

The Study of Sudanese Settlement in Ontario

—Final Report

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Table of Contents

Introduction	4
Objectives	4
Background on issues and challenges in Sudanese settlement in Ontario	5
“Diversity within diversity”: population diversity among Sudanese in Ontario	6
Gender roles and family adaptation	7
Social networks, help-seeking and mutual aid: implications for service delivery	8
Study Findings	9
Descriptive statistics and charts of sample demographics and characteristics	9
Languages used in interviews	12
Respondents’ educational and religious backgrounds: the regional context in Sudan	13
Language instruction	15
Employment in Canada	16
Current employment status: class, gender and city differences	16
The unemployed	17
Migration and displacement experiences	19
Information needed prior to arrival	21
Arrival and reception	21
Inadequate financial resources	22
Social support on arrival	23
Sources of social support by city	25
Specific needs on arrival	25
Unmet needs by immigration class	25
Initial challenges during the first 6 to 12 months in Canada	26
Initial challenges by gender	26
Initial challenges by city	27
Initial challenges by immigration class	27
Expectations of Canada	27
Social integration and adaptation	28
Ways of coping with difficulties	28
Stressful life events	29
Help-seeking	30
Kinship and family relations	30
Marital concerns	32
Children	34
Health and well being	36
Health status by immigration class	37
Health status by city	37
Well being and length of time in Canada	37
Housing highlights	39
Gender differences	39
Immigration class differences	39
Housing differences among cities	40

Settlement needs, help received, sources of help and satisfaction	40
Housing	40
Finances	41
Orientation to life in Canada	41
Education	41
Health care information and services	42
Employment	42
Transportation	42
Parenting	43
Legal matters and crime	43
Settlement services: immigration class, gender and city highlights	44
Differences in settlement needs among immigration classes	44
Differences in settlement service use among immigration classes	44
Differences between genders in basic settlement service use	44
Differences among cities in settlement service use	45
Barriers to settlement service utilization	46
Perceived cultural awareness of service providers	47
Top community concerns identified by respondents	48
Top concerns by gender, immigration class and city	49
Hopes for the future	50
Types of services and service delivery recommended by Sudanese community members	51
Models and principles of service delivery	52
Recommendations	54
References	56
Appendix 1— Study methods	57
Research design: mixed methodology	57
Research team	57
Community participation	58
Community outreach	59
Questionnaire development and translation	59
Hiring and training of Sudanese interviewers	60
Study population in each city and sample composition	61
Recruitment of survey respondents	62
Data collection: interview and ethics procedures	62
Challenges and benefits of the study	63
Data analysis	64
Appendix 2 -- Sample in-depth interview summary	65
Tables (referenced on pp. 12-16)	66ff.

The Study of Sudanese Settlement in Ontario—Final Report

Introduction

This is a final report to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), Ontario Region, on the Study of Sudanese Settlement in Ontario, funded by the Settlement Directorate following a peer-reviewed Request for Proposals in 2003. The study is intended to provide a profile of Sudanese newcomers in seven cities, related settlement needs, service gaps, and recommendations for culturally appropriate models of settlement service delivery.

The purpose of this report is to inform CIC about analysis of selected data as well as the complexity of the community-based research study itself, both of which have implications for program planning and service delivery. On the basis of the research project and final results, the research team developed general principles that may assist in future planning and program development for this group of newcomers.

We would like to emphasize that issues and basic recommendations for next steps provided in this report should be evaluated over the long term in light of the complex challenges facing the Sudanese population. These data and recommendations serve as discussion points in an ongoing process of knowledge transfer and community-empowerment. Only in the process of further community consultations will it be possible to determine the significance of the research findings for Sudanese community members, and to assess the capability of CIC and the community to act in concert on subsequent recommendations.

Objectives

The objectives of the Study of Sudanese Settlement in Ontario were the following:

- To complete a survey of demographics and other characteristics related to settlement, and compile a profile of the Sudanese community in Ontario in 7 target cities: Greater Toronto Area, Hamilton-Wentworth, Kitchener-Waterloo, London, Ottawa, St. Catharines and Windsor.
- To examine the initial settlement expectations and needs of Sudanese newcomers.
- To determine what settlement and community services are accessed and what needs are left unmet.
- To analyze the changes in settlement and adaptation during this group's first years of settlement.
- To make recommendations for a suitable service delivery model for the Sudanese community.

Background on issues and challenges in Sudanese settlement in Ontario

Meeting the challenges posed by recent Sudanese immigration and settlement in Ontario requires grappling with several formidable issues, some of which are specific to the Sudanese newcomer population, and some of which are generalizable to the service delivery needs of other immigrant and refugee groups in Canada. For example, most newcomers in Canada have serious difficulties entering the labour market at levels commensurate with their skills and education. But the meaning of this disappointing experience and the impact on the person and household may vary according to culturally based expectations.

This research was also undertaken to address challenges arising from a common tension within the settlement services system: providing equitable and accessible services for diverse groups. For many reasons, settlement services are difficult to provide—especially so when the diversity within a newcomer population is significant. To lay the groundwork for more equitable and effective service delivery, we have attempted to document settlement needs and recommendations from various perspectives within the Sudanese population in order to ensure that the study results are representative of this population's diverse needs.

The challenges facing Sudanese in Ontario, as for most newcomers, are rooted in the effects of difficult pre-migration experiences as well as stressful post-migration conditions. CIC can expect to have the greatest immediate impact on conditions directly affecting the lives and adaptation of newcomers in the early years through the organization and delivery of settlement services, although achieving well being during adaptation and settlement is a long-term process that continues for many years. We must nevertheless understand newcomers and settlement service utilization in the context of social conditions in both sending and receiving societies to be effective in improving the delivery settlement services in Canada.

All immigrants and refugees cope with the challenges of settlement and adaptation by drawing on available resources for support. A crucial source of psychological support is normally ethnic identity, and the most important social support is usually obtained from family and one's own ethnic community. In this respect, the Sudanese are no different from many other newcomer groups. One defining feature of the Sudanese population that is critical for settlement services, however, is the internal complexity of its ethnic composition.

Many factors affect the settlement and adaptation process by defining an individual's needs, expectations and appraisal of available settlement service options. Besides the obvious settlement needs such as language acquisition, shelter, and income, predisposing factors, such as conditions of migration and culture (e.g religious beliefs, family and gender norms and perceptions), and enabling factors, such as knowledge and accessibility of settlement services, all influence patterns of service utilization.

Newcomers often try to sustain their culture and recreate social structures of their ethnic groups or countries of origin in Canada during a gradual process of adaptation and social integration, a strategy that is generally advantageous, especially for the most vulnerable. Cultural values and social structure influence how newcomers perceive their circumstances and sources of support, what coping strategies they use and how they seek support from various sources during settlement and adaptation. This may be the most important aspect of the complex process of immigrant settlement for service providers to understand, because cultural differences between sending and receiving societies—in this case, Sudanese and Canadian—must be recognized, negotiated and bridged to provide effective settlement services.

“Diversity within diversity”: Population diversity among Sudanese in Ontario

Settlement services have not been successfully delivered to Sudanese in Ontario because of a lack of understanding of and sensitivity to the significant diversity within the population--not only the obvious ethnic and linguistic differences, which affect the social organization of informal support networks and formal services, but also gender differences, deeply held cultural and political identities and the range of life experiences, the importance of which should not be underestimated for planning and development. One service provider characterized this “diversity within diversity” as a unique challenge that distinguishes the Sudanese population from other newcomer groups.¹ The personal and social resources that Sudanese newcomers can draw upon during settlement depends on enhancing mutual understanding (that of Sudanese and service providers) and optimizing the benefits of diversity.

A binary categorization based on geography (North versus South), ethnicity (Arab versus African), and religion (Muslim versus Christian) has typically been used to describe Sudanese society (Deng 1995; Abusharaf 2002) as well as the Sudanese newcomer population in Ontario. While this simplistic division is a useful starting point for understanding some differences in migration and settlement experiences of Sudanese in Ontario, it is not necessarily useful for service delivery. Social reality is certainly more complex.

Linguistic and ethnic differences create formidable, but not insurmountable, barriers in existing immigrant services, as “matching” of service providers and clients becomes critical and especially problematic given the multiplicity of languages in the population. Among Sudanese there are also important differences in needs and resources among immigration classes that are indicative of pre-migration experiences and which are particularly important for program planning.

Sudanese recognize that divisions within the community are a problem for the welfare of the community as a whole that needs to be overcome. However, due to the depths of historical and social conditions and the personal impact of conflict that have forced them to migrate, Sudanese newcomers cannot be expected to put aside political and ethnic differences immediately upon arrival in Canada. Many sense that maintenance of strong cultural identities can be advantageous for individual and group welfare during settlement and adaptation. Respect for Sudanese diversity may be therefore warranted, providing it can be used to ease the social integration process, for example, by promoting multilingual service provision.

For the purposes of service delivery, knowledge and acceptance of diversity in the Sudanese population is a necessary starting point to provide effective, accessible services to Sudanese newcomers, especially in the early years of settlement. It is required to help bridge the gap between Sudanese and Canadian ways of life. Eventually, Sudanese may find common ground for the purpose of overall community development. Sudanese interviewed for this study have clearly expressed their concern for resolving this problem.

Heterogeneity across the Sudanese population landscape in Ontario is only part of the complexity; experiences also have varied greatly throughout the life course for many individual Sudanese. Apart from having to make the transition into a drastically different society as migrants

¹ The comment was taken from responses to a survey of provincial CIC settlement workers about Sudanese settlement in May 2003.

in Canada, many Sudanese newcomers have already endured transitions and multiple displacements in their homeland. Within Sudan, the traditional social structure and economy have undergone enormous changes in a span of decades, as seen in recent ethnographies and analyses of Sudanese society that describe rural-urban migration, changing conceptions of wealth, gender role changes and the often traumatic loss, and disruption caused by the long civil war (Ahmed 1986; Hale 1997; Holtzman 2000; Hutchinson 1996).

Despite the rapid and often confusing social and culture change experienced in Sudan, some Sudanese values and many social experiences of everyday life remain quite distinct from those of the Canadian mainstream. For Sudanese to adapt and integrate more successfully, practical orientation programs will have to be developed with their specific needs in mind.

Gender roles and family adaptation

The importance of culture and socialization as predisposing factors in service utilization is nowhere more evident than in gender and family relations. Of particular interest for Sudanese settlement in Ontario are evident changing gender relations and impacts on the family during settlement, as women become more aware of their legal rights and become household providers in Canada, and Sudanese men remain underemployed or even leave their families to seek employment outside Canada, leaving wives to head the household. There is also a very large proportion of unmarried Sudanese in the Ontario population, who struggle with the prospects of creating or re-creating informal support networks normally provided by family members. Family reunification is also an ongoing challenge having wide influence on the quality of life for Sudanese individuals and families

For Sudanese in Ontario, some of the most important social and cultural challenges, which remain partly hidden and inadequately addressed by settlement services, are in this area of family life that is essential to successful settlement. Sudanese women and men are both struggling to fulfill their family roles and obligations, often torn between two cultures. This struggle can have lasting impacts on Sudanese men, women, and children in terms of mental health and relationships with the legal and the educational systems.

Data relevant to some of these issues are somewhat difficult to capture with survey methodology alone because Sudanese consider these private matters. Considerable stigma surrounds divorce and spousal abuse, and strong fears and dismay are associated with actions of the Children's Aid Society. Relevant anthropological literature describes the cultural issues surrounding family rights and obligations (Jok 1998; Hutchinson 1996) carried over to Canada from Sudan, which have also been prominent subjects of informal discussions and in-depth qualitative interviews.² Sudanese often interpret these matters from within a cultural framework quite different from the Canadian norm, which may mean that a delicate process of cultural sensitization and mutual education for both Sudanese and service providers will be needed.

²For example, following the dissolution of a marriage under the patrilineal customs of southern Sudanese culture, children do not reside with the mother, but stay with the father's side of the extended family for care, whereas the mother returns to her own family of birth. Long considered a fundamental part of the system of family rights and obligations by both tradition and courts of law in Sudan, these customs are in conflict with contemporary Canadian norms of child protection and women's rights. A lack of appreciation of these differences has resulted in a perpetuation of misunderstandings and actions (e.g. by police and Children's Aid) that are likely not helpful to Sudanese newcomer families.

Social networks, help-seeking and mutual aid: implications for service delivery

The goals of this study--to identify unmet needs and recommend ways to improve settlement service delivery—depend on gaining understanding of Sudanese help-seeking behaviour. Like most migrants, Sudanese are not just individual clients of settlement programs, but members of groups and social networks of extended family and friends. Evidence accumulated from studies of social support and refugee resettlement shows that a slow and continual process of reconstituting such social networks assures emotional and material stability. The support that Sudanese derive from informal social networks during resettlement takes the form of advice and information, emotional help in times of stress, or instrumental support in response to practical needs such as housing.

Social networks are often assumed to be beneficial, but their strength may depend upon structural opportunities in the larger society (Menjivar 2000). That is, if Sudanese immigrants and refugees who comprise the existing networks in Ontario experience significant obstacles to employment and social integration, they will not be in a position to help other newcomers and discouragement will result. Added to this problem of lack of resources in the community is the fact that most Sudanese are obligated to support extended families still in Sudan. Among Sudanese in Ontario, therefore, resources (knowledge and meeting space, as well as material goods) within the population are still limited. In addition, Sudanese are more comfortable seeking advice and help from other Sudanese who know the culture and can share their experience.

Maintaining a strong sense of ethnic identity is protective of immigrants' mental health and well-being, particularly to buffer the deleterious effects of racism and discrimination and other problems of social integration. Research has found that like-ethnic communities are essential and advantageous to newcomers in providing mutual aid, advice and information, and employment opportunities, especially in the early years of settlement when linguistic and cultural competence in the ways of the host society is still limited. Sudanese settle where their support needs will be met by like-ethnic networks, which is critical for emotional and mental well-being. Emotional support from the like-ethnic community members is initially very important and comforting for refugees who have suffered loss, possibly as a result of ethnic and political conflict.

There is growing awareness in the Sudanese community that the usefulness of existing social networks may be enhanced by unification and extension beyond themselves to help their members obtain information and resources from the larger society. For most immigrants and refugees, informal social support networks of friends and relatives are necessary but insufficient for successful resettlement. Effective formal supports such as culturally appropriate settlement and health services and assistance with access to meaningful employment opportunities also must be present (UNHCR 2002). In this respect, the efforts of immigrant settlement agencies and other social institutions can make a difference.

In light of the above, what is interesting about Sudanese settlement in Ontario is the fact that the maintenance of ethnic diversity and cultural values is both strength and weakness in the settlement and adaptation process. It must be remembered that although “tribalism” may hinder adaptation in some respects, there are many other barriers to integration into Canadian society, external to the Sudanese community. Future efforts perhaps should be to optimize the benefits of identification with sub-groups within the population (e.g. to aid in providing accessible, effective, culturally and linguistically appropriate services upon arrival), and to encourage cooperation.

Study Findings

The information presented below represents frequencies for the overall study sample of 220 recent Sudanese newcomers, i.e. both genders, the five immigration classes and all seven cities.³ Breakdowns of frequencies according to immigration class, city and gender are provided where relevant in subsequent sections of the report. For some responses, GARs (government-assisted refugees) and non-GARs as a group (privately-sponsored refugees, family class immigrants, independent immigrants, and landed-in-Canada refugees) are compared due to the limited sample size in some categories.

Abbreviations are used as follows: GARs (Government-assisted Refugees), PSRs (Privately-sponsored Refugees), INDs (Independent/skilled worker class immigrants), FAMs (Family class immigrants) and LCRs (Landed-in-Canada Refugees).

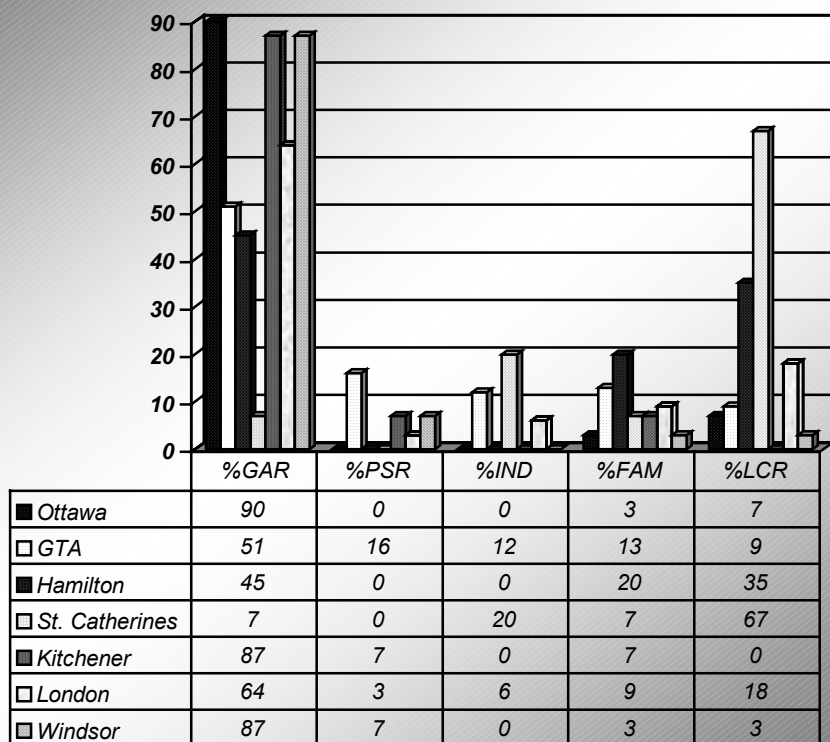
Descriptive Statistics

Based on the purposive (non-random) sample surveyed for this study, the population of recent Sudanese newcomers in Ontario is relatively young, moderately educated and largely underemployed. About half of the population are married and have children; a majority of the unmarried are men. The major languages spoken in the population and for the purposes of this study were Arabic, English, Arabi Juba, Nuer, Dinka and Bari. The majority of the population (62%) are government-assisted refugees (GARs), most of whom have come to Canada directly from refugee camps. The remaining are landed-in-Canada refugees (15%), family class immigrants (10%), independent immigrants (6%) and privately-sponsored refugees (7%).

Study of Sudanese Settlement	Sample population (n=220)
Gender distribution	57% male, 43% female
Age of respondents	Average = 34 years (range 17-67 years)
Education level before arrival	38% have less than a high school education 13% completed high school 49% went beyond high school
Employment status	39% employed, 48% currently looking for work
Number of household members	Average = 3.3
Number of children in household	Average = 2.8
Displaced within Sudan?	Yes = 33%
Years in Canada	Average = 2.1

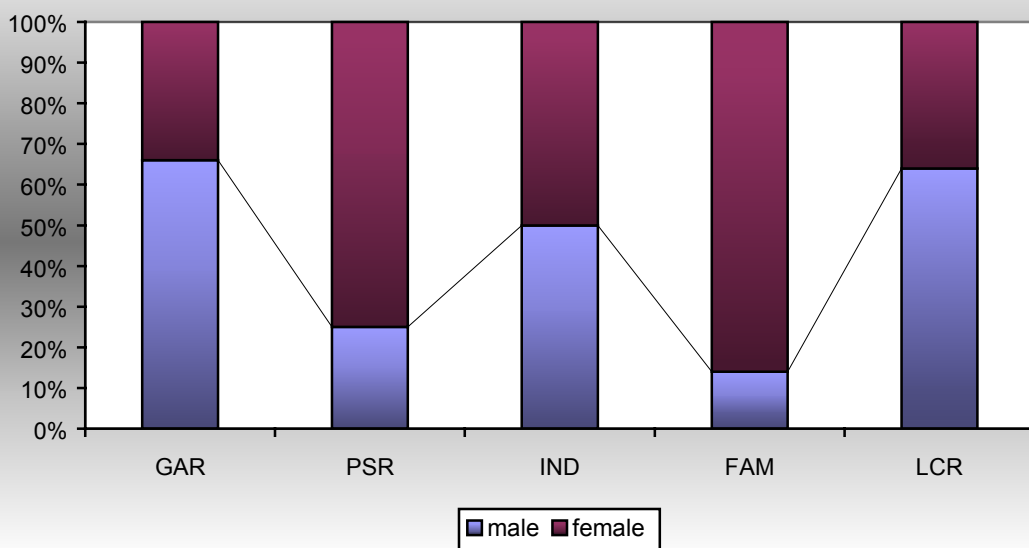
³ For details about the study sample, research design and methods, please see Appendix 1.

