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The Global Refugee Crisis: Empirical Evidence and Policy Implications for Improving Public Attitudes and Facilitating Refugee Resettlement

Victoria M. Esses*
University of Western Ontario

Leah K. Hamilton
Mount Royal University

Danielle Gaucher
University of Winnipeg

The number of refugees across the globe is at an alarming high and is expected to continue to rise for the foreseeable future. As a result, finding durable solutions for refugees has become a major challenge worldwide. The literature reviewed and policy implications discussed in this article are based on the premise that one of the major solutions to the refugee crisis must be refugee resettlement in new host countries. For such a solution to succeed, however, requires relatively favorable attitudes by members of host societies, protection of the well-being of refugees, and effective integration of refugees into new host countries. In this context, we begin by reviewing the literature on determinants of public attitudes toward refugees, the acculturation of refugees in host societies, and factors affecting refugee mental health, all of which are directly relevant to the success of the resettlement process. We then turn our attention to the policy implications of these literatures, and discuss strategies for improving public attitudes toward refugees and refugee resettlement in host countries; for improving the resettlement process to reduce

*Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Victoria M. Esses, Department of Psychology, The University of Western Ontario, 1151 Richmond St, London, Ontario, Canada N6A 5C2. Tel: 519 661–2111 ext. 84650 [e-mail: vesses@uwo.ca].

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mental health challenges; and for supporting the long-term acculturation and integration of refugees in their new homes.

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At the end of 2015, there were over 21 million refugees worldwide, approximately 2 million more than the previous year and the highest documented number since the end of the Second World War (UNHCR, 2016b). These numbers are continuing to rise: In September 2016, in addition to refugee-producing situations in a number of other countries, there were close to five million registered Syrian refugees in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq, and elsewhere (UNHCR, 2016d). Of particular note, just over half (51%) of the refugees worldwide are children under the age of 18, with a large number of these children—close to 100,000—unaccompanied or separated from their families (UNHCR, 2016b).

The 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, signed by 148 countries, formalized the international community's commitment to convention refugees. These documents define who is a refugee, specify the rights of refugees, and highlight the international community's obligation to protect and assist in finding durable solutions for refugees (UNHCR, 2011). A convention refugee is defined as "a person who is outside his or her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail him- or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution" (UNHCR, 2011, p. 5).

Over the years, the concept of a refugee has broadened, and a number of countries (e.g., Canada; see Government of Canada, 2014) include as refugees people who have fled war or other forms of violence in their home country. There has also been debate about further broadening the definition to include "environmental refugees" who have been displaced as a result of natural disaster or environmental changes (see Hollifield & Salehyan, 2015). Until they are recognized as convention refugees by the UNHCR or by host countries, individuals seeking refuge are asylum seekers—individuals who have claimed refugee status and are waiting for that claim to be evaluated. This distinction between refugees and asylum seekers is often blurred so that at times they are viewed and treated similarly (Esses, Ertorer, & Fellin, in press).

Finding durable solutions for refugees has become a major challenge worldwide. While for many refugees a preferred solution may be to return to their home country with the restoration of safe conditions, this may not be possible due to continued conflict, political instability, insecurity, loss of livelihood, and difficulty

reclaiming land and property. In 2015, only an estimated 201,400 refugees, of the many millions worldwide, returned to their countries of origin (UNHCR, 2016b). Many refugees may also seek resettlement in a third country, transferring from a country of temporary asylum to another that has agreed to grant them permanent residency. Again, the opportunities are quite bleak with few refugees accepted for resettlement as permanent residents in a new country. For example, in 2015, an estimated 107,100 refugees were admitted for resettlement as permanent residents in host countries (UNHCR, 2016b). This leaves millions of refugees at risk for remaining in a protracted situation of exile. Of note, developing countries receive a disproportionate percentage of refugees, with most hosted by low- and middle-income countries. Thus, countries least able to meet the needs of their own citizens, let alone the humanitarian needs of refugees, provide asylum to the majority of refugees (UNHCR, 2016b). This can have a significant impact on these developing countries, as well as on the refugees who are seeking asylum. As a result of their often seemingly hopeless situation, some refugees—over a million in 2015—take the situation into their own hands and, without authorization, attempt to travel, often by boat, to a new country. Such attempts are fraught with danger. In 2015, over 5,350 refugees and other migrants died trying to reach a new country, with many of these deaths involving individuals trying to reach Europe by crossing the Mediterranean Sea (IOM, 2016).

Despite their formal commitment to the protection of refugees, as outlined in the Geneva Convention, citizens of Western countries (i.e., developed countries of Europe, North America, and Oceania) do not always regard refugees with compassion and focus on their protection. Instead, at times they greet refugees with intolerance, distrust and contempt, to some extent based on the perception that there is a trade-off between the well-being of refugees and the well-being of established members of potential host countries (Fakih & Marrouch, 2015; UN Secretary General, 2016). These negative attitudes have come to the forefront most recently with the advent of the Syrian refugee crisis, and the response to this crisis in both Europe and the United States. The rise of right-wing ideology and resistance to the admittance of refugees is fuelled and sustained by negative representations of refugees in the public arena, and by the popular view that refugees threaten members of the host society. These attitudes serve to reinforce the refugee crisis, providing a rationale for significantly limiting the admittance of refugees to many Western countries (Ayed, 2015; see also Hier & Greenberg, 2002; Leach, 2003).

In this context, we begin by reviewing three major research literatures relevant to the refugee crisis and the West's response, at times borrowing from the literature on immigrants more generally: determinants of public attitudes toward refugees, factors influencing the acculturation of refugees in host countries, and determinants of refugee mental health. We then apply the findings to a consideration of strategies that can be implemented to address several important

components of the current global refugee crisis. These include interventions for increasing Western countries' openness to accepting refugees for resettlement, interventions to support refugee successful acculturation, and interventions that can prevent, or reduce the likelihood of, mental health challenges, should individuals be successful in obtaining the opportunity to resettle in a new country (e.g., Cameron, Rutland, Brown, & Douch, 2006; Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Nickerson & Louis, 2008). Special consideration is given to national responses to refugee crises. For example, Canada's recent response to the Syrian refugee crisis is presented as a case study of changing attitudes and behavior toward refugees among members of the Canadian public (Government of Canada, 2016).

Public Attitudes toward Refugees

A number of recent public opinion polls document the negative attitudes and perceptions of refugees in many Western countries. An IPSOS poll on immigration and refugees conducted in June to July 2016 across 22 countries found that overall, close to 40% of respondents agreed somewhat or very much with the closing of their borders to refugees entirely at this time (IPSOS, 2016). In the West, such views were particularly prevalent in the United States (54%), Italy (52%), and France (52%). In addition, overall, over half of respondents agreed somewhat or very much that terrorists are pretending to be refugees and are trying to enter their country to cause violence and destruction (61%), and that most foreigners who want to get into their country as refugees really are not refugees, but instead are coming for economic reasons and to take advantage of welfare services (51%; IPSOS, 2016). Similarly, a Pew Research Center poll conducted in April to May 2016 in 10 European Union nations found that a median of 59% of respondents believe that refugees will increase the likelihood of terrorism in their country and a median of 50% believe that refugees are a burden on the country because they take jobs and social benefits (Wike, Stokes, & Simmons, 2016). Perceptions of refugees in this poll are also influenced in part by attitudes toward Muslims, with people who have a more negative view of Muslims found to be more concerned about threats from refugees (Wike et al., 2016). In this poll, people who are further right on the ideological spectrum are especially likely to hold these negative views of refugees.

These results, and the findings of many other recent polls, demonstrate several strong perceptions of refugees that may drive reactions to them. These perceptions include the association of refugees with terrorists, the belief that many refugee claimants are bogus, and the concern that refugees may pose economic and cultural threats. We turn now to the literatures that address the role of such perceptions in driving attitudes and behavior toward refugees.

The Role of Perceived Threat and Competition

In line with the poll findings, scholars recognize that refugees, and immigrants more generally, can invoke feelings of threat in members of a (potential) host community (Esses, Hodson, & Dovidio, 2003; McKay, Thomas, & Kneebone, 2011; Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Krome, Ludlow, & Ryan, 2005; Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005). This threat may stem from several sources. Typically speaking, refugees need jobs, affordable housing, and access to healthcare. They may require other resources such as language training and settlement services. Refugees may even come from source countries with relatively higher levels of infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. In addition, they may have a different cultural identity, religious identity, and value system than members of the host community. The combination of these different potential sources of threat (whether real or imagined) can affect individuals' attitudes toward refugees (e.g., Esses et al., 2003) and their support for restrictive immigration policies (e.g., Canetti, Snider, Pedersen, & Hall, 2016). Indeed, researchers agree that perceptions of threat are one of the most important predictors of attitudes and prejudice toward immigrants and other outgroups (e.g., Murray & Marx, 2013; Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006).

There are a variety of theoretical approaches that have been applied to the study of threat in the context of immigrants and refugees. In Stephan et al.'s Integrated Threat Theory of Prejudice, four distinct types of intergroup threat form the bases of prejudicial attitudes: *realistic threats* (e.g., threats to the host community's economic/political power; and threats to one's well-being), *symbolic threats* (e.g., believing one's values and beliefs are threatened), *negative stereotypes* (e.g., the belief that immigrants are aggressive or lazy), and *intergroup anxiety* (e.g., feeling personally threatened by intergroup interactions, perhaps through rejection or embarrassment; Stephan & Renfro, 2002; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). This model has been applied to a variety of outgroups, including ethnic minorities (Stephan et al., 2002), international students (Harrison & Peacock, 2010), and immigrants and refugees (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999; Stephan et al., 2005).

Stephan et al. (2005) have found that these four types of threat can lead to the development of negative attitudes toward immigrant groups. For instance, in one study, Stephan et al. (2005) had participants read a fictitious news article about members of the Tutsi tribe of Rwanda immigrating to the United States. When the Rwandan refugees were described as posing both a perceived realistic threat (i.e., needing financial support and healthcare; posing a health risk to the host population; and being at risk of engaging in violence) and symbolic threat (i.e., having very different values than Americans), participants later expressed more negative attitudes toward the Tutsi refugees than participants who read about one type of threat alone or no threat. Similarly, in an examination of prejudicial

attitudes toward refugees in Australia, Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Krome, Ludlow, and Ryan (2005) found that individuals who perceived high levels of symbolic and realistic threat also scored highly on a measure of prejudice toward refugees. Moreover, they found that, compared to symbolic threat, realistic threat (e.g., resource threat) had the stronger influence on prejudice toward refugees.

