PROVISIONING SETTLEMENT SERVICES FOR LGBTQ NEWCOMERS TO EDMONTON

Identifying Needs and Best Practices

NOVEMBER 2016

Prepared for

EDMONTON MENNONITE
centre *for*
newcomers

Prepared by

Alexandra Choby, Ph.D., Medical Anthropologist, Research Lead
and
L.J. Fischer, Research Trainee

Contents

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

It is vitally important that LGBTQ newcomers be given the lead in identifying needs, designing services and programs to meet those needs and in determining the approach to outreach to co-national communities. Settlement agencies can take the lead in instituting policy to increase visibility of LGBTQ newcomers to staff, training staff, and reducing institutional homophobia however it is necessary to go slowly and to consult with newcomers to avoid alienating mainstream clientele. Confidentiality is of the highest importance for LGBTQ newcomers; and sexuality and sexual needs may be prioritized differently than expected. Fostering connection with co-national communities and addressing homophobia in those communities is also of utmost importance for newcomer sense of identity and belonging, and, with the guidance of LGBTQ newcomer consultants, settlement agencies may identify roles to play in the process. LGBTQ newcomers' stories are characterized by sometimes profound trauma in the sending country and re-traumatization attendant to the refugee process, and settlement may bring with it the discovery of homophobia in mainstream Canada and newcomer communities, creating urgent needs around access to counselling and supports. Importantly, homophobia means that most settlement issues are also LGBTQ issues, as LGBTQ newcomers will need supports around learning how to assess personal safety and strategies for managing, coping with, or addressing homophobia. Many settlement service providers who were also newcomers report becoming more accepting of queer people, but many still need supports and training in this area; as do non-newcomer service providers. All providers need to resist the narrative of Canada as a savior nation because it obscures complexities of the newcomer experience and inhibits the ability to be reflexive about service design and delivery.

INTRODUCTION

The Research Problem

This preliminary research seeks to identify concerns and needs of LGBTQ newcomers to Canada, and to suggest ways settlement services can begin to address these issues to facilitate success in Canadian society.   It is based on 1.) a literature review of settlement experiences of LGBTQ newcomers, and 2.) semi-structured interviews with settlement workers and LGBTQ service providers[1].

What are settlement services, and who is a newcomer?

The federal and provincial governments share responsibility for the provisioning of settlement services to newcomers. Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), the federal ministry that is the primary funder of settlement services, identifies settlement as acculturation and integration into Canadian society in the social, economic, cultural and political spheres. Most settlement services attend primarily to the needs of recent newcomers although acculturation and integration may be a life-long process. A *newcomer* is a foreign national who plans to reside in Canada long-term, and is defined by duration of residence for funding purposes (between 3 to 5 years). Federal funding to settlement service agencies only provides for services to newcomers who have successfully navigated the claims process. Despite this, we will include experiences of the claims process in our analysis, because evidence suggests that these experiences fundamentally shape newcomers and inform the settlement process (Jordan, 2010)

Who are LGBTQ newcomers?

While IRCC does not keep official statistics on LGBTQ newcomers, yet it is possible to extrapolate from existing research literature to characterize them. The population of same-sex attracted

---

[1] Initially we planned to do key informant interviews with existing LGBTQ Newcomer Organizations, however, upon searching the literature we discovered that much of the published research is conducted in partner with these organizations. In consultation with the primary stakeholder we decided to defer these interviews so that researchers would be familiar with these publications before seeking interviews.

newcomers is heterogeneous, originating from a wide range of 'sending' nations and following diverse trajectories before settling in Canada. LGBTQ newcomers may seek status in Canada as a refugee claimant on the basis of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (SOGI). SOGI was identified as protected group under the Geneva Convention in 1992, making it possible for newcomers to file refugee claims based on persecution on the grounds of sexual orientation or gender identity. Beyond this, LGBTQ newcomers may enter Canada through a number of immigration classifications other than SOGI refugee such Government Assisted Refugee (GAR), Privately Sponsored Refugee (PSR), through family class or skilled worker class, as a temporary foreign worker or on a work/study visa and would then go through an immigration process not related to sexual identity. The latter group is underrepresented in the literature, which is slanted towards the SOGI refugee claimant experience.

There is some evidence that these newcomers are from a range of socio-economic backgrounds, though those who claim refugee status at the border or from within Canada are generally less wealthy, given the fees associated with other immigration streams. For example, procuring a visa often requires documenting ties to the home country in the form of material property and relationships as indicators of intent to return. The cost of visa requirements is prohibitive, since many same-sex attracted or gender non-conforming individuals find discrimination is a barrier to the steady employment (Mule and Gasse-Gates, 2012). Similarly, making an claim based on sexual orientation and gender identity (i.e. SOGI) from a refugee camp and requesting government or private sponsorship exposes the claimant to often extreme risk of violence and discrimination from co-nationals and thus it is likely few LGBTQ identified refugees reach Canada through these routes, though there has been a recent move among Canadian LGBTQ settlement groups (i.e. Rainbow Refuge) to privately sponsor these individuals.

Recent scholarship cogently posits the need to understand identities in terms of multiple, intersecting oppressions. That is, identities are relational (i.e. are constructed through relationships between people and between people and institutions) and multiple (one person may claim or be attributed a range of characteristics by others which become aspects of

identity—for example, race, gender, age, sexuality, occupation, income). These elements or aspects of identity combine in novel ways to shape the experience of any individual—so for example, the treatment that a black gay male refugee claimant from Jamaica receives is shaped by the combination of values attached to gayness, maleness, and blackness. Thus the experiences of LGBTQ newcomers will be shaped not only by gender and sexuality but also by ethnicity, race, education levels, anti-immigration sentiment, etc. And, while one might choose to hide sexuality (to whatever extent possible) one is less likely to be able to hide race, or, in many situations, immigration status. This is important both to the experience of the claims process and to that of settlement, as LGBTQ newcomers face not only homophobia and transphobia, but potentially also sexism, racism and bias against newcomers.

The existing literature on LGBTQ newcomers is predominantly concerned with the refugee claims process, and specifically, with the experiences of gay men. While SOGI refugee claims are approved at about the same rate as claims in other protected classes, there are wide discrepancies between rulings among Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) officials (Lidstone, 2003), and certain groups within the SOGI classification are much more likely to have their claims denied—particularly, bisexuals. Beyond this, the bureaucratic regulations surrounding making a SOGI claim rest on the assumption that identity is static, known, and acknowledged by a claimant independent of context, contrary to how gender and sexuality are often actually experienced and lived. In result potential SOGI refugees who have entered Canada on a limited-class visa may only discover that they fit the SOGI category after the application window has closed. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that there are failed actual or potential SOGI claimants living undocumented in Canada who may access settlement services.

These suggestions, and my understanding of the experiences on queer newcomers, are informed by the emergent field of *queer migration studies*. This body of scholarship crystalized in the 1990s and attends to how migration is shaped by transnational histories and global inequalities, how nation states are imagined, and stories about migration are told.   Many of the needs and concerns of this population are shaped by experiences of identity-based discrimination *and*

importantly, by how discrimination is imagined globally and the possibilities this creates and erases for experience. As such, solutions are complex and will require long-term investments at the levels of law and policy to transform social attitudes towards gendered and sexual diversity. These processes can be supplemented by changes in the delivery of settlement services that may facilitate the integration of this population.

Terminology to describe sexuality

It is important to note that while the term same-sex attraction might be universal, the term LGBTQ is a North American construct that developed in relation to a specific sociopolitical context and therefore does not describe the range of meanings or behaviors attributed to same-sex attraction in other cultures. Recently, however, these terms have gained recognition beyond North America as a result of the emergence of global human rights legislation and movements. The term queer originated as a slur and was reclaimed as an umbrella term for all non-heterosexual and non-cisgender (i.e. having ones assigned and experienced gender match, assumed to be normative) variations. The term queer also has a politicized valence that is not necessarily associated with LGBTQ and centres on problematizing normativity and the privilege associated with it. I use LGBTQ and queer more or less interchangeably when describing newcomer sexuality or gender with the recognition that it a placeholder term that does not accurately describe they way that individuals might conceptualize of experience these aspects of themselves.

A note on grammar: When discussing participant interview data, I opted to use the third person singular "they" rather than "he" or "she," to provide an additional level of anonymity to participants. This has recently been recognized as linguistically correct by the Modern Language Association. In this case usage does not reflect the gender identity of the participant, as it sometimes does in the queer community.

Methods

Literature Review

The Research Lead (RL) conducted a literature review on newcomer and settlement service providers' experiences of settlement services, and newcomer experiences more generally, in North America.

Literature Search: A comprehensive search was undertaken using the following search engines as most likely to house relevant studies: SOCindex, Social Work Index, Social Science Research Network, Social Service Abstracts, Scopus, Social Theory, Gender Studies Database, Academic Search Complete, Peace Research Abstracts, Policy File, political science complete, and PSYCarticles, google scholar. The following search terms were used: settlement services and LGBTQ (or GLBTQ or lesbian or homosexual or queer or gay); settlement services and homophobia; settlement services and sexuality or gender or family; resettlement; immigrant or refugee and settlement. The bibliographies of resulting articles were reviews for relevant sources. Finally, web-sites of relevant North American settlement organizations offering LGBTQ services were checked for resources, as many of these organizations are partnered with university-based research teams.

Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria: Studies were included if they contained primary data related to LGBTQ newcomer experiences in North America. Literature in the following areas was excluded, as explained below:

- The small body of work on legal regulation of LGBTQ asylum seekers in the UK and US was excluded because notable policy differences make data on experiences of refugees and immigrants in those contexts not applicable to those of seeking residence in Canada. The RL did, however, include the one existing study of settlement services in the US, despite policy differences.
- Additionally, there are a small number of published works within the domain of legal studies that examine how assumptions about refugees or sexuality are built into

immigration law. Some of this research included primary data (for example, analysis of court rulings) and many of the works the RL included cites this literature, however the literature was excluded given time limitations.

- Promisingly, these are a number of master' theses and dissertations published in the grey literature in the past several years, pointing to a growing concern related to needs of LGBTQ newcomers.

Data Extraction: Data was extracted from articles using a standardized data extraction form developed for the purpose.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted with the service providers working in the respective areas: settlement services, LGBTQ services, and youth services. The RL followed an interview guide designed to understand service provision and elicit barriers and needs from providers' perspectives. Different guides were developed for settlement services, LGBTQ services and youth services, and are included as Appendices A, B, and C. Given that being LGBTQ is stigmatized among some newcomers, and many settlement workers are also newcomers, individuals were not asked to disclose their sexual orientation.

Ethical considerations: In consultation with the primary stakeholder, we completed an ethical assessment published by Alberta Innovates Health Solutions, found in the document, *ARECCI (A pRoject Ethics Community Consensus Initiative) Ethics Guidelines for Quality Improvement Projects*. Our assessment can be found in Appendix D. Based on this, we determined that we would need to undertake full IRB Human Subjects Review to purposefully enroll LGBTQ individuals, and therefore we did not actively seek to recruit this population at this time. It is recommended that future research should include these individuals.

Recruitment: A list of relevant settlement, LGBTQ and youth organizations was compiled in consultation with the primary stakeholder. Organizations were contacted via e-mail, and sent

a short description of the project along with a request to disseminate the call out to staff. A follow-up e-mail was sent to all organizations two weeks prior to the deadline for interviews. Appendix E includes a table of organizations contacted.

Data Collection: Interviews were conducted in private or semi-private spaces of the participants' choosing. Most were conducted in a room at the designated organization. The RT apprised all participants of their right to decline to answer questions, to discontinue the interview, or to remove answers from the record at a later point. After discussing confidentiality and methods of data storage, participants were asked for permission to audio-record the interview. All participants agreed to have the interview audio-recorded, and one participant subsequently contacted the RT and asked that one answer be deleted. This was done and noted in the transcript.

Data Management: The Research Trainee (RT) transcribed all interviews in full and noted any confidentiality concerns raised by the participant at the top of the transcript. Several participants asked that various aspects of their stories be omitted as they felt that they would compromise anonymity. The RT removed all names, job titles and specifically requested identifiers from the transcripts before saving them on an encrypted external hard drive and forwarding them to the RL.

Data Analysis: The Research Lead read and coded each transcript section for themes and organized relevant data for each of the four interview sections into chart-form. Charts were used to facilitate: 1.) comparison of all data relevant to one section across participants; and 2.) consideration of individual participants' answers across all four domains. The first level of analysis was descriptive, and sought to characterize the service provider population in terms of experiences. The second level of analysis was inductive, in which the RL analyzed patterns among responses and posed questions of the body of data as a whole to move from specific experiences to generalizations.

Description of Literature: The literature review draws on twenty published sources, including ten articles published in peer-reviewed academic journals, seven organization reports, and three masters' theses. All but one of these works were undertaken in partnership with an LGBTQ Newcomer serving organization or organizations. There is a small network of scholars organized into a number of research partnerships, where teams author both organization reports and academic articles. Appendix F includes a table showing authors, their partnered organization, research approach and topic of each article. The literature is primarily concerned with the following themes: the refugee experience, experiences of settlement/newcomer settlement needs, and experiences of settlement workers. A few articles deal specifically with experiences and needs of newcomer youth.

SETTLEMENT EXPERIENCES OF LGBTQ NEWCOMERS

The Refugee Experience

The following section addresses the experience of making a claim for asylum on the basis of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity, which was identified as a protected group under the Geneva Convention in 1992. Convention refugees must demonstrate that they 1.) are a member of a protected social group, and 2.) that they have a reasonable fear of persecution based on that membership that prevents them from returning home. That is, they must demonstrate that they are indeed LGBTQ, and that this identity imperils them in their nation of origin. Much of the literature on LGBTQ newcomers in the Canadian context focuses on the experience of being a SOGI refugee, with specific attention to how institutional, legal and bureaucratic processes and dominant narratives impact refugee identity and experiences of belonging. This is vitally important, as the claims-making process has implications for how newcomers settle in Canada (Jordan, 2010). Yet the literature also gives glimpses of other migratory trajectories beyond asylum (for example, coming to Canada first as a temporary foreign worker or student), a set of experiences which are given far less attention.

Existing literature examines narratives that inform IRB officials' thinking in asylum cases, related to nationalism (i.e. stories about sending and receiving countries and the relationship between them) (Jordan 2010, Murray, 2014b), sexuality (Envisioning, 2015; Jordan 2010; Lee and Brotman 2011; Lidstone 2003; Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012; Murray 2013, 2014a, 2014b) and the migratory journey (Brotman and Lee 2011, Jordan 2010) to clarify how they shape asylees' experiences and their implications for settlement. I use the term *the asylum process* to refer to the steps involved in determining a refugee's right to reside in Canada. These may include: making a claim/determining eligibility (generally at the border although it is technically possible to make a claim from an overseas refugee camp and then be identified for and undergo resettlement in

Canada), possible detention, assembling documentary and narrative evidence, the hearing, and potentially, appealing a ruling.

SOGI refugees face the challenge of making their experience intelligible in terms of largely unfamiliar Western categories of thought and narratives that structure how their claim will be evaluated. These dominant narratives reflect global historical and contemporary power relations (i.e. colonialism and global capitalism) and imaginings about nations and their citizens. Refugees must engage with these narratives since they are institutionalized as standards against which the legitimacy of their own stories are compared (Brotman and Lee 2010; Envisioning 2015; Jordan, 2010; Lee and Brotman 2011; Lidstone 2003; Murray 2013, 2014a). While some applicants do tell their stories on their own terms (with varying degrees of success), establishing credibility is most easily achieved when stories conform to IRB officials' worldviews (Lee and Brotman 2011, Jordan 2010; Murray 2013, 2014a). Many of these authors powerfully demonstrate that dominant narratives work to erase complexities of experiences, identity, and desires lived in the home country, the migratory journey, and during arrival and settlement in Canada.

Nationalist Narratives

Nationalist narratives are stories about what sending and receiving countries are like and how each imagines the relationship with the other. Imagination refers to a social process where representations of others are circulated that teach us how to think about types of people (i.e., "the homeless", or "refugees", or "Somalis") through television, advertising, government documents, newspapers, etc. It is noteworthy that, although all nations create imaginings of other places, they impact people differently often in ways that reflect global power relations.