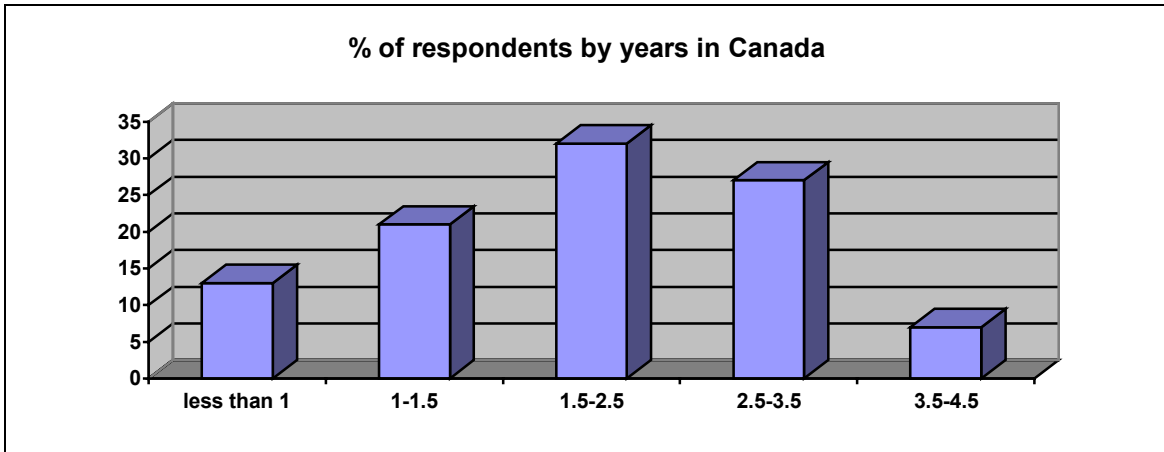
% survey respondents by class and city



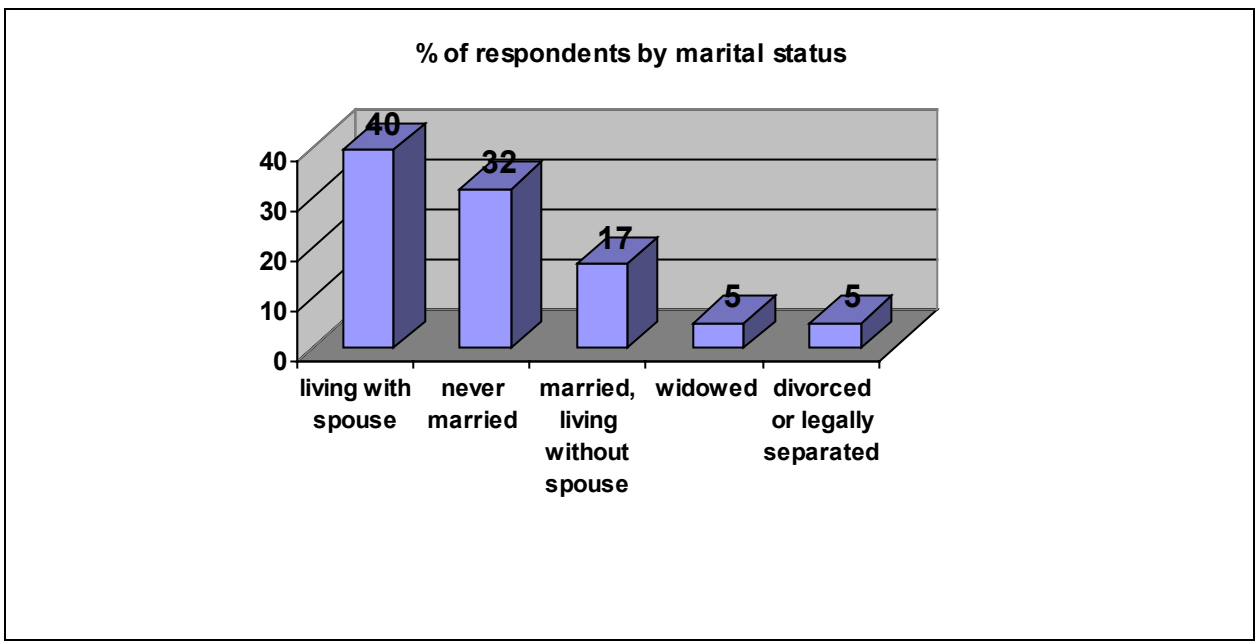
In all cities, the Sudanese sample population is predominantly GARs with the exception of St. Catharines. In St. Catharines, LCRs are in the majority, followed by INDs. In Hamilton, there are also relatively large proportions of LCRs and FAM class immigrants in addition to GARs.

% respondents by class and gender





Note: The average number of years in Canada for survey respondents was 2.1.

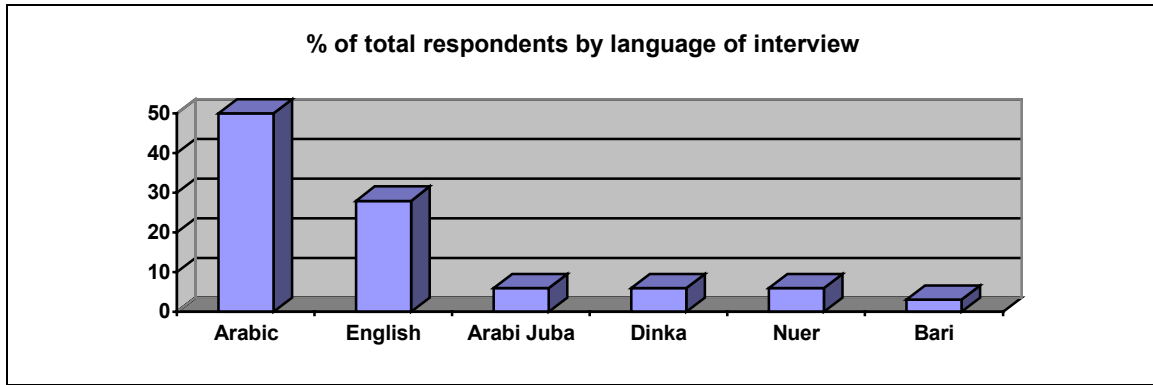


Note: Of the 32% who were never married, 78% are male.

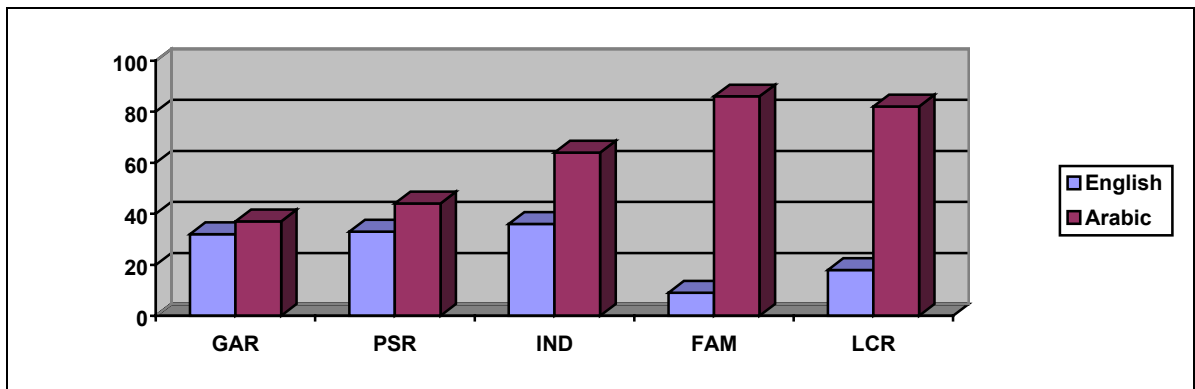
In St. Catharines, 47% of the study respondents residing are married, but living without a spouse; also in St. Catharines, 47% of LCRs are married, but living without a spouse.

Languages used in interviews

After Arabic (50%) the most common language of interviewing was English (28%), with the remainder distributed among Arabi Juba (6%), Dinka (6%), Bari (3%) and Nuer (6%).



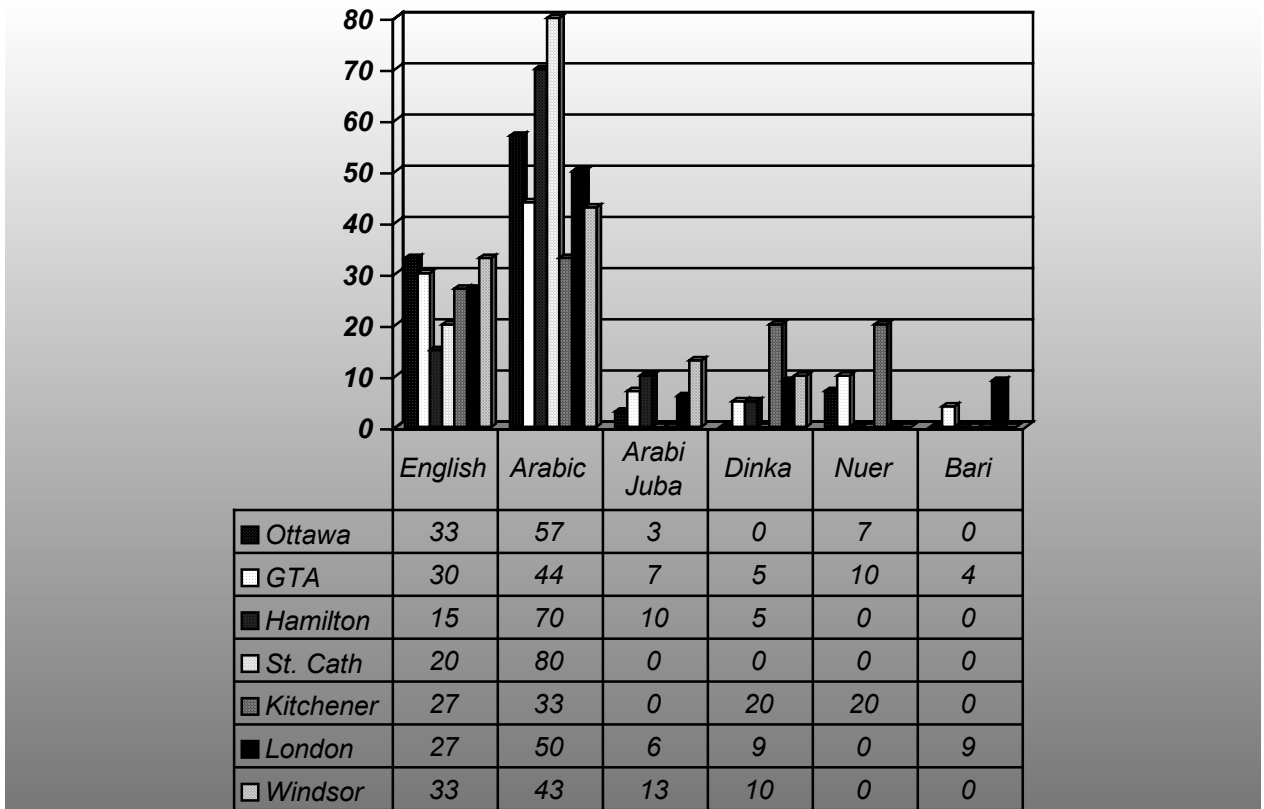
For the two top languages of interviewing, immigration classes are distributed as follows:



Among respondents who chose to be **interviewed in Arabic**, 45% were GARs, 24% were LCRs, 16% were FAM, 8% were IND, and 6% were PSR, with 56% males and 44% females.

Among those who chose to be **interviewed in English**, 71% were GARs, 10% were LCR, 8% were IND, 8% were PSR and 3% were FAM. The majority of respondents (71%) who completed the interview in English were male, which likely indicates lower English proficiency among Sudanese women.

%language of interview within city



Respondents’ educational and religious backgrounds: the regional context in Sudan

The most relevant “push” factor for many of the newest Sudanese newcomers is the brutal war in the South, which has killed at least 2 million people, uprooted 4 million more, and separated tens of thousands of children from their parents (Baya 1988, 1992; Ibrahim 1995; UNICEF 1995). After independence in 1956, a civilian government was forced out by military dictators who have ruled for over 35 years and imposed particular hardships on the Southern Sudanese. For the last few decades, they have suffered from uneven economic development and destruction of indigenous livelihoods. The repressive military government that has been in power since 1989 has close ties with the National Islamic Front, whose actions have exacerbated North-South differences. In the south, rebel military groups have actively opposed government forces and many civilians have been caught in between. Thousands have fled to refugee camps and border regions of neighbouring countries, first Ethiopia and Uganda, then Chad and Kenya. There have been a series of extreme droughts over the years and, in addition, environmental destruction and conflict, including reported “scorched earth” tactics, fed by profits from extraction of oil from Southern regions.

For many Sudanese—especially those from the South--and their families, formal education has been interrupted, or opportunities to practice the professions for which they trained limited, by

conflict and economic upheaval. The closing of the economic opportunities in the Arabian Gulf region increased the out flows of skilled, Arabic-speaking Sudanese workers and refugees, especially to Canada and the US in the 1990s. Also significant in shaping resettlement and employment prospects for Sudanese in Canada is the deterioration and Arabization of the educational systems in southern Sudan, making it less likely for many Sudanese under 40 years of age to have received advanced schooling in English (once the norm under the former British system) prior to arrival in Canada. These conditions have likely limited the progress of Sudanese women in obtaining advanced educations as well.

The media often views conflict-driven migration from Sudan simplistically in religious terms. It is more accurate and helpful to view its origins and impacts in as a reflection of a regional divide, with resulting unequal distribution of resources and disruption of education in Southern Sudan. It is important to understand in the following discussion, therefore, that differences in educational levels associated with religion are due to differential opportunities and levels of disruption existing in the North (predominantly Muslim and Arab) and South (predominantly Christian and African). Furthermore, it is the South that has been the actual arena of the 21-year, current civil war as well as the first civil war (1955-1972).

Although religion *per se* is not an explanatory factor for educational differences, for the purposes of describing the study sample and ultimately enhancing culturally and educationally appropriate settlement service delivery to Sudanese in Ontario, it is worthwhile to note the following characteristics of the survey population: One-half (50%) of the survey respondents are Muslims, 24% are Protestants, 25% are Catholics and 1% (two cases) are Orthodox Christians. Of the Muslim respondents, 82% are from the North (47% from the Capital region alone) and 16% from the West. Over 94% of the Protestant respondents and 91% of the Catholics are from the South. In short, the sample shows that Northerners are predominantly Muslim and Southerners are predominantly Christian.

The population surveyed in Ontario comprises very recent newcomers (arriving in the year 2000 and after, with the exception of one person). In the overall sample, 38% have less than a high school education, 13% have completed high school and 49% have gone beyond high school. It is likely that the educational achievements and employment rates among the Sudanese population in Ontario overall are higher than those shown for the study sample.

Among survey respondents, women have substantially lower educational levels than men. According to **Table 1**,⁴ 9% of women as compared to 3% of men had no formal education, and 15% and 3%, respectively, had some primary education. Although there are no significant differences in the intermediate educational phases, these become more pronounced on the post-secondary level, with 11% and 17% of women receiving some or completing post-secondary education compared to 18% and 30% of men; however, 10% of women and 8% of men obtained an advanced degree.

Table 2 shows differences in the respondents' level of education completed in the Sudan according to religious background. (These differences, again, should be viewed in the context of differential regional opportunities in the country of origin). Compared to Muslims, Protestants and Catholics have significantly lower levels of education, differences which are most pronounced at the higher levels: 17% of Protestants and 11% of Catholics but 36% of Muslims

⁴ The statistical analysis concerning education, religion and employment, were prepared by Dr. Gertrud Neuwirth, Director, Research Resource Division for Refugees, Ottawa. Tables 1-12 may be found in the Appendix. The rest of the report was prepared by the Toronto-based project team, primarily by Dr. Simich.

completed post-secondary education; only one Catholic but 17% of Muslims hold an advanced degree.

According to **Table 3**, gender differences within the religious groups are striking. Higher proportions of Catholic and Protestant women have no or little formal education than their male counterparts and few continued their education beyond the secondary level. Of the Protestant respondents, only two (10%) completed their post-secondary education compared to 12 (36 %) of men who attended some or completed post-secondary education; the proportions are even lower for Catholics: three (13%) of the women had some post-secondary education compared to 50% of men. Gender differences among Muslims are less pronounced: Of the women, one-third completed their post-secondary education and one-fifth hold an advanced degree compared to 42% and 15% of the men, respectively. Some of these variations may also be attributable to rural-urban differences between the sub-groups.

Table 4 describes respondents' religious affiliations by immigration class. Muslims, who make up 50% of the total sample, comprise the lowest proportion of government-assisted refugees (28%),⁵ the highest proportion of family class members (86%), all of the independent immigrants and 91% of the refugee claimants. Most GARs are Protestants and Catholics. With the exception of three privately sponsored refugees, Sudanese who came under the government-assisted refugee program tended to have less formal education. The majority of the 33 refugee claimants and 12 of the 14 independent immigrants completed post-secondary education or hold an advanced degree.

As **Table 5** shows, Muslims form the majority of respondents in three cities: the entire sample of St. Catharines, 70% of Hamilton and slightly over half in GTA. They account for 47 % in Ottawa, over one-third each in London and Windsor and 13% in Kitchener. Kitchener has the highest proportion of Protestants (60%) and London of Catholics (38%), Hamilton has equal proportions of Catholics and Protestants (15 %) but there are only minor variations in the other cities.

Language instruction

Three-quarters (76%) have taken English or French classes; 94% report that taking language classes is helpful. The majority (81%) of women have attended language classes.

Attendance rates are only somewhat affected by men's or women's level of education (**Table 6**). The proportion of men attending language classes with levels of education up to and including some post-secondary education ranges from 75% to 100%, but falls to 63% for those who completed that level, and to one-third for those with advanced degrees. The attendance rate for women overall is approximately 80% and only slightly lower (75%), for those with no formal education. The proportion falls to 56% for women who have an advanced degree, which is considerably higher than that for men.

When asked why they did NOT take language classes, if they did not, some replied that they did not need to study English, as they were already proficient. One-quarter of those who felt that English classes were not helpful felt that it was because instruction was below their proficiency level; 18% felt that they didn't need classes because they already speak English; 18% dropped out to earn money, take care of children, or due to illness; and 25% indicated other unspecified reasons.

⁵ This excludes Orthodox Christians who comprise only two cases of the whole sample.

Over 75% of those who attended language classes are now moderately or very confident using English. Respondents reported having the most difficulty communicating with doctors and medical professionals.

Employment in Canada

During the interviews [the Canadian officials overseas] wanted to know what are you going to be able to do, what are your qualifications and all that, so you try to tell them all that you are. So I was coming with the idea that I could go and get an engineering job. I really viewed myself as the most qualified person. But then when I came here, it was impossible really to get into the engineering field. I thought, with my hands-on experience with people, it would make me a supervisor here. But I can't get a supervisory job. ...So I started to look for jobs outside my field...I volunteered for months or years....but I didn't get a job....It's harder for those people who are kind of educated, because they want to develop themselves, but then they get stuck or they're even told, don't think of really trying to get a job in [your] field. (Toronto #3)

You have to have 'Canadian experience'...That makes you feel like...Canadians accept you here, [but] it is not because they are very kind, or because they are protecting human rights. They are just bringing you here to do the low jobs. Canadians themselves won't do them, so they have to bring somebody here to do it for them. They had to bring you. And when you come in you have to accept what you get, otherwise you go back. That's what faces you when you come here, that you have to do these jobs and you can't ask for more than that. Maybe the children can find a good job, maybe. (Ottawa #33)

Given one year of adjustment, I don't think you will be up to date with the mainstream culture. You cannot, within one year, acquire the so-called Canadian experience that will make you eligible for jobs. In that one year, you will not know a lot of things about this country. (Ottawa #68)

Current Employment Status: Class, gender and city differences

Of the 218 respondents who replied to the question, 39% are currently employed and 61% are not working. Of those employed, only two-thirds hold full-time jobs. **Table 7** show rates of employment among different immigration classes. The rates are highest, with well over 40%, for GARs and PSRs, but fall to about 30% for LCRs and independent immigrants. As is to be expected, the rate is lowest for family class members.

Gender differences are a major contributing factor to the low employment rate: 53% of the male, but only 22% of female respondents are employed. Moreover, 70% of the men but only 52% of the women hold full-time jobs. As **Table 8** shows, level of education has a different effect on the employment rates of men and women. Men with no or some primary education have more frequently found work than did women with the same levels of education. However, both men and women with some or completed secondary education have low employment rates: 25% and 42% for men and 7% and 35% for women, respectively. It is also interesting to note that women with some or completed post-secondary education and advanced degrees seem to have more difficulties finding jobs than do men in the same educational categories. Muslims constitute the highest proportion (44%) of the currently employed, followed by Catholics (31%) and Protestants

(26%). However, when the employment rate is analyzed for each religious group separately, the rank order is reversed: 48% of Catholics, 42% of Protestants but only 34% of Muslims are employed.

The employment rate for the seven cities also shows interesting, if not disturbing variations, which in part may be due to the different sample sizes of the cities but should be further explored. Kitchener, with an employment rate of 73%, ranks first, followed by Windsor with 57%, Ottawa with 47%, Hamilton with 35%, London with 33%, the Greater Metropolitan Toronto Area (GTA) with 31%, while St. Catharines with only 20% has the lowest rate.

According to **Table 9**, when the employment rates are analyzed for each city by gender, the rank order of the cities remains approximately the same despite the overall much lower employment rate of women. Kitchener, with a sample of only 15 respondents, still has the highest employment rate of over 70% for both men and women. Although the employment rate of women is nearly half of that of men (36 as against 68%), Windsor still ranks second. Ottawa with 30% of women employed still ranks third, but with 29% of the women employed, London ranks fourth and GTA, with only 12% of women employed, ranks last.

As can be seen from **Table 10**, more than three quarters of men and less than half of women hold manual jobs. Similar to Canadians' employment patterns, more women (33 %) than men (12 %) hold clerical jobs. Most men work regular day, evening or night shifts; only two of 84 men are on call and five work irregular shifts. The employment pattern of women is slightly worse. Although most of the women work primarily on day shifts, three are on rotating shifts, and four are on call.

Considering their concentration in low paying jobs, only 10% of the respondents agreed with the statement that their present job is related to their education, training and experience. With the exception of one man with some primary education, the few men and women who agreed all had at least some post-secondary education. When asked how they felt about not working in the area of their education, training and experience, the respondents expressed mostly a feeling of sadness, disappointment, dissatisfaction, and frustration. To quote one respondent, a medical doctor who works as a security guard: "I feel very humiliated."

However, when the respondents were asked whether their current job is appropriate considering their ability and education, 17% agreed and 83% did not. The respondents' educational background does not appear to be related to their responses. The six male respondents who agreed that the current job is appropriate can be found in all educational categories with the exception of one respondent with some primary education and the 21 respondents who had completed their post-secondary education. Of the 19 women, three of the four with some primary education, two of the six who completed their secondary education, and the two women with some post-secondary education thought that their current job was appropriate.

