Building Bridges to Social Inclusion: Researching the Experiences and Challenges of the Lost Boys and Girls of Sudan Community in Winnipeg

Dr. Karen Magro
University of Winnipeg

Working Paper No. WP01-09

2009
The PMC Working Paper Series is published by the Prairie Metropolis Centre.

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the publisher or funders.

Copyright of this paper is retained by the author(s).

For additional information contact:

PMC Working Paper Series
Attention: Mrs. Lenise Anderson, Editorial Assistant
Suite 2-060 RTF Building, 8308 – 114 Street, University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB T6G 2E1 Canada
Tel: (780) 492-0635 Fax: (780) 492-2594
Email: lenise@ualberta.ca
Web Site: http://pmc.metropolis.net

Funders
We are pleased to acknowledge the following organizations that provide funding in support of the Prairie Metropolis Centre: the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada; Citizenship and Immigration Canada; Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, Canada Border Services Agency, Canada Economic Development for the Region of Quebec, Canadian Heritage; Statistics Canada; Human Resources and Social Development Canada; Rural Secretariat of Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, Department of Justice Canada, Public Health Agency of Canada, Federal Economic Development Initiative of Northern Ontario, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation; Public Works and Government Services Canada; the Royal Canadian Mounted Police; and Public Safety Canada. The University of Alberta provides PMC with a generous grant and the other participating universities offer supplementary support.
Building Bridges to Social Inclusion: Researching the Experiences and Challenges of the Lost Boys and Girls of Sudan Community in Winnipeg

Karen Magro
University of Winnipeg

Acknowledgments: I would like to extend my gratitude to Canadian Heritage and the University of Winnipeg for their generous help in funding this project. Thank you to Cassandra Costas, Francis Akuin, An’ger Deng Ruay, and Michael Mayen for their valuable insights and research assistance.

This research study provides a closer insight into background, experiences, and new challenges faced by one of the African refugee groups—the Lost Boys and Girls of Sudan. This study used qualitative interviews and narrative inquiry to understand the barriers and challenges of twenty members of the Lost Boys and Girls Community in Winnipeg. Teachers, counselors, and community workers who have worked with this refugee Community in Winnipeg were also interviewed. A survey was also distributed to 100 Lost Boys and Girls of Sudan community members to further investigate their adaptation to life in Winnipeg since their arrival in 2002. Adult learning and literacy theories were used as a theoretical base to interpret and understand the challenges experiences by many of the adults. This study found that successful integration into different dimensions of Canadian life challenge educational and settlement agencies and providers to examine critically their programs and resources to ensure that they are meeting the changing settlement needs. In general, a clash between the high expectations that many of the adult refugees had of Canada and the difficulties involved in establishing a new life in Canada was an additional source of stress. Despite the loss and hardship that so many young men and women from the South Sudan experienced, they also demonstrated resilience in facing new experiences and challenges in Canada.

Part One: Introduction and Emerging Trends: The Growth of Winnipeg’s African Communities

“In a nation of immigrants, we can only listen to one another’s ideas, and support our neighbors as they navigate that great distance---both geographic and emotional---between old homes and new homes.” (John Lorinc, 2006, The New City, p. xiii)

Based on qualitative interviews and surveys, the focus of this paper will be to highlight the challenges and experiences of adults from the Lost Boys and Girls of Sudan community in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The challenges of navigating an unfamiliar cultural,
legal, educational, and social system are reflected in their interviews. In addition, insights and new directions in teaching adults from war affected countries are presented by the teachers interviewed for this study.

In recent years, immigrants from more than forty different African countries have been making Winnipeg their home. Ethiopia, Sudan, and Sierra Leone were among the top African countries for refugees immigrating to Manitoba over the past decade. According to community leaders, approximately 11,000 to 15,000 African-Canadians live in Winnipeg. Sixty-nine percent of recent immigrants from African communities came to Manitoba as refugees (Simbandumwe, 2007). While in 1996 there were 311 immigrants from Africa, in 2006 this number increased to 1,276. Indeed, provinces like Manitoba have taken proactive steps to attract immigrants.

Chart of Selected African Communities


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethno-Cultural Community</th>
<th>Estimated Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritrea</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11,050</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Simich (2000) asserts that while citizenship rules “confer equity in principle,” in practice newcomers face many barriers. At one level, refugees are relieved to find a safe haven in Canada; however, they may also face a new set of barriers once they arrive: living in unsafe neighbourhoods, unemployment, the absence of social networks, isolation, discrimination, and trauma. In her analysis of immigration and settlement patterns in metropolitan Toronto, Simich (2000) is critical of programs that underscore the actual personal, social, and cultural experiences of immigration. She emphasizes that “settlement can be a very long-term process, unique to every individual” (p.10). Indeed, immigration today has become more complex as individuals attempt to adapt to legal, social, cultural, religious, and social mores that may be incongruous to ones they are familiar.
This research study also explores the question: to what extent are newcomers being made to feel a part of Canada—starting at a community and local level? I agree with Schugurensky (2006) that newcomers should not be conceived of as “economic producers and consumers” but as informed and critically aware individuals. The present study is designed to learn more about the specific challenges and barriers that the lost boys and girls of Sudan have experienced since their arrival in Canada, and their subsequent settlement in Winnipeg. How did their unique experiences impact the process of acculturation? What were their expectations of Canada? What specific barriers and challenges do they face as they navigate a new cultural, social, legal, and educational system? The majority of the lost boys and girls of Sudan came to Winnipeg during 2002-2004. Since that time, note community leaders, many left to be reunited with family members, or to seek educational and employment opportunities in other Canadian provinces or in parts of the United States.

Escaping Conflict and War: The Journey of the Lost Boys and Girls of Sudan

The experiences of the Lost Boys and Girls of Sudan and their settlement in Winnipeg reflect the way that global conflict and war can capriciously change the trajectory of life. Modern warfare, has an impact on the way people move within local and international communities (Jones, p. 31). This is particularly relevant for understanding the situation of the participants in this research. In the past twenty years, Sudan's civil war has forced thousands to flee to neighbouring African countries and to seek a safe haven in countries like Canada, the United States, Australia, and parts of Europe. Scroggins (2006, p.80) refers to the “violent ecosystem” of factors that have contributed to Sudan's civil wars. The ongoing civil wars in Sudan destroyed much of the economy and infrastructure of towns and cities. Government neglect, war, and a lack of supplies and resources have led to two generations of southern Sudanese children not receiving an education (United States Committee for Refugees USCR, 1999; Bul Dau, 2006). In an attempt to escape the war or search for employment, many young Sudanese moved into the Khartoum area. Thousands who fled for safety with the help of the UNHCR and have resettled in the United States and Canada. Many came from either Egypt or Kenya. The impact on has been massive displacement of the Sudanese population as the following passage shows:

Sudan hosts the largest displaced population in the world and has produced one of every nine of the world’s uprooted people. At the end of 1999, more than 4 million Sudanese remained internally displaced, and some 420,000 Sudanese refugees were living in neighboring countries (Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya, Congo-Kinshasa, Central African Republic, Chad, and Egypt). Since 1983, more than 2 million Sudanese have died because of the country’s civil war, including one in every five Sudanese, according to estimates. (USCR Refugee Reports, Spring/Summer, 2000).
In recent years, personal narratives and biographies detailing the ordeals and remarkable stories of survival of young men and women from the Sudan have become known (Bixler 2006; Dau 2007; Bok 2004; Eggers 2006). Family fragmentation, witnessing the death of close friends and family members, a narrow escape from death, years of interrupted schooling, the difficult life in large refugee camps, such as the Kakuma camp, and the stress of resettlement were recurring themes that emerged both from these biographies and from the experiences described from the interviews in this study.