The Unified Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998; Esses, Jackson, Dovidio, & Hodson, 2005) can be used to further understand the role of economic and value concerns in predicting negative attitudes and treatment of refugees. This model proposes that situational factors (e.g., instability, threat of war, economic challenges) and ideologies (e.g., belief in group dominance) mutually reinforce one another to create perceived group competition when a relevant outgroup is present (Esses & Jackson, 2008). Groups that are large or are perceived as growing in size, and those that are highly distinct from the ingroup are at a higher risk of being perceived as a source of competition. Thus, refugee groups from predominantly Muslim countries (e.g., Syria) may be perceived as competitors in many Western nations. In addition, given that many refugee groups have different values, beliefs, mother tongues, and religious identities from members of their host communities, refugees may be particularly likely to be seen as threatening the status quo. Indeed, refugees are often portrayed by the media as competitors for scarce resources such as social assistance, as a threat to cherished social values, and as a threat to the health of host communities (Esses, Medianu, & Lawson, 2013). Perceived competition may occur over tangibles resources, such as employment opportunities, and more intangible, symbolic resources, such as values and culture. Esses et al. (1998, 2005) and Esses and Jackson (2008) posit that perceived competition will result in negative attitudes and behavior toward other groups, based on a desire to eliminate or reduce the source of the competition.

Studies investigating the Unified Instrumental Model of Group Conflict have demonstrated that perceptions of competition lead to prejudice and discrimination toward immigrants and refugees. For example, Jackson and Esses (2000) found that perceptions of economic competition with immigrants led to reduced support for policies that empower immigrants. Specifically, perceived economic competition from immigrants was associated with reduced willingness to remove barriers that newcomers face when trying to succeed on their own. Similarly, Costello and Hodson (2011) found that, after reading an editorial describing realistic or symbolic threats posed by an immigrant outgroup, individuals higher in Social Dominance Orientation (an ideology characterized by a preference for intergroup hierarchies and inequality among social groups; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994) were less likely to want to empower or directly assist an immigrant outgroup. Within the context of the stereotype content model, Caprariello, Cuddy, and Fiske (2009) similarly found that manipulated perceptions of competition over resources with immigrants led to lower perceived warmth of immigrants.

In the extreme, higher levels of perceived threat and competition may lead to immigrants and refugees being denied access to the host nation. For instance, Esses et al. (2003) found that perceptions of competition with immigrants for both tangible and symbolic resources resulted in greater support for restrictive immigration policies.

Disease avoidance is another threat-related factor linked to host community members' attitudes towards immigrants. Drawing from evolutionary theory, Schaller, Park, and Faulkner (2003) argue that the human mind evolved to avoid disease, and that these disease avoidance mechanisms gave rise to specific psychological mechanisms that facilitate xenophobic attitudes. They propose that people—especially those who feel vulnerable to contagious diseases—will avoid members of *unfamiliar* outgroups in an attempt to avoid disease. Across four studies, Schaller et al. (2003) found that people's self-reported vulnerability to disease was associated with more negative attitudes towards unfamiliar outgroups. Within follow-up controlled experiments, concerns about disease were temporarily activated. When people were induced to worry about disease, they were less supportive of unfamiliar but not familiar immigrants (Studies 5 and 6; Faulkner, Schaller, Park, & Duncan, 2004). Further research has suggested that the link between disease-avoidance and xenophobic attitudes is indirect, with ideological orientations (such as Social Dominance Orientation) as well as dehumanizing perceptions of the outgroup explaining the link (see Hodson & Costello, 2007).

Recent theorizing suggests that perceived threat and competition may also arise directly from perceived changes to the status quo. For example, System Justification Theory proposes that to varying degrees, people have a psychological motivation to defend and bolster their existing sociopolitical systems and extant status quo (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Kay et al., 2009). Within this framework, refugees may be perceived as a potential threat to the status quo because refugees' cultural values and traditions can provoke social, political, and economic change. In this way, in the early days of migrant settlement, host communities may show relatively less favorable attitudes toward newcomers. However, to the extent that people perceive something to be "system-sanctioned" (i.e., tied to core values of their sociopolitical system and/or part of the established status quo), system justification research demonstrates that they become more favorable toward it (Feygina, Jost, & Goldsmith, 2010; Gaucher & Jost, 2011). In other words, as the admittance of refugees becomes officially supported by the government and positively portrayed in mass media (i.e., system sanctioned), perceived threat is reduced and host community members' attitudes should become more favorable.

To further understand levels of support for restrictive refugee policies, Canetti et al. (2016) investigated the role that threat plays in the relation between political ideology and migration policy attitudes. Their results demonstrated that, compared to individuals who identify with the political left, individuals who describe their political stance as more right-wing perceive asylum seekers as more threatening,

which leads them to support policies that exclude asylum seekers. Interestingly, this pattern of findings occurred in Israel and Australia (Study 1) and among Israelis during both more peaceful and more conflict-ridden political contexts (Study 2).

Hawley (2011) found that the effect of political identification on immigration restrictions in the United States is highly dependent on the size of the immigrant population. Specifically, in areas with a small immigrant population, political ideology did not predict support for immigration restriction. In contrast, in areas with a large immigrant population, Republicans were more likely to support immigration restrictions whereas Democrats were less likely to support restrictive policies. Hawley argues that, when a host community's immigrant population is small, immigrants do not threaten local political outcomes. In contrast, when a host community's immigrant population is large, the political clout of Republicans is directly threatened. Thus, competition for political influence may be an important predictor of attitudes toward immigrants and policy restrictions.

In their political campaigns, politicians often leverage the consequences of perceived threat and competition from refugees. For example, United States presidential candidate Donald Trump encouraged his supporters to "lock their doors" to protect themselves from Syrian refugees coming to the United States (Engel, 2016). He suggested that refugees might be affiliated with terrorists, and particularly ISIS. Meanwhile, his son, Eric Trump, suggested that American workers' wages are stagnating because of people coming in from outside the country, including Syrian refugees (Palma, 2016). Such appeals to threat and competition are not limited to American politics, of course, with claims about bogus refugees part of the election campaign by Chief Executive Leung Chun Ying in Hong Kong (Lam, 2016), and claims about refugees bringing in diseases—including "parasites and protozoa"—disseminated by the leader of the ruling Polish party, Jaroslaw Kaczyński (Gera, 2015).

Of considerable importance, Greenaway, Louis, Hornsey, and Jones (2014) have demonstrated that the relationship between threat and attitudes toward immigrants is at times moderated by people's level of perceived control. Given that the arrival of large numbers of refugees to European countries may be considered beyond the control of citizens of these countries, the effects of threat on attitudes may be intensified. Indeed, across two studies, Greenaway et al. (2014) found that perceived threat from terrorists led to more negative attitudes toward refugees only among individuals who felt low control over the risk of terrorism or over their life situation more generally. Politicians may utilize knowledge of these effects of perceived lack of control to promote their views. For example, the U.K. Independence Party (UKIP)—the right-wing party that advocated for Britain's exit from the European Union—made frequent claims about threats from refugees and other potential immigrants who were said to be a danger to the United Kingdom. Prior to the U.K. vote on withdrawing from the European Union (Brexit), Nigel

Farage, the leader of UKIP, paired this threat with lack of control over immigration. He stated that, "It's legitimate to say that if people feel they've lost control completely, and we have lost control of our borders completely as members of the EU, and if people feel voting doesn't change anything, then violence is the next step" (Simons, 2016).

In sum, evidence suggests that members of (potential) host communities may feel threatened by refugees. These feelings may stem from real or imagined factors such as: the size of the refugee group, perceived competition for scarce resources such as jobs and health care, zero-sum beliefs about cultural values, perceived threat of disease and violence, perceived threat to the status quo, and perceived threat from terrorists. In addition to predicting negative attitudes and prejudice toward refugees, threat may lead to reduced support for policies that aim to provide assistance and empower refugees (Hartley & Pedersen, 2015; see also Jackson & Esses, 2000) and increased support for restrictive refugee policies (see Chiricos, Stupi, Stults, & Gertz, 2014; Esses et al., 2003; Stupi et al., 2016). These findings may be more pronounced for individuals who identify with the political right (Canetti et al., 2016; Hawley, 2011) and for those with low feelings of control (Greenaway et al., 2014).

The Role of National Attachment and Construal of the National Ingroup

Forms of national attachment and construal of national identity may also play an important role in determining attitudes toward refugees. Two forms of national attachment with very different implications for attitudes toward immigrants, including refugees, are nationalism and patriotism. A variety of studies have demonstrated that in general, individuals who are higher in nationalism—believing that their nation is superior to all others—view immigrants in competitive terms, and hold more negative attitudes toward immigrants. In contrast, individuals who are higher in patriotism—expressing pride and love for their nation—do not hold such attitudes, and at times even hold more positive attitudes (de Figueriedo & Elkins, 2003; Esses et al., 2005). Similar effects have been found for what has been labeled blind versus constructive patriotism, with blind patriotism involving unquestioning support for one's nation and its policies, and constructive patriotism involving willingness to criticize one's nation due to positive attachment and a desire to see positive change. Blind patriotism tends to lead to anti-immigration attitudes, whereas constructive patriotism does not (Willis-Esqueda, Delgado, & Pedroza, 2016). Of interest, the effects of blind patriotism on immigration attitudes are mediated by realistic and symbolic threat perceptions. In terms of the consequences of these effects, across three studies Verkuyten (2009) found that, mediated by perceptions of realistic and symbolic threat, stronger national identification is related to lack of support for multicultural recognition, tolerance, and equal rights for immigrants.