The Unemployed

As discussed earlier, 131 respondents, 58 men and 73 women, are currently not working. Asked why they are not working, slightly more than one-fifth are currently enrolled in school, 28% are unable to find a job, 5% were laid off, 12% were ill or pregnant and 17 % gave other reasons.⁶ The reasons given for not working show some interesting, though not unexpected, variations depending on the respondents' gender and level of education. Men, more frequently than women,

⁶ Six have been included in the number of unemployed but are excluded from the further analysis.

report that they are unable to find work or that they attend school. Although one would expect that men and women with higher levels of education might find it easier to find work, this does not seem to be the case.

Asked whether they are looking for work, 59% of men and 40% of women said they are. These respondents were given different options concerning the difficulties they face in their job search. Based on multiple responses, **Table 11** shows that lack of “Canadian experience” was mentioned most frequently by 76 % of men and 65 % of women. However, men and women differ in terms of the frequencies with which the other difficulties are mentioned. Difficulties finding the right job because of unfamiliarity with the labour market and non-recognition of foreign credentials were mentioned each by 45% of men and by 55 and 45% of women. Lack of English proficiency was mentioned by only 27% of men but by 65% of women, for whom this problem appears to be an equally important issue as lack of “Canadian experience.” The need for childcare was a more important problem for women than for men. However, the finding that 24% of men and 16% of women mentioned discrimination is somewhat disturbing, as it indicates that discrimination also affects recent arrivals. Educational level does not seem to have affected the respondents’ listing of the difficulties. Asked how they feel about their job search, most respondents found it a difficult, disappointing, frustrating, humiliating and depressing experience.

When the respondents searching for a job were asked whether they asked for help from a settlement agency, less than half had done so. Men sought help more frequently than women: 47% compared to 40%. **Table 12** shows differences depending on the respondents’ educational level. All of the three respondents with no formal education visited a settlement agency. Men and women whose educational level falls in the middle range seemed to be more hesitant to visit a settlement agency than were men and women who completed post-secondary education or held an advanced degree. However, only seven of the 15 male respondents and five of the 11 female respondents found the agency helpful. The most frequent reasons the respondents gave for not asking for help were that they did not know anything about these agencies and that they did not know or have any information that these agencies could help. One respondent among those who visited an agency remarked that the agency was not helpful “because they show you only how to make a resume and not how to get a job.” A few felt that they had all the information they needed or that they receive their information through networking with friends.

Integration is now generally accepted as a multi-dimensional concept. Economic integration, that is, the immigrants’ and refugees’ ability to find employment commensurate with their qualifications has been demonstrated to be the key component that facilitates the newcomers’ social and political integration. Newcomers who find employment below their skill levels are only partially incorporated in the economy; however, as research has shown, without the ability to transfer or upgrade their skills within the first three years of their residence, they will not achieve full economic integration and remain marginalized.

The survey findings suggest that Sudanese respondents are not economically integrated; they are either economically incorporated (underemployed), or economically excluded (without work), experiences that they find humiliating. Underemployment and unemployment do not depend on the respondents’ levels of education but occur in all educational categories ranging from those with none and little formal education to those who had some or completed their post-secondary education or hold advanced degrees.

It is important to keep in mind that, as far as the level of education achieved is concerned, the sample shows a regional, or ethno-religious, divide. Sudanese Muslims who came primarily from the North (including the Capital region) *in general* have higher levels of education than Sudanese

Christians who came from the South. This distinction may be important, since the resources needed for economic integration depend on qualifications. Refugees with professional qualifications face the same difficulties as independent immigrants in having their qualifications recognized by Canadian professional associations and provincial and federal authorities. However, refugees who are skilled workers without certifications have few, if any, venues to demonstrate their skill levels and are generally forgotten.

Migration and displacement experiences

First of all, you have your homeland and there is a [sense of] loss. This loss will continue until when you come they tell you, 'You are no longer a refugee.' This is home, but it is ANOTHER home, and it still does not feel that it is a home. You are still temporary. You are still a refugee.... It is hard for us to get beyond that for a long time. [Saying] 'You are safe, don't fear,' that can prove to someone that, yes, I'm okay. Then they try to unpack all that. Okay, I can actually live here, probably live a much better life than at home. The opportunities are all here. Then maybe this person can begin to loosen up. But to do that requires role models or some of their own people in their community to tell them, to meet them in the beginning [to say] yes, you are here, I have been here, it is true. (Toronto #3)

I think we're really hard on people. You get a person, you handicap him, a lot, like may be tie his hands behind his back or something and you tell him to jump on a moving train, or something equal to that. You'll bring somebody here, but a lot of his or her family or may be dependants are in refugee camps, so they're always looking back at people they feel responsible for. And they are told to catch on to a society that is moving a lot faster than they've been moving. They haven't been moving if they've been sitting in a refugee camp or sitting around twiddling their thumbs in Cairo for a couple of years. (Canadian resettlement advocate in Toronto)

For many Sudanese interviewed, the migration experience has not simply meant moving from Sudan to Canada, but has involved multiple displacements, traumatic losses, and significant disruptions of normal life prior to arrival in Canada. Often people's living conditions were quite harsh and uncertain.

Notably, the majority of the survey respondents (80%) did not come directly to Canada from Sudan—meaning that they had been “displaced” in one way or another. One-third (33%) of the respondents were displaced within Sudan. Of those, almost half (47.8%) were displaced more than once. Among GARs, 45% were displaced inside Sudan. Of those, 47% also were displaced multiple times. In the general course of displacements, most of those involved face incredible dangers (such as military forces, militias, wild animals, treacherous rivers, lack of drinking water and food, and the like). Virtually all of those people who made it to the refugee camps are resilient survivors with harrowing stories to tell. Many, if not most (including children), have been variously exposed to events that were sudden, extreme and extra-ordinary to normal human experience—such as aerial bombardment, shelling, seeing dead and mutilated bodies, widespread burning, looting, drowning and killing; and sometimes being compelled to abandon dying family members and relatives, friends and neighbours (Zutt 1994).

Given this context, it is important to have an understanding of the pre-migratory and displacement experiences of Sudanese newcomers as these may have bearing on the processes of

settlement and adjustment (particularly in relation to needs, resources needed to address those needs, and program planning). This is especially the case with GARs, the majority of whom (70%) came directly from a refugee camp. The descriptions by GARs of their experiences while internally or externally displaced portray an overall picture of difficult living conditions ranging from “hard,” to “harsh,” to “indescribable”. Many respondents found it hard to recount their experiences, saying, “...it is very difficult to explain.” One respondent refused to talk about it at all: “It was a horrible time. I don’t want to talk about it.” Respondents often described their physical living conditions (food, shelter, water, security, access to health care) as “terrible,” “miserable and scary.” Their responses often indicate these experiences may have been traumatic, exacting an emotional and mental toll in addition to the physical one.

Those displaced within the Southern region describe difficult and unstable conditions of existence, with little or no access to basic needs and services—and in constant fear for their physical security. What seems to have made the experiences somewhat bearable were their access to social support networks of family, kin and friends: “You had relatives and friends to lean on if you ever needed help. People share what little they have.”⁷

Some of the GARs displaced internally in the Northern region of the country talked not only of a general lack of access to basic needs and services; but also of the bad social relations between Northerners (“Arabs”) and Southerners. Specifically, they complained about discriminatory treatment on the basis of religion and race. One respondent described coercive Islamization of displaced youth by Islamic organizations granted the exclusive right to provide education and health in the camps for the displaced. For some GARs, such experiences may have contributed to a deepening of the North-South divide that tends to characterize Sudanese communities in Canada.

From the experiences of respondents who experienced both internal and external displacement(s), one may infer that life in the refugee camps outside Sudan was “better” in relative terms—“hard” but not “harsh.” However, it is important to note that life in the various UNHCR refugee camps was by no means uniform. Descriptions from respondents indicate that living conditions in some camps, such as Kakuma in northwestern Kenya, were relatively better than in others such as Dadaab (comprising Hagadera, Dagahaley and Ifo) in northwestern Kenya—in terms of relative security and access to refugee services. However, anxiety about personal security and the inadequacy of food rations are recurrent themes common to all of the refugee camps.

GARs who were “urban refugees” living in countries that do not have refugee camps (such as Egypt) seemed no better off, based on their responses. They all felt insecure because of their immigration status. They had to rely on their personal resources and social support networks, and found it difficult to find gainful employment because of their immigration status. Many relied on assistance from churches for health care, schooling for their children, and sometimes for shelter. Limited resources meant shared living for many. One respondent described his personal situation as one of, “as many as 13 living in a two bedroom apartment to afford rent.”

One common experience across the board for most GARs is compromised access to education and schooling due to government neglect and the civil war (ensuring that virtually two generations of Southern Sudanese children have received little education, if any). Those living in internal displacement camps have the least access to education and schooling. The exceptions are

⁷ Where these social networks of help and support were not available, respondents describe life in displacement as unbearable: “Terrible refugee life. Not fair. Lack of food, clothing, and medical care. No relatives or family.”

those few families displaced in the urban areas in the North who either have some personal financial resources or assistance from kin and friends to enable their children to go to school. “Urban refugees” outside Sudan—such as in Cairo--also run into the same problem, and often rely on churches to assist in sending their children to school. While varying degrees of basic elementary schooling is generally provided in the UNHCR refugee camps, it is much harder to secure higher education. This common theme of education and schooling has probable implications for settlement and adjustment--in terms of English language facility, the placement of children in elementary and high schools (and related challenges and issues), and the need for further education and training.

In conclusion, the experiences of displacements and of varying degrees of difficult and precarious living conditions, characterized by deprivation and generally far removed from the realities of life in Canada; point to the need for targeted comprehensive, relevant and appropriate orientation (and other settlement) programmes for Sudanese newcomers.

Information needed prior to arrival

They let me know everything before I came. ...There is orientation in the Canadian Embassy in Egypt and they were so kind, they helped us – until they brought us over here. But over here is different. ...Sometime you have a dream about something, [but] you can't find it ... I was over-dreaming when I thought about Canada. (Ottawa #70)

Receiving accurate information before coming to Canada helps newcomers prepare to face settlement challenges. The information most desired by all respondents before coming to Canada was information about employment opportunities (50%), educational opportunities (48%) and recognition of credentials and experience (40%). Other specific information needed, but not received, included information relating to marital law and women’s rights.

The primary sources of information about Canada were friends (50%), United Nations (likely UNHCR) officials (34%) and Canadian officials (33%), followed by family (24%) and the Internet (21%). Utility of the information provided was ranked in the same order, with UN and Canadian officials’ ranking reversed.

Arrival and reception

There [in Sudan], we fear war. There is no war in Canada. You can get something even it is not enough. You can find something to eat...compared to a place being destroyed by war. But if your country were safe, I think nobody would be thinking to come [to Canada] because you’re used to your country. You know the tricks, you know how to get stuff, and you know how to manage yourself. Here you are like a guest. You don't know. Somebody who’s already lived here for a long time, they also know the tricks. (Ottawa #7)

Sometimes we’re asking them to do things we couldn’t do ourselves.... They’ll get a person, may be out of the camp, like Dadaab where they don’t even have amenities-- in fact the UN doesn’t consider really conducive to human life-- if you are in Kakuma you stand a chance of living, but you don’t there-- So, you take them out that place and you pluck them here in [the reception centre] and you’re told in 10 days find a place to

live and get out....So there is a great deal of pressure to find something in a few days, you don't know the city, you don't know the language, but never mind you're not given enough money to really rent anything anyway.... they're asked to do something impossible. (Canadian resettlement advocate in Toronto)

Reception in the host society involves relationships with Sudanese living in Canada already, in addition to formal reception and settlement services. When they have the capacity to do so (as in Hamilton), Sudanese community members may provide vital help not otherwise available in coping with the instability of early years in settlement.

The majority of respondents (61%) had family, close friends or contacts already in Canada upon arrival. For 52% of these, the contacts were "other Sudanese;" for 32%, the contacts were family members.

Upon arrival, 51% of the total sample (81% of GARs,) lived in a reception house, 12 % lived in a hotel (15% of GARs), 15% lived with family, 12% with friends, 2% with sponsors, and 2% in a shelter. Among LCRs, 15% lived in a shelter on arrival.

Since arrival, 33% of respondents had not changed addresses. However, 50% had moved once or twice, and 15% had moved three to five times since arrival. In 61% of the cases, the reason for moving was to find better housing, as opposed to be nearer family or friends, for school, or to look for employment.

Inadequate financial resources

You cannot live on 500 dollars. The minimum rent for an apartment is 350 dollars for a room, so you have to work... as a cleaner or security guard or whatever job you can find. You can't make more than 7 dollars. By the time you pay the taxes here and there, your net money is about 1200 dollars...a month. ... If you are renting an apartment for 400 dollars, count how much you have to eat, how much you have to spend on transportation, how much you have to spend on washing clothes. ... How can you help your family, if you are working for 7 dollars?...You have to work and try to survive, because with welfare you cannot survive... You come here, it is not paradise....If you go the States or if you go to England, if you work hard you can build a future. Financially, you can make money. But here in Canada, whatever you do, you can make nothing, and that's the biggest difference, there are no chances here. (Ottawa #33)

I tried to go to school and I stopped when I found a job, because I needed money. Then I worked in the morning and went to school from 5 or 6 to 9 [o'clock], and after that I dropped out, because I felt tired...Sometimes my daughter [in Sudan] used to call me [to say] I need money. If I keep going to school I cannot help her. She's my only daughter so I have to keep working and send her money. My mum is there and my brothers, I am the only one here. Everybody used to call me, mum is sick and this one is sick, so ALL the money I have to work, I have to help them, too... that's why I dropped out, but maybe one day I will want to go back and continue my education. (Ottawa #7).

If you're really going to help them I would say give them a living allowance that makes sense for one thing. They make less right now on the RAP program because it's pegged to Ontario welfare ...they're making less money in 2004 than they were in 1994. I defy

anybody, including a hotshot social worker, to go to get an apartment for a family of six with about six hundred dollars. You take it out of their food money, which means you've condemned them to a lifetime of old clothes and food banks, so give them decent money to start with. Then cut the patronizing lecture that they get through interpreters when they get this tiny bit of money. We know how tiny it is; they don't know what it is worth... Help them to find a place to live they don't have to move out of right away.... They [are] offered the apartments nobody else would take. They [are] offered the places you're scared to go to. And you bring your kids up there.... They work hard. They are not lazy. ...But I would give them a lot more financial and community support at the outset. (Canadian resettlement advocate in Toronto)

Among GARs and PSRs, 77% felt that financial support provided by the government was not enough to meet their needs.

Although 28% of these supplemented their government support with part-time work, 44% had no other source of financial support.

A majority (70%) report having difficulty paying back the transportation loan provided by the government.

A new immigrant when they come here, already they have had a tough time. The first thing in the Reception House, before they even see the light outside, they talk to them about the loan. That's the first thing in Canada. You owe those people money because they brought you here, because they give you a piece of land to live. Alright, but you have nothing, you have only a dream in your head. You try to find your dream, and at the same time, there is something pulling you back--you should PAY, before you find your dream. ...You should pay first I believe, because you have an agreement, you signed a paper over there. But when we sign it there, everybody just wants to get out... Agreed, I know the system, a deal is a deal. Whatever you are feeling, you are responsible for your signature. But that one feeling--I have to get out, whatever the price--I will do it. But it is hard to pay the price. Seriously, it is hard. (Ottawa #70)

When asked, "In the past 12 months, did you or anyone else in your household worry about having enough food to eat, or obtaining prescribed medicine because of lack of money?" 31% answered YES.

Social support on arrival

Sources of social support are important to define in order to locate likely channels for information flow about settlement services and to build on "natural" networks of mutual aid. Social support may be defined as helpful relationships with peers and professionals that may be informational, instrumental, practical or emotional, and which build self-esteem and promote well being.

When respondents need help or information, 40% report that the first person they go to is a friend or family member.

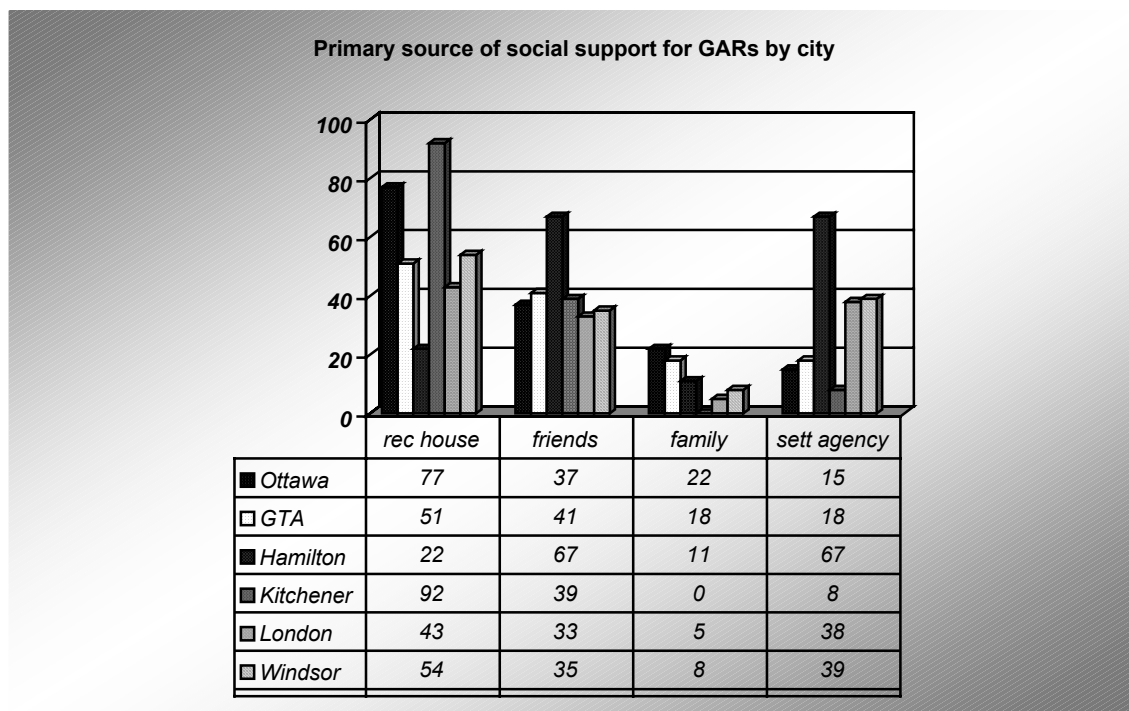
When asked who helped them most in getting used to life in Canada when they first arrived, 44% of the respondents indicated "friends;" 38% identified reception house workers; 35% indicated

“other Sudanese;” 23% reported that family members helped, and 20% identified settlement workers. Similarly, friends played a significant role in helping to find a place to live (43%), relative to both reception houses (29%) and family (17%).

Religious affiliation and participation can be a source of support, both psychological and social. One-half of respondents report that they go to a place of worship weekly or more often, and more than one-quarter go at least a few times a year. Approximately 15% talk to a religious leader about a problem “often” or “occasionally.” For 94%, the reason for going to a place of worship was “to pray,” as opposed to “to meet other community members” (26%), or to receive moral support (17%).

Sources of social support by city

For GARs, the primary sources of help varied somewhat by city. In Kitchener and in Ottawa, respondents considered the reception houses most helpful upon arrival. In Hamilton, they deemed the settlement agency and friends as most helpful.⁸



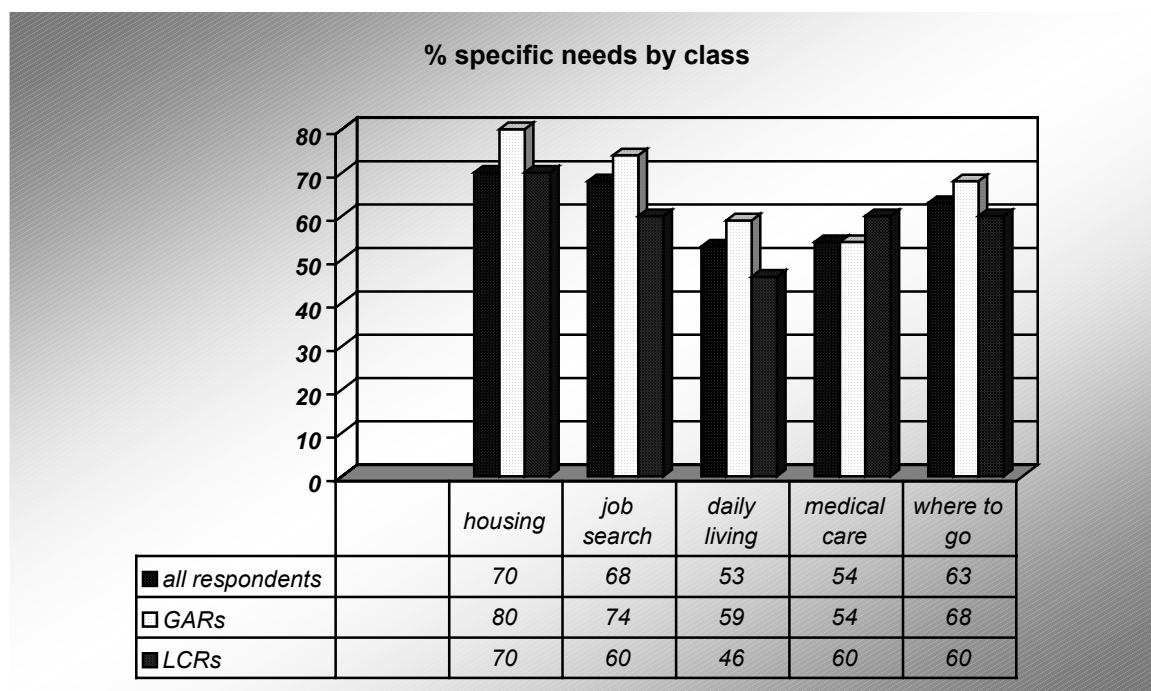
For non-GARS, the most significant sources of support were “friends,” especially in St. Catharines, London and the GTA. “Other Sudanese” were also a notable source of support in St. Catharines and Hamilton. Only a small number of respondents indicated that settlement workers were an important source of support.

