the study (Sutton, Erlen, Glad & Siminoff, 2003, p.106). Informed consent was obtained in written form, providing a letter of consent (Appendix A), in the first focus group and verbally for the subsequent focus groups/interviews, to ensure that the participants have consented to entirety of the research. The research questions may have contained sensitive and triggering material for the participants, and as a result of this, all participants were given a list of community mental health and settlement services (Appendix D), in case they were in need of counselling. Audio files were uploaded to a password protect personal computer, and further placed in a password protected file. Upon completion of the transcripts, audio files were transferred onto a USB, and permanently erased from the personal computer. The USB, which was password, protected, was kept in a locked, personal filing cabinet in my home, where it will remain for a period of two years. After this time period has passed, all notes and files, including the USB audio files, will be deleted and shredded.

3.5 Recruitment

Recruitment was initiated in May 2018, with the intention of recruiting 6-8 participants, via purposive sampling. This was due to the nature of the study and its specificity in looking at a particular sports team composed of or that catered to refugees. As the methodology called for focus groups, having between 6-8 participants are an ideal number of participants so that discussions are not underwhelming due to a lack of participants, nor overwhelming so that participants may feel that there were competing voices. Purposive sampling entails recruiting individuals who are appropriate candidates for answering the interview questions pertaining to the study. Both teams were approached during a practice game, and I verbally pitched the

study and its aims to all players, supplemented by a poster with information about the study (Appendix B). After gaining approximately 8 potential participants who had signed up with their contact information, participants were debriefed on the instructions and picture taking protocol in person. After briefing participants in person, a follow up email was sent to potential participants with the instruction sheet attached (Appendix C) and deadline for the submission of their photos. Recruitment yielded six participants for the study.

Recruitment was unexpectedly more of a challenging process than I had initially anticipated. I introduced myself to the team manager for the Syrian Hawks several months prior to initiating recruitment. At that time, the team manager was very receptive towards my research and was supportive of my recruitment of her players. However, communications faltered as I did not receive a scheduled call from her and my attempts to re-establish communications via telephone and email were unreciprocated. When ethical approval was received a few months after, I began reaching out to other community centres and organizations offering sport programs for refugees, such as West Neighbourhood House, YMCA (Toronto and Waterloo-Kitchener locations), Warden Woods, and the Arab Community Centre of Toronto. Most of these organizations either did not respond, declined participation due to ongoing partnerships with other research institutes, or explaining that the demographic of participants would not be interested. One local organization was originally receptive to the idea; however, further attempts to recruit were unsuccessful as the program leader ceased responding to emails and phone calls.

Following my lack of success with other organizations, I sought to re-establish communications with the Syrian Hawks team manager via a third party and received a response and invitation to attend their first game of the summer in order to pitch the study to the players. At this point, the team manager warned me that the players may be apprehensive about participating in my study, due to the heavy media attention they had received, they

were wary of being under another form of gaze. At the same time, I came to know of another team that catered to Eritrean refugees (The Neo-Toronto) through colleagues and upon contacting their team manager, was also invited to introduce the study to the team at their first post-Ramadan practice. Eight Neo-Toronto players signed a participation form in which they offered their contact information for the study. This was a very different response to the one I received from the Syrian Hawks, who were much less enthusiastic and inquisitive of the study and myself as a researcher. One participant asked me to clarify my objectives for this study; however, other players seemed uninterested and quiet. After I offered them the sign-up sheet so that they could be contacted later, only one player offered the contact information, while some left with a poster for the study. I revisited the team a few weeks after this initial meeting to re-introduce myself and the study to any players absent the previous introduction, this time receiving the same incurious reaction as before, besides some players agreeing to take a poster. I reached out to the one player who had offered his contact information initially, to which he declined participation because he was too busy to take photographs.

As a result of my lack of success with the Syrian Hawks, I shifted all of my efforts and focus onto the willing participants from the Eritrean soccer team. Of the eight Neo-Toronto players, five participants responded to recruitment and agreed to sign a consent form and submitted their pictures, and four players were present for the discussion forums. Though I had photographs submitted from five players, the rest of the players informed me that a fifth participant had arrived late on the first day of our discussion forums and had been too timid to interrupt the focus group, explaining his absence from the group discussions as a whole. I reached out to this participant and asked if he would be interested in continuing with the study by having three separate one-on-one interviews in person, each lasting approximately 1 hour. The participant agreed to this and in order to simulate his participation in the group discussions, I quoted the participants' responses to some key ideas and questions and asked

him what his thoughts were about these quotes. In addition, I conducted three one hour phone interviews with the team manager, in which I similarly quoted the other participants and posed his thoughts to the quotes in order to create as much of an interactive group discussion as possible. I conducted three one-hour interviews in order to be as consistent as possible with the original photovoice approach, despite the interviews being one-on-one instead of a group discussion. This was in order to yield as much as data as possible so that a substantive analysis could be made about key concepts and ideas. It is important to note that as a result of the aforementioned obstacles to recruitment, staying true to the procedural for PR was challenging; however, I followed the recommendations and principles of PR where able.

3.6 A Note on Translation

Though a translator was not requested or used within the study, it is worth considering the politics of translation and assumptions that requesting a translator may carry for participants. According to Kim (2013), accounting for the cultural and institutional politics of producing knowledge is vital to understanding the context in which language is founded in and translated. As a result of the attached notion, certain languages and knowledges hold more "currency" in the public and academic spheres and more likely to be utilized, translated or used for translation and transference. Thus, acknowledging that the use of English by participants and the rejection of a translator may be informed by the embedded power dynamics that exist within language and translation, or the avoidance of admitting that one may find themselves disarmed or disempowered in the face of structural, cultural and institutional powers. As a result of this, there is an implicit risk that those with greater fluency in English, and thus power, may have dominated and informed the discussions and interpretations of concepts and data. This is especially pertinent since the notions of belonging, home, citizenship, and so forth, are socially constructed and can have multiple meanings.

While I acknowledge this risk, I argue that photovoice methodology nonetheless can provide participants with the tools for communication and expression that go beyond language. Indeed, I witnessed disagreements and debates on the meaning of belonging, citizenship, and sport between fluent English speakers and non-fluent speakers. Participants, who did not have complete fluency in the English language, could express concepts and emotions they may have wanted to articulate, by relying on the images taken and shared. Furthermore, these images allowed for other participants with English fluency to understand the context of what was being communicated in order to support, assist and translate for participants who had captured the photo when the latter struggled with certain words. In addition to translating from Tigrinya and Arabic to English, participants also aided each other in providing terminology for cultural practices and objects pictured in the participants' photographs. Thus, translation was fluid and bidirectional within the group discussion.

3.7 Data Collection and Analysis

Photographs are never simply a transparent window through which we observe scenery, but rather they are representative and interpretive of the way in which we see the world (Pauwels, 2010; Rose, 2016). Discussions surrounding the images taken are integral to the extraction of meanings and representations behind each photo. For this reason, data collection occurred in two stages: a three-step process that was centred on focus group discussions, as well as, separate one-on-one interviews with participants unable to attend the focus groups. This procedure was followed so that the meanings of and motives for the pictures could be further dissected. Focus groups allow participants to relate to or build upon each other, which in turn, would provide insight on recurring themes, ideas and shared experiences.

The three stages of data collection protocol were guided by Wang and Burris' (1997) three-step participatory analysis process. This process entailed: 1) selecting the photos; 2)

contextualizing the photos; and 3) coding. These stages were carried out over the course of three discussion forums. These forums are a critical component of photovoice methodology because the value of photovoice is not solely found within the images that participants take but it can also be found in the dialogue and discussion that they evoke. Participants acted as co-researchers through their description and analysis of their own images, providing extracted information from their own data (i.e. the photos).

Step 1 commenced upon recruitment. This involved pitching the idea and purpose of the study to the team, followed by collecting contact information from those who were interested and agreed to being potential participants. Following this initial meeting, I met with those who had signed up to participate and explained their role in the study, as well as what was required of them (i.e. taking photos, participate in group discussions). Additionally, I emailed these same candidates a copy of the briefing (Appendix C) so that they could refer to the instructions for the logistics of photo taking and the tentative deadline for their submission. Participants were offered the option of using a disposable camera that I provided, their cellular device, or their own camera. Participants were also given the option of using pictures they had already taken or had taken of them previously. All participants used their own cell phones for the picture taking and did not request a disposable camera or alternative. Participants were provided with instructions for the disposable cameras, instructions for uploading images from their devices, and an email address to which they could send their photographs (Appendix C). The parameters for the photos were loosely structured around the concepts of 'belonging,' 'sport,' 'social relationships,' and 'inclusion.' Concepts and/or questions such as 'home' or 'where do you feel happiest?' were provided to serve as a guideline and motive for the photos taken (Appendix E). Participants were given the ability to determine the intended motives for the pictures. Additionally, participants were provided with the opportunity to upload images they had taken in the past that they felt were relevant

to the themes, prompts and questions found on the guideline sheet (Appendix E). Participants were asked to take between 5-15 pictures and submit at least five for analysis. Participants were invited to provide notes with their pictures to assist them in remembering which pictures were associated with their selected prompts/questions/themes during the discussion forums. Participants were given a three-week time frame to take all of their pictures, as the initial two-week time frame was insufficient. Once all of the photos were submitted, they were printed and labelled to identify which photographer took the pictures.

Stage 2 entailed 'selecting the photos' which participants did independently. Participants were asked to choose the images (narrowing down the photos to a select few) they wanted to include in the photovoice study, and that were representative of their voices and intent. These photographs became the designated images for analysis in the subsequent discussion forums. Participants chose between 5-8 pictures for the discussion group. Due to the nature of the methodology and its emphasis on the agency of participants, many of the pictures were not guided by the provided prompts and questions, but by the participants' volition and what they wished to talk about.

Stage 3 of the data collection took place over the course of three discussion forums which took place in an office room at the Hackberry Park Stadium (name of the original stadium has been changed to ensure anonymity) where the team would regularly meet for practice, in order to be accommodating and convenient for participants. Participants were reimbursed for their transportation costs, if they had taken public transportation. Participants also received an honorarium of 15$ in cash at the end of the study.

At each discussion forum, two members would present and speak on their photographs, enabling a roundtable discussion. Each forum lasted between 60 to 90 minutes. All discussion forums were audio recorded using the N28 8G MP3 Digital Voice Recorder; I also took notes during the group discussions. A translator was not requested by participants, and discussions

were in English. Participants were asked to contextualize and codify the images they chose to examine in stage 1. Contextualizing involved participants explaining and elaborating on the content of their images, as well as what they meant and the feelings they evoked. Codifying, according to Wang and Burris (1997), is the process of sorting the data and discussions by identifying key ideas that can be categorized within three dimensions that arise from the discussion process: issues, themes or theories. To facilitate the discussion, I also drew on Wang's (1999) photovoice technique of guided dialogue, called "SHOWeD," for when participants were having difficulties with discussion (p.188; Wallerstein, 1994). SHOWeD is an acronym for the guiding questions:

S: What do we **See** here?

H: What is really **Happening** here?

O: How does this relate to **Our** lives?

We: **Why** does this situation, concern or strength **Exist**?

D: What can we **Do** about it?

This technique was, however, used very sparingly and only for participants who were stuck or unable to elaborate upon their images. These questions were used as prompts to elicit analysis and critical thinking. The reason for the calculated use of this technique is due to the fact that other researchers have found that it can also be overly prescriptive and thus limiting for participants (Palibroda, Krieg, Murdock & Havelock, 2009; McIntyre, 2003). In practice, the SHOWeD acronym served as a template for more relevant and specific focus group discussion questions such as: "why did you take this picture?", "how does it relate to your life?", and "what comes to your mind when looking at this picture?" In addition, participants completed a survey regarding citizenship status, immigration status, age, gender, marital status, and number of children (discussed in the results chapter). Participants' names were on the survey.

Data analysis in participatory research like photovoice is an ongoing process that can overlap with data collection (Palibroda, Krieg, Murdock & Havelock, 2009). Thus, preliminary data analysis occurred through the discussion of the pictures (the data) that the participants took. Thus, their involvement in this step was to elaborate and identify themes and key issues that their image symbolized or represented. By drawing attention to the meanings behind their images, the various ways in which participants experienced social inclusion were extracted and then analyzed using Maxwell et al.'s (2013) modification of Bailey's (2008) four dimensions of how sport can facilitate social inclusion. Bailey's (2008) framework reflects the multi-faceted features of social inclusion and having asked the participants to highlight the conditions of when and where they feel socially included through photovoice methodology, allowed for me to gain a nuanced insight into their complex nuanced realities. Once these discussion focus groups had concluded, a secondary data analysis occurred simultaneously with transcription of focus groups discussions. As audio recordings were being transcribed using the NVIVO software, I periodically paused to write down any key words or ideas that seemed relevant to the discussion. This allowed me to collect my initial thoughts and impressions of what the overall data (discussion and images) suggest. Once all audio recordings were transcribed, a tertiary preliminary data analysis was conducted by listening to the audio and reading the transcriptions. In this second stage of preliminary data analysis, I was able to solidify some of themes, issues, and ideas brought about by the first stage of preliminary data analysis, as well as select supporting quotes and passages. These three stages of preliminary data analysis set the footing for coding schemes to be developed. Using the NVIVO coding software, typically used for non-numeric data, sections of the transcript were labelled and categorized according to their relevant themes, referred to as "nodes" on the software. These codes were then organized into a coding tree which was then labelled by a statement of the overarching theme relevant to the greater

context of the project. These codes were attached to the relevant images and visuals identified by participants. Theoretical frameworks by Maxwell et al and Antonsich (2010) were also organized into "top level nodes" labelled "Maxwell's Social Inclusion Framework" and "Belonging." These top level nodes (or overarching labels) were then assigned "child nodes" (sub-categories of relevant ideas or dimensions) in order to distinguish between the different stages and dimensions of Maxwell et al.'s modified version of Bailey's (2008) social inclusion framework, and key features of Antonsich's (2010) framework of belonging such as "Citizenship" and "feeling at home." Relevant passages and quotes were separately coded into each of these top level and child nodes for further analysis. Codes and themes were presented to participants via email for feedback and confirmation of their accuracy. Out of the six participants, three responded by confirming that they were comfortable with the accuracy of key themes and issues identified.

3.8 Rigour

To ensure that the study was conducted with rigour and that findings are trustworthy, I followed Guba's (1981) strategies and recommendations for trustworthy qualitative projects. To assert the credibility of the study, I kept detailed logs of the research process, which included personal reflections, meetings with my supervisor and advisory committee, participants during each discussion forum, as well as meetings with the managers of the sports team (Guba, 1981). Guba (1981) recommends that rapport and dialogue be established prior to data collection, which I had initiated via phone and in-person introduction with both potential participants and the team managers. Beyond this initial contact, I kept in consistent contact with participants via email to keep them informed of the study and any developments of which they should be aware (Guba, 1981). To verify the accuracy of the data collected, as well as the interpretations of the data, I conducted "member checks" (to which three participants responded to) (Guba, 1981, p. 68). These checks allow for participants to review

the discussion forum for accuracy, as well as the way in which the transcripts were coded for themes and topics, and the study's findings. Plunkett, Leipert and Ray also endorse Guba's strategies for rigour for photovoice and emphasize the importance of checking data and the interpretations of data with the participants to ensure that it "uphold faithfulness of the participants' constructs" (2013, p.7). This provides participants the opportunity to provide feedback, whether they be confirmation or criticism of the data and findings (Guba, 2004). This aided in ensuring that the findings are in fact reflective of the participants' voices (Guba, 2004).