How individuals define the national ingroup is also of importance. Some individuals hold nativist perceptions of national identity, believing that national identity stems from being born in a particular country (or having lived there for an extended period of time) and from practicing the dominant religion in that country (Jones, 1997). Nativist identity is closely aligned with ethnic identity, which involves defining the national group in terms of ethnicity (Smith, 2001). In contrast, others hold civic/cultural perceptions of national identity, believing that national identity is based on a personal commitment to a country's laws and institutions, as well as feeling like a member of that country's national group. In the Pew Research Center poll of April to May 2016, discussed earlier, nativist beliefs were prevalent across the 10 participating European countries, with a median of 58% of respondents indicating that it is important for someone to be born in a country to be truly considered a national of that country (Wike et al., 2016). Similarly, more than half of Americans (55%) believe it is important to have been born in the United States to be truly American (Wike et al., 2016).

The distinction between nativist/ethnic and civic/cultural beliefs about national identity is directly relevant to the treatment of refugees because, by definition, the nativist/ethnic construal of national identity excludes refugees from the national ingroup, whereas this is not the case with the civic/cultural construal. Indeed, research has demonstrated that among individuals who endorse an ethnic construal of national identity, higher national identity is significantly associated with negative feelings toward asylum seekers and negative behavioral intentions toward asylum seekers in the form of willingness to support a group acting against asylum seekers (Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009; Pehrson & Green, 2010).

The Dehumanization of Refugees

In recent years, the dominant discourse surrounding refugee claimants has also become increasingly dehumanizing, with political leaders and the media often promoting such perceptions (e.g., Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Taylor, 2015; Usborne, 2015). For example, refugees are at times portrayed in metaphorical terms, described as "swarms" and "marauders" who threaten to "flood" Western countries in an attempt to "sponge off the welfare system." Refugees have been portrayed as "a plague of feral humans," and as "cockroaches" and "parasites." In this discourse, refugees are depicted as similar to animals and as a significant danger to humankind, inciting anxiety and fear. As a result, Western countries may feel justified in arming themselves with more stringent refugee legislation to keep the refugee hordes from invading.

By understanding the basis and determinants of the dehumanization of refugees, we may gain insight into determinants of resistance to policies designed to assist refugees. Dehumanization involves the denial of full humanness to others, and their exclusion from the human species (e.g., Bar-Tal, 2000; Haslam, 2006).

In an integrative review of dehumanization, Haslam and Loughnan (2014) suggest that an important way in which others may be denied full humanness is in an animalistic sense in which they are seen as not having risen above their animal origins; that is, as less than human. Further, Haslam suggests that this dehumanization is characterized by a perception that the dehumanized lack such characteristics as civility, morality, self-control, refinement, and cognitive sophistication.

Measures of dehumanization have focused on several of these specific dimensions. Delgado, Rodríguez-Pérez, Vaes, Leyens, and Betancor (2009) and Leyens et al. (2000) suggest that one way of dehumanizing (in their terms, infrahumanizing) outgroups is to deny that they experience complex, secondary emotions. That is, the dehumanized may experience primary emotions (e.g., pleasure, fear), just as animals do, but not the secondary emotions generally attributed only to humans (e.g., hope, remorse). In Europe, higher levels of this infrahumanization have been shown to predict greater rejection of Muslim immigrants (Leyens, Demoulin, Vaes, Gaunt, & Paladino, 2007).

Another indication of dehumanization has been proposed by Schwartz and his colleagues. According to Schwartz and Struch (1989), people infer a group's humanity by looking at the extent to which their values reflect that they have "transcended their basic animal nature and developed their human sensitivities and moral sensibilities" (Schwartz & Struch, 1989 p. 155). "Prosocial" values (e.g., equality, helpful, forgiving) are examples of such values because they "reflect a conscious desire to promote the welfare of others" (Schwartz & Struch, 1989, p. 155). If people perceive that a group lacks prosocial values, then they will judge that group to be less human and thus less worthy of humane treatment. Consequently, to assess dehumanization, Schwartz and his colleagues have proposed measures based on the perceived values of a group (Schwartz, Struch, & Bilsky, 1990; Struch & Schwartz, 1989).

Esses, Veenvliet, Hodson, and Mihic (2008) have examined the dehumanization of refugees using such measures. In addition to assessing dehumanization using the value attributions suggested by Schwartz et al. (1990), they included an assessment of the barbarian image (Alexander, Brewer, & Herrmann, 1999), which centrally includes perceptions of a group as immoral. They also developed a new measure to assess the extent to which refugees are seen as trying to violate procedures and cheat the system, that is, appealing to the claim of "bogus refugee claimants" (see also Louis, Duck, Terry, Schuller, & Lalonde, 2007). The three measures were highly intercorrelated, and predicted contempt (a factor of emotions that includes disgust) and lack of admiration for refugees, as well as support for exclusion of refugees (see also Verkuyten, 2004). Importantly, this dehumanization was demonstrated to be distinct from overall negative attitudes toward refugees (Esses et al., 2008).

In a follow-up study, Esses, Veenvliet and Medianu (2011) conducted an experiment in which they manipulated the content of a media story presented to

participants, portraying refugees as bogus queue-jumpers or not mentioning this issue. In both cases, the article also described how costly the refugee program was to Canadians. Results demonstrated that the editorial describing refugee claimants as bogus significantly increased the dehumanization of refugees, and contempt and lack of admiration toward them. It also led to significantly less favourable attitudes toward refugees in general and toward Canada's refugee policy.

These findings provide evidence of dehumanization caused by presumed threat to the integrity of the refugee system (bogus claimants) and its consequences, but they do not look directly at the association in people's minds between refugees and animals. Thus, to examine this mental association, Medianu and Esses conducted a series of studies to investigate whether people implicitly associate refugees with animals and what might drive such an association.

To begin, Medianu and Esses (2012) developed a sequential priming procedure to examine automatic (i.e., unconscious or unintentional) associations with refugees versus Canadians (Medianu & Esses, 2012). Participants were briefly presented with one of three primes on a computer screen: the word Canadian, the word Refugee, or no prime, and were then presented with human or animal pictures for which they were required to make categorizations. If people have a strong mental association between refugees and animals, then the presentation of the word refugee should facilitate participants' reaction to the animal pictures more than to the human pictures. Using this procedure, they found that Canadian participants had a stronger mental association between refugees and animals than between refugees and humans. In addition, participants had a stronger mental association between refugees and animals than between Canadians and animals. These results suggest that people not only have a tendency to perceive refugees as more closely associated with animals than they perceive Canadians, but also that people have a tendency to derogate refugees by associating them more with animals than with humans. Of interest, further research (Sutter, Medianu, & Esses, 2016) demonstrated that this automatic dehumanization of refugees, as measured using the sequential priming task, leads to less positive nonverbal behavior toward an individual described as a refugee.

To understand more about why people tend to dehumanize refugees, and to explore the link between the literature on dehumanization and that on group threat, two further studies were conducted using manipulations of media depictions of refugee claimants (Medianu, Sutter, & Esses, under review). The media depictions were based on real media depictions that had appeared in Canadian newspapers in recent years, focusing on some of the most common terms used to describe refugee claimants, as determined in a content analysis of Canadian newspapers (Medianu, Sutter, & Esses, 2015; see Klocker & Dunn, 2003 for a similar analysis of newspaper articles and government media releases in Australia). This content analysis demonstrated that refugee claimants had frequently been described as bogus, terrorists, and criminals in the Canadian media, as well as being described as

victims who had experienced hardships. More liberal newspapers were more likely to describe refugee claimants as victims, whereas more conservative newspapers were more likely to describe refugee claimants as bogus, criminals, and terrorists (Medianu et al., 2015).

In the first study, participants were presented with media depictions of a group of refugee claimants to Canada that described them as bogus, potentially harboring terrorists, or contained neutral information about them. Using the sequential priming task once again, the research examined the potential consequences of reading these articles on the automatic dehumanization of refugees. Results revealed that in both the bogus refugee and terrorist conditions, participants dehumanized refugees more than they dehumanized Canadians, whereas in the neutral condition this was not the case. In addition to demonstrating the importance of media depictions for refugee dehumanization, this study demonstrates that the description of a single group of refugee claimants can have negative effects on perceptions of refugees in general.

In the second study, participants were presented with one of four editorials—the same media depiction of refugee claimants to Canada as bogus, a new depiction that described refugee claimants as victims, the neutral article, or an irrelevant article. The victim editorial was of particular interest and described the horrible conditions the refugee claimants had endured and their poor treatment upon arrival in Canada. The results of the sequential priming task demonstrated that the bogus editorial had the same dehumanizing effect as in the first study. Surprisingly, however, the victim editorial also led to refugee dehumanization compared to the neutral and irrelevant editorials. A possible explanation for this effect is that participants may have sought to protect their ingroup identity, which may have been threatened by the claim of Canada's mistreatment of the refugee claimants (Koval, Laham, Haslam, Bastian, & Whelan, 2012), and sought to protect their belief in a just world where people get what they deserve (DeVaul-Fetters, 2014). An alternative possibility for why refugees were dehumanized in the victim condition may be that people at times dehumanize other groups because they want to protect their privileged positions and keep other groups, such as refugees, in their place. By perceiving refugees as not completely part of the human ingroup, individuals may justify the status quo and their sociopolitical systems, believing that refugees deserve their negative outcomes (Opotow, 1995; Schwartz & Struch, 1989). As a result, existing systems and the status quo are maintained and perpetuated, with blame deflected away from the failings of sociopolitical systems and placed solely onto victims (Foels & Pratto, 2015; Jost, Gaucher, & Stern, 2015). Indeed, Greenhalgh, Watt, and Schutte (2015) have demonstrated that, in the Australian context, moral disengagement from asylum seekers is used as a means of rationalizing behaviour that would otherwise be avoided.

Based on this reasoning, we would expect that Social Dominance Orientation would be a strong predictor of the dehumanization of refugees. Individuals who

are higher in Social Dominance Orientation may dehumanize refugees in an effort to maintain group dominance and protect resources. Such dehumanization may legitimize their own entitlement to resources and justify refugees' disadvantaged position in society (see also Louis, Esses, & Lalonde, 2013). Research on the dehumanization of refugees on moral dimensions has demonstrated that higher social dominance oriented individuals are indeed especially likely to dehumanize refugees (Esses et al., 2008; see also Louis et al., 2007). Similarly, Gaucher, Neufeld, Decter-Frain, & Friesen (2016) found that Social Dominance Orientation is negatively associated with attitudinal and monetary support for immigrant-serving agencies designed to facilitate the integration of newcomers.