⁸ One GAR was interviewed in St. Catherines, therefore omitted from the chart due to small sample size.

Specific needs on arrival

Refugees tended to report a higher level of needs on arrival than other classes, although the types of needs among classes are similar.

When asked what specific help they needed when they first arrived in Canada, the majority of sample respondents said they needed help finding housing (70%) [81% among GARs], help finding a job (68%) [75% among GARs], help with daily living (53%) [59% GARs] and help with medical care (54%) [61% among LCRs]. Overall, 64% needed advice about “where to go for things.” A slightly greater proportion of Landed-in-Canada refugees tended to need medical care than other classes.



A majority of the sample (60%) did not know where to go for help. A greater proportion of women (64%) and family class immigrants (76%) tended not to know where to go for help, although the differences were statistically insignificant.

Unmet needs by immigration class

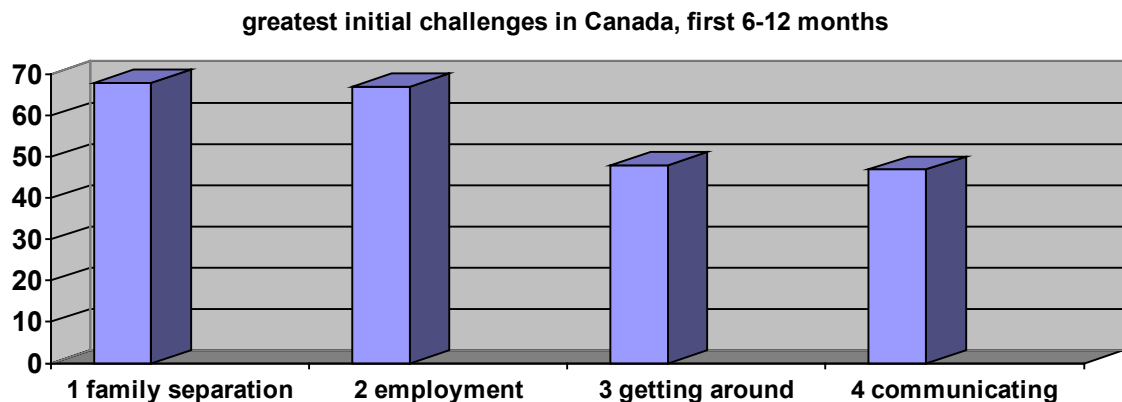
Among GARs, the greatest unmet needs identified were help with continuing education and/or evaluating educational or professional credentials (21%), shopping on a low budget (17%), job hunting (14%), family reunification (11%) and housing assistance (11%).

Among non-GARs, the greatest unmet needs identified were help with job hunting (24%), continuing education and employment-related training and assessment (e.g. obtaining student loans or accreditation) (20%), and housing (16%).

Initial challenges during the first 6 to 12 months in Canada

There are a couple of challenges. One of them of course is that you've left everybody behind and Canadians don't always understand that that's important. We're used to being very individualistic. You say 'well, I'm here and I've got 58 close family members scattered across East Africa.' They say, 'well, so what you're here. Make a new life'. (Canadian resettlement advocate. Toronto).

Some initial challenges (during the first 6-12 months in Canada) were reported at higher rates among refugees, but most challenges were similar across classes. The greatest challenge respondents reported faced during the first 6-12 months in Canada was worry about family not in Canada (68%) [73% among GARs, 77% among LCRs]. The next, equally important challenge was being unable to find a satisfactory job (67%) [70% among GARs]. The proportion of FAM (38%) and PSR (50%) worried about finding a job was less than for other classes. Overall, 48% of respondents expressed disappointment in the standard of living.



Initial challenges by gender

Women were more affected by some initial challenges than men. Overall, respondents reported being unable to get around independently (48%) as a problem. Significantly more women (59%) reported this problem than men (39%) as well as more PSRs (69%) who are mostly female in this sample. Difficulty communicating was also a challenge for 47% of respondents. However, the highest percentages of difficulty communicating were among women (58%) and FAM class (60%).

Usually, family members are considered primary sources of emotional support. Somewhat surprisingly, the proportion of responses indicative of unmet emotional needs were highest among family class respondents; 44% indicated that they needed “someone to confide in and

share feelings,” and 44% also needed “someone to relax with and keep me company,” when they first came to Canada.

Initial challenges by city

- Respondents in **Kitchener, St. Catherines, and Hamilton** reported that worry about family members who were not in Canada, communication, and employment were the most important challenges.
- In **Toronto and Windsor**, communication and employment were identified as the greatest challenges.
- In **Ottawa and London**, the greatest challenges were identified as employment, loneliness or similar social adjustment difficulties, and housing.

Initial challenges by immigration class

For **GARs**, the most important initial challenges identified were employment and communication; for **FAM** class and **PSRs**, the most important challenge was communication.

For **INDs**, the first challenge identified was appropriate employment

For **LCRs**, the greatest initial challenge was worry about family not in Canada.

Expectations of Canada

When you have come from where I come from--like Africa, like Sudan--watching Canada, you come with big expectations. You come with large hopes and you think that when you come here you will find a good job. You can just settle easily. But when you come here you find a lot of things are completely different. Life is not that easy. It is very difficult to find a job, and it is very difficult to settle. Even if you are qualified, you cannot do the job you are qualified for. (Ottawa #33)

The majority of Sudanese newcomers (75%) say that Canada is NOT the way they thought it would be. Most expected Canada to offer “opportunities” for work and study, which would help them achieve an easier and better life. Privately-sponsored refugees and LCRs, however, tended to report that Canada was like they thought it would be in slightly higher percentages, suggesting that they were somewhat more informed prior to arrival.

For most respondents, life in Canada differed from their expectations primarily in terms of the difficulties of finding employment (85% overall). Variations by class were as follows: 92% IND, 90% LCR, 87% GAR, 75% PSR, and 67% FAM.

The majority (76%) did not expect the high cost of living. In this respect, a greater proportion of PSRs (87%) and GARs (79%) reported a discrepancy between expectations and reality. Similarly,

73% did not expect to need “Canadian experience” to get a job; FAM and PSRs were least affected by this.

A substantial minority (37%) feel that they have been “treated unfairly,” which is an indicator of perceived discrimination; however, a *majority* of LCRs feel this way. A larger proportion of men (45%), compared to 25% of women, also reported feeling that they had been treated unfairly.

Social integration and adaptation

I've always pitied especially the newcomer who arrives in winter. Everything is cold including the people. You can still hear those horror stories of someone whose been around for 15 years and never been in a Canadian home...From what I've seen of Sudanese culture, in those people oriented things, the Sudanese I feel are miles ahead. (Canadian resettlement worker in Toronto)

Social integration is a long process for most newcomers. The process is often measured in relative terms by acquisition of language proficiency and participation in the labour market. Social interaction with like-ethnic community members and the larger society is another way to gauge integration. Especially in the early years of settlement, interaction with the like-ethnic community can be a critical, but not necessarily sufficient, source of support.

The majority of respondents in this study (61%) report involvement with Sudanese community activities in their city of residence. The majority (88%) does not use the services of any non-Sudanese community association. More than half of respondents report continued observance of Sudanese traditional holidays in Canada. Moreover, 70% report attending Sudanese weddings.

When asked, “What part of Canadian life did you find most difficult to get used to,” 85% answered, “weather.” Not a trivial matter, adaptation to the Canadian climate affects quality of life, employment (respondents may do manual labour out of doors), transportation (many are without cars), caring for children (mothers may be housebound) and ease of socializing, which is particularly important for Sudanese newcomers. However, Sudanese are quick to point out that the fundamental problem is not their need to acclimatize to Canadian winters, but rather their need for more practical advice and information on how to cope, since they are initially unfamiliar with specific issues such as the qualities of good winter clothing, how to save on heating bills or how to avoid the potential health hazards of the winter climate.

Overall, 39% [48% of men] also responded that “attitudes” were difficult to adjust to, 38% said “lack of activities that I usually enjoy,” and 33% indicated adjustment difficulties with the “pace of life.” Other responses ranged over practical issues (shopping, transportation, living arrangements, educational system), different family relations (gender and children) and feelings of social isolation or problems with social integration.

Ways of coping with difficulties

[Sudanese] are tough, you know, the ones we've got here are tough. They've gone through a lot. There is a lot of humour, that's one thing, more than some of the groups I've seen.... That's a strength, that's how you cope. And even if you're smashed with grief, you do feed the children. You just keep going, and there is laughter and there are tears and they are open with it. And they are tough minded, determined to survive. (Canadian resettlement advocate in Toronto)

Well being and successful settlement depend on many social determinants of health (e.g. income, shelter, access to services), as well as supportive social networks and personal coping skills. When asked what helps them to cope or manage when faced with difficulties, the majority answered, “support from friends” (73%). A large percentage also indicated “support from the larger Sudanese community” (42%) as helpful. “Support from family” was reported by 39% overall, and was not surprisingly higher among of family class (74%) and women (49%).

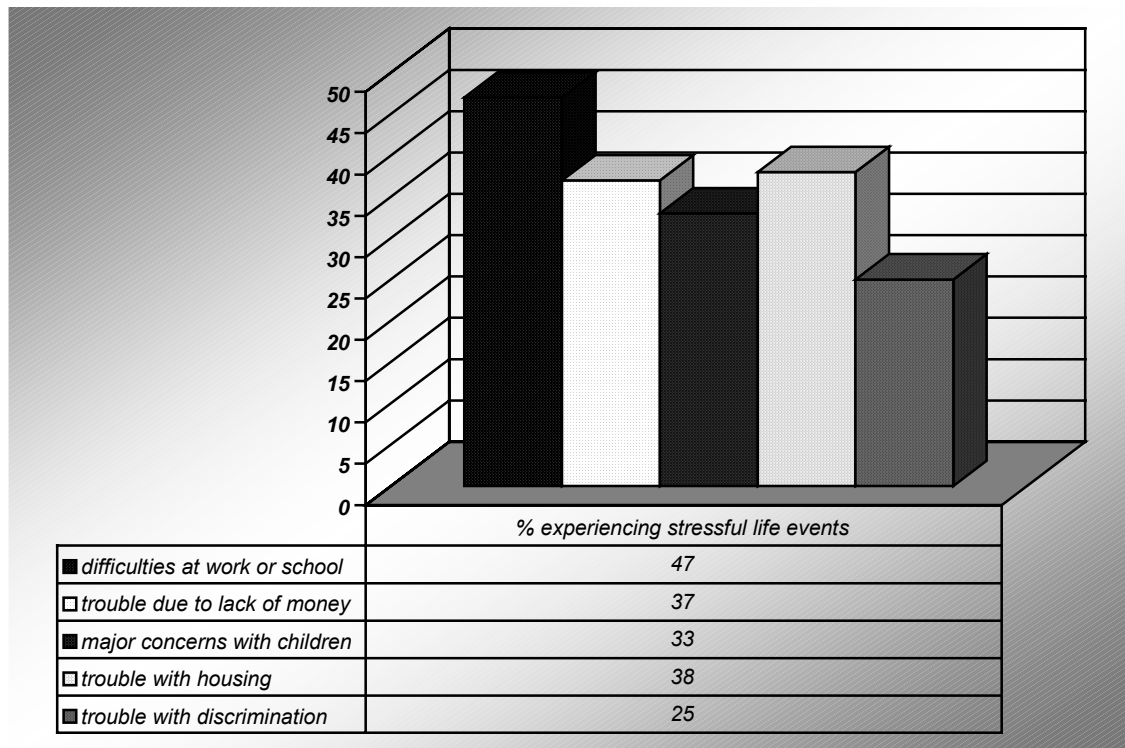
Overall, 48% reported that “hope for a better life in Canada” helped them cope with difficulties. Rates varied somewhat according to class, suggesting that this coping method was used most by those who had *chosen* to migrate to Canada: 66% among LCRs, 61% among INDs, 45% among GARs, and 31% among PSRs. Perhaps for similar reasons, 47% of the total sample, and 59% of GARs, cited “hope for end of conflict and a chance to return home” as a helpful way to cope. Much smaller proportions of PSRs and INDs relied on this method of coping.

For 35%, religious beliefs were a source of support, a rate that tended to be higher among family class (53%) and LCRs (44%). Some respondents mentioned that contacts with classmates or teachers in schools were helpful; only a few mentioned social service or settlement workers.

As well, women were somewhat more likely to say that “hope for a better life for my children in Canada” helped them to cope than men, at 39% and 24%, respectively.

Stressful life events

Stressful life events occurring in the post-migration period may contribute to settlement difficulties. To measure indicators of stressful events experienced by Sudanese newcomers, respondents were asked if they had recently (in the last 12 months) had trouble in any of several areas of life.



GARS and family class respondents tended to experience more adverse life events on average than others. In addition, more women (37%) reported difficulties due to language than men (24%). Only 12% reported trouble with government agencies; very few reported trouble with police, spouses or other family members, or physical fights in the family.

Help-seeking

Of those who identified stressful events in the last 12 months, 45% did seek help for the problems they noted. When asked why they had *not* sought help, if they had not, from anyone for these specific problems, they generally did not perceive help to be available or know where to go. The most frequent type of response (across all cities) was that respondents “did not know of agencies that could help.” A minority cited language barriers (5-10%), and reliance on informal sources of help, such as friends. Some said that they feel that they must solve their problems on their own, either because no one else could help them or because other people have problems themselves.

Kinship and Family Relations

Actually I am not doing that well, if I compare myself before the problems started in Sudan. I am doing very badly....Before, I supported all the family...I was the one responsible for my mom, my sister and my sister's sons and daughters and my brother before he got a job. I was responsible, not just for few days, for many years. ...My brother and I are still trying to get food money; sometime we send to my mom some money... But it is not every day; it is not even every month, because I cannot do it.... This is the first time I left my family that long. Even I, I can't look at their faces. I feel like I am guilty, I feel like you run just for yourself. I was living for the other. Now I am just opposite, that makes me [feel] down. (Ottawa #70)

First of all we do worry about relatives back home...[and we think] 'if this person was here, I would not be in this trouble' ... the women would have a lot of help, because they're alone here. ... Really the community social support needs to be there. If that is there, the pressures in the minds of men and women could be decreased, because they worry about how the people are doing there. Most of the time, they hear these people have died, and some of the time they don't earn enough money to be able to support them.... If you think you're not able to even help some of your people there, then it affects you as if you have neglected your duty – you have failed... You're no longer thinking of bringing this person, or you are not sending even a little money. You've forgotten about them, and so you really feel useless or cut off. You become very selfish, although resource-wise you don't really have the money.... This is stressful to think that you've let people down, that you're not caring about others (Toronto #3)

The fact that extended families are important social units for Sudanese cannot be overstated. Pressures due to family obligations affect settlement in practical and psychological ways. For example, the need to send money home to support relatives is a significant strain for many, and inability to do so causes further distress. Of the total survey sample, 80% are trying to bring close family members to Canada. For 46% of these, the family members they are trying to bring are parents, compared to 15% for children, and 18% for a spouse. Over half, (54%) are trying to bring someone with whom they have another type of relationship. The majority of these are siblings.

The primary reasons for difficulty in bringing them to Canada were “low income” (61%); “difficulty finding a sponsoring group” (42%); and that “the process is very slow” (36%). The effects of this situation for respondents included “increasing sense of loneliness” (73%); ongoing “worries about their safety” (60%); “high phone bills” (58%); and “having to send a lot of money home” (49%).

People feel a responsibility especially ... for the parents, and specifically the mums. I can't even begin to tell you how many memorials I've gone to, sat with people because their mother died or may be an uncle even...that helped raise the family. The older generation, they feel very responsible for. It's absolutely heart breaking to find out, well dad died of something that probably if he'd any kind of medication he wouldn't have died. (Canadian resettlement advocate in Toronto).

This key informant provided an example—one of many from her 12 years of experience with Sudanese resettling in Canada—of a single mother for whom family reunification proved beneficial.

She couldn't go out to work because she had to take care of the kids...But she had a mother, a perfectly healthy woman back in Sudan, and got her up to Egypt. And eventually after much, much travail got her to Canada and immediately her life changed. Her mum is a formidable woman, probably will never be great in speaking English, but she keeps house and the kids have never been in such good condition, food is cooked and everything. The daughter is able to go out and finish her English class, go out and get a job, do all these things and get off social assistance too, of course, because you got mum here. She's functioning better here and her mum is functioning beautifully. And it's actually cheaper for us to have mum here.

.... The focus here is on the family then, and the kids behave better. It's amazing how much better the children behave when grandmother is right there saying, 'What did you say, young man?' And if, God willing, we could get a few of the grandfathers here it would be so wonderful. Just getting this young family on its feet and going will be their contribution...The contribution to the family would be so immense they wouldn't be these fractured, worried people....They wouldn't be racked with guilt wondering if mother is eating tonight. Just the positive contribution they would be making to society by providing the level of elders that we've needed before in family conflicts, because... they would be insisting that the young couples listen and think twice before separating. It would be just positive, win, win. (Canadian resettlement advocate in Toronto)

In fact, coping with the new possibility of divorce and potential family dissolution is a significant problem for Sudanese in Ontario that also affects extended family members in Sudan, because of bridewealth customs and traditional rights and obligations with respect to children, which differ from Canadian norms. Some are learning about these social norms and laws the hard way. This Sudanese informant explained the way marriage is viewed at home in Sudan, and how a social and cultural transition may occur.

Some of the issues that we face in the family... quarrelling is part of the baggage. We are going to disagree but the possibility of divorce or separation doesn't come into the situation, it doesn't come into question right away, it is not an option. This is very far away from them. The woman thinks, I'm coming into the marriage, because my parents, and my family they are all committed to it and from both sides, they have celebrated, they have received this and that... I can't screw up here. And then the man also has to feel, this is an achievement for

me. I have done something, so I am committed to it. Sometimes they can be overzealous maybe if they're really physical in a way, I don't know. But this is not their marriage only, it's also their parents, their relatives, they're looking to see that he succeeds ... whatever happens here, the people at home can hear.... they're not far away from anybody....

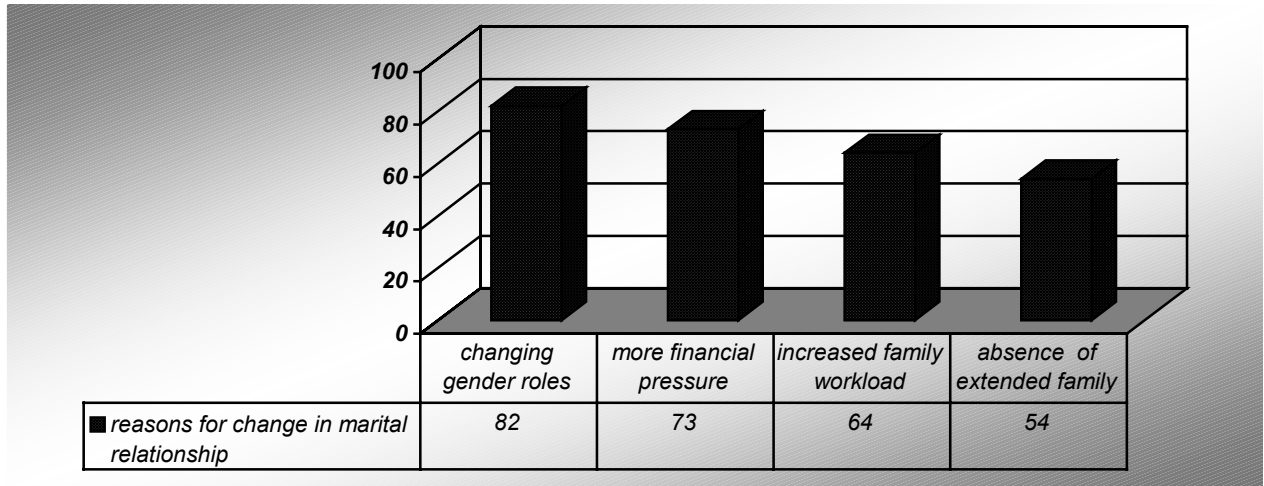
Dowry is meaningless to people in North America. What is dowry, what do you pay it for, why? This is like buying sovereignty rights for the man.... You are not buying a woman. I want to have children, so if I die, they should be called by my name, so I continue my family. You can take pride that you have a family.... They will say in our culture it is like this, which is fine, but we should not be thinking that because a man has paid a dowry, then he has the right to beat up his wife. Even in our home, you don't have that right. Your parents, your relatives, can discipline you. (Toronto #3)

Marital concerns

So here then, the first problem is that you are the only two adults. You are supposed to talk to one another and...you don't know how to talk to one another. The relationship begins right from the beginning. Now there is nobody helping with the children. You're the man who has not been in the house; you are to help even with cooking. You have to learn to do that and that becomes a problem, because you're a man. You're now going to do a job, a role that you were not playing before. For me, I tried to accept it, but it was not enough for my wife because she needed more help than that. Although there are some good things happening-- you don't have to go and find firewood from somewhere, there's already a stove, you don't have to go and get water, these help... But then, my wife used to have people she could talk to.... I'm not there to talk to her, and she can't really talk to me. (Toronto #3)

Survey findings suggest that marital stress, separation and changing gender relations are currently grave problems for recently arrived Sudanese, although the data show inconsistencies that may also indicate the complexity of these issues and the stigma associated with these types of problems. Of respondents who are living with their spouses, only 15% report that their relationship has changed since coming to Canada; however, the change identified by most (81%) respondents is that they “have more worries and stress.” More positively, 64% say that they “talk more often,” and 54% say that they receive “more respect from their spouse.”

