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Article

Intersectional homemaking: Bridging the social and material inequities of refugees living in climate precarity

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Abstract
Climate injustice is increasingly recognized by researchers as a factor in forced migration. Less attention has been given to the climate injustices experienced by refugees in resettlement contexts. Homemaking is a useful concept for examining refugee relationships to climate injustice because of its consideration of both the social and material world (i.e. the natural and built environment). However, it is limited in its capacity to examine the structural factors that contribute to the barriers and possibilities of homemaking in climate precarious contexts. This article joins intersectionality and homemaking to demonstrate how taken together this analytical frame can illuminate socio-material inequities experienced by refugees from pre-migration to resettlement in Canada. Intersectional homemaking is presented as a key conceptual framework for exploring home/homemaking, climate injustice, and refugees within the social work discipline.

Keywords
climate injustice, refugees, resettlement, homemaking, intersectionality, social work

Résumé
L’injustice climatique est de plus en plus reconnue par les chercheurs comme un facteur de migration forcée. On a accordé moins d’attention aux injustices climatiques subies par les réfugiés dans les contextes de réinstallation. Le concept de ménage est utile pour examiner les relations des réfugiés avec l’injustice climatique en raison de sa prise en compte à la fois du monde social et matériel (c’est-à-dire de l’environnement naturel et bâti). Cependant, il est limité dans sa capacité à examiner les facteurs structurels qui contribuent aux obstacles et aux possibilités de ménage dans les contextes de précarité climatique. Cet article associe l’intersectionnalité et le ménage pour démontrer comment, pris ensemble, ce cadre analytique peut éclairer les inégalités socio-matérielles subies par les réfugiés depuis la prémigration jusqu’à la réinstallation au Canada. Le ménage intersectionnel est présenté comme un cadre conceptuel clé pour explorer le ménage/le ménage, l’injustice climatique et les réfugiés dans la discipline du travail social.

Mots-clés
injustice climatique, réfugiés, réinstallation, ménage, intersectionnalité, travail social

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Introduction

This conceptual article expands on the social work research literature on climate justice by focusing on the socio-material inequities experienced by refugees from pre-migration to resettlement in Canada. Specifically, socio-material injustice is illuminated through the use of an innovative conceptual approach: intersectional homemaking. Intersectional homemaking weaves together the social and material conditions of refugees that homemaking makes visible with the systemic insights beholden to intersectionality to address the complexities faced by refugees who are making home in contexts of climate precarity. Increasingly researchers are highlighting how climate injustice is often a catalyst or at minimum a contributor to political conflicts that result in humanitarian crises and forced migration yet the current international legal framework ratified by the 1951 Refugee Convention is remiss to include this critical factor in its consideration of who qualifies as a refugee (Drolet et al., 2017). The exclusion of the extreme adverse effects of climate disasters and environmental degradation (natural or human-made) that contribute to forced migration in the legal definition of refugee consequently results in the marginalization of this vital and growing global issue. Additionally, it is arguable that nation-states of the Global North, including Canada, are invested in maintaining the subordination of this narrative because its visibility invites responsibility for their implication in the unsustainable development practices that contribute to the rise in greenhouse gas emissions and consequent global warming (Singh, 2022), which underscore forced migration (Medina et al., 2023).

This article suggests that this form of injustice experienced by refugees does not stop upon arrival in the resettlement context. Instead, this form of injustice simply shifts in its expression and remains a thread of oppression in the everyday lives of refugees (Powers & Zik Nsonwu, 2020). Homemaking is a key concept that has been used by migration researchers to examine how migrants, including refugees, create home in new environments provided the loss of home is a central feature of the refugee experience (Beeckmans & Geldof, 2022; Boccagni, 2017; Kox et al., 2023; van Liempt & Miellet, 2021; van Liempt & Staring, 2021; Taylor, 2013; Wimark, 2021). A key consideration in analyses of refugee homemaking is one's experience of or relationship to the material world (the natural and built environment) and the non-material world (social, psychological, cultural) (Beeckmans & Geldof, 2022; Boccagni, 2017; Dossa & Golubovic, 2019; Fozdar & Hartley, 2014; van Liempt & Staring, 2021). While it could be argued that home scholarship has placed importance on the latter, Fozdar and Hartley (2014) emphasize that the social-spatial features of home are "inextricably linked" (p. 149). It is this inclusion of the material realm that makes homemaking a useful concept for social work research

aimed at unveiling climate injustices experienced by refugees provided the physical environment can both protect against or exacerbate the unjust socio-material conditions people live within.