3.9 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is an important step in the process of producing valuable and rigorous qualitative research, as it requires researchers to take a step back while simultaneously examining the composites of their personal paradigm and its impact on their work (Finlay, 2002). According to Finlay (2002), reflexive introspection is a valuable way in which researchers can use their personal revelations as a way to form insight and interpretations, as their experiences are the primary evidence. When I first began my Masters, the only thing I was certain about was that I wished to do my research on refugees. After considerable reflection, encouraged by the reflexivity process, I gained self-awareness about how my personal experiences had heavily influenced the decision to work with refugees. My own parents had arrived in Canada as refugees, and for much of my life I had seen them grapple with feeling like 'outcasts' and 'guests' who were imposing on their host country. As a result, much of my perceptions of the world and my place with in it, was heavily influenced by those of my parents. I too began to internalize feelings of social exclusion and disconnect with the nation in which I was born. As I grew older, I began to wonder if my parents' experiences were singular or whether they were shared by others who had arrived in Canada as refugees

as well. My curiosity surrounding these experiences ultimately shaped my research question, and motives for conducting the study.

As a result of these personal experiences, often found myself being baffled by the data, as they often contested my own notions and assumptions that citizenship and legal status played a marginal role in belonging. My parents had always expressed indignation and feelings of disillusionment towards the Canadian nation state, and thus their notions and perceptions of belonging (despite being tied to politics) had very little to do with citizenship and legal rights. This was primarily because they felt that despite the written laws and policies meant to protect their rights, these rights had systematically been violated in practice and ultimately my parents remained cynical towards Canada and the discourse of multiculturalism. While this disenchantment was solidified in my parent's post-migration experience, the circumstances by which they were rendered refugees was highly influential in predisposing them to such a sentiment. My parents felt that they had been forced to migrate as a result of the covert involvement of Western States in the Iran-Iraq war, leaving them no options but to choose life in the Nation partly responsible for their fear of impending death. Having their Canadian academic credentials not validated with employment in the field of electrical engineering, aggravated the exclusion and marginalization my parents were already feeling. This is not an uncommon narrative for refugees, many of whom feel as though their past selves, skills and experience are "garbage" in Canada, like Yasin Sharif has expressed to the Toronto Star (Zarzour, 2019). This has left some caught between feeling indebted and indignant (Zarzour, 2019). History, Gatrelle argues, is vital to understanding the "administrative practices, legal norms, social relations and refugees' experiences", what he also dubs as "refugeedom". Though my own experiences were not that of a refugee's, I had anticipated that the participants would have similar experiences of social exclusion that I had observed in my parents. During the focus groups, I had to make sure at several points that my

probes were not angled in a particular direction because I subconsciously may have wanted those assumptions to be fulfilled. Though this 'bias' may have initially seemed to be an obstacle for analysis, I found that it catalyzed deeper critical thought once data had been collected. As the themes and issues that were apparent in the data were the opposite of what I had been anticipating, it caused for me to further examine what factors were not present in my own experience and may have ultimately led to this unique experience. This lead me to understand that though the main focus of this thesis was on the narratives of refugees in Canada, and thus their post-migration experiences, it is important to understand their history behind what appears to be a "contemporary crisis" (Gatrell, 2015, p.174). Due to the Eritrean diaspora history of displacement, the participants did not fit the typical understanding and characteristics of what it means to be a refugee, causing me to unpack and re-evaluate my own presumptions on what it meant to be displaced. These concepts and themes are discussed more extensively in the Results and Discussion chapter (Chapter 4).

Chapter 4 Results & Discussion

4.1 Introduction

The Results and Discussion chapter begins with a discussion of belonging, using Antonsich's (2010) framework, including the context for the participants' sense of identity and belonging, as well as prominent themes including Intergenerational displacement, Belonging and Citizenship, Granting and Claiming Belonging, Social Belonging and Ethno-specific teams. This is followed by a discussion of social inclusion, using a modified version of Bailey's (2008) framework (Maxwell et al., 2013). Results are discussed in relation to the two stages of Maxwell et al.'s framework and then further examined in relation to the dimensions described by Bailey's original model. Finally, the role of sport in belonging and social inclusion, specifically the spatial dimension, are discussed, through the view that soccer is uniquely positioned and experienced to facilitate belonging and inclusion.

4.2 Context for Identity and Belonging

4.2.1 Intergenerational Displacement

The refugee experience is often thought to be a linear series of events that leads an individual and/or a family to be displaced from their country of origin due to precarious and dangerous situations, and to seek refuge in a host country (Al-Sharmani, 2007; Goodwin-Gill & McAdam, 2007; Nolan, 2006; Simich, Beiser, & Mawani, 2003). Nolin (2006) highlights this rhetoric by stating that the refugee experience is one that differs from that of an immigrant's due to the difference in agency and choice and "the social processes that bind the two contexts when physical presence is impossible in the home country … for refugees, physical mobility is often short-term, one-way, and violence-induced" (p.183). The process of displacement can be difficult and tumultuous, with the possibility of waiting in several

countries before a country grants refuge; however, what is seldom considered is the refugee experience as being intergenerational and the unpacking of the refugees ties to the 'home-country' or nation of birth. In the case of the study participants, nearly all the participants (with the exception of one) were born in Saudi Arabia and some had never been to Eritrea. Thus, most had not experienced first-hand the 20-year conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia. In other words, the participants were born into a refugee status, as a result of their parents' displacement, and like them, were seeking refuge in a country in which their status could never be changed, and they had no opportunity to gain citizenship. Because of the protracted conflict and displacement, being a refugee had been passed from one generation to the next. The concept of generational displacement is one that has been to some degree, captured in discussions surrounding intergenerational trauma and refugee migration, which is defined as the "[t]rauma experienced in one generation affects the health and well-being of descendants of future generations" (Sangalang & Vang, 2017, p.2). This speaks to trauma that offsprings of refugees may inherit, despite never having directly experienced the trauma itself (whether it be displacement, violence, abuse, persecution etc.). However, in this thesis I would like to make the distinction between intergenerational displace and trauma in the context of this study, in that intergenerationally displaced people (IDP) can be conceptualized as individuals who were born into a state of displacement as a result of a lack of rights and legal status (due to the refugee laws of the nation-state which deny them from seeking citizenship, permanent residency or equal liberties) and took on a migration of their own. To some extent, intergenerationally displaced participants are both subjected to the indirect trauma of the migration of their parents, and the direct trauma of protracted displacement and their own migration and (re)settlement in a new host country. Having been born into the status of "refugee" has different implications for how belonging is conceptualized (as will be unpacked in this chapter) and intergenerational displacement offers a conceptual term to

capture the experiences of the study participants. Moreover, the effects of intergenerational displacement on belonging will be explored and expanded upon, such as the tensions and resentment that exists between participants and Saudi Arabia, as well this tension's contributions to national pride as Eritreans. Participants acknowledge that their experiences may be unique, explaining that they are aware "it sounds kind of weird" or atypical compared to normative assumptions about refugees' experiences. This concept was a recurring theme in the stories and narratives behind their photos, and in the conversations during the discussion forums, and ultimately it highlights how the experiences participants had prior to migration can contextualize and effect how the participants defined and claimed their sense of belonging.

Participants were single Eritrean males between the age range of 17-25 and had been in Canada between 2-15 years (except for the team manager who was married, 37 years of age, and had been in Canada for over 20 years). Hamza, the youngest of the group at 17, had spent the majority of his life in Canada, and was the most talkative within group discussions, often sparking tangential conversations about my equipment, my ethnic background, and my field of study, all while making jokes about himself and his teammates. Despite his ease and comfort in conversation, Hamza made his conversational boundaries clear at several points, expressing his apprehension in regard to speaking about race, declaring it as "political" and not a topic with which he wished to engage. Hasan who was 18 years of age, had arrived in Canada at the age 10, and like Hamza, was a fluent English speaker. Hasan was soft-spoken and pensive, taking his time to think about the questions I posed to him, sometimes admitting that he did not have a rationale for a particular opinion or feeling, but was all the while confident in his responses. Ali, who was 22 years old, was the quietest member of the group, rarely chiming in voluntary, and often agreeing with the other participants. He had been in Canada for two years, and despite his shyness, was engaged in the conversation, provided

insightful answers, and at times posed my questions back to me. Amir, at 25 years old, was the eldest participant of the discussion group. He had been in Canada for nearly five years and was nearly as talkative as Hamza and provided a vast amount of insight into how his post-arrival experiences contrasted with his life in Saudi Arabia. Despite Yasin initially being too shy to join the first discussion meeting because he was late and was thus absent from the group discussions, it was clear to me that he would have been able to compete with Hamza's ease in conversation. Yasin (20 years old), like Ali, had been in Canada for two years. He spoke with great self-awareness, much of which he attributed to having taken a sociology course in night school. He spoke in depth and with confidence about his understanding of belonging and how it was related to his legal status. Finally, Arif, the team manager, was very calm and collected but overall had a tired demeanor which he attributed to having to manage the team and his personal life. He was thoughtful and insightful in all his responses, taking time to reflect on the questions and topics I posed to him.

All of the participants identified as Eritrean, a shared identity between them and their teammates; however, many of them had a complex sense of identity and were shaped by and critical of the effects of being born in a country where they were treated as abject and were raised in ethnic enclaves where "Eritreans were only with other Eritreans" due to ostracization. Yasin, one of the participants, elaborated that he had started to feel like he wasn't from Saudi Arabia at all "because of all the politics and stuff [there]". Moreover, when asked what they would say if they were asked where they were from, they would say "I would say I'm Eritrean. I was born in Saudi Arabia" or that their parents were raised outside of Eritrea. Hamza elaborated the intricacies his parents' migration story having had several stops (Sudan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia) before "finally settling in Canada", demonstrating that the process of migration can be protracted for individuals who are intergenerationally displaced, before finally finding a place in which the roots of (re)settlement can be cultivated.

The (un)settling of those experiencing intergenerationally displacement has implications and influence on their culture, language and practices. Hamza expressed "the weird thing is, my mom and dad are Eritrean, but they know fluent Arabic, cause they moved to Egypt when they were 18, they went to Sudan. Saudi Arabia". Similarly, Hasan indicated that his home had an array of cultural references, his mother having had decorated their home with not just Eritrean inspired decor, but "Middle Eastern stuff" as well. Moreover, the players explained that despite knowing varying degrees of fluency in Tigrinya (the official language of Eritrea), the participants' language of choice for speaking with one another was Arabic, a language that is not native to Eritrea but is spoken by many Eritreans and is the official language of Saudi Arabia.

Consequently, for some participants, the intergenerational displacement went as far back as three generations, such as Ali explained that his father was the only one in his immediate family to have experienced displacement from the 'homeland' and point of origin, stating that "'cause, my mom, she was born and raised in Saudi Arabia. So, my father was born in Eritrea, and he taught her everything about the traditions and stuff. So, yeah, my dad also taught us about those things." Ali's statement expresses his navigation of his own identity and roots, via his father, who he believes to be the embodiment of authentic Eritrean tradition and culture within his immediate family. It seems that to Ali, that his father, as a first-generation displaced person, is a vessel for the unadulterated essence of Eritrea to be in order to fill the gaps and distance in the self that the intergenerational displacement has caused. Furthermore, the effects of intergenerational displacement on authenticity of identity, according to participants, can even translate in the way one takes Eritrean coffee, as they unanimously agreed with Hasan that "those that drink it dark are considered to be really, really Eritrean", and that the participants and their age cohort diluted the strength of their coffee. The more cream and sugar added into the cup, the more it is indicative of dilution of

the attachment and proximity to their motherland. Despite the growing estrangement from their 'motherland' (or in Ali's case 'fatherland'), the participants remain loyal to Eritrea, stating that their response to the question "Where are you from?" would first be answered with "I'm Eritrea" followed by any further explanation about where they were born or raised. This strong sense of nationalism could be the result of rejection from their birthplace and its native society, leaving them in a protracted state of exile that, unlike their parents, required no migration or journey. As Yasin expressed that he longs to visit Eritrea and not having had the chance to "[...]it kind of hurts. You want to see your country [...] but like, it kind of hurts when you're old, and you want to feel included, cause my friends go there [Eritrea] and they said 'oh, I finally felt like I'm really in my country.'" As Said writes, the exiled may develop a deep sense of nationalism and patriotism in order to alleviate alienation and ostracization, for "how does one surmount the loneliness of exile without falling into the encompassing and thumping language of national pride, collective sentiments, group passions?" (2000, p. 117). Moreover, many of the participants demonstrated an internal tension as they had attachments to Saudi Arabia as their birthplace, but also felt resentment towards the government and Arab society. Yasin made this tension between his birthplace and motherland explicit when he was asked how he would respond to the question "where are you from?" by stating: "Well, I'm from – I'm Eritrean. I'm born in Saudi Arabia, which is not really good thing."

Due to being intergenerationally displaced, the ways in which the participants defined and understood belonging differed from the typical trajectory of refugee experience (a temporal state) where displacement from 'homeland' is assumed to end with settlement in the host country (Nolan, 2006). For Yasin, like most of the participants, his place of origin that was not a 'homeland,' in the way that Eritrea had been for his parents. In his birthplace and what was for his parents, a host country, Yasin's desire to settle was denied and stunted.

Marked from birth as a refugee, Yasin remained in an 'in between' state of refugeeness. Yasin went on to say:

> Most of my friends were like "we hate this country [Saudi Arabia], blah, blah, blah" cause, I was sitting with people older than me. 'Cause they face some problem that I didn't face. I was in high school, so I didn't have any problem for work, because I wasn't even looking for work. But like, when they're like 'I hate this country,' I didn't see anything bad from this country. It's the country I born, so, I can't hate it for nothing. But, once I finished high school, in that few months, once I started searching for work. I start working and everything was going right, like, now after this job I won't be able to find any more job, which is not very good. So, that was one of the reasons that I hate it.