When asked *why* the relationship has changed, 82% identify changing gender roles and expectations; 73% report more financial pressures; 64% say the change is due to increased family workload; and 54% report a change due to the absence of extended family. More women than men tended to report these changes in their relationships.



Only 20% of married respondents say that their spouse is having *no* problems adjusting to life in Canada. Of those reporting difficulties, 32% of these say the difficulty is inability to speak English; 53% are having trouble finding a job; and 28% need daycare. Only 15% have spouses who work for pay, 78% full-time.

[As a man] you are not able to be a breadwinner anymore, and the woman can also get her own job, actually get more money and even have a Child Allowance. And the woman says, no, this is mine. So there is then a quarrel to do with money that comes in and you [the man] are not bringing in money and the woman is... Through education men and women, can be taught that if the woman is the one earning the money, she doesn't have to hold that against the man, that you are useless... Some women are really very good, very industrious. They can clean in the buildings. They can get employment very quickly, [unlike] this man who thought he was a director who ends up really doing nothing or volunteering here and volunteering there, and doesn't earn money, doesn't get a job, and ends up psychologically affected and almost wasted. Some of the women are really struggling and they do bring the money home and they do make life go on. But their relationship also then changes. (Toronto #3)

Sudanese informants suggest that both men and women need to change in order to adapt.

The man is to be part of this education as well. Our men have biggest freedom you can imagine on earth. You can impregnate as many women as you want. The children all belong to you even if you don't look after bringing them up... Can we afford doing that here? Will you ever help your boys to grow responsibly, respecting women, respecting certain limits when you, the father, are doing that? We are here to stay. This is going to be our, or it is now, our country. There is no other alternative. We have to go with the rules of the game. It takes time but it must begin. (Ottawa #68)

The problem that I see is the family, they are holding on to their culture. The women, what is in their mind, is that I'm a woman, my role is to take care of my house, to take care of my children and my husband is the one who will go to study and work and get

money....It doesn't work that way here. So at this point, they need encouragement for both sides – for the men to understand life here so that they can give a chance, so they can release their wives to encourage them to go and study...the result of this problem is keeping the women ignorant about their rights as Canadians [Toronto #2].

During the research, issues surrounding marital strains arose most clearly in group meetings and in-depth interviews. For example, one informant explained the difference the influence of Canadian cultural norms and laws can make,

The effect of the society here that we can see from the TV is different – it brings divorce, it brings separation very close, it's an option. And also women are protected there [in Sudan] by society, not by the law ... The man may be considered actually guilty until proven innocent in those circumstances, but that is social support. ...In that case, your rights are not removed. The children are the man's; there is no question about that. So even if I can be blamed, my rights are not challenged. But here you find right away that woman and children are put together, and then the man is separate. It's a big difference. So the man says... I can go to jail, but they're still my children. If a woman is really mistreated and the relationship is really terrible for her, she will ...[get] custody of the children.... the husband becomes like a castaway, like he has lost everything. He has lost himself, he has lost his identity. It's very, very big.

The main thing is that the protection by the society and the law are really different. Because the law here [in Canada] is the police, the nearest person in the society here is the police. But the nearest person in the society [in Sudan] is the next-door neighbour. ...People can disagree at home and sometimes police can come even in Sudan. But both of you go to the police station and you'll come back together, to your home...Those are the things that probably with a community relationship together with the police, and explaining to them what can be done, then it can remove all these negative things and take fear out of people— [fear of] loss of children and break-up of the family. (Toronto #3)

Children

Of the survey respondents, 45% reported children in the household. Of those who reported children in the household, an average of 2.8 children are reported. The majority of those who have children who are not living with them have children still in Sudan. By some indicators, Sudanese parents seem to feel that their children are faring well in Canada so far: the majority (82%) of parents feel that their children were appropriately placed in the school system, although 25% report some difficulties in dealing with the school system.

Qualitative evidence suggests, however, that recently arrived Sudanese parents, may not be very knowledgeable about Canadian schools and that expectations of school and parental responsibility differ between Sudan and Canada. For example, parents say that they are surprised by the expectation that they will help children with homework, which is difficult for many, given limited English language proficiency and knowledge of the school system.

The system here wanted us to help the kids at home. But in my system [in Sudan], the kids go to school to be taught THERE [laughter]. My parents were not educated, they were illiterate, so I got [my education] just through my own going to school. It did not occur to me that I should be a main influence in their education and their development. Also,

I'm running around trying to get a job and my wife also was trying to do that, so [the children] really lost a lot in the beginning, because they didn't have help... and they continued to be behind. [Toronto #3]

Challenges that the children are having – coming back home knowing that your mom can't speak English, she can't help you with your homework, she can't even watch the news to see what's going on in the outside world. The child [thinks], okay, my dad is at work and my mom can't do anything for me besides cooking, cleaning. But in the mean time, the child is more into Canadian society. ...Coming home to the mother with no English, [who is] not even going outside and having an open mind, not being herself in Canadian society. And let's say the dad is at work, working the factory night shift or afternoon shift, and has no time.... And before you know it they're into trouble with the law.... They will start ...collapsing because there's no encouragement at home (daughter of Toronto #2)

The majority (93%) feels that their children are getting used to life in Canada. When they are not, most feel that the problem is due to English language skills or difficulties making new friends. The majority of respondents with children do not report bullying or discrimination.

Of the 30% of parents who said that their relationship with their children has changed since coming to Canada, 94% reported the reason for this as “different Canadian values.” Furthermore, 67% attributed the change to the “influence of the media,” 56% “permissiveness of Canadian society,” and 50% to “discipline” issues.”

There is a certain, popular culture here that is really not very helpful....This is a public thing that you find in the street ... [Sudanese] don't see that some of the people who succeed here – the children, the parents do discipline them. Not like in the school, there's no discipline in the school, but when they come home they have to perform. ...They don't see. ...that better side, [which] would be like at home [in Sudan], where everybody would be looking after everybody else. [Toronto #3]

Only 32.5% are “happy about raising their children in Canada,” while 45% feel “conflicted.” Opinions of men and women differ, perhaps due to their differing roles in child-rearing. One half (51%) of women feel conflicted, compared to 37% of men. Similarly, 50% of men are happy to be raising their children in Canada, compared to only 22% of women.

As a possible indication of the sensitivity surrounding the issue, 98% of the sample reported no contact with the Children's Aid Society. By contrast, this problem was identified openly in group meetings and qualitative interviews.

Health and well being

I have no serious problem, but I am having a hard time getting what I need to get my dreams, to survive, just to be stable and stay away from problems....I need the government to give people more time [so] you don't get confused. Because if you start with a broken heart from the first you are not going to do so well for long... As if you lost something, you loose power. You don't have that feeling to just push to get it. You're going to be slow, because the system here makes you slow. (Ottawa #70)

Successful settlement usually implies an individual sense of well being and healthy functioning. Respondents were asked a brief series of self-reported general health questions. Responses indicate that Sudanese newcomers as a group are under considerable mental stress, but are still coping.

For example, a majority say that they “have lost much sleep over worry” (54%) and that they “felt constantly under strain” (53%). Possibly indicating a need for medical assessment, 43% have “been upset or disturbed by bad memories;” 43% also report “feeling unhappy and depressed.” Further, 37% felt they “couldn't overcome difficulties.”

On the other hand, 69% feel that they are able to concentrate, 83% feel that they are capable of making decisions, 76% feel that they are playing a useful part in life, 74% are able to face up to problems, 64% can enjoy normal activities, and 72% feel “reasonably happy, all things considered.”

Overall, 77% rate their own health as good, very good, or excellent. Comments offered by individual respondents to open-ended questions about their health status nevertheless suggest some health challenges. Some comments reflect specific problems with physical health, for example, diabetes, vision or dental problems, serious back pain, and such concerns as finding a doctor, waiting for surgery or the need for health information. However the largest proportion of comments concern mental distress.

Women and men noted similar health concerns, with comments about mental distress outweighing physical health problems. For example, respondents noted:

“Distress from work. Long hours, less income, continuous exhaustion,”

“I completely lost my appetite,”

“If my family were here, I would feel better,”

“Shortly after arrival I suffered from migraine, loss of appetite and weight,”

“I do not want to think on past,”

“Not having a solution to a problem, e.g. trying to bring my parents, makes me worry a lot and feel depressed,”

“I have not problem with my health, but am only unhappy that my educational qualifications are not being of any use in Canada.”

“Always thinking of life's pressures,”

“I am sick and depressed all the time”

“Since coming to Canada my health has deteriorated.”

“The health condition of my daughter and my children outside Canada is my main worry.”

“Health problems attributed to psychological disturbances and worries”

Based on survey results, there are no significant differences in health status for men and women. However, given discussions with key informants and the sensitivity of many health issues, both mental and sexual, further research on this topic is desirable.

Health status by immigration class

- A greater proportion of **LCRs** (72%) tend to report that they have “lost much sleep over worries” than other immigration classes.
- A greater proportion of **INDs** (85%) tend to feel “constantly under strain.”
- A greater proportion of **GARs** (53%) report “being upset or disturbed by bad memories.”
- A smaller proportion of **GARs** (64%) report feeling “reasonably happy, all things considered.”

Health status by city

- Only 50% of **Ottawa** respondents and 57% of **Kitchener** respondents report feeling that they are “playing a useful part in life.”
- Only 63% of **Ottawa** respondents felt “capable of making decisions;” only 33% of **Ottawa** respondents report being “able to enjoy normal activities;” only 44% of **Ottawa** respondents report being able to face up to problems.”
- A smaller proportion of respondents in **Ottawa** (57%) and **Windsor** (55%) tend to report “feeling reasonably happy.”
- A greater proportion of respondents in **London** report being “upset or disturbed by bad memories” (73%) compared to 20% of those in the **GTA**.

The reason for these differences is not clear, but may be related to availability of supportive services or to the specific pre-migration experiences of particular sub-groups interviewed in those cities.

Well being and length of time in Canada

Indications of mental distress also appeared in answers to the question, “How did difficulty [getting used to life in Canada] affect your life? There appeared to be little difference in responses when comments were grouped by length of time in Canada. Examples follow:

Less than 1 year

At the beginning hard, but now slowly getting better.
I feel lonely and depressed sometimes
I was so worried, I missed my husband and the rest of my children
It made me think of going back as soon I possible.

It scares me. I feel like I might be forced into it.
Makes my life different by interesting
My hope is dwindling.
This made me think a lot about Africa.
Worry about not being able to provide for my family.

1 to 1.5 years in Canada

Continuous worry that is reflecting psychologically
Emotionally negative
I am always worried about the kids
I am living like machine
I become isolated and distressed
I become more frustrated and I regret to come here
I become worried, scared for the future, confused about everything
I feel helpless
I get confuse all the time not knowing what to do.
I need a long time to adjust.
I stayed in most of the time, and this did not help my mood.
I was slowed down by the difficulty in getting by.
Isolated and become more irritated
It gives me an idea to look for life in a different ways from I was I was looking at it before.
It has curbed my activities (weather) I don't go out only when and where it is necessary the fast
Pace of life makes me stressed.
It has not affected me because that is what everyone is facing.
It is affecting my life negatively specially the cold weather where I work outdoor.
It often frustrates and depresses.
It's ok. Just get used to it. It's a new country with way of living
Because I am working a lot I have not much time to think about these matters
Rearranging my way of life and changing myself.

1.5 to 2.5 years in Canada

A bit let down. I missed my friends and family from Sudan
Conflict in the behaviour of the children because the culture clashes.
Difficult social life, not having people from my country to participate with me.
I am not comfortable
I am still trying to adjust to the new situation and to live with the challenges.
I am worried about my children and how they would not respect me when they grow up.
I am worried about my children a lot.
I become isolated and more tough feeling towards my family in back home. I can't call them
because feeling shamed
I become more confident in myself, it encourages me to do everything on my own and be
dependent on myself.
I becoming more sceptical about future and less active and more isolated
I couldn't get an organized Sudanese community that could have been of much help to me, as
they would have understood my cultural needs.
I felt disappointed
It did affect me initially but I am adjusted now.
It doesn't affect me
It was a big shock

Make my life more miserable and complicated and more isolated
My life become like machine, no creative activity just work to and fro
Negative delay of success and retardation in self progression
Negative effect I am physically suffering and my personality changed
Restricted my social activities
Sense of isolation
Social life was being limited and become more isolated and more scary from the future
The things have affected me badly.
This is because it is strange to my cultural belief

2.5 to 3.5

I am adapting well because I will develop psychological problems if I start complaining
I am not fully involved in Canadian society. I missed back home social life and belongingness.
I am not taking it for granted.
I become so scared and frightened and worry about my kids' future
I feel like missing something (home life), being a stranger in a strange land.
It made me unhappy, depressed and frustrated.
It makes me more dormant
It makes me panic
It took learning. Taught me to be patient and accept my role as bread winner, as my husband is disabled
Keeps me helpless at home sometimes.
During winter I feel depressed, the pace of life in Canada, made me so busy, not enough time to get involved in social activities, religious events.
Makes me too worried about my kids and the effect of the society of their life
These feelings made me think about retrieving back home.
Very mad, because it is absolutely opposite to my way of life

Housing highlights

The majority of Sudanese rent non-subsidized apartments. For most respondents (81%), cost of housing is a significant problem.

Gender differences

Although most do not share housing, the proportion of males who share housing (52%) exceeds the proportion of females (28%). When they do share, a greater proportion of females (64%) share housing with family or relatives, as compared to men (37%).

Women tend to report knowing their neighbours in slightly higher percentages.

Immigration class differences

A greater proportion of family class respondents (42%) live in subsidized housing compared to other classes. Across classes, a majority (52%) are not satisfied with their housing, with the exception of PSRs.

Housing differences among cities

- The greatest proportion of respondents who are *not satisfied* with their housing (43%) are living in the **GTA**.
- The proportion of respondents living in *subsidized* housing is highest in **Ottawa** (24%).
- The proportions *sharing* housing are lowest in **Ottawa** (17%) and **Windsor** (23%).
- The proportions reporting that *size* of housing is a problem is greater in **Ottawa** (77%), **Hamilton** (83%) and **Kitchener** (88%).
- The proportion who reports that they know their neighbours “not at all” tends to be highest in **Hamilton** (73%).

The majority of respondents live in proximity to other Sudanese households, a choice of location that 79% report as important. In this respect, there is little variation across immigration classes and cities, however women tend to report that this is important in higher proportions. The primary reasons given for the importance attached to living near other Sudanese include emotional support, social interaction and assistance.

Settlement needs, help received, sources of help and satisfaction

Respondents were asked about their most important settlement service needs and whether or not they had received satisfactory help, and from whom, for various categories of typical settlement services. This section reports findings for all immigration classes and cities. Highlights of differences among classes and among cities follow this section.

Housing

Types of help needed/received: 82% of respondents needed help with understanding landlord/tenant roles and responsibilities, 80% with types of accommodations and 80% with process and regulations.

Sources of help: Help was received from three sources in average descending order of importance: first, reception houses (34-39%), followed by friends/family (25-40%), and settlement agencies (25-34%).

The majority of those needing housing-related services and information (60-80%) were generally satisfied with help received. Some respondents indicated that they would have liked to have this information *before* arrival in Canada.

Finances

Types of help needed/received: Other than banking (92%), the greatest need for financial services was for help with income taxes (73%). A majority also needed help with managing money (51%), but 26% of those did not receive help.

Almost half of the respondents needed help with the Child Tax Benefit (47%); 90% received some help; but a higher than average percentage were dissatisfied with the help received (14%). Those who needed help with credit (36%) did not consistently receive it (60%).

Sources of help: While reception houses were the primary source of help with banking (39%), settlement agencies were the primary source of help with income taxes (43%) and Child Tax Benefits (43%). Reception houses and settlement agencies helped equally with managing money, but friends and family (52%) were the primary source of help with respect to credit.

Orientation to life in Canada

Types of help needed/received: There appear to be high, comparatively unmet needs for formal help with orientation to life in Canada. For example, most need help “getting around,”(83%) and with shopping (81%); most also wanted help with using community resources (76%), libraries (74%), and the phone book (70%).

A majority also needed help buying clothes (66%) and recreational activities (61%). Although 57% reported needing help with daycare on arrival, only 71% received some help and there was some reported dissatisfaction (19%) with the help received.

Sources of help: In almost all aspects of orientation to life in Canada, the major source of help is friends and family. When received, this help proved largely satisfactory. Settlement agencies were the primary source of help *only* for information about community resources and daycare.

Education

Types of help needed/received: High needs also exist in the area of education. Many respondents needed information and services on continuing education (82%), learning English (LINC/ESL) (81%), and the educational system in Canada (76%). More than half also needed help with adult education (66%), post-secondary education (56%), and certification of credentials (54%). Of those responding, 44% needed help with registering children in school.

Sources of help: Settlement agencies (33-50%) and reception houses (20-30%) combined were the major sources of this type of help, a majority of respondents were satisfied with the help when received.

In contrast with most other categories of settlement services and information, some respondents (10-20%) stated that they needed this information *before* arrival in Canada.

Health care information and services

Types of help needed/received: A majority (85%) needed information on health costs covered by OHIP; 85% needed help finding a doctor; 78% also needed information on health services in Ontario.

The majority needed this help on arrival, but a small proportion (5-10%) still needed this help after the first year in Canada. Respondents were moderately satisfied with help received.

Almost half of the respondents (48%) also reported needing cultural interpretation in medical offices, but only 68% of those who needed this help received it.

Sources of help: Reception houses and settlement agencies combined (37-43%) provided the most help with health care information and services. However, for 43% of those who had help with interpretation in medical offices, the source of the help was family or friends, which is not deemed good professional or ethical practice. Friends and family were also the main source of help with finding a doctor.

Employment

Types of help needed/received: As for employment services, most respondents (85%) needed help with looking for a job, as compared with finding a volunteer position (60%), or with employment insurance (39%). Some reported needing help with opening a business (26%) and being self-employed (23%). Many of these needed this specific help *before* arrival in Canada.

Most (73%) of those who needed help with looking for employment did receive some help from a settlement agency (45%).

Dissatisfaction was higher among those seeking jobs and self-employment than those using most other settlement service categories.

All of these employment-related needs were reported both during and after the first year in Canada.

Sources of help: Most of the help (25-60%) received in this area was provided by settlement agencies.

Transportation

Types of help needed/received: Help with public transportation (86%) was the greatest need in this category; 93% of respondents did receive help, which they deemed satisfactory. While the need for public transportation was initially greater, help with driving (70%), driving licenses (72%) or car ownership, maintenance (53%) and insurance (51%) was also needed, and this need persisted beyond the first year for approximately one-quarter of respondents.

Sources of help: For most respondents the primary sources of help with private transportation needs were friends and family (60-65%), although for 26% of respondents, settlement agencies were helpful with respect to public transportation.

Parenting

Types of services needed/received: A need for information and services on general parenting issues in Canada was indicated by 40% of respondents, 74% of which received some help. However, for problematic issues related to parenting, respondents received services at a lower rate and were more dissatisfied with those services when it was received.

Respondents needed specific help with family law (42%), child discipline (42%), and the Children's Aid Society (31%). Respondents received help for these needs in lower proportions, particularly for family law (56%) and for the Children's Aid Society (50%).

Relative to other settlement services, levels of dissatisfaction with services relating to parenting were relatively high, at 18% for child discipline, 22% for family law, and 33% for the Children's Aid Society. Dissatisfaction with the services received regarding the Children's Aid Society was higher than that with any other settlement service, including looking for employment.

Almost one-third of respondents reported that they would have like to have had information on parenting and family law *before* coming to Canada and *after* arrival, or both, which suggests that this is an important ongoing need.

Sources of help: Help with parenting was received from settlement agencies (35-45%) and reception houses (25-30%). Most respondents were fairly satisfied with this help when received.

Legal matters and crime

Types of help needed/received: This is also an area of settlement relatively high in need, but low in services received. A majority needed information and services on immigration and the citizenship process (80%). A minority (16%) indicated that they would have liked to receive services and information in this area *before* arrival in Canada.

A majority also needed help with understanding their rights and obligations under the law (75%), the legal system (60%) and the role of police (60%). Almost one-half of respondents noted the need for information and services on writing a will and power of attorney, but only 33% of these received help.

Sources of help: Most (66%) received help with immigration and the citizenship process from settlement agencies and found the help largely satisfactory. Only 50-60% of respondents received the help needed with respect to understanding rights and obligations, also primarily from settlement agencies. Respondents were satisfied with such help when provided.

Settlement services: immigration class, gender and city highlights

Differences in settlement *needs* among immigration classes

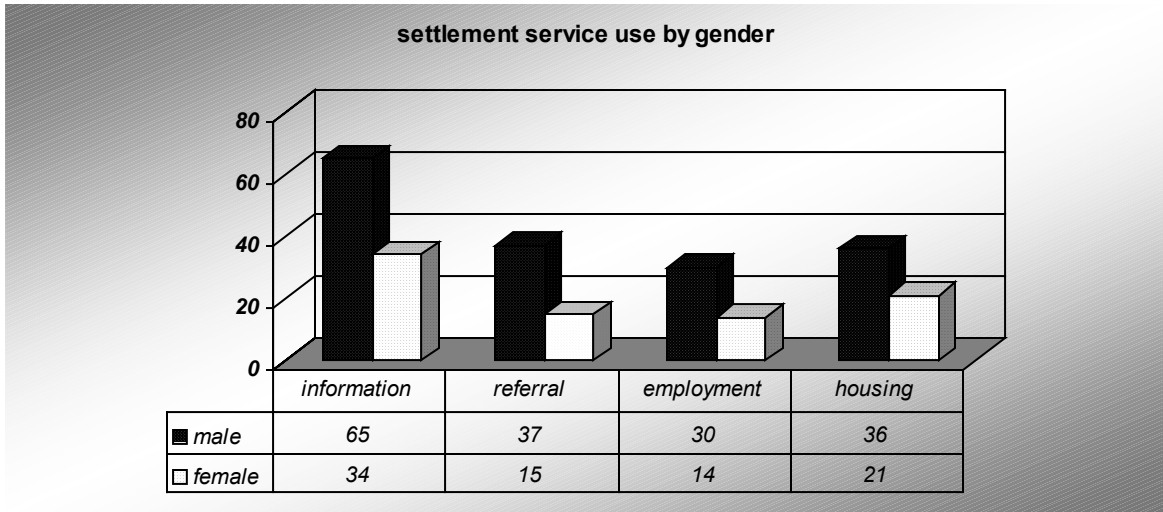
- GARs generally tend to need the most help with all types of services, followed by LCRs.
- In particular, 40% of GARs report needing help with indoor living and housekeeping.
- FAM class immigrants tend to need the least help with accommodation.