The literature shows that IRB officials rely on stereotypical depictions of sending countries and Canada in SOGI hearings (i.e. nationalist narratives), and that these depictions have implications not only for whether claims are successful but also for newcomer wellbeing (Jordan 2010). Despite negative experiences, many SOGI newcomers fear or do not want to denounce their home countries (Lee and Brotman 2011; Murray 2014b), and see the claims process, which

requires that they demonstrate likelihood of persecution in country of origin, as requiring them to do so.   Requiring claimants to denounce their nations of origin is a reflection of colonial and contemporary nationalist power relations, and not something many newcomers want to do.

Demonstrating fear of persecution requires talking about nations of origin in ways that are partial, scripted and reproduce colonial power dynamics.[2] Scholars have highlighted that IRB officials often listen to claimants' stories and measure them against an expected narrative of flight from a homophobic, backwards, primitive, violent nation to the safe haven of modern and free Canada (Murray 2014b, Lee and Brotman, 2011, Lidstone 2003, Jordan 2010, OCASI). This script is found in newcomer literature produced by the IRCC (Murray 2013, 2014a) although UNHCR's 2008 Guidance Note warns against such stereotyping (OCASI).

Murray (2013, 2014a) called this narrative "flight to liberation nation," and noted that most of the refugees he interviewed told a version of this story, perhaps because, as a white man affiliated with an LGBTQ support group run by settlement services, refugees participated in part to document their sexual orientation for the claims process, and saw him in the role of immigration official. IRCC requires evidence of sexual orientation, and a letter of participation from LGBTQ organizations can add to one's case, potentially shaping the ways that refugees participate in these spaces, as they may feel pressure to produce a story that conforms to the expected narrative. This narrative puts pressure on newcomers to be "grateful" or "pleasing," making it challenging for newcomers to critique their experiences without fear of undermining their "welcome."

Such narratives matter because they erase the complexity of experience (of one's home nation, of Canada, and of flight between the two) and historical power relations, which has implications for newcomers' wellbeing. In many instances homophobia in refugee producing countries originated in British colonial morality laws that were instituted to reform sexual behavior and

---

[2] Most colonization was supported and legitimated by nationalist stories of advanced and modern nations bringing civilization to primitive violent peoples—which would be imparted by teaching the colonized how to think and govern themselves. For example, Rudyard Kipling's poem, "The White Man's Burden" represents a typical position of colonial powers that it is the white man's duty to colonize, civilize and rule other nations for their benefit.

protect the morality of the colonizer (Jordan 2010, Lee and Brotman 2011). Thus, in taking a long view of history—homophobia in refugee-producing nations is a legacy of legal regulation of colonies—and Canadian immigration policy places Canada in the position of continuing to adjudicate and regulate refugee sexuality.

The need to produce recognizable stories may silence refugee's own narratives about their countries of origin and frames their connection to those places as one of rupture, of leaving behind and moving on (Murray 2014b). Yet many refugees remain deeply connected to these homelands and to the complexity of lives in these places. Despite negative experiences, they also seek to maintain ties to loved ones through regular conversations and cash remittances, and through memories and longings for good things they experienced—of a favorite place to get food or the chair where their mothers rocked them as children, or distinct smells. After all, their county of origin is what made them who they are—as one respondent put it, "I am still Nigerian" (in Murray 2014b), with Nigerian ways of thinking about and being in the world, habits and attachments.

These longings for one's nation of origin reflect, in part, that no nation is uniformly homophobic or for that matter, LGBTQ friendly. It is more accurate to say that all nations have spaces that pose grave danger to queer people, and spaces of relative safety, which are predicated upon intersections of social class, race, religion, ability to 'pass' and social networks within those spaces. This is also not to say that all nations are equally oppressive (Lidstone 2003), but only that the "flight to liberation nation" story has consequences for people who find themselves in the position of having to tell it (Murray 2013, 2014a). On the one hand, it requires that refugees flatten out their connection to their home country when speaking about it in venues that they perceive might impact their refugee claim (which evidence suggests, extends to support groups) (Murray 2014b), when individuals might benefit from opportunities to engage with these ties, which are part of identity, whether it be by fostering them or grieving them, or both at different times.

On the other hand, newcomers expressed surprise and dismay to discover that homophobia is also part of public life in Canada (Lee and Brotman 2011, Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012, Munro et al. 2013), that LGBTQ people are sometimes profiled by the police (Mule and Gasse-Gates, 2012) and are targets of

> *"I was …literally stoned once, just walking to my apartment, 'cause I was wearing really gay jeans [laughs] and a group of guys they just threw stones at me. I was shocked[y] yeah, and calling me fag and everything like that. I was really shocked that happened."* Munro et. Al. 2013

discrimination more generally (Brown 2012, Envisioning 2013, Lee and Brotman 2011, Lee 2016; MOSAIC 2015, Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012, Munro et al. 2013, Toronto Planned Parenthood 2005). This informational oversight could potentially place newcomers at risk, though there is some evidence that settlement service providers informally address this issue, for example, by steering LGBTQ newcomers towards queer-friendly neighborhoods in their housing searches (Suehn 2010).

Suggestions For Action:

- Create open spaces to speak about countries of origins that acknowledge the complexity of experience there, and the ways those connections continue to be lived in Canada;
- Rethink any organizational materials that reproduce the scripted story of sending nations as unilaterally oppressive and Canada as unilaterally modern, welcoming and free;
- Talk about the complexity of queer lives in sending countries and in Canada, in ways that recognize both the homophobia and the supportive spaces in each;
- Provide newcomers with information about and guidance around navigating homophobia in Canada;
- Learn and teach about the role of colonialization in creating homophobia in sending nations;
- Consider ways to create support groups for LGBTQ newcomers that meet both the need to document participation in LGBTQ community *and* create openness to talk freely (perhaps by. having service providers who provide letters only attend part of these meetings).

Narratives of LGBTQ Sexuality

The SOGI refugee claims process centers on demonstrating membership in the protected group on the grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity, and that one faces persecution in one's home country as a result. The previous section sought to show that the requirement to demonstrate persecution results in simplification and stereotyping of sending nations, in ways that reproduce global power dynamics and nationalist sentiments, and has implications for identity (as refugees may continue to feel a part of and long for the place that made them), for belonging (Lee and Brotman 2011; Murray 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Munro et. Al. 2016), and for settlement (Jordan 2010). What follows considers the barriers to proving sexual or gendered identity and implications, focusing on how IRB officials' assumptions around sexuality and gender (against which claims are assessed) inform newcomer experience.

The onus of demonstrating SOGI status in terms that make sense to the IRB adjudicator falls squarely and solely on the applicant (Murray 2014a). However, lived experience of gender and sexuality, differences in how sexuality and gender are conceptualized and understood, and the political and legal status attributed to non-heterosexual identity or behavior in the sending nation complicates this process. Demonstrating SOGI status means having a narrative that is coherent (i.e. all the parts add up) and conforms to IRB adjudicator's expectations regarding gender and sexual identity, presentation and development, however the experience of discrimination on the basis of sexual or gender identity makes this challenging for newcomers.

> *"That's scary because in my country, you dare not say I am a homosexual, I'm gay. Especially to immigration or government agency, that's scary…I might not trust the person who is right there asking the questions. She might arrest me and, kill me or something." Envisioning Report, 2015*

One way a claimants' story may appear contradictory is if they fail to make a claim based on SOGI protected group status at the border, only later raising it as an issue. Yet a claimants' experiences in the sending nation work together to make stating identity at the border fraught with difficulty and perceived danger (Envisioning 2015): the claims desk is a relatively public space, in plain sight of other travellers who may be co-nationals (and may "out" them in

co-national communities), and occupied by a government official. Claimants may have never spoken to another person about their sexuality given norms of privacy (and danger of doing so where formal and informal sanctions against LGBTQ people are in place), and may not have the language to do so, as the way sexuality is conceptualized, classified and named is culturally and historically specific. Beyond this, government officials may have been a source of discrimination and violence in the sending country. The IRCC has taken perfunctory steps to address the privacy concern by advising refugees that they have the right to speak to an official in a private room. Further, the literature includes interview data from claimants who discuss being accused of fraud by immigration officials at the border (Brotman and Lee 2010), an experience that increases the fear and stress associated with the process.   Finally, claimants may be placed in detention for an unspecified period of time, where they face fear of deportation, uncertainty, potential separation from spouses or partners, and deteriorating health (Brotman and Lee 2010, Lee and Brotman 2011).

Once the refugee process has been initiated, claimants have a very limited window of time in which to gather documentary evidence of sexual orientation and persecution—from the sending nation and from organizations within Canada--in support of it. Recent legislation gives claimants 10-15 days to submit the written claim (a comprehensive narrative authored with the guidance of a lawyer), and 30-45 days to submit supporting documents prior to the hearing, which will occur in 60 days. Claims are more likely to be successful when they conform to IRB officials' stereotypical expectations about homosexuality and gender, including that of linear sexual development and the experience of "coming out" (Murray 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Lidstone 2003).

From the perspective of IRB officials, the narrative, together with supporting documents, ought to tell a coherent story of persecution in the home country and "out" participation in queer community in Canada. Refugees are told to produce evidence of same-sex attraction in the home-country in the form of photographs or letters from lovers, family or friends; police records; and photos of participation in queer activities (Jordan 2010).   However, asking for such documents places lovers and friends at risk, as potentially does keeping photos. A refugee

claimant may fear that loved ones' participation will submit them to scrutiny, bribery or violence in the home country (Jordan 2010), or may be unable to ask because their sexual identity has been hidden from most who know them. And although one might be able to find friends or family who are willing to write a letter supporting accounts of police brutality or homophobic violence, most homophobic and transphobic violence takes place where it will not be witnessed (Lee and Brotman 2011), and it is unlikely that the State keeps records (as violence against LGBTQ people may or may not be illegal). A claimant may never have discussed their sexuality or gender identity with anyone, or have taken lovers, as the shame and stigma of doing so, for ones' self and one's family, was prohibitive. This, plus the short time-line for submitting documentation, creates an overwhelming burden on SOGI refugee claimants. As Jordan (2010) cogently put it:

> "Unlike civil conflicts, people experience sexual orientation or gender identity persecution in relative isolation. To survive stigma and violence, people learn to deny, cover or hide their sexuality or gender identity, and to be ever vigilant. These survival tactics, and other impacts of trauma, do not disappear on departure from the country of origin – and they may undermine people's ability to access safety and permanent status."

Having lived a life with an at least partially, and potentially entirely, hidden sexuality or gender identity can present challenges for participating in queer community in Canada and documenting it, especially given that claimants have 30-45 days to do so during a time when they face many other challenges and worries. Many refugees seek documentation by participating in mainstream LGBTQ support groups or organizations, and eliciting letters of support from facilitators who run the groups. Yet some newcomers report feeling alienated from or unwelcome in these spaces because groups typically do not recognize experiences of sexuality and gender beyond their own constructions (O'Neill 2010, O'Neill and Kia 2012, O'Neill and Sproule 2011) and many experiencing racism (i.e. being told how their culture is homophobic, violent, etc.) (Munro et al 2016), or finding that these organizations don't speak to their experiences of sexuality or gender identity.

It is important to remember that LGBTQ is a cultural construction of sexuality and gender with a specific understanding of same-sex attraction and identity shaped by a shared political history of oppression and rights-claiming. People in Northern queer communities partially form identity through relationship to a shared history—for example, the Stonewall Riots, the emergence of Gay Pride in the 1960s—and through relationship to spaces and places, for example, gay bars or specific cities (like San Francisco) where gay people have formed communities. Given this history, one central trope of identity is the idea of "outness" and of "coming out" as a journey of identity where one moves from private, hidden, and often stigmatized awareness of sexuality to publicly and proudly claiming it, a process through which one becomes more authentically one's self. (Weston 1991) The trajectory mirrors the culturally-constructed story of sexual development that is part of human development sciences in the North, in which sexuality is an immutable individual (biological) characteristic that emerges over time (which is also the concept of sexuality and sexual development that IBR Officials draw on, and which is incorporated into law related to SOGI refugees) (Lidstone 2003). Ways of being based on prioritizing the self and individual rights as a locus of identity and community building may seem very foreign and Western to people coming from societies where the locus of identity is in networks of relationships (like families), and where one's own needs are met in an through the needs of the larger collective.

SOGI refugee claimants often understand their sexuality or gender identity as an individual problem or shameful personal failing, and not as a human rights issue (Jordan 2010) or grounds for collective political action. They rarely have access to scripts that make it possible to imagine a life apart from normative family forms (Brotman and Lee 2010, Jordan 2010) or their sexuality as other than personal moral failing or sinfulness. Indeed, many may marry and have families, because doing so is a social obligation and a way of becoming an adult (rather than a choice related to personal identity fulfillment). Evidence shows that IRB adjudicators have used a history of heterosexual marriage as grounds to deny refugee claims. SOGI claimants many struggle to talk about their sexuality because their own language does not include terms that speak to their experience (O'neill and Kia 2012; O'neill and Sproule 2011) and Canadian categories seem to require claimants to prioritize sexuality over other aspects of identity, like their desire to honor

family and communities of origin and to assume expected roles (like getting married and having children) (O'neill and Sproule 2011). They may see sexuality as a private matter, and prefer not to "come out" to maintain ties with family and community (O'neill and Kia 2012, O'neill and Sproule 2011), and, because LGBTQ identity is seen as very "Western", newcomers may see adopting these categories as rejecting their own ethnic identity (O'neill and Sproule 2011). Others may adopt these terms contextually and fluidly.

During their hearing, claimants are questioned extensively about their submitted narrative, often being asked to verify minute details of the account. The kinds of questions the adjudicator asks reflect stereotypical assumptions about homosexuality, some of which I have just outlined. Importantly, the grounds for extending the

> *I've been in hearings where the judge said, "You don't look gay, I don't believe you because you don't look gay". I've seen it, I've heard it, with my own eyes, saying, "Look at you, how do you want me to believe you are gay? You don't look anything like a gay person." Munro et. Al. 2013*

definition of a particular social group to include SOGI claims rests on language that characterizes sexuality as immutable (Lidstone 2003), and thus IRB adjudicators expect narratives that conform to this idea. Beyond this, refugee answers are expected to reflect the adjudicator's stereotypical assumptions about homosexual sexuality: as appearance (i.e. that lesbians be butch and gay men be effeminate) (Murray 2013, 2014a, 2014b), as "coming out" (Murray 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Jordan 2010) as same-sex intimacy and relationships, and desire for and belonging to gay community (Murray 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Jordan 2010). For refugees, questioning during the hearing can mean retelling the minutiae of painful, shameful and traumatic events repeatedly. As many authors have highlighted, this process is deeply retraumatizing (Jordan 2010, Lee and Brotman 2011), and beyond this, adjudicators do not into account take the impact of trauma on ability to recollect details (like the distance from the field where one was attacked to the house to where one fled) when evaluating narratives.

Further, the claims process reduces sexual identity to behavior rather than desire—for example, by asking why a refugee has not yet taken a lover in Canada, or during other periods living abroad.

The implication here is that if one were really gay one would use the first opportunity to become sexually active, an expectation witch discounts the extreme trauma claimants may have faced, as well as the many uncertainties and details of the claims process and the effects of living in poverty in a foreign place that preoccupy attention at this time. Others have expressed that providing evidence of gay community in the home country is sometimes used as a reason for denying a claim (Murray 2014a), despite the fact that being associated with these groups is extremely dangerous (Jordan 2010).

The literature indicates that newcomers experience the claims process as one of heightened stress, worries and fear, and struggle with the requirement to narrate deeply painful and traumatic events (that are often experienced as shameful) in detail (Murray 2014a, Lee and Brotman 2011, Brotman and Lee 2010, Jordan 2010). As a result, newcomers not only contend with the trauma experienced in their home countries, but are further traumatized by the baffling process of proving SOGI identity and realities of persecution in sending countries. Paradoxically, Murray (2013, 2014a) points out that the veridical nature of the claims process has lead *both* to the political fear that people may falsely claim to be homosexual to access SOGI refugee status among other claimants, and to some claims being dismissed for seeming too scripted or stereotypical.