According to Yasin, his disenfranchisement became increasingly clear with time, feeling frustrated, disempowered and denied belonging as a result of being denied the opportunity to pursue higher education, fair and equitable employment, and thus to integrate in a way in which he deemed meaningful in his own birthplace. For the participants, being born into displacement and denied citizenship and its associated rights and opportunities, was isolating. For example, Ali, expressed that he felt excluded when "it comes in terms of employment." Another participant (Amir) described that despite his primary culture and language being that of a Saudi Arabian's, he realized over time that his status (displacement) would leave him socially, politically and economically stagnant and excluded, stating "you never knew you're not from Saudi till you become old." Saudi Arabia, despite its large refugee populations, has no procedures in place through which vulnerable people can seek asylum (UNHCR, 2018). Refugees are unable to successfully integrate in Saudi society, as the country is not a signatory of the UNHCR *1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons* and the *1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness (*UNHCR, 2018). Signing these

conventions would have made the Saudi Arabian government responsible for ensuring basic rights such as education, employment, and housing (UNHCR, 2018).

It is clear that participants are caught in an involuted and strained relationship with their birth country, at times referencing Saudi Arabia as "home," (Ali, Hasan, and Amir) because family and friends are there, but that they would never want to live there again. This conundrum in which participants find themselves complicates Antonsich's conceptual framework for belonging and attachments to a 'home-place.' The complexities and contradictions of this 'feeling at home' are present in all the participants who refer to both Saudi Arabia and Eritrea as "back home," even while its expression does not necessarily mean that they felt like they belong. Yasin acknowledges this contradiction quite a few times, stating that even though he feels like he does not belong in Saudi Arabia, that it would be a lie to say that it was not his first thought when reflecting on the word 'home.' He explained "although, I hate the government. It's still number one for me. If they gave me a chance to go back now, and they pay for my ticket, I would go. As tourist, to see my friends and family, but not to live there." Both Ali, Yasin, and the other participants offer a unique perspective on belonging, one that highlights the paradox of a 'home-place' that is unliveable. It is this very paradox that reflects how intergenerational displacement has affected their sentiments towards their birthplace, as there is yearning to have been granted the opportunity belong to the place whose culture and language are so deeply embedded in their everyday lives. There is an unspoken agreement among participants that had they been offered equal rights and opportunities, Saudi Arabia would not have been a place of displacement, and their desire to belong would have been welcomed. Instead, being born into displacement and in Saudi Arabia in particular meant that their journey had not yet ended, and they would ultimately seek belonging elsewhere.

The impact of this lack of access to rights and citizenship on belonging is not captured by Antonsich's framework as it places much emphasis on self-determined belonging; however, placing such an emphasis on agency may overlook and assume that the individual has the same rights and liberties as their countrymen, prior to their migration. Having had transitioned from a place of political belonging (a homeland or birthplace in which they had equal rights and liberties) to a host country in which (re)settlement includes rights and liberties like that of average citizen may allow refugees to exert their agency in self-actualizing what it means to belong. Yet, in the case of the study participants, being denied rights, liberties and opportunities, despite having been born and raised in Saudi Arabia, set the tone for how they viewed the relationship between belonging and citizenship, especially in Canada.

4.3 Belonging and Citizenship

The rejection by the Saudi Arabian government of those who were born within its borders made participants indignant towards Saudi Arabia for "weirdly" (Yasin) not affording them this same validation. This denial of citizenship left participants feeling rejected from their country of birth, and viewing the possibility of gaining citizenship in a new country (Canada), as the ability to also cultivate an emotional attachment to a "home-place" within their host country and a sense of belonging to the host-country (Antonsich, 2010, p.8). Some participants believed that without citizenship, one could not identify themselves with their host nation or their birthplace. For Hamza (a Canadian citizen), for example, citizenship was equated to belonging, or at least to being able to claim 'Canadianess.' When asked if he considered his parents to be Canadian, he stated that they could claim "Canadian-Eritrean, they can say that if they want. Cause they did get their Canadian citizenship." He went on to add that someone who was not Canadian was someone "who didn't gain a Canadian citizenship. Someone who lives in a different country from

ours." In contrast to this, Yasin offers a more nuanced perspective on the relationship between one's birthplace and belonging, in that it does not guarantee citizenship or the right to belong, stating:

> This country, if you're born here, they're going to treat you as citizen. And give you all the rights you need, and they'll give you all the like, let's say, something happens to you, you're broke, the government is going to fund you to raise your kids, cause they're born here. Even if they're not born here, they're going to give you rights, as a human being. I would call my kids Canadian if they're born here, but I wouldn't call myself Arab, even though I was born in Saudi Arabia.

Yasin felt that individuals' claim on the nation was contingent upon citizenship, thus making it impossible for him to do so in relation to his birthplace. While it is important to heed Antonsich's (2010) warning that belonging should not be equated with the granting of citizenship at the risk of neglecting agency, in the case of the participants, citizenship and legal rights as individuals influenced whether they experience feelings of social inclusion or belonging.

Participants voiced that being a refugee born in Saudi Arabia was restrictive and limiting, leaving them to feel like they were denied the opportunity to grow. For example, Ali recalled a specific time when his lack of citizenship resulted in a reduction in wage for a potential job:

> So, I had an interview, the guy thought I was from Saudi Arabia. He told "you get 4,500." So, that's a lot. So, I went out and my friends told me, it's impossible, maybe he thinks you're from Saudi Arabia. I went back and told him "I'm not from Saudi Arabia." He said "Oh, I thought you were from Saudi Arabia." So, I'd get 45% less. I told him, I don't want the job.

Ali's account reflects how in Saudi Arabia, non-Arabs are not given the same opportunities as native Arabs in terms of employment, education and housing (Norman, 2015). Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries rely on short-term transitory workers who mainly do manual labour or retail work, thus limiting individuals such as Ali from integrating into the labour market in his desired field (Norman, 2015). Even if refugees are offered employment, the jobs are not equitable and do not match the salary of citizens. It is not surprising then that participants described how Eritrean refugees in Saudi Arabia live in enclaves and only maintain relationships with other Eritreans.

Having the opportunity to progress and have access to employment was an important milestone for the participants. Yasin presented a picture of himself jumping in the air (Fig.1), a picture for which he had hired a professional photographer, despite discouragement from friends, in order to commemorate the acquisition of his first "real job." He explained: "But, this picture is when I first started working in [The Department Store], and that was like a real career job, and start making good money. Not really good money, but like, still part-time money, it's good. So, I paid a photographer, which I never thought I was gonna do." The importance of being valued – as reflected through employment – is demonstrated through the striking contrast between Ali's experience in Saudi Arabia noted above, versus Yasin's photo and explanation of his first job in Canada. The difference, also highlighted by participants themselves, is that in Canada, refugees can apply for a work permit and Social Insurance Number even without citizenship or permanent residency. Certainly, not all refugees receive a work permit and the lower employment rates among refugees in Canada have already been noted. Nonetheless, the participants drew a connection between a lack of citizenship, rights and limited employment opportunities, as a result of their experiences in Saudi Arabia, and interpreted this lack of opportunities as disempowering and restricting. Thus, having rights,

status or citizenship, was essential to their progress, empowerment, and their desire to feel like a valued and indispensable member of their society.

Hasan offered a different view of citizenship and belonging. He contested the notion that citizenship or length of stay grant you the ability to claim belonging, nor did he attribute belonging to successfully integrating in the Canadian labour market. Instead, he believed that being a Canadian was a "lifestyle." Ali added that a Canadian was "someone who drinks beer. Watches some hockey. Eats some poutine." Hasan's notion of Canadianness was present even in the most banal daily routines, such as what time you wake up, when you eat your breakfast, and whether you take coffee in the morning. Thus, he believed his mother would never be "Canadian at heart." He then added that "my mom and my aunts are not Canadian. Uncles are not Canadian. [Laughing] And no matter how long they live here, they're just not Canadian." We cannot assume that his mother, aunt, and uncles interpret or view their own citizenship and belonging in the way that Hasan described. Nonetheless, the notion that Canadianess is authenticated by emotion and derives from "the heart" is not far from what Antonsich (2010) believes to be an integral aspect of self-determined belonging. Even with the politics of citizenship and rights, belonging is fundamentally an emotional attachment.

While participants spoke of eventually seeking citizenship or permanent residency (for those who did not have it yet), their legal status as refugees in Canada was sufficient enough for them to emphasize the ameliorated context of their lives, in contrast to Saudi Arabia. Though in both Canada and Saudi Arabia, their legal status was that of a "refugee," participants stated that they felt that their legal status in Canada made them feel they had equal access and opportunity. This position was further supported by the belief that Canada is meritocracy, in contrast to the lack of rights for refugees in Saudi Arabia where they experienced "a feeling of inferiority." This is particularly evident through Amir's photo of

his graduation, which for him was as an important accomplishment and marker of progress (Fig.2). Amir expressed his appreciation for this meritocracy by stating:

> Yeah, they [Saudi Arabia] will not let you do whatever you wanna do easily. Even though you can, it's not that easy compared to here. Here, depends on how hard you work to achieve – but in Saudi, like, you worked hard, maybe single thing that can stop you from doing what you want to do. One of them is education too, it's not easy, like.

For Amir, having the freedom to do whatever you wish was dependent on hard work because he believed that barriers, such as those he encountered in Saudi Arabia (i.e., very limited rights), did not exist in Canada. According to Antonsich (2010), at the centre of the politics of belonging is an "'us' vs 'them' discourse" that produces a belonging to place and belonging to group, and thus "belonging becomes synonymous with identity, both social and individual" (p. 13). The discourse of 'us vs them', in the case of Amir while living in Canada, was particularly prominent as he was made to feel antagonized due to being a refugee, thus preventing him from belonging as he was rejected and pushed to the margins of 'us' (Nationals). Additionally, this rhetoric can lead to the conflating of identity politics and the politics of belonging, as we see Yasin display through his belief that citizenship is both the ability to claim an identity as well as belonging.

In his framework, Antonsich does not define belonging as being found on a spectrum, but rather argues that the agency of an individual deserves equal footing to the influence of the politics and power dynamics of belonging. However, in the case of IDP's who have lived in protracted displacement, belonging is more dynamic and a spectrum that is dependent on a displaced person's experience prior to migration. Participants made it evident that gaining legal status whereby their rights are protected and are similar to citizens, is an appreciable part of how they understand the concept of belonging. Indeed, their sense of belonging seems

to be tied to feeling as though citizenship (or having similar rights as a citizen), validates their sense of worth and whether their host country views them as valuable and contributing residents. Finding a host country (Canada) in which sought after rights can be a tangible possibility means not only belonging, but also, as Yasin put it earlier, to have rights, simply "as a human being."

4.4 Granting and Claiming Belonging

The participants' experiences illustrate that it is indeed a powerful thing to bestow or deny entry, access, rights or, in this case, citizenship. As Antonsich states, every politics of belonging involves two opposite sides: the side which claims belonging and the side which has the power of 'granting' belonging. To elaborate, belonging will always be "a process of negotiation – as well as rejection, violation, and transgression – [...] either at the individual or at the collective scale or both" (2010, p.14; see also Croucher 2004). What Antonsich (2010) points out is that legal status is complicated because it is a dual process of seeking and granting, and that the process of granting belonging is imbued with power. These power relations shaped the participants' experiences and greatly impacted their understanding of belonging and acceptance. For example, when asked what it meant to be accepted, Yasin responded: "Acceptance? To get your PR [Permanent Residency]. This means accepted." Yasin later stated that acceptance was related to power and whether you are wanted: "If the government wants you, they gonna take you. It's not the Canadian citizens or the Canadian community, 'cause they don't have any power to do anything." Yasin was not alone in his awareness of the power dynamics of seeking and granting belonging, as indicated by other participants' emphasis on institutions and the power to confer belonging.

If the institutions in power (in this case, the Canadian government), granted refugees the legal status that entitled them to rights and freedoms, these entities were seen as benevolent. When asked what adjectives they associated with 'Canada,' Ali responded with

"power," elaborating that "They're rich. They're a powerful country," with Hamza adding that "It's like a big country with a kind heart. It's a way of saying 'Canada'." Though this statement alludes to the goodwill of the Canadian government despite being a very 'powerful' nation, participants believe that it prioritizes humanitarian needs, and is munificent in granting acceptance into its borders. Ali went on to agree that in comparison to other global powers, "We're more welcoming than other countries, I guess. Like, say for example, America. We're allowing in Syrian people." Another participant reaffirmed the notions of benevolence and goodwill of those with the power to authorize status when saying: "It's known that Canadians are nice. Like, they're so welcoming. And the government gives you chance to educate. Although, there is loans and stuff to pay, they still give you chance to educate." Ali's testimony reproduces the stereotype of the 'nice Canadians,' and believes that it isn't without debt, the Canadian government is perceived by Ali and other participants as generous for offering the opportunity to receive an education. As the participants' experiences illustrate, when you do not have the same basic rights and liberties as fellow nationals in their place of birth, you do not have the liberty to explore the boundaries and dimensions of belonging, beyond citizenship or protected legal status. Self-determined belonging then is not possible if political entitlement and equal rights are denied. Since nation-states hold the power to grant its residents with rights and liberties, and according to the participants, these rights and liberties are essential to their belonging, the granting of loans, opportunities and rights by Canada was understood as granting them the right to belonging.

4.5 Social Belonging

Where the aforementioned structural and institutional effects illustrate macro level analysis of the process of belonging, social belonging looks at micro level interactions and is, according to Antonsich, a key component of the process of belonging. Antonsich defines

social belonging as "the everyday social relations and exchanges [...] that immigrants are often participating in" (2010, p.14), similar to the way in which he defines micro-publics. Micro-publics are the casual, "occasional interactions with strangers with whom we come to share public space" (Antonsich, 2010, p.14). Originally coined by Amin, 'micro-publics' include "sports or music clubs, drama/theatre groups, communal gardens, youth participation schemes and so on" (2002, p.958). They represent spaces in which a diverse group of people are unified through purposeful and structured collective activity, allowing them to break out of static forms of connections and learn new ways of interaction and self-reflection (Amin, 2002).

Examples of such micro-publics were also within the participants' experiences. In fact, participants stated it was through everyday interactions with people whom they perceived to be Canadian citizens, that made them feel welcomed. When asked about their social interactions with Canadians, Yasin stated:

> Yasin: Yeah, in the bus stop, some people are gonna be mad, and they're like "this bus is always late" and like, in my work, my work colleagues will just come and talk to you like "how are you?" And "are you new here?" Stuff like that.
>
> DM: And how does that make you feel?
>
> Yasin: That makes you feel more belonged and more into the culture. For you to like, stay here in the country. Rather than just taking off studying, making money, and going back home and stay there.

This participant recounted how people at his bus stop or his colleagues at his work would engage him in small talk. In doing so, he felt like he belonged within the culture of his workplace or even beyond, such that he wished to stay in Canada longer, rather than focusing on studying or working, and then ultimately going back home and never to return. While "going back home" implies that home is not Canada, it is evident that he nonetheless feels

more ‘at home’ through such casual interactions. In fact, all the participants agreed that such everyday encounters were reflective of ‘Canadian culture,’ which was described by almost all of the participant as the apologetic nature and humility of Canadians, which in turn made the participants feel welcomed and a part of their environment.