Differences in settlement service *use* among immigration classes

- Overall, 80% of PSR, 77% of IND, and 50% of FAM class immigrants have not used ANY basic settlement services.
- While 69% of GARs have used basic information and orientation services, only 39% of LCRs and 20% of family class immigrants have done so.
- Similarly, 37% of GARs have used referral services, but only 26% of LCRs and 10% of FAM.
- GARs have used employment services in slightly higher proportions (27%) than LCRs (23%), FAM or IND (both 15%).
- GARs report using housing services in greater proportions (37%) than other classes, including LCRs at 29%.
- LCRs are the most likely to use escorting services (29%) and counseling services (32%).
- A minority of GARs (28%), LCRs (29%) and FAM (20%) have used translation/cultural interpreters.

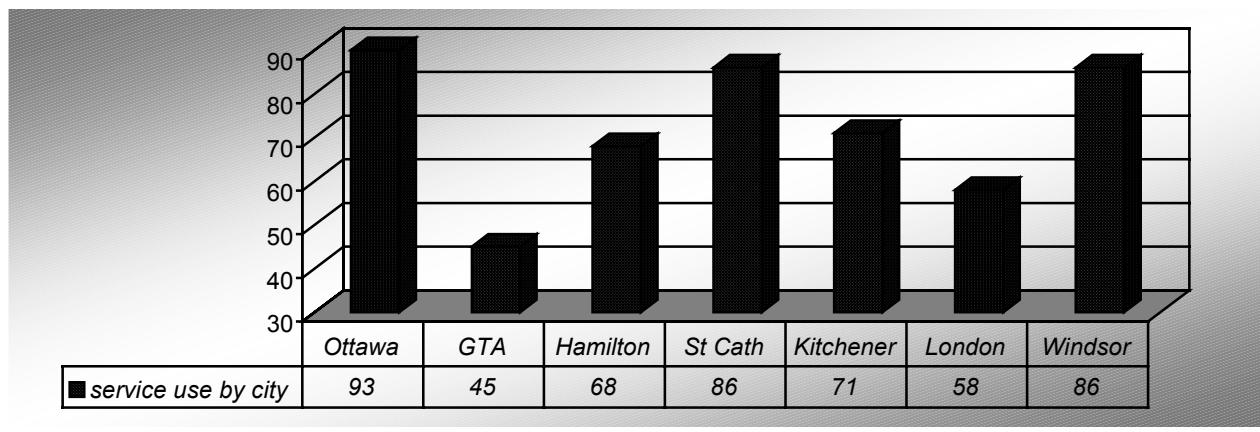
Differences between genders in basic settlement service use

Sudanese men use many basic services at higher rates than women do. Approximately half of female respondents (49%) say they have not used these basic services, as compared with 21% of male respondents. Yet, when asked why they do not use settlement services if they do not, more men (28%) report that they do not need them, as compared to women (18%).



Differences among cities in settlement service use

- Respondents in the **GTA** and **London** reported the lowest proportions using settlement services in general.
- Respondents in the **GTA** and in **London** used information/orientation services in significantly lower proportions than in other cities. In these two cities, percentages were 31% and 35%, respectively, compared to 58-85% in other cities surveyed.
- Proportions using referral services were similarly low in the **GTA**, **London** and **Windsor**.
- Proportions using housing services were lowest in the **GTA** and **Ottawa**.
- Proportions using translation/cultural interpretation services were lowest in the **GTA**, **London**, and **Ottawa**.
- Use of escorting services was lowest in the **GTA**, **Ottawa** and **Kitchener**.
- Use of employment services was lowest in the **GTA**, and highest in **St. Catharine's** and **Kitchener**.
- Use of counselling services was lowest in the **GTA** and in **London**, and substantially higher in the other cities surveyed.



Barriers to settlement service utilization

Really, [refugees] do not know where to get the services.... And it is the mentality... Coming as a refugee, you think that the people are going to receive you... are going to welcome you and say, these are the things that you can get... The reception centre only tells them a few things, like we'll help you find a house and from there, for most things they are on their own, except for being referred to a language school ...For a job and to really feel at home, they're on their own. But in their minds, they are guests – they don't know the place, they don't know where anything is.... They feel as if they're still to be shown around. ... I am sure that some of the Somalis in the beginning also felt the same way. They already can feel at home...and they can then get an education right away informally even just from connecting.... But we still don't have that community support. (Toronto #3)

The [settlement] office they have now is, if you want something, you go there and ask. If you have a need, you go there. Sometimes people feel shy. I may need something, but I am too shy to go and ask.... It is very difficult... In our culture, for example, if I come to your house and you ask, do you want tea? Even when I want tea I would say no. But if I understand, I'll say, oh yes, I need tea or coffee. [Sudanese] people say...whatever you offer to me in your house, I will receive it. It's a different attitude altogether. That's why sometimes you find they are shy to ask. (Toronto #2)

When asked why they did not use settlement services, if they did not, most respondents tended to indicate that they did not need them. However, FAM and LCR class respondents tended to indicate that they were also “not aware of settlement services” as a reason for not using them.

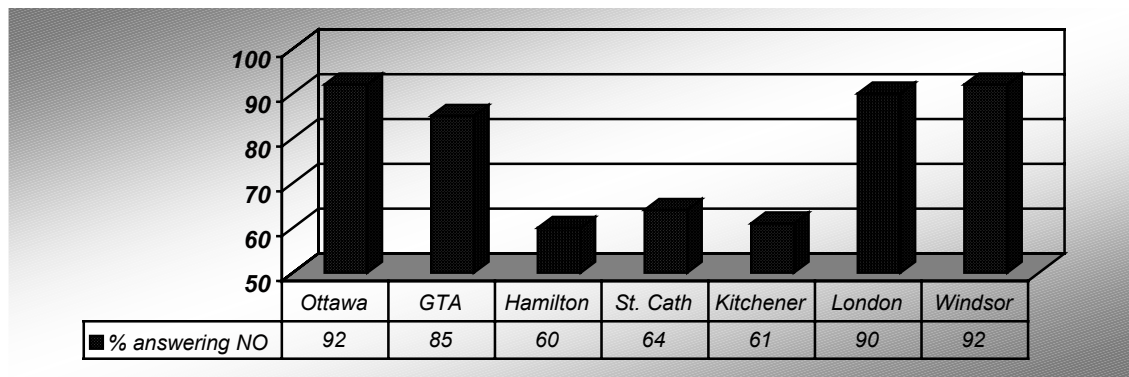
The highest proportion of those reporting that they did not use settlement services because they did not need them were in Ottawa (44%) and St. Catherine's (59%). In Hamilton, Kitchener, London and Windsor, small numbers of respondents specified that they were misinformed about settlement services.

Some respondents stated that they did not know that they had the right to ask for services or that they were embarrassed to ask. When asked why they did not go to a settlement agency specifically for job search help, they usually said that they did not see a reason to. In other words, they did not perceive that strategy to be effective.

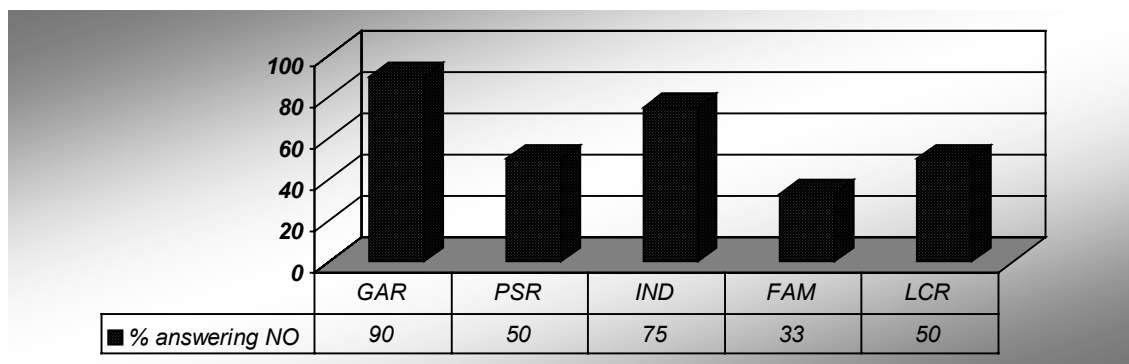
As for services offered from *non-Sudanese* community service associations, most respondents were also not knowledgeable about them. Some perceived that such services were not applicable or accessible to Sudanese. A few mentioned linguistic or cultural barriers.

Perceived cultural awareness of service providers

When survey respondents who used services were asked, “Were settlement workers, reception house staff or your sponsors knowledgeable about your culture?” responses varied among cities, possibly indicating specific difficulties in Ottawa, the GTA, London and Windsor.



Responses to this question also varied by immigration class:



Top community concerns identified by respondents

Tribalism is the biggest problem I see among the Sudanese people, that makes them not unite, that attitude of tribalism. If that is solved, I think there would be no problem... There are differences between tribes; there are differences in the languages. Even their culture, the way they behave is different. But if for example the Canadian government comes out today and says to Sudanese, 'This is your centre'. And they take someone from every tribe to be responsible, to teach them to make a connection--everyone has to be included--when they are there and they are not just one tribe, they will work for the benefit of all the people. (Toronto #2)

Survey respondents were asked, "What do you feel are the five most important problems in your local Sudanese community?" as an open-ended question.

The most frequently mentioned community concern across sites is **employment** and related problems, such as having experience and credentials recognized, and the collective impact of this problem on all Sudanese newcomers. The next most frequently mentioned problem at the community level is the **lack of Sudanese organizations, personnel or meeting places** to help deal with community concerns. This problem is followed closely by frequent mention of divisions within the community, fragmentation, lack of communication, and "politics." If all responses related to community cohesion and resources were combined, this would be overwhelmingly the *top* concern.

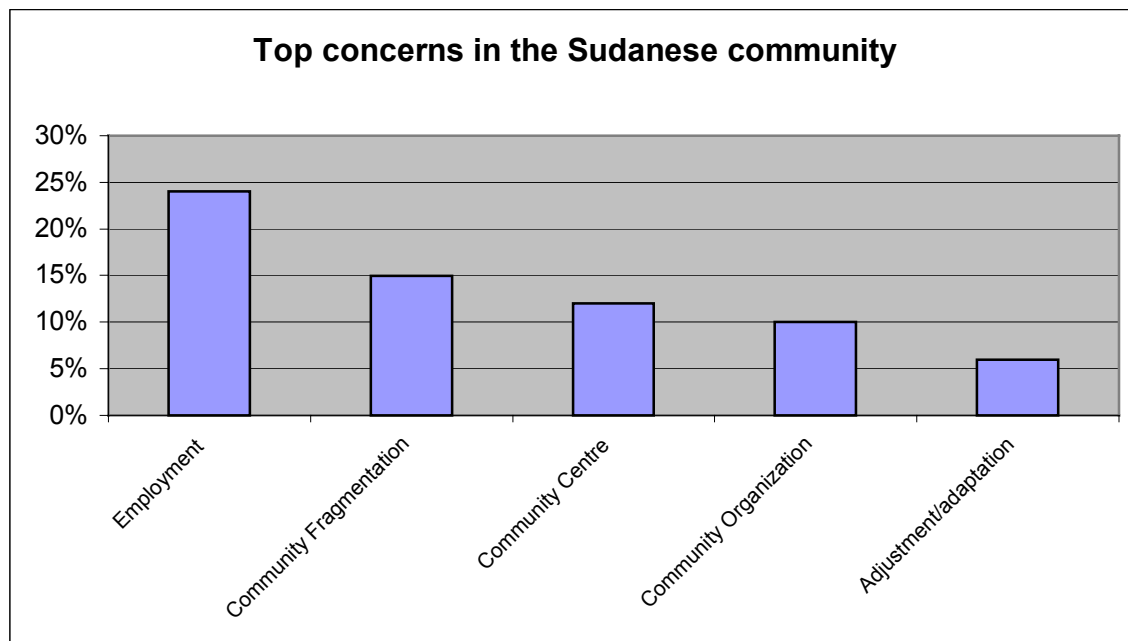
Specifically, the following results were obtained when respondents were asked to name the most important problem:

24%	cited employment-related issues
15%	community fragmentation
12%	the absence of a community centre or meeting place
10%	the inadequacy or absence of community organization
6%	adjustment and adaptation problems.

In general, the most frequently identified problems (in order of importance) were employment, community fragmentation, the absence of a community centre/meeting place, adjustment and adaptation problems, the absence or ineffectiveness of community organization, inadequacy of settlement services and related issues, family re-unification, affordable housing, the need for education and training, the lack of resources and funding for community development and/or organization, and language and communication issues.

Also frequently mentioned as community concerns were perceived problems with children and youth, especially loss of self-respect, respect for others, and loss of Sudanese culture. Many respondents also noted as community concerns finances and the adequacy of welfare, but often described this on a social level (above the individual), as in lack of "government support" for the Sudanese community in general.

Other relatively prominent concerns were the need for cultural orientation and understanding cultural differences, learning English and adult education in general, as well as family dissolution (divorce) and family separation.



Top concerns by gender

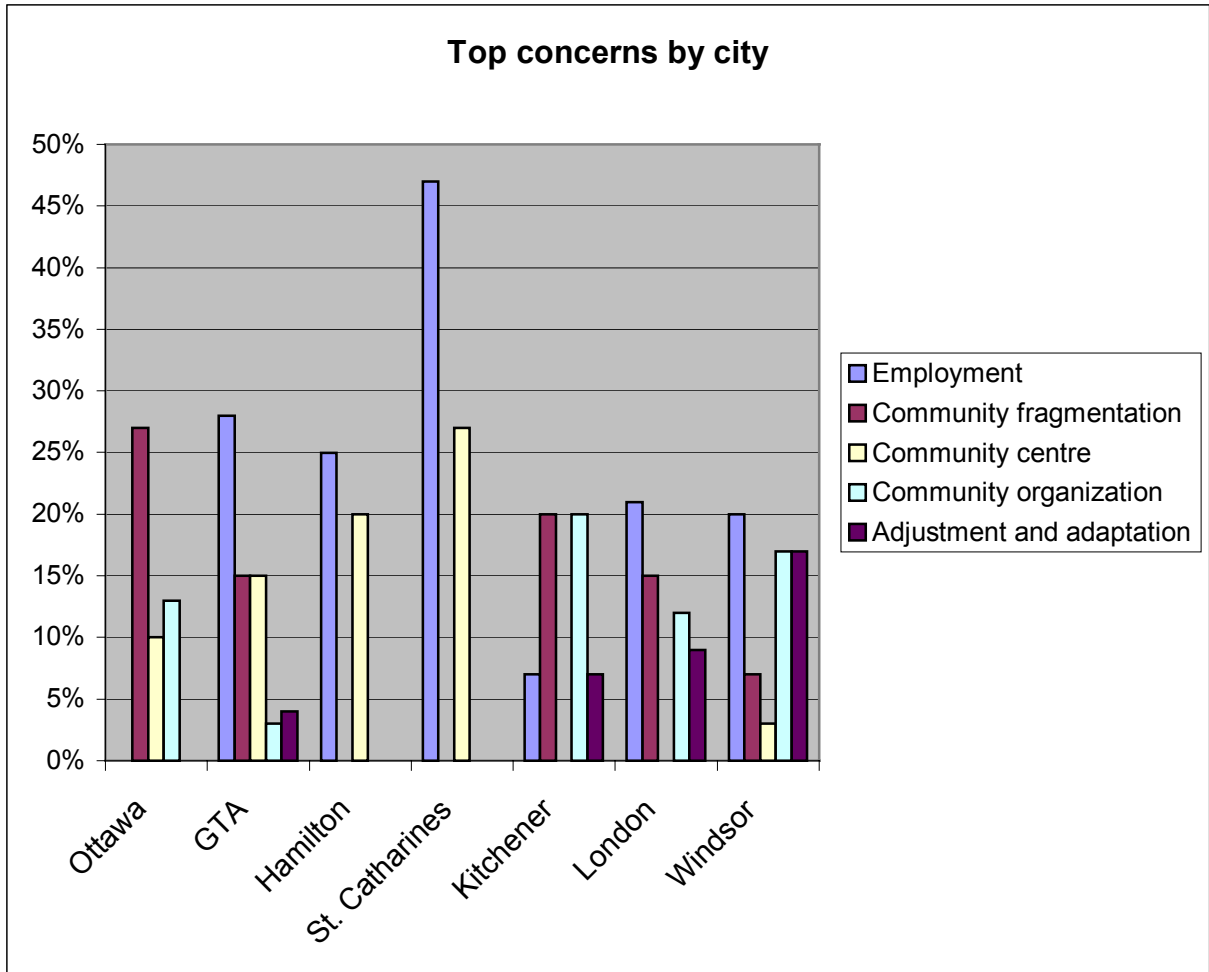
Men and women gave equally high priority to employment as a community concern, followed by community fragmentation and lack of a community centre. Although gender differences were not significant, men reported general “adjustment” as a community concern in somewhat greater proportion than women, whereas women tended to report more often that language and communication were concerns.

Top concerns by immigration class

GARs top community concerns were employment and divisions within the Sudanese community, followed by lack of organization and community resources. PSRs also identified employment and divisions within the community. INDs and LCRs identified employment and lack of a Sudanese community centre. FAM class respondents identified divisions within the community and lack of a Sudanese community centre as top community concerns.

Top concerns by city

Identified concerns were fairly consistent across cities. However, employment is of the greatest concern among respondents in St. Catharines, followed by the GTA and Hamilton. Community fragmentation appears to be a significant concern everywhere but Hamilton and St. Catherines. Concerns about lack of community organization and having a community centre were notable across cities.



Hopes for the future

Respondents were also asked a series of open-ended questions to gauge their thoughts and feelings about their prospects, beginning with, “What do you hope for in Canada?”

The greatest proportion of responses to this question related to education, including language or skills training, for PSRs (43%), GARs (35%) and FAM (38%). Among INDs, the primary hope was for employment in one’s field (47%) followed by hope for social integration (26%). Among LCRs, the main hopes were for employment (29%) and family reunification (27%).

Women expressed the hope for education in greater proportion than men, while men tended to emphasize hopes for employment.

In response to the question, “What help do you need to get what you hope for?” all classes, with the exception of INDs, indicated that they needed financial or other types of support in order to fulfill these hopes.

As for, “What advice would you give to a Sudanese newcomer who has just arrived in Canada?” GARs would advise another Sudanese newcomer to obtain formal and informal education to help ensure adaptation and success in Canada. They also would suggest adopting helpful attitudes; such as “don’t raise expectations,” “work hard and be self-reliant,” and “don’t give up.” As well, they offer practical advice, such as “setting priorities, following laws, and asking for help and reliable information whenever needed.”

IND and FAM class immigrants also emphasize obtaining education in order to settle in Canada. A small number of IND respondents said that they would advise newcomers to go back to Sudan, whereas some FAM class respondents advised interacting with both the Sudanese community and Canadian society in general.

Types of services and service delivery recommended by Sudanese community members

The community is very weak in the sense that if there is a place like a centre for the Sudanese, where people can go to from time to time, so that people can learn from one another, it can help them....They can learn from one another by way of encouragement. Or ... I can explain it to them and they can understand it, or see it from my way of life. How I was successful going to school, what was the connection I found to get my job, and all these things. (Toronto #2).

I think people work together more in a community organized setting where they can find opportunities to volunteer, to interactall those people who have talents, something to give, they can use them there. ...They also see that they can help to organize themselves and have space... sharing together or whatever. ...Other communities succeed, but there is an opportunity for them to come together, like a magnet, something that can attract people to come and find opportunities, find important information. (Toronto #3)

Survey respondents were asked the following two questions:

1) What type of service would you recommend be provided for Sudanese newcomers in Canada?

Types of services desired included, first and foremost, orientation and referral services with respect to life in Canada. This was true for all immigration classes, with the exception of Independents, for whom employment counselling was the top priority. Most respondents felt that such orientation should be of high quality and be delivered by knowledgeable professionals. Most recommended that other Sudanese would most capable of performing this work. Specific services requested included educational counselling, employment counselling and placement, and housing-related services, as might be possible in a Sudanese community “resource centre.”

2) How would you recommend the services be delivered to Sudanese newcomers in Canada?

The majority of responses reiterated the above recommendations. Recommended means of service delivery overwhelmingly pointed to the fact that services should be delivered by Sudanese

who are “knowledgeable, skilled, professional,” who “know the culture, speak the language,” and who are “there immediately for the newcomer.” Seconding this was the related recommendation that services should be delivered by local Sudanese community groups because of “common understanding,” to “prevent loneliness,” to “share feelings,” to “feel at home,” and because “others are ignorant of our culture.” As well, respondents said that services for Sudanese could be delivered providing there is a relationship between a Sudanese community group (e.g. volunteers) and other agencies; that services should be delivered at a Sudanese “centre,” agency, or area where Sudanese are living; and that services should be delivered by someone who speaks the language, escorts the newcomer and gives useful advice.