The Lost Boys and Girls who relocated in Winnipeg are mostly from the Dinka tribe in the south Sudan. Many came from agrarian communities where their livelihood centered on farming and raising livestock. Based on community estimates and information gathered from Statistics Canada, there are between 100 and 150 Lost Boys and Girls in Winnipeg. Community members have noted that some moved from Winnipeg to Brooks, Alberta, and cities like Calgary and Edmonton in search of more advantageous job prospects. One community leader observed that some of the young men who came to Winnipeg feel a sense of restlessness. “They want to see success right away and feel that a larger city will be better.” A majority of the Sudanese young adults interviewed for this project come from cities and towns such as Wau, Juba, and Aweil in the southern area of Sudan. Unaccompanied by their parents, and seeking a safe haven and an escape from suffering and starvation, the lost boys and girls walked hundreds of miles, finally reaching camps along the Ethiopian border. In 1991-92, many of the LBGS were forced to return to Sudan because of the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea; they then traveled by foot to northern Kenya. The time spent at the Kakuma refugee camp (USCR) ranged from two years to twenty years Bixler notes that what is certain is that “nearly all [the lost boys and girls of Sudan] lost a childhood” and endured hardship and tragedy that most people would find unimaginable.

**Methodology**

In this study, a major focus was on trying to understand the “essence” of the refugee experience from the voices of the refugees themselves—the lost boys and girls of Sudan who had settled in Winnipeg. While this study also incorporated quantitative data (survey analysis), the primary means of data collection were audio-taped semi-structured and open ended interviews which lasted between 1 and 2 hours. The interview questions centered around the pre, trans, and post immigration experiences of the lost boys and girls of Sudan. Merriam (2002) notes that the richness and personalized nature of phenomenological research affords “a vividness and integration of cultural information that are of great value for understanding particular life ways” (p. 99). In recent years, the use of narrative inquiry and autobiographical research has proven to be a valuable way to understand the complex and varied experiences of adult learners (Dominice, 2000; Karpia, 2003; Kouritzen, 2000). Dominice, for example, writes that the themes of uprootedness, resettlement, and issues of identity and acculturation lend themselves to biographical analysis. Kouritzen (2000) further
suggests that methods such as life history research could be used to inform policy and practice in adult English as an Additional Language (EAL) education. She asserts that "even one life history could add depth of knowledge to our understanding of social change, yet generations of history are lost because there is no time, ability, or opportunity to record them" (p.11). Kouritzen notes that studying biographical accounts can be viewed as a "necessary addition to EAL/ESL research methodology, one powerful enough to gesture toward recognizing the complexity caused by the intersection of race, class, language, history, and culture that we face in the classroom" (p. 31).

I had been invited by the Lost Boys and Girls of Sudan Organization in Winnipeg to explain the focus of my study. Interested participants then contacted me by phone or email. My study was part of a larger Community Integration Study on the Lost Boys and Girls of Sudan funded by Canadian Heritage. The teachers who participated in this study worked in local adult learning centres, high schools, and technical colleges. I made contact with the teachers through professional organizations and administrators who knew of my study. I was given the opportunity to explain the focus of my study to faculty members in several adult learning centres and in one of Winnipeg’s technical colleges; interested teachers then contacted me and interviews were arranged.

Survey

In addition to the data collected from the interviews, 100 surveys were distributed to the lost boys and girls community in Winnipeg. Eighty five surveys were completed and returned. The research assistants made every effort to speak with members of the community so that an accurate accounting of responses was ensured. Surveys were distributed and collected during June-August, 2007. Completed surveys were sealed and returned for both qualitative and quantitative analysis. Open ended questions asking participants to add additional information about the challenges that they had experienced were also included at the end of the survey. Out of the eighty-five surveys returned, twenty women and sixty-five men responded (see the appendix with survey data). The survey addressed questions such as the level of education attained prior to arriving in Canada, current education standing, employment, access to health care, quality of housing and neighbourhood, people and places that were helpful in resettlement, finances, and challenges of living in Winnipeg.

Interviews with five English teachers, three English language consultants, and two refugee settlement workers who have had experience working with adult refugees also took place. These interviews which also lasted between one and two hours were tape-recorded and then transcribed. The interview questions for the teachers, consultants, and settlement workers centered around their perceptions of the challenges faced by the lost boys and girls of Sudan, their perception of the skills and strengths that adult newcomers bring to Canada, and the resources needed to create programs that will best meet the needs of adult refugees.
Theories of Adult Learning and Literacy

Theoretical perspectives from the field of adult education that helped gain an insight into the experiences of the adult learners in this research study were Paulo Freire’s (1971, 1997) critical theory of literacy education, and Jack Mezirow’s (1981, 2000) theory of transformative learning. Literacy education, for Freire (1997) should go beyond teaching functional skills and, instead, move toward helping individuals gain a critical awareness of cultural and social systems and structures that may undervalue or oppress them (Magro, 2001, 2006, 2007). In Freire’s critical theory of literacy education the polarity between the “student and teacher” is reduced and learning becomes an exchange and appreciation of one’s background, culture, and interests. The idea of imposing a “prescribed” or formulaic literacy program without having an insight into the needs and experiences of adult learners can result in individual learners feeling apathetic and passive. Freire is also critical of literacy programs that concentrate on individuals acquiring definable skills that can be tapped and utilized solely in the interests of the economy. A democratic education would first need to acknowledge the existential reality of individuals and the social and psychological barriers that may be impeding their program. Instead of following predetermined plans, Freire’s ideas of adult literacy education are dynamic and “laden with the meaning of people’s existential experiences” (1997, p. 76). There is a strong link, notes Freire, between critical reflection, literacy, and active participation in democratic processes (p.38).

Life history writing, experiential learning, critical media literacy, problem posing questions, and popular theatre are some of the topics and strategies that can be used to help empower students, personally and socially. Adult literacy learners need to be given opportunities to discuss topical political, spiritual, moral, social, and cultural issues in an atmosphere that promotes trust, respect, and openness. Courses like world issues, cultural studies, psychology, art, and creative writing have the potential to help adult learners make connections between themselves and the larger world (Magro, 2003; 2007). Literacy, in this context, is dynamic, lifelong, and varies with the individual's needs and interests. Numeracy, problem solving, and the ability to read, write, and speak are critical dimensions of literacy. Of equal importance are emotional and social literacies: motivation, resilience, interpersonal effectiveness, cultural awareness, and critical thinking. The notion of providing opportunities for adult learners to develop multiple literacies becomes particularly important when understanding the complex task of cultural, educational, social, and economic integration into Canadian society that refugees and newcomers face.