Despite their significance for the participants of this study, Antonsich (2010) states that these micro-publics are not “sufficient to generate a sense of connectedness to others on which belonging relies” (Baumeister & Leary 1995, p. 500; Sicakkan & Lithman 2005, p. 25-26). This is because micro-publics are superficial and “weak ties” while strong, personal relationships are what are conducive to generating (group) belonging (Antonsich, 2010, p.14). These relationships are meant to be long lasting, positive and stable with frequent physical interactions in order to be conducive to generating a sense of belonging. In the case of the participants, the relationships with their peers on the team exemplified the deep connections and relationships that according to Antonsich foster legitimate social belonging. For example, many of the participants’ photographs included members of their team and family members (Fig. 3 & Fig. 4). During the discussion of their photographs of ‘belonging’ that included images of team members, the study participants emphasized the importance of the social networks within the team that were critical to their sense of (group) belonging. This sense of belonging and connection was especially evident to me during the discussion of photos of household objects (Fig. 5) that elicited memories of social gatherings and connections with their culture. For example, when discussing Hasan’s picture of the Quran (Fig. 6), Ali stated that the picture resonated with him because it made him think of his grandmother, and the religious discussions they would have together, while Amir stated that it reminded him of how praying in Saudi Arabia was collective and “easier” because when it was prayer time “everything stopped.” This received several nods of acknowledgment, with Hasan adding “it’s a different atmosphere.” The players connected with one another as

teammates certainly, but these relationships were further fostered and deepened through common references, experiences, and perspectives, as evident through the conversation about Hasan's photos. Furthermore, the emphasis on these networks highlighted the significance of being able to participate on an ethno-specific soccer team, especially for their settlement. In other words, through participation on an Eritrean soccer team, participants were able to foster a social network with other Eritreans which in turn facilitated their settlement. Specifically, having access to an Eritrean social network helped them in terms of meeting basic needs, alleviating their loneliness, and subsequently solidifying their sense of (group) belonging. The topic of ethno-specific soccer teams and shared experiences amongst the players is discussed in further detail in the next section.

These forms of social belonging that participants experienced in Canada were in stark contrast to those in Saudi Arabia, illustrating how in Saudi Arabia, citizenship was synonymous with ethnicity, as well as group belonging. Thus, without citizenship, refugees found themselves at a disempowered position compared to Saudi Arabian citizens who, second to the government, hold the power to grant social belonging to refugees. Amir attested to feeling socially excluded and alienated because he was a refugee in Saudi Arabia, stating:

> Even though we were born there, and some Saudis were thinking that we were Saudis, once they realized that we weren't Saudi, they would treat you – 'cause I have my own experience, like, there were a few guys who didn't know I wasn't Saudi, but when they found out I'm not Saudi, they stopped talking to me

Despite having been born and raised in Saudi Arabia and feeling that they were raised within Saudi Arabian culture (so much so that their first language was Arabic and they frequently referenced to Saudi Arabia colloquially as 'Saudi'), participants stated they could not call themselves Saudi Arabian because [they] were not Arab." Amir and the rest of the participants were aware of the contradictions that existed within their own ideas of what it

meant to belong in Canada versus Saudi Arabia. Participants were in agreement that to be born in Canada assured their right to belong in Canada and to assert your belonging within society. While in Saudi Arabia, "even though [they] were born" there, it was inconsequential in their sense of belonging, because to the state and society, it meant nothing. For Yasin, this social exclusion was indicative of him not belonging, because for him, belonging required that "you feel like your engaged in every conversation and every plan. [If] they don't give you a chance to join them. You're not belong to that group." Likewise, Amir stated that "[...] I've heard a lot of people like that, with the same experience. So, you can't feel like you belong there since they don't accept you."

It is not difficult to understand why, when considering the experience of isolation and ostracization participants faced in Saudi Arabia, that everyday social interactions had a positive impression on participants and influence on their social belonging in Canada. Despite Antonsich's assertion that these micro-publics are insufficient in establishing a sense of social belonging, in the case of this study, it is an understated concept and process. The participants who experienced adverse and negative interactions in their micropublics in Saudi Arabia, showed a significant appreciation for these small-scale relationships. While these micropublics did not lead to more meaningful interactions, deeper relationships were made possible through the ethno-specificity of the soccer team.

4.5.1 Ethno-specific soccer team

The ethno-specificity of the participants' soccer team was important and valuable to participants. The importance of developing deep relationships with those who share similar experiences is unsurprising, as participants indicate that the ethno-specificity has not only provided them with more insight on their legal processes, but has afforded them with familiarity, comfort and even the reunification with friends they had pre-migration. Certainly, there was a difference between participants who had arrived in Canada within the last decade

versus those who had been in Canada for over a decade. For the former, playing for an ethno-specific team seemed very essential, while for the latter, joining an Eritrean soccer team was a matter of coincidence and convenience. Nevertheless, it was evident from the photographs and responses to questions about "feeling at home," that common Eritrean culture was relevant to how participants chose to express themselves and the objects/symbols within the images that were important to them. Beyond the cultural specificity of the objects, participants expressed common feelings in response to particular objects, suggesting an observable but unspoken and shared understanding within the group. For example, Hamza shared his picture of an Eritrean coffee pot (Fig. 5), which drew laughter and nods of acknowledgement from the rest of the participants. Ali chimed in to offer the name of the coffee pot in Tigrigna, *Jebena* (which Hamza had forgotten), and Hasan helped him explain its use. When asked why he took the picture, Hamza explained, "I guess it reminds me of my historical culture, cause my parents are Eritrean." Ali explained that the picture had made him smile because his parents' "tradition" was "drink [coffee] every Friday." Hasan added to this by stating "It's how our parents, like, killed time. That's what they use, if like, a guest comes into the house." The laughter and reactions from the participants illustrate that participants took pleasure in the commonality that connected them to each other and having (even at a very basic level) an understanding of one another and their outlooks. So much so that Hasan spoke on behalf of all the participants on the contexts in for which the coffee pot is used.

This display of bonding and kinship that I observed during this discussion of Hamza's photo of the *Jebena* are reflective of the deep, positive, stable and significant relationships Antonsich (2010) believes to be necessary for (group) belonging to be cultivated. Within an inter-ethnic sports team, this ease and understanding may not have been present, or may have been harder to foster. The shared culture and language of participants also enabled them to receive and offer assistance with filling in the blanks when the participants presenting their

photo may have struggled to find the terminology (as evident when Ali supplied the word for the coffee pot for Hamza). There would not be a similar sense of relatability amongst the participants when it came to a shared experience, facilitated through common culture and language, had they been playing with an inter-ethnic team.

In addition, participants used this Eritrean network and their shared experience as a way to gain access to information and opportunities and to improve language skills. One participant stated:

> So, you could ask the guy whose new like, "how did you find house," "which school are you going to?" Like, if you're smart, you can get as much information if you could. You just ask whatever questions you wanna ask to the right person. So, people who are born here, you can ask them "what are some opportunities?" Where you could go, where you could make more money, or like, which school you could go to.

Certainly, obtaining information could be possible in a multi-ethnic group setting. Indeed, even as this participant notes, if one is smart, able to identify who to ask, and ask many questions, then information may be abundant. However, being part of an ethno-specific team, for several participants, allowed them to understand their own refugee claimant process and ask questions of those who had previous experience navigating the refugee system. It also provided them with a sense of camaraderie and comfort to know they were not alone in their experiences. One participant stated that he could not relate to his teammates on his school's soccer team:

> But like, it's not the same situation they're going as me. People here will talk about papers. How do you get them? What they will do? How you going to school? What will you need for going to college? So, it's going to be more interesting information. And, still even till now, even though I'm in college now, and like, I'm working, still I need some information on what to do or what to know.

It is clear that for this participant, he felt different from his peers whom he felt were from a different context. In contrast, with the Eritrean soccer team, he felt that he could turn to his teammates for more relevant information and support.

4.6 Social Inclusion Framework

The analysis revealed several important themes relevant to belonging that have been unpacked and discussed in the first section of this chapter, using Antonsich's conceptual framework for belonging (2010). In the following section, the data are analyzed using Maxwell et al's (2013) modified version of Bailey's (2008) framework for social inclusion. This framework is divided into two stages, the first stage (Stage I) being the Spatial dimension, which is the reduction of power disparities amongst players. With the fulfilment of the initial stage, the dimensions (Functional, Relational, and Locus of Control/Power) of the second stage (Stage II) are set into motion and the process of social inclusion can be observed.

4.6.1 Stage I:

4.6.2 Spatial dimension

The spatial dimensions examine how distances between individuals in terms of physical, economic, social and cultural proximity are reduced in a sports environment. Maxwell et al. (2013) establishes this dimension as a necessary precursor for the other dimensions, as well as for social inclusion overall. In the case of this study, physical proximity was not a factor due to the ethno-specific nature of the team, and participants expressing that "[...]the best thing about it, is being with people of your kind. Like, not just ethnically, but people who have the same values as you" (Hasan). The lack of increased physical proximity between the players and non-Eritreans, though still has positive effects for social inclusion. For instance, as racialized and religious minorities, playing for an ethno-specific team reduces the risk for racial inequality or religious discrimination between the

players. Thus, the worry of ostracization and power inequalities when it comes to racial or religious differences between the players is not so much of a concern as may be for inter-ethnic teams where a 'dominant' versus a 'marginalized' dynamic may exist. Furthermore, despite being ethno-specific and mainly catered to Eritrean refugees, the team is still diverse in terms of residency in Canada. Thus, there was some physical proximity that was enhanced through interactions between Canadian-born or raised Eritreans. Specifically, it allowed players acculturate to the broader social context.

When considering the social and cultural proximity for the spatial dimension, here was a general consensus amongst the participants that the team's manager played an important role in creating a welcoming and inclusive environment. Participants believed that the team manager's personal invitations to join the team made them feel accepted and wanted, which motivated them to sign up with the team. According to Maxwell et al., feelings of inequalities between players must be as mitigated as much as possible, thus, feeling wanted in the team aided in facilitating a space in which they felt equally valued as their team members, which contributes to the fulfilling of this dimension.

The data also suggest that the reduction of distance in social and cultural realms is mediated by the sport, in terms of familiarity, skills and the specific sport culture. Familiarity with a sport could impact willingness to participate. For example, most of the participants had begun to dabble with playing basketball, as shown in Amir's picture (Fig. 7), but felt that it would require considerable time to gain the requisite skill level before they would feel comfortable enough playing in a more organized, structured or competitive setting. Amir felt most comfortable playing with his friends who were new to the sport as well, to which Ali and Yasin nodded in agreement. Amir felt that developing skill through practice was an important requirement to participating in a structured sport environment, stating "[...]it's not easy. We don't know the rules, and we're all like newcomers so we don't know, any of us,

basketball. So, we just try our best." Thus, making it clear that skill-level posed a barrier for Amir, Ali and Yasin, who felt intimidated by the idea of performing badly in front of others, or disappointing their team members. In contrast, Hasan and Hamza, who had been in Canada for a considerably longer time than the other participants, expressed that they were comfortable playing basketball for school teams and with friends in a structured setting.

Skill level was also related to familiarity and could influence willingness to participate in sport. Although skillset and skill-level is not mentioned by Maxwell et al. (2013) or Bailey (2008), the barrier of lack of skills for or even familiarity with a sport would prevent the fulfilment of the spatial dimension. This presents a challenge particularly for the social inclusion of refugees, where the sport is new or whose opportunity to train and hone skills have been interrupted or limited due to displacement. Even with some familiarity, an individual may not then become a skilled player, as was the case with Yasin's brother. Like the rest of the participants, Yasin expressed that he and his brother grew up playing and watching soccer games with their families and friends. Unfortunately, Yasin felt that competitiveness and greater skill of the other players had led his brother to feel inadequate and give up the sport altogether. He stated: "Well, he likes soccer but – how would I say that. He's not as good as people as here. So he feels like he's so bad to play here. That's why he don't like that." Not only could a lack of skill pose a barrier to the participants playing the sport, it can also produce adverse effects of social exclusion.

4.6.3 Soccer as a unique sport

Lastly, the specific culture of a sport could influence the degree to which the sport could foster social inclusion. In the case of soccer, participants felt that this sport had unique features unmatched by other sports. For example, Hasan proclaimed that soccer was his favourite sport and that "It's what everybody around me grew up playing. It's what I grew up playing. Yeah [pause] like, it brings people together." When asked to specify what it was

about soccer that he felt fostered a sense of unity, Hasan proclaimed the World Cup to be the embodiment of unity and togetherness, stating:

> The World Cup does that. It's like [pause] like – like everybody's attention is shifted from politics and all that. That stuff. Stuff people don't really care about, but for whatever reason do. And then the World Cup's in your face, and everybody's together. Cause like, stadiums of just people who, like, who were probably at war together, they're just together, there, watching the game.

Hamza added to this saying, "Yeah I could agree with that. Cause, I think, if you're playing the World Cup, you forget all political difference. You just play one sport. One mind. One winner. You just forget about all the wars and stuff that you have." This sentiment surrounding the World Cup and the assumption that it is an apolitical tool for peace and even reconciliation, received support and nods of approval from the rest of the participants. The data suggest that soccer in the perspective of the participants, possesses inherently good and virtuous qualities. The sport, according to Ali, "[is] a way to come together."

The assumption of probity attached to soccer by participants and their view that this makes sport unique suggest that the sport being played and its related assumptions could produce different results in the integration or belonging process, something that has been overlooked within frameworks that outline the relationship between sport and social inclusion. This was evident in the fact that though basketball was second to soccer, in terms of preference, among the participants, it is possible that effects of the sport on social inclusion would not be the same. Specifically, the participants believed that there were particular the attitudes and characteristics that were attached to other sports, such as basketball, in comparison to soccer. For instance, Hasan preferred soccer to basketball because he felt that basketball lacked the humility and sportsmanship of soccer. He expressed that basketball produced arrogance in its participants, stating "I – I personally think it's a

terrible sport, just cause, it – it attracts the worst kind of players. They're so full of themselves." In comparison, soccer was thought to have "more respect" and fostered "more sportsmanship" between the players. Hamza even displayed this expected modesty through his photograph of his medal (Fig. 8), even though he expressed it was not his favourite medal. When asked why he did not choose one of his better medals he stated: "cause I don't want to show off, that's not cool." It seemed to me that any display of arrogance or hubris by participants would be met with reproach and disapproval, as it was important to the team that all players feel equally important and of value. All of the participants agreed that the basketball environment provided less room for error due to fear of being ridiculed by teammates and a great deal of emphasis on showmanship, whereas soccer cultivated a sense of humbleness and admonished showmanship since it emphasized winning as a team effort.