While a homemaking lens can illuminate the subjective experiences of refugees faced with shifting expressions of climate injustice, its attention to how inequities vastly contribute to one's vulnerability to climate injustice is at best limited. Applying intersectionality to homemaking ensures that interlocking structural injustices are central considerations when researchers seek to unearth refugee experiences of climate injustice using a homemaking approach. The need for an intersectional analysis in the context of climate injustice is expressed by Naomi Klein, a Canadian climate change expert. She states:

> We live in a time of multiple overlapping crises: We have a health emergency, we have a housing emergency, we have an inequality emergency, we have a racial injustice emergency, and we have a climate emergency, so we're not going to get anywhere if we try to address them one at a time. We need responses that are truly intersectional. (University of British Colombia [UBC] Faculty of Arts, 2023 (para 4))

Accordingly, this article proposes researchers use an intersectional homemaking lens when partnering with refugees resettled in Canada. While this approach could be used to examine multiple realities refugees face in Canada upon resettlement, this article specifically applies this lens to examine the intersection between refugees, homemaking, and climate injustice.

Refugee experiences of climate injustice: A call to action for social workers

There is growing literature in the social work research field addressing climate injustice. While environmental issues have been a subject of attention in social work since its origins (Krings et al., 2020; Närhi & Matthies, 2001; Peeters, 2012), contemporary social work researchers have actively established frameworks for addressing climate justice issues in practice such as ecospiritual social work, green social work, and ecosocial work (Coates et al., 2006; Dominelli, 2013; Peeters, 2012). While these practice approaches vary, a common thread among these paradigms is the awareness that climate change or environmental issues affect people differentially according to intersecting structural injustices such as racism, classism, and sexism (Coates et al., 2006; Dominelli, 2013; Peeters, 2012). It is the adverse effects of climate change on marginalized and vulnerable people that makes climate injustice a central concern for social workers (Dominelli, 2013; Kemp, 2011) and is evident in the Canadian Association for Social Workers [CASW] Code of Ethics (2024) which stipulates:

> Social workers learn about oppression, racism and discrimination and the resulting impact on all people. Social workers understand how people can be further disadvantaged by intersecting factors that result in layers of oppression, exclusion, racism, and discrimination. (p. 11)

People with refugee status in Canada are often characterized as vulnerable and marginalized (Danso, 2002). The trauma experienced pre-migration from war, climate disasters and degradation, displacement, human-rights violations, amongst other life-threatening circumstances combined with the marginal position they are subscribed upon resettlement creates a "condition of disempowerment and alienation" (Danso, 2002, p. 3), and contributes to a position of vulnerability. While this narrative of refugees is valid, it is incomplete. A holistic examination of resettled refugees recognizes that refugees are not inherently vulnerable, but made vulnerable due to intersecting social, political, and historical forces (El-Bialy & Mulay, 2020). Further, alongside marginalization and vulnerability, refugees continue to resist their oppression and survive, and in many circumstances live out positive livelihoods, which are vital counter narratives to elucidate provided the prevailing discourses suggest otherwise (El-Bialy & Mulay, 2020). Revealed later in this article, an intersectional homemaking lens emphasizes the need for researchers to partner with their participants to resist social injustice. Therefore, while the marginalization and vulnerability of refugees in Canada makes them more susceptible to climate injustice, which represents a critical juncture for social work intervention, any social work research or practice intervention should be informed by the expertise of refugees and conducted in partnership with refugees.

Pathways to resettlement in Canada

Resettlement refers to the process of "rescue or relocation from a life-threatening situation" (Oudshoorn et al., 2020, p. 894). While typically resettlement is specific to individuals with legally recognized refugee status (Oudshoorn et al., 2020), for the purposes of this article, resettlement is applicable to all persons who experience life threatening circumstances that result in forced displacement regardless of legal recognition. While resettlement is depicted as a "wholly positive experience", critical approaches to refugee studies discuss resettlement as "fraught with experiences of poverty, racism, intolerance, stress, social isolation, and housing instability" (Oudshoorn et al., 2020, p. 894).

A total of 74,342 refugees and protected persons were admitted as permanent residents to Canada in 2022 (Government of Canada, 2023). An additional 10,199 individuals were admitted on humanitarian, compassionate, and public policy grounds (Government of Canada, 2023). Refugees are at risk of living in poverty due to ongoing barriers to employment such as limited language proficiency and lack of recognition of foreign education credentials in addition to limited income support (St. Arnault & Merali, 2019). Approximately 50% of refugees are unable to afford quality housing and reside in overcrowded, sub-standard housing located in unsafe, high-risk neighbourhoods (e.g., flood zones, toxic industrial chemical exposure, food deserts, hazardous traffic, and high crime rates) (Carter et al., 2008; Oudshoorn et al., 2020; Powers & Nsonwu, 2020). These structural inequities glean insight into the marginalization of refugees in the resettlement context. These inequities can be minimized or exacerbated depending on a

person's legal status, which dictates the extent to which individuals receive benefits and supports.