Finally, linking the literatures on threat, national identification, and dehumanization, Louis, Esses, and Lalonde (2013) found with both Canadian and Australian samples that national identification predicts negative attitudes toward immigrants indirectly via perceptions of immigrants as being in a threatening zero-sum relationship with citizens. In turn, perceived zero-sum threat was associated with dehumanizing beliefs and emotions toward immigrants, which played important mediating roles in driving negative attitudes toward immigrants. These results are consistent with system justification theory (e.g., Kay, Jost, & Young, 2005) in that dehumanizing beliefs and emotions seem to serve to rationalize threat-related negativity.

Having reviewed the extensive literature on public perceptions of refugees, we turn our attention to the resettlement process—both before and after refugees arrive for resettlement in a new country. We first discuss the process of refugee acculturation in a new host society, and the factors influencing this acculturation. We then discuss the mental health challenges that refugees may face, exacerbated by pre- and postdisplacement stresses, and their potential for developing resilience.

The Acculturation of Refugees in New Host Societies

In the IPSOS cross-national poll on immigration and refugees, discussed earlier, a major concern expressed by many respondents, particularly in European countries, is that refugees might not successfully integrate into their new society (IPSOS, 2016). And in the Pew Research Centre poll, also discussed earlier, Muslims, in particular, are seen as not wishing to take on the host country's customs and way of life (Wike et al., 2016). Refugees, according to some anecdotal reports, similarly express concerns about the challenges associated with integration (Pathways to Prosperity, 2016). Given these concerns, understanding refugee acculturation is of great importance. Acculturation—the process of adapting to aspects of a new culture—has been widely studied from a range of academic perspectives. Historically, acculturation was viewed as a unilinear process with a focus on how the host culture is uniformly adopted by migrants. More recently, however, more complex and bidirectional models of acculturation have been

proposed. Newer models stress the importance of assessing how migrants' attitudes and characteristics—as well as the responses of the receiving society—affect processes of acculturation. In this section, we outline prominent models/typologies of acculturation. We then review the factors affecting acculturation, focusing on both the acculturation attitudes of newcomers and those of members of the host society.

Typologies and Prominent Theories of Acculturation

To discuss the factors affecting acculturation, it is important to illustrate first how acculturation is conceptualized within the literature. According to Berry's (1980, 1997) model of acculturation, migrants and host community members can favor one of four types of acculturation. These four types are organized around two orthogonal dimensions: the desire for contact with the host society and the desire to maintain original heritage culture. The four forms of acculturation include: (a) integration (a desire for migrants to maintain aspects of their heritage culture as well as have contact with host society members); (b) assimilation (a desire for migrants to shed their heritage culture and seek contact with host society members); (c) separation (a desire for migrants to maintain their heritage culture and not have contact with host society members); and (d) marginalization (migrants' rejection of their heritage culture and low desire for contact with the host society).

Although Berry's model (1980, 1997) appears most frequently in the literature, other frameworks for understanding processes of acculturation exist. The Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM), for example, conceptualizes acculturation strategies on a continuum of ideologies that shape the public policy of Western countries (see Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997; Bourhis, Montreuil, Barrette, & Montaruli, 2009). On one end of the spectrum is pluralist ideology. Pluralist ideology holds that newcomers should uphold the host country laws but are free to maintain individual and heritage cultural values. At the other end of the spectrum is ethnist ideology. Ethnist ideology holds that the state should mandate newcomers' public and private values to be in complete alignment with the host country, and make adoption of these a precondition to full citizenship. According to the IAM, two additional ideologies underlying acculturation policy include civic and assimilation ideologies. Civic ideologies propose that newcomers are free to maintain heritage values, but will not be publicly supported in their desire to do so. Assimilation ideology contends that newcomers must adopt public values and many of the private values of the dominant culture.

Similar to Berry's (1980, 1997) model, the IAM proposes that people may adopt preferences for either integration or assimilation. The IAM proposes three additional host community acculturation orientations, however: segregationist, exclusionary, or individualist orientations. Members of the host community

preferring a segregationist orientation tend to accept newcomers maintaining their heritage culture—but only under the condition that it does not "contaminate" the dominant culture. Host community members holding an exclusionist orientation, however, tend to deny newcomers the right to adopt aspects of the host culture, as well as discourage them from maintaining aspects of their heritage culture. Finally, host community members who hold an individualism orientation reject the idea of group categories altogether and instead tend to define themselves and others as individuals.

The typologies described above are useful for describing the various forms of acculturation and their behavioral and public policy manifestations. It is within the cognitive-developmental literature, however, where the underlying processes of integration—the merging of newcomers' heritage and new cultural identities—is perhaps most closely examined. Amiot, de la Sablonniere, Terry, and Smith (2007) provide a comprehensive model of self-concept integration. They propose that a newcomer's social identity—the part of a person's self-concept that is derived from his or her membership in social groups (see Tajfel, 1982)—undergoes four distinct stages toward integration.

The first stage is *anticipatory categorization*. Anticipatory categorization takes place before any contact with the new social group. This stage is characterized by thoughts (cognitions) of how the self will fit into the new social group. Consider the example of a Syrian refugee coming to a new country. During the anticipatory categorization phase, a Syrian refugee may wonder whether he or she is the type of person who would make an ideal citizen of that country, well before any actual intergroup contact. The second stage toward integration is *categorization*. Categorization occurs at the point where intergroup contact is made. During the categorization stage, differences between groups may become salient. Thus, in order to maintain positive group distinctiveness, actions aimed at affirming one's heritage social identity may become prominent. Once in the new country, for example, Syrian refugees may display hyperheritage cultural identification, wearing highly visible signs of the heritage culture or showing renewed commitment to heritage cultural groups. The third stage of *compartmentalization* is thought to occur once people realize that they are indeed a member of multiple social groups. At this point, multiple social identities are recognized, but they remain cognitively separate and highly context dependent. It is during the compartmentalization stage that Syrian refugees may express the importance of their multiple identities to their self-concepts, but these expressions and thoughts only occur within specific, relevant contexts. For example, aspects of one's Syrian identity may be salient when interacting with family members at home, whereas aspects of one's new country identity only become activated at school. *Integration*, the final stage, has occurred when people can recognize multiple social identities as important aspects of their self-concepts and when these identities can be simultaneously activated. Integration, for example, has occurred once Syrian refugees

come to view both their Syrian and new country identities as important and positive aspects of themselves across public and private domains.

Factors Affecting Host Community Members' Acculturation Attitudes

Perceived value/similarity and threat are two well-documented influences on the host society's preferences for the acculturation of newcomers. Highly "valued" newcomers tend to be those with greater similarity in attitudes, values, and ethnicity to members of the host community. Research has shown that the more "valued" the newcomer group is, the more likely it is for the host community to support integration. In contrast, host community groups expect greater assimilation and segregation from *de*valued groups (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; Safdar, Dupuis, Lewis, El-Geledi, & Bourhis, 2008). Bourhis and Dayan (2004), for example, showed that Israelis desired greater segregation and assimilation from Arabs, a devalued minority group, than from more highly "valued" Russian and Ethiopian immigrants who shared common Jewish heritage. Moreover, preferences for the assimilation of devalued groups may increase when making judgments about second (compared to first) generation immigrants (Kunst & Sam, 2013).

Perceived threat is another important factor affecting host community members' acculturation attitudes (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; Florack, Piontkowski, Rohmann, Balzer, & Perzig, 2003; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). Florack et al. (2003) undertook a series of studies investigating the effects of perceiving a cultural minority as threatening. They reasoned that perceiving a cultural minority as threatening would provoke host community members to maintain their cultural identity by endorsing more ethnocentric forms of acculturation (such as assimilation, segregation, and exclusion). In one study, they showed that the more Germans viewed Turkish immigrants as threatening to the German way of life, the less they endorsed integration as an acculturation strategy. Indeed, the acculturation strategy of *exclusion* was associated with the highest levels of perceived threat, whereas *separation* was associated with moderate levels of perceived threat. Only in the absence of threat did people endorse the acculturation strategy of integration.

In a follow-up experiment, Florack et al. (2003) had participants read threatening or enriching newspaper articles about Turkish immigrants, or unrelated neutral articles on topics such as the atmosphere. The threatening articles discussed Islamic fundamentalists and their activities in Germany, negative news coverage of Germany in the Turkish media, and the discrimination women face in Turkish culture. In contrast, the enriching articles discussed the positive aspects of Turkish cooking, art, and entrepreneurship. Demonstrating the power of threat on host community members' acculturation attitudes, people who read the threatening articles reported the most negative attitudes toward Turks in Germany, and greatest support for assimilation (e.g., "... Turks in Germany should abandon their Turkish culture and adopt German culture.")

Factors Affecting Refugees' Acculturation Attitudes

Although the models and typologies of acculturation differ in some important ways, all converge on the notion that newcomers may lean toward either integrating or remaining separate from the host culture. Whether newcomers choose to integrate depends on a number of factors. One well-documented set of psychological factors center around newcomers' perceptions of the host community's preferences, sometimes referred to as *meta-perceptions*—how people think others think about a particular topic. Specifically, newcomers' concerns about social acceptance (i.e., how they *think* host community members feel about them) and concerns about acculturation expectations can affect their choice of acculturation strategy.

Concerns about social acceptance can affect newcomers' desire to integrate. Perhaps it is no surprise that, in general, people prefer to interact with similar others (Bahns, Pickett, & Crandall, 2012; Crandall, Schiffhauer, & Harvey, 1997; Sprecher, 1998) and with those who like and accept them (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Baumeister & Tice, 1990; Lowe & Goldstein, 1970). Indeed, migrants who perceive dislike, hostility, and/or prejudice are less likely to initiate contact with, and identify with, members of the dominant host society (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Rumbaut, 2008). Kunst, Sadeghi, Tahir, Sam, and Thomsen (2016), for example, found that when Muslims in America faced religious discrimination, such as being called terrorists, religious identity was negatively associated with national engagement and positively associated with ethnic engagement. Put simply, among Muslims who had experienced severe discrimination, the more strongly they identified with being Muslim (e.g., "My Muslim identity is an important part of myself"), the more strongly they endorsed attitudes of segregation (e.g., wanting to spend less time with other Americans and more time with other Muslims). Importantly, the aforementioned pattern was not found among Muslims who had *not* experienced discrimination.