Understanding Refugee Experiences through the Lens of Transformative Learning Theory

Jack Mezirow’s (1981, 2000) theory of transformative learning is particularly relevant for this study when trying to understand the complex processes of acculturation. Acculturation is a journey of learning and development, a journey that often involves
emotional stress, risk taking, and the challenge of adapting quickly to dramatically different and new surroundings. For Mezirow (2000), learning includes the addition of new information, but also the way we understand and interpret our world can be transformed through a process of critical reflection and action. Mezirow writes that transformative learning can be seen as “an enhanced level of awareness of the context of one’s beliefs and feelings, a critique of one’s assumptions and particular premises, and an assessment of alternative perspectives” (1991, p. 6). Mezirow's theory was deemed appropriate for this study, because it claims not to be age, gender, or culturally dependent, and it focuses on emotional, social, and professional growth (Mezirow and Associates, 2000). Mezirow’s (1981) theory evolved from his early work with women who had entered college after being away from formal education for a number of years. As their academic studies proceeded, the women began to question and reconceptualize their traditional role as wife, mother, and caregiver. They began to explore new possibilities for personal and professional growth (Magro, 2001). Based on his observations of the women’s learning experiences, Mezirow detailed ten stages in significant personal change:

1. A disorienting dilemma (e.g., loss of a job, a move, death of a close family member, and so on)
2. Self-examination with feelings of fear, anger, guilt, or shame
3. A critical assessment of assumptions
4. Recognition that one’s discontentment and the process of transformation are shared
5. Exploration of options for new roles, responsibilities, and actions
6. Planning a course of action
7. Acquiring knowledge and skills for implementing one’s plans
8. Provisional trying of new roles
9. Building competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships
10. A reintegration into one’s life on the basis of conditions dictated by one’s perspective
(Mezirow, 2000, p. 22).

The stages that Mezirow outlines provided a framework for interpreting and understanding the changes in perspective that adult refugees may experience.

Transformative Learning and English Language Competency:

Ellen Foster (1997) links the stages of transformative learning with studying a new language like English. She explains that learning the necessary survival skills of English can be a psychologically destabilizing experience for many. Halli and Driedger (1997) note that in particular, the knowledge of a new culture’s language enhances the individual’s ability to access information in a wide range of areas—schools, health care, social programs, housing, employment opportunities and benefits, and civil and legal rights. Foster shows that learners who previously felt confident, socially adept, and
intelligent may begin to feel insecure and threatened when learning a language that is unfamiliar (Foster, 1997, p. 36). Time is required to synthesize, absorb, and master the complex nuances of English. Foster also notes that:

Second language communication entails risk-taking. The nature of communication involves complex and nonimpetuous mental operations, and almost any effort in the target language undermines the learner’s self-concept as a competent communicator. The typical reaction is one of reticence, self-consciousness, fear, or even panic. When learners use an unfamiliar language system to express thoughts, their genuineness in presenting themselves to others may be threatened by the limited range of meaning and affect they can deliberately communicate. . . . The second language instructor is not only the provider of information but also the buffer between the learner and the language experience. [She] must guide the learner through the material while anticipating the obstacles, fears, and uncertainties (pp. 36-37).

Patricia Cross’s (1981) Chain of Response Model for understanding participation in adult education provided a valuable framework for identifying some factors that influence an adult’s decision to pursue their education (Merriam, Caffarella, and Baumgartner, 2007). Cross (1981), outlines the different psychological, situational, and institutional barriers that can prevent an adult from continuing their education. While Cross notes that “ultimately, participation in adult learning changes self-perceptions and attitudes about education,” adults have unique motives for persisting with or withdrawing from educational activities. Participation and motivation become more complicated for refugees because of the disruptions and stresses that they have already experienced in fleeing from their home country. Participation is influenced by factors such as: self-motivation, attitudes about education, importance of goals, expectations for success, life transitions, opportunities and barriers.

While Cross (1981) identifies the categories of barriers that could apply to many adults seeking to improve their lives through education, the more specialized needs and barriers of refugees need to be explored further. Drawing on Bronfenbrenner’s (1978) ecological model of human development, Hamilton and Moore (2004) specifically examine a number of pre, trans, and post migration factors that can either enhance or interfere with effective psychological and social adjustment of newcomers (2004, 108). These include:

*the age when the individual settles in a new country
*gender and social standing
*early childhood experiences and family background
*culture and religious background
*years of formal education and language proficiency
*the nature and extent of trauma
*personality factors such as hardiness, openness to new experience, optimism, and resilience
* coping styles and attitudes toward new cultures
* degree of family cohesion
* opportunities to reunite with family members
* educational and employment opportunities
* attitude of the new culture toward immigrants
* support and community services that might include mentoring programs, personal and career counselling, and health care services
* strength of home culture present in the host country

Providing newcomers with the necessary resources, especially in the first few years of their arrival, can enhance the likelihood that they would be better able to manage so of the stresses and barriers they may encounter.

Findings: Challenges and Barriers Faced by the Lost Boys and Girls of Sudan

Consistent with the “barriers to learning” that Cross (1981) identified in her early study, the adults in the present study also identified barriers such as financial hardship, stress, and the difficulties of balancing home, work, and educational responsibilities as interfering with their ability to realize their educational, social, and career aspirations in Canada. However, there were additional barriers identified that made the process of acculturation to Canada more complex and compounded: developing competency in English, access to further education and making the connections to find meaningful employment, coping with the responsibility of helping family members back in the Sudan, and the stress of navigating an unfamiliar social, legal, cultural, and educational system.

The ten stages involved in transformative learning that Mezirow (2000) describes were also reflected in the experiences of lost boys and girls of Sudan community in Winnipeg. Most of the adults interviewed described multiple “disorienting dilemmas” that involved coping with loss, separation, death, and finding ways to build a new life in a country very dissimilar to the one they were forced to flee. Arrival in a new country also challenged the learners to draw on past experiences and learn new skills. Transformative learning may not always, this study shows, follow the linear process that Mezirow outlines in the ten stages of perspective transformation. In his review of studies grounded in transformative learning theory, Taylor (2000) found that change was often “recursive, evolving, and spiraling in nature” (p. 290). The time it takes to adapt to a new learning context will vary, depending on each individual’s personality and experience. For example, chronic stress and the nature of individual trauma resulting from the war can make it difficult for some individuals to reappraise their life and explore new ways of thinking and acting (Taylor, 2006).

For the adult refugees participants in this research, the complexity of living in an urban context is amplified by the need to develop English language skills, and the need to
recover physically, emotionally, and economically from the culture shock of leaving their homeland. The normal stabilizing influences of family support, a common language, cultural links, language, and a sense of community integration have been lost. Learning a new language, as well as utilizing the skills involved in navigating different legal, employment, socioeconomic, cultural, and educational systems and structures, challenges learners to question their assumptions and experiences. Those newcomers living in Winnipeg’s inner city also experience the complexity of stress fractures such as poverty, violence, family fragmentation, discrimination, and unemployment. Leong-Kappel and Daley (2004) note that transformative learning theory should be understood more from an urban context that takes into account population density, quality of local schools, neighbourhood setting, and the “anonymity” of not having a close network of social supports. Taylor (2000) notes, that “without the expression and recognition of feelings, individuals may not engage their reality, leave behind past resentment, and begin critical reflection” (p. 291). Struggling to achieve academic and personal goals within this context can create additional stresses and barriers.

One adult in this project explained how multiple challenges and barriers converged upon his arrival from Kenya to Winnipeg:

In my first year in Winnipeg, I faced three challenges: one was the weather, the time I spent in hospital, and the other challenge was living with low income. When I first arrived, I felt that my life had come to an end; the wind chill made it seem like 45 degrees. I had never seen snow in my life; I could not seem to adapt. Three months later, I was attacked by a group of five youths while I was waiting for the bus at 11 o’clock. One demanded that I go to the ATM and withdraw all the money I had. I told them I was a newcomer and I had no money. On hearing that, one of them jumped me, and hit me on the head; the others also attacked me and stole my jacket, pants, shoes, and bus pass. I was freezing. Finally, the ambulance came and I was taken to the hospital . . . . Low income and having enough to eat were also difficult. Telephone bills, rent, hydro, food, etc. on $370.00 a month is not enough. Sometimes I would go to my friend’s house for dinner. I went to see my counsellor at Welcome Place and he tried to help me. In the end, he said that I would have to learn to survive on that income. As a result of my situation, I quit school and looked for a job. Lucky for me, I found a job with Canadian Tire. I can get by better financially.