There are two primary legal pathways to resettlement in Canada, as either a refugee claimant or as a Convention refugee. A refugee claimant is someone who is seeking refugee protection but has already arrived in Canada (Canadian Council for Refugees, n.d.). Between January and December of 2023, 137,947 asylum claims in Canada were referred (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada [IRBC], 2023). According to the IRBC (2023) by the end of 2023 claims were either accepted (*n*= 37,222), rejected (*n*= 9,601), abandoned (*n*= 1,712), or withdrawn (*n*= 3,313). While claimants are awaiting the outcome of their application, they are provided with a document that identifies their status as a refugee claimant, allowing them to have access to banking services, social assistance benefits, healthcare, employment, and education (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], n.d.). If a claim is successful, individuals can apply for permanent residency, but if a claim is denied a removal order will be issued (Canada Border Services Agency, 2023) and individuals are left with few options to stay in Canada. Some individuals with denied claims choose to stay in Canada illegally and are considered to have precarious migratory status, which "invokes uncertainty in the right to reside in Canada, while restricting the social entitlements a migrant can claim from the state (e.g., housing, social assistance, healthcare)" (Bhuyan & Smith-Carrier, 2010, p. 51). Also known as non-status migrants or irregular status migrants, this category of forced migrants is most vulnerable due to their lack of access to social and health benefits (Alcaraz et al., 2021).

Convention refugees who arrive in Canada meet the criteria put forth by the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees, which stipulate that a person must be outside their home country and have a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, or membership of a particular social group or political opinion (Canadian Council for Refugees, n.d.). Convention refugees are referred to Canada by the UNHCR, a designated referral agency, or private sponsorship group. Financial security and stability are a key requirement of obtaining refugee status and this can be achieved for Convention refugees through sponsorship by the Government of Canada, private sponsors (group of people or organization), or a mix of both the government and private sponsors known as Blended Visa Office Referral (BVOR). All Convention refugees have permanent residency status and are entitled to most of the same social supports as Canadian citizens (i.e., healthcare coverage and social insurance number to gain employment), but are unable to vote (Government of Canada, 2023). Some forced migrants are considered refugee-like, which includes "groups of persons who are outside their country or territory of origin and who face protection risks similar to refugees but for whom refugee status has, for practical or other reasons, not been ascertained" (UNHCR, 2014, p. 39). For example, Ukrainians who have recently arrived in Canada due to the Russian-Ukraine war can be considered refugee-like, however many are not in fact refugees in a legal sense, having arrived in Canada under The Canadian-Ukraine Authorization for Emergency Travel (CUAET) special measure permit. As described, Convention refugees receive the greatest access to rights and benefits, while non-status migrants are subject to increased marginalization

and vulnerability due to their lack of access to rights and benefits. A refugee's legal status or lack of legal status can exacerbate inequities in their social and physical living conditions.

Home studies

Boccagni and Bonfanti (2023) describe home studies as an "emerging research perspective... [that] engages with diverse places, settings and material arrangements in which people articulate and tentatively enact a sense of home" (p. 4). While home is often considered the landscape of the domestic sphere, homemaking can in fact transgress the boundaries of public and private, bridging the divide between housing and neighbourhoods, local and transnational, lay and sacred, social and spatial, and personal and political (Beeckmans et al., 2022; Boccagni & Bonfanti, 2023). Beeckmans et al. (2022) discuss how homemaking is a universal phenomenon yet deeply contextual depending on social, cultural, and place-based realities. The paradoxical arrangement between homemaking, displacement, and the rising numbers of people experiencing displacement whether forced or by choice has led to an increased interest in this field of study. Beeckmans et al. (2022) suggest that in a highly globalized world, in which transnational movement has become nearly inherent, the notion of home as bounded is less and less relevant. Instead, the authors propose that homemaking in contexts of displacement should be positioned as a spatial practice, in which the social and material converge.