Models and principles of service delivery

Four models of service delivery to ethnic communities serve as reference points for this discussion (Matusuoka and Sorenson 1991):

Services provided by mainstream agencies—Although staffed by professionals, mainstream agencies lack cultural sensitivity and linguistic competence and do not draw on existing social networks in the community. This drawback also may apply to larger ethnic service organizations that are expected to “host” or “partner” with emerging newcomer communities.

The parallel service approach—When ethnic organizations themselves provide services to their own communities, they may be more flexible, more culturally sensitive and more effective in terms of community linkages. However, they are typically under-funded and staffed by non-professional volunteers who have too many demands on their time.

The multicultural service approach—Organizations may be developed to serve a broad category of clients (e.g. African in general). The problem is this approach may assume that coherent ethnic groups exist; that by liaising with key members of various groups, all interests can be served; and that is possible to hire workers who are representative of the communities served, while ignoring political and religious differences in the interest of avoiding ethnic segregation. In general, this is similar to the approach recommended by the Continental African Service Providers Conference in 2001. Its most obvious limitation with respect to the Sudanese population is that participation depends on stable, formally organized service agencies, which are only now coming into being in the Sudanese community.

The bridging approach--Mainstream agencies hire workers from different communities to provide multilingual, multicultural services to clients. This approach essentially “links mainstream agency resources to the ethnocultural communities, cross-culturally sensitizing both agencies and the communities and generating resources from the communities through community development strategies” (Matusuoka and Sorenson 1991:264). As resources develop, they are more likely to become coordinated with existing mainstream services.

The advantages of the bridging approach are that it prevents marginalization of new communities and groups, may help with collective actions, encourages integration without loss of identity; and helps introduce newcomers to mainstream and more developed organizations and services. However, a caution accompanying its use is that simply hiring workers from ethnocultural groups does not always ensure sensitive services (e.g. due to gender-related issues, or overall number of different linguistic groups) and, in fact, inhibits service delivery to some clients.

To avoid such limitations it is recommended to have more than one service outlet and to have a variety of agencies develop culturally sensitive services using this model. (In the GTA, for example, there appears to be a need for a stable program in Mississauga.) The result will not be a duplication of services, but a means of providing sensitive services in a multicultural milieu. The model recognizes that immigrant communities do not initially have the capacity to exert influence and may benefit from mainstream support.

In each city, settlement service staffing and delivery may have to be reviewed independently, and innovative approaches that incorporate existing community networks will have to be explored. The approach currently used by CIC in the GTA—having a small number of Sudanese staff working at a large Chinese service agency—theoretically may incorporate some the advantages of the bridging approach. Although because it does not completely answer the need for culturally sensitive services to women and a greater range of ethnic and linguistic groups and is managed by a single ethnic agency (even though in a few locations) it does not fill the service requirement for accessibility. It appears to be understaffed considering the size of the city and Sudanese population diversity. If Sudanese clients do not access services in large numbers in that location, it is more likely a function of comfort levels, distance to travel, inadequate information flow, and lack of community outreach, than an indication of lack of need or interest. Settlement agencies should provide not only an office to visit, but also outreach to convey information in community settings.

The current situation also does not appear to fill the need for providing communal space for the informal networking and social exchange fundamental to providing social support for Sudanese newcomers. One very apparent desire on the part of Sudanese in the various cities is the felt need for a Sudanese “centre.” This is an important need for identification with a “place” to acknowledge and act upon in some way. More than just a symbolic need to feel rooted in their new Canadian social environment, communal space serves highly pragmatic purposes of facilitating communication and cooperation. Given somewhat limited resources and the population dispersal across cities, it may be necessary to consider sharing space in existing agencies or community organizations on a regular basis to fulfill this need. Shared space, however, may have the added benefit of helping the Sudanese community bridge the existing cultural knowledge gap.

Recommendations

A. Empowering the Sudanese community: enhancing respect and communication

1. Establish welcoming, regular Sudanese community meeting places for discussion, program development and delivery, for the purpose of community empowerment and increasing the comfort level for newcomers—driven by nature of social support through informal networks within the community.
2. Develop Sudanese community-defined program content, e.g. what is needed for orientation to life in Canada, life skills, changing marital relations, financial management, obligations and transition from government income support, legal rights and obligations, parenting, expectations and relations with respect to the school system, employer expectations, computer training, continuing education opportunities, mental health and other health issues, and other topics to be determined in consultation with Sudanese community members—driven by community-defined needs.
3. Encourage Sudanese of different backgrounds to work in unity to promote access and equity to services; hire more multi-lingual workers of both genders with a commitment to serve everyone—driven by identified needs and existing capabilities within the population.
4. Meet special needs within the population, for example, through peer and informal support groups (topics to be determined, e.g. employment for professionals; educational workshops with appropriate formats for women, men, singles, or families)—driven by community-identified needs and goals of settlement and social integration. Requires means to address specific barriers to help-seeking (linguistic, cultural, access to information). Investments needed for women in particular: language training; parenting skills (shared with men), and participation in continuing education and labour force
5. Provide adequate resources for the above in particular by hiring and training qualified Sudanese community workers to staff settlement and related service organizations. Provide advice and resources as well for community-based development. *Invest* in the community.

B. Linking Sudanese to Canadian society and institutions

6. Provide mutual training of Sudanese and non-Sudanese settlement workers on Sudanese and Canadian cultural issues, identified social problem areas and available services, the refugee experience and the ethnic diversity within the Sudanese population. In order to enhance their profile and thus to improve access to their services, settlement workers should receive more ethno-cultural specific information to provide gender-specific and culturally sensitive counselling information to their clients. Includes training Sudanese volunteers—driven by desire for empowerment and increasing mutual understanding.
7. Promote professional standards, defined by cultural and ethical considerations as well as context of Canadian society, for Sudanese staff and volunteers—driven by need to maintain professional standards of reliability, confidentiality, accuracy and by desire for community empowerment.

8. Deliver services jointly with area experts (e.g. educational workshops, community police reps, health promotion professionals) by professionals and newly trained Sudanese cultural brokers—driven by need for orientation, education and social integration.

C. Expanding the scope of services and service delivery

9. Expand service delivery to additional organizations and informal contact points (such as churches, mosques and schools) and maintaining links with existing and developing Sudanese community associations—driven by need to increase information flow, equitable access and cultural appropriate service delivery.

10. Enable provincial networking among Sudanese staff and community volunteers, for enhanced outreach to community members and mutual aid for settlement workers in various cities

11. Give Sudanese in Canada access to new arrivals in all settings to provide reception and follow-up support during initial six-months to one year.

12. Ensure a smoother transition for Sudanese clients from reception houses to appropriate settlement agencies on which they can rely for ongoing support.

13. Provide more information on what to expect before and after the first year, e.g. reality of life in Canada during overseas processing to avoid disappointments and help prepare newcomers better; transition to second year.

14. Facilitate economic incorporation and integration, by involving settlement agencies more directly in job search, placement and mentoring.

15. Facilitate economic integration of refugees to be resettled, by considering admission under the two-year JAS program. The first year would enable them to take language courses and become familiar with the Canadian way of life. The second year should place them in a work-related environment depending on their qualifications and skill levels as the first step towards economic integration.⁹

Adopting these suggestions will require from CIC:

- a. A commitment to hire sufficient numbers of staff and to provide proper, mutual cross-cultural training of settlement workers in a variety of agencies to reduce divisions within the population;
- b. Actively encouraging members of the community to take advantage of professional training and networking opportunities across the province;
- c. Flexibility and creativity in terms of staff responsibilities, program content and funding arrangements to include service delivery at informal contact points.
- d. Strategic use of available resources and stable, ongoing investment in the community.

⁹ In such an environment, they also would be able to learn about the requirements to resume their previous occupation and to take the steps necessary to achieve it. Employers might accept this if the second year income support were transferred into a salary. This recommendation that refugees be placed in a “productive environment” was initially made by a community leader when he discussed the plight of unemployed refugees.

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Appendix 1 Study Methods

Research design: mixed methodology

This study combined quantitative and qualitative approaches to meet the research objectives and brought the advantages of each to bear on the challenges underlying Sudanese settlement. The quantitative component of this study was based on a series of structured, in-person interviews in each of the cities listed, which allowed for a cross-sectional analysis of diverse settlement issues in a dispersed population. The questionnaire designed for the survey included questions regarding respondents' demographic characteristics, settlement experiences and service needs, sources of help, utilization of services and perceived barriers. The questionnaire utilized both closed-ended questions for the purposes of statistical analysis and open-ended questions, which allowed respondents to express their personal opinion regarding the issues raised. In-depth, unstructured interviews were also conducted with Sudanese key informants in all sites in the early stages of the research to define major issues, and with Sudanese community members at the conclusion of the survey to document special cases and explore some issues in greater depth. These complementary approaches provide information with sufficient quantitative and qualitative scope.

Research team

The research team consisted of scientists, project and support staff located at the Culture, Community and Health Studies Program, Centre for Addiction and Mental Health and University of Toronto; members of the Association of Sudanese Women in Research (Toronto); and staff of the Research Resource Division for Refugees, Centre for Peace Action and Migration Research, Carleton University, Ottawa. In Toronto, the team members were:

Dr. Laura Simich, Principal Investigator, Scientist, Culture, Community and Health Studies Program (CCHS), Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (CAMH), Assistant Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of Toronto.

Dr. Hayley Hamilton, Co-Principal Investigator, Scientist, Culture, Community and Health Studies Program, CAMH, and Department of Psychiatry, University of Toronto.

Ms. B. Khamisa Baya, Co-Investigator and Project Coordinator; Doctoral Candidate, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto; Member, Association of Sudanese Women in Research, Toronto.

Mr. David Luger, Research Analyst, Culture, Community and Health Studies Program

Ms. Huda Bukhari, Ms. Sarah Bukhari, and Ms. Huda Abuzeid Co-Investigators, Association of Sudanese Women in Research, Toronto

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Administrative Support

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Consultants/Co-Investigators

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Dr. Owens Wiwa, Centre for International Health (formerly of CCHS), University of Toronto.

In Ottawa team members were:

Dr. Gertrud Neuwirth, Co-Investigator, Director, Research Resource Division for Refugees,
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Dr. Adnan Turegun , Assistant Director, Research Resource Division for Refugees.
Ms. Barbara Loh, M.A., Research Associate, Research Resource Division for Refugees.
Dr. Marc Tyrrell, Research Associate, Research Resource Division for Refugees.
Ms. Eija Gardner, Administrator, Research Resource Division for Refugees.

Community participation

We were fortunate in this project to work directly with Sudanese professionals and community members at large in planning and executing the study. In all seven cities that were surveyed, interested members of the Sudanese community participated actively, often on a voluntary basis. We are grateful to members of the following participating community associations and service organizations:

Ottawa Catholic Immigration Centre; Southern Sudanese Community Association of Ottawa-Carleton; Southern Sudanese Association of Ottawa; The Sudanese Community (Northern Sudanese); Ottawa-Carleton Sudanese Association

Hamilton African Sudanese Association of Hamilton (Southerners, Westerners),
The Sudanese League, and SISO

London Sudanese Ministry Team, Good News Church
African Sudanese Association of Canada (Southerners and Westerners)
Sudanese Canadian Community Association of London and Surrounding Area
(Northerners)

GTA Omer Ibna Al Khattab Mosque, Sudanese Women's Organization

Southern Sudanese Community Organization of Greater Toronto (SOSCO-GT)
The Sudanese Community Church--Toronto

Windsor YMCA New Canadians' Centre, Office of Refugees of the Diocese of London,
Multicultural Council of Windsor and Essex County
The Sudanese Community in Windsor

St. Catharines Folk Arts Multicultural Centre
The Sudanese Canadian Community of Niagara
The Sudanese Women's Association of Niagara

In addition, and sometimes overlapping with members of the above organizations, Community Advisory Groups were formed in each city and provided with formal terms of reference. We are particularly grateful to some of these individuals for their generosity of spirit, time and effort in helping to accomplish this work. The African Canadian Social Development Council in Toronto was also invited to participate in a panel discussion about this study at the 7th National Metropolis Conference in Montreal (March 25-28, 2004) and may assist in knowledge transfer in the

community. The Association of Sudanese Women in Research is actively pursuing follow-up activities to this study.

Community outreach

Outreach to introduce the research project—a new concept for many recent newcomers-- was largely dependent on initial personal contacts among the research team members, and time-intensive, rapport-building activities. In addition to approaching the known Sudanese community associations in the various research sites, team members also visited the communities over several months for the purpose of group meetings. Team members further telephoned networks of friends and acquaintances to contact as widely as possible Sudanese newcomers from all immigration classes and ethnolinguistic groups. By working in this way, the research team was able to do a rapid environmental scan and achieve a fair representation of all constituencies within the highly heterogeneous Sudanese population in Ontario.

In preparation for questionnaire development and data collection, the team held group meetings in each city with community representatives (e.g. including “women only” groups in Toronto and in Ottawa) to become familiar with major areas of concern, to inform them of the study and to encourage wide participation. Consultation with Sudanese community leaders and service providers preceded the survey to ensure that particular concerns were not ignored. Information gathered from group meetings and interviews guided us in identifying pertinent topics for constructing the survey questionnaire, which was designed generally to cover all topics pertinent to settlement in a modified life-history structure with specific questions covering issues relevant for each immigration class.

Questionnaire development and translation

Team members in Ottawa and Toronto spent several weeks developing the comprehensive questionnaire. Volunteer Community Advisory Group (CAG) members in all cities then undertook confidential review of the questionnaire for cultural sensitivity. After providing feedback and recommendations to the research team, and reporting overall agreement with the survey topics, formulation of questions and approach, the questionnaire was pre-tested in 12 pilot interviews by members of the research team in both Toronto and Ottawa.

To ensure linguistic accessibility for respondents in the survey process, we contracted with members of the community to do required translations using the technique of group cross-checking (one translator and two editors for each language), including Arabic, Arabi Juba, Dinka, Bari and Nuer. Although only some of the hundreds of languages spoken in Sudan, these languages were considered by Sudanese researchers, who consulted with community leaders in the respective study sites, the top five Sudanese languages in Sudan and Ontario. With few exceptions, most Sudanese newcomers, who are often multilingual, were expected to be able to choose from among these a preferred interview language in which they felt comfortable. While many speak these languages, written literacy in some is low in the population because of disrupted or forced schooling in Arabic. Nevertheless, the translation process was important to ensure consistency in the meanings of the questions asked across sub-groups and cities and in the conduct of the interviews by multilingual Sudanese interviewers. In-depth interviews in Toronto and Ottawa were completed in English and Arabic.

Both types of data collection, survey questionnaires and in-depth qualitative interviews were complementary in content. However, the in-depth interviews allowed us to focus on special cases. Sudanese community experts' longer experience in Canada also provided an important

comparative perspective. Based on a modified 'life history' approach, the survey questionnaires focused on these general subject areas:

- Sociodemographic information, including immigration class; personal history, educational background; marital status and household composition; pre-migration experiences, decision to leave the country, and assistance received in the process.
- Reception and assistance upon arrival, initial difficulties of adjustment, assistance and service delivery received during the first year of settlement, cultural sensitivity of service providers;
- Settlement experiences, including social and cultural challenges in daily and family life, personal and family health and well being, and barriers to service utilization.
- Employment status, including attempts and assistance received in obtaining a job, ability and barriers to transfer previous occupational experience and qualifications, and possible upgrading of educational and occupational qualifications.
- Sources of support in Canada; strategies of help-seeking through formal and informal networks and services, e.g. information gathering, mobility, availability and access issues, perceptions of existing supportive services.
- Changes in support needs and help-seeking strategies over time, dependent on circumstances, access to relevant settlement services and community supports, barriers to incorporation.
- Appraisal of settlement and other services regarding their helpfulness in adaptation and incorporation, perceived impact on settlement, and unmet needs.
- Recommendations for practices, service delivery and community empowerment and assistance by identifying unmet needs for sub-groups and services that might be helpful.

Hiring and training of Sudanese interviewers

In this project we made a concerted effort to advertise the interviewer positions widely, using the community networks available and consulting with the Community Advisory Groups to select qualified, respected interviewers who would have the necessary communication skills to carry out the essential data collection tasks. To assess experience and linguistic competence, research team members interviewed all candidates in person. In order to ensure cultural compatibility and linguistic matching between interviewer and respondents in all cities, we hired several male and female interviewers in each city (one or more per language group). A total of 51 interviewers were hired. They were all trained in ethics procedures, interviewing skills, and administrative requirements before being given name lists of respondents who had agreed to be contacted (please see the Interviewers Training Manual provided). Because few Northern Sudanese came forward to apply for the position in London, and few applicants literate in Nuer were present in Kitchener, some interviewers were required to travel from Toronto to those sites.

Study population in each city and sample composition

Based on the following landings statistics for Sudanese, we proposed a target of up to 250 semi-structured interviews:

Sudanese Landing Statistics in Ontario, 2000-2002

<u>Year</u>	<u>GTA</u>	<u>H-W</u>	<u>K-W</u>	<u>LON</u>	<u>OTT</u>	<u>STC</u>	<u>WIN</u>	<u>TOT</u>
2002	412	58	43	91	95	29	68	777
2001	538	79	38	129	69	53	87	985
2000	333	24	34	94	58	30	93	658
TOTAL	1283	161	115	314	222	112	248	2455

We attained a sample of approximately 10% of recent arrivals in the Sudanese population in designated Ontario cities, in the following proportions:

<u>CITY</u>	<u>TARGET # *</u>	<u>COMPLETED</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>
Ottawa	30	30	100%
Hamilton	20	20	100%
St. Catharines	15	15	100%
Windsor	30	30	100%
Kitchener	15	15	100%
London	40	32	80%
GTA (N)	36	36	100%
GTA (S)	<u>55**</u>	<u>41</u>	75%
Total	246	220	94%

*In each city, the sample was further divided by northern Sudanese, southern Sudanese and sometimes western Sudanese, as well as balanced by gender, age and length of time in Canada from 2000-2003.

**The proposed sample of Southern Sudanese in the GTA was further divided into 20 Nuer, 15 Dinka, and 20 Other Southern Sudanese. 10 interviews were completed with Dinka, and 11 with Nuer in the GTA. It was difficult to find eligible Nuer and Dinka respondents in the GTA because many recent arrivals are reportedly moving out to other communities. As well, there are few women among the recent arrivals, particularly among the Dinka.

Recruitment of survey respondents

In a community-based study such as this, combined purposive and snowball sampling and mixed recruitment methods help to address any potential weaknesses in sampling and to achieve the most representative study sample possible with minor limitations. (Random sampling was not possible according to the sample criteria: Sudanese newcomers, male and female, over 18 years of age, who were landed in Canada in all immigration classes from 2000 to 2002 and have been residing in Ontario from 1 month to 3 years.) We also recognize that establishing rapport and trust required in community-based research is an ongoing process partly dependent on the communities' prior experience of research and its outcomes.

We first consulted with key informants in each city about community composition in each site and met with community members at large to explain the purpose of the study and to encourage wide community participation. Voluntary Community Advisory Groups (CAGs) were formed in each city, making every attempt to ensure that the CAGs themselves were representative of the community by including both formally identified community associations as well as individuals from important service organizations and potentially marginalized groups. We asked the CAGs to help recruit a full range of survey respondents, emphasizing that participation in the study was voluntary and that this was to be communicated to the potential respondent prior to contact with the researchers. Interviewees were also asked to give us the names of other Sudanese within the same landing category as a reserve pool of potential respondents in the event we had difficulty meeting proportionally representative sample targets.

In selecting respondents from the list of those whose names were provided, we aimed for the sample in each city to represent the geographic areas of the country of origin and different ethnic groups,¹⁰ as well as a sample balanced according to gender, age, marital status and length of time in Canada. When we became aware of under representation of certain categories of respondents or when the CAG was unable to recruit in certain categories, team members made efforts to consult more widely and to recruit to fill gaps using personal contacts and the snowball method. In some sites, the legitimacy of community political representation was a long-standing issue independent of the research process, but one that we overcame by utilizing additional sources of

¹⁰The resulting survey sample is thus 220 individuals, or approximately 10% of Sudanese who designated Ontario as their place of residence upon immigration to Canada. This figure is based on CIC landing statistics for the 2000-2002 period. The landing statistics include children; the number of adults is less than the total given, and therefore, 250 adults represent more than 10% of the target population. A sample of 250 was desired because the sample has to meet several specifications. The sample has to be large enough to (1) allow for a profile of newcomers to emerge within each city; (2) allow for meaningful comparisons between cities and between immigrant classes; and (3) allow for adequate representation of diverse ethnic, linguistic, religious, and cultural Sudanese groups. The sample should not be overly large, as the probability of obtaining the desired sample would be small given the limited time frame of the study. Landing statistics indicate that the distribution of Sudanese newcomers across the major Ontario cities to be included in the study is very uneven. Slightly more than 50% of newcomers over the past 3 years were destined for the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). Given the large number of Sudanese newcomers in the GTA, a proportional sample would be inefficient (50% of the sample would be from the GTA) and would not allow for proper comparisons between cities. At the same time, equal-sized samples across the 7 cities would also be problematic as we might have been able to recruit the targeted number in each city. For this study, a compromise between the two techniques seem appropriate and so we proposed to increase the proportion sampled from cities such as Hamilton and decrease the proportion sampled in the GTA (Rossi, Wright, Anderson 1983). The exact proportion to be sampled in each city was determined after meeting with community leaders and other key informants in each city to assess the population. Flexibility was required in the event of factors such as unanticipated population distribution.

information and pools of respondents. Limitations in sampling may also have occurred where there existed insufficient numbers in certain categories to recruit, e.g. Dinka women in the GTA. We also recognize that the composition of the population in each site can shift, so that the profile of Sudanese community in Ontario cities provided in this report is somewhat time-limited.