Transgender and Transsexual Newcomers

> *"I've never had any doubt…I was transsexual from my childhood… that has not changed… there is no ambiguity"* Brotman and Lee, 2011
>
> *"all my life, my community…they identify me before I even know who I was…"* Brotman and Lee, 2011

The published literature which exists suggests that transgender newcomers may have substantially different experiences of gender and sexuality than LGBQ+ claimants. Some accounts highlight the difficulty or impossibility of hiding gender non-conformity, and discovering identity through treatment and attributions by their home communities. For example, referring to his effeminacy as a boy, one claimant relates, "they knew what I was before I did" (Brotman and Lee 2011). In discussing the decision to seek SOGI refugee

status, one participant said her choice of Canada was informed by the availability of medical treatment for transgender people (Brotman and Lee 2011). Immigration laws require that a refugee claim be accepted before filing for legal change of name on documents (something which is cost prohibitive even for many Canadians), so transgender applicants face repeated problems due to incongruity between gender presentation in person and on documents, including repeated mis-gendering and transphobia (Brotman and Lee 2011).

Suggestions for Action:

- Trauma and re-traumatization are central to the experience of the claims process. Newcomers may benefit from access to a range of services and programs that address trauma throughout and beyond the claims process. They may benefit from drop-in support available at a range of times, or a round-the-clock crisis hotline, supplementing scheduled appointments.
- Identify therapists with expertise in cross-cultural experience of trauma to design programs that engage and work on trauma in culturally recognizable and appropriate ways.
- Do not require that clients discuss their identity in any specific terms to access services.
- Always use a client's preferred pronouns and train staff on how to react when a client's gender presentation does not match identification cards
- Do not require that clients "come out" to access services, or minimize the number of times it is necessary to do so.

Narratives of Flight

LGBTQ newcomers are likely to have flight trajectories that do not conform to the expected refugee narrative: a direct path from country of origin in response to publicly recognized disaster or traumas (like warfare) to the nation of asylum (Jordan 2010). While there are three recognized legal avenues to asylum (making a claim at the border/from within Canada, through resettlement, or family class), for many LGBTQ newcomers, flight between sending and receiving countries is not direct, a factor which may undermine their claim. While some claimants do plan and prepare to seek asylum in Canada and travel directly from home countries (Lee and Brotman

2011, Brotman and Lee 2010), more commonly this is not the case. Others decide to make a SOGI claim only after arriving in Canada (Brotman and Lee 2010, Jordan 2010), and many reported exploring several countries as potential asylum options before deciding on Canada (Brotman and Lee 2010). Some reported basing their decision on the conception of Canada as lacking homophobia, or because they had friends or family there (Brotman and Lee 2010, Jordan 2010).

Instead, many leave more gradually, moving within their country of origin first and then following a more meandering trajectory before finally arriving in the country where asylum is sought. Jordan (2010) describes flight patterns as shaped by a tension between the desire to fit in and be a respectable person in their home communities and the desire to learn more about that part of themselves and find a like-minded community. In

> *"I cannot find (the) word to describe this, but it's just because I (went) through two phases… the first one was I didn't know anything about homosexuality. I was just thinking I was sick, I am not normal. After going to university, I started to…discover a little bit about homosexuality…then, ok, I started to learn about the word "gay"… (and) label myself "gay". But it had to be hidden. Nobody knew about it." Brotman and Lee 2011*

part, ways of thinking about gender and sexuality may inform their path, as they only gradually start to think of themselves as gay, lesbian etc., through the process of living in a third country for other reasons (as a student or foreign worker), and then recognize the impossibility of returning home. Or they may only gradually learn about the possibility of asylum, as these laws may not be well known in their home communities. The only scripts they may have access to related to homosexuality may frame it as an individual sin, deviance or pathology, so they may not think of treatment they have experienced as persecution.

The new "safe third country" law now plays a role in how claims are assessed. This law stipulates that a refugee may not seek asylum in Canada if they have passed through another country during their flight where a claim could have been made. Further, the creation of DCO's (designated countries of origin, an IRCC list of countries which do not generally produce refugees) has created hardships for some SOGI claimants, as IRB officials are less likely to rule favorably when claimants

are from a DCO. Yet, despite having been classified as non-refugee producing, a country may still present hazards for LGBTQ citizens. Some claims are denied on the grounds that a claimant could live safely in a larger city in their sending nation. These conditions create extreme stress and fear for claimants, who recognize the real possibility of being denied asylum and returned home, only after the claims process has potentially made their sexuality public to co-nationals (many of whom maintain strong and regular ties to their home communities).

Urgent Needs upon Arrival in Canada

LGBTQ refugees have urgent needs upon arrival in Canada, both related to and in excess of the process of applying for protected persons' status. Much of the work of settlement (finding housing, accessing financial support, applying for work permits, establishing and documenting relationships with Canadian organizations) happens in tandem with the claims process, and how a newcomer engages with these tasks will be shaped by past experiences of trauma (and potential re-traumatization attendant to the claims process). For LGTBQ+ newcomers, every step in the process is compounded by: the need to assess whether to reveal sexuality, and when; fear of lost confidentiality subjecting them to violence and hatred; and fear of homophobia or transphobia; and re-traumatization. The potential harassment these newcomers face in meeting basic needs makes it likely that they could benefit from extra supports from settlement services around the following issues:

Safe and Affordable Housing

Many authors identify the first several months in Canada as a crucial period for adjustment. Housing is an immediate need for all newcomers, but is especially complex for those who are LGTBQ+. Many experience multiple relocations (Murray, 2014b) between temporary, substandard, unstable, unsafe, and potentially dangerous housing situations (Lee and Brotman 2011, Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012, Brotman and Lee 2010) in the first several months of arrival (Lee and Brotman 2011, Murray 2014b) as the result of the intersection of homo- or transphobias, racisms and anti-immigration sentiment. Some report experiencing such duress around the landing process they do not think or plan beyond the airport arrival gate (Envisioning

2015), creating an urgent need for information about temporary shelter at ports of arrival, which has been documented as unavailable in some cities. Once housed, queer newcomers may experience on-going surveillance and harassment from neighbors (MOSAIC 2015). Finally, in some cities, housing and transit issues are linked, as affordable housing is located far from services and potential employers (Suehn 2010).

Staying with Family and Friends

LGBTQ newcomers are less likely to have the support of family or friends (Mule and Gasse-Gates, 2012, Suehn 2010) in the country of origin, and less likely to have friends and family established in Canada with whom they can stay while looking for permanent housing. Those who do find shelter with relatives or friends find that they may face homo- or transphobia or are at risk for violence or sudden loss of housing should their sexuality become publicly known or suspected (Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012, Lee and Brotman 2011, Chavez 2011, O'Neill and Kia 2012). However, Brotman and Lee (2011) found that cohabiting with family or friends seemed to reduce stress and anxiety compared to newcomers who relied on emergency shelters (i.e. not necessarily implying that these experiences were not victimizing, only that they were less so than shelters).

Roommates

While many prefer living alone, high rental prices and low levels of government support means that most newcomers must find roommates (Suehn 2010). LGBTQ newcomers struggle with whether to be out to roommates, and risk potential homophobia and violence, should their sexuality be discovered (Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012). Others are placed in housing with co-nationals (Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012), potentially risking that their identity be revealed, subjecting them to negative power dynamics (Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012). Transgender newcomers report hatred and judgement when meeting prospective roommates (MOSAIC 2015). Working in the U.S., Chavez (2011) identifies laws that prevent renting to undocumented people as a structural barrier.

Shelters

Most spend at least some time in homeless shelters (Brotman and Lee, 2011), and report that staff there are not equipped to address homophobia and transphobia (Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012, Envisioning 2015) or anti-immigration bias (Envisioning 2015). Single-sex bathrooms in shelters subject transgender people to violence if they fail to pass; many transgender people opt not to use facilities in public.

> *"When I first step out of the airport, what comes in my mind is accommodation. How, where, am I going to sleep?…I was wandering and wandering… I saw a cab driver…I asked him 'where is there a shelter that I can sleep?' He said 'hotel', I said 'no'. Like a shelter or a church where they can accommodate you for a while. I am just coming from Nigeria… I was in the shelter for almost 2 months"* Envisioning 2015

> *"I ended up living in a youth shelter. I had to be DL because of the guys there. I couldn't be myself. I only told my staff, my case worker. So that was psychologically messing me up."* Envisioning report, (2015)

Suggestions for Action:

- Shelter workers need training related to the needs of LGBTQ newcomers (Mule and GG), including related to homophobia and transphobia, confidentiality needs, and toileting (gender neutral washrooms) and separate sleeping spaces for transgender clients
- Work with shelter management to create policies that ensure safety of LGBTQ clients
- Information on temporary shelters which designates LGBTQ friendly options should be disseminated at ports of entry
- Create "safe houses" for LGBTQ individuals by establishing rental units exclusively for LGBTQ clients; Transgender clients have expressed a desire for transgender-only housing
- Create and maintain a confidential LGBTQ and transgender "room-mates wanted" list moderated by a third party who puts clients in contact
- Recognize potential danger of housing LGBTQ clients with co-nationals
- Advocate for subsidized transit passes for newcomers; where possible, supply transit tickets to newcomers through newcomer Centres

Financial Stability, Employment

> "*It's difficult to find a job, because in the SIN [Social Insurance] number, the refugee people have a different number. So they know that you're a refugee, sometimes they abuse and they pay less than minimum wage.*" *Munro et. Al. 2013*

Newcomers face challenges around employment related to homophobia and transphobia in countries of origin and Canada, as well as structural barriers within Canada. LGBTQ newcomers are likely to have lower levels of educational achievement and work experience compared to co-nationals due to discrimination faced in countries of origin, translating into fewer transferrable skills. Yet, they may encounter more complex discrimination during Canadian job searches, as discrimination based on sexuality or gender identity combine with new "-isms" not experienced at home, based on race, religion (i.e. being visibly Muslim post 9/11) or anti-immigrant sentiment. Discrimination is often disguised behind standard hiring practice of requiring "Canadian work experience," (Munro et al 2013, Envisioning 2013)

> "*I was working as a yard boy [here] but [at home] I used to hire people to clean the yard for me…I would apply and apply and apply…and nothing would happen.*" *Jamaican male newcomer, in Brown, 2012*

despite the fact that the Human Rights Commission has identified this requirement as discriminatory (Envisioning 2015), and immigration status can't be hidden from potential employers as newcomers receive a Social Insurance Number that begins with the number "9". Most newcomers will need to access income supports for periods of time, given long waits for work permits, and experience this as stigmatizing and humiliating (Envisioning 2015, Brotman and Lee 2010).

> "*Ironically, after coming out, and realizing that I would likely make Canada my new country, it took time for me to understand that I was the 'other' in my chosen society. In Jamaica, I took for granted the upper middle class privileges . . . which I assumed would translate with my migration. But, traits such as my skin tone, accent and degree from the University of the West Indies announced my presence before I could.*" *Brown, 2012*

Suggestions for Action:

- LGBTQ newcomers may need additional access to and supports around continuing education and job training programs compared to non-LGBTQ newcomers
- Promote clients with foreign work experience to employers
- Provide counselling, support groups or other spaces for clients to work through differences in discrimination in home country and Canada
- Those living on income supports experience hardships around meeting basic needs like food, shelter and transit. Clients are more likely to be able to access services if they are provided transit tickets for participating. Consider serving meals at group meetings.

Belonging and Connecting with Community

Newcomers have a keen need to find spaces and communities to which they feel they belong, and may not necessarily prioritize sexuality in doing so, especially in the first few months (Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012). LGBTQ newcomers often lack the supports of family and friends (at home and in Canada) to which other newcomers have access (Suehn 2010, Brotman and Lee, 2011). Their first several months in Canada may be characterized by profound isolation, as the realization of leaving family, friends and the places one knows settles in (Lee and Brotman 2011).

Belonging, and the changing and contextual nature of identity, are two related themes throughout this literature, highlighting that newcomers experience complicated and shifting relationships to multiple spaces of belonging and non-belonging over time, as they learn new languages and ways of being. Many authors highlight that newcomers often leave their home countries not only to escape persecution, but in search of belonging, demonstrating resiliency and agency in the process (Brotman and Lee 2010, Jordan 2010, Lee and Brotman 2011). LGBTQ newcomers have identified a sense of belonging as important to their capacity to resist experiences of oppression and marginalization (Brotman and Lee, 2011). The literature considers three potential spaces of belonging and the complexities presented by each space: co-national communities, mainstream LGBTQ spaces, and LGBTQ newcomer spaces.

Co-national Community

For many newcomers, maintaining a safe and positive relationship with one's co-national community is a priority (Brotman and Lee 2010, Envisioning 2015, Jordan 2010, Lee and Brotman 2011, Munro et. Al 2016), even if this means attempting to conform to cultural expectations around gender and sexuality. For some, it is just simply too painful to imagine a life in total exile from others with whom one shares a history, a language, a way of thinking about and being in the world (Murray 2014b). Despite the fact that the refugee process frames seeking Canadian asylum as a break or rupture with the sending country (Jordan 2010), co-national communities maintain everyday ties and connections to home communities overseas, through cash remittances, commerce (i.e. development of local specialty import food stores, for example), immigration sponsorship, and communication (Murray 2014b). Thus for many migrants, a sense of place and belonging is imagined transnationally, in relationships that exist in virtual and material form, even when people no longer reside nearby (Murray 2014b). Many fear that their sexuality or gender identity will be made known and they will be targeted for violence as a result, and this personal information will find its way to home communities (where they may have managed to keep it hidden).

While experiences vary widely depending on country of origin, many newcomers have complex stories of un-spoken compromises the emerged in their home countries with family and friends around their sexual or gendered identities, reflecting a shared desire to maintain connections and also to honor traditions and values (i.e. they know I have girlfriends but always make up stories to tell friends about big boyfriends I am having) (Jordan 2010; Brotman and Lee 2010). Sometimes it is possible to find the right people with whom one can make such compromises in the co-national community in Canada, and these relationships can contribute importantly to a sense of connectedness. Others report deciding to completely separate themselves from their co-national community to live more publically as a LGBTQ person.

Mainstream LGBTQ Community, Predominantly White and Male

Many newcomers report experiencing a period of disillusionment with the mainstream Canadian LGBTQ community upon discovering the many ways that they did not fit in (Brown 2012, Brotman and Lee 2010, Envisioning 2015, Lee and Brotman 2011,

"It also forced me to acknowledge my false belief that the gay and lesbian community would welcome me with open arms" Brotman and Lee, 2011

MOSAIC 2015; Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012; Murray 2014b; Munro et. Al. 2016). Mainstream LGBTQ spaces are often organized around the needs and experiences of white men; and lesbians, transgender people and people of color may experience marginalization (Brotman and Lee 2011). Some newcomers report being sexualized for their race on the one hand, and discounted as a serious romantic partner because of it, on the other (Brotman and Lee 2011). Others cope with racist attributions that particular minority groups are unilaterally homophobic and responsible for gay bashing, as justification for anti-immigration sentiment ("send them home!") (O'Neill and

In terms of gay and this culture here, it's not me at all. I don't identify with it at all…you're some kind of exotic, big dicked oddity…which I am not. And I get [so many] surprised looks when they find out that I can actually read. Um…it's all about drugs and superficiality…I think they are racist. Jamaican newcomer in Toronto, in Brown, 2012

Kia 2012). Some report being offered unsolicited pity from members, or having their issues and concerns dismissed as not part of the gay agenda (Brotman and Lee 2011). Given the orientation towards "outness" in mainstream LGBTQ communities, some newcomers fear their need for privacy in accessing these spaces won't be recognized or respected (O'neill and Kia 2012).

Queer Community

Many mainstream gay spaces are entirely white, dominated by cisgender men, and may be marginalizing to non-white men, and all (cis and transgender, white and non-white) women (Lee and Brotman 2011). Many lesbian white women and women of color build social networks separately from these mainstream LGBTQ organizations (Lee and Brotman 2011). In Edmonton, social networks of queer women develop largely through participation in community activism.