Loss and Separation: Fragmented Families

The adults that I interviewed for this project recounted the tragedies that they witnessed: their parents and close family being killed, and seeing people die of hunger and thirst on their trek to find a safe haven in refugee camps in neighbouring Ethiopia and Kenya. They described others who died on the journey because of attacks from wild animals, snake bites, and, drowning. One young man in his early thirties spent eleven years in the Kakuma refugee camp; he recollected feelings of sadness when he would see his
friends reunited with their parents. While his father died in the war, his mother and his siblings survived:

No, I never had my family with me in all this time. I think of my family when I see children walking with their parents. I think that maybe one time a long time ago I had parents just like them. It is just my imagination. I miss my people. I never had a real life like other people. I have seen pictures of my mother now and my sisters; I know it is my mother because I look like her but I have not seen her for twenty years--since I was a young boy. . . . Getting a job has also been difficult. When you apply, they ask if you have Canadian experience, and they ask if you have been convicted for a crime. When you see such a word, it makes you nervous. You think people think you are a bad person. There are many misunderstandings.

To cope with loss and separation from family members, the Sudanese young women and men developed a strong sense of community and family through friendships formed in the camps and in their subsequent resettlement in Winnipeg. In the interviews, they would refer to other members of the lost boys and girls community as their “brothers and sisters.” Some of those interviewed also lost close friendships and coping networks while in the Kakuma refugee camp. The United Nations would be selective in determining who would be resettled in Canada. In some instances those selected to come to Canada experienced feelings of alienation, loneliness, and disconnection made it difficult to study, work, or make new friends once they had arrive in this country.

Understanding the Effects of Trauma on Learning

The experiences of participants in this study reinforce the fact that it is important for teachers, counsellors, and community providers to understand the impact of stress and trauma adult refugees may have experienced through of many factors. Trauma can be described as an overwhelming sense of loss and control (Herman, 1997). In a personal interview Dr. Marlinda Freire, a leading University of Toronto therapist working with war affected families, emphasized that refugees have been deprived abruptly and often quite violently of what was most meaningful in their lives, starting with their motherland and the inability to use their language (Magro, 2006). The clash between the expectations that refugees may have of Canada and their actual experience can also be a source of stress (Simich, Hamilton, and Baya, 2006). Whether the decision to migrate is forced or voluntary, migration is always associated with the expectation of a better life. Post-migration hardships affect health, but it is important to realize that refugees are resilient and competent people with unique strengths and capabilities.

A situation of war can also have a destabilizing and alienating effect on the family. Parenting skills can be adversely affected: parents may be preoccupied, depressed, anxious, in mourning, and unable to care for their children. Parents may find that their traditional authority roles have been reversed; they may begin to rely on their children in
different ways, in part, because of their children’s greater competency in English. This could have an adverse impact on the adult’s sense of self-confidence and social identity, especially if they are already challenged by economic hardship, unemployment, and psychological stress. Youth and adults who have lived through situations of war can have memory and learning difficulties. Other symptoms of post-traumatic stress include recurring nightmares, memory loss, feelings of guilt, learning difficulties, and depression and anxiety.

This research shows that “small details” are critical, and individuals have unique strengths and coping facilities that have enabled them to survive the war and move ahead to fulfill their goals. Following Freire (2006), I suggest that schools, colleges, and universities need to be better equipped to understand the social and cultural backgrounds of their students, especially those that are coming from war affected backgrounds. In particular it is important for service providers, teachers, and counsellors to understand “cultural bereavement” and the impact of being uprooted from a familiar social structure and culture.

Further research is needed to examine the impact of life events impinging on individuals at an earlier age (parenting orphaned children at a young age, multiple moves and resettlement, living without parents and familiar family members, exposure to trauma, navigating unfamiliar legal and cultural systems). So many participants described harrowing journeys of escape and survival that most people cannot imagine. As a consequence of spending their formative years in refugee camps, some missed out on key “marker events” that traditionally define their lives (e.g., coming of age ceremonies, owning cattle, marriage, and learning domestic skills from others).

How do these experiences and unexpected responsibilities influence individuals—psychologically, socially, and culturally?

Interestingly, the young men and women of Sudan would repeatedly refer to their spiritual faith and the power of education to restore their lives. They took over parenting responsibilities while they were in their teens. Many were separated from their parents when they were seven or eight years old; despite this early age of separation, many also recollected growing up in a strong and loving family. They would draw on early memories of their family to give them hope when they were living in refugee camps like Kakuma. Efforts to help youth and adults through therapeutic interventions also need to be culturally sensitive. Frater-Mathieson (2004) suggests that art, music, dance, poetry, or story telling in the framework of the individual’s cultural heritage can help aid positive psychological and social integration. Herman (1997) notes that recovery from trauma can only take place through relationships; it cannot occur in isolation.

Consistent with Horsman (2002) this study suggests that teachers must find ways to acknowledge the “hidden learning” that occurs through trauma, and that instead of diagnosing and treating “victims,” teachers, counsellors, and community support workers could find valuable ways to make the learning environment safe and enriching.
for everyone. A new environment can also be perceived as a challenge or threat, depending on the individual and specific traits like optimism, perseverance, and self-direction. If a crisis is perceived as a challenge, it is more likely to be met with a mobilization of effective problem solving strategies. Learning often takes place under conditions that are not ideal and where an individual's resources and strengths are tested. Educational programs that start with a willingness to listen to the individual and understand their background are critical (Magro, 2007). The EAL teachers in this study stressed that a large part of their work involves helping students understand Canadian culture. Integrating social, cultural, economic, and linguistic literacy is important. One teacher noted:

More can be done to reduce systemic barriers in the immigration process. The refugee camps were more often than not, a source of stress and uncertainty. Some of my students waited years in refugee camps to be assigned a country to immigrate to. Then they had to leave family and friends in the camps behind, never knowing when or if they would see them again. In many cases, landing in Canada was a matter of luck. Choice was not really involved. I have also learned the importance of perseverance from my students. I know that they will make it in Canadian society because if they made it through the experiences of war that they describe, they can overcome any barrier here. As a teacher, you have to provide an environment where learners feel hopeful about their future in Canada. Despite the horrible events that my students have endured, I am amazed by their gentleness and dedication. I have to honor in some way what they have been through and help them create a new life for themselves.

Navigating New Cultural Terrain

The challenge of starting life over in a new culture and geographic location, family reunification, access and success in educational endeavours, housing and employment are made more challenging because each person is dealing with the memory of war and the loss that it entailed. One of the lost boys of Sudan in his mid thirties emphasized that he had spent “nearly twenty years in living in different refugee camps,” and that while he is grateful to be in Canada, he often regrets the years he spent “surviving” when he could have been studying and securing a profession that he would find meaningful. While each adult’s experience was unique, the participants of this study also identified some similar barriers. Interrupted and inconsistent education due to war and to the resources available in the refugee camp made it difficult for some to be successful in secondary and post secondary education. Navigating an unfamiliar culture with little help or guidance was an additional challenge for many. Balancing work and academic responsibilities while still trying to help family members back home posed another challenge. Some participants felt that there was much pressure to attain “academic, social, and economic success” without having the necessary resources and supports there to help.
High Expectations

The clash between the often “high expectations” that individuals forced to flee have of countries like Canada, and the reality of resettlement often creates stress and anxiety. Moreover, the incongruity between the social structure, gender roles, values and culture in the south Sudan compared with Canadian culture created ambivalence and tension. Some participants in this study identified large gaps between their educational background and knowledge and the academic expectations in secondary and post secondary education. The frustration of high expectations and the reality of starting a new life that I found in this study is captured by other works in this area (Eggers, 2006, p. 17).