Data collection: interview and ethics procedures

As noted, the survey itself was preceded by a proposed series of 10-15 key informant interviews and community consultations divided among the cities to define issues and help develop the questionnaire. Trusted community members approached potential participants in each site to ask permission for researchers to contact individual Sudanese newcomers (names of potential respondents were forwarded to the most appropriate interviewers after consent was obtained, and eligibility was confirmed before proceeding to the interview.).

Interviewing adhered to strict ethics procedures requiring informed consent as approved by the Research Ethics Board of the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health and the University of Toronto, which were discussed at length with interviewers during training. Consent forms describing the purpose and procedures of the study were translated into five Sudanese languages, reviewed and signed by the respondents before the interview began. Participation in the interviews was strictly voluntary; respondents were assured of confidentiality and compensated for their time at the completion of the interview in the amount of \$25. Interviews lasted on average 1.5-2.5 hours. Members of the research team conducted in-depth interviews and audio taped these for later transcription with the consent of participants.

Two initial focus groups with women, a group meeting with CIC program consultants, and a focus group with Northern Sudanese youth were also held. Plans for an additional focus group in Hamilton with refugees from the Blue Nile region were cancelled because the group had migrated to Saskatoon to join others from the same region of Sudan. These group discussions were held to ensure participation of marginalized members of the population and give attention to the challenges they face.

Challenges and benefits of the study

This study presented unique practical challenges due to the fact that there is a dearth of stable, formal Sudanese community organizations with the capacity to help in accomplishing project tasks. Although there are hundreds of talented individuals and many hard working, identifiable community leaders, most Sudanese community-based associations lack the financial resources to have membership lists, suitable meeting places, regular formal communications or paid office staff who can devote time to coordinate and carry out organizational tasks. This was also a conceptually challenging study for a “new” community not wholly familiar with large-scale research procedures, so the research team provided as much communication, support and training as possible. In spite of a variety of difficulties, both the team and community members felt that it was worthwhile pursuing a comprehensive research plan in order to benefit fully from this possibly one-time opportunity for a community needs assessment of all relevant issues.

In the early stages of the project, before the survey component could begin, simultaneous community outreach in the seven cities was undertaken. We also maintained ongoing contact with all sites. Given the unusual time and labour-intensive requirements of a multisite study, the major limitation of this project has been the short timeframe. As the study actually began in August 2003, most research activities, including questionnaire translation, hiring, training, data collection, data entry, analysis and report writing, were accomplished in less than nine months.

The short timeframe for completion limited the ability to disseminate complete research findings in the community within the limits of the fiscal year project funding, however meetings to share the essential study findings have been held in most cities. Therefore, we strongly suggest that dissemination and further discussion be part of the follow up and investment in community development planned by CIC for 2004-2005.

One benefit resulting from this project is that a large number of Sudanese community members have been involved in various capacities over the course of the project. Another likely benefit of the study is the possible transfer of findings and recommendations that may be generalizable to other, culturally diverse African newcomer populations in Ontario and Canada.

Data analysis

Once data entry was complete, cross-tabular analysis was performed to explore possible relationships between factors investigated in the study using SPSS. Descriptive statistics and frequencies are included in the Study Findings section of this report. Selected open-ended questions were sorted, coded and analyzed. In-depth interview transcripts were coded using a framework developed with Nvivo analytic software. Selected quotations from transcribed in-depth interviews are used in the report to illustrate many of the points made by the survey results.

Appendix 2 – Sample in-depth interview summary

Mary is a Southern Sudanese woman. Her life was threatened when her nephew, an employee of an American company, was accused of conspiring with the rebellion army and was consequently arrested and murdered by the militia. After her nephew was arrested she too was arrested. She said that in Sudan, people are often accused by association. They accused her of being a rebel spy. She was taken to prison and tortured for information. One day when Mary and other prisoners were sent out to collect firewood, they escaped into the bush where they hid for fifteen days before setting out for Kenya. On their way to Kenya, John Garang's militia ambushed them and they were taken prisoners. They were accused of spying for the government. But again, they managed to escape and made it to Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya where Mary's husband eventually joined her. Their only daughter had to be left behind in their village in the care of relatives.

Mary said life in Kakuma was terrible. The refugee population in Kakuma was overwhelming and is still growing. In spite of efforts by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to provide food and health care for refugees in Kakuma, there were still acute shortages. After about three years in Kakuma, Mary and her husband were told, on the day of their departure, that they had been accepted to Canada. The only information about Canada they were provided with was about the transportation loan, although at that time, she did not know what the loan referred to. She said that she had agreed quickly to the loan because she was concerned for her safety and therefore desperate to leave Kakuma.

Mary and her husband arrived in Ottawa on April 4, 2000, under the Joint Assistance Sponsorship programme. It was the end of a cold winter and she had her first encounter with snow. She said it scared her at first but she got over that and began to appreciate the security Canada offered. She said she is happy in Canada, but she gets lonely because she misses her parents and daughter. She tried to bring her daughter to Canada but her daughter's uncle/guardian in Sudan disallowed it.

Mary and her husband lived in Reception House for one month before moving out to a rented lodging. At Reception House they had met some Sudanese from the local community who visited them and showed them around town. This group of Sudanese was the unofficial welcoming committee for new Sudanese to Canada. They would phone Reception House to ask whether any new Sudanese had arrived and they would visit them and help them make connections with the local Sudanese from their tribe or region. Mary said this was very helpful on the practical level, as they were shown where to buy spices used in traditional Sudanese cuisine, as well as on the more emotional level, as knowing other Sudanese who spoke her language made her settlement in Ottawa a little easier.

Life in Canada was a new challenge for Mary and her husband. Due to financial difficulties and difficulties in finding work in Ottawa, Mary's husband left for the meat-packing plant in Brooks, Alberta where he has lived for three years and plans to marry a woman he met there. Mary said that their relationship is over and she has now moved on to another relationship.

Mary also found it difficult to find a job. She was told that she needed 'Canadian experience' and had to be bilingual in English and French. She took English as a Second Language classes and could converse in English, but she could not read well. She did not take French classes since she found it too strenuous learning two new languages simultaneously. Mary felt that there were too many barriers for new immigrants to find work. At some level, she felt that her difficulty in finding employment was justified because of her lack of education. But, she felt, it was unfair for other Sudanese who are educated to be told to go back to school or that they needed 'Canadian experience' or that they needed to be bilingual when they are qualified for the job. She considered these requirements excuses to exclude Sudanese from getting jobs because they are Black. She said that when White people go to Sudan, they would be treated like "big bosses" even if they were high-school dropouts. In her words:

If they don't want to hire you and then they will make excuses that bilingual. So you cannot get a job! So this is like- they don't allowed immigrants, some immigrant to get a job here in their own country. . . . it's like they making business with people. Because we are there refugees, we don't have money, so they bring us here. When we come here, they say you have to pay the money back [transportation loan]. And when you try to pay a little bit, after some years always interest. It's like, no help! They don't helping people. It's business.

So, as Mary elucidates, discrimination in gaining employment and paying back the transportation loan are key issues Sudanese have to grapple with in Ottawa.

Another key issue in the Ottawa Sudanese community is that of family relations. At Reception House, Mary and other refugees were given a short information session about life and laws in Canada. One of the important lessons learnt from the information session was the way marital disputes are handled in Canada. Mary said that she felt good being told that women have rights in Canada. In Sudan, some disputes would escalate to physical abuse and when this occurs, the wife would flee to her relatives. Her relatives would then mediate between husband and wife in an open dialogue until they find grounds for reconciliation.

In Canada, Mary was told that the wife could telephone the police for help in marital disputes. She said that while this law empowered women, it was too strict because it left no room for reconciliation between husband and wife. In some cases, women telephone the police in the heat of the moment and they regret their actions after their husbands are taken away. Mary felt that there should be more flexibility in these laws because Sudanese marital relations are more complex than Canadian marital relations, and according to Sudanese customs, community involvement is key. In the absence of parents and relatives in Canada, elders in the Sudanese community could mediate in marital disputes if only the laws could be more flexible when wives requested reunification with their husbands.

In spite of all the hardships she faced in Canada, Mary considers herself a Canadian and is ready to serve Canada as her second country. Even if she were able to go back to Sudan, which she calls her first country, she would still return to Canada because she prefers Canada and is happy here. She said she feels safe in Canada:

When I come here, I feel like nobody disturbing me. . . . They don't say 'Oh, go back to your country'. They just look me like I'm Black, but they just don't care about- they just- whether they said inside, but to front of you they will not abuse you. . . . it's my second country because they are bring me from the war place to the good place.

Another reason Mary no longer considered Sudan her home is because her parents are now refugees in Uganda. Furthermore, she has come to appreciate the beauty of Ottawa and she knows her way around the city. Through living on her own and being able to navigate her own life in Ottawa, she has developed a sense of independence and self-confidence, two cherished qualities which she wishes to nurture throughout her life in Canada.

Prepared by: Barbara Loh

APPENDIX 2

**Table 1
Gender * Highest level of education before coming to Canada**

			Highest level of education before coming to								Total	
			No schoolin	Som primar schoolin	Complete primar school	Som secundar schoolin	Complete secundar school	Some secundar schoolin	Complete post-secondar school	Advance degre		Other
Gende	Mal	Coun % within Gende	4 3.2%	4 3.2%	3 2.4%	16 12.8%	26 20.8%	23 18.4%	38 30.4%	10 8.0%	1 .8%	125 100.0
	Femal	Coun % within Gende	8 8.5%	14 14.9%	1 1.1%	15 16.0%	20 21.3%	10 10.6%	16 17.0%	9 9.6%	1 1.1%	94 100.0
Total		Coun % within Gende	12 5.5%	18 8.2%	4 1.8%	31 14.2%	46 21.0%	33 15.1%	54 24.7%	19 8.7%	2 .9%	219 100.0

Table 2
Religion * Highest level of education before coming to Canada Crosstabulation

			Highest level of education before coming to Canada								Total	
			No formal schooling	Some primary schooling	Completed primary school	Some secondary schooling	Completed secondary school	Some post-secondary schooling	Completed post-secondary school	Advanced degree		Other
Religion	Muslim	Count	1	3		8	23	15	39	18	1	108
		% within A5Rec: Religion	.9%	2.8%		7.4%	21.3%	13.9%	36.1%	16.7%	.9%	100.0%
	Orthodox Christian	Count	1			1						2
		% within A5Rec: Religion	50.0%			50.0%						100.0%
	Protestant	Count	6	7		11	14	5	9		1	53
		% within A5Rec: Religion	11.3%	13.2%		20.8%	26.4%	9.4%	17.0%		1.9%	100.0%
	Roman Catholic	Count	4	8	4	10	9	12	6	1		54
		% within A5Rec: Religion	7.4%	14.8%	7.4%	18.5%	16.7%	22.2%	11.1%	1.9%		100.0%
Total		Count	12	18	4	30	46	32	54	19	2	217
		% within A5Rec: Religion	5.5%	8.3%	1.8%	13.8%	21.2%	14.7%	24.9%	8.8%	.9%	100.0%

Table 3
Religion * Highest level of education before coming to Canada * Gender Crosstabulation

				Highest level of education before coming to Canada							Total			
				No formal schooling	Some primary schooling	Completed primary school	Some secondary schooling	Completed secondary school	Some post-secondary schooling	Completed post-secondary school		Advanced degree	Other	
Gender	Religion													
Male	Religion	Muslim	Count	1	1		1	13	8	25	9	1	59	
			% within Religion	1.7%	1.7%		1.7%	22.0%	13.6%	42.4%	15.3%	1.7%	100%	
		Orthodox Christian	Count				1							1
			% within Religion				100.0%							100%
		Protestant	Count	2	2		8	9	5	7				33
	% within Religion	6.1%	6.1%		24.2%	27.3%	15.2%	21.2%				100%		
	Roman Catholic	Count	1	1	3	5	4	9	6	1			30	
	% within Religion	3.3%	3.3%	10.0%	16.7%	13.3%	30.0%	20.0%	3.3%				100%	
	Total	Count	4	4	3	15	26	22	38	10	1		123	
	% within Religion	3.3%	3.3%	2.4%	12.2%	21.1%	17.9%	30.9%	8.1%	.8%			100%	
Female	Religion	Muslim	Count		2		7	10	7	14	9		49	
			% within Religion		4.1%		14.3%	20.4%	14.3%	28.6%	18.4%		100%	
		Orthodox Christian	Count	1										1
			% within Religion	100.0%										100%
		Protestant	Count	4	5		3	5		2			1	20
	% within Religion	20.0%	25.0%		15.0%	25.0%		10.0%			5.0%	100%		
	Roman Catholic	Count	3	7	1	5	5	3					24	
	% within Religion	12.5%	29.2%	4.2%	20.8%	20.8%	12.5%						100%	
	Total	Count	8	14	1	15	20	10	16	9	1		94	
	% within Religion	8.5%	14.9%	1.1%	16.0%	21.3%	10.6%	17.0%	9.6%	1.1%			100%	

Table4
Immigration Class * Religion

			Religio				Total
			Musli	Orthodo Christia	Protestan	Roma Catholi	
Immigrati Class	Governme assisted refugee	Coun	38	2	46	48	134
		% within Immigration	28.4%	1.5%	34.3%	35.8%	100.0
		% within	35.2%	100.0	86.8%	87.3%	61.5%
	Privatel sponsore refugee	Coun	8		4	4	16
		% within Immigration	50.0%		25.0%	25.0%	100.0
		% within	7.4%		7.5%	7.3%	7.3%
	Independe immigran skilled	Coun	14				14
		% within Immigration	100.0				100.0
		% within	13.0%				6.4%
	Family membe	Coun	18		2	1	21
		% within Immigration	85.7%		9.5%	4.8%	100.0
		% within	16.7%		3.8%	1.8%	9.6%
Conventio refugee (in- determinatio	Coun	30		1	2	33	
	% within Immigration	90.9%		3.0%	6.1%	100.0	
	% within	27.8%		1.9%	3.6%	15.1%	
Total	Coun	108	2	53	55	218	
	% within Immigration	49.5%	.9%	24.3%	25.2%	100.0	
	% within	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

APPENDIX 2

Table 5
City of Interview * Religion

			Religio				Total
			Musli	Orthodo Christia	Protestan	Roma Catholi	
City of Intervie	Ottawa	Coun % within City Intervie	14 46.7%		7 23.3%	9 30.0%	30 100.0
	GTA	Coun % within City Intervie	41 53.9%		16 21.1%	19 25.0%	76 100.0
	Hamilto	Coun % within City Intervie	14 70.0%		3 15.0%	3 15.0%	20 100.0
	St.	Coun % within City Intervie	15 100.0				15 100.0
	Kitchene	Coun % within City Intervie	2 13.3%	1 6.7%	9 60.0%	3 20.0%	15 100.0
	Londo	Coun % within City Intervie	11 34.4%	1 3.1%	8 25.0%	12 37.5%	32 100.0
	Windso	Coun % within City Intervie	11 36.7%		10 33.3%	9 30.0%	30 100.0
	Total	Coun % within City Intervie	108 49.5%	2 .9%	53 24.3%	55 25.2%	218 100.0

Table 6
Highest level of education before coming to
*** Did you take English/French language**
*** Gender**

% within Highest level of education before coming to

Gende			Did you English/Fren language		Total
			Yes	No	
Mal	Highest of before coming Canad	No formal	100.0		100.0
		Some primary	75.0%	25.0%	100.0
		Completed primary	100.0		100.0
		Some secondary	87.5%	12.5%	100.0
		Completed secondary	76.9%	23.1%	100.0
		Some post-secondary	78.3%	21.7%	100.0
		Completed post-school	63.2%	36.8%	100.0
		Advanced	30.0%	70.0%	100.0
		Other	100.0		100.0
Total			72.0%	28.0%	100.0
Femal	Highest of before coming Canad	No formal	75.0%	25.0%	100.0
		Some primary	100.0		100.0
		Completed primary		100.0	100.0
		Some secondary	80.0%	20.0%	100.0
		Completed secondary	80.0%	20.0%	100.0
		Some post-secondary	80.0%	20.0%	100.0
		Completed post-school	87.5%	12.5%	100.0
		Advanced	55.6%	44.4%	100.0
		Other	100.0		100.0
Total			80.9%	19.1%	100.0

Table7
Immigration Class * Employment Status

			Employment		Tota
			Yes	No	
Immigrati Clas	Government refuge	Cou	62	72	13
		% within Immigration	46.3	53.7	100.0
	Privately refuge	Cou	7	9	16
		% within Immigration	43.8	56.3	100.0
	Independ immigrant/skilled	Cou	4	10	14
		% within Immigration	28.6	71.4	100.0
Family class	Cou	3	18	21	
	% within Immigration	14.3	85.7	100.0	
Convention (in-land	Cou	10	23	33	
	% within Immigration	30.3	69.7	100.0	
Tota		Cou	86	13	21
		% within Immigration	39.4	60.6	100.0

APPENDIX 2

Table 8
Highest level of education before coming to
*** Employment**
*** Gender**

% within Highest level of education before coming to

Gende			Employment		Total
			Yes	No	
Mal	Highes level of educatio before coming Canad	No formal	50.0%	50.0%	100.0
		Some primary	100.0		100.0
		Completed primary	50.0%	50.0%	100.0
		Some secondary	25.0%	75.0%	100.0
		Completed secondary	42.3%	57.7%	100.0
		Some post-secondary	77.3%	22.7%	100.0
		Completed post-secondary	55.3%	44.7%	100.0
		Advanced	50.0%	50.0%	100.0
		Other		100.0	100.0
		Total		52.8%	47.2%
Femal	Highes level of educatio before coming Canad	No formal		100.0	100.0
		Some primary	35.7%	64.3%	100.0
		Completed primary		100.0	100.0
		Some secondary	6.7%	93.3%	100.0
		Completed secondary	35.0%	65.0%	100.0
		Some post-secondary	20.0%	80.0%	100.0
		Completed post-secondary	18.8%	81.3%	100.0
		Advanced	33.3%	66.7%	100.0
		Other		100.0	100.0
		Total		22.3%	77.7%

Table 9
City of Interview * Employment Status * Gender

Gende				Employment		Total
				Yes	No	
Mal	City of Intervie	Ottawa	Coun	11	9	20
			% within City of	55.0%	45.0%	100.0
		GTA	Coun	18	15	33
			% within City of	54.5%	45.5%	100.0
		Hamilto	Coun	6	7	13
			% within City of	46.2%	53.8%	100.0
		St.	Coun	2	6	8
			% within City of	25.0%	75.0%	100.0
		Kitchene	Coun	8	3	11
	% within City of	72.7%	27.3%	100.0		
	Londo	Coun	7	12	19	
		% within City of	36.8%	63.2%	100.0	
	Windso	Coun	13	6	19	
		% within City of	68.4%	31.6%	100.0	
	Total	Coun	65	58	123	
		% within City of	52.8%	47.2%	100.0	
Femal	City of Intervie	Ottawa	Coun	3	7	10
			% within City of	30.0%	70.0%	100.0
		GTA	Coun	5	37	42
			% within City of	11.9%	88.1%	100.0
		Hamilto	Coun	1	6	7
			% within City of	14.3%	85.7%	100.0
		St.	Coun	1	6	7
			% within City of	14.3%	85.7%	100.0
		Kitchene	Coun	3	1	4
	% within City of	75.0%	25.0%	100.0		
	Londo	Coun	4	10	14	
		% within City of	28.6%	71.4%	100.0	
	Windso	Coun	4	7	11	
		% within City of	36.4%	63.6%	100.0	
	Total	Coun	21	74	95	
		% within City of	22.1%	77.9%	100.0	

APPENDIX 2

Table10
Gender * Occupation

			Occupatio					Total
			Agricultura	Clerica	Manua	Semi-	Other	
Gende	Mal	Coun	3	7	46	3	1	60
		% within Gende	5.0%	11.7%	76.7%	5.0%	1.7%	100.0
	Femal	Coun	2	7	9	3		21
		% within Gende	9.5%	33.3%	42.9%	14.3%		100.0
Total		Coun	5	14	55	6	1	81
		% within Gende	6.2%	17.3%	67.9%	7.4%	1.2%	100.0

Table 11
Difficulty faced in job search *gender ¹

Difficulties faced in job search	Gender	
	Male	Female
Unsure how to find right job; lack of familiarity with labour market	45.5%	54.8%
Language proficiency	27.3%	64.5%
Lack of 'Canadian Experience'	75.8%	64.5%
Being treated unfairly/discrimination	24.2%	16.1%
Non-recognition of foreign credentials	45.5%	45.2%
Need for childcare	3.0%	32.3%
Illness	3.0%	6.5%
Discouragement	24.2%	16.1%
Other difficulties	9.1%	6.5%

¹ Based on multiple responses

Table12
Highest level of education before coming to
*** Have you asked for help from a settlement agency in your job**
*** Gender**

% within Highest level of education before coming to

Gende			Have you asked for from a settlement in your job		Total
			Yes	No	
Mal	Highes level of educatio before coming Canad	No formal	100.0		100.0
		Completed primary	100.0		100.0
		Some secondary	50.0%	50.0%	100.0
		Completed secondary	25.0%	75.0%	100.0
		Some post-secondary	33.3%	66.7%	100.0
		Completed post-secondary	50.0%	50.0%	100.0
		Advanced	50.0%	50.0%	100.0
		Total	46.9%	53.1%	100.0
Femal	Highes level of educatio before coming Canad	No formal	100.0		100.0
		Some primary	50.0%	50.0%	100.0
		Completed primary		100.0	100.0
		Some secondary		100.0	100.0
		Completed secondary		100.0	100.0
		Some post-secondary	25.0%	75.0%	100.0
		Completed post-secondary	71.4%	28.6%	100.0
		Advanced	60.0%	40.0%	100.0
	Other		100.0	100.0	
Total		39.3%	60.7%	100.0	