Conceptions of home in the context of refugee resettlement

Taylor (2013) suggests that refugees are defined in many ways through their loss of home, noting that while the association of refugee with loss of home is rudimentary, at best it is a consistent thread that weaves through all refugee stories, which are multiplicative, complex, and deeply contextual. Home then, whether homeland or home in a new country, becomes a window into the tapestry of refugee everyday lives. Importantly, understanding how the physical world contributes to refugees feeling at home or not at home in different resettlement contexts sheds light on the crucial role place has in securing refugee futures. As demonstrated, refugees are subject to marginalization in settler-colonial nation-states such as Canada. This marginalization is embedded in institutions, laws, and policies that in turn create hostile environments and sustain a feeling of precarity among refugees, even if legal permanence is achieved (Yuval-Davis et al., 2018).

In conceptualizing home in the context of belonging, Yuval-Davis et al. (2018) suggest that "belonging relates to emotional (or even ontological) attachment, about feeling 'at home'" (p. 230). They further highlight a definition proposed by Blunt (2005) who states that home is a "material and an affective space, shaped by everyday practices, lived experiences, social relations, memories and emotions" (p. 506). Importantly, Yuval-Davis et al. (2018) add that home is also about being in a safe space (Ignatieff, 2001) and shed light on the role of bordering dictating the feeling of home because it is the aim of border control to discern who belongs and who does not. It is this crucial intersection between home, belonging and borders that makes visible the ways in which home and belonging are politicized. Boccagni (2017) captures the

political nature of home, stating that it is the “deep-rooted and institutional marker of boundaries of legitimate membership and belonging” (p. 88). He then further asserts that in the context of migration, home becomes a contested site that marks who is an insider and who is an outsider. Overarchingly, home is articulated materially and immaterially, and the politicization of home threads through these distinct yet overlapping articulations of home. Despite Yuval-Davis et al.'s (2018) emphasis on politicizing home, homemaking as an analytical lens is limited in its capacity to address the complex interplay between home, structural oppression, and climate injustice. The strength of a homemaking approach is its attention to both the social and the spatial. Threading an intersectional lens into a homemaking analysis aimed at exploring conditions of climate injustice amongst refugees captures the contextual inequities that differentially expose some people and not others to varying degrees of climate injustice.

Intersectional homemaking

As previously described, an intersectional homemaking approach positions homemaking as a political project. While some home researchers position homemaking as an act of resistance among refugees and other migrant categories who are faced with conditions of socio-material inequity, this perspective is inconsistently employed in the home literature. Harnessing intersectionality alongside homemaking analyses importantly centres the political nature of homemaking, placing less emphasis on homemaking as a solely subjective experience. While the subjective experience of homemaking should not be negated, the authors of this article draw from the feminist adage that “the personal is political” (Hanisch, 1972), and thus perceive the undeniable intimate nature of homemaking as a particularly salient political act. Provided intersectionality is a feminist approach, and even more so a project originally taken up by Black, Chicana, and Indigenous feminists (Collins, 2015), it seems to be an appropriate fit for analyses directed towards refugee homemaking specifically, given individuals with refugee status are frequently subjects of racism and sexism (Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2000), and are often Indigenous to their homelands (Riley & Carpenter, 2021).

Lastly, examinations of homemaking that occur in the context of climate injustice call for an intersectional approach. Climate justice researchers discuss the multiple forms of inequity that shape experiences of climate injustice, and that frequently these inequities are “overwhelmingly treated discretely, rather than as multiplicative and interwoven” (Malin & Ryder, 2018, p. 2). To effectively address climate injustice, an intersectional approach is necessary to capture the complex and entangled operation of power, privilege, and oppression that operationally expose some individuals and communities to climate injustices while others are unaffected or even benefit from the same interlocking structures. There are three key components to intersectional homemaking including: (1) homemaking is enabled or constrained by the intersecting forces of power, privilege, and oppression; (2) normative definitions of home risk marginalizing alternative approaches to homemaking; and (3) intersectional homemaking research is rooted in social action and social justice.

Homemaking is enabled or constrained by the intersecting forces of power, privilege, and oppression

An intersectional homemaking approach maintains the conception of home as a construct produced by a multitude of interlocking phenomena (e.g., spatial, temporal, emotional, and material). The effects of an intersectional lens on homemaking adds the dimensions of power, privilege, and oppression as significant interlocking frames that shape the possibilities and barriers of homemaking. Intersectional homemaking asks, how is home shaped and made (im)possible amidst intersecting categories of identity such as race, class, gender, sexuality, age, ability, nation, ethnicity, and immigration status that are in mutually constitutive relations with systems of power? (Collins, 2015; Collins & Bilge, 2021; Moradi & Grzanka, 2017).