The importance of retaining cultural identity and language also surfaced in the interviews. There is a strong tie to family and friends back home; some of those interviewed expressed a strong wish to return to the Sudan to help rebuild the country. Integration into Canadian society is critical, yet as a society Canadians must also be willing to understand and appreciate other cultures that may be very dissimilar to their own. To prevent individuals from feeling alienated and marginalized in Canada, more can be done at local and national levels to ensure that credentials and skills from their homeland are recognized. Developing “intercultural awareness” involves both an understanding and appreciation of cultural differences and norms. Tettey and Puplampu (2005) note that a formal recognition of the skills, experience, and qualifications of African-Canadians will contribute to individuals feeling a stronger sense of belonging to Canada:

Despite many of the setbacks and barriers that the adults in this study identified, their narratives also reflect their resilience, resourcefulness, a strong sense of faith, gentleness, and perseverance.

Survival and Hope: Experiences at Kakuma

Before resettlement in Canada, most of the Lost Boys and Girls in this study had been living at the Kakuma refugee camp in northern Kenya. Life in the camp was precarious at best. To survive, the Lost Boys and Girls had to learn quickly to protect themselves and assess the risks around them. London (2007) notes that when they left Ethiopia, there were approximately 17,000-25,000 Lost Boys and Girls, and fewer than 11,000 made it to Kakuma to tell their perilous stories.

At Kakuma, there were more than thirty schools serving more than 33,000 students. The physical environment of Kakuma was extreme and foreboding (say more). Kakuma would be “home” for the next decade for more than 10,500 Lost Boys and Girls (Bixler 2006). Charles London also suggests that there was a physical and emotional toll that living within the rigid boundaries of Kakuma exacted on both children and adults (2007, p.116). He writes that boredom, restlessness, and depression were common emotional
reactions. Social rules and normal family patterns broke down. London (2007) maintains that the burden of maintaining a home, cleaning, getting water, tending to the livestock, and raising children, often fell to the women in the camp. Emotional and physical exhaustion and incapacitation among some of the women who had so many responsibilities and burdens were common. In such cases the adult support would collapse and the responsibilities for the family would on the shoulders of the young (London, 2007, p. 117).

The war in the Sudan also displaced and separated many family members. Patterns of being forced to flee, escaping, multiple relocations in refugee camps in neighbouring Ethiopia, Nairobi, and Kenya, and the fear that the camp would be raided by rebels resulted in cumulative stress, lasting in some situations more than twenty years. Many experienced both natural and man-made disasters. Floods, drought, famine, and ongoing war resulted in individuals living in a state of chronic stress. In some cases, one or both parents had been killed as a direct result of the war. Some have not seen their parents since the early 1980s. Participants interviewed also reported violence and tension between individuals from different nationalities and groups such as Ethiopians, Somalis, Rwandans, Ugandans, Eritreans, Congolese, and Burundians. Bixler (2006) notes that The UNHCR should have played a better role in monitoring the Sudanese Lost Boys’ resettlement program through advising and supporting the resettlement agencies in dealing more confidently with the refugee needs. These were mostly left under the guidance and support of the local volunteers, men and women who extended their time and resources to support the Sudanese.

The findings of this research reinforce observations made in the literature. The participants in this study noted that the quality of the education in Kakuma (e.g., resources, class size, location of school) was inconsistent and varied. While some had consistent resources and access to teaching, others were taught “under a tree” with one hundred other students. Books were a scarce commodity, and learning was difficult. It is important to emphasize many spent their formative years at Kakuma, and their formal education was sporadic and interrupted. The deprivation of consistent and quality education during formative years can be one reason so many members of the lost boys and girls of Sudan revere education and its potential to improve their lives. The importance of education was a recurring theme in the interviews—access to and financial help to complete either a post secondary certificate or a degree. One worker noted that the Sudanese youth often have very high expectations of education and they see it as a “recovery strategy” or as a way to take back control over their lives. We need more research to explore the value of education, especially among young men. Resettlement workers suggest that life skills training, setting realistic short- and long-term goals, managing time, and making decisions are important.

The barriers to learning identified by the adult learners in Cross’s (1981) initial study were consistent with some of those identified by the adult learners in the current study. However, for adult refugees, the barriers become more compounded because of the trauma of war, relocation and resettlement, and the challenge of learning a new
language and culture. There is also the sense of responsibility and commitment to help their family members remaining in the Sudan. Some participants in this study also expressed a wish to return to the Sudan to start a school or a health care facility. They want to apply their experience and education in Canada to improve their communities back in the South Sudan. Most of those interviewed for this study have adjusted to Manitoba society and established new community relationships through educational institutions, community groups, residential neighbourhoods, jobs, and churches. Faith, education, family, and feeling connected to a community are highly valued among the young Sudanese men and women. The following excerpts from the narratives and interviews reflect some experiences and challenges that members of the Lost Boys and Girls of Sudan face:

I grew up in a small village and my job as a young Dinka boy was herding cattle. The civil war in Sudan changed everything. I was lucky to escape into the forest. Some of us crossed the river Gilo and made it to Kakuma, the largest refugee camp in Kenya. The older boys and the elders became like our parents. . . . I used to enjoy listening to their stories. . . . Life in the refugee camp still affects you–regardless of your age and regardless of your ambition. The more you internalize the experience, the more it affects you. I tried to make friends with the older boys and elders in the camp. At night I would listen to the stories that the elders told. They became like our parents. When I think back, I have seen many of my friends die. Looking at the larger picture makes you feel sad, even today. Some people walked 1,000 miles without their shoes. I lost friends who drowned crossing the river. Some people were also shot or kidnapped. Both my parents died in the war. When you become a refugee, you are no longer a citizen. You have to depend on the UN to help you in the camp. I often asked myself: ‘why was life so hard? How could my country do this to me? If my country failed to protect me as an individual, how can I feel proud being Sudanese?’

*****

As I see it, refugees (including my community of the lost boys and girls of Sudan) come with several burdens—they have the burden of dealing with the stress of the war they left and the family members that they are still trying to help; in many cases, they are still dealing with the burden of paying back loans and ‘making it’ in Canadian society. Some of us came with such high expectations, and our expectations have not been met. Some thought: ‘When you come to Canada, you will have a house, a job, a car, and an education. They don’t talk about the difficult barriers that stand in the way. Then when you are walking on a -30 degree snowy day in Winnipeg, you ask yourself—could this be Canada—the land of opportunity? Some of the refugees I know don’t have hope. When they apply for a job and are told that they don’t have Canadian experience, the feel frustrated. They start lingering around, and some begin to feel desperate. I try to encourage my friends and the younger people to value Canada. I tell them that they have two homes now—the Sudan and Canada. The Sudan was your old
home. Here in Canada, peace and freedom are valued. If you work and study hard, I tell them that they can succeed.

Another member of the lost boys and girls community detailed his journey of resettlement in Manitoba in an autobiography. David left the Sudan in 1978 without his family. His father dead, he has not seen his mother for more than twenty years. He told the interviewer that he could be younger or older than thirty-four, the age assigned to him by the government. Travelling with other people from his village during his migration to Ethiopia, David remained in Ethiopia until the government was overthrown by rebels. He was then forced to flee again where he found temporary refugee at the Kakuma refugee camp. David emphasized that the focus was on survival and getting a basic education in the camps. “For those with no parents, we told ourselves that education would be our parents. When you have nobody to talk to, we have to focus on the future, and so education for us is the key to life. It will be the key to make me interact with other people in society. Psychology is education for me. I can see that I am a human being now–but before I did not feel human.”