In the face of hostility and prejudice, refugees' disengagement from the host society may function as a self-protective mechanism to avoid further rejection. A large body of research on the social psychology of stigma supports the idea that social rejection leads members of stigmatized groups to withdraw from domains and relationships that may lead to further rejection (e.g., Leary, 2001). Often, disengagement will be physical. Refugees may choose, for example, to avoid host society members who have displayed hostility. If they are unable to physically withdraw, however, refugees may psychologically disengage from domains, removing ties between the domain and their self-esteem (see Crocker & Major, 1989). For example, refugee children who are negatively stereotyped with lower intellectual ability may disidentify with school in an effort to preserve their sense of self-worth. Unfortunately, disengagement often serves to reinforce such negative stereotypes, making it appear as though stigmatized group members have

self-selected out of the education system instead of disengaged as a by-product of their psychological need to maintain positive self-worth.

Physically or psychologically withdrawing from the host community in the face of hostility is not the only choice for members of stigmatized groups. They may also choose to distance themselves from their stigmatized identity through assimilation. Established benchmarks of assimilation include: learning the host language and losing one's mother tongue, pursuing the types of occupations and education held by members of the host community, intermarriage with members of the host group, and seeking out neighborhoods dominated by members of the host community (see Waters & Jimenez, 2005 for a detailed review of the indicators of assimilation). Other deliberate efforts to assimilate may include changing one's appearance or removing other salient indicators of one's heritage culture (see also Abrams & Hogg, 2010). Often, however, indicators of heritage culture are not easily changeable, such as in the case of skin color or learning of a new language. If migrants' heritage culture is highly devalued/stigmatized *and* unchangeable, the acculturation strategy of physical or psychological withdrawal/separation may be especially likely—though this should be further tested empirically.

Refugees' concern about acculturation expectations is another factor influencing their acculturation strategy. Minority groups are not likely to pursue acculturation strategies that they think will elicit opposition from majority groups. Instead, the extent to which refugees integrate is likely to be related to their perception of how much members of the host society value their culture. Brown and Zagefka (2011), for example, found that members of a Chilean minority group, the Mapuche, favored maintaining aspects of their culture and interacting with members of the majority group to the extent that they perceived the majority groups' attitude as accepting and desiring of contact. In line with Brown and Zagefka's (2011) findings, social-psychological research converges on the notion that people use aspects of the status quo, such as normative information from the majority group, as a basis for many of their social judgments (Eidelman, Crandall, & Pattershall, 2009; Kahneman, Knetsch, & Thaler, 1991; Kay et al., 2009).

Of course, there is not always (perceived or actual) acculturation strategy agreement between minority and majority group members. To the extent that refugees and host community members' attitudes toward an acculturation strategy are *dis*cordant, intergroup conflict is more likely (Bourhis et al., 2009). According to the Concordance Model of Acculturation (CMA; Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002), when groups differ on both the desire for contact as well as desire to maintain heritage culture, the greatest level of conflict can be expected. If there is agreement on one dimension (e.g., heritage cultural maintenance), but not the other (e.g., preference for contact), only a problematic level of conflict is expected. A consensual level occurs when the groups match on both dimensions.

Using the CMA as a guiding framework, Rohmann, Piontkowski, and van Randenborgh (2008) systematically manipulated the level of acculturation

attitude concordance. Participants were asked to read newspaper articles describing the acculturation attitude of an outgroup member. The newspaper articles led participants to believe that there was either a consensual, problematic, or conflicted state of acculturation attitudes. Discordant acculturation attitudes (i.e., those that were either conflicted or problematic) led to the greatest feelings of intergroup threat on three indices: realistic threat, symbolic threat, and intergroup anxiety (see also Rohmann, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006).

Given that refugees' concerns about social acceptance and concerns about acculturation expectations shape their choice of acculturation strategy, it is important to consider how refugees' perceptions originate (e.g., Kenny & DePaulo, 1993). First, refugees' perceptions could be formed through direct experience with members of the host community. Similarly, observing interactions between other refugees and host community members through a secondary source, such as reports from news media outlets, is another way that perceived acceptance and acculturation expectations could be developed. Repeated positive experiences in either case would likely lead to greater feelings of acceptance, thus making integration more likely. Negative first- or second-hand experiences, though, could increase the likelihood of refugees' separation and marginalization.

It is important to note that, as suggested by Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, and Szapocznik (2010), some aspects of acculturation may be constrained by characteristics of migrants. These characteristics may include the countries from which immigrants originate, their socioeconomic status and resources, their education level and knowledge of the host language, their religion, and their cultural similarity to the host culture. Within the United States, for example, refugees with greater English language proficiency, more education, and those who are working age show better "integration" outcomes (Capps & Newland, 2015).

Although demographic and socioeconomic snapshots of migrants provide information about *who* has integrated, they provide less information about *why* successful integration occurs. Moreover, within many demographic profiles of refugees, employment outcomes are discussed as the main indicator of integration, obscuring the important psychological indicators of successful integration and well-being. Good mental health is a key indicator of psychological well-being, and ultimately is a vital precursor to community connection and integration. Understanding the myriad factors affecting refugee mental health is particularly important given the challenges and often severe conditions that they have faced during the process of seeking refuge, and subsequently as they settle in a new host country. By better understanding refugee mental health, we can improve the resettlement process and design programs and policies that improve the integration of refugees in the economic, social, and civic/political fabrics of host communities.

Factors Affecting Refugees' Mental Health

Generally speaking, upon arrival in a host country, the physical and mental health of newcomers is better than that of the host country's population (Beiser, 2005; Cunningham, Ruben, & Narayan, 2008; Kandula, Kersey, & Lurie, 2004). Over time, however, this "healthy immigrant effect" (Kirmayer et al., 2011) disappears and newcomers' health worsens and tends to resemble that of the host population (McDonald & Kennedy, 2004; Newbold, 2005). In contrast, evidence from meta-analyses and systematic reviews suggests that, compared to the country of origin population, host population, and to other categories of newcomers, refugees have significantly higher rates of mental health issues and psychiatric disorders (Fazel, Wheeler, & Danesh, 2005; Lindert, von Ehrenstein, Priebe, Mielck, & Brahler, 2009; Porter & Haslam, 2001, 2005). Indeed, "refugees experience an ongoing accumulation of losses, challenges, life changes, and adaptational pressures during the exile/acculturation and resettlement/repatriation periods" (Porter & Haslam, 2001, p. 818) that adversely affect mental health.

Fazel et al. (2005) conducted a systematic review examining the prevalence of serious mental disorders in 7,000 refugees resettled in Western countries. Based on clinical interviews, roughly 9% of adult refugees and 11% of children were diagnosed with posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). This is about ten times higher than rates in the general population. About 5% of refugee adults were diagnosed with major depression, and 4% with generalized anxiety disorder. It is worth noting that PTSD and major depression are highly comorbid (i.e., overlapping), with over 70% of those refugees diagnosed with major depression also having a PTSD diagnosis (Fazel et al., 2005).

Depending on factors such as the specific refugee subgroup of interest, the country of resettlement, and the nature of the diagnostic instrument (e.g., clinical interviews versus self-report questionnaires), reported rates of mental health issues may be even higher than those described by Fazel et al. (2005) (e.g., Lindert et al., 2009). In particular, prevalence estimates tend to be higher when mental health issues are assessed via self-report questionnaires compared to clinical interviews, and when researchers examine smaller samples of refugees (Steel et al., 2009). For instance, in a meta-analysis looking at over 80,000 adult refugees from 40 different conflict-affected countries across 181 surveys, Steel et al. (2009) found that the prevalence rates for PTSD and depression were 30.6% and 30.8%, respectively. In addition to PTSD, depression, and anxiety, refugees also experience issues such as dissociation (Carlson & Rosser-Hogan, 1991), somatic complaints (van Ommeren et al., 2002), and elevated rates of substance use (Horyniak, Melo, Farrell, Ojeda, & Strathdee, 2016).

The prevalence of mental health issues varies by refugee subgroup (Bogic, Njoku, & Priebe, 2015; Steel et al., 2009; Stuart, Klimidis, & Minas, 1998) and is associated with refugee demographic characteristics, adversity/trauma

Table 1. Factors Affecting Refugees' Mental Health

Refugee characteristics	Premigration trauma	The resettlement process	Postdisplacement factors
• Age • Sex • Education level • Socioeconomic status	• Exposure to torture • Exposure to other traumatic events (e.g., violence)	• Locus of displacement (internal to country of origin vs. external to country of origin) • Type of accommodation (refugee camp vs. private accommodation) • Time spent in detention • Asylum interview process	• Time since displacement • Economic opportunities • Host country language proficiency • Experiences of discrimination • Cultural access • Exposure to conflict • Host country • Repatriation status

experienced predisplacement, the resettlement experience itself, and factors associated with postdisplacement experiences. We now turn to reviewing each of these categories of factors (see Table 1).

Refugee Characteristics

Several refugee demographic characteristics appear to play an important role in the development of mental health issues. In order to explore the controversial and mixed findings regarding the effects of age (Fazel et al., 2005; Porter & Haslam, 2001; van Willigen, Hondius, & van der Ploeg, 1995) and sex (Chung, Bemak, & Kagawa-Singer, 1998; De Jong et al., 2001; Hapke, Schumann, Rumpf, John, & Meyer, 2006; Steel et al., 2009) on mental health outcomes for refugees, Porter and Haslam (2005) examined the role of these demographic factors among over 22,000 refugees. They concluded that age has a strong effect on refugees' mental health, with children and adolescents faring the best, followed by adults under the age of 65. Adults over the age of 65 fare the worst. The effects for sex were relatively weaker, suggesting that female refugees tend to fare worse than male refugees (Porter & Haslam, 2005). To further understand these gender differences in mental health outcomes, Hollander, Bruce, Burstrom, and Ekbald (2011) conducted a large cross-sectional study comparing refugees and nonrefugees from seven different low-income countries currently residing in a high-income country (Sweden). Results demonstrated that, even after controlling for age, region of origin, marital status, and education, refugee women were at higher risk than men for experiencing mental health issues. The authors claim that

this may be due to a combination of higher exposure to human rights violations predisplacement, as well as factors associated with the actual asylum granting process, and higher levels of social isolation postdisplacement (Hollander et al., 2011).