The empirical literature on homemaking and migration exemplifies a significant gap regarding analyses of power, privilege, and oppression and their cumulative effects on the populations under study. While studies might in a cursory fashion acknowledge structural inequities, it is often according to a single-axis framework or referred to generally without articulating the context or importance of analyzing power, privilege, and oppression on homemaking (van Liempt & Staring, 2021). Certainly, the review of the literature on refugee homemaking for the purposes of this paper did not find any studies that explicitly engaged with an intersectional analysis. While there is some debate in the literature whether intersectionality needs to be explicitly stated (Cho et al., 2013; Moradi & Grzanka, 2017), Cho et al., (2013) emphasize that regardless, what makes an analysis truly intersectional is "thinking about the problem of sameness and difference and its relation to power" (p. 795).

Moradi and Grzanka (2017) discuss the all-too-common pitfall of intersectional analysis being applied solely to identity, focusing on interpersonal processes meanwhile sanctioning off any kind of structural or systemic analysis. While they hesitate to assert that focusing only on identity is necessarily "bad", they propose that it does not fully engage with the intention of an intersectional analysis. Wimark's (2021) study on queer refugee migration and homemaking, while not explicitly using an intersectional analysis, does demonstrate an engagement with both the individual and structural aspects of intersectionality and their mutual constitution. Instead of focusing on how refugee queerness shapes his participants' experiences of homemaking during and post-migration, Wimark (2021) discusses the impact of structural implications including heteronormativity, homonationalism, and homo-and-transphobia on the participant's barriers and possibilities for homemaking. Certainly, the author's emphasis on the interconnections between identity and structural oppression were evident but his approach relied on a single-axis framework, focusing only on queer identity. The author's analysis would have benefited from exploring other intersecting variables that shape the participants' homemaking experiences, such as racism, classism, sexism, and immigration status.

Normative definitions of home risk marginalizing alternative approaches to homemaking

The social science literature contributed greatly to conceptions of home by expanding home beyond a physical space to include social, cultural, and emotional dimensions (Boccagni, 2022).

Therefore homemaking, which is quite literally the process of making home, is not only about creating and connecting to a physical space, but a social and relational space too. This process oriented and expansive conception of home is what led researchers to embrace the concept of homemaking, because it kept focus on home as a process of becoming as opposed to a defined end point (Boccagni, 2022). Resisting the urge to define home and instead stay attuned to the process of homemaking is seen as an effective way to prevent reproducing a normative definition of home. Despite this intention, Boccagni (2022) asserts that this reproduction occurs anyway. For example, Boccagni and Nieto (2022) discuss how normative definitions of home generally consider home to be "an inherently positive and desirable state of things" (p. 516). They suggest that this positive association with home denies unfavourable experiences of home most often experienced by people faced with oppression and violence. This alludes to the privileged nature of home and also suggests that those who are faced with oppression might instead of making home, attempt to unmake home because they view home as a place of violence.

Perhaps this awareness of home as a construct invites researchers to ask how participants define home and based on that definition, their questions might be, how does one make home? Or the inverse, how does one unmake home? How is home understood in various places and contexts at different times? Intersectionality offers these inquiries a useful lens to understand how one comes to view home across diverse experiences, because it engages with the interlocking structural determinants that shape peoples' realities. While normative conceptions of home risk making invisible people's unique definitions of home, this is also not to assume that all people with experiences of violence and oppression perceive home negatively, nor does it presume that all people with privilege experience home positively. Instead, what should be noted here, particularly for researchers exploring homemaking, is that research questions should be formulated without prior assumptions about the meaning of home to the participants and further, homemaking as a concept needs to consider both making and unmaking as possibilities for social and political action.

Intersectional homemaking research is rooted in social action and social justice

The literature on intersectionality widely accepts intersectionality as a critical theory directed towards the pursuit of social justice (Collins, 2015; Collins & Bilge, 2021; Moradi & Grzanka, 2017). Provided intersectionality's roots stem from Black feminist thought, an intersectional analysis originated with the aim of liberation for U.S. Black women but has since extended to include liberation for oppressed people and communities, globally (Moradi & Grzanka, 2017). Intersectionality's engagement with social justice occurs through its commitment to critical praxis, which Moradi and Grzanka (2017), drawing from Gramsci (1971), define as "the unity of theory and practice that combines critical thinking with social and political activism designed to uncover and transform systems of domination" (p. 507). If this notion of social justice by way of critical praxis is applied to homemaking, homemaking can be understood as an important site of resistance and social transformation. While homemaking is sometimes considered a political

project in the home and migration literature, it is inconsistently examined as such making it optional as opposed to a key pillar of homemaking.