When asked if they had or would venture to play other sports, such as hockey, the general sentiment was that that hockey was not a sport they had played or were interested in playing or playing seriously. Hasan, who had played hockey before, stated that "It's like fun, or whatever. But I wouldn't buy the gear, like the skates and all that. It's just – it's not for me. But ball hockey is fun." In addition to the data suggesting that lack of familiarity with a sport is a barrier to participants' participation, the data also displays that the barrier may persist even after coming to know the sport. This could suggest that the unfamiliarity can further increase cultural proximity, as participants showed little to no interest in the culture surrounding hockey, or the sport itself. Amir added that he felt that hockey was too complicated of a sport to approach, especially since he had only just begun playing basketball, but was open to trying the sport out, saying "[...] I might go to hockey, but for now, I don't think so. Yeah, I feel like I can learn more about basketball than hockey." Where Amir was open to trying hockey and Hasan had found played hockey before and said it was

fun, even if it was not for him, Ali's sentiments towards the sport were strongly negative, stating that he would "never" play hockey, and that he would rather play basketball.

The barriers to participation are illustrated through the considerable disconnect between participants and hockey. Despite being seen as Canada's national sport, there was refusal and reluctance to play the sport, while resistance was not as intense when it came to basketball. This could be due to the fact that hockey requires not only the financial resources to buy the often-expensive equipment, but also is restrictive in when, where and with whom it can be played, since some skating ability is required to even participate. Comparatively, basketball requires very little equipment besides a ball, and unstructured play is far more accessible than hockey, especially when considering there is no cost to playing on readily available basketball courts in parks. In addition to the financial cost, there is also knowledge about hockey culture that would be unknown to the participants, similar to the participant in the ICC study who registered her child in hockey without realizing that basic skating skills or even skates would be needed (ICC, 2014). In Amir's photograph of him playing basketball in a court just outside his apartment buildings, he tells me that the ball being used is actually a soccer ball (Fig. 7). Hamza presents a picture of his soccer ball (Fig.9) as one of his most prized possessions, a ball that his brother purchased and that he particularly likes because he feels he has better control of in comparison to other soccer balls he's played with. Similarly, Hasan explains that his picture of his soccer ball and cleats is of significance because he always wears his cleats for a game of soccer, and in fact always keeps his cleats in his backpack (Fig. 10). Clearly, the equipment necessary for playing soccer is quite important to the participants, as it highlights the ability to be multi purposed (basketball) and it is convenient and minimal enough to always carry in case of spontaneous play, which may not be the case for other sports, such as hockey. When asked what was stopping him from purchasing or renting hockey gear, Hasan responded "I just don't see myself in it. Like,

ever." Thus, despite the equipment and cost associated, it is clear that the lack of engagement with hockey as a sport goes beyond an economic barrier, but a cultural barrier or lack of social space for some of the participants.

Despite feeling a sense of camaraderie with the other players, participants confirmed that the cohesiveness of the relationships within the team was contingent on other factors, such as familiarity, skill and equipment and sport culture. Some participants felt that individuals who try to display skill by trying to score the ball on their own instead of using passing as tactic for scoring, were not appreciated and viewed as arrogant. One participant went on to state this was the main topic of dispute that would occur amongst the team. Thus, in order to maintain the team's equilibrium, any attempts to stray from the sport's synergetic nature was received with annoyance and disapproval, and it is possible that in the context of another sport (basketball) in which ego was tolerated, it would have counter the need for social proximity in Maxwell et al.'s initial stage. Soccer then may be uniquely positioned as having the ability to reduce the social, cultural and economic distances between players that lack of skill, unfamiliarity, and attitudes may pose.

Thus, the data suggest in order for sport to promote social inclusion along the spatial dimension and initial stage, one must take into consideration the relationship between the participants and the sport being played. If players lack skill or the sport is unfamiliar, individuals may be deterred from or feel intimidated about participating. If they do participate, it may adversely result in social exclusion due to lowered self-esteem and feelings of incompetence. In this particular study, it is clear from the testimonies of the participants that soccer presented a unique environment in which players felt a sense of community, cohesiveness and inclusion that was unmatched by other sports, such as basketball. To proceed to Maxwell et al.'s (2013) second stage of social inclusion then, one must take these factors (in addition to the factors previously outlined by the framework) into consideration.

4.6.4 Stage II

4.6.5 Functional Dimension

The functional dimension of Bailey's framework (2008) is founded upon the notion that participation in cultural activities (such as sport) will lead to personal development through the acquisition of skills, opportunities and peer acceptance. Most of the participants expressed that participating in the sport had not necessarily led to educational or employment opportunities. Hamza, for example, felt that his opportunities had come from his academic environment, saying "for me, I usually got that from like, school. Not from my soccer team. Majority from my school, like my guidance counsellor." Ali, however, did express that he appreciated the team manager's efforts in providing players with workshops, such as photography or motivational workshops. Ali stated that the motivational workshop had been particularly effective for him, stating "I think, there was a guy, I don't know his name, he was speaking about reaching your goals and stuff. So, yeah, he changed my life." These weekly workshops provided by the team manager facilitated the fulfilment of the functional dimension by fostering what Maxwell et al. (2013) calls "personal development" by improving self-esteem and confidence, as seen in Ali's case.

Sport participation can also be an avenue for accessing information. Yasin, for example, stated that a resourceful person should use the knowledge and experience that others on his team have, in regard to housing, education, employment and legal paperwork. In Yasin's case, the team and the sports environment provided an important space in which knowledge transfer and information exchange could occur among players. This process works along the functional dimension as it allows for the potential acquisition of skill and opportunities, necessary for refugees who are starting the settlement process. This dimension was particularly important to Yasin, who joined the team in his second week of arrival and while he was still residing in a shelter and waiting to find housing. Being a part of a team in

which many refugees participated, helped him compare wait times for refugee claimant processes. It is worth noting that this ease in information access, particularly information most relevant to refugees and their settlement, may not have been a possibility had the team not been catered to refugees. In contrast, an environment in which the players do not share any similar experiences would likely not offer the same capacity for the gaining of skills and personal development, as Yasin confirms when stating:

> So, like, when I used to play with my school soccer team, the discussion they go through, it's not really my interest. But like, it's not the same situation they're going as me.

Evidently, Yasin felt more at ease and perceived having more commonalities with his Eritrean soccer team members. They provided him with information and insight on what to expect with his own journey. Yasin's comparison of playing on his school soccer team versus the Eritrean soccer team suggests that not all sports environments or sports teams will facilitate players' ability to acquire the skills or information that is of importance or relevance to them.

In addition to accessing information, Amir and Yasin highlighted their use of the sports environment in their language development and fluency. Amir stated that although they spoke in Arabic amongst each other, through his teammates who had been raised in Canada, he was able to learn about Canadian culture. Yasin credited his teammates with teaching him about Canadian culture, in particular popular slang used by those around him, saying:

> Yeah, of course, when we sit with the people there, and they talk in like the slang, and everything it's funny. It's really funny. It's really nice to get the slang. So, even when I use the slang with my co-workers, they think I'm from here and I'm from the 'hood or something.

It is clear that Yasin derived pleasure from being able to understand and use the slang of his co-workers that he learned from his teammates. Indeed, he is comfortable with its use that he even used slang in his responses during the focus group and led his co-workers to think that he is Canadian.

4.6.6 Relational dimension

Bailey (2008) identifies the relational dimension as "social acceptance, feelings of belonging, and acknowledgement" (2013, p. 468) with Maxwell et al. building upon this by extending this dimension to "social bonding, identity confirmation and safety" (2017, p. 1515; see also Tonts, 2005; Walseth, 2006). These aspects of the relational dimension were facilitated by the ethno-specificity of the team. Yasin was particularly vocal about his relationships with his teammates and how they provided him with a network of friends and acquaintances with whom he could participate in activities or spend time, individuals that his parents would approve. Yasin expressed that the team was important to him because

> you just wanna belong to other people. But belonging to these kinds of people is better than belonging to other kinds of people. Although, other kind of people may bring you like, jobs that gonna pay you more than minimum wage, they're gonna make you have fun, but still, it's not really the kind of fun you are raised to have.

Like Yasin, Hamza also echoed that the ethno-specificity of the group provided him with a sense of identity and belonging, and that the benefits of the team went beyond sharing the same ethnicity with his team members. He stated, "I guess the best thing about it, is being with people of your kind. Like, not just ethnically, but people who have the same values as you." This sense of a collective identity seemed to appeal to a few of the participants, especially to Amir who appreciated that the team had allowed him to reconnect with his friends from Saudi Arabia, re-establishing old networks. He went on to further say it provides

an ideal initial stage for gradual integration and diversification into other sports teams or social networks in general.

> Yeah, I would like to, join different teams, but this is a good start at least, practice and meet a lot of new people. Cause we need put our English in more, even though we speak in Arabic here, I don't know for what reason. But like I said it's a good start, so, maybe in the future we will join different teams. It's a good start to engage in and adapt in a new environment. It's a good start and you never know what happens in the future.

It is evident from Amir's quote that he views the team as a starting point for different possibilities, all of them that could lead to expanding his networks and relations. Indeed, as Spaaij shows in his research on Somali youth and ethno-specific teams, having an ethno-specific team does not encourage social isolation or inhibit the participation of individuals in society, but rather provides a stable environment in which "social interaction is uncomplicated, symmetrical, and meaningful" (2012, p. 1526). In addition to having a space in which players feel accepted and secure, it also serves as a transitional space to familiarize with the culture of the host society.

Aside from the functional aspects that having an ethno-specific team brought about for participants, they also emphasized the importance of shared religious and cultural values. As Hasan states: "I guess you could say now, you have teammates who practice the same religion as you, that you know what you go through. What you do on a daily basis, and understand you more, I guess." Having this shared identity with their team members allowed for participants to maintain values important to them, something that may not otherwise be part of their participation on an inter-ethnic sports team. For refugee youth, the relationships formed as a result of the sports environment can be invaluable for those who have travelled without their parents or immediate family. Yasin described that the picture of him and his

brother (Fig.4) made him "feel lonely," despite being thankful that his brother was able to experience the hardships of being a refugee with him. Joining the team, during their first month of being in Canada and while still living in a shelter alleviated isolation and loneliness. Yasin also developed feelings of trust with the Captain and other members of the team, stating "[...] when I started coming here – first, I like soccer, that's why I was coming here, plus, if I have questions, it would be more good to ask people who you trust. That's why I like coming here."

4.6.7 Power Dimension

Maxwell et al. (2013) defines the power dimension of social inclusion as "a redistribution of power, resources, and collaborations within community sport settings" (p. 469). Additionally, the power dimension is meant to be fulfilled if the sports environment has strengthened agency and self-determination amongst players. This process of feeling a sense of control over one's life, as a result of sport, is a very prominent theme within the data. Players attribute the sport for empowering them to take control over other aspects of their lives. For example, Hasan felt that soccer empowers him by giving him a sense of purpose and "is something that makes [him] feel useful." In addition, Yasin credited soccer with impacting his life dramatically and for the better.

> [...] before I played professional soccer, I was just like, sleeping late, not eating healthy, doing whatever I want to do. But, when I start playing professional, with like a coach – his name was Hassan, hopefully he's good now, like, he changed a lot in my life. Cause, it was my last two years in high school, or three years, and my marks started going up, instead of going down. Cause, I changed my whole diet, I start sleeping early, so, I believe soccer has changed a lot. That's what I feel, help me a lot in my school.

Yasin's experience with the soccer team had led him to gain a sense of control over his life and pave the way for him to make choices he felt were beneficial to his development. The ability to make 'healthier' choices reflects the sense of agency that Bailey's (2008) framework identifies as being a facilitator of social inclusion.

Redistribution of resources did not occur between players, who are responsible simply for showing up to practice and games. Instead, the team's founder and Captain is responsible for reserving and renting the practice and playing field. Participants appreciated the team Captain's active efforts in providing them with a space to play and a league in which to have competitive games. Collaborations with the community also occur via the team captain, who sets up workshops for players on topics of mental health and motivation, as well as workshops in which players can learn skill sets such as photography. Though, as Ali previously stated, the workshops are a valuable and empowering experience for participants, they are not part of the decision-making process for determining or prioritizing workshop topics. Despite this, participants do not seem to feel disempowered by their lack of inclusion in the decision-making processes but see the sport space and their team as a place in which Amir, Ali and Yasin "to have fun," "make friends" and "socialize." This could be due to Aref, the team Captain's own experience as having once been a refugee youth, and thus managing to address the participants' issues and concerns via the workshops that he arranges. By doing so, Aref's encouragement of and investment in the players greatly contributed to their sense of self-worth and competency, ultimately facilitating the fulfilment of the power dimension.

4.7 Summary

To summarize, the Results and Discussion chapter was concerned with using Antonsich's (2010) conceptual framework for belonging as a way to analyze the data and how belonging was interpreted and experienced by the participants in the study. The data in

this study pointed out complexities and points of contention with Antonsich's (2010) framework, due to the implications of intergenerational displacement on the context of the identities and process of belonging on the participants, ultimately positioned the politics of belonging as carrying much more weight than the more personal and intimate aspect of belonging. Furthermore, Belonging and Citizenship, Granting and Claiming Belonging, Social Belonging and Ethno-specific teams were prominent and recurring themes within the data, which were unpacked and analyzed in relation to the experiences of the participants. Secondly, Maxwell et al.'s modified version of Bailey's (2008) social inclusion framework was used as a framework in which to observe the process of social inclusion in the sports environment. Stage I (spatial dimension) of the framework allowed for much of the data to be analyzed with new themes emerging such as ability and skill level as an obstacle for some individuals to proceed to the second stage (functional, relational, and power dimension), due to feelings of intimidation and inadequacy. Furthermore, *soccer as a unique sport*, was discussed as being a key theme as to why the participants were able to experience the second stage of this framework, as soccer provided them with characteristics and benefits other sports could not match.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

The research question around which this study was framed was whether a sport environment facilitates feelings of belonging among refugees, and whether their sport participation promotes social inclusion. Some of the secondary research questions were:

- How has sport participation influenced their settlement in Canada;
- What is the meaning and significance of soccer to these individuals;
- How do they define belonging and settlement;
- How do they construct their identities within a Canadian context?

To answer these questions, this study endeavoured to

- Observe and understand the relationship between sport and social inclusion and the way in which the process of social inclusion may or may not manifest;
- Understand how participants conceptualize belonging and the relationship between sport participation in fostering belonging in Canada.

In what follows, I summarize the key findings that arose from the data and the significance of these themes in relation to two theoretical frameworks examining belonging (Antonsich, 2010) and social inclusion (i.e., Bailey, 2008; Maxwell et al., 2013). Additionally, a brief assessment of the strengths and limitations of this research and recommendations for future research are presented.