Higher predisplacement education levels and socioeconomic status (SES) are often considered to be buffers against mental health issues and other negative outcomes (Kirmayer et al., 2011; Martin, 1994). However, Porter and Haslam (2005) argue that these resources may actually result in a larger relative loss of power and status postdisplacement, given that migrants' skills and credentials are often underutilized and unrecognized within host communities (e.g., Esses, Bennett-AbuAyyash, & Lapshina, 2014). Indeed, these researchers found higher scores on positive mental health indices among refugees who were less educated and had lower socioeconomic status predisplacement (Porter & Haslam, 2005). Additional research may be needed to further elucidate these reported associations.

Premigration Trauma

The high prevalence of torture and premigration trauma in many conflict-ridden countries is unarguably one of the key risk factors for PTSD and other negative mental health outcomes among refugees (Bogic et al., 2015; Steel et al., 2009). Indeed, in a meta-analysis of over 80,000 adult refugees, experiencing torture emerged as a strong predictor of both PTSD and depression (Steel et al., 2009). Compared to their counterparts who have not experienced torture, tortured refugees are significantly more likely to experience PTSD, depression, anxiety, pain disorders, and affective disorders (Shrestha et al., 1998; van Ommeren et al., 2001). Importantly, the cumulative exposure to traumatic events (e.g., kidnapping, war-related sexualized violence), characterized by "multiple losses and deprivations" (Steel et al., 2009, p. 547) has a strong, negative impact on mental health outcomes. Bogic et al. (2015) explain that, even after considering postdisplacement factors, predisplacement traumatic experiences have a strong impact on mental health status.

The Resettlement Process

The nature of the actual migration/resettlement experience of refugees involves varying degrees of disruption, uncertainty, and exposure to additional trauma such as harsh living conditions (Kirmayer et al., 2011). Several meta-analyses (Porter & Haslam, 2001, 2005) have examined the effects of postdisplacement accommodation and locus of displacement (internal to country of origin vs. external to country of origin) on refugee mental health. Looking across dozens of published studies investigating over 22,000 refugees, the evidence unequivocally

suggests that refugees living in institutionalized accommodations (refugee camps) fare significantly worse than individuals residing in private accommodations (e.g., with friends or family). Furthermore, locus of displacement has an important effect on mental health, with externally displaced refugees displaying better mental health than internally displaced refugees (Porter & Haslam, 2001, 2005).

A recent trend in many Western countries has been the implementation of increasingly stringent processes—such as detention practices—aimed at discouraging asylum seekers (Robjant, Hassan, & Katona, 2009; Steel et al., 2006). Steel et al. (2006) conducted a study looking at 241 Mandaean refugees (from Iran and Iraq) who arrived in Sydney, Australia, about 75% of whom were held in detention centers for an average of 6 months upon arrival. Individuals living in detention experienced chronic stress and lived in constant fear of repatriation, worried about the application process, and experienced harsh living conditions. Even after statistically controlling for demographic factors and previous exposure to trauma, time spent in detention had a substantial negative effect on mental health outcomes. Some nations recognize the negative consequences of detention practices and are committed to upgrading detention facilities, finding alternatives, and ultimately making detention a last resort (Canada's immigration detention, 2016).

In addition to being housed in detention centers characterized by horrible living conditions, many asylum seekers must also undergo stressful asylum interviews by immigration authorities in the host country. During these interviews, refugees recount the reasons they are fleeing their country of origin and the nature of the persecution they faced predisplacement. The asylum interview is considered a major stressor during the relocation process (Laban, Gernaat, Komproe, Van der Twel, & De Jong, 2005). In addition to reliving their predisplacement trauma, the potential consequences of the interview (e.g., deportation) are incredibly high. Schock, Rosner, and Knaevelsrud (2015) examined the impact of asylum interviews on the mental health status of 40 asylum seekers in Germany. Their results illustrated that asylum seekers showed an increase in PTSD symptoms following the interview. The perceived fairness of the interview, and the stress associated with providing testimony both played an important role in predicting the postinterview PTSD symptoms (Schock et al., 2015). Importantly, asylum seekers in Schock et al.'s (2015) study received psychological support when preparing for their asylum interview. The authors speculate that asylum seekers without this support might experience even worse mental health outcomes as a result of the interview experience.

Postdisplacement Factors

The conditions that refugees experience postdisplacement in their host country play an important role in mental health. In fact, when considered alongside

predisplacement conditions, some scholars argue that postdisplacement contextual factors may be equally important to mental health outcomes (Kim, 2015). Research illustrates that the process of integrating into a new host country is stressful and complex, often requiring refugees to acquire housing, employment, a new language, and possibly adapt their cultural practices (Wickrama, Beiser, & Kaspar, 2002). As we explain below, mental health outcomes are influenced by various aspects of socioeconomic integration. In general, however, reported rates of mental health issues seem to decrease gradually over time spent in the postdisplacement country (Bogic et al., 2015; Fazel, Reed, Panter-Brick, & Stein, 2012; Steel et al., 2009).

Extant evidence suggests that postdisplacement economic opportunities (e.g., access to employment and income) predict better mental health outcomes for refugees (Bogic et al., 2015; Kim, 2015; Porter & Haslam, 2005). In their analysis of South–East Asian refugees in Canada, Wickrama et al. (2002) found a reciprocal influence between economic integration and depression in a group of individuals investigated over a 10-year period. Specifically, in the early years postdisplacement, a lack of economic integration does not have a strong impact on depression among refugees. However, as time goes on, economic integration becomes an increasingly important factor for predicting depression. Similarly, the impact of depression on economic integration becomes greater over time (Wickrama et al., 2002).

Compared to the established link between economic integration and mental health outcomes, the effect of sociocultural integration on mental health is not as clear, with some mixed findings. Kim (2015) examined sociocultural factors related to the resettlement of refugees in a sample of 656 Latino and Asian refugees from a nationally representative household survey in the United States. Consistent with past research (e.g., Beiser & Hou, 2001; Zhang, Hong, Takeuchi, & Mossakowski, 2012), Kim (2015) found that poor English language proficiency among refugees is associated with mental health issues. In part, this effect may be due to increased discrimination experienced by individuals with accents or limited English language proficiency (Zhang et al., 2012). Similarly, Kim found that experiences of everyday discrimination resulted in a higher probability of being diagnosed with an anxiety disorder. There is a broad evidence base suggesting that cultural and religious access in the host community are essential for immigrant integration. In addition to assisting newcomers with the settlement process (Cadge, Levitt, Jaworsky, & Clevenger, 2013), religious and cultural organizations can foster social networks, fellowship, and social and economic integration in host communities (e.g., Couton, 2014; Min, 1992).

There are several other postdisplacement factors that warrant attention. Not surprisingly, refugees located in conflict-free environments (defined as free from conflict for at least 6 years) fare better than those in environments characterized by ongoing conflict (Porter & Haslam, 2005). In addition, despite increasing

humanitarian attention on the importance of repatriating refugees (UNHCR, 2016e), Porter and Haslam (2005) found that unrepatriated refugees had better mental health outcomes than repatriated refugees. Repatriation is a complex process, and its effect on mental health may be determined by the stability of the nation of residence at, and after, the time of repatriation. There are not many studies examining the effects of host country on mental health outcomes. That said, in Porter and Haslam's (2005) meta-analysis, the authors found some evidence to suggest that studies conducted with refugees living in Australia and Canada reported low rates of depression, whereas studies conducted in the United States typically found the highest rates of depression among refugees. Additional research is needed to better explore these effects and the factors driving them.

Altogether then, the postdisplacement context plays an important role in the mental health of refugees. As Porter and Haslam note, "psychopathy among refugees is not an inevitable posttraumatic consequence of acute wartime stress but reflects contextual factors that can be significantly remediated by generous material support on the part of governments and agencies" (2005, p. 610).

Policy Implications

Our discussion of the policy implications of the literature reviewed is based on the premise that one of the major solutions to the refugee crisis must be refugee resettlement in new host countries. Of course, preventing the refugee crisis by reducing the incidence of war, violence, persecution, environmental disasters, and such would be the optimal solution but this is beyond the scope of our knowledge base and is unlikely to occur in the near future (UNHCR, 2015). Thus, the issue with which we must contend is how to lessen the crisis for refugees and for their (potential) host communities. As former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Antonio Guterres, has stated, "For an age of unprecedented mass displacement, we need an unprecedented humanitarian response and a renewed global commitment to tolerance and protection for people fleeing conflict and persecution" (UNHCR, 2015). In referring to the large number of children at risk, he indicates, "What is at stake is nothing less than the survival and wellbeing of a generation of innocents" (Redden, 2013). Our policy implications thus focus on optimizing the resettlement of refugees in Western countries that have the potential capacity to receive them. In doing so, we discuss strategies for: improving public attitudes toward refugees and refugee resettlement in host countries; for improving the resettlement process; and for supporting the acculturation and integration of refugees in these countries. Positive integration outcomes for refugees in new host countries have the added benefit of the possibility that those who thrive may send remittances back to their countries of birth to help rebuild these countries and support the family and friends who remain there (e.g., Johnson & Stoll, 2008).