Resilience

The participants in this study are optimistic about their future in Canada and often commented on the positive contributions their community can make to Canadian society. Education, hard work, and perseverance are valued; many commented on the courage, faith, and inner strength of finding hope amid adversity. One young woman emphasized that “the Canadian people can learn a lot from our community. We are hard working and courageous, and we can help and improve Canadian society.” The qualities that they most value in Canada are freedom, safety, a future for their children, and an opportunity to pursue an education. “Back home you could not go outside sometimes because you were afraid. You did not have the freedom like you have here. I can go out freely and I can do different things. I can go to school. This is the beautiful thing that I like about Canada: the people are good; sometimes they smile and say: ‘Hi.’ “It is peaceful here.”

The challenge of completing a university degree in fields such as Nursing, Conflict Resolution Studies, Economics, and Education is being realized by some. More positive role models in the community can inspire the younger members to work hard and succeed, another participant noted. Some participants suggested more time and a longer term commitment to guiding and mentoring adult refugees and their families would help. Clarifying job interests, career choice, and educational paths were identified as important by many interviewees.

The concept of resilience, as Anderson (2006) notes, is critical to understand when addressing issues facing adult refugees. Resilience can be described as “the process of, capacity for, or outcome of successful adaptation despite challenging or threatening circumstances. Psychological resilience is concerned with behavioural adaptation,
usually defined in terms of internal states of well-being or effective functioning” (Masten, cited in Anderson, 2006, p. 53). Personality traits such as optimism, resourcefulness, problem solving ability, flexibility, patience, an openness to new experience, and degree of self-awareness have been linked to resilience. In addition, factors that may lower an individual’s ability to develop resilience include poverty, chronic stress and illness, low birth weight, perinatal complications, divorce of parents, and foster home placement. While the individuals in this study experienced multiple stresses, often, they demonstrated extraordinary tenacity, patience, self-reliance, and an openness to new experience. Anderson emphasizes that educators, counsellors, and community workers need to be keenly aware that even the most resilient individuals are not immune to adversity and chronic stress. Each person has limitations and without the necessary support systems in place—opportunities for literacy support, community networking, counselling and family reunification, employment opportunities, etc., the resilient person may find themselves coping less effectively. “The resilience that has developed is not a permanent guarantee that the same individual will not ever be overcome by some future adversity. Even resilient people have limits to their coping resources” (Anderson, 2006 p. 59). Anderson points out that “environmental scaffolds” can be put in place in counselling, mentoring, and educational programs so that resilience can be taught and fostered. Literacy programs, for example, can be built around the concept of resilience and empowerment. Mentoring programs at the individual and family level can provide opportunities for individuals to gain skills associated with resilience—self-reliance, resourcefulness, and creativity (Magro, 2007).

Part Four: Developing a Psychology of Place

Based on my research for this study, schools, community groups, and other agencies supporting newcomers and refugees should recognize the importance of helping individuals build confidence, identity, and security in their new home (Ahearn and Athey 1991; Hamilton and Moore 2004). All newcomers endeavour to create a sense of belonging to a place. For many, the sudden loss of a country, a way of life, friends and family, social status, emotional security, cultural and religious acceptance and belonging, and the ability to interact and communicate with the larger community can contribute to stress. One young woman interviewed explained:

When I first came to Canada, I felt like a tiny fish that was being chased by a whale. You feel uncomfortable, tense, and worried because you don’t know if you are going to make it. Everything is so different and nothing felt familiar when I arrived. I felt alone and frightened. I would like to say that resettlement in any new country is not an instantaneous process. Many refugees thought that their problems would be solved and that the government would provide much more support in terms of financial resources, a nice neighborhood to live in, and good jobs. We were always given the basic necessities by the UN in the refugee camp but now we are expected to be independent. To start your life all over again is a huge undertaking and the window of time to learn how to manage finances and
finish your education is very limited. . . . I would also like to say that Canadians have a lot to learn from the African as well. We can help the economy because we are hard workers. We value family and have a love for people. Yes, there is hope. We are a strong community of survivors.

The Lost Girls of Sudan: Gender Matters

A smaller percentage of Lost Girls were resettled in Canada. In the U.S. there are approximately 2,000 Lost Girls (compared to 10,000 Lost Boys). How did some make it on the initial resettlement list? Muhindi and Nyakato (2002) write that sometimes, the Sudanese community barred the Lost Girls from resettlement to “trade them off in marriage for profitable dowries and use them for unpaid and unquantified domestic chores, without schooling opportunities, before marrying them off to the suitor with the highest bride price” (p. 20). Some of the girls and young women remained in refugee camps where their parents and guardians had wanted them to stay behind to marry. Others, note Dau (2006) and Nazer (2003), were abducted into slavery, raped, and murdered. The women who were interviewed for this project highlighted how much they valued education and women’s rights. Those with large families and small children to look after felt that their educational opportunities were limited. Some also mentioned that not all the women in their community were treated with respect and equality by their spouses. Other women commented on the rigid roles and power divisions in Sudanese society. “Men in our society have more rights than women. It is different here in Canada where there is equality for men and women.” The clash of the values and roles of women in southern Sudan with the role and rights of women in Canadian society was expressed by a number of the women interviewed. The southern Sudanese come from a patriarchal society where the roles of men and women are clearly delineated. Group cooperation and consensus are paramount, and the promoting of self-interest or rebelling against the defined roles of men and women would be a violation. Marriages are often arranged, and dowries play a significant role for the extended family. Similar to London’s (2007, p. 124) interviews with several Lost Girls living at the Kakuma refugee camp, my interview shows that many young women have limited choices and face different barriers than men. Fear of living independently and having the family support to pursue an education and career were concerns expressed by other women who were interviewed in this study. Helen, a 27-year-old Lost Girl further explained:

When you are a woman and a refugee, life is more difficult. When you come to a new culture, you need more support than what the government gives you. You feel intimidated. The refugee counsellors can’t be with you all the time. Some of my friends from the Sudan have stayed inside most of the time, having more children and raising them. Sometimes their children misbehave and the mothers feel frustrated. They are also afraid of their husbands as well. Some men become more controlling when they are in Canada. They become jealous and feel threatened by the democracy. They are afraid that women will leave and become independent, so they put more pressure on them. We have a problem
with domestic abuse, alcoholism, and gambling. When the men are used to domination, they do not want women to question anything. This has caused many problems in our community. These women need help.

The specialized needs of refugee women were also of concern to counsellors and a local director of a settlement agency. Currently, work is being done to raise awareness of domestic abuse through agencies like the NE.E.D.S Centre and the Women’s Immigrant Association of Manitoba. Issues relating to advocacy, safety, personal and social empowerment, human rights, and issues emerging out of the special interests of women need to be integrated within a holistic literacy framework (Magro, in press).

In their study of the cultural and social adaptation of the Southern Sudanese in Ontario, Simich, Hamilton, and Baya (2006) found that many important challenges remain partly hidden and are inadequately addressed by settlement services. Often Sudanese men and women are torn between a loyalty to traditional cultural ways and customs and the challenges of living in a Western society. For many, these divided loyalties can be the source of tremendous stress. A stigma surrounds the discussion of topics such as separation, divorce, and spousal abuse, yet a number of the participants in this study indicate that they are of concern in the community.