Through researching the process of social inclusion and belonging amongst sport participants, this study uncovered and further illustrated the diversity of refugees' and how the participants' past and preconceived notions of belonging and social inclusion, can have a profound effect on their present understandings of their life. The participants' narratives and elaboration of their photographs illustrated the nuanced relationship they have with

belonging, in that there arises many contradictions and contentions about what it means to belong, who is allowed to claim belonging and how it relates to citizenship and legal status. Using Antonsich's (2010) analytical framework on belonging, I had anticipated the participants would confirm Anstonsich's proposition that belonging is just as much personal and self-determined as it is political. Surprisingly, the experiences of the participants revealed that while Antonsich's arguments had merit, that as a result of their past experiences and their tense relationship with their birthland, their interpretation of belonging was heavily influenced by the politics of belonging. The unique experiences of the participants led to the conceptualization of 'intergenerational displacement' in order to serve as the frame of reference and backdrop for how participants perceived their own belonging in Canada. Not to be confused with 'intergenerational trauma,' which is the inheritance of trauma by a child of refugees who has not faced any displacement directly, intergenerational displacement occurs when individuals are born into a state of displacement or 'refugeeness' as a result of a denial of equal rights and liberties from their birthland. In the case of participants, their birthland of Saudia Arabia had denied them the right to belong by labelling them as refugees at birth, thus refusing them the right to full and equal participation in the social, cultural, political and economic domains of the country.

Due to this phenomenon, the participants' conceptualization of belonging was tied to three major themes: belonging and citizenship, granting and claiming belonging and social belonging. Previous literature on refugees and belonging has made citizenship synonymous with belonging; however, more recently, scholars such as Antonsich (2010), Spaaij (2015), and Fozdar and Hartley (2013) have moved away from the equating of belonging to citizenship. These scholars highlight that binding belonging to citizenship can be too restricting and neglectful of the multidimensional nature of and emotional aspect of belonging. The aforementioned scholars emphasize how emotional attachments are a key

determinant in belonging, in that there must be an intimate sense of 'feeling at home' in order for one to assert that belonging exists, which not may be associated with their place of residence, or even their host country (Antonsich, 2010; Spaaij, 2015; Fozdar and Hartley, 2013). Yet, for many of the participants, there was a clear tension and contradiction in their emotional attachments to what was 'home,' and where they felt belonging. Their emotional attachments and conception of 'home' was still Saudi Arabia, despite feeling rejected and lack of belonging, leading them to align their belonging more with Canada. Participants explained that this discrepancy between emotional attachments to 'home' and belonging was due to the fact that one could not adopt the nationhood of their host state, nor claim belonging to it, unless they were granted citizenship. This view was greatly informed by their past experiences and the tension that existed between participants and Saudi Arabia, in that despite their emotional attachments to the country, the government had made them feel undesired and abject by disenfranchising them.

As a result of their perceptions about belonging and its contingency on citizenship, the themes of granting and claiming belonging and of the power dynamic that exists in the relationship between the state and individuals, was very prominent. Participants believed that powerful institutions were the gatekeepers of belonging, since these institutions grant and protect individuals' rights and liberties, and without rights and liberties, the subsequent disempowerment would dismantle any attempts to belong. Being granted legal status, be it permanent residence or citizenship, was regarded as a validation of the participants' worth and acceptance as productive members of Canadian society by those in power (Government and adjacent institutions). Thus, the structural constraints on agency that existed within the process of belonging, was significant for the participants of the study. Taking the experiences of participants into consideration, their pre-migration experiences are that of someone who is essentially stateless or born without nationhood (or at least nationhood to a country that is

habitable). The stateless are one of the more recent social groups in contemporary refugee discourse and are defined as people who are naturalized in a nation and either denaturalized through the denial to citizenship or cancelling of their citizenship (Arendt, 1945). Much like many stateless refugees, participants had experienced the loss of their "place in [their] community," "[their] political status" and "the legal personality which makes their actions and part of their destiny a consistent whole" (Arendt, 1973, p. 301). These qualities, according to Hannah Arendt can then only be expressed in private life as stateless people's (in)visibility in public life is unqualified and discarded (1973).

Antonsich's (2010) framework did not account for individuals like the study participants and those who are stateless and whose agency was severely restricted and undermined and thus feel unable to assert their own belonging. Antonsich argues that personal belonging and the emotional attachments individuals develop has equal footing in the structure versus agency interaction. The problem with the attempt to reconstruct belonging in such a way, scholars like Antonsich (2010), Spaaij (2015), Fozdar and Hartley (2013), cause for the belonging of stateless and intergenerationally displaced people (IDP) to be what Arendt calls "publicly invisible" and restricted to "natural visibility" (1958, p.198). In other words, stateless refugees and IDPs are forced to remain in the sphere of the private life if we dilute the importance of citizenship, rights and liberties in the determinants of belonging, as participants clearly express that their public invisibility thwarted their attempt to exercise agency and claim personal belonging in Saudi Arabian society.

The attitudes and policies that the Saudi Arabian government and affiliated institutions held, also reflected and reproduced the cultural and social beliefs, attitudes and ideas Saudi Arabian citizens had in regard to refugees. Consequently, participants appreciated even passing interactions with Canadians, feeling that they made them feel as though they belonged. For participants who experienced social exclusion and ostracization, to the point

where Eritreans in Saudi Arabia only interacted with each other, these otherwise trivial social interactions were reflective of Canadian citizens accepting them and validating their belonging to the host-state. These novel finding contradict Antonsich's argument that these 'micro-publics' were not significant enough to attribute social belonging.

Additionally, having been isolated to ethnic enclaves in Saudi Arabia, it comes as no surprise that another prominent theme within the context of social belonging was the significance of the ethno-specific nature of the sports club. Participants found a great deal of comfort in playing for an ethno-specific sports team and derived joy from having cultural commonality and appreciated the sense of familiarity they found being amongst other Eritreans, especially being people, whose experiences were strikingly similar to their own. The friendships built among players were reflective of the deep connections and relationships Antonish believes is essential to a refugee's social belonging. What is important to consider in the face of refugee discourse is the acknowledgment that refugees will have a diverse set of reactions and interpretations of belonging, greatly informed by their past experiences with citizenship, human rights and the bodies that enforce these rights.

Furthermore, it is important to highlight the positionality of stateless and intergenerationally displaced people, in regard to their invisibility both in the global sense as well as within recent refugee discourse. Within the literature, mention of stateless and IDP refugees is seldom, a void that could be attributed to their assumed inclusion in refugee settlement and belonging discourse, which in itself is problematic as it assumes a homogenous experience and thus a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to settlement needs. Moreover, stateless groups, such as Rohingya refugees have received considerably less media exposure and swift humanitarian response, in comparison to refugees with nationhood, such as Syrian refugees. Thus, there are significant gaps in regard to the specific perspectives and variances in interpretations that may exist in our understanding of belonging and settlement

among refugees, as is demonstrated by this study. In order to highlight the visibility of these otherwise invisible people, there must be an acknowledgement that citizenship and rights could provide a tangible sense of value and self-esteem for many of these groups.

In addition, Antonsich's framework of belonging may benefit from placing the personal versus political belonging on a scale rather than placing them on equal fields. This would be better suited to the diverse perspectives of refugees, as participants in this study indicated that personal belonging was vacuous because their experience without citizenship showed them that

> [their] freedom of opinion is a fool's freedom, for nothing they think matters anyhow [...]. Something much more fundamental than freedom and justice, which are the rights of citizens, is at stake when belonging in the community into which one is born in is no longer a matter of course and not belonging no matter of choice. [...] They are deprived, not of the right to freedom, but of the right to action; not of the right to think whatever they please, but of the right to opinion (Arendt, 1973, p.295-296).

Therefore, placing belonging on scale would be able to account for individuals in which citizenship and rights provide a tangible notion of belonging, and their ability actualize their opinions and ambitions are not limited to the restrictions the nation state places on them as non-nationals or citizens.

When considering the experiences and interpretations of participants in regards to belonging, citizenship and sport within this study, it is difficult to suggest that the use of Sport for Peace and Development (SPD) for sustaining or cultivating belonging amongst refugees living in protracted displacement, refugee camps, or in any country in which they have limited rights and liberties. This is not to discredit the work of SPD organizations and initiatives, but rather to remain cognizant of the fact that sport is not a panacea and that it is important to be critical of the implications of SDP such as reproducing new forms

colonialism in the global south (Darnell, 2010; 2012). My apprehension in recommending sport as a space to foster belonging for refugees in protracted displacement is largely informed by the study participants' construction of what belonging meant, its strong association with gaining access to institutions, and its function in reducing the structural barriers they faced. While the sport environment facilitated and maintained their 'personal belonging,' it was cited as being valuable for its ability to facilitate their primary objective of gaining and securing legal status within their host country. Thus, while sport for development practitioners may find success in empowering refugees' agency, self-esteem, and sense of control over oneself, these achievements may be limited by the structural barriers to securing of basic needs participating in the host society in a meaningful way.

A second objective of this study was to understand the relationship between sport and social inclusion. Using Maxwell et al.'s (2013) version of Bailey's (2008) social inclusion framework, data were analyzed to examine whether the process of social inclusion was occurring within the organic setting of this sports team. The initial stage of this framework, which is composed of the spatial dimension, has to be fulfilled in order for the consequent dimensions to be observed (Maxwell et al, 2013). Thus, the physical, economic, social, and cultural proximity within the sports context were addressed using the data. The findings suggested that though there was a lack of physical proximity when it came to racial, religious or gender differences (as all players were Muslim Eritrean males), there was observable physical proximity in the interactions between Canadian-born or -raised Eritreans and the refugees. These interactions facilitated the acculturation of the participants in the broader social context. Additionally, due to the minimal equipment required for playing sports like soccer and basketball, economic proximity is also increased as participation in soccer is much more affordable than sports that require much more gear and equipment.

When considering the social and cultural proximity for the spatial dimension, soccer was considered to be uniquely positioned as being able to facilitate the closing of these distances. According to players, because soccer was a familiar sport to them, they were comfortable with playing and participating on a more competitive level and were more confident in their skills. Furthermore, they viewed soccer as being a straightforward sport which made the development of skill more plausible in contrast to what they believed to be more complicated sports such as hockey. Moreover, though they felt disconnected from Canadian sport culture surrounding hockey, they felt very much in tuned with sports culture surrounding soccer. Sports as a whole is credited by UN Secretary General, António Guterres, as having "an unparalleled ability to transform, empower and unify people", similarly, participants expressed that soccer in itself embodied the narratives of 'sports for peace', and the spectatorship culture surrounding the FIFA World Cup is one that is apolitical and harmonious (United Nations media coverage and press release, 2017, p.1). Whether this is true or not, it is clear that for participants not all sports have the capacity to function as constructively as soccer, and this finding that social inclusion may be dependent on the type of sport being played is not one that is addressed by Maxwell et al (2013) or Bailey (2008) in their frameworks.

Comparatively, factors that limited closing of these social and cultural distances were a lack of skill level, unfavourable attitudes (arrogance) and a lack of familiarity with a sport or sports culture. For example, some players quit the team due to feelings of inadequacy, and other participants stated that they were unwilling to play other sports (basketball and hockey) in a structured setting due to a lack of familiarity with the sport and its rules. Any attempts by a player to assert themselves as a superior or outstanding player was also unappreciated by participants, creating tension and decreasing the social proximity between them. Soccer,

according to players, was a sport in which skill could be developed and where competition among teammates was discouraged because of the need for collective effort.

The second stage of Maxwell et al's (2013) modified version Bailey's (2008) framework consists of functional, relational and power dimensions. The findings for the functional dimension indicate that the sports environment does indeed provide an avenue for participants to find opportunities and information from the team managers and other players. Participants were able to seek information about job opportunities, academic opportunities and how to navigate the legal systems for their refugee claims. Participants also attested to learning about Canadian culture and slang through Canadian-born or -raised Eritreans on their team, which contributed to their acculturation process. Thus, this diversity among this ethno-specific group was particularly vital in the ability of its refugee members to both preserve their own cultural identity and practices, whilst engaging with the new society through Canadian-raised Eritreans who were able not only transfer knowledge but transform it due to their fluency in both cultures (Berry, 1989). Furthermore, this feature of the sport team further supports Nakamura and Donnelly's (2017) findings that sports environments can function as vehicle to sustain multiculturalism and interculturalism, as it is space in which its participants can maintain their cultural beliefs and engage in cultural exchange. While the existence of such a space is evidence of multiculturalism at work, it is worth noting that sport policy in itself does not account for social inclusion or multiculturalism (for example, the exclusion of hijab wearing girls in sports teams due to it being 'hazardous'), thus raising the question of whether the creation of ethno-specific sport spaces are welcomed, or simply tolerated (Canadian Press, 2007; Tirone, 2010)..

In regard to the relational dimension, the results suggested that participants were able to strengthen and maintain their relationships, as well as cultivate new ones. Participants stated that some of the players had previously been their friends while they were living in

Saudi Arabia, allowing them to fortify those previously established relationships. Their weekly practices provided a space for players to socialize and bond beyond simply being teammates, and participants often arranged social outings with each other outside of soccer field. As a result of the relationships within an ethno-specific team, participants stated it had given them the confidence to consider venturing and playing with a diversity of players for interethnic teams. Finally, the data suggest that playing soccer gave participants a sense of control of their own lives and was very much empowering for them, thus addressing the power dimension of the Bailey framework. As suggested by Amara et al (2005), Oliff (2007), Whitley, Coble and Jewell (2016), sport can provide its participants with a sense of purpose, self-esteem and confidence. Similarly, players believed that soccer had been able to give them a sense of purpose and structure, which in turn, had positive effects on other aspects of their lives such as their academic success. Participating in sport had made them feel useful, as they were using their bodies in a constructive manner, and being praised for their skill and achievement, therefore developing their sense of self-worth and competence.

The use of these two frameworks within this data facilitate insight and understanding as to how and if the processes of social inclusion and belonging occur in the sports environment. Findings indicated that these processes do occur; however, the participants' sense of belonging contests and complicated Antonsich's (2010) conceptual understanding of how it is interpreted and experienced. Thus, it would be useful to consider the history and circumstances of refugees that may cause for unexpected interpretations of what it means to belong.

5.2 Recommendations

The findings of this thesis indicate that despite the literature and theoretical frameworks used, belonging is a personal process as much as it is political, that the historical context and places in which refugees' experiences are formed can inform their perceptions of

the state, its inhabitants, as well as refugees' sense of place within the host country in which they have been granted the opportunity to settle. The experiences of both my parents, Ahmed the refugee from Rohingya, and others like them, suggest that there is a need to factor in the context of refugees' experiences prior to displacement as they may be fundamental to how individuals understand and interpret the systems and society that must be navigated post-migration. In other words, the process of (re)settlement would be experienced and interpreted through the lens of the events which ultimately led to forced migration. Furthermore, the complexities of refugees and their points of origin make it apparent that they cannot have their needs addressed with a 'one-size-fits all approach.' The implications of pre-displacement and pre-migration experiences can often manifest through unanticipated obstacles and barriers both on institutional and societal level in the host society. The circumstances that push refugees to take on exacting and often life-threatening journeys are constantly changing, in part due to the transformation of global politics over time. Thus, our understanding of refugees is, and should be, also evolving with these periodical shifts.

In the case of participants in this study, and many refugees like them, it is important to consider for future studies and policies that stateless and IDPs find themselves at a greater disadvantage and disempowered position due to the violence subjected to them by borders, displacement, and lack of nationhood. Thus, these unique obstacles and difficulties must be researched further in order to meet the needs of maintaining the rights of these individuals in order to foster the sense of belonging that they attribute to institutional and governmental acceptance. Furthermore, it would be useful for future research to investigate whether refugees with similar contextual backgrounds would continue to associate legal status and citizenship with their belonging, or whether this perception would change over time.