An intersectional homemaking lens considers critical praxis to be a vital component of analysis, ensuring that research in the area of homemaking and migration is not restricted to observation and understanding of oppressed groups but aims to also solve the problems or resist structures of oppression, alongside the oppressed groups (Collins, 2015; Collins & Bilge, 2021). This means that researchers are not just bringing theory and frameworks to a particular inquiry but are drawing from the lived experiences of the population being studied or the practitioners who work directly with oppressed groups to inform the theory and the frameworks. Ultimately theory and practice are seen as mutually constitutive phenomena, each informing and enriching the other (Collins & Bilge, 2021). When researchers engage in critical praxis, the research itself can be far more impactful for the groups subject to the social inequalities under study.

Climate injustice pre-migration

Literature that examines climate injustice experienced by people with refugee status predominantly focuses on the adverse effects of climate change pre-migration. For example, there is a growing body of literature that discusses climate change as a push factor, or negative factor associated with the country of origin as driving migration, or a root cause of displacement (Drolet et al., 2017; Powers et al., 2018; McEldowney & Drolet, 2021; UNHCR, 2015). Darfur, a region of Sudan, is an example in which depletion of natural resources due to climate change was a key consideration in the multi-pronged root causes of armed conflict (Boano et al,, 2008). Additionally, the Syrian war has been examined as a site for which climate crisis (a 4-year drought from 2006-2010) created the conditions for the conflict that ensued in 2011 (McEldowney & Drolet, 2021). Beyond conflict underpinned in part by climate change, climate disasters in Haiti, Somalia, Iraq, Yemen and most recently Syria and Turkey have led to forced displacement (Mezdour et al., 2016; McEldowney & Drolet, 2021; Powers et al., 2018). The majority of people and communities impacted by climate disasters are displaced internally, meaning they have not crossed an international border (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre [iDMC], 2024). As Walia (2021) emphasizes “[f]or the vast majority of displaced people, migration is not an option. Spatialized systemic *immobility* maintains the cruelties of racial imperial management and political inequality” (p. 69).

This barrier to mobility invites attention to the previously mentioned legal reality that individuals from countries of Global South face: people forcibly displaced by climate disasters and degradation are not considered eligible for refugee status because these life-threatening environmental conditions are not recognized by international or national laws. Consequently, people who internationally migrate to Canada solely due to climate related issues, have done so voluntarily and therefore have a certain level of economic privilege that affords them to do so (Mezdour et al., 2016). For example, Mezdour et al. (2016) conducted an exploratory study to elicit the perspectives of Haitians who had migrated to Canada due to social issues that had arisen from environmental degradation and disasters. Participants discussed the social and

economic upper-class privilege they held in their home country and how it offered them the choice to migrate to Canada. Participants expressed that poor Haitians residing rurally were the most impacted by the environmental issues, and were unable to leave Haiti to reside elsewhere, or even move from the rural areas into urban centers. This case example demonstrates how explorations of climate injustice must correspond with issues of equity to effectively understand its differential effects and respond accordingly. To reiterate the legal constraints faced by individuals and communities impacted by climate disaster and environmental degradation, it is not possible to migrate as a legal refugee to countries such as Canada. However, many people who come to Canada with refugee status have been impacted by climate injustices, but only a holistic examination of the root causes of their forced migration would reveal this (Drolet, 2014; Mezdour et al., 2016; Powers & Nsonwu, 2020).

Applying an intersectional homemaking lens to climate related issues in the Global South illuminates the unique complexities of the problems faced by individuals and communities situated in these regions. Additionally, this approach can highlight the ways in which people adapt to or resist conditions of climate-based oppression. This case example alone shows how one's homemaking options in situations that are impacted by climate disaster are greatly informed by class. To migrate from conditions of climate injustice, wealth or access to resources are key determinant. An intersectional homemaking approach could add to the research literature by eliciting the ways in which people who remain in places marred by climate disaster continue to make home and adapt to the physical and social inequities that emerge from such hardships. Intersectionality specifically can illuminate how these adaptations shift according to class, race, ethnic, and gender lines. In the case of Haiti, the rural versus urban experience would be another important level of analysis to explore.