The need for additional help in learning English and in learning more about the way Canadian society functions (not just in the first year) would help improve the chances of becoming self-sufficient and successful. Some experienced frustration in school—especially those who hold down full-time jobs in industry, health care, and the service sector. There was the experience of frustration regarding the time it takes to learn English: “I want to have a good education and a good future. Without knowing English, there is no future and you cannot have a good life. The first time I received a low mark in English, I could not talk to anybody. I felt so discouraged and I was afraid to speak in English. Now, I can communicate with people. I am more independent and confident. I still don’t have my high school English but I am going to try to study next year.”

Life in Canada has been a journey of learning—virtually all the adults interviewed commented on the positive aspects of Canadian society—the charter of human rights and freedoms, access to education, freedom of speech, safety, a “better standard of living,” respect for law, a brighter future for their children, and absence of war. The helplessness they felt as victims of war has mobilized some to return to the Sudan to help empower those left behind.

**Survey Analysis**

Responses to the survey questions were consistent with many themes that emerged from the interviews (see pages 40-41). The majority of the LBGS came from Kenya; a few came from Egypt and Ethiopia. Cold weather, financial hardship, balancing work and academic responsibilities, access to day care, and experiences of discrimination
were among the barriers to learning and participating in community life that the respondents identified. Most respondents worked either part or full time in the manufacturing industry (meat packing plants, furniture making companies) and Health Care. Their primary source of income was from their work. Overall, their adjustment to Manitoba has been very successful. The aspiration to complete degrees that would lead the LBGS to well-paying professions in Business, Engineering, and Medicine was evident in both the interviews and the survey data. Interestingly, a majority of the LBGS who completed the survey said that the Canadian government had assigned them a birth date. They were uncertain if they were younger or older than the birth date assigned to them; in the South Sudan and in particular, among the Dinka, birthdays are not traditionally recorded or celebrated. Most of the men and women who completed the survey ranged in age from mid-twenties to-mid thirties. Many had first fled their villages/towns in the early 1980s when they were young children.

Working toward an Inclusive Framework for Teaching and Mentoring

The adult educators, counsellors, and community workers interviewed for this study demonstrated a keen insight into the barriers that many newcomers face; often, they acted as an advocate for their students. Generally the teachers, consultants, and settlement workers felt that the most recent newcomers from Africa had more difficult barriers to overcome, and would require more financial resources to support ongoing assessment, more intensive mentoring, counselling, and EAL learning to help during settlement. English language education should be integrated with cultural literacy and citizenship education. Greater coordination and collaboration between schools, refugee agencies, and other community service providers would also help individuals gain access to vital information regarding career and employment links, counselling programs, literacy needs, housing and settlement, and career options. Specializing assessment procedures and course offerings in response to the different learning needs of the adult rather than fitting the prescribed mandate of a set curriculum would be beneficial.

The teachers and educational consultants interviewed for this project agreed that the school is a valuable starting point through which individuals discover their potential and develop short- and long-range career goals. Much can be done to reduce situational and institutional barriers through more flexible timetabling, ongoing assessment of literacy needs, course offerings, and alternative education contexts. More so in the past, educational institutions and referral agencies tended not to be aware of each other’s activities. Education providers cannot assume that information on available courses is accessible, especially for adults who are geographically more isolated.
The Complexity of Teaching Roles

The teachers interviewed for this study acknowledged that their roles and responsibilities had become more complex: co-learner, advocate, challenger, guide, mentor, counsellor, resource person, and facilitator were roles most frequently identified with. One EAL teacher emphasized: “When we talk about adults from war affected backgrounds, we cannot generalize. We have to look at each individual and at their strengths, goals, and circumstances, right now. In an ideal world, we would not have wars, child soldiers, refugees, and displacement, but we don’t have an ideal world situation. Having said that, I think that more could be done at all levels to help our adult learners succeed academically, personally, and socially.” Other teachers interviewed emphasized that it is important to move beyond simply teaching the “rules of grammar” and help break down barriers by creating the classroom first as a safe haven and as a place where hope and new possibilities can flourish. In the word of one teacher:

> For meaningful and effective learning to take place, an atmosphere of sincere caring for the student and of respect and acceptance of his/her background must be present. By being parachuted into a new country, a new culture, a new society, the adult learner will feel that their own identity is being attacked. Students will often say that they feel ‘like a fish out of water.’ Refugee students did not have a choice in coming here; they know very little about this country and how it operates. We have to provide opportunities for our learners to express their perceptions and feelings of isolation and uprootedness. For me, language acquisition has to be taught within a framework of social awareness and personal development. . . . Teachers also have to be careful about what they teach; they have to know their students. New immigrants are already going through a transformation by their very experience of being in a new culture. Their culture is continually being challenged in terms of religion, parenting, marriage, etc. If you start bringing up politically controversial topics without knowing who your students are, some will say, ‘I can’t handle this right now. I’ve learned this a long time ago. People’s emotional attachments are very strong and you have to scaffold learning carefully.

Another teacher added:

> It is important for adult learners to have hope that they can be an engineer, an accountant, a nurse, or teacher but right now the focus is on helping them complete their academic requirement to complete Grade 10 or Grade 12. We have students working in a technical or trades program right now so that they can provide for their family, but they have the hope of finishing a university degree. We have to help our students develop short and long term goals. . . So much of what I do is a type of transmission of culture, but I am also involved in helping my students develop critical thinking skills, social, awareness, practical knowledge, and problem solving skills. I am there to help them make connections in the community. With adult EAL learners who are refugees, you have to balance the
"essential literacy skills" with the need to move ahead with their interest in North American culture and knowing how the society works here.

The EAL consultants and teachers emphasized the need to organize the classroom environment in a way that integrates the personal needs of the learner with the process of working holistically with English language learning. Listening to music, reading poetry, and watching a film can provide authentic learning activities that can reinforce pronunciation, vocabulary development, and cultural background. An individual's ability to learn a language depends not only on their own prior knowledge and background, but also their personal motivation and the teacher's expertise and ability to guide them. Teachers also need to be given the opportunity to discuss the stress involved in teaching newcomers. Some teachers can internalize the pain and trauma of their refugee students, or they may lose confidence in their teaching skills and doubt their own abilities. Other challenges include language and learning style differences, a lack of resources, and cultural and educational differences. Specialized pre-service and in-service courses helping teachers understand the social, cultural, and political context of their future students are particularly important.

Mentoring programs for families and adults coming from war affected backgrounds can be a valuable way to help promote inclusion and remove barriers to learning and participation (Magro, 2007, in press). Mentors can provide guidance and practical “here and now” advice which individuals can then apply to increase their effectiveness in school, at home, and in the community. Critical areas that encourage effective teaching, mentoring, and successful integration of refugee youth and adults into a new society include psychological and therapeutic needs, language needs, building resilience, easing the transition to a new country and culture, structure of school and school policies, teaching practice and facilitating transformative change in professional development for educators, and inclusive education. In family mentoring programs, topics such as the school system, parenting styles, gender roles, raising a teenager in Canadian society, a cultural comparison of customs, financial management, and preparing for the future can be explored. The availability of counselling and literacy mentoring programs could help prevent adult refugees from feeling disconnected and alienated before and after migration.