In this study, I found that ethno-specific teams do provide a space for refugees to maintain their own culture and experience the host country's culture and customs through

their Canadian raised teammates. Thus, it would be insightful to examine how Eritrean refugees, IDP's and stateless people would fare in an inter-ethnic sport environment and whether they would express feelings of inclusion and belonging within the greater Canadian society and whether a more diverse team would allow them to gain a greater understanding of their host culture and society.

Moreover, this study reaffirms that sports can and has been a vehicle for social inclusion, as per Maxwell et al (2013) and Bailey (2008) claim. This being said, the findings of this study suggest that the process of social inclusion occurring organically in a sports environment is contingent on factors that have not been outlined by Maxwell et al.'s framework. For participants in this study, their participation took into consideration the familiarity and comfort level they had with the sport, the skill level, and the equipment required. For many, soccer was unique in its ability to fulfil these considerations for them, but some participants stated that this was not the case for all. If players lacked in one of the aforementioned factors, they eventually withdrew from the team, as they had experienced social exclusion. Thus, not all sport may have the same capacity to facilitate social inclusion for players. For future research endeavours, a further examination into other types of sport and the facilitation of social inclusion would provide more insight into how they compare to sports like soccer, and to what extent their capacity for social inclusion or exclusion may be.

5.3 Strengths and Limitations

Some considerations and benefits to using photovoice methodology was that participants were able to produce metaphorical snapshots of their world view through capturing their literal points of foci, using images. The use of photovoice methodology in this thesis, not only facilitated conversation by providing a starting point for the discussion, but it also allowed for participants to exercising their agency in expressing their narrative. Rather than simply having responses to prepared questions, participants were able to bring attention

to topics, objects, and ideas which elicited sentimental or significant meaning for them. The use of these visual tools also evoked observable reactions and expressions, such as nodding, laughing, and smiling which contributed to the data as at some points acknowledgements and recognition were not always verbalized. Participants enjoyed this method of participatory research so much so that one participant, Hamza, expressed disappointment that he had not had time to share his images in our first discussion group, and that he had been looking forward to talking about them.

Another strength of this study is the use of action-research methodology, which can contribute to real systematic change. To ensure this study is impactful, I will implement Knowledge Mobilization (KM) techniques in order to move from research to. KM is defined as "[...]getting the right information to the right people in the right format at the right time, so as to influence decision-making. [KM] includes dissemination, knowledge transfer and knowledge translation" (Levin, 2008, p. 9). Additionally, KM is identified as a two-way process in which relationships are built, and communities, stakeholders, and partners are involved in the dissemination of information (Phipp, 2011). The goals for KM in regard to this study are to generate awareness, practice change, and policy action; to impart knowledge and tools; to inform research, policy, practice (Phipp, 2011). The main focus of KM goals is to also disseminate the information to the community with which I engaged (the Eritrean soccer team specifically), so that they may then use them in their own collaboration with stakeholders, partners and government bodies, and for access to grants and relevant programs.

The dissemination of information must be in language that is accessible and in a manner that is engaging and relevant to the concerns of those who wish to implement it. The one-way process of rendering the study's findings accessible and increase engagement with the material is known as Knowledge Translation (KT), which is incorporated within the KM

framework (Phipp, 2011). When identifying language and techniques used to move evidence and knowledge from theory to practice, one should be mindful of the target audience (Phipp, 2011). For example, my plans to present findings at conferences within academic circles or to policy makers may not require a considerable change to the language and terms used in the thesis in order to make the content accessible, understandable and engaging; however, there would be a necessary change to material and language used when engaging communities and community members so that it does not come across as indigestible jargon. Thus, in order to ensure KT has been done appropriately, feedback from community members and fellow colleagues will be used to assess if the presentation and material is easy to understand and read, which in turn will allow the team to gain the knowledge necessary to mobilize and cultivate their own progress and growth.

While photovoice methodology brought about not only interesting stories and narratives from individuals and relevant shared experiences from other participants, it did pose some difficulties in recruiting participants for the study. Specifically, the time required by participants to invest in the study, may have dissuaded some potential participants to commit to follow through with the study. Participants had approximately two weeks to submit their pictures and had been asked to submit a minimum of five images, but at the two-week mark, only two participants had submitted images and they did not meet the minimum requirement. Even after providing an additional week out of the eight participants who had initially signed up, only six participants submitted their images. It is possible that the effort and time commitment required for this study, was not worth the honorarium being offered, or simply was too much of a commitment for potential participants to make. Additionally, it is possible that this type of methodology could be perceived as overly invasive and potential participants may hesitate to offer pictures of themselves, or those around them, for fear of either the exposure of their identity, distrust in the researcher or academic institutions and the

fear of surveillance. This is understandable, as another team contacted for the study had been the subject of considerable media coverage and thus, according to their manager, players had developed an aversion to being observed or being in front of the camera lens.

Despite this, photovoice is still powerful tool for research as it enables participants to not only have the opportunity express themselves in a creative and artistic manner, it also empowers them by transforming their typical position as the subject of other's perspective to making their environment and those around them as the subject of their perspective. It allows for participants to take control of what is being talked about and what is important by taking images that will serve as the foundations for what is elaborated and analyzed. Using a participatory method such as photovoice allows for refugees to not only use creative methods to tell their stories on their terms, ultimately shedding light on their experience while potentially being cathartic. Furthermore, it allows for trust building and the ability for participants to pose questions to me, the researcher (such as, what's the most challenging part of being in Canada for you?), so that they do not feel as they are being interrogated but are rather having a conversation.

The most pronounced limitation of this study was the relatively small number of participants, and the difficulties in recruitment and methodological procedures. Additionally, the barriers to recruitment and the lack of willing participants made it difficult to strictly follow the methodological procedures to ensure the tenets of participatory research were in fact fulfilled. This attrition and the absence of some participants led to having to conduct one-on-one interviews to supplement the focus groups and thus strengthen the themes derived from discussion groups. Despite these challenges, participants' stories offered new insight that their belonging does in fact require tangible rights and liberties that are equal and just to be enforced, via citizenship and legal status, which recent literature on belonging has been attempting to shift away from this association (e.g. Antonsich, 2010; Fozdar & Hartley, 2013;

Spaaij, 2015). It also gave way to understanding a relatively unnoticed phenomenon amongst Eritrean refugees, which is intergenerational displacement, which served as a foundation and backdrop for the continuation of their journey and settlement in Canada.

It is plausible that a more diverse group of refugees in this study could have led to development of other common patterns and theme. For example, the similarities and patterns that appear in the experiences of IDP or stateless person may not have been identified and would have been attributed to that particular individual's experience, rather than a more collective experience, in a heterogenous group of refugees. Furthermore, this study provides contribution to literature on Eritrean refugees, which is sparse and understudied, and specifically can speak to the Canadian context. The homogeneity of the team, particularly in regard to gender, raises questions about the extent of inclusiveness of the sport space in this study, in the face of heteronormativity and patriarchy. Sport in itself is understood to have been shaped by patriarchal and heteronormative ideologies in which hyper masculine, heterosexual men are the ideal sport participant (Messner, 2002). This discourse of hegemonic masculinity results in the marginalization of women and homosexual and heterosexual effeminate men (Coad 2008), manifesting in social exclusion such as the allocation of little to no resources for the organization of women in sport (Spaaij, Farquharson & Marjoribanks, 2015). Despite the strict use of gender-neutral terms, such as "youth" as being Neo-Toronto's self-described target demographic, it is implicit that it is exclusively a male sports club. All pictures on the sport club's website and social media are of male players, both team managers are men, and all the teams they compete against in tournaments are exclusively composed of men. There is an assumption that the team is exclusive to young heterosexual Muslim men, as it was entirely composed of young Eritrean males, and the team manager was wary of how the participants may react to me, if he was not present to supervise them. As a result of this homogeneity of the team, it not only was

influenced by, but also conformed to, notions of hegemonic masculinity in the sports field. While this study cannot speak to the experiences of Eritrean refugee women in sport, in light of homogeneity of the team in terms of gender and heteronormativity, this study nonetheless makes an important contribution because Eritreans are an often overlooked demographic of refugees, and there is little to no information of their current needs, challenges, and triumphs. This is not to suggest that the findings from this study are reflective of the experiences of all Eritrean refugees in Canada; however, it does alert us to possible commonalities and themes that may exist in the experience of the greater Eritrean refugee community in Canada. Had the team been a heterogeneous group, it is possible that these common themes and experiences would not have been nearly as pronounced.

5.4. Final Words

Upon arriving in Canada, refugees may not encounter the same dangers they once faced prior to their migration. Nonetheless, this does not mean that life post-arrival is an effortless and smooth transition. For many refugees, "leaving everything behind" and "[...] just [starting] from zero, again" (Ali) can be the most challenging part of their (re)settlement process, and further having to start life anew does not necessarily mean they are beginning with a clean slate. Recent media reports suggest that many refugees continue to struggle with settlement, particularly in their attempts to stay financially afloat after their one year of government financial aid comes to a close (Zarzour, 2019). In addition, a study on the wave of Syrian refugees settling in Canada found that they have limited interactions and relationships with other social groups (Hynie, 2018). This lack of relationships could pose a barrier to social inclusion and be a form "othering," whereby refugees' identities are positioned against their host society, leading to them being seen as 'the other' in society (p. 9). This sentiment of being 'othered' can also occur through the exclusion from access to goods and material such as, housing, employment and income. Participants like Yasin

highlighted their struggle with attaining material goods, stating that getting by on government financial aid is difficult, and that he originally thought he would receive far more. In addition to these barriers to belonging, settlement and inclusion, refugees are also dealing with the aftermath of their trauma as the initial euphoria of arrival begins to subside (Keung, 2019). In other words, the traumas and experiences refugees had prior to taking on their difficult migration are not left behind or forgotten. Rather, the implications of their migration are thus compounded by new obstacles and exigencies that collectively hinder their ability to successfully (re)settle and feel a sense of belonging in their host country.

Having had familiarity with the refugee experience via my parents, it provided some confusing at first when examining the data, however the discrepancies in my assumptions about their belonging and the reality of the data highlighted the importance of pre-migratory context in determining the relationship between refugee and host country. Refugees like my parents were granted citizenship and rights at birth, while participants were born into a state of displacement due to their birth land (Saudi Arabia) denying them citizenship and affording them very restricted rights. For refugees who were considered nationals prior to their forced migration, often had the ability to acquire economic and social capital, and were not met with much structural resistance, especially if they were not an ethnic or religious minority. In the case of my parents, they felt valued by their nation-state, who in attempt to progress their own academic institutions, enlisted a large number of Iranian students to study abroad and provided them with scholarships contingent on their return. This in itself was monetary validation of my parents as being indispensable contributors to the development of their country and were esteemed and admired by friends and colleagues upon their return. As a result of their displacement and eventual acceptance into Canada as refugees, my parents were jarred by the realization that they had fallen from grace. In an attempt reinstate their value in the eyes of their host country, they attempted to have their skills and qualification

certified through the Canadian academic system. Despite their past and current efforts to be indispensable members of Canadian society, they ultimately settled for employment where they feel overqualified and thus their labour discarded.

In contrast to refugees with nationhood, stateless and intergenerationally displaced people may express that their host society (Canada) has in fact made them feel dignified and worthy, as Yasin, a participant of study, highlights that through legal status, Canada has treated him like a "human being" by enforcing and protecting his "human rights". Hannah Arendt similarly highlight the strength and power of such a statement, as well as the paradox that exists in being denied these rights, for through the removal of human rights, an individual is stripped down to their basic self, a human being "[...] in general--without a profession, without a citizenship, without an opinion, without a deed by which to identify and specify himself [...]" (1973, p.302). While refugees with nationhood prior to their forced displacement may interpret belonging as being beyond citizenship and legal status, some refugees, such as the ones in this study, may not have this same privilege, if they are born in a state of displacement and marked as not belonging (refugee status). This lack of agency and power over one's environment and even destiny left a deep impression on the participants, a pronounced sentiment which was encompassed by their intergenerational displacement. It was evident that participants struggled with the claiming of belonging as personal and emotional, as they drew attention to the tension that existed between the home that rejected them (Saudi Arabia), and the place that had made them feel accepted and valued, but in which loneliness still loomed. Through their participation in sport, and soccer specifically, Eritrean refugee participants were able to close distances between each other, strengthen past and present relationships while experiencing the host society first hand and developing linguistic and cultural fluency through their Canadian raised teammates. Though the study also demonstrated that not all sports function the same way, and thus should not be regarded

as a panacea, it can (and in this case did) provide a space in which participants felt empowered, purposeful, included, and valued (Holt, 2016). Thus, it is important to support public and community sport spaces and resources in order to cultivate social inclusion and belonging amongst refugees.

Recent misinformation and fear mongering via a chain email about the arrival of large number of Syrian refugees led to anxieties that refugees were receiving more monthly allowance and social assistance than an old-age pensioner (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2013; English, 2015). Not only were these myths dispelled on several accounts, by the federal government and immigration experts, there wasn't a considerable mention of how the reality of refugees could be further from comfortable or even secure (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2013; CIC, 2019; English, 2015). Furthermore, as the participants in this study demonstrate, citizenship and legal status is sought by those seeking refuge as they perceive it to allow them to equally and fully participate in all domains of Canadian life, rather than permanently relying on social assistance like the email suggests (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2013). While having acknowledged Canada's efforts in providing and protecting the rights of refugees previously, it is important to reiterate not celebrate humanitarian efforts, if they start and finish with accepting refugees into the country. As mentioned, the needs of refugees extend beyond the basic necessities to survive in a new country, and if left neglected, places them at risk for poverty, unemployment and feeling marginalized. By assuming settlement needs are limited to housing, employment and income, refugees are left vulnerable to marginalization and social exclusion without necessary long-term programs or services that sustain their emotional, mental, and social needs. For these reasons, maintaining spaces in which individuals can both preserve their cultural identity and cultivate the process of belonging, integration, and social inclusion, is of significance to supporting refugees in successful settlement.

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29+189+UNTS+150+and+Protocol+relating+to+the+Status+of+Refugees+%28signed+31+January+1967%2C+entered+into+force+4+October+1967%29+606+UNTS+267/0bf3248a-cfa8-4a60-864d-65cdfece1d47.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Letter of informed Consent

Ongoing Informed Consent letter.

The intent of this letter is to provide you with the necessary information you need to make an informed decision regarding your continued participation in this study. This letter is yours to keep.

Project Title: Refugees, Sport and Belonging: A photovoice inquiry

Researcher: Donna Mozaffarian, Masters Candidate (York University), email: Donnamoz@my.yorku.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Yuka Nakamura, PhD (York University), email: nakamura@yorku.ca

Purpose of the Research: The purpose of this Masters study is to explore the experience of refugees playing for any organized or recreational sport, specifically investigating feelings of belonging, social inclusion, and their relationship to sport.