Women who meet through these forums then organize short-term, grass-roots, voluntarily based queer community organizations that sponsor underground social events, or socialize at one another's houses. These groups and events are often associated with a radical anti-capitalist and anti-oppressive politics, are the collaborative creations of groups of people who meet through activism, volunteering, and participation in organizations with roots in punk and anarchist scenes, for example, community bike shops. In Edmonton, a number of such projects have developed, flourished, and been abandoned throughout the years, for example, QMunity League (which held dance parties largely attended by queer women oriented around teaching active consent) or the still active Brown, Black and Fierce Collective (which organizes events by and for queer, transgender, indigenous and people of color on a voluntary basis). Because of their informal nature, these spaces may be more difficult for LGBTQ newcomers to access, and they may not resonate with newcomer politics.

LGBTQ Newcomer Communities

LGBTQ cultural or refugee specific support groups are exceedingly important spaces that facilitate belonging and, for many, provided the first venues in which people expressed "finally meeting someone like me." Many participants reported profound experiences of connection and belonging in these spaces (Murray 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Brotman and Lee, 2011), and increased ability to resist new intersectional oppressions in the Canadian context (Brotman and Lee, 2011). Further, Brotman and Lee show that LGBTQ newcomers who connect with services, either prior to their decisions to make a SOGI claim or within a few months of their arrival in Canada, had better access to accurate information and more support throughout the claims process, and evidenced better decision-making (2011). Despite their overall importance, these spaces tend to be male dominated and women and transgender clients may feel less included (Lee and Brotman 2011)

Beyond this, these spaces provide a forum for LGBTQ newcomers to define their sexualities in terms that are meaningful to them, a salient issue as newcomers are exposed to and must reconcile with new ways of thinking about sexuality and sexual identity. As Rofel points out,

Human Rights movements have newly universalized Western categories of LGBTQ, but for refugees and newcomers, the issue is not so much one of fitting into pre-existing categories, but of remaking those categories in ways that work for them. This speaks to a potential role for settlement services in supporting community organization, capacity building and leadership roles for LGBTQ newcomers themselves (Brotman and Lee 2011).

However, the potential capacity for community building and engagement, as well as fostering belonging, has been undermined by the emphasis on identifying fraudulent claimants that is now central to the refugee claims process (Murray 2013, 2014a). The requirement to document sexuality has lead to a concern that some who attend these meetings are actually heterosexuals attempting to make bogus SOGI refugee claims, who attend only for immigration letters, an impetus for distrust (Murray 2013, 2014a). Beyond this, some fear attending groups near co-national communities, or seeing co-nationals in attendance, because they worry that their participation will become known to the wider co-national community in Canada and abroad. Finally, these spaces are grossly underfunded and dependent for the most part on volunteer labour (Brotman and Lee 2011).

Suggestions for Action:

- Recognize that outness is not always appropriate and desirable. Support queer newcomers' desires to identify their sexuality in some settings and not others.
- Create and fund a support group for queer newcomers, with their input. Support them in addressing the safety concerns they identify (i.e. where and when the group will meet, how it will be advertised, etc.). Support them in identifying and developing group activities and discussion topics
- Create resource lists of LGBTQ service organizations and providers in Edmonton
- Provide training at mainstream LGBTQ organizations on newcomer issues
- Develop an LGBTQ newcomer network to identify issues that the group wants addressed with specific co-national communities. Work with this network to identify appropriate roles for EMCN staff in outreach to co-national communities.

NEWCOMER EXPERIENCES OF SETTLEMENT SERVICES

LGBTQ newcomers' expectations and needs related to experiences of seeking help from settlement services are shaped by norms around the sensitive nature of sexuality in home communities and perceived stigma associated with LGBTQ sexuality, specifically. LGBTQ newcomers who experienced abuse from authorities (Lee and Brotman 2011, Brotman and Lee 2010, Jordan 2010) in their countries of origin are likely to be wary of authorities in Canada. The literature highlights that queer newcomers fear insensitivity (Chavez 2011) or discrimination (O'Neill and Kia 2012) from providers (in general because of identities and when seeking information related to sexuality), feel shy or embarrassed (Yee, M and Vo 2014, O'Neill 2010), unwelcome (Chavez 2011), or unsupported (O'Neill and Sproule 2011) and are deeply concerned that providers will break confidentiality (O'Neill and Kia 2012, O'Neill and Sproule 2011, Chavez 2011) especially within co-national communities (Yee, M and Vo 2014, O'Neill and Kia 2012).

Broad informational issues are barriers to accessing settlement services. Lack of familiarity with the term *settlement services* (Yee, Marshall and Vo 2014, O'Neill and Kia 2012) and language used around gender and sexuality (O'Neill and Kia 2012), and long waitlists are barriers to youth (Yee, Marshall and Vo 2014) and adults (O'Neill and Kia 2012) accessing these services. Newcomers often have no awareness of settlement services until later in their settlement process (O'Neill and Kia 2012). Beyond this, users fail to access services because it is not clear that the services are free (Yee, M and Vo 2014, Chavez 2011). Language proficiency is a also barrier for many newcomers (O'Neill 2010, Suehn, 2010, Yee, M and Vo, 2014, Chavez 2011, Envisioning 2015).

Importantly, LGBTQ newcomers may prefer to avoid co-national service providers despite the benefits of shared language capacity, (Brotman and Lee, 2011), for fear of discrimination and loss of confidentiality. Some newcomers report difficulties with translators who become embarrassed or fail to translate key facts correctly (O'Neill 2010, Suehn 2010). Newcomers report a desire for literature on sexuality in their first languages, related to sexual health, sexual discrimination, same-sex relationships and sexual abuse (O'Neill 2010).

LGBTQ newcomers want service providers to facilitate: 1.) socializing around settlement services and 2.) connecting to mainstream and ethnic specific LGBTQ organizations (O'neill and Sproule 2011). Yee, M and Vo (2014) find that newcomer youth prefer less structured services (for example, drop-in vs. set appointment times) and wanted centrally located services as well as more services offered in high-schools, shelters and on-line. Additionally, they were keen to receive services from providers who were also LGBTQ, from other youth, and from same-language speaking providers (provided confidentiality could be ensured). Youth expressed the desire for assistance around accessing basic needs (housing, employment, education and information about legal rights). More than half expressed the desire for counselling, workshops, and help applying to government programs, services and scholarships.

Mule and Gasse-Gates (2012) found that LGBTQ clients struggle with homophobia and transphobia in the settlement sector, even among organizations that claim to be queer friendly. Beyond perceived homo- and transphobias, newcomers feel challenged by service providers' lack of understanding of the complex and shifting ways in which aspects of identity become contextually important (O'Neill and Kia 2012). Service providers were apt to emphasize sexuality as the most important and encompassing aspect of identity in program development and service delivery, however newcomers seek services that attend to the complexities of identities in terms of sexuality, gender and race (O'Neill and Kia 2012).

Settlement Service Providers Experiences

Attitudes

Settlement Services typically employ Canadian-born service providers as well as providers who were once newcomers themselves, and therefore LGBTQ newcomers will encounter a range of attitudes and beliefs around sexuality and sexual identity that impact service delivery. It is notable, however, that there is no simple and straightforward correlation between country of origin and attitudes or beliefs related to same-sex relationships, as newcomer providers may recognize same-sex attraction as a positive expression of sexuality and Canadian-born providers

may be homophobic or simply unaware of the ways that heterosexism and heterosexual privilege structures thinking and service delivery.

Suehn's (2010) research on settlement workers' perspectives on work with LGBTQ newcomers found that 9 out of 12 employees (in a sample that included 4 Canadian-born participants) agreed to participate out of desire to "bring attention to the needs" of queer newcomers (p. 68). Beyond this, a number of service providers' expressed attitudes that identified inequality based on sexual orientation as a social justice issue and expressed commitment to advocating for local community development and structural change of Canadian immigration policy and social institutions (Brotman and Lee 2011, Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012).

Alongside these positive resources within the settlement sector, researchers also have documented the existence of homophobic and transphobic attitudes at all organizational levels (among settlement workers, program directors, and board members), funding bodies, and other settlement organizations (Suehn 2010) underlying resistance to the development of services and organizational climates appropriate for LGBTQ clients. Yet many providers demonstrate a high level of commitment to clients and flexibility in service delivery, working with clients who fall outside of funding mandates, or helping with tasks such as paperwork or translation (Suehn, 2010, Envisioning 2015), and would like to see clients connected to a wide range of supports (Suehn 2010). Working in the U.S., Chavez (2011) found that providers lacked information but expressed desire to support needs of the population.

Visibility

Visibility of LGBTQ newcomers within settlement services is a complex issue that is related not only to service provider attitudes but also to oppressive social structures (like heterosexism) which unconsciously shape and inform attitudes over time. The concept of visibility encompasses 1.) service provider awareness of queer clients 2.) awareness among clientele of queer service-users and 3.) an institutional climate which recognizes LGBTQ service users as a valuable and integral part of the client base through integration of their needs and experiences throughout

service delivery, including programming and visual representations (community bulletin boards, literature, etc.). There are clear linkages between these aspects of visibility, for example, service providers who are unaware of LGBTQ clientele are unlikely to anticipate a need for LGBTQ programming or for the integration of queer issues throughout mainstream program literature. Indeed, there are structural issues that inhibit visibility of queer clients (discussed below), both in terms of individual and organizational recognition.

Service Provider Awareness

Many providers report that they do not have LGBTQ clientele (Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012, Suehn 2010, Envisioning 2015), or that clients do not reveal sexual orientations and thus do not receive appropriate services (O'neill and Sproule 2011). Some providers struggle in conversations with clients related to sexuality and same sex attraction because of the gap around terminology related to sexual and gender identities (Brotman and Lee 2011). Others feel unsure about how to broach the issue of same sex attraction with clients, placing the burden on clients to self-identify. Heterosexual clients from homophobic sending nations may be alienated by questions about sexual and gender identities if they perceive that the question is derived from a providers' perceptions of their personal characteristics (Envisioning 2015). Alternatively, however, clients often view providers as experts holding positions of power, and given previous negative experiences with authority figures, it may be unrealistic to expect LGBTQ clients to raise these issues.

O'Neill (2010) suggests that service providers create opportunities for clients to reveal sexual and gender identity, but depending on the context, this may not be enough to overcome former experiences of oppression. Some providers felt obligated to take steps to shift perceived power imbalances, for example, by appropriate self-disclosure (Suehn 2010) focusing on commonalities like shared religion; or by being transparent about their own skills, training and ability to shape outcomes and access to services (Lee and Brotman 2016, Suehn 2010) to build trust, before broaching subjects where the client might perceive that they incur risk by disclosing identity.

Some providers have reported success with universalizing questions to remove the heteronormative bias. For example, rather than asking male clients about girlfriends and wives and female clients about boyfriends and husbands, providers might ask everyone whether they have a partner or partners (to account for people who come from countries where it is normative to have several spouses or a spouse and lover). Others thought that questions about sexuality and gender identity were driven by provider curiosity without actually impacting service delivery (Envisioning 2015, Suehn 2010), and indeed, given the stakes for LGBTQ clients, this is a real concern when providers have no real capacity to impact access to services. In line with this, some organizations self-describe as inclusive but in actuality staff have no training in LGBTQ newcomer issues and concerns, and no organizational resources are dedicated to programming for this clientele (Suehn 2010), creating a potentially dangerous situation for LGBTQ clients who seek services there.

Some providers feel that there are enough service providers with competency in LGBTQ issues, and see the problem as one of connecting clients to appropriate providers (Suehn). Conversely, providers with this competency finds themselves overwhelmed by referrals from colleagues without necessary skills. This mirrors the experiences of support workers who are queer themselves and encounter expectations that they should be experts in LGBTQ settlement issues in result (Suehn 2010). These practices overburden workers with needed skills, add to long wait-times for services (Suehn 2010), and contribute to burn-out (Suehn 2010). Further, some service providers perceive colleagues without needed training in LGBTQ competencies to pose barriers to these clients (Suehn 2010). Providers who are aware of queer newcomer clientele describe themselves as working in isolation to identify and create networks with other providers with adequate skills to serve this population (Evisioning 2015, Suehn 2010)

Client Awareness

Conceptualizing visibility in terms of client awareness is important because for many newcomers, settlement programs provide an important social community. The small existing literature offers little empirical insight into awareness of LGBTQ clients among service users, but findings related

to service provider experiences, newcomer experiences of co-national communities, and organizational visibility imply the prevalence of homophobia and transphobia in client communities. For example, some service providers identify client safety related to LGBTQ issues as a concern within settlement services (Suehn 2010, Envisioning 2015), and failure to ensure safety within organizational spaces as a problem for retention of LGBTQ newcomers (Envisioning 2015). Others oppose LGBTQ training, programming and services on the grounds that such practices would alienate mainstream clientele (Suehn 2010, Envisioning 2015).

Organizational Visibility

Organizations have an important role in setting a tone that encourages visibility through policy, staff training, and inclusive programming and program materials. At the same time, the current political and funding climate provides disincentives towards making needed changes. Notably there is a feedback loop between visibility at the institutional and the individual service provider levels. Many organizations lack requirements to enumerate LGBTQ service users (which may be challenging given that users might not disclose sexuality if they do not feel safe) (O'Neill 2010, Suehn 2010, Envisioning 2015). Yet statistics reflecting service user characteristics are often the basis for assessing programming needs and are used to justify funding. It is recommended that all organizations that require data collection and reporting for delivery of settlement services should collect anonymized, disaggregated data on sexual orientation and gender identity when it is volunteered (Envisioning 2015, O'Neill 2010, Suehn 2010).

Importantly, many organizational mandates are not inclusive of LGBTQ people (Suehn 2010); in part this may reflect strategic choice as settlement organizations feel pressure to frame a mandate in terms that will not alienate more conservative funders. In fact, services that appear too politically activist or radical may be alienating to newcomers, including LGBTQ newcomers, a consideration that has been used to justify not developing programs for this clientele (O'Neill 2010, Suehn 2010, Toronto Planned Parenthood 2005). Yet research has shown that when a service is known in the community to be appropriate and safe, newcomers will access it (Toronto

Planned Parenthood 2005). This highlights the importance of developing mandates and programs in conversation with LGBTQ newcomers and the wider community.

Structural Issues: Political Climate and Funding

The current political climate, the nature of programming and job funding, and the expedited application process for refugee status work together to create intense pressure on settlement service providers and produces "advocacy chill". That is, settlement providers are disinclined to advocate for structural or organizational change because they perceive it to be risky to do so (Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012) (or are simply unable because they face immense work loads).

Service providers are overburdened; new immigration regulations that give applicants 15 days to create relationships with service providers (for documentation letters), and require elaborate documentation of persecution and sexual orientation in the country of origin and Canada over-burdens providers (Envisioning 2015). Some providers oppose the current government focus on identifying bogus refugees and see the burden of letter-writing to support applications as an imposition of undesired gate-keeping role (Envisioning 2015). Despite the fact that funding only supports provision of services to newcomers within certain residency classes, many providers find creative ways to serve these clients, in addition their normal caseload (Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012). Beyond this, many settlement workers are hired on limited contracts in response to IRCC budget cuts, and worry that taking advocacy roles could affect their continued employment. Finally, the Canada Revenue Agency has a history of investigating charitable organizations that take positions that are not in line with those of the federal government (Envisioning 2015). Together these policies and practices have a depoliticizing effect.

Beyond basic lack of recognition of the need for funding for services for queer newcomers (Mule and Gasse-Gates 2012), the short term and program-by-program nature of funding, along with the requirement that organizations demonstrate viability and impact of individual programs for continued funding (Suehn 2010), make it difficult to develop and sustain long term programs.

EDMONTON SETTLEMENT SERVICE PROVIDERS' PERSPECTIVES

The project identified and interviewed thirteen settlement service providers from three organizations in Edmonton to learn about providers' understanding of the newcomer experience, attitudes towards LGBTQ clients, and perspectives on their work.