Climate injustice and resettlement in Canada

There is a paucity of literature that examines the climate injustices experienced by people with refugee status in Canada, which inadvertently supports the broader discourses that host countries, like Canada, are purely altruistic and humanitarian, ultimately veiling their complicity in structural violence (Olsen et al., 2016). By tracing climate injustice from pre-migration to resettlement it is possible to see the ways in which countries of the Global North are responsible for the ongoing marginalization of people of the Global South, regardless of where they are situated. Dominelli (2013) discusses the unequal burden countries of the Global South carry regarding climate related matters. She states:

> Countries of the Global South bear a disproportionate burden emanating from disasters, particularly so-called 'natural' disasters because: 76 per cent of damages caused by disasters occur there; 92 per cent of people affected by disasters live in these countries; and 65 per cent of the economic losses caused by disasters are incurred there. (p. 433)

Important to recognize is Dominelli's (2013) reluctance to position natural disasters as 'natural.' She instead emphasizes the blurred boundaries between natural and human-made disasters, highlighting that climate change "is deemed to be human activity linked to fossil fuels" (p. 434). Undeniably, the unsustainable development practices of the Global North are unequivocally responsible for rising greenhouse gas emissions that lead to climate destruction and disasters. For example, Walia (2021) discusses how deforestation, monocultural rice production, and shrimp farming have exacerbated the voracity and impact of climate disasters. Activists, along with representatives of countries in the Global South, are advocating for recourse to address this ongoing injustice (Singh, 2022).

Drawing from Bullard (1990), Dominelli (2013) introduces the concept 'environmental racism.' She states that Bullard (1990) coined the term, exposing how African-American communities in the United States are disproportionately burdened with environmental degradation resulting in poor health outcomes. This same lens has been used to illuminate climate injustices faced by Indigenous, Black, and racialized communities in Canada (Anguelovski et al., 2019; Maynard & Simpson, 2022; Sutton & Kemp, 2011; Waldron, 2018), yet very little attention has been given to climate injustice experienced by refugees in Canada, who share similar intersecting marginal locations due to racism and classism, while also experiencing discrimination based on religion, ethnicity, language, and legal status. Despite this gap in the literature, the reported housing and neighbourhood conditions of refugees alone showcase their vulnerability to climate injustice. Early in the article, it was discussed that when refugees migrate to host countries, it is assumed climate injustice ends, but it was asserted that climate injustice in countries like Canada just changes in its expression. For example, Powers and Nsonwu (2020) describe the relationship between poor housing conditions and climate injustice, asserting:

> (m)any marginalized populations are forced to live in the only affordable housing available to them, which is often located in unsafe, high-risk areas such as flood zones, or near toxic chemicals from factories or industrial farms, or in dwellings that are plagued with various health hazards. These are considered environmental injustices, as they particularly burden marginalized and vulnerable groups of people while leaving other groups out of harm's way. (p. 386)

Literature documenting the poor housing conditions and overall housing challenges of refugees in Canada is growing (Bachour, 2023; Bragg & Hiebert, 2022; Carter at al., 2008; Francis, 2010; Francis & Hiebert, 2013; McDowell & Collins, 2023). One study conducted in Winnipeg, Canada illustrates the housing challenges faced by recently arrived refugees (Carter et al., 2008). Altogether 75 households of recently arrived refugees participated in interviews and notably, 92 percent of the households fell below the poverty line. The study found most households experienced overcrowding. Additionally, the findings indicated that 25 percent of participants felt unsafe in their neighbourhood and the same portion felt their house itself was

unsafe. It was reported that 25 percent of households were concerned their homes were contributing to health problems. While a second set of interviews were conducted one year later, and participants reported their housing conditions had improved, the fact that the housing conditions are the worst when refugees are most vulnerable (upon their arrival) is indicative of how marginalized this population is. Another study, conducted by Oudshoorn et al. (2020) gleaned insight into the housing experiences of Syrian refugees. In the summer of 2017, approximately 25 Syrian refugee families were interviewed. Participants reported safety issues pertaining to their housing, noting bug infestations, unsafe infrastructure, and other safety issues in the community, such as evidence of drug use. Additionally, a lack of amenities nearby was a concern for participants.

Discrimination is a critical factor in the housing outcomes of refugees. McDowell and Collins (2023) conducted interviews with LGBTQ refugees residing in Alberta, Canada. Participants discussed discrimination as a barrier to housing, emphasizing that in addition to being newcomers, racism, ableism, homophobia, and transphobia heightened discriminatory practices among landlords. Stigma attached to social assistance was also highlighted as a barrier to housing, with participants providing examples of instances where landlords discovered they received social assistance as their source of income and stopped responding to their calls (McDowell & Collins, 2023). Discriminatory practices leave refugees without options about where they live, which results in their residence in substandard housing that is located in unsafe neighbourhoods (Francis, 2010; Oudshoorn et al., 2020; Teixeira, 2008). Substandard housing also leaves individuals, families, and communities with few options to defend against climate disasters.