What you will be asked to do in the research: If you agree to participate in this study, you will participate in four groups discussions, each lasting between 60 to 90 minutes in length. They will be audio-recorded. The primary researcher may request additional interviews with some participants in this study.

Risks and/or Compensation: This study may pose potential risks for you such as emotional distress during and after the interview process as you disclose your lived experiences. You may discontinue your participation in this study at any time if you experience any discomfort or pain. At the completion of this study, you will be provided with a list of community resources to qualified professionals. If you experience any adverse effects due to your participation in this study, we will do our best to connect you with the appropriate resources to assist you.

All participants will be compensated with a 15$ cash honorarium for their participation at the end of the study. Participants who do not participate in all four group discussions or decide to withdraw will still be compensated the full amount of $15 for their participation.

Benefits of the Research: There are no direct benefits. Participants may derive benefits from their participation in this study in sharing their lived experiences. The information derived in this study may lead to benefits to the participants as it may lead to policy development and/or services tailored to meet the needs of the participants of this study.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the research is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to continue participating will not influence your relationship or the nature of your relationship with the researchers or with staff of York University either now or in the future.

Withdrawal from the Study: You may stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event that you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

Confidentiality: Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law. All group discussions will be audio-recorded and transcribed by the researcher of this study and will only be accessible by the researcher of this study. The transcribed data from the group discussions will be stored on a password protected laptop with no personal identifying details. Audio-recordings of the group discussions will be deleted from recording devices and laptop. Transcripts and interview materials will be stored in a locked personal filing cabinet in the home of the primary researcher where they will be stored for two years after which they will be destroyed. Participants have the option to allow their names to be published in the study, or to remain anonymous. Participants should note that though anonymity will be ensured to the fullest capability of the researcher, there is a possible risk of realization of identity by others, due to the high amounts of media coverage their team has received.

Questions about the research? Please review the letter carefully and feel free to ask the researcher and/or her primary supervisor, Dr. Yuka Nakamura (nakamura@yorku.ca) questions if anything is unclear to you and/or if you need further clarification regarding the research process and/or your role as a participant. You may also contact York University's Graduate Program office can also be contacted at 416-736-5728. This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and will conform to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, you may contact the Senior Manager and Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, York Research Tower, York University, telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca.

Legal Rights and Signatures:
I_____ consent to continue my participation in "Refugees, Sport and Belonging: A photovoice inquiry" conducted by Donna Mozaffarian in the School of Kinesiology and Health Sciences at York University. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

I give the researcher permission to use direct quotations for use in this study. All quotations will remain anonymous.

I give the researcher permission to audio record my participation in any discussion forums I attend.

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix B: Poster

CALLING ALL REFUGEES

Do you play sports?

You could be eligible for this study!

Be in control of YOUR voice.

Use photograph to express your perspective on what it's like to be a refugee and your experience with sport in Canada.

* Must be over the age of 16 to participate.
* All participants receive a honorarium of 15$
* All public transportation costs will be covered
* Anonymity guaranteed

To participate, or inquire about the study, please contact:

Donna Mozaffarian

[Redacted]

Appendix C: Study Brief

Project Title: Refugees, Sport and Belonging: A photovoice inquiry

Purpose of the Research: The purpose of this Masters study is to explore the experiences of refugees playing soccer together, specifically investigating feelings of belonging, social inclusion, and their relationship to sport.

What you will be asked to do in the research: If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to (1) take photographs following the instructions in the "**Guiding themes and questions for photographs"** sheet; and (2) participate in four group discussions, each lasting between 60 to 90 minutes in length which will be audio-recorded. During the group discussions, we will be sharing and talking about the photos that everyone took.

Instructions for taking photos:

- You will have two weeks from the distribution of this brief to take photographs relevant to concepts and questions found in the "**Guiding themes and questions for photographs"** sheet attached.
- Please submit a minimum of 5 photographs.
- Please do not take photos of people's faces. Please do not take photos of people without asking.
- Please do not take photos of children.
- You may take photos with your smart phone or personal digital camera. If you require, a disposable camera will be available to you upon request.
- If you require more film for the disposable camera, feel free to request another one.

- You may take more than a single picture per concept or question; however, you will be asked to narrow your options for the discussion forums. Please do not exceed a total of 15 pictures.
- When you have finished capturing your photos, or when the two weeks have passed, you will be asked to upload and send your images to the email: [redacted], so that they may be ready and printed for the discussion forum. For those who have chosen to use a disposable camera, you will be asked to submit your film reel for printing. Please contact [redacted] to request a pickup of your film reel.
- You will be asked to attend four discussion forums at a time, date, and location that will be determined at a later time.
- During the first discussion forum, you will be asked to select photos that you feel are most reflective of your thoughts, feelings, and experience surrounding a concept or question. You will also be asked to sign up for a future discussion forum where you will share and discuss your images. Each discussion forum will have 2-3 participants sharing their photographs.
- For the following discussion forums, participants who had signed up to share their images, will present their images to the group, and discuss the meaning and intention of the photos.

Appendix D: Resource List

Mental Health & Settlement services resources

In case material discussed in focus groups are triggering or upsetting, here is a list of community mental health and settlement services.

Centre For Addiction and Mental Health (CAMH) - New Beginnings Clinic: Services For Refugees - Toronto - Stokes Street
Location:
Bell Gateway Building, 100 Stokes St, Toronto, ON M6J 1H4
Contact:
416-535-8501 ext 31683

Centre for Immigrant and Community Services - North York Office
Location:
1761 Sheppard Ave E, Ground Floor, Toronto, ON M2J 0A5
Contact:
416-292-7510

Community Action Resource Centre
Location:
1652 Keele St, Toronto, ON M6M 3W3
Contact:
416-652-2273

Crisis Lines:

Youthspace.ca (NEED2 Suicide Prevention, Education & Support)

- Youth Text (6pm-12am PT): (778) 783-0177
- Youth Chat (6pm-12am PT): www.youthspace.ca

ONTX Ontario Online & Text Crisis Service

- Crisis Text (2pm-2am ET): 741-741
- Crisis Chat (2pm-2am ET): www.dcontario.org/ontx.html

Distress Centers of Toronto

- Toronto, ON, M5C 2J4
- 416-408-4357
- http://www.torontodistresscentre.com

Appendix E: Guiding themes and questions for photographs

Please use the following questions, themes and topics as inspiration and a guide for your photographs:

- A place where you feel at ‘home’ (Does not have to be your current literal place of residence)
- A place where you feel safe.
- Your favourite space in the soccer field.
    - Somewhere you had a funny, or emotional moment.
    - The space you usually sit, stand, or hang out.
- Something that you think is “Canadian”.
    - What is Canada?
- Something that makes you feel Canadian.
    - What makes you feel like you belong?

Please take a picture of something that represents:

- What playing soccer has given you?
    - Friends, employment opportunities, housing opportunities, network opportunities etc.
- Feeling appreciated
    - Where and when do you feel appreciated?
- Feeling lonely

Appendix F: Participants' photographs

Figure 1. Yasin's celebratory jump after he learned he had gotten a job at "The Department Store"

Figure 2. Amir's picture of his high school Graduation

Figure 3. Amir's picture with a teammate that he knew from Saudi Arabia

Figure 4. Yasin's pictured with his brother on Eid

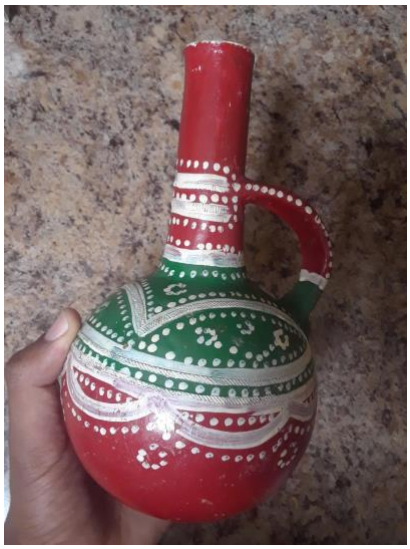

Figure 5. Hamza's picture of his parent's Eritrean coffee pot

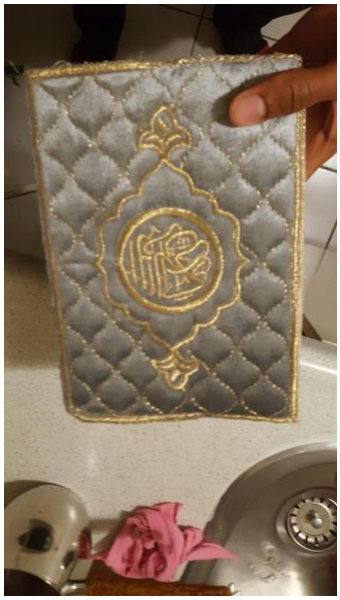

Figure 6. Hasan's picture of his Qur'an

Figure 7. Amir's picture of him and his friends playing basketball

Figure 8. Hamza's picture of a medal he was awarded for one of his soccer matches

Figure 9. Hamza's picture of his Jabulani ball that his brother purchased.

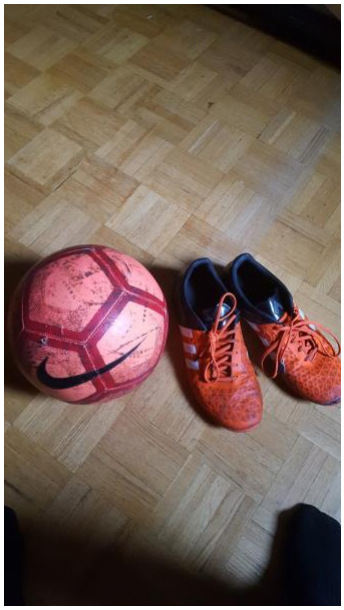

Figure 10. Hasan's picture of his soccerball and cleats

Figure 11. Hamza's picture of the placemat for the coffee jug

Figure 12. Yasin's picture of his ride on the Subway

Figure 13. Hamza's picture of his family's incense tray

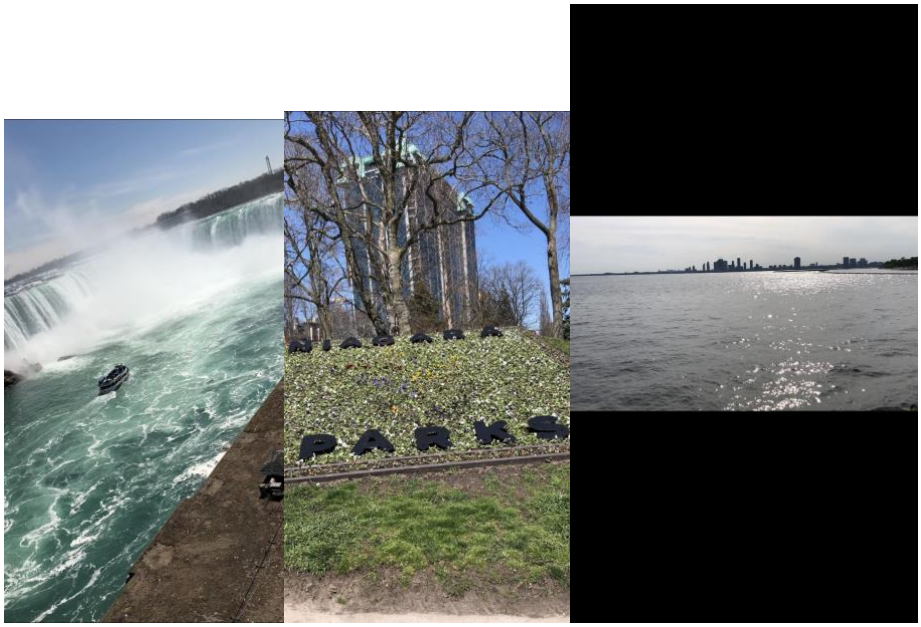

Figure 14. Ali's photographs of Niagara Falls, Niagara park and Harbour front

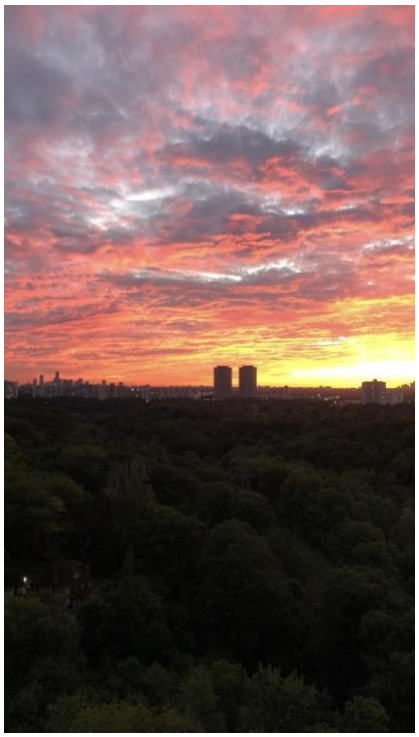

Figure 15. Ali's picture from his balcony apartment

Figure 16: Amir's photographs of his local gym

Figure 16: Yasin's pictures of a tournament his team played

Figure 17: Yasin's picture of him and his trophy

Figure 18: Hasan's picture of his fridge

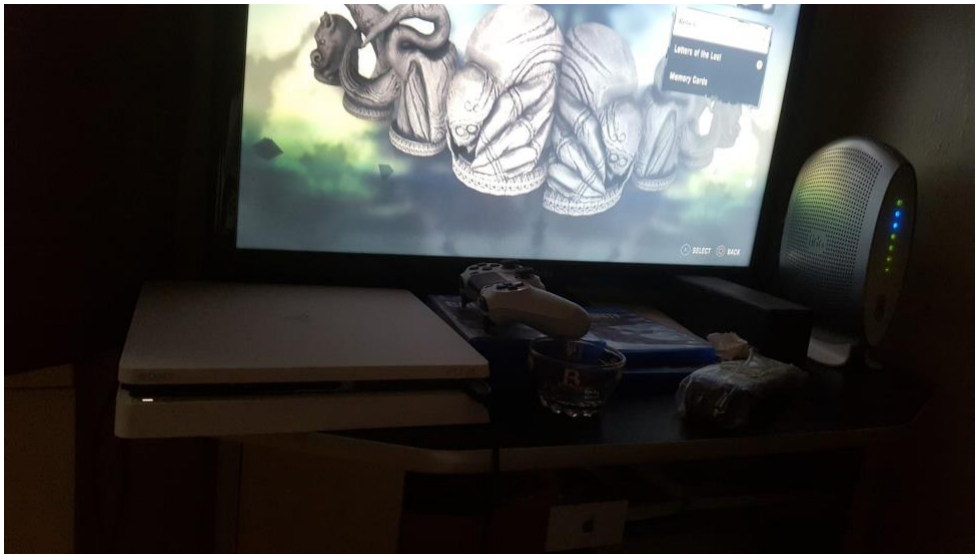

Figure 19: Hasan's picture of his favourite video game