Interview Protocol

The interview was designed to take advantage of the fact that many service providers were newcomers themselves at one time. Sections 1-3 of the interview questionnaire are designed to elicit reflections on the experience of being a newcomer and perceptions of gender and sexuality in the sending nation and Canada, and the final section examines settlement worker experiences. Participants were asked a number of questions at the outset of the interview to determine which sections were appropriate to their experience. The sections are as follows: 1.) experiences of home country, 2.) perceptions of LGBTQ people and experiences of LGBTQ in home country 3.) a. experiences of being a newcomer and b. imagining similarities and differences to experiences of queer newcomers, and 4.) perspectives on settlement work

Questions in sections 1-3 were purposefully open-ended (i.e. tell me about your home country) to allow participants to identify the things which mattered most to them. If participants asked for more guidance they were offered a number of prompts to direct their reflections (what was your family like? What could a girl growing up there expect for her life?) Questions in section four were more focused, and asked specifically about areas of practice, training, and perspectives on service development.

As many settlement service providers were newcomers themselves, the first section asks about provider's experiences of their home countries, and this section was intended to gain insight into the workers' social background and position in society. Questions were framed around family and expected experiences to elicit information on gender roles and sexual norms.

Section Two elicits information related to perceptions and experiences of same sex attracted people in country of origin. We included this line of questioning to give insight into different conceptions of gender and sexuality in sending nations, to gauge social environments in which service providers' attitudes and beliefs were formed, and to provide a benchmark for how attitudes and perceptions had changed over time.

Section Three is subdivided into parts a. and b. Part a. inquired into participants' experiences of coming to Canada, and part b. asked participants to reflect on how they think their own experiences would compare to experiences of LGBTQ newcomers. This line of questioning provides insight into how service providers imagine the experiences and needs of LGBTQ newcomers, assumptions which are likely to inform service provision. Participants were invited to answer these questions if they felt that the questions spoke to their experience; 4 out of 13 participants either were not newcomers or felt the questions were not relevant because they immigrated at a very young age. All participants (those who identified as newcomers and those who were Canadian-born) answered questions in section four, related to experiences of working in settlement services.

Recruitment

A list of settlement organizations was compiled in consultation with the primary stakeholder, and 11 organizations (including EMCN) were contacted. These represented the known organizations that engage in settlement work in Edmonton, and include those working with specific ethnic newcomer populations and those with a wider mandate. At EMCN, the Manager of Programs and Services sent a call-out for participants via e-mail to EMCN employees, and circulated biographies and photos of the research team. The research trainee (RT) was introduced to staff at EMCN main and satellite locations and maintained a presence at the main location. Other settlement organizations were contacted via e-mail, and sent a short description of the project along with a request to disseminate the call out to staff. A follow-up e-mail was sent to all organizations two weeks prior to the deadline for interviews. Four organizations contacted the RT, and interviews were conducted with staff from three organizations: EMCN (N=9), Edmonton

Immigrant Services Association (EISA, N=1), and Islamic Family and Social Services Association (IFSSA, N=1).

Findings

Note on Interpretation

In assessing these findings, it is important to note that we spoke with a relatively small percentage of self-selecting service providers, a factor which limits our ability to make generalizations to EMCN staff as a whole, or the settlement sector. It is likely that people who participated represent the more supportive ends of a spectrum; and that those who hold more negative opinions refrained from participating, given that EMCN has an anti-discrimination policy in place. Even so, it is possible to identify a number of positive trends as well as a number of structural issues for consideration. One of the most salient findings is around what counts as an LGBTQ issue (which emerged in analysis of section 4). This potentially has important implications for how service practitioners identify and address needs of LGBTQ clients.

Reflections on Countries of Origin (Interview Sections 1 and 2)

Of the nine newcomer service providers interviewed, the majority were from countries in the Global South[3] (Pakistan, Philippines, Ethiopia, Somalia, India, Kenya, Egypt and Columbia), and one respondent was from a country located in the Global North (South Korea). This is in keeping with expected immigration trends.

In reflecting on social norms and values in countries of origin, respondents accounted for what they understood those norms to be and then positioned themselves and their families in relation to them. In many ways, answers reflected growing disparities within sending countries, in which refugees and immigrants are most often from the wealthiest social segments. The majority of

---

[3] The North-South distinction emerged post-cold war and is an artifact of global development. Countries classified as North are considered economically and politically "developed", and those in the South are comparatively less developed (usually as a result of historical colonial exploitation including policies of resource extraction, continued in the present through Northern neoliberal economic policies that create cycles of debt and out-source factories—and pollution--to countries in the South thereby exploiting cheap labor, and facilitating economic dependencies).

participants (with the exception of 1, who described her family as poor and financially struggling) report being from relatively privileged backgrounds, speaking to growing divides in income and education emerging in many countries in the Global South which are sometimes erroneously labeled in the wake of globalization as also a split between so-called "traditional" and "modern".

All participants were university educated, and most described their families as educated. Several had parents who were educated overseas (for example, a grandfather who received medical education in Europe), and over half were themselves educated abroad (either as exchange students in the United States or Canada, or inter-continentally, for example, a Somalian attending university in Kenya, or in Canada following immigration). Four respondents described their families as atypical ("my family was totally different because my grandparents were educated" or, "We were not they typical Ethiopian family," etc.) speaking to the diversity of lifestyles and attitudes in sending nations. Four participants discussed the role of globalized media and the internet in shifting ideas about gender and sexuality in a specified time period ("things are changing since the 1980s", "big shifts in the past 20 years"). Two respondents described their families as "traditional conservative," or "really extreme" in limiting exposure to information about sexual development or other ways of thinking. Four described their society as "male dominated".

It is important to note that the interviewer is a Canadian national, and answers may have reflected 1.) framing of the question as one of differences between Canada and sending nation and 2.) assumptions about the interviewer. Both of these factors may have positioned the participant to engage in some way with how they imagine the "other" (be it a nation or an individual as "representative" of that nation) sees them. To some extent it is impossible to get away from imaginings of what others are like given that the subject of immigration automatically creates a positioning of differences between nations, however one wonders to what extent participants' representations of their home country would have differed had they been interviewed by a co-national, or had the interviewer been from a country in the global South. For example, to say my country is "male dominated," is an evaluation imposed in part through the

lens of development work; another answer reflecting a local lens might consider meanings of, values attached to, and variation among gender roles in a particular cultural context, rather than imposing an external lens. Take the example of Islamic veiling. In speaking to a "Westerner", one might characterize veiling as "male domination" based on how they expect the practice to be viewed, however, when speaking to another Muslim, they might discuss veiling as a woman's choice to show her own growing piety, and to further encourage that growth (Mahmood, writing about Islamic feminism).

Exposure to Queer People in Home Countries

Overwhelmingly participants reported either no exposure to the concept of same-sex attraction in home countries or minimal exposure ("I only heard about it in the Bible") because the concept was very stigmatized ("considered deviant behavior," "it was a taboo thing") or hidden, sometimes leading to the conclusion that "it was really rare" or did not exist. Three participants (all from African countries) reported that, while they were aware of men who loved men (and in one case, language exists to reflect this type of relationship, albeit derogatory) there was no concept of sexual relationships between two women. One participant clarified that many African languages lacked words for same sex relationships or attractions, but that these existed in African lingua franca (i.e. Swahili), used to facilitate trade in port areas, where new concepts emerged through tourism. One participant responded to this question entirely in terms of family obligations, "if someone is not getting married people will say this."

Four participants had a family member or neighbor who was gay and discussed their family's reactions. In one case there were a large number of same sex attracted women, who accrued some esteem as a result of economic shifts which allowed them to earn when male family members were unable. One participant discussed the extreme distress his cousin faced, in which desires to protect his self image and families' image resulted in a suicide attempt.

Several participants described perceptions of LGBTQ sexuality as a "Western" concept[4] and used this history as a rationale for present day rejection of same-sex sexuality, a reaction that makes greater sense when understood from the perspective of a history of colonial domination and exploitation. Several participants discussed changing attitudes towards same-sex attracted individuals over time in their home countries, in response to global media, and the emergence of Global LGBTQ Human Rights Campaigns, and identified emerging manifestations of queer community (i.e. Pride Parade in the capital city, the emergence of a few "trailblazing" activists, etc.).

Newcomer Service Provider's Experiences Coming to Canada: "Everything is Different"

Service providers who were also newcomers at one time were asked to reflect on the challenges they encountered in the newcomer experience. These challenges fell into the domains of language, employment, community or social connection, parenting and racism.

Five participants discussed challenges with language fluency, either for meeting basic needs, or related to employment. Six participants raised issues related to employment, and notably the three who did not mention employment were either educated in the United States or Canada (easing the transition to employability), or were reflecting on parent's experiences. Several participants discussed a dramatic shift in wealth and status from their countries of origin to Canada. Others reflected on difficulty finding employment due to loss of professional credential (N=3) or lack of Canadian work experience (N=2). Several reported themselves or their family members taking survival jobs to make ends meet, and the loss of status, identity, or familial authority experienced as a result. Others discussed the difficulty of re-establishing a professional network.

---

[4] This is in fact historically accurate. While same sex attraction and relationships have historically existed globally, they were conceptually different—i.e. given different meanings and interpretations. LGBTQ identity (as a cultural framing of same-sex attracted behavior and relationships) emerged through a particular political history in the "West", as did "homophobia").

Social connection was another prominent theme. Many people mentioned initial feelings of disorientation (N=1), loneliness (N=3), lack of social supports (N=2), isolation (N=2) or loss of social circle (N=2). In one case, the participant reflected on dire consequences of lack of social support for family members who could not get help in situations of violence or abuse. The majority of participants (N=6) reported being connected to their co-national community (doing interpreting, participating in religious services or cultural events), or having family in Canada (N=6). Some described depending on extended family for support and employment after arrival, or the importance of meeting their first friend from their co-national community. Several participants discussed not liking some aspects of their co-national communities (the need to respect elders no matter what), and two participants reported choosing to limit contact with communities to preserve confidentiality because they worked with community members through their role at EMCN. Only one participant said they had no contact with their co-national community.

Several participants recounted challenges related to parenting, including struggling to raise their children as Muslim in Canada and shifts in authority related to language competency (e.g. kids taking over some parental responsibilities because of fluency). Finally, a number of participants raised the issue of racism (N=3), and discussed the experience of being a minority for the first time ("so few black faces on campus").

Newcomer Service Providers Imagined Experiences of LGBTQ Newcomers

After reflecting on their own experiences of being a newcomer, service providers were asked how they thought their experiences were similar to or different from those of LGBTQ newcomers. The ways they imagine LGBTQ newcomer experiences

> "... it would be more difficult because ... they have to deal with... things ... a young person has to face ...on top of their gender identity and . . . family dynamics and . . . coming to Canada . . .

are important because it provides one basis for understanding needs of LGBTQ clients. Eight participants responded to this question; and only one provider said explicitly that they thought being a newcomer and LGBTQ would be more difficult that just being a newcomer. Two providers

said it would be easier or the same as a non-LGBTQ newcomer. One provider said explicitly that being LGBTQ in Canada is marginalizing, and another talked at length about challenges LGBTQ newcomers face. It is noteworthy that all participants who recognized additional challenges for LGBTQ newcomers either had a queer family member or friend, or experience working with LGBTQ clients.

> *"Canada is a free, is a good country" (R1)*
>
> *"Not in Canada, I think… Because they are accepted here…in Canada they will not have any problem' (R7)*
>
> *"If you're coming from…somewhere where you're persecuted, you'll find it liberating… I don't want to say easier, but a much more friendly experience for them." (R9)*
>
> *"Canadian society says you cannot discriminate" (R8)*

The majority of responses imagined LGBTQ newcomer experiences as dramatically improved in Canada compared to countries of origin, and downplayed potential problems in Canada in result. These participants focused on human rights discourses or legal mandates against discrimination (rather than how these are borne out in actuality), and posited that LGBTQ individuals would "get lots of support," or that "ostracism is not a problem here." For many providers, the extreme violence (stonings, beheadings, persecution) in home communities makes the discrimination LGBTQ people face in Canada invisible or comparatively trivial.

Many participants raised the issue of lack of acceptance from the co-national community, but framed the problem with varying degrees of intensity, from potential problem to complete rejection. Some discounted this problem because overall they assumed queer newcomers would find belonging in mainstream Canadian society and LGBTQ communities. Others identified exclusion from the co-national community as having major implications for sense of belonging, recognized potential challenges and losses of having to separate from the community (I wonder how they manage?) especially given difficulty socializing with mainstream Canadians due to cultural differences, and lack of familiarity with LGBTQ terms and community. This participant references potential dangers that perceptions of safety can pose for LGBTQ newcomers who

don't know how to assess situations in Canada, and alienation and discrimination clients experience at the Pride Centre.

In a positive vein, most providers describe a change in attitude about LGBTQ people since coming to Canada. Several discuss their first experiences with openly gay people in Canada, and express putting old beliefs and attitudes into conversation with the Canadian sociopolitical context. For example, a participant originally from Africa described driving two gay men when working as a taxi driver. "They were touching each other, not going very far…It's

"Even though it's safe…they have to avoid community. Once they involve… community, then similar things might happen. Or they're worried that somebody from here…would connect to somebody back home, and…make things worse for them." (P3)

"People still don't accept . . . " (P7)

"A lot of newcomers remain very conservative people" (P8)

hard for me to accept…here I have to be politically correct." Another participant related, "I have become more liberal. I don't know if it is age or atmosphere." One participant described profound recognition of the difficulties that SOGI refugees experience, and the deep impact traumatic experience based on sexuality has had on client's abilities to connect with others and have intimate relationships. A final participant who has a gay cousin in the home country

"they are free to choose, it won't affect me." (P1)

"lots and lots of soul searching" (P3)

"I was supportive before and after coming to Canada" (P5)

"Here, I have to be politically correct." (P6)

discussed shifts in acceptance from her family in her country of origin, as well as her own movement towards becoming an ally in Canada, "I have lots of queer friends in Canada… I had to educate myself a lot, and this person had a lot of patience with me . . ." Importantly, one participant discusses how their own shift in attitude has impacted family members' attitudes to become "less hateful, kinder."

Suggestions for Action:

- Knowing an LGBTQ person has powerful capacity to build empathy and shift attitudes. Create opportunities to meet and interact with LGBTQ people; expose staff to stories of LGBTQ lives; perhaps service providers could give talks about family member experiences
- Many staff lack awareness of the complexity of discrimination against LGBTQ people in mainstream Canadian society and need training.
- Attitudes and beliefs are often impacted by the experience and attitudes of family members and friends. Staff members who are LGBTQ allies are important links to changing attitudes in co-national communities

Perspectives on Work

Twelve participants answered questions related to experiences doing settlement work (four non-newcomer providers including one provider who migrated when very young, and eight providers who were also newcomers). Seven providers said that clients had never raised issues related to gender or

"But…with…refugee claimants, uh, they know that they have to open up…They need some kind of documentation. So, I can't say, oh because I provide that safe space, they're able to open up, but rather they kind of come prepared to do that."

sexuality in their work, and five had worked with clients around these issues, although clients had not straightforwardly raised issues. In two cases, participants discussed working with clients on SOGI refugee claims, where discussing experiences is parts of the claims process and therefore not voluntary. Two other providers discussed intuiting that a client wanted to speak about issues of gender or sexuality when they broached it indirectly in the conversation, and one discussed making conversational openings when noticing that a client may be trying to raise the issue. One participant who has worked with refugees and has lesbian clients reported that non-refugee clients seemed to prefer to address other issues. Reflecting on a string of lesbian clients from the same home country, she said that clients did not want to be put in touch with each other, because risk of being outed to co-national community was too great. One participant who does job training includes a component that on things one should not discuss at work (naming sexuality

as one), alongside a discussion of rights in Canada and anti-discrimination law. Three participants discussed taking proactive steps on their own to welcome clients, including posting rainbow flags or stickers and changing an intake form to include "other" as a gender option. Of these three, one is also gay, and describes themselves as "selectively out at work…not to clients across the board." Of these three only the participant who is also gay has had clients raise issues related to gender and sexuality.

Eleven service providers said they would be comfortable discussing gender or sexuality with clients, with a number of caveats. One raised a concern related to being accused of sexual harassment; three said they would only discuss these issues if the clients brought it up, and two emphasized the importance of knowing that the client "was ready" or willing. One person said they would address it "if it was an issue," for example, if their students were being homophobic. Emphasizing the extremely private nature of sexuality in many cultures, one participant said they would only raise the issue if they had resources to address it or an adequate referral. The final participant interpreted the question as related to their own sexuality (rather than the clients'), and discussed being "out" to most staff but very selectively with clients, because, "I know I could hear something that might make me feel pretty bad."