An intersectional homemaking lens provides insight into both the social and material conditions of refugees who have resettled in Canada. As shown in the literature refugees are subjects of discrimination and stigma, which greatly impacts their access to quality material infrastructure. This exposure to socio-material inequities is a climate justice issue and research that examines how refugees make home in these precarious environments provides important knowledge about how refugees adapt to these conditions and gleans insight into their socio-material needs and desires. As evidenced, alternative paradigms for examining climate injustice are available, however intersectional homemaking uniquely captures the social and the spatial, while also tending to the political. Other theories aimed at understanding the effects of the environment tend to focus on the social impacts, underestimating the power of how transformation of the physical environment can greatly expand one's choices and contribute to enhanced wellbeing. This reality also speaks to the importance of emphasizing poor material conditions as a climate justice issue, not a social justice issue, because climate draws attention to the physical world, whereas social justice does not necessarily prioritize it.

Notably, extreme weather patterns and climate disasters are increasing across Canada, however, research that explores the impacts of these climate issues on vulnerable populations such as refugees is scant. A recent study sought to examine how Canadian government-resilience building initiatives met the needs of immigrants (inclusive of refugees) from sub-Saharan Africa

who had settled in Alberta and Saskatchewan (Acharibasam & Datta, 2023). These initiatives are capacity building focused and aim to build the resilience of communities to disaster risk (Acharibasam & Datta, 2023). Temporary cooling centres in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan during the 2021 heat wave are an example of a resilience initiative put forth by the government. Acharibasam and Datta (2023) interviewed 7 co-researchers in total. Results indicated that resources directed towards the unique needs of these communities were inadequate. One co-researcher who participated in the study discussed how residing in a poorer neighbourhood resulted in environmental inequities. For example, snow removal was not prioritized in poor communities, therefore when snowstorms occurred individuals residing in those areas faced barriers getting to and from work. Acharibasam and Datta (2023) state that creating space for people to tend to their daily needs is key to capacity building for disaster risk. Other co-researchers discussed the lack of cultural competency in the design of climate capacity building initiatives. Cooling centers for example were not accessible by some people in the community due to a lack of perceived safety according to cultural and religious values. Additionally, limited information about programs and services was highlighted as a barrier.

The results of this study also revealed community resilience and strengths. Some of the co-researchers experienced extreme climates in their home countries and harnessed skills they used there to adapt to climate challenges in Canada. To manage extreme heat for example, one co-researcher discussed that they made sure to open their windows and doorways at night to allow fresh air flow. This was a strategy from back home in Ghana that prevented heat-related disease. Co-researchers also cited the increased effectiveness of collective or community responses to climatic events over individual responses, suggesting carpooling programs as an option to minimize carbon-use over transitioning from cars to buses, which substantially increased their travel time (time they did not have to spare).

Acharihasam and Datta's (2023) study is important to highlight for a number of reasons. The methodology employed a decolonial qualitative approach, which crucially honoured the lived experience and expertise of the co-researchers. Additionally, this methodology did not solely focus on the problems experienced by sub-Saharan African newcomers exposed to climate inequities but sought to elicit their resilience to climate change, focusing on the skills they used to adapt to extreme weather conditions. These two salient themes observed in the study's methodology align closely with an intersectional homemaking approach by centering social justice and social action. An intersectional homemaking lens could add to this approach by accessing some of the more intimate, and everyday experiences of co-researchers that discussing the meaning of home and homemaking would naturally elicit. Further, intersectionality could add complexity to this study by examining the nuances within the community across gender, class, ethnic, religious, and immigration status. While the results gestured towards class, gender, and religious complexities, these important nuances were not discussed explicitly as interlocking structural forces. By attuning better to these intersections, policy changes related to climate resilience can better meet the needs of marginalized groups.

Conclusion

This article considers intersectional homemaking as a conceptual lens to effectively trace the phenomenon of climate injustice experienced by refugees in Canada from pre-migration to resettlement. This article reviewed the literature on climate injustice experienced by refugees pre-migration and also explored the literature that provides examples of climate injustice, particularly in the area of housing conditions, experienced by refugees upon resettlement in Canada. An intersectional homemaking approach invites examinations of refugees' lived experiences of climate injustice from pre-migration to resettlement, illuminating the unequal burden racialized and impoverished individuals and communities are subject to regarding matters of climate injustice. Social work researchers are equipped to navigate the complexities of marginalization and climate injustice with the discipline's increasing interest in climate-related issues and ongoing commitment to social justice and climate justice. Research that explores this vital and growing issue, alongside people who identify as refugees in Canada is critical and necessary for enacting positive social change.

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