Improving Public Attitudes toward Refugees and Refugee Resettlement

Politicians are (at times) sensitive to the will of their citizens, but as the literature demonstrates, citizens are also susceptible to being persuaded by the views expressed by their leaders and by the media (Domke, McCoy, & Torres, 1999; see also Perloff, 2010; Petty, Brinol, & Priester, 2009). Thus, an important policy implication of the literature reviewed relates to the need to be cognizant of how public policies are being framed and how refugees are depicted, and the role of the media in promulgating particular views. As demonstrated, policies that frame refugees as a potential threat to the host community—for example, those that are premised on potential danger to the host population—will lead to negative attitudes toward refugees and toward their resettlement in one's country, particularly when citizens perceive a lack of control (Greenaway et al., 2014). Similarly, depictions that dehumanize refugees are likely to reduce support for providing refugees with assistance and resettlement opportunities (e.g., Esses et al., 2011). An example is Sweden's recent restrictions on asylum seekers that are designed to limit the number of people granted permanent residency. This policy was framed as being necessary "to prevent the country from becoming overstretched by the surge of migration to Europe that began last year" (Bilefsky, 2016). Such language suggests a threat from refugees and a lack of control, with potentially reverberating consequences for attitudes toward and treatment of refugees already in the country. Similarly, in 2014, the Conservative government of Canada proposed the Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act as an amendment to the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, designed to prevent polygamy, forced marriage, and honor killings among new arrivals (Open Parliament, 2015). Irrespective of its intentions, surely the use of dehumanizing language in the title of the Act had potential negative consequences for attitudes toward immigrants and refugees. To counteract or prevent such effects, political messaging surrounding refugees and their resettlement must be careful to avoid rationalizing policies on the basis of preventing threat and through the use of dehumanizing language. The goal is not to present misinformation, but to avoid the use of inflammatory and coded language that is likely to cause or exacerbate negative attitudes. At the same time, convincing citizens that they have control over their outcomes may reduce the potency of such effects. This sense of control need not be directly related to the potential threat being experienced. Instead, as demonstrated by Greenaway et al. (2014), a sense of control over one's life more generally can temper the effects of perceived threat. Thus, in times of anticipated threat, political leaders would do well to frame policies being enacted or being discussed as providing citizens with control over their lives.

Similarly, the attitudes publicly expressed by political leaders have the potential to significantly influence those held by citizens exposed to these messages. A case in point is the changing attitudes toward refugees in Canada with the election

of a new Liberal government in October 2015. As part of his election campaign, Justin Trudeau, leader of the Liberal Party, promised to bring 25,000 Syrian refugees to Canada by the end of 2015. Following his election as Prime Minister, this target was extended to the end of February 2016, which was successfully met (Seidle, 2016). A flurry of activity was required to meet this target successfully, much of which was publicly described on an ongoing basis by the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, John McCallum. The language used to describe this activity was uniformly positive and portrayed an inclusive national identity, which is known to improve attitudes toward immigrants under specified conditions (see Esses et al., 2003; Esses, Wagner, Wolf, & Wilbur, 2006). For example, in tweeting about the arrival of the first planeload of Syrian refugees in December 2015, Prime Minister Trudeau used the hashtag #WelcomeRefugees (Rolan, 2015) and publicly greeted the refugees at the airport with the statement, "you're safe at home now" (Austen, 2015). The government also set up a website at which Canadians could track the arrival of Syrian refugees in communities across the country, receive information on how they could help welcome the refugees, and view photos and stories of refugee resettlement under the heading "Open Hearts and Welcoming Communities: It's the Canadian Way" (Government of Canada, 2016). Similarly, the media adopted this positive frame. For example, in honor of the arrival of the first planeload of Syrian refugees, the front page of the Toronto Star declared, "As 150 refugees land at Pearson today—among the first of the 25,000—on behalf of the Star and our readers, we say: Welcome to Canada [appearing in English and Arabic]. You're with family now. And your presence among us makes our Christmas season of peace and joy just that much brighter." (Toronto Star, 2015).

These messages stand in stark contrast to those expressed by political leaders and the media in Canada just a year earlier under the Conservative government. For example, in describing why the federal government had reduced health care benefits for refugees and refugee claimants, then Prime Minister Stephen Harper suggested that these changes only applied to "bogus refugees" (which was not the case; Gulli, 2015). Similarly, in response to the Ontario provincial government stepping in to cover some of these health care expenses, then Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Chris Alexander, suggested that "This decision is irresponsible as it makes Canada, and Ontario in particular, a magnet for bogus asylum seekers" (Mas, 2014).

The system-sanctioned positive attitudes toward refugees and new status quo put into place by the Liberal government seem to have influenced a significant number of Canadians. Between November 2015 and February 2016, support for the government's refugee resettlement plan rose from 42% to 52% (Angus Reid Institute, 2016). Of importance, Gaucher, Friesen, & Neufeld. (2016) specifically examined whether host community members' attitudes toward refugees changed as positive attitudes and a welcome for refugees as future

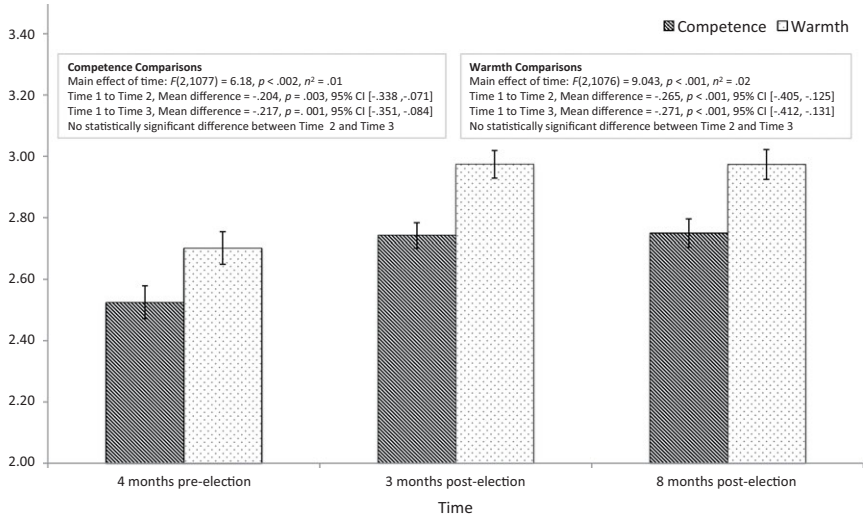

Fig. 1. Canadians' stereotypes of refugees' competence and warmth as a function of time of data collection. Higher scores indicate greater competence and warmth. All items scaled 1–5 and αs > .89.

Canadians became system-sanctioned and part of the status quo. They assessed Canadians' attitudes in three waves of national surveys occurring before (Time 1: 4 months pre-election) and after (Time 2: 3 months post-election; Time 3: 8 months post-election) the change in government, asking respondents to rate the warmth and competence of refugees (and several other groups), which provided an index of the stereotype content of each migrant class (see also Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2001). Consistent with a system justification account of system-sanctioned support for refugees, their data show positive increases in Canadians' attitudes toward refugees from June 2015 to January 2016, as assessed in terms of both perceived warmth and competence, which was maintained in June 2016 (see Figure 1)—mirroring official changes in the Canadian government and its more welcoming stance on refugees. Despite these increases in the public's positive attitudes toward refugees, positive attitudes were not universal, however; some individuals were more likely to adopt the favorable views expressed by their leaders than others. Supporting the system justification explanation of these findings, the relation between justification of the Canadian system, as measured using an adapted version of Kay and Jost's (2003) system justification scale, and attitudes toward refugees increased over time; that is, over time, the association between system justification and positivity toward refugees became stronger. Thus, it seems that individuals who were prone to justifying the Canadian system were especially likely to adopt the system-sanctioned positive views of refugees.

These results suggest that the psychological motivation that leads people to defend and support their sociopolitical systems can be used toward the positive goal of garnering support for refugee resettlement. By taking advantage of system justification motivations, governments can choose to facilitate positive attitudes toward refugees and to be leaders of positive intergroup relations by highlighting the accurate, but more positive, aspects of refugee resettlement in their country.

Improving the Resettlement Process

Protecting the mental health of refugees is crucial to the success of the resettlement process. In order to thrive, refugees require the mental (and physical) resources needed to overcome the inevitable challenges they will face in a new country. Though there are a number of factors that contribute to mental health issues for refugees during the resettlement process, as described earlier, several of the conditions that lead to stress and trauma can be potentially avoided. These sources of stress and trauma include the housing of refugees in refugee camps for extended periods of time, the use of detention to deter asylum seekers, and stresses associated with the asylum interview.

At the end of 2015, it was estimated that 3 million of the total 16 million refugees under the UNHCR's mandate were living in planned or managed refugee camps, over 500,000 were living in self-settled camps, and close to 200,000 were living in reception or transit camps (UNHCR, 2016b). Although refugee camps are intended to provide temporary living arrangements for refugees in an emergency situation, the reality is that an increasing number of host nations respond to protracted refugee situations by "containing refugees in isolated and insecure refugee camps, typically in border regions and far from the governing regime" (UNHCR, 2006). Many refugees in camps spend years there and children born in camps may grow up without knowing any other home. Camps may be seen by host nations as providing better control over asylum seekers and as a way of reducing tension and competition between refugees and local communities (UNHCR, 2013). Thus, ironically, refugee camps may improve attitudes toward refugees among members of the host community through the processes known to produce more favorable attitudes (e.g., perceived control, lack of competition), while providing a damaging living environment for refugees.

The UNHCR has indicated that, despite their best efforts, extended residence in a refugee camp can have a serious negative impact. Living in a camp typically involves some limitations on the rights and freedoms of refugees and their ability to make choices about their lives (UNHCR, 2013). For example, many host countries place restrictions on those seeking to leave the camps for employment or education (UNHCR, 2006). Thus, "living in camps can engender dependency

and weaken the ability of refugees to manage their own lives, which perpetuates the trauma of displacement and creates barriers to solutions" (Redden, 2013). At times, camps can also reduce the protection and security offered to refugees, including child refugees; increase the risk of sexual and gender-based exploitation and violence; increase the risk of human trafficking and intergroup violence; and be sites for forced recruitment into military units (Crisp, 2000; Redden, 2013).