Whose Job is it?

The interview asks participants whether addressing LGBTQ issues is part of a.) their job description, or b.) other employee's job descriptions. We anticipated that these questions might provide insight in perceived ownership/responsibility for tasks and conversations related to gender and sexual identity, perceptions of how ownership of the issue fits into the overall structure of the organization. Eight participants said that it was not part of their job description, and three said yes, that it fell within the scope of mentorship, which was part of their role, and one participant said that all employees signed a code of ethics, and it fell within the scope of that. Four participants who responded no emphasized that they were willing to go beyond their job roles to help in these situations. Interestingly, some of the "no" responses seem related to understandings of what is an LGBTQ issue. So for instance, one person said "no, I work in

employment," implying that LGBTQ issues are only related to sexuality or finding a partner, and not to issues of discrimination, per se. One important avenue of training might be related to expanding service providers' notions of what counts as an LGBTQ issue, as there is clear evidence that LGBTQ status directly impacts employment and employability. Seven providers did not see LGBTQ issues as fitting into any providers' job descriptions, and two people raised that it may be part of mental health services or settlement (specifically because they identified a worker on the settlement team as LGBTQ, not because of any special training or because it is in their job description).

Competency and Training in LGBTQ Issues

Four participants said that they felt competent to help clients with LGBTQ issues ("background in psychology is adequate", "feel prepared, but more training helps), and eight people said they would welcome or felt they needed more training. Four participants had sought out or had undergone training at the Sexual Assault Centre of Edmonton, REACH Edmonton, Institute for Sexual Minority Studies and Services (ISMSS) or settlement.org. One person remarked that they wanted more training but suspected that "not everyone is on board," and two referenced sometimes experiencing a homophobic atmosphere around their workplace. One person suggested that a training module could be implemented by the Alberta Association of immigrant Serving Agencies (AAISA) as part of the accreditation process for settlement workers.

Knowledge of Resource Landscape

We asked participants where they would refer clients with LGBTQ needs for services to get a sense of service providers' knowledge of available and appropriate resources. Two providers said they didn't know, and an additional two said that they did not know but assumed that there were lots or available resources that they could discover if necessary. The Pride Centre was the most commonly raised resource, mentioned by 8 people. Four of these 8 were aware of the Pride Centre but had reservations about sending clients there, on the grounds that they "are not culturally appropriate," "don't understand race," are "white, mainstream" (N=2), lack knowledge

of refugee issues, are "male dominated", that clients would feel uncomfortable "going somewhere because of gayness," or would not feel supported. One provider said that clients need LGBTQ services but also support within their co-national communities. Other resources included the Family Centre (N=1), the Sexual Assault Centre (N=1), and one said that they suspected the University of Alberta offered something but they did not know what.

Key Issues for LGBTQ Clients

The last content-related question of the interview asked providers to identify the key or main issues that LGBTQ newcomers face. For service providers who were also newcomers, this provided an opportunity to prioritize issues previously raised in the first three sections of the interview. For Canadian-born newcomers, this provided an opportunity to raise issues for the first time. One provider said that LGBTQ clients faced no challenges, and two additional said that queer newcomers would not face challenges from mainstream Canadian society but would face persecution from co-national communities. Four participants in total raised persecution from co-national communities as a problem, and one additional participant raised the issue of family acceptance. Three participants raised the issue of language competency: one in reference to the necessity for printed materials related to LGBTQ resources and issues in a variety of languages, and one referenced homophobia in language classes. One additional participant raised homophobia at their workplace ("reactions of non-LGB people to LGB people creating a lot of stress"). Four people raised the issue of social disconnection, belonging, or making friends. Hopelessness, mental health and suicide were raised by two participants. Two participants raised the issue of safety, but in opposite ways. One thought that queer newcomers struggled with "knowing that they are safe," and another was concerned that newcomers who perceived that Canada lacked homophobia would feel too safe and not understand when it was safe to disclose identity (a perspective which we see as more accurate). Other issues that were raised once include: education, Canadian work experience, struggling to be "out", employment, transit, "understanding that they will be accepted," stigma, and therapy for trauma. One participant

raised a number of issued related to refugee status (stress and financial burden, waiting, arbitrariness of decision process).

Suggestions for Action:

- There is a lack of visibility of queer clients, though some providers are aware of them. Develop standardized procedures for documenting service provision to LGBTQ clients and include anonymized descriptive statistics in newsletters or training materials for service providers. This could be a standardized sheet that providers fill at the end of the week accounting for issues raised related to gender and sexuality; services provided; referrals made.
- Develop service provider training that emphasizes how aspects of identity—gender, sexuality, race, newcomer status, etc.—intersect or interact in novel and unexpected ways to shape client experiences. Providers need training and support around allowing clients to identify which aspects of identity are salient in any situation.
- Allow clients a choice of providers. Some may prefer to speak with someone from their co-national community and others might find this undesirable.
- Create more visibility within organizational space—include LGBTQ issues throughout materials for clients in multiple languages and training materials for staff.
- Create policy that provides extra resources or supports for LGBTQ clients and for staff who provide services.
- Interpreters need training related to LGBTQ issues.
- Be aware that being LGBTQ or an ally does not automatically make someone an expert in LGBTQ issues or LGBTQ settlement. While some have expressed a desire to work with queer clients, these providers will need extra supports (for example, a reduction in overall case load, based on the recognition that LGBTQ clients will need more resources and have more complex problems). Be aware of over-burdening some providers.
- Work on redefining providers' conceptions' of what is an LGBTQ issue away from gender, sexuality, and finding a partner to include more systemic effects of discrimination. For example, employment is an LGBTQ issue; housing is an LGBTQ issue.
- Develop a system for more formally tracking LGBTQ client referrals and documenting experiences at different services. This could be the basis for generating a resource list of queer-friendly providers within organizations.

Analysis of LGBTQ Service Provider Responses

"actually most of our groups-- our peer support groups would have a number of refugee claimants or convention refugees. Sometimes once they've reached landing status, they stay as well . . ."

"there's also no capacity in Edmonton's queer community for them to find cultural space. We're a small community, um, we are a cisgender white community, largely male, um with not a lot of room for . . ."

"So, we send people, we refer people out and they get shuffled from system to system to system. If they don't find that right person, then they're sent to. . .they send them back to us… and our experience is even when you find the right people, or some of the right people, uh-- we live in a highly transitory employment based world- - so they're not there anymore, right"

"there's funding…and we've worked hard to… build relationships around this… groups have a proprietariness around their services…we don't want you to do settlement work because that's what we do, and if you've got dollars then we're gonna lose dollars. So there's this, there's this protective thing that happens and it's around money, it's around service identity"

"…a lot of trauma walks through our doors…people who need support or need that community…a fair number-- of newcomers… the Caribbean or Africa who come to us because…their community's not supportive…"

Most organizations have a general mandate that welcomes all LGBTQ people to participate in activities and services, but none have programs specifically for LGBTQ newcomers, although the Pride Centre is developing a peer support group run by and for this population. Specifically, a master's student in counselling psychology is doing a practicum to develop the group, which was tried once before but was discontinued. The student has done a literature review and several focus groups with LGBTQ newcomers who spoke to the need. (She is a newcomer but not LGBTQ). Pride Centre works with refugees, providing letters of support in documenting LGBTQ identity, and in some cases, staff act as witnesses at hearings. One staff member reported that the caseload of refugees had increased dramatically in the past three years, from 12 or so to 60-80, and newcomers are integrated into many of the services they provide (women's support group, men's support group). There are staff who are knowledgeable about the refugee claims process, and it is part of their practice to encourage newcomers to participate in activities regularly over as long a period of time as possible so that participation can be reflected in support letters. It is less clear whether LGBTQ newcomers continue to participate in Centre activities after landing (a factor that could speak to general comfort with services). This staff member referenced an "underground railroad" for

housing, where staff informally put queer newcomers in touch with safe housing. There is a desire to have a settlement worker working out of the Pride Centre, as they feel that they do not have the capacity to do this work themselves. The organization receives referrals from Catholic Social Services, ISSMS, EMCN, Indo-Canadian Women's Association, Islamic Family & Social Services Association and other organizations and individuals (lawyers, clinicians, community members). The organization is aware that newcomers may struggle to access a service that is publicly labelled as queer, and plan to change their name from "Pride", which, as one service provider put it, "has strong gay connotations" to something including SOGI (i.e. sexual orientation and gender identity) to be more welcoming to newcomers, and also to remove or minimize any rainbows in their logo.

HIV Edmonton offers services to HIV+ individuals and has services for men who have sex with men (MSM) and for African, Black and Caribbean (ABC) individuals, and, although many ABC individuals are newcomers or immigrants, and some are also MSM, there is no group specifically for gay newcomers. Given the focus on HIV, when they do work with newcomers often it's around: 1.) issues of accessing antiretroviral drugs during waiting periods in the

> *"when you go to a gay event here, you are going to see a whole lot of white dudes"*
>
> *"outreach workers are very geared toward supporting an inner city street involved population…"*
>
> *"if I know that there's a person or people who uh belong to a particular cultural group that are historically really homophobic like I'm not, I'm gonna be antsy about working with them as well."*

immigration process when claimants are not eligible for Alberta Health, and 2.) finding care for people diagnosed during the immigration process. There is also a recognition of racism, especially sexualized racism, in the mainstream LGBTQ community, and service provider xenophobia. The ABC program is run by one individual who is well connected in Edmonton communities and delivers services largely in the community, since the HIV Edmonton building is seen as stigmatizing. As another staff member said: "the person in the resource"—meaning that she—and her connections and knowledge of the community—is what enables that work. While there are drop-in programs (that include meals) these are largely attended by poor and street-involved clients, and may be uncomfortable for newcomers. Staff members recognize the huge impact of

stigma in newcomer communities, and re-named their building "the Red Ribbon Building" to make it more newcomer friendly.

Barriers to LGBTQ Organizations Supporting Newcomers

People are the resources

> *"in referring clients…once you build that trust and confidence with that person, most of the time community members want to stick with you and they're very scared to talk about their HIV with another person"*
>
> *"Sometimes people come and complain about social workers or counsellors or people in settlement organizations saying that they've treated them badly"*

Programs exist through a person and their connections to a community and the trust they have built, when that person leaves the program "disappears", too. Someone new will have to build connections and trust; referrals are often to specific people who are known to be queer friendly at organizations rather than to the organization per se; referrals to the wrong people in organizations often result in run-arounds for clients where they find themselves returned to the service where the referral originated; some clients don't want to be referred because they trust a provider (understandable given their history of persecution and the fact that they want as few people as possible to know) but creates burdens on providers.

Funding

Service delivery is driven by funding, and short-term funding makes it difficult to sustain programs. Some organizations that specialize in LGBTQ service delivery see queer issues as a funding grab for non-queer organizations; similarly, they report territoriality among not-for-profit organizations around specialities and service delivery.

> *"And oftentimes we forget, we only look at the community member and ask the community member to fit into our system. We don't look at the service provider be it a policy, a person, a position, a form that they have to fill. We never stop to see what the system, how the system is contributing to this."*

Competition for funding and resources is sometimes managed by having a service provider from one organization working out of another organization (e.g. Streetworks has funding and

resources for needle-exchange but runs the program out of Boyle Street and several other downtown heath centres). Specific organizational mandates (for e.g. to serve HIV positive people) drive programming that is responsive to funding, which is determined by epidemiological profiles/disease burden, and this is too narrow a focus to account for many newcomers. Given the structure of funding and limited employment contracts, many organizations do not advertise for clients because they are already at capacity with the ones they have.

Identity Politics

> *"And I'm not necessarily the person to take leadership either cuz I've got 500 other things that I'm trying to do right, and I'm a white dude, I'm a white dude with a master's degree, right?"*

Many organizations voiced their concerns that services for a community be developed within that community. This perspective overlooks how relative disenfranchisement shapes ability to organize and access resources (like funding). Newcomers will not be in a position to think about organizing until they have become established in Canada, a process that can take years. Beyond this, the stigma and isolation they face in home communities is a serious disincentive and likely barrier to acquiring resources necessary to found and organize groups. For example, one service provider discussed how his role was to work on behalf of gay men, because he is a gay (white) man. It seems reasonable for mainstream organizations with better access to resources to work with community members to develop and house resources as community members see fit.

> *"for really genuine and robust community building, you need people from the community doing that for their own community…"*

Philosophical Differences

> *"I think that unfortunately those activist communities that provide that space for someone to …be a person of colour and be queer…you need the luxury of being a citizen, and you need the luxury of being comfortable in Canadian culture to participate"*

Some service providers have identified difficulty building relationships between organizations with different philosophical mandates. More mainstream organizations see grass-roots collectives for queer minorities as too activist or too political. In these cases, there is a disconnect around organizational goals that is rooted in relative disenfranchisement.

Definitions of queerness

While Pride Centre recognized that they are white, male mainstream Canadian, there is some desire to provide training on how to serve queer clients to any organization which does so. While there is potential for learning and resource sharing, it's not always obvious to service providers at LGBTQ organizations that LGBTQ is a cultural construction with a specific political history. There is also a need for clients to be able to define their sexual and gender identities on their own terms with other newcomers, remaking Canadian queerness alongside their own ways of being queer from their cultures of origin.

> *"what's really common…people come here for information cuz they're like, 'I have these feelings but I don't have the words for them'."*
>
> *"and I know the queer community wants to support these people and would be willing to…work with cultural communities…getting them to accept and really listen to these concepts, that's difficult, right?"*
>
> *"this is my opinion, not the Centres'…the only model of queerness in Edmonton…is white queerness. It's white, middle-class, born and raised in Canada…our conceptualization of what queerness is, and what gender is, what sexual orientation is, is through that lens of white, of white supremacy"*

Youth Experiences

According to Planned Parenthood, Toronto (2005) newcomer families must address a number of prominent differences between Canada and countries of origin:

"prevalence of sex and sexuality in the media, the availability of condoms, non-abstinence based education, legal abortion and birth control, the acceptance of sex before marriage, and the acceptance and recognition of homosexuality"

The RT interviewed staff from five programs that engage youth (under the age of 24): two Campus based programs at secondary educational institutions; two community programs (Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta, Queer Mentoring Program); and one program in Edmonton Public Schools. Each of these organizations has some experience working with newcomers and some experience around queer issues, but none are particularly designed and intended for queer newcomers. There were varying levels of competence across these services, with most expressing need for more training and information specifically regarding issues of queer newcomer youth. Many discussed the scope of challenged these newcomers face; challenges their organization encounters around lack of translation skills and cultural competency; and the complex role youth have reconciling Canadian cultural norms with familial expectations and culture.

Literature dealing with newcomer youth also identifies newcomer youth in general are more likely to engage in sexual risk taking to mitigate pressures to fit in with peers (Toronto Planned Parenthood 2005, Munro et. Al. 2016), and that queer newcomer youth are at increased risk for

homelessness due to conflict with parents around exposure to differing norms around sexuality (Toronto Planned Parenthood 2005, Munro et. Al. 2016).

The Landing is a relatively new program at University of Alberta, that offers a number of programs for queer university students and community members. They have a program specifically oriented towards queer minorities (IBPOC: Indigenous, Black, People of Color). The staff member interviewed described the Centre as "very open and welcoming" to everyone, however had no training or experience related to the potential needs of newcomers.

The Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT) has an LGBTQ inclusivity program which includes components to "change the culture" on campus, prior to beginning endeavors to address queer student needs. The program allows faculty and staff to complete LGBTQ

> *"… program is a way for us to kind of change the culture first before we begin having some of those more advanced conversations related to queer issues…"*

diversity training and then display a sticker in their space, so students can differentiate safe from unsafe spaces. This may offer a model for EMCN to identify LGBTQ positive individuals while working to address homophobia within the organization.

> *"…they're obliged to…follow in the ideas of their parents about who they are, what their culture is, what their…identity is. But then they're encouraged…in the academic environment…to develop their own identity"*

The Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta is a community organization by and for French-speaking students, including newcomers from French speaking countries (primarily in Africa, but also Haiti). The organization has been vocally supportive of LGBTQ members and compiled French-language resources as a first step towards including GSAs in Francophone schools. Students decide areas of interest and focus each year during the general assembly, and have raised queer issues as of concern in the past. Recent concerns include the environment, feminism and racism. The program emphasizes developing positive attitudes towards diversity, inclusion and leadership. Staff identified identity building and providing a sense of belonging as strengths of the program.

The Edmonton Public School Board has a diversity consultant who contributes to design and facilitation of diversity issues within the schools. The participant describes their role as providing a "centralized, front-line call to schools" designed to provide professional learning for new staff and safe contact training. While The staff member identifies Edmonton Public Schools as doing a sound job with ESL training, they indicate that newcomer students are not integrated into after school activities (because they feel their English is not adequate) and that they lack orientation to Edmonton—they display little knowledge of the city (for example, they don't know that the city is bisected by a river), its resources, or how to access them. This participant reported a desire to find ways to connect with and involve parents in schooling, and difficulty in doing so.

> *"I think that bringing the families in… there's a big disconnect sometimes between what's happening at school for the students and what's happening at home"*

> Regarding variables the consider in helping queer youth in schools:
>
> *"Like it could be…confidentiality. It matters if the family knows or the family doesn't know yet. It matters if there's…harassment happening or discrimination. Um it matters what the student is involved in a school-- whether it be athletics or clubs… And then of course it really matters… if someone has shared information about their sexual orientation versus their gender identity or gender expression. Um, those are really different, you know. Cuz we might need to start talking about washrooms, and change rooms and pronoun changes and name changes and all of that stuff so ya really, it really depends."*

The Queer Mentors' program is a joint effort between The Pride Centre of Edmonton and the Boys& Girls Clubs Big Brothers Big Sisters (BGCBigs) that offers queer mentors to youth. BGCBigs has taken an active role with newcomer communities (for example, hosting programs for Syrian youth) and many newcomer youth are involved in the youth mentors programs. Currently there are no newcomers in the queer mentoring program, though staff are open to raising the age limit to 24 and cultivating a program for that population. The staff member voiced some concerns around barriers participants face (poverty, inability to pay transit) and fear that participation will be discovered by a co-national or family member. Beyond this, they voiced concern about ability to address the sheer enormity of issues that queer

newcomers face (around safety, persecution, isolation) compared with the relative banality of services they regularly offer to Edmonton-born youth.

Suggestions for Action:

- Develop programming and skills based workshops for newcomer parents related to parenting and the challenges youth face in balancing expectations of Canadian life and country of origin
- Consider partnering settlement agencies with the Queer Mentors Program to enhance the mentorship program for queer newcomers
- Consider adopting a system where trained staff display an emblem indicating they welcome queer clients.

RESOURCES INCLUDED IN THE LITERATURE REVIEW

Brotman, S., & Lee, E .O. (2010). *Speak out! Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and queer refugees in Canada: Exploring intersections of sexual, gender and cultural diversity.* Research Report. Montreal: McGill University.

Brown, W. (2012) *Out of Many One People: Telling the Stories of Jamaican Gay Men and their Move to Canada.* Master's Thesis: Royal Roads University.

Chavez, K. (2011). Identifying the Needs of LGBTQ Immigrants and Refugees in Southern Arizona. Journal of Homosexuality. Pgs. 189 - 218

Envisioning LGBT Refugee Rights in Canada. (2015) *Is Canada a Safe Haven?* Research Report. York University.

Jordan, S. (2010). Un/Convention(al) Refugees: Contextualizing Accounts of Refugees Facing Homophobic or Transphobic Prosecution. *Refuge: Canada's Periodical on Refugees,* pgs. 165-182

Lee, OJE and S. Brotman. (2011). Identity, Refugeeness and Belonging: Experiences of Sexual Minority Refugees in Canada. *Canadian Sociology Review,* Pgs. 241-274

Lee, E. OJE (2016) SPEAK OUT! Structural Intersectionality and Anti-Oppressive Practice with LGBTQ Refugees in Canada. *Canadian Social Work Review.* Pgs. 157 – 183.

Lidstone, R. (2003). *Refugee Queerings: Sexuality, Identity and Place in Canadian Refugee Determination.* Master's Thesis: University of Western Ontario.

MOSAIC. (2015). *To Best Support LGBTQ Immigrant Newcomers: Community Dialogue: Participatory Recommendations Report.* Research Report: Vancouver.

Mulé N. & E. Gates-Gasse. (2012). *Envisioning LGBT Refugee Rights in Canada: Exploring Asylum Issues.* Research Report: York University. Available at: http://ow.ly/EGSOT

Munro, L., R. Travers, A. St. John, K. Klein, H. Hunter, D. Brennan and C. Brett. (2016). A Bed of Roses? Exploring the Experiences of LGBT Newcomer Youth who Migrate to Toronto. Ethnicity and Inequalities in Health and Social Care. 6(4).

Murray, D. A. (2013). Becoming Queer Here: Integration and Adaptation Experiences of Sexual Minority Refugees In Toronto. *Refuge: Canada's Periodical on Refugees,* Pgs. 127 – 135.

Murray, D. A. (2014a). Real Queer: "Authentic" LGBT Refugee Claimants and Homonationalism in the Canadian Refugee System. *Anthropologica,*56, pg. 21 – 32.

Murray, D. A. (2014b). The Challenge of Home for Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Refugees in Toronto. Journal of Canadian Studies. 48(1).

O'Neill, B. (2010). Challenges Faced by Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Newcomers: Implications for Services. *Canadian Social Work.* 12(2).

O'Neill, B & H Kia. (2012) *Settlement Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual newcomers in BC.* 2012. Research Report. Available at: http://ow.ly/EGUUp

O'Neill, B. & K. Sproule. (2011) "Enhancing Social Inclusion: Settlement Services in Relation to LGB Newcomers". In Engendering Migrant Health: Canadian Perspectives. Ed. Denise L Spitzer.

Suehn, M. (2010). Experiences of Settlement Work with LGBT Newcomers. Master's Thesis: University of British Columbia.

Toronto Planned Parenthood. (2005). *Improving Access for Newcomer Youth to Sexual Health Resources and Services*. Research Report.

Yee, J., Z. Marshall and T. Vo. (2014). Challenging Neo-Colonialism and Essentialism: Incorporating Hybridity into New Conceptualizations of Settlement Service Delivery with Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Queer Immigrant Young People. Critical Social Work. 15(1).

APPENDIX A: SETTLEMENT WORKER INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introductory Script:

Read to participant:

My name is LJ and I am working with the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers (EMCN) to understand the needs and experiences of newcomers who are also Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual or Transgender. You do not have to be Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender or Queer to participate. You have valuable knowledge about your community and the newcomer experience and we would like to learn from you. You have experience helping newcomers, and you might be, or have been, a newcomer yourself. I would like to ask you about your experiences and ideas to help the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers improve services.

1. Participation in this project is voluntary and you will not be paid. You may choose to withdraw your participation at any time. There will be no penalty.
2. You do not have to answer all the questions. If you want to skip a question, tell me (the interviewer) to ask the next question. You can also choose to end the interview at any time. There will be no penalty.
3. The interview will last approximately 30 minutes. I will write notes during the interview. If you agree, I (the interviewer) will record the interview with an audio recording machine. Only me and my supervisor will listen to these recordings. You can chose for our interview to not be recorded by audio and can ask me to turn off the recording machine at any time.
4. Your name will not appear in any research reports. The researchers will not share your name or my participation with others.
5. To obtain the research findings, please contact Ricki Justice (rjustice@emcn.ab.ca).

Do you have any questions for me?

Can I audio record this interview or do you prefer that I only take written notes?

I have questions about being a newcomer and questions about working with newcomers. You might be able to answer both sets of questions, or just one. These first questions will help us decide which topics to talk about.

- Are you a newcomer, or did you consider yourself to be a newcomer in Canada at one time?

If yes:
  - May I ask you some questions about your experience as a newcomer?
  If never identified as a newcomer, skip ahead.

For EMCN Staff who are also Newcomers:

I will begin by asking you about your home country. These questions will help us understand how your home country is different from or similar to Canada.

- Where are you from?

- What was your life like in <insert name of home country> (open ended prompt. Once they have stopped speaking, follow up with prompts below)
    --What was your family like?
    --Did you or anyone else in your family have a job? What was it?
    --Did you go to school? What was it like?
- In your community what could a woman expect her life to be like? What events or experiences are normal for girls as they grow up there?
- In your community what could a man expect his life to be like? What events or experiences are normal for boys as they grow up?
- In your home community, how do young people find someone to date or marry?
- What is the word in your language for girls who love or date girls? For boys who love or date boys?
- In your home community, what did you know or learn about <insert LGBTQ terms from above, or use LGBTQ>
- Did you know any people who were <insert LGBTQ term from above or use LGBTQ> What was their life like?
- Were there any community groups or resources for <insert terms or use LGBTQ > in your home community?

These next questions are about coming to Canada and your life in Canada: You can talk about your own experiences or the experiences of others from your community.

- When did you come to Canada? What was that experience like?

    --did you come with anyone, or did you know anyone in Canada?
    --why did you decide to leave <insert home country>
- What is your life like in your community in Canada?
- What were some of the biggest challenges you faced in adjusting to life in Canada?
- Do you think these challenges would be different for people who are <insert LGBTQ term here>? Why or why not?
- Have your ideas about <insert GLBTQ term here> changed since you have come to Canada?

FOR EMCN SERVICE PROVIDERS:

Questions about your work at EMCN:

- How long have you worked at EMCN? What is your role? Do you have any other formal or informal experiences with newcomers? What are those?
- Do clients ever raise issues related to gender identity or sexual orientation in your work? When do these issues arise? What kinds of issues do they raise?
- Do newcomers from specific countries or ethnic groups have different concerns either in general relating to being LGBT?

- Would you be comfortable talking about sexuality and gender with clients?

- Would you feel comfortable talking about issues relating to sexual identity or <insert term>?
- Is talking to clients about these issues within your job description?
- If not, is there a person on staff whose job description includes helping clients with these issues?
- Has a client ever asked you for help relating to being <use their term>?
- What was this like for you? What did you do or say?
- In your work with EMCN, have you received training about <use term(s) in their language> or LGBT issues?
- If so, what kind of training?
- To the extent that it fits in with your job description, do you feel you are prepared to help clients, with concerns relating to being <insert their term/LGBTQ>, or would you like more training?
- Do you know where LGBT clients can go for help in Edmonton with LGBTQ issues?
- Based on your experience, what are the most important issues or challenges facing <insert their term> immigrants settling in Canada?

What else do you want to tell me?

APPENDIX B: LGBTQ PROVIDERS' CONCERNS

Intro Script:

I am doing research for the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers (EMCN) to understand the needs and experiences of newcomers who are also Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual or Transgendered. As part of this research we are interviewing service providers so that we can draw on their experiences, if any, with newcomers to Edmonton. Should you agree to participate, I will ask you questions about your experiences working for this organization.

Before you decide, I will give you information about the interview.

The interview will last from approximately 45 minutes.

1. Participation in this project is voluntary and you will not be paid. You may choose to stop participating at any time.
2. You do not have to answer all the questions. If you want to skip a question, tell me to ask the next question. You can also choose to end the interview at any time.
3. The researcher will write notes during the interview. If you agree, the interviewer will record the interview with an audio recording machine. Only me and my supervisor will listen to these recordings. You can choose for our interview to not be recorded by audio and can ask the researcher to turn off the recording machine at any time.
4. We will be writing a report for the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers. This report will be available to staff and Board Members. Your name will not appear in any research reports. The researcher will not share your name or participation.

Do you have any questions?

Do you agree to be interviewed?

Questions about community service network and organization:

- How would you describe your clientele? Does your mission include serving a particular sub-group of GLBTQ Edmontonians? Does your organization attract a specific type (or several types) of client? Describe each.
- Does your organization have any relationships or partnerships with immigration and settlement agencies? (describe and specify which ones)

Immigrant and refugee clients' needs:

Does your organization offer services specifically intended for immigrants and refugees? (specify)

Does your organization serve immigrants or refugees (i.e. through services not specifically intended for immigrants and refugees)?

- If so, what are the main ethnic groups your organization serves?
- What programs and services do immigrants or refugees come to your organization looking for?
  (ask to describe program)
- How do the needs of immigrant or refugee clients differ from those of your typical clientele? Which needs are similar? Which needs are raised most often?
- Which needs do you feel that you meet successfully? What factors contribute to your success in these areas?
- Which needs to you feel that you are unable to meet? What factors contribute to this?
- What factors, if any, do you think draws immigrant and refugee clients to the services you offer?
- How do they hear about your services?
- Do you ever have immigrants or refugees seeking services at your organization that you do not provide?
- Does your staff receive training related to serving immigrant and refugee clients? (specify)
- Are there reasons immigrant or refugee clients might find in difficult to, or not be able to, access services your organization provides? **
- Why do you think this is? What factors have you considered in your answer?
- Has your organization undertaken any measures to attract immigrant and refugee clientele? Why or why not? What barriers would your organization face in doing so?
- Do you refer immigrant and refugee clients to other organizations? If so, which ones?
- Do you know of any services in Edmonton that are specifically for LGBTQ immigrants and refugees?
- Is there anything else that you would like me to know? Is there a question or questions that you are wondering why I have not asked you?

APPENDIX C: SCHOOLS OR YOUTH INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Intro Script:

I am doing research for the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers (EMCN) to understand the needs and experiences of newcomers who are also Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual or Transgendered. As part of this research we are interviewing service providers so that we can draw on their experiences to develop appropriate settlement services for LGBTQI newcomers. Should you agree to participate, I will ask you questions about needs of immigrant or refugee students at this school.

Before you decide, I will give you information about the interview.

The interview will last from approximately 45 minutes.

1. Participation in this project is voluntary and you will not be paid. You may choose to stop participating at any time.
2. You do not have to answer all the questions. If you want to skip a question, tell me to ask the next question. You can also choose to end the interview at any time.
3. The researcher will write notes during the interview. If you agree, the interviewer will record the interview with an audio recording machine. Only me and my supervisor will listen to these recordings. You can choose for our interview to not be recorded by audio and can ask the researcher to turn off the recording machine at any time.
4. We will be writing a report for the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers. This report will be available to staff and Board Members. Your name will not appear in any research reports. The researcher will not share your name or participation.

Do you have any questions?

Do you agree to be interviewed?

- How would you describe your school?
- What is the surrounding neighborhood like?
- How would you describe your students? Are there different "types" of students as recognized by staff or students themselves? Please describe each.
- Do you have students who are immigrants or refugees? Staff? If so, from which groups?
- Does your school have any relationships or partnerships with immigration and settlement agencies? (describe and specify which ones)
- Does your staff receive training related to serving immigrant and refugee students? (specify)

Immigrant and refugee students' needs:

- Does your school offer services or programs specifically for immigrants or refugees students? Can you tell me about these programs? Are they voluntary? Do they attract students from particular backgrounds?
- Does your school offer services or do outreach to immigrant or refugee families? Can you tell me about these?
- According to staff, do immigrant and refugee students have different schooling needs than Canadian-born students with Canadian-born parents? (I.e. or issues that must be managed for learning to take place) How would staff rank these needs?
- What issues or problems do immigrant or refugee students ask for help with? How do you think students rank these needs?
- Which needs do you feel that you meet successfully? What factors contribute to your success in these areas?
- Which needs to you feel that you are unable to meet? What factors contribute to this?

LGBTQ needs

- Does your school have education around sexuality or reproductive health as part of the curriculum? What form does it take?
- Does the curriculum include any teaching related to GLBTQ issues or sexual identity?
- Do students from any background openly express sexually variant identities? What factors play into this? Do immigrant or refugee students? What happens to students who do?
- If a student expressed concerns related to sexual health or identity, how would the school typically address these?
- What kinds of issues do immigrant or refugee students raise with regards to gender, sexuality, reproductive health or sexual wellbeing either with other students or with staff? How would you rank their main concerns?
- Do families of immigrant or refugee students raise any concerns related to gender, sexuality, reproductive health or sexual well being at the school?
- Does your school have any programs or activities directed towards these issues? i.e. gay-straight alliance etc
-
- Is there anything else that you would like me to know? Is there a question or questions that you are wondering why I have not asked you?

APPENDIX D: ETHICS CONCERNS

EMCN Ethics Screening and Concerns Related to EMCN needs assessment for GLBTQ Newcomers:

I completed the ARECCI On-line Screening Tool and based on my answers, received the following ratings:

The likely purpose of the project was determined to be *Quality Improvement or Program Evaluation*

The Risk to participants was rated as 58, exceeding the cut off point below which external review is not necessary by 11 points (cut-off is 47). The questions of concern are:

14. Likelihood that a breach of confidentiality could place participants at risk of legal liability, denial of insurance or other damage to financial standing, employability, or reputation? **13 pts**

16. A power relationship between the investigator and participants (e.g., manager/employee, therapist/client, service provider/recipient, teacher/student)? 13 pts

17. Questions that collect information about sensitive issues, illegal behaviour, stigmatizing conditions or behaviours, or religious or cultural beliefs or practices? 2 pts

21. Collection of data from voice, video, digital or image recordings? **2 pts**

23. Special populations or any individuals or groups in a socially vulnerable position? 3 pts

27. Any significant departure from the routine care, program, or service provided to participants or the gathering of information about participants beyond that normally collected? 13 pts

29. Questions or procedures that might cause participants psychological distress, discomfort or anxiety beyond what a reasonable person might expect in day to day interactions? 13 pts

In part this score reflects the fact that we have answered the questionnaire based on our intent to interview multiple populations (EMCN staff, community members) with somewhat different characteristics, inflating the overall score.

We will address each concern for each population in what follows:

14. Given the stigmatized nature of GLBTQ issues in many of the communities of origin, there is a likelihood that a breach of confidentiality could result in damage to reputation (with implications for financial standing and employability) for all participants if their participation becomes known.

> We have taken the following precautions:

- We will not record names of participants
- We would like to conduct interviews in a room at EMCN that is away from usual traffic flow

- We will not specifically recruit LGBTQ identified participants. All documentation will target community members and specify that participants do not have to be LGBTQ to participate

16. A manager/employee relationship exists for EMCN Staff; a client/staff relationship exists for any clients recruited through staff members.

- Although initial contact with EMCN employees will be made via e-mail from management to staff, the e-mail will emphasize that participation in voluntary and management will not know whether specific staff members participated.

17. Questions will address potentially sensitive or stigmatizing behavior. Although participants will not be asked about their sexuality, they will be asked about perceptions of LGBTQ people in their communities. In some communities simply discussing these issues may be stigmatizing.

- The interview is designed so that first questions are about expected gender norms, family and life course in country of origin. Later questions ask about knowledge of or experiences with LGBTQ people. Participants will be told that they may decline to answer any question or end the interview at any point.

21. Participants will have the option to have the interview recorded via audio recording or hand-written notes. Only the lead researcher and research assistant will have access to audio recordings, which will be stored in a secure location and destroyed upon completion of the project. The issue is assigned a relatively low point score (2).

23. Immigrants and refugees deserve special consideration because they may not have protected legal status in Canada, however the issue is assigned a low point score (3).

27. Asking staff to participate in an interview is a departure from usual work activities.

- This can be mitigated by informing staff that they are free to participate during work hours and in lieu of usual work activities (i.e. they do not have to use break or lunch time to do an interview and their pay will not be affected)

29. Asking about GLBTQ issues or issues related to sexuality could cause distress for people who come from communities where these behaviors, or discussion of sexuality, is stigmatized.

- As above, we have worded the first part of the interview protocol in terms of norms and gender expectations, without specifically addressing GLBTQ issues or sexuality. Participants are able to decline these questions if they prefer.
- We suggest that EMCN have a counselling staff member made available should participants become upset and wish to speak with someone

APPENDIX E: ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTED

LGBTQ Serving Organizations in Edmonton					
Name of Organization	**Clientele and Services**	**Date Contacted**	**Method of Contact**	**Type of Response**	**N**
Boys and Girls Club's Queer Mentorship Project	- Partnership program with Pride Centre for LGBTQ children and youth	02.22 initial, 03.22 follow-up	E-mail (researcher's contact)	-Acknowledgement of receipt; offered to circulate callout -Interview arranged	1
Compass Centre for Sexual Wellness	Sexual health education and counselling	02.22 initial	-E-mail to board member	Compass contacted EMCN staff. Acknowledged receiving callout and expressed interest in project	0
Family Centre, The	Offers counselling and mental health support services at own office and through the Pride Centre.	03.10 initial 03.15,03.16, 03.18 e-mail exchange	E-mailed point person (as per receptionist)	Staff replied (03.15)- said passed callout to colleague; had some questions -Questions answered by researcher (03.16); email exchange (03.18)	0
ISMSS	-Research that affects policy development, intervention, education - Community outreach for sexual and gender minorities	-03.09 (initial email) -03.21 (follow-up email) -04.04 (met outside project) -04.05, 04.06 (Researcher left	-emailed callout to ismss@ualberta.ca -emailed second callout to ismss@ualberta.ca and to 4 ISMSS staff (03.21) -04.04 introduced to ISMSS staff by external participant	ISMSS staff expressed interest in participating and said to call same week. R. left voicemail 04.05, and email 05.06	0

		voicemail and email)			
The Pride Centre of Edmonton	-Drop-in and programming for LGBTQ Edmontonians and their supporters -Provides education and referrals	02.22 initial, 03.09 e-mail exchange with other staff	-e-mail to point person	Acknowledgment of receipt; Interviews arranged	4
REACH Edmonton	-Community-based organization working to mobilize community groups and Edmontonians to find solutions to community safety. -Provides training related to working with visible and sexual minorities	03.02 initial 03.09 sent callout (04.05) Researcher left voicemail and follow-up email (04.06)	-E-mail introduction through external participant to REACH member	- Interest in project and asked to be contacted by phone to arrange interview.	0
EPSB (Edmonton Public School Board)	-EPSB has consultants who over guidance and outreach to staff and students in an effort to promote safety for sexual and gender minorities at school	02.19 initial informal contact (no callout) 03.14 initial formal contact w. callout 03.21 follow-up 03.23 interview arranged	E-mailed callout to contact point person	Acknowledgement of project -Interview arranged	1
Safqey (Society for Safe Accomodations for Queer Edmontonian Youth)	-registered society working to support local LGBTQ2S+ youth facing homelessness. -Safquey is still in foundation phase	03.22	Facebook message to personal contact -Sent callout to general email safqey.projectthey@gmail.com	-Contact confirmed Safqey e-mail address and expressed interest in participating.	0

Campus Based LGBTQ Organizations					
Name of Organization	**Clientele and Services**	**Date Contacted**	**Method of Contact**	**Type of Response**	**N**
InQUEERies (Macewan)	a student group that welcomes all LGBTTQ, straight, and allied students. The group aims to promote diversity at MacEwan University in social and educational settings.	03.07 initial,	-emailed callout, general email inqueeries@gmail.com		0
Landing, The	"A student space for sexual and gender diversity" at the U of A	03.07, initial 03.10, 03.18 (exchanges with 2 staff)	-E-mailed callout to personal contact -emailed callout to general email, thelanding@su.ualberta.ca	acknowledgment of receipt and interest expressed by 2 staff -03.10 email reply- interested in arranging for interview -response from another staff; interview arranged	1
Macewan Diversity Project	aims to bring visibility and resources to LGBTQ and allied community	03.07 initial	-emailed callout to Program Director	- no reply	0
LGBTQ Inclusion, NAIT	for students who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, two-spirited, queer and questioning (LGBTQ).	03.07 initial, 03.21 researcher received phone call	-emailed callout general address	-received phone call 03.21; interview arranged	1
OUTreach (U of A)	U of A LGBTQ student group	03.07	-emailed callout general outreach@ualberta.ca	- no reply	0

Organizations Providing Immigration and Settlement Services					
Name of Organization	**Clientele and Services**	**Date Contacted**	**Method of Contact**	**Type of Response**	**N**
The Africa Centre	Hub for African-Canadian families and groups. Space to groups that offer programming and services	03.22	Email sent to info@africacentre.ca as per receptionist; to be forwarded as per receptionist	No reply	0
ASSIST Community Services Centre	Immigration and family services	03.01 phone call and initial e-mail	Emailed contact as per EMCN	No reply	0
Catholic Social Services – Immigration	Immigration and family services	03.01 phone w. reception 03.01 left and received voicemail from contact 03.01 emailed callout	-Researcher called reception to confirm email of contact -E-mailed callout point person, (as per EMCN)	Contact confirmed receipt of callout	0
Changing Together: A Centre for Immigrant Women	Settlement services for women	03.01 R. called to confirm email address 03.01 initial email	emailed general e-mail address as per receptionist info@changingtogether.com	No reply	0
Centre d'accueil et d'établissment d'Edmonton	Immigration and settlement services in French	03.01 initial 03.24 follow-up	-Researcher phoned reception; connected to HR. -Instructed to email general address info@lecae.ca	No reply	0

Edmonton Immigrant Services Association	Immigration and settlement services	02.25	Emailed point person (as per EMCN)	Interview arranged	1
EMCN (Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers)	Immigration and settlement services	02.17 initial callout and introduction of researchers 02.22 e-mail to location managers 02.26 Researcher presented project to NOVA team at staff meeting 02.29, 03.02 Researcher presented to LINC teachers at EMCN main site 03.03 Researcher presented to in-school settlement team 03.07, 03.09 Researcher presented to Eastwood staff (AM and PM) 03.18 Researcher sent reminder to R. Justice to be emailed to staff	circulated callout to all EMCN staff 02.17	Ongoing contact	11

Islamic Family and Social Services Association	Services to Edmontonians with Islamic context. Offers youth and family programs, counselling. -Partner in welcoming Syrian refugees	03.01 initial 03.21 follow-up	-Emailed EMCN contact	-E-mail acknowledgement of receipt. Callout forwarded. -interview arranged	1
Multi-Cultural Health Brokers Co-op Ltd.	Represents 25 linguistic and cultural communities; health based education and outreach	-03.01 initial -03.15 follow-up to general address	- Emailed EMCN contact -follow-up to general email address	No reply	0
L'Alliance Jeunesse Famille de l'Alberta Société	Francophone non-profit organization focusing on education and crime prevention; AJFAS focuses on helping Francophone immigrant youths and families by implementing social development programs	03.02 initial 03.22 follow-up	- Emailed receptionist. -follow-up email sent to same address	No reply	0
Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta	Programming and leadership by and for French-speaking youth	-03.02 initial 03.15 Received reply	Emailed personal contact	-Informal acknowledgment and interest in project -Interview arranged	1

Other Organizations (identified as having strong LGBTQ or newcomer client base)					
Name of Org.	**Clientele and Services**	**Date Contacted**	**Method of Contact**	**Type of Response**	**N**
HIV Edmonton	-Education, outreach, advocacy for people living with HIV/AIDS, prevention work in high risk populations	02.22	- E-mailed point person as per receptionist	-Phone call follow-up -Second interview arranged via first interviewee	2

iHuman	Engages Edmonton's youth who exhibit high-risk lifestyles – to foster positive personal development and social change	03.22 initial 03.31 received reply	Emailed point person as per receptionist	-(03.31) iHuman staff emailed to participate. Researcher replied that interviews were no longer being scheduled	0

- Unless otherwise indicated, all initial e-mail contact contained the Callout to Potential Participants
- "As per EMCN" indicates that a contact name was provided by staff at Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers
- "As per receptionist" indicates that Research Assistant called the organization's published phone number and, after briefly explaining the research, was informed who to contact

APPENDIX F: QUALITATIVE STUDIES TABLE

Qualitative Studies of LGBTQ Newcomer Experiences of Settlement Services containing primary data

Author	Organization	Approach	Population	Foci
*Brotman and Lee (2011)	Canadian Council for Refugees, Coalition Multi Mundo, Express program	Community based research; adapted grounded theory	Refugees (N=24) Settlement Workers (N=4)	Refugee and settlement experiences of LGBTQ newcomers
*Brown, W, (2012) (master's degree)	none	narrative	Refugees (N=4)	Experiences of acculturation among gay Jamaican refugees in Canada
Chavez, K (2011)	Settlement services partner and LGBTQ partner, names unlisted	Pilot needs assessment	Refugees (N=7), Settlement workers (N=20), Allies (N=5)	Needs of undocumented LGBTQ migrants in USA
*Envisioning LGBT Refugee Rights in Canada (Safe Haven Report)	Alliance For South Asian AIDS Prevention, Black Coalition for AIDS Prevention, Egale Canada Human Rights Trust, Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants, Rainbow Health Ontario, The 519	Participatory Action Research	Refugees (N=92, over 60% Black) Service Providers (N not listed)	Settlement in Canada; Service provider's experiences; the refugee experience
Jordan, S (2009)	Rainbow Refugee Committee (Vancouver)	Critical qualitative inquiry	Refugees (N=9), Lawyers	How do queer refugees engage in settlement?
*Lee and Brotman (2011)	Canadian Council for Refugees, Coalition MultiMundo, Express program	Community based research, intersectionality	Refugees (N=24) Settlement Workers (N=4)	Sociopolitical, legal and epistemic production of sexual refugees in Canada
Lee and Brotman (2016)	Canadian Council for Refugees, Coalition MultiMundo, Express program	Community based research, intersectionality	Refugees (N=24) Settlement Workers (N=4	Implications of SOGI refugee experiences for social work practice
*Lidstone (2006) (master's thesis)	Rainbow Refugee Committee	Ethnography, Feminist epistemology	Refugees (N=16) Lawyer (N=3) Immigration Consultant (N=1)	Refugee determination process
*MOSAIC (2015)	MOSAIC *I Belong*	Participatory Action Research, Knowledge Exchange Round table	Service providers, community organizers, LGBTQ newcomers (N=80)	experiences of refugee process and settlement

*Mule and Gates-Gassi (2012)	OCASI, Envisioning LGBTQ Human Rights (research group)	Participatory Action Research	Round table discussion with "refugees and agencies that serve them"	Needs and experiences of SOGI newcomers to Canada
Munro, Travers, St. John, Klein, Hunteret. Al. (2016)	Planned Parenthood Toronto	Participatory action research	Youth (N=70) Service Providers and Teacher (N=16)	Experiences of oppression among LGBT newcomer youth
Murray, D (2013)	Toronto newcomers group	Ethnography	Refugees (N=54), Lawyers	Refugee claims process, experience of settlement and integration
Murray, D (2014a)	Toronto Newcomers' Group	Ethnography	Refugees (N=54), Lawyers, Settlement Workers	Refugee claims process
Murray, D (2014b)	Toronto newcomers' group	Ethnography	Refugees (N=54)	Refugee claims process, imaginings of home
O'Neill and Sproule (2011)	7 settlement Agencies	Qualitative Content Analysis	Newcomers (N=6), Settlement Workers (N=18)	LGBT Needs Settlement Service
*O'Neill and Kia (2012)	Not specified; in 3 cities in B.C.	Qualitative descriptive, intersectional lens	Newcomers (N=19) Settlement Workers (N=40) GLBTQ service providers (N=25)	settlement experiences of LGB newcomers in British Columbia
O'Neill (2010)	7 settlement Agencies	Qualitative Content Analysis	Newcomers (N=6), Settlement Workers (N=18)	LGBT Needs Settlement Service
*Toronto Planned Parenthood (2005)	Planned Parenthood	Evaluation	Agency Workers (N=16)	Sexual health needs of Newcomer youth in Toronto
Suehn (2015) (Master's Thesis)	LGBTQ Service Provider Networking Group; AMSSA	Descriptive Phenomenology	Service workers (N=12)(settlement, social work, counselling)	Settlement workers' experiences of LGBTQ clients
Yee, Marshall and Vo (2014)	Griffin Centre's reachOUT Newcomer Network	Evaluation;	Newcomer youth eligible for IRCC services (N=31)	Youth experiences accessing settlement services

*designates grey literature

The Envisioning LGBT Rights in Canada research team includes: Kathleen Gamble, Nick J. Mulé, Nancy Nicol, Phyllis Waugh, Sharalyn Jordan