**Conclusion**

This study highlights that cultural integration is a complex process that involves struggle, negotiation, adaptation, and reinvention (Tettey and Puplampu, 2005). A greater awareness of the time it takes for successful adaptation must occur—we must view this from a holistic perspective that addresses psychological, social, educational, and economic integration. "Immigrants retain elements of their own culture of origin even as they adapt and adjust to the norms of their new environment" (Tettey and Puplampu, p.101).
The experiences of the Lost Boys and Girls of Sudan reflect this complexity. Coping with loss, financial hardship, learning a new language and facing the challenge of rebuilding one’s life require persistence, motivation, and resources. Factors such as the degree of interrupted education, the loss of close family members, unique personality features, the degree of fluency in English, and the availability of educational programs can influence successful resettlement. As has been suggested by many of the scholars sited in this paper, the future of North America depends, in part, on the continued acceptance of immigrants from all corners of the world. Our challenge as Canadians is whether we see newcomers as a “benefit or cost” (Li, 2003). Learning challenges are facing not only newcomers and refugees but all citizens who wish to develop a dynamic multicultural society built on the unique strengths and capacities of all its members. This theme is reinforced by other authors who are concerned with transformative learning that involves developing cultures of non-violence and exploring the possibilities of social justice and peace (O’Sullivan, 2002). Social transformation begins with an individual transformation of attitudes and beliefs. Education, at all levels, can play a critical role in helping promote an understanding and appreciation of diverse cultures and social systems.
Appendix: Survey Results

Based on the questionnaires returned, the respondents are relatively young, primarily male and largely single or unmarried. A majority of these individuals emigrated from and completed their education in Kenya. Almost 90% of the respondents are government sponsored and approximately half were accompanied by relatives when they first arrived in Canada. Most of these individuals have found accommodation in apartments and while the majority of them have found work, over 40% are unemployed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study of Lost Boys and Girls</th>
<th>Sample Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age Range</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>10-15 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>16-20 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>21-25 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.7%</td>
<td>26-30 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>31-35 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>36-40 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>over 40 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>No Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68.2%</td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>No Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Country of Residence Before Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75.3%</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>No Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponsorship Classification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89.4%</td>
<td>Government Sponsored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>Privately Sponsored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>No Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accompanied by Relatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.8%</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.2%</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Marital Status</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.4%</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>Separated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>Widowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>No Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Country Where Education was Completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68.2%</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Respondents indicated multiple sources of income, as tabulated below. Work was found to contribute the largest amount, followed by Other income sources, namely social assistance, and then Friends and/or Family; 9.4% of respondents did not indicate an answer for their largest source of income. Approximately ¾ also indicated that at least some of their income was sent back as support for family living overseas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Income</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
<th>Largest Source of Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student Loans</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>84.7%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>50.6%</td>
<td>45.9%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Friends and/or Family</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>83.5%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholarships, Bursaries &amp; Grants</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>96.5%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
<td>67.1%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent Monetary Support for Family in the Homeland</td>
<td>75.3%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A majority of respondents indicated satisfaction with their current living conditions as well as a feeling of safety in their respective residential neighbourhoods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Current Living Conditions</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Unsure</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied with Living Arrangements</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Feel Safe in Residential Neighbourhoods</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While most of the refugees have had access to a doctor when they required it, a much smaller percentage has been able to acquire the services of a dentist.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Access to Physician</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Doctor</td>
<td>87.1%</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Dentist</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>63.5%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While there are multiple sources of assistance available, most have found help primarily from the Welcome Center or Friends and Family upon immigrating to Canada. Social Workers appear to have provided the least amount of help.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Assistance</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Welcome Center</td>
<td>57.6%</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Government Office</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>72.9%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Family/Church</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>77.6%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Worker</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>87.1%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Teacher/Counsellor</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>74.1%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Immigrants</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>82.4%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends/Family</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>51.8%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bibliography


General Information

• What are PMC Working Papers?
PMC’s working paper series is related to the broad mandate of the Metropolis Project. This initiative is designed to: (1) speed up the dissemination of research results relevant to the interests and concerns of Metropolis researchers, policy-makers, NGOs; (2) fulfill a commitment made in the application to SSHRC/CIC for a renewal grant for the Prairie Metropolis Centre; and (3) populate the Virtual Library on the PMC web site.

• Will these be considered “official” publications?
The inclusion of a manuscript in the working paper series does not preclude, nor is it a substitute for its subsequent publication in a peer reviewed journal. In fact, we would encourage authors to submit such manuscripts for publication in professional journals (or edited books) as well.

• What subject content is acceptable?
The Working Paper Series welcomes research reports and theoretical discussions relevant to the mandate of the Metropolis Project, providing insight into the policy concerns not only of immigration and integration, but also ethnocultural diversity. Examples of these areas include: socioeconomic, political, cultural, and educational integration of migrants and refugees; impacts on the host society; language; transnationalism; spatial distribution; gender roles and family; ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity; multiculturalism; media and communication; social cohesion-inclusion; racism and discrimination-exclusion; employment equity-anti-discrimination; youth; identity; citizenship; temporary migration; immigration and demographic planning; justice and security; settlement programs and policy; and population health.

• Who may submit papers?
Paper submissions are open to Metropolis researchers, policy-makers and service providers. Submissions from non-affiliates will be examined on a case-by-case basis.

• How do I submit a paper?
All submissions must include an electronic copy of the paper. By post please send a hard copy of your paper and an electronic copy on disk or via email to:

Editor, Working Paper Series
Prairie Metropolis Centre
Suite 2-060 RTF Building, 8303-114 Street, University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB T6G 2E1 Canada

By email please send to: lenise@ualberta.ca with a subject heading of:
Working Paper Series Submission

• What happens when I submit a paper?
The Prairie Metropolis Centre will acknowledge receipt of the paper via email within 10 working days. The series editors will review your submission to ensure that it falls within the mandate of the Metropolis Project and that it is properly referenced and documented. If these standards are met, the paper will then be referred to the appropriate Domain Leader for review and advice. Once the review is completed the author will be contacted with the results. Note: Authors of papers accepted for inclusion in the PMC Working Papers Series may be asked to make revisions, in which case they will be asked to provide the Centre with 2 hard copies of the final version of the paper and an electronic copy.

For format and style guidelines please visit PMC web site at:
http://PMC.metropolis.net/WorkingPapers/index.htm
Back issues of the PMC Working Paper Series are available from the Prairie Metropolis Centre for $5.00 a copy.

Please contact the Prairie Metropolis Centre at Suite 2-060 RTF Building, 8308 – 114 Street, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB T6G 2E1 Canada.
Tel: (780) 492-0635; Fax: (780) 492-2594
Email: lenise@ualberta.ca
Despite over 30 years of research that inclusion benefits all learners, there are still many barriers to inclusive education. Inclusive education does away with the practice of segregating students with learning and/or physical challenges from the rest of the student body. While the practice of inclusion places extra demands on students and facility logistics, there are numerous benefits to all students, both disabled and non-disabled. Teachers in inclusive classrooms must incorporate a variety of teaching methods in order to best reach students of varying learning abilities. This has benefits even for those students who would be placed in a traditional classroom, as this increases their engagement in the learning process. As we immerse ourselves in the Lost Boys’ daily lives, we also get to know the social services professionals and volunteers, celebrities, community leaders, and others who guided them with occasional detours toward self-sufficiency. Along the way author Mark Bixler looks closely at the ins and outs of U.S. refugee policy, the politics of international aid, the history of Sudan, and the radical Islamist underpinnings of its government. A: Most of the Lost Boys came to the United States eager to receive an education. The goal was to go to school, learn a skill and one day return to help rebuild war-torn southern Sudan. The Lost Boys are repeatedly faced with ongoing problems and challenges that American citizens would not think twice about.