Although camps may be a necessity for housing large numbers of people for a discrete period of time, it is recommended that the time refugees spend in camps be minimized. One solution is a comprehensive resettlement effort in which large numbers of refugees are selected for resettlement in new host countries (UNHCR, 2006). As discussed earlier, political will and favorable attitudes by members of the community of resettlement are essential for such a solution to be viable and succeed. An alternative to resettlement in a third host country is allowing refugees to settle in rural and urban communities in the countries in which they have initially sought asylum, with the benefits of refugees taking responsibility for their lives, maintaining a degree of independence, and developing resilience. To do so requires negotiation with host governments and their recognition that the drawbacks of refugee camps outweigh the benefits (Redden, 2013).

Where camps must be maintained, it is essential that they be provided with sufficient resources and services to support the dignity of those residing within them. This includes resources and services related to security, healthcare, hygiene, sustenance, accommodation, and access to education and meaningful employment (United Nations Secretary-General, 2016). It is also recommended that, with the intention of empowering refugees, the principles of community self-management and accountability be applied, there be a progressive removal of the restrictions on refugee rights and freedoms, and linkages be built between members of the camps and host communities (Crisp, 2000; Redden, 2013). It is particularly important to provide young refugees with opportunities and a sense of purpose so that the monotony of refugee life does not lead to violence and recruitment to extremist activities (Crisp, 2000). Consideration should also be given to the composition and size of camps, based on knowledge that crowded, large camps housing a number of different refugees communities are at particular risk for violence and crime (Crisp, 2000). The UNHCR's Emergency Handbook provides comprehensive guidelines for planning and managing refugee camps, and suggests that no more than 20,000 refugees be housed in a single camp (UNHCR, 2016a).

As mentioned earlier, given the bleak future confronting many refugees, some take matters into their own hands and travel without authorization to Western countries, seeking resettlement opportunities. Upon arrival in these new countries, some face detention in poor facilities, potentially precipitating additional stress and trauma. The issue of mandatory detention of asylum seekers has been particularly salient in countries such as Australia, where mandatory detention of asylum seekers

arriving by boat has been policy since 1992 (Maglen, 2007). Amnesty International (2016) has stated that the conditions on Nauru, a remote Pacific island to which about 1200 asylum seekers were forcibly transferred from Australia and have been held for up to 3 years, are particularly appalling; men, women, and children held there "suffer severe abuse, inhumane treatment, and neglect" including denial of appropriate medical and mental health care. While the Australian case has been particularly well publicized, many other countries detain asylum seekers in jail-like facilities (Global Detention Project, 2016). Of particular concern is the detention of women and children, exposing them to a serious risk of violence and exploitation (Brane & Wang, 2013; Farmer, 2013).

Governments that support detention of asylum seekers tend to present detention as a deterrent that discourages additional people from attempting to claim asylum in their countries. In Australia, this has specifically been positioned by some politicians as deterring bogus refugees who would otherwise try to jump the queue (Maglen, 2007). This framing of the policy serves to promote perceptions of threat and dehumanization of the asylum seekers, perhaps "justifying" their inhumane treatment.

The most straight-forward solution to the damage caused by detention of asylum seekers is to greatly reduce or eliminate the time that asylum seekers spend in detention centers. A feasible alternative for many asylum seekers is to accommodate them in community housing while their applications are being processed. Community supervision or management programs are considerably less costly than the use of detention centers, protect the health and well-being of asylum seekers, and have proven highly effective in that court appearance rates are high (Amnesty International, 2016; Global Detention Project, 2016; Sampson, 2013). In the rare case that detention is considered unavoidable, international standards for detention should be followed to protect the rights and the well-being of asylum seekers (Association for the Prevention of Torture, 2014).

As an example of how a more humane refugee policy can be implemented, the Canadian government is currently reviewing its detention practices with the stated objectives of increasing the availability of alternatives to detention, reducing the use of jails that house asylum seekers with criminal detainees, avoiding the detention of minors, and improving the physical and mental health care offered to detainees, among other considerations (Canada's immigration detention, 2016).

Finally, as discussed earlier, asylum interviews by immigration authorities can be a source of intense stress for asylum seekers, at times resulting in increased symptoms of PTSD (Schock et al., 2015). Such effects can potentially be minimized by careful planning and training. This may include training of interviewers in culturally sensitive interaction and interview techniques, as well as training in identifying and understanding PTSD. This may reduce the retraumatization of the interviewees, while also improving the refugee determination process. In

addition, Schock et al. (2015, p. 7) argue that "An elaborated and sensitive preparation for the asylum interview and postprocessing by clinicians after the interview or hearing are important in order to avoid permanent symptom increase."

Protecting refugees from stress and trauma during the resettlement process will better equip them to face the challenges they are likely to encounter in settling into a new host country. In addition, as we discuss next, host communities can provide a variety of supports to refugees to facilitate their acculturation and integration into their new home.

Supporting the Acculturation and Integration of Refugees

Prior to their arrival in their country of resettlement, refugees are at times provided with short courses intended to orient them to the host community's culture (IOM, 2015). In order to support the psychological well-being, and ultimate integration, of these refugees, it would be beneficial for these courses to include carefully designed modules that explicitly address refugees' concerns about social acceptance and acculturation expectations (see Amiot et al., 2007; Brown & Zagefka, 2011). It is also important to manage refugees' expectations so that they have realistic expectations about what they will encounter in their new country, and how long it is likely to take for them to participate in various aspects of the host society (e.g., the labor force; Refugee Sponsorship Training Program, 2013).

Upon arrival in a new host country, refugees also require a variety of supports. As discussed, economic and sociocultural integration are important contributors to the mental health of refugees, and material supports are likely to be required to set refugees on the road to achieving this integration (Bogic et al., 2015; Porter & Haslam, 2005; Wickrama et al., 2002). Evidence on refugees' integration outcomes suggests that immediate programs and services that refugees need upon arrival in a new host country include those that help them obtain suitable housing, those that support host language learning, and those that provide information on settling in their new community. Somewhat overlapping and continuing after the initial resettlement period, additional programs and supports are needed to address the long-term needs of refugees. These include employment supports and opportunities, health and mental health supports, and programs that increase refugees' social connections and civic/political integration (e.g., Esses, Hamilton, Bennett-AbuAyyash, & Burstein, 2010; UNHCR, 2002). Specialized services are also required for youth and women (e.g., Beiser & Hou, 2001; Correa-Velez, Giffford, & Barnett, 2010). A number of groups and programs have established mechanisms for sharing of promising practices in the delivery of these settlement and integration services (e.g., Burstein & Esses, 2012; Cities of Migration, 2016; European Commission, 2016), with the benefit of the opportunity to learn from others what works and what doesn't, rather than individual communities starting

from scratch. Though the delivery of programs and services for refugees may seem like a costly endeavor, it is repaid over time in refugees' contributions to society in both economic and social terms (e.g., Chu, 2015; Refugee Council, 2016: Refugee Council of Australia, 2010).

In addition to providing programs and services to refugees, it is important to create conditions that will foster refugees' resilience and allow for their basic adaptive psychological systems to recover. Here resilience is conceptualized as resulting from what Ann Masten terms "ordinary magic"—the creation of conditions that allow people's basic human adaptive systems to operate (see Masten & Narayan, 2012). In the case of refugees, this means, as early as possible, providing people not only with the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter, but with opportunities to connect with host community members and foster a sense of belonging (Neufeld, Matthes, Moulden, Friesen, & Gaucher, 2016), as well as become self-sufficient. In line with the importance of social connection and a sense of belonging, in describing the arrival of Syrian refugees to Canada, the Mayor of Calgary, Naheed Nenshi, stated that, "the most important mental health intervention we can do for these folks is to be welcoming" (Calgary is ready, 2015).

With the goal of enabling governments to comprehensively track the impact that their public policies have on refugee integration, the UN Agency for Refugees has developed a list of over 200 qualitative and quantitative indicators that are in the process of being pilot tested (UNHCR, 2016c). The UN integration indicators include "every aspect of refugee life, from the use of skills and qualification in their current employment or school enrolment of children to more administrative issues such as government budgets for cultural orientation" (p. 3).

Conclusions

In this article, we have reviewed the research literature in two broad areas: public attitudes toward refugees and factors influencing successful refugee resettlement. Our goal was to highlight the challenges in these areas, both individually and in combination, in order to provide recommendations for strategies to improve policies and practices to address the current refugee crisis. This crisis is unlikely to abate in the near future and applying social science research to address the crisis will be of benefit not only for the current generation, but for generations to come. Moving forward, a systematic program of research that provides a solid evidence base for government action would be of great value. Such a program of research will require both high level thinking and rigorous measurement approaches, and consideration of the needs and resources of both refugees and of host communities. Our hope is that the current analysis is a first step in developing such a unified approach.

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VICTORIA ESSES is Professor of Psychology and Director of the Centre for Research on Migration and Ethnic Relations at the University of Western Ontario. She is Principal Investigator of the Pathways to Prosperity Partnership (www.p2pcanada.ca), a national alliance of university, community, and government partners dedicated to fostering welcoming communities, and promoting the integration of immigrants and minorities in Canada. She has extensive experience conducting research of direct relevance to immigration policy and practice, including work for federal, provincial, and municipal governments, and for the settlement sector. Her research addresses determinants of public attitudes toward immigrants, immigration and cultural diversity, and factors promoting the settlement and integration of immigrants. In 2010 she was awarded the Harold Crabtree Foundation Award in Public Policy Research.

LEAH HAMILTON is Assistant Professor in the Department of Management and Human Resources at the Bissett School of Business, Mount Royal University. Leah's program of research focuses on the social and economic integration of

immigrants and refugees in Canada. She frequently collaborates on projects commissioned by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, and Government of Alberta. She has extensive experience conducting community-based research with the settlement sector. She is also interested in economic integration more broadly, and has done several projects examining factors that affect the employability of undergraduate students. Her research is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

DANIELLE GAUCHER is Associate Professor of Psychology and Director of the Intergroup Relations and Social Justice Lab at the University of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. Professor Gaucher holds a PhD in Social Psychology from the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada and her research centers on issues of intergroup relations, social justice, and social change. Specifically, much of her research investigates the various social-psychological processes—operating at individual and institutional levels—that serve to maintain social inequality. Her work has been published in journals such as the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